

Yonge Street Meetinghouse — 1810

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From the Dorland Room

Welcome to Issue #55 of the Canadian Quaker History Journal.

This issue is tied together by several thematic strands, new beginnings, ongoing topics, and the completion of others. The pulse beating in the Dorland Room is exciting. Primary among the accomplishments of the last six months is the completion of the catalogue of the Dorland Historical Collection - almost 7,000 volumes in all (and 2,000 more than originally expected, due to the generosity of so many meetings who donated the rarer books from their libraries). The online-catalogue printout, by authors, ran to over 1,200 pages. The National Library will receive a copy, and we hope they will also take a copy of the database so that they can be kept up to date on new acquisitions. We hope you will join us for a short celebration to be held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Canadian Friends Historical Association at Pickering College in Newmarket on October 15th.

The lead article of this issue is Albert Schrauwers' piece on the relationship between consensus seeking, and the schisms in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. This article is more than history in that it shows the sociology of Friends' interaction - or rather, their failure to interact - and thus how the actions of a few friends lost ground for us all. We need to heed these lessons today, a theme which David Holden has also noted in past papers in this Journal.

Researchers using the collection this year have begun to focus more upon the 20th century, as Lise Hansen of York University demonstrates with her paper in this issue on the peace movement in Ontario. Marilyn Nefsky, of the University of Lethbridge (currently on sabbatical at University of Toronto), researched in the archives for much of the spring and summer regarding Friends (CFSC) support for European refugees prior to WW II. It was fortuitous that Arlene Booth Hobson spent a few days at the same time researching material relating to her

father, Raymond Booth. He was the pastor of Toronto Friends Meeting, worked in Canadian Friends Service Committee and had a special concern for these refugees. Deborah Haight, who was part of Arlene's girlhood at Camp, and who served on CFSC in its inception, came to spend a few rich days at that time. You may soon see the fruits of this interchange.

When these researchers arrived, the Canadian Yearly Meeting archives was already busy, as Sandra Fuller and Margaret Van Every made a concerted effort to sort out the CFSC material. Even as they attempted to sort this new material, requests were coming from researchers anxious to use it! It was time for this work to be done, and it will provide significant rewards in future. More material is still arriving from CFSC. How good that we have the archives. The work must continue, in spite of the fact that the grant supporting Sandra and Margaret's efforts has run out.

Our growing microfilm collection is also getting more use. The addition of microfilm copies of the Canadian Friend and the Young Friends Review has proven a boon. This issue of the Journal ties together the Canadian Friend and our regular column, "Canadian Quaker Biography," who's subject is Louise Rorke, the editor of the Canadian Friend until 1948. Louise Rorke was originally from Grey County, described in a separate article in this issue. Don Knight recently came to visit to trace his family ties in that area. He is a fruit and nut tree farmer from near Meaford, and seeing the actual records and artifacts meant much to him. One of the bonnets Don wanted to see had been worn at Yonge Street for an 1847 wedding in which two Luton sisters married two Knight brothers. The two couples moved immediately to Woodford Meeting in Grey County.

On 7 August, at Canadian Yearly Meeting, the CFHA will help host a trip to the Quaker Whaler's House in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. For

those unable to attend, we hope to give the flavour of what you're missing by reprinting the certificate of removal of these early Dartmouth Friends from Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Since almost all the Dartmouth Friends left together, after the American Revolution, they received a single group certificate. Similar group migrations occurred throughout the great western movement of Friends during the 1800's, but single certificates for each family were issued.

And lastly, this issue includes a list of our new acquisitions, many of which were obtained at the 10th biennial Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists held in June at Guilford College, North Carolina, which I attended. Of special interest to us is the Autobiography of J. Walter Malone, founder of Malone College in the States, edited by John Oliver. Emma Brown Malone, a Pickering Quaker who later moved to Cleveland, played a significant role in the founding of the college. Other acquisitions include a copy of Mabel Wigham's travel journal from Jack Knowles. This English friend was related to the Wighams of Toronto, who helped establish the meeting there. James Sheridan, a descendant of the Lundy's now exploring his Quaker heritage, arranged to have a copy of Helen Johnson's Lundy Genealogy deposited in the Dorland Room. Lastly, Richard Kelly, son of Thomas Kelly, author of the classic A Testament of Devotion, just sent us a photograph album belonging to his father. Thomas Kelly taught at Pickering College in the 1914-16 school years, before he went on to attend Hartford Theological Seminary in preparation for missionary work.

The trip to Guilford College represents one of several trips away from the Dorland Room for me over the last few months. It was a time of renewal and nurture for those working in Friends' history and archives. The new Friends Historical Library facility at Guilford is directed by Carole Treadway and is a storehouse of Friends historical materials relating to the southern United States to be found nowhere else. Southern hospitality was evident all week-end. The conference included papers on 20th century peace activities; Edith Sharpless' mission to China; the

Quaker School Eerde, at Ommen, the Netherlands, for refugee children before WW II; and early Quakerism in England, between 1657-59, to name a few. Other trips out from the Dorland Room included two Saturdays in April with the Ontario Genealogical Society regional branches at Stratford, and St Thomas. Both had Quaker settlers and meetings, although further research is needed in this area. William Allen, a Friends minister, is buried to the northwest of Stratford.

Regardless of where this report ends, there will always be more to append. The past and present twist to create themes which are interwoven in the strong and beautiful tapestry of Quaker history. The reality of this metaphor will hopefully be clearer to you, once we receive and circulate the new video about the Quaker Tapestry. Christopher Nash, formerly of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, is now returned to England with his family to become curator of the Tapestry museum. The threads of Quaker history tie one issue of the journal to the next, showing the continuity of life. The warp is laid, it just needs you to fill in the weave. Come visit the Dorland Room at the annual meeting and see for yourself!

My warm appreciation to those helping produce this issue: Sandra Fuller, Kathleen Hertzberg for ongoing support, Heather for standing by, and especially Albert Schrauwers for the desk-top production.

Jane Zavitz-Bond

The Poetry of Frank Moore

Throughout this issue, you'll see a number of poems in boxes like this one. They were taken from the four volumes of poetry written by Dr. Frank Moore (1870-1955), a lifelong Friend, and coroner for Collingwood Township. A copy of these books was sent by his grandson, Bob Alexander, who noted that Dr. Moore's clinic grew into the local hospital, that he wrote professionally, and taught for many years. He spent an unusual amount of time with his family, and lived on minimal sleep.

Consensus Seeking, Factionalization and Schism in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting

By Albert Schrauwers

In Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends,¹ David Holden notes that conflicts are not the same as divisions. The concern of the Society of Friends to establish consensus does not preclude disagreements; consensus emerges out of the free exchange of often diverging opinions. Seeking consensus is a means of resolving these conflicts. However, a number of conflicts, usually theological in nature, have not been amenable to easy resolution and have given birth to schisms. The insight conveyed by Holden's book is that such intractable conflicts simply reveal previously existing social divisions among Friends. That is, the intractable nature of these conflicts has less to do with the theological disagreement itself than with the existence of a socially divided meeting. Factors like class and status divide meeting members into groups with divergent interests which frequently bring them into conflict with each other, resulting in the development of factions. One issue then comes to stand for all these differences, with separation the inevitable product.

Schism is the process by which an intractable conflict results in the formal division of these two factions. The process of schism reveals a great deal about leadership within a monthly meeting as well as the process of consensus seeking itself. While Friends have traditionally emphasized the equal availability of the Inward Light to all members, in practice, some Friends appear "more equal" than others. These "weighty Friends" are the meeting's defacto leaders. They are assigned to the majority of committees, and fill most of the meeting's official posts, such as clerk, overseer, elder and minister. In an analysis of committee membership in the men's meeting of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting between its foundation and 1812, it was found that only 42 out of at least 100 men served on committees. Of these 42 men, 10 men filled 55% of all committee positions. A

similar situation existed in the women's meeting.² Consensus seeking and factionalization are processes orchestrated by this smaller elite within the meeting. Formal division occurs when this elite ceases their attempts to bridge the gap between them and each side chooses to go its own way. These leaders then make a concerted effort to justify themselves and to entice the broader membership to follow their example.³

The Yonge Street Monthly Meeting provides an ideal example of the two processes of elite consensus seeking and factionalization. Between 1812 and 1828 the meeting experienced two formal divisions: the first, in 1812 was the separation of the Children of Peace. The second, wider schism was the Orthodox-Hicksite separation of 1828. Both schisms ostensibly occurred for the same doctrinal reason, revealing a deep, long-standing division within the meeting. What is surprising, however, is that both schisms were led by the same men, Amos Armitage and Thomas Linville. For most of the meeting's history, these two men sought to work together, despite vast differences in outlook. However, in exceptional circumstances such as the War of 1812 and the division of the New York Yearly Meeting, these men decided that their differences could not be resolved, and actively recruited members to their factions, flaming the fires of division rather than calming them. This, despite the fact that both men had already weathered one destructive separation on the issue, and hence knew the human toll such a division would take. In the rest of this paper, I would like to concentrate on the actions of the the leadership of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, principally during the 1828 separation.

The Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Elite

Four elders, two couples, dominated the Select Meeting of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting for a quarter of a century. Amos and

Martha Armitage, and Thomas and Martha Linville had all emigrated from Catawissa Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Both Amos Armitage and Thomas Linville had served as Clerks of the Monthly Meeting. Amos had also served as Clerk of the Canada Half Years Meeting. Both men were birthright Friends with long experience with the Society's mechanisms for conflict resolution. Yet, despite common origins and a demonstrated commitment to the Society, these two couples were frequently at loggerheads. When they choose to emphasize their differences, the process of formal division ensued.

Amos Armitage and his wife Martha Doan had immigrated to Yonge Street in 1804, where they quickly assumed roles of importance. They lived near the Monthly Meetinghouse which Armitage, as a carpenter, had helped construct in 1810. The couple were appointed overseers in 1805, and elders shortly thereafter. Like Thomas Linville, they were part of that small minority which served on many of the meeting's committees. Armitage had always taken what would later be identified as the Hicksite position. David Willson, the minister at the centre of the separation of the Children of Peace, recorded this telling exchange during the Select Meeting of April 1812.⁴ Armitage called on Willson to explain himself, which Willson initially would not do. Another Friend stood to defend Willson, but "Isaac Wiggins (another elder) grew very surly and condemn'd him for standing up and justifying such a cause." Willson then retorted, "By waiting we see what a little does - then how would it be if we should say much." He added that the debate about historical (ie Biblical) events was "not worthy to contend about". Wiggins, who "by then appeared cross" seemed to agree, hence he "told [Willson] it was his mind that [he] should not speak any more in the public meeting untill this was settled (sic)." Armitage, wishing to emphasize the primacy of the spirit over the decisions of men, then interrupted, saying "he could have no hand in stopping [Willson] from speaking, but requested that [he] might be faith-

ful to the witness of God within." The meeting then broke up in disorder.

The Armitages joined the Children of Peace, the new body Willson created, after two elders acting without the consensus of the select meeting forbade Willson to preach. Their association was brief, however; the Armitages rejoined the Society of Friends in 1816. This facet of Armitage's personality deserves emphasis. Without the participation of the Armitages, the growth of the Children of Peace would have been much slower. Armitage not only contributed his wood-shop on Yonge Street as a meetinghouse, but also his authority as an elder and former clerk. He actively recruited new members for the sect. In return, Armitage expected to assume a leadership position in the new group. When the Children of Peace abolished the role of elder, Armitage rejoined the Society of Friends. He was again selected as an elder in 1819. From this, one might conclude that Armitage's participation in either religious body was dependent upon the recognition of his leadership. Whenever his leadership was contested, Armitage appeared willing to abandon the group he had formerly led. Separation was more palatable to him than the diminution of his power and authority.

Less is known of Thomas Linville. The Linvilles immigrated from Catawissa in 1807. Although serving on a large number of committees, they did not become elders until after the Armitages left the Society of Friends in 1812. The Linvilles were selected to replace them.⁵ Linville's acceptability to the Orthodox camp remaining in the Yonge Street Meeting was no doubt demonstrated by his willingness, as clerk, to condone the continuing disownment of Willson's followers despite the ongoing war and a lack of direction from the Yearly Meeting. Linville soon became the bulwark of the Orthodox faction after the death in 1813 of Isaac Wiggins and Isaac Phillips, the two Orthodox elders who had forbidden Willson to preach. With the War of 1812 raging around them, Linville informed the local magistrates that the Children of Peace were no longer Quakers, and hence not eligible for exemption from military service.

Despite the deaths of the original contestants in the theological dispute, Linville continued to refuse the appeals of the Children of Peace for readmission to the Society of Friends. Linville, like Armitage, found formal separation the more palatable solution.

Two other participants in the Separation of 1828 deserve notice. Nicholas Brown transferred his membership from Monkton Monthly Meeting, Vermont, to Pickering Preparative Meeting, under Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in 1808. He was recognized as a minister by the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in 1819, and frequently travelled in the ministry. He married his second wife, Margaret Judge, also a recognized minister, on 21 September 1827.⁶ Margaret was the daughter of Hugh Judge, also a minister and one of the leaders of the Hicksites within the New York Yearly Meeting. Nicholas Brown and his father-in-law played a prominent role in the separation in the New York Yearly Meeting in May 1828. According to Dorland, it was the Browns who proved the initial focus of dispute between the two factions in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting.⁷

The Separation of 1828

Consensus-seeking or partisanship. Separations occur within the Society only when a meeting's leaders find their authority threatened. Until that point, and only to that point, do they seek consensus. The disownments of individual members rarely sparks widespread factionalism within a meeting, primarily because these members have no pre-existing network of support. The disownment (or threat of disownment) of a leader carries with it the threat of disownment of their followers.

It is important to emphasize that theological disagreements were a common occurrence in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Such disputes, while making reference to messages delivered in meetings for worship, could only be adjudicated in two political forums, the Monthly Business Meeting and the Select Meeting. Such conflicts were typically handled in Select Meeting. A personal interchange between elder and

minister, they did not involve the membership as a whole, and thus did not serve to factionalize the meeting. Transferring this conflict to the Business Meeting introduced a whole new set of extra-theological factors to the dispute. As noted above, the Business Meeting is a political forum dominated by "weighty" friends with a broad network of support. A personal attack on a leader, and the threat of disownment, is the usual spark for a formal separation. Such was the case in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in 1828.

Dorland roots the split in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in the disownment of Nicholas Brown who had played a large role in the separation at the Yearly Meeting level.⁸ According to Dorland, during the Pickering Preparative Meeting of August 1828 Nicholas Austin, the clerk, and others refused to accept a contentious minute from the Orthodox body of the New York Yearly Meeting. Rather than defer the matter for fuller discussion and attempt a resolution, the Orthodox faction immediately appointed a new clerk amongst themselves, declaring themselves the only valid Preparative Meeting. The following month, they brought proceedings against Nicholas Brown.

However, Armitage himself roots the split in an exchange occurring a month earlier, before the contentious minute was produced.⁹ Armitage wrote that Linville, on his return from the Yearly Meeting, "brought a considerable number pamphlets, among which was the address from the orthodox Friends of Philadelphia. These writings he and his adherents have busily circulated among all classes - propagating scandal in taverns, by having them read, or caused to be read at public gatherings, raisings, &c... On account of such improper conduct, as just related, our Monthly Meeting of the 7th month proposed the releasement of Thomas Linville from the station of treasurer, which occasioned much clamour from him and his adherents." The official minute from the Orthodox Yearly Meeting said to have "forced" the issue a month later found fertile ground in this attack on Linville's authority. Armitage and Linville had already assumed partisan roles and sought to exclude each other from

their positions of power. The melee which ensued was less a theological dispute than a political vendetta between the two leaders which forced the wider membership to take sides. One might argue that the separation took place within the select meeting; only months later did it affect the wider membership, forcing them to decide where to attend meeting for worship.

At the monthly meeting of 8th month, the Orthodox proposed Thomas Linville as clerk, a move resisted by the Hicksite faction. Linville then withdrew to one side of the meeting house with his supporters, and they established themselves as a separate meeting. Before withdrawing, the Hicksites appointed new trustees for the Yonge Street Meeting House and demanded the key from the now displaced Orthodox trustees, who promptly refused. An extended struggle ensued for possession of the Meeting House, an issue which probably lay behind the attempt to release Linville as treasurer a month earlier.

Armitage's own partisan account of this struggle, despite his disclaimers, only highlights that meeting leaders no longer sought to defuse conflict, but spark it. They were all prepared that evening to establish claims on the Meeting House. The Hicksites, refused the key to the Meeting House, immediately changed the lock, handily having one at the ready. Several younger orthodox members stayed behind after the meeting, refusing to leave. They "took the casings from one of the windows and removed the sash; and after drawing a considerable number into the house, provisions were brought, and handed in... they were again requested to withdraw, otherwise they would be locked in; the reply was, as soon as you please, and the door was accordingly locked." That night, the Orthodox changed the lock once more "on orders of a justice of the peace" who had been told by an Orthodox Friend that the Hicksites "were keeping his son and a number of others prisoners" in the Meeting House.

These machinations proved fruitless, and both factions continued to use the Meeting House for their Select Meetings, Monthly Meetings and the Canada Half Year's Meeting in September, 1828. Each of these meetings was marked by

tension, implied threats of violence and a refusal to recognize members of the other faction as Friends. Formal separation at the institutional level was complete, and would be accompanied by a flurry of disownments in the months to come. The Orthodox Friends retained control of the Yonge Street Meeting House; the Hicksites retained the Pickering Meeting House.¹⁰

Conclusions

I would like to use this example to highlight several features of the conflict resolution mechanisms of the Society as they relate towards leadership and factionalization. In other words, I would like to address the question of how is it that the Society, which places such store in consensus seeking, can be torn apart by divisions.

The Society of Friends emerged in the seventeenth century as part of the larger movement towards liberal individualism.¹¹ As a voluntarist association predicated upon the individual experience of God's grace, the Society's conflict resolution mechanisms are directed towards individuals and issues, not groups and worldviews. Votes are not taken, since every individual's apprehension of the divine should carry equal weight. Because votes are not taken, consensus seeking of necessity involves the resolution of individual differences, not group differences. The Society long resisted issuing creeds, and its theology was always unsystematized, its testimonies arising, ad hoc, out of the concerns of individual members. This pronounced egalitarianism appears to vest all leadership within the Society in the leadings of the Inward Light. The Discipline contains no official recognition of the existence of groups formed on the basis of family, class or status within a meeting. Yet all of these factors have obvious impact on individual perceptions and priorities, and thus on the patterns of leadership within a meeting.

It was the lack of a formal means of recognizing and resolving group differences which resulted in these two separations within the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. The business meetings were dominated by a small elite

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whose opinions carried inordinant weight. Such leadership within an egalitarian body can result only from these leaders' ability to represent a group's shared interests. Armitage and Linville were prominent because they represented the views of wider groups of people of similar class and status. Members of these wider groups need not be active in meeting business, since they could see that their interests were being served by "one of their own". One individual may thus come to represent an officially unrecognized group's interests. It is these prominent individuals, not the wider membership, which seek consensus.

These elites within a meeting, however, are not recognized as representing groups; rather, they are viewed as individuals like any other. Separations occur precisely because a factionalized meeting treats an opposition leader as only an individual. The Hicksite attempt to release Linville as treasurer was not simply an attack on Linville, who's personal error had factionalized the meeting through the distribution of pamphlets, but an attack on a group. His authority attacked, Linville ceased to strive for consensus, and formally organized this group as a separate meeting. Linville's constituency was quickly mobilized because it had long existed - without any formal recognition.

Consensus seeking failed to prevent the separation of 1828 in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting because it focused upon a theological issue without looking further at the larger pre-existing social differences dividing the two groups. The emphasis on the conciliation of individuals, not groups, of issues, not worldviews, ignored the de facto means by which such consensus was arrived at; through the leaders of unofficial groups within the meeting. There was no way by which these unofficial groups could force their leaders to continue seeking consensus since the groups lacked any official status and hence had no means of control over their leader. Thus, when Armitage and Linville ceased to strive for a common solution, there was no larger mechanism "to force them back to the bargaining table." This is an institutional failing, and the

same dynamic was probably evident in other monthly meetings of the period.

Notes:

- 1) Holden, David *Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends* (Richmond, Indiana, Friends United Press, 1988).
- 2) See Schrauwers, Albert *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope 1812-1889* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993) pp. 22-25 for a fuller discussion of the position taken in this paper.
- 3) Holden, op cit, pg. 148.
- 4) Sharon Temple Archives, Accession number 990.1.7 page 25.
- 5) Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Minutes (CYMA O-11-6, dated 17/6/1813 and 16/6/1814).
- 6) Hallowell, Benjamin *Memoir of Margaret Brown* (Philadelphia, Merrihew & Son, 1872), pg. 90.
- 7) Dorland, Arthur G. *The Quakers in Canada: A History* (Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1968), pg. 146-7.
- 8) *ibid.*
- 9) Armitage, Amos and John Watson "Letter from Upper Canada" in *The Friend*; or, *Advocate of Truth* Vol. II (1829), No. 1: 25-8.
- 10) This is not the meetinghouse currently referred to as the Pickering meetinghouse on the north side of Highway 2. That meetinghouse was built by the Orthodox and later used by the Conservatives.
- 11) See Macpherson, C.B. *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1962).

Welcome Night

See; The dark comes slowly stealing;
(Turn the stars off while she's feeling)
Through the orchard, o'er the meadow,
Dimming ev'ry shape and shadow,
Stopping all the daily riot,
Bringing peace, and bringing quiet,
Round about Night Angels creep,
Soothing, lulling, all to sleep.

All the worldlings now at rest,
While the sun is in the west.
Till his morning torches throw
All the eastern sky aglow.

Darkness gone; the world awakes,
And the soothing silence breaks.

Friends and Peace: Quaker Pacifist Influence in Ontario to the Early Twentieth Century

by Lise Hansen

The Quaker quest for peace, rooted in seventeenth century England, branched into Ontario more than two hundred years later and continued to flourish and expand. In 1661, the Society of Friends made this declaration of conscience to King Charles of England.

"We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretense whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world. The spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move into it, and we certainly do know, and so testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of the world."

War and strife followed Friends to the new British colony where maintaining non-compliance with war and its mechanisms proved difficult. Internal differences divided and reduced their membership but Quaker commitment to peace remained. During their early years in Upper Canada, the scope of their quest was limited to philanthropy and the avoidance of military service. But during the early twentieth century, due to their effective use of conciliation and their firm belief that war is basically wrong, Quakers influenced and became actively involved with other Ontarians in addressing the causes of war. Thus, the historical development of the Society of Friends in Ontario has, of necessity and desire, included political conciliation, pacifist activism and promotion of arbitration as a route to peace on a local and global scale.

During the first century and a half in Ontario, Quaker membership declined due to schisms and strict codes of conduct. The structure and

principles of the society guided the remaining members towards a leadership role in the promotion of peace in Ontario. The fundamental ideals of Quaker opposition to war are religious and ethical whereas, other concerns, such as economics, are subsidiary to the main positions of Christian peace and conscience.¹ In their early days in Ontario, Quaker customs of plain dress and speech set them apart from their neighbours. Codes demanding adherence to Quaker principles were strong, therefore those who diverged were disowned by their congregations or 'meetings'. Whereas, other Protestant denominations offered "overpowering emotionalism", Quaker meetings ideally were, and still are, quiet affairs at which men and women, as equals, seek to listen and share in a search for the truth. As arguing and voting are felt to be divisive, language is seen as a peacekeeping device in which "each insight refines the other until the group's ideas have been blended into an agreeable and creative solution".² This process starts at several constituent preparative meetings held in anticipation of the 'Monthly Meeting'. Representatives of all Monthly Meetings attend 'Quarterly' or 'Half Yearly Meetings' and the representatives of these meetings attend the highest jurisdiction, the 'Yearly Meeting'.³ Throughout the process consensus is sought, thus Yearly Meeting decisions reflect the entire membership. This process is slow and cumbersome but relatively effective in achieving unity. However, on three occasions in the 1800's consensus could not be reached resulting in schisms which diminished membership dramatically.⁴ By the turn of the twentieth century, there were three doctrinally separate Yearly Meetings in Ontario with a combined total of approximately twelve hundred members, less than one-quarter of their former total. Whereas, each new group maintained affiliation with American Friends, they had practically no contact with Friends who had settled in

the Maritimes. Ontario Friends who later migrated to western Canada developed strong ties with Western American Friends.⁵ Natural, geographic access has played a more important role to Canadian Quaker associations than have political boundaries. Strong affiliations within the society do not, however, preclude strong association with the non-Quaker community, therefore the conciliatory process practiced in meetings tends to spill over into their dealings with the larger society.

The first American Quakers who settled in Upper Canada in 1784, and those who followed, were part of a great migration of Americans which lasted until the 1820's.⁶ Some pro-British Quakers fled the United States to be free of political persecution and post-revolutionary economic hardship.⁷ Although not technically United Empire Loyalists, the Quakers were invited and welcomed to Upper Canada by Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe because of their qualities of honesty and hard work, as well as their sense of community building in the wilderness.⁸ Although, a few American Quakers fought for the British (and lost Quaker membership as a result), those who had not fought had at least not supported the revolution.⁹ Although, Simcoe would have preferred to populate Upper Canada with members of the Church of England who would have been willing to further British ideals, including a strong militia, insufficient numbers of Anglicans were available.¹⁰ Therefore, he enticed the American peace sects, including the Quakers, Mennonites and Tunkers, to Upper Canada with promises of the benefits of British law, an abundance of land, and respect for their pacifist ideals.

These ideals were reflected in the Militia Act of Upper Canada of 1791 which excused the peace sects from military service, but in lieu of bearing arms the law imposed a tax on all military-aged objectors. Whereas the Mennonites felt that the tax was simply an imposition and a financial hardship, the Quakers could not reconcile payment with their religious principles as paying money for the support of war was tantamount to supporting war.¹¹ The Quakers, there-

fore refused to pay the tax and, as a result, their goods were frequently seized and sold to cover the amount of the tax.

As an ill-will was brewing, not only between the Quakers and the government, but between the Americans and the British, Quaker leaders felt a need to reassert their principles of non-compliance. In 1806, Timothy Rogers and Amos Armitage of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting met with Lieutenant-Governor Gore to advise him of Quaker loyalty to the existing government and to reaffirm Quaker opposition to war.¹² The Governor indicated his support and acknowledged the Quaker peace testimony. Nonetheless, in 1809, a law was passed authorizing military officials to impress horses, carriages, and oxen to be used for military defence and imposing jail sentences upon religious objectors who had not paid their tax in lieu of military service.¹³ Men from the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, which was located on a military road, were regularly jailed or went into hiding to avoid imprisonment.¹⁴ Local meetings suffered confiscations estimated in the thousands of dollars.¹⁵ These impressments, seizures and incarcerations resulted in a strong, active lobby by each of the peace sects for the repeal of the 1809 statute.¹⁶ During the following War of 1812, the Anglican governing class of Upper Canada suspected all American immigrants of disloyalty to the Crown. Thus, settlers were, for a while, threatened with the loss of their land and at least one Quaker lost his right to vote and hold office.¹⁷ Yet, for the most part, despite physical and emotional hardship, Ontario Friends refused to be co-opted into this war effort.

Members of the next generation, however, found themselves embroiled in armed political conflict with the governing class of Upper Canada causing unsettling effects in the Quaker community.¹⁸ Despite their peace testimony several young Quakers decided to participate in the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837 and 1838. After years of intimidation some individual convictions to peace principles faded in the midst of social and political injustice. A few of the Quakers who were involved in the insurrection were sub-

sequently caught and served prison terms. One was hanged for treason. Within the society those who did not admit error in bearing arms were disowned by their meetings.¹⁹ Shaken by these events, some meetings felt it was best to withdraw from external influences and a period of relative quietude followed. This stance was reinforced when in 1849, the three peace sects received a blanket unconditional exemption from military duty by the government of Canada West, resulting in a period of decreased political activism by the Quakers.²⁰

Throughout their history in Ontario, Friends had been and continued to be active in the promotion of social justice. They took a leading role in Ontario in supporting the 'underground railway', the mechanism which allowed American blacks to escape slavery, and helped the fugitives to adjust to their new life in Ontario. Far ahead of public sentiment, they advocated equal rights, universal suffrage, prison reform, and the abolition of capital punishment.²¹ They petitioned the Canadian government for acceptance of Doukhobour refugees into Canada and for the fair treatment of Hindus in British Columbia.²² Through promotion of social issues such as these, Friends developed expertise which would stand them in good stead in the fight for peace.

After Canadian Confederation in 1867, the first Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends, held at Pickering, Ontario, delivered a statement of the Quaker position on war, oaths and liberty of conscience to Governor-General Monck and Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, in an attempt to maintain the exemptions contained in the Militia Act of 1849.²³ Subsequently, the new Dominion of Canada reaffirmed the Militia Law as it stood at this time.

In the new province of Ontario, Quakers resumed their lobby for non-aggression. In 1869, the Canada Yearly Meeting formed a committee to address the aggressive nationalism that appeared in Ontario's public school text books. In 1891, each of the three Yearly Meetings in Ontario became affiliated with "The Peace Association of Friends of America", which historian Arthur Dorland refers to as "the most important

peace organization among Friends in the western hemisphere at the time". By 1895, Quakers of Ontario were influenced by the Quaker-inspired Lake Mohonk Conference of New York, which favoured arbitration instead of war as a method of settling international disputes. In 1896, the Genesee Yearly Meeting sent a deputation to Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier, urging him, among other things, to address the responsibility of public men to curb militarism.²⁴ These were precursors to activities in the wars which followed.

In 1899, when the British government became embroiled in the Boer War the Quakers passed and published strong anti-war resolutions, while the only other protestant body in Ontario to express opposition was the Women's Christian Temperance Union (whose membership included many Quaker women). Presbyterian and Methodist church newspapers actually endorsed the war.²⁵ Opponents of war were labelled an ineffectual and unrepresentative body of agitators, chronic objectors, traitors, and villains.²⁶ Nevertheless, Friends persisted in their denunciation of strife and at the conclusion of the war the "Friends Association of Toronto" helped organize the non-denominational "Peace and Arbitration Society", the first non-secular peace organization in Canada. It adopted the statement of the Lake Mohonk Conference favouring peace and arbitration. This document was then endorsed by the Boards of Trade of Toronto, Ottawa, and Hamilton as well as the Farmers Convention of Ontario, several churches and civic and religious leaders.²⁷ Notable among those who endorsed the statement were Quakers, Charles Zavitz, interim president of Guelph Agricultural College and Elias Rogers, businessman and Liberal politician. The Society eventually attracted over a thousand members headed by Sir William Mulock, chief justice of the Ontario High Court of Justice. In 1907, as a response to the popular peace movement, a resolution to turn the Hague Conference into a permanent international congress with powers of arbitration was endorsed by the Ontario Legislature. As a result of the influence of the Peace and

Arbitration Society, the Presbyterian Assembly, in 1911, condemned war as contrary to Christian morals. Methodists involved in the Peace and Arbitration Society proposed labour strikes in protest of war.²⁸ Thus, the early public support for the Boer War was transformed by many into revulsion for war after its conclusion.

In Ontario, principles of peace were regaining public favour, however no peace mechanism had been created to enable "Christian goodwill to express itself". The chairman of the Peace and Arbitration Committee lamented that within Ontario society peace had "been accepted generally as a beautiful abstract idea, worthy of realization, but impracticable, and war as undesirable, yet necessary and practical".²⁹ The Canada Yearly Meeting then called for Quakers to take a lead in instituting a peace movement which would be "memorable in history".³⁰

Pacifists in Ontario underwent a transition and adjustment to social reality. According to historian Thomas Socknat, there are those who believe that war is inhumane and irrational and should be prevented, but is sometimes necessary, and those who believe that war is absolutely and always wrong.³¹ Religious groups who oppose war in the abstract but who become convinced that some wars are just fall in the first category while sectarian pacifists like the Quakers and Mennonites fall into the second category. Historian Peter Brock labels Mennonites as 'separational' pacifists who maintain their pacifist stance exclusive of outer society and thus had less influence on the peace movement. Quakers are referred to as 'integrational' pacifists whose ideals led to social change.³² The Quaker transition during the Boer War and the upcoming Great War was in methodology not in the basic principle of religious non-compliance with war and its mechanisms.

Socknat contends that "Quakers went beyond negative anti-militarism and... began to relate war to socioeconomic conditions and to encourage interest in international affairs."³³ In 1913, the Genessee Yearly Meeting at Coldstream, Ontario expressed a need for change of the basis of its operations "to give more liberty

to each monthly meeting" hoping that Quaker effectiveness in reaching its goals would be enhanced.³⁴ The Canadian Peace and Arbitration Society, a wing of this meeting, called for celebration of one hundred years of peace with the United States, and the formation of neighbourhood peace societies, and the observance of Peace Sunday to counter military propaganda.³⁵ At Newmarket, in the same year, the Canada Yearly Meeting Committee on Peace delivered a resolution to the government and people of Canada expressing "the earnest concern of Friends" that Canada should encourage peace and arbitration both nationally and internationally rather than to continue increasing expenditures and activity in preparation for war and 'so called' defense. It went on to suggest that money appropriated for the military would be better spent on the establishment of a 'Canadian Peace Commission' to help eliminate distrust between nations and to help stem the tide of militarism in Canada.³⁶ Quaker writer David Starr Jordan, in the same year, reported on Canadian involvement in the military. He contended that the campaign for naval defense of Canada was coincident with three allied syndicates attempting to sell armaments at enormous profits to both sides of the dispute and to drum up fear of aggression.³⁷ As indicated earlier, promotion of militarism in Ontario's schools had drawn Quaker attention as early as 1869. Cadet training had been instituted in Ontario in the 1880's and had blossomed since the Boer War. A huge cadet parade became an annual event in Toronto on Empire Day.³⁸ This fostering of aggression was once again addressed by Friends. The Canada Yearly Meeting contended that militarism in schools should be supplanted by "intelligent teaching as to the terrible results of war economically and morally to a nation."³⁹

Prior to 1914, massive armies had been building up in Europe and politicians declared that such action alone was a deterrent to war. However, neither massive armaments nor peace rhetoric would prove to stop the inevitable war. Some political, church, farm, labour and women's groups endorsed peace and arbitration in a

general sense but did not connect it with the economic structure of society nor did they have a solid commitment to its implementation.⁴⁰ When war erupted in Europe, Ontario's commitment to peace declined rapidly.

Despite the about-face of much of Christian Ontario, the Quakers, once again, maintained their pacifist stance during wartime. In August of 1914, when Germany declared war on Russia and invaded France, there was unrestrained enthusiasm in the streets of Toronto as hundreds of men celebrated the war. After mobilization was announced on August 5, volunteers throughout Ontario paraded to the railway station and the crowds cheered them on. Ontario had found new heroes, and an idealized and unrealistic attitude towards the coming war.⁴¹ War propaganda controlled by the government and promoted by the military establishment helped to reinforce fears for the future of Christendom causing Ontarians to respond emotionally. Enthusiasm for the war quickly rose, as the religious press including the *Canadian Baptist*, the *Anglican Canadian Churchman*, the *Presbyterian Record*, the *Presbyterian Witness*, and the *Methodist Christian Guardian* declared the war to be a righteous cause.⁴² By September of 1914, S.D. Chown, the superintendent of the Methodist Church in Canada declared Christianity itself to be at stake and asked Methodists to answer the will of God and enlist.⁴³ Dorland claims that "a few young Friends [perhaps a dozen] to whom the Peace Testimony of the Society was merely traditional, either were swept along with the popular current" or they truly believed this was a 'just war'. The Society of Friends in Ontario as a whole, however, never wavered in its conviction that war was not compatible with Christianity.⁴⁴

In the midst of such war fervor, Ontario Friends continued their peace activism and worked in support of war relief associations and the freedom to abstain from war and its mechanisms. Men who had not enlisted in the war effort were taunted as 'slackers' by women and children on the streets,⁴⁵ and W.B. Creighton, editor of the *Methodist Guardian*, asserted that

'pacifists were guilty of 'dull obstinacy', 'bitter prejudice', and 'plain stupidity'.⁴⁶ But The Canadian Friend of 1914 continued to admonish against militarism in schools.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the Genesee Yearly Meeting of July 1915 gave financial support to the Friends Ambulance Corps in Europe, and Edgar Zavitz was appointed as the meeting's representative for War Victims Relief the following year. In 1916, the same meeting reported that the bending of religious principle had allowed poverty, excessive wealth, ambition, [and] class distinction" to develop, that "civilization had produced an intricate machine for cultivating production or destruction" and that the education and legal systems had "distorted Patriotism, Loyalty, and Free Institutions of Democratic Civilization." The meeting expressed a need to influence the course of events by taking responsibility for practical application of peace principles. Also, in 1916, the various meetings that had become dissociated during the nineteenth century schisms started to correspond with each other for "closer bonds of fellowship and love", thus beginning a united and concerted effort for a common pacifist goal. In May of 1917 the three Yearly Meetings of Friends in Ontario joined forces in the Friends Legislative Committee to attempt a more effective resistance to an anticipated conscription bill culminating in a resolution sent to Prime Minister Borden.⁴⁸ Leaders, Albert Rogers, Charles Zavitz, and George Clark affirmed Quaker opposition to bearing arms and requested that Militia Act exemptions be carried over to any new measure and be extended to all conscientious objectors regardless of affiliation.⁴⁹ Throughout the war, Ontario Friends served humanity in non-military ways. Some served in the Friends Ambulance Unit in Europe or gave financial help to relief organizations. The War Victims Relief Committee of the Society of Friends had been in France, Holland, and England since 1914. Letters from George Bycraft, of Coldstream, Ontario, describe his volunteer effort in France where he and other Quakers had built over four hundred small wooden houses in northern France for inhabitants whose homes

had been destroyed by war.⁵⁰ Pickering College, the Quaker school at Newmarket, Ontario, was donated until 1921 as a hospital for returning veterans.⁵¹ Thus the Quakers of Ontario made their pacifist influence felt.

As the supply of volunteers dried up and war casualties increased, Prime Minister Borden called for conscription and in July of 1917 the new Military Services Act was passed. Once again exemption was granted to those who conscientiously objected to undertaking combatant service and were "prohibited from doing so by the tenets and articles of faith... of any organized religious denomination existing and well recognized in Canada... and to which he in good faith belongs."⁵² Despite the Quaker appeal for inclusion of all conscientious objectors within the terms of this legislation, several churches opposed to military service were excluded.⁵³ As in the older Militia Act, Quaker exemption was from combatant service only, therefore a Friend might be compelled to become part of the military machine. Ontario had relatively few young Friends at the time and most of these were farmers who were granted exemption from military service so that they could carry on this industry vital to the country. Nevertheless, two young Friends from the Genesee Yearly Meeting who were granted exemption from combat were sentenced to one term of hard labour in prison for refusing mandatory non-combatant service.⁵⁴

The Canadian Peace and Arbitration Society disintegrated during the war,⁵⁵ but as a precursor to their post-war activities, the three Yearly Meetings continued to work together on war related problems.⁵⁶ During the twenties Quakers in Ontario continued to sponsor peace societies. Friends continued to donate to relief work in Poland, France, Germany, Russia, and Austria. Some remained in Europe to help the victims of war. And in 1922, Ontario Friends Albert Rogers and Fred Haslam collected donations from across Canada (\$60,000 from Toronto alone) for the American Friends' Service Committee and the Canadian Save the Children Fund. Ontario Friends became involved with the Conference of

Historic Peace Churches which met to discuss war issues.⁵⁷ Then, in 1926, Arthur Dorland organized the Canadian Branch of the World Alliance for International Fellowship through the Churches so that the member churches could work towards common Christian goals. In 1931 the Canadian Friends' Service Committee, a natural outgrowth of earlier endeavours, was founded at Toronto Friends House to promote global peace. The committee collected funds from Quakers and non-Quakers alike for distribution to world relief organizations. It endorsed the ideal of international co-operation expressed by the League of Nations but called for economic rather than military sanctions as a means to peace. It also called for nations to share equitably in the resources of the world as an essential preliminary to permanent peace.⁵⁸ This body encouraged Prime Minister Bennett to appoint delegates to the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1932, in the hope that it would encourage the various parties to try to understand their corresponding needs and conflicting viewpoints. Quaker leaders in Ontario, Arthur Dorland and Raymond Booth, joined others to found the Institute of Economic and International Relations (commonly referred to as the Couchiching Conference) which met at Geneva Park, Lake Couchiching, Ontario in 1932. This organization was set up on the understanding that a search for the fundamental causes of war and the educational dissemination of the findings were the building blocks on which peace could be created. It attracted outspoken Canadians, such as Eugene Forsey, who joined the staff the following year. Ontario Quaker spokesperson Fred Haslam later became a leading figure in the Institute. Throughout the thirties, Peace Caravans of young Quakers promoted passive non-resistance in Ontario, Friends organizations sent leaflets to members of the Canadian Parliament advocating peace, and the Quaker organization, the Toronto Peace Library, promoted peace and social justice.⁵⁹ These were impressive accomplishments for a relatively small group of people.

Such promotion of peace on a global scale

was made possible by the efforts of a century and a half of individuals seeking conciliation and guided by a strong conviction of conscience, both religious and ethical. Ontario Quaker activism in the early years manifested itself in a narrow focus, that is, the maintenance and improvement of the Militia Act which allowed Quakers abstention from militia duty. While their role in the social welfare of others was significant, their pacifist influence on the province was somewhat limited. Their pacifist activism and their Christian commitment to peace by arbitration and consensus were precursors to a broader pacifist perspective that was developed during Ontario's involvement in the Boer and the First World Wars. Practical application of this perspective resulted in the organization of the non-denominational Peace and Arbitration Society and the joining of the three Yearly Meetings in Ontario in the Friends Legislative Committee. After the First World War, as a natural outgrowth of Friends' peace activities with outside groups, the Canadian Friends' Service Committee and the Institute of Economic and International Relations were formed in Ontario to deal with global issues of relief and peace. Thus, during and after these wars, Ontario Friends increasingly involved themselves in the larger community in an attempt to influence the way in which Ontarian, Canadian, and global societies dealt with matters of war and peace.

Notes:

- 1) Friends and War. A New Statement of the Quaker Position, adopted by the "Conference of All Friends". (Philadelphia: Friends Bookstore, 1927), page 5.
- 2) Cavey, Verna Marie, "Fighting Among Friends: The Quaker Separation of 1827 As a Study in Conflict Resolution". (Doctoral Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1992), pp. 20-43.
- 3) Hovinen, Elizabeth J., Quakers of Yonge Street, (York University, Department of Geography, Discussion Paper Series), pp. 32-33.
- 4) Dorland, Arthur G., History of the Society of Friends (Quakers in Canada). (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1927), p. 104. The local schism of 1812 created a short lived sect, the Children of Peace, which decimated the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. The larger North American schisms of 1828 and 1881 had more lasting effects. In 1828, the Hicksites split from the Orthodox New York Yearly Meeting to become Genesee Yearly Meeting. In 1867, a Canada Yearly Meeting of Orthodox Friends was formed in Ontario. In 1881, the Orthodox Friends split into the Progressive and Conservative branches, each retaining the name Canada Yearly Meeting. After WW II, the Progressive, Conservative and Hicksite branches formally united to become the Canadian Yearly Meeting.
- 5) Haslam, Fred, 1921-1967. A Record of the Experience with Canadian Friends (Quakers) and the Canadian Ecu-
menical Movement. (n.p., 1968), p. 103.
- 6) Ibid., pp. 55-57.
- 7) Peers, Laura L., "The Not So Peaceable Kingdom: Quakers Took up Arms in the Rebellion of 1837", The Beaver, June/July, 1988, p. 5.
- 8) Epp, Frank H., Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920: A History of a Separate People. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), p. 67.
- 9) Ibid., p. 99.
- 10) Ibid., pp. 70-71.
- 11) Brock, Peter, Freedom From Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance From the Middle Ages to the Great War. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 225.
- 12) Dorland, History, p. 94.
- 13) Brock, Freedom, p. 227.
- 14) Reflections on the Pioneer Settlement of Newmarket by Two Yonge Street Quakers. The Newmarket Historical Society, Occasional Papers, Volume 1, Number 2.
- 15) Dorland, Arthur G., The Quakers in Canada. A History. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), p. 317.
- 16) Epp, Mennonites, p. 101.
- 17) Peers, Peaceable, p. 6.
- 18) Ibid., pp. 4-9.
- 19) Ibid., pp. 7.
- 20) Brock, Freedom, p. 225.
- 21) Dorland, Quakers, pp. 293-312.
- 22) Canada Yearly Meeting Report, July, 1913.
- 23) Dorland, Quakers, p. 325.
- 24) Ibid., p. 327.
- 25) Miller, Carman, "English Canadian Opposition to the South African War as seen through the Press", Canadian Historical Review, December, 1974, pp. 422-434.
- 26) Ibid., p. 438.
- 27) Dorland, Quakers, p. 328.
- 28) Socknat, Thomas P., Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 30.
- 29) Minutes of the Proceedings of the Genesee Yearly Meeting, at Coldstream, Ont., 1913.
- 30) Canada Yearly Meeting Report, July, 1913.
- 31) Socknat, Witness, p. 7.
- 32) Brock, Peter, Pacifism in Europe to 1914. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 474-475.
- 33) Socknat, Witness, p. 21.
- 34) The Genesee Yearly Meeting encompassed meetings in New York State as well as in Ontario. Canada and the United States responded to the upcoming war at different times and in different ways. More autonomy within the

individual meetings allowed different responses to federal laws within each country.

35) Minutes of the Proceedings of the Genesee Yearly Meeting, at Coldstream, Ont., 1913.

36) Dorland, Arthur G. "Militarism in Canada", The Canadian Friend, July, 1913, pp. 5-6.

37) Jordan, David Starr "The Defense of Canada", The Canadian Friend, Dec., 1913.

38) Socknat, Witness, p. 35.

39) The Canadian Friend, July 1913, pp. 5-6.

40) Socknat, Thomas P., "Canada's Liberal Pacifists and the Great War", Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation, Third Edition, ed., R. Douglas Frances and Donald B. Smith. (Toronto: Holt, Reinhart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1990), p. 349.

41) Wilson, Barbara M., ed., Ontario and the First World War 1914-1918: A Collection of Documents. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), pp. xvi-xix.

42) Socknat, Witness, pp. 49-50.

43) Marshall, David B., "Methodism Embattled: A Reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War One", The Canadian Historical Review, LXVI, 1, 1985, pp. 49-50.

44) Dorland, Quakers, p. 329.

45) Marshall, Methodism, p. 51, and Socknat, Witness, p. 62.

46) As in Socknat, Witness, p. 62.

47) The Canadian Friend, Feb., 1914, p. 15, and April, 1914, p. 9.

48) Minutes of the Proceedings of the Genesee Yearly Meeting, at Coldstream, Ont., 1916.

49) The Canadian Friend, Oct., 1917, pp. 6-7.

50) Bycraft, George, of Coldstream, Ontario, private letters.

51) The Canadian Friend, June, 1920, p. 11.

52) Excerpts from the Military Services Act as quoted in The Canadian Friend, Oct., 1917, p. 9.

53) Penton, James M., Jehovah's Witnesses in Canada. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), p. 56. Excluded from the legislation were the Church of Christ, Disciples of Christ, International Bible Students, Pentecostal Assemblies, and Plymouth Brethren. Exempted from military duty were the Seventh Day Adventists, Christadelphians, Quakers, Western Mennonites, and Doukhobours. Ontario Mennonites had lost their exemption in a 1904 change to the Militia Act.

54) Dorland, Quakers, pp. 332-333.

55) Allen, Richard, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 320.

56) Haslam, Record, p. 22.

57) Ibid., p. 83.

58) An Alternative to Sanctions. A statement of the Canadian Friends' Service Committee (pamphlet published in 1935).

59) Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Canadian Quaker Biography

Louise R. Rorke (?-1949)

Born in Thornbury, Ontario, Louise Rorke was the daughter of George and Elizabeth (Richardson) Rorke. She received her education at Thornbury Collegiate Institute and Hamilton Normal College. After several years' teaching in Norwich and Thornbury public schools, she joined the staff of the *Canadian Teacher*, Toronto. For many years, Miss Rorke acted as editor of the publication until her retirement in 1945.

Louise Rorke was the author of many books and short stories, and is perhaps best known for the Lefty books, known to young readers throughout Canada. Her first book, *Lefty*, the story of a dog, was followed by *Sugar Shanty*. *Lefty's Adventure* was a sequel to *Lefty*. She was also the author of numerous short stories and in 1931 was the winner of first prize in a short story contest arranged by the Toronto Branch of the Canadian Women's Press Club.

An active member of the Women's Press Club, she held office and was one of the organizers of the Short Story Section. For over 25 years, she was a regular contributor to the *Canadian Countryman*. She also edited the *Canadian Friend*, a periodical published by Canadian Quakers.

She was a prominent member of the Society of Friends, and was active on the Canadian Friends Service Committee. She lived with her mother and sister, Jessie E. Rorke, formerly on the staff of the Toronto Public Library, both in Toronto and at her home, "Innisfree", in Pickering, Ontario.

Sandra Fuller

The Dandelion

A field of yellow dandelions
Is lovely all, to me,
Could any pass those yellow clumps
And there no beauty see?

Editorial

[Editor's note: Page two of the editorial from Issue #53, Summer 1993, was inadvertently left out due to a printer's error. We republish it here in its entirety.]

The Twilight Hour

by Jane Zavitz-Bond

Welcome to Issue #53 of the Canadian Quaker History Journal. It's focus is prairie Friends' early settlements. The materials will be interesting to many from Ontario for most meetings supplied some settlers. The Grey County Friends were well represented with William Ira Moore's encouragement. Everett Bond and I made the journey just a year ago tying past and present for Friends. We hope this Journal proves both interesting and useful.

Recently we cataloged *The Twilight Hour*, an anthology read in some Quaker homes. The title's significance referred to the end of the day when those in the household gathered and read to one another, or to themselves, at twilight before the lamp was lit. It was also a time of meditation and reflection. In our "modern" society we have the artificial lights on much of the day missing what Longfellow called, "a pause in the day's occupations/known as the children's hour." The time when we can share our day's experiences, turn aside from them, and gain perspective for our lives. Why don't we put such a pause back into our lives, whether children or adults!

The Twilight on the prairies is long and beautiful without buildings or topography to block the golden angled rays of the setting sun. Often shafts of light, Jacob's ladders, connected earth and the heavens. Nor was there much to come between an individual and nature in the process of obtaining a daily living. William I. Moore's letters from Swarthmore were a monthly feature in the early volumes of the *Canadian Friend* and he regularly shared the beauty he found in the prairie seasons. We saw the green of a gentler summer in our 1992 odyssey.

We met Friends, descendants of Friends, and made new friends in Saskatchewan at Borden,

and Unity, near Swarthmore, and at Chain Lakes, south of Hartney, in Manitoba. This, too, is a twilight hour for gathering Quaker history in the West as only a few individuals are still there to share with us. It was a twilight time to make that living connection to pass the light of history to others. Verla Armitage Haight, taken to Swarthmore in 1904-5, has lived her whole life there; Jack Whetter, the third of five generations at Chain Lakes, gave us his oral history of Hodgson forebears; and at Borden we met Hindes, Wakes and Penners. Since we were there Mary Saunders McCheane, daughter of the original founders of Halcyonia Monthly Meeting, has died. Her daughter, Ruth Bergman, carries the history forward.

It is a twilight hour, too, in our world's history as events occur in the social, political and economic spheres. These are all impacted by the environmental crises which will make yet unforeseen changes in all of our lives. Here, too, the western trip had personal impact as we saw fewer people in the landscape and the better use of resources—smaller homes had been built out of practicality, many still utilized. The Westerners understood the need to settle near and conserve water. We will not have the luxury of space and our new wilderness may be the urban jungle, but we will have to conserve space and resources.

Their overall simplicity of living and the prairie setting encouraged the development of life of the spirit and of creativity in the arts. We found this special gift in each of the Quaker communities. They pursued these paths in pauses of days and seasons supported by the families in the community. We, too, are reminded to make time for our religious and creative needs in the busy lives we lead. In twilight our eyes may perceive new light. Arnold Toynbee's theory of history included a chrysalis of ideas, usually from the religion, from which the new civilization sprang. A new age is coming in our history. We must seek in this twilight time direction and guidance, and work toward.

Lastly there is a twilight hour in the work of the Canadian Friends Historical Association as more than 20 years have passed since its founding and

we pause for perspective for the future work, some completed, some in progress and more to undertake. We need new folks to share in our enterprises.

A Grey County Quaker Odyssey

By Jane Zavitz-Bond

Now let me take you on a short account of the Quaker Odyssey Deborah Haight, Everett Bond and I took to Grey County after planning the excursion during Gerald White and Bob Alexander's visit at Yearly Meeting in August 1993.

8-28th/93: We left early from home to pick up Deborah Haight in Woodstock to drive north to Heathcote. She had made an excellent map and we enjoyed the farmland scenery of Ontario. It changes as we go north until the gorge prevents any agriculture until Beaver Valley opens out as a wedge and there is dairy and orchard acreage, so well known in Grey County. High cliffs rise on either side of this pre-glacial valley which borders Lake Huron's Georgian Bay on the north.

We arrived at Gerald and James White's old Roarke farm in early afternoon. The house built in 1853 is on the edge of Beaver Valley just north of the meetinghouse, which was moved for the Heathcote Community Center. It overlooks Blue Mountain to the east. It was preceded by a log cabin in 1847. There are two big fields for the red herd Jim White keeps, with a tributary of the Beaver running through for water. The Beaver River borders the property, an idyllic scene.

After tea and a bit of a rest, with Gerald as our guide and historian, we set out to see the Valley from Heathcote. There were five churches after its founding in the 1860's: Anglican, Wesleyan Methodist, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Friends Meeting. The townline road to Duncan goes by Mill Creek. The most active Friends in Collingwood Meeting lived along this road, which becomes gravel before we pass Jeremiah Lapp's and George Clark's former 200 acre properties side-by-side to the east.

We passed Egypt, which never had a large

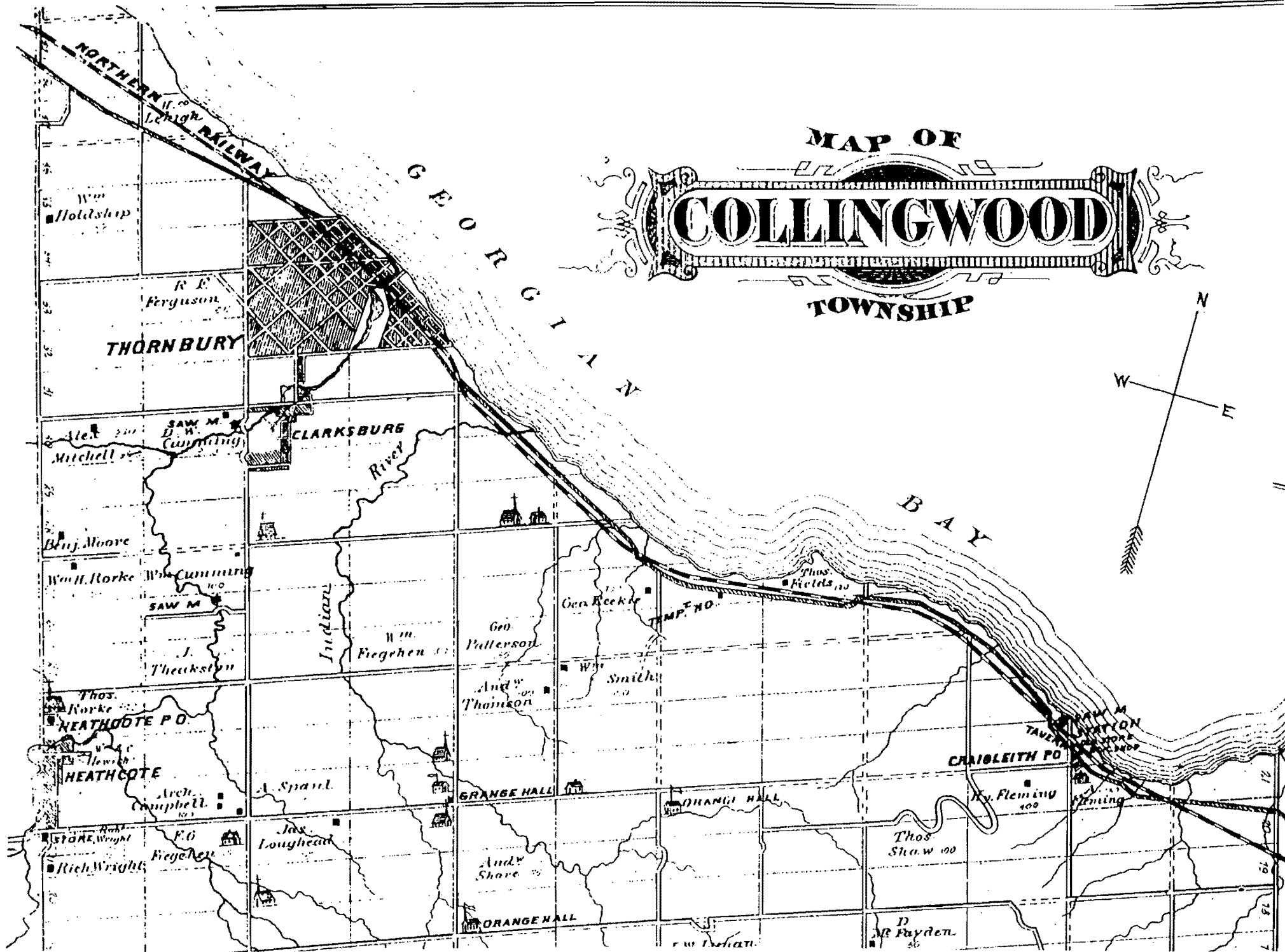
population, and would not be noticed today. There were only a few farms, ever, and now are mostly natural growth of cedar forest. They held Sunday School in the school house. The attenders came who lived near, whether Friends or not.

We went along the 10th line of Collingwood Township and crossed the valley along Mill Creek's two branches: "Germany" with gorgeous views. The outcrops of the rock cliff wall with the sun shining on them were lovely. The streams dammed earlier for mill ponds now have vacation homes around the edges. The log building on the corner became Ebenezer White's church after the new meetinghouse was built. The red brick church on the right (east) was built in 1878 on Samuel White's property beyond Grandfather's (Thomas Boothby's) place. Four Whites came in 1848. The family had ties to Budborough in Lincolnshire.

As we proceeded, S.S. 5 (school) turned up on the right (west) near 21-22 sideroad. The well kept orchards still cover nearly 5000 acres of the valley. A crop that allowed better life, and some livelihood, for settlers. So we continued around and back to Heathcote. We had supper in the trailer and said goodnight.

8-29th/93: We left after breakfast on an excursion to the north. North of Gerald's house, Joseph Roarke, a son of Richard, built a large red brick house, where an earlier log house had stood. It is now the Bed and Breakfast where Deborah stayed, enjoying it especially since she knew the Roarke's who once lived there. Across the road is a two-roomed brick school house which Gerald attended, built by Uncle Walter Roarke. Originally there was a log school where Richard taught at least one year. The burying ground was moved to Thornbury-Clarksburg. The site is a small knoll by Roarke Corner. We stopped and looked down on Heathcote.

Continuing north on townline road from the 'corner' we passed William Henry Roarke's, his second wife was the widow of Daniel Rogers, his brothers were George and Thomas. On the east back a long lane with a view of Georgian Bay is the Moore place, home of Benjamin and Hannah



Roarke Moore. Benjamin arrived in 1861. Their large family was remarkable indeed. It included Elwood, the geologist and author; Frank, the physician and poet [who's work has been reproduced in this issue - ed.'s note]; and William Ira, the Friends minister, writer-editor, and founder of Swarthmore, Saskatchewan, among others. In the distance Blue Mountain tapers into the Bay. Daniel Rogers' 200 acres was next extending to corner of Conc.1 of St. Vincent's and we left Collingwood township. (In Ontario Meetings were often named for the township in which members resided.)

We proceeded down this ancient pre-glacial valley past a buffalo farm to HW 26 past Grandview Farms and a wildlife breeding farm, more orchards, to Thornbury, population 1500. The mill pond here was center for business and now the Georgian Trail comes in, the railroad track is abandoned. The Alexander's store was here. We retraced our route on 26 and went west to Meaford.

Here we visited the cemetery high up and found the Sing family crypt. Cyrus Sing settled first in Singhampton, named for the two families who established it. He had both woolen and saw mills. As we drove in the long lane to the cemetery Gerald White suggested that Cyrus Sing, and an area Friend named Bond supplied the funds for building the meetinghouses in the area. He did build a little Chapel near his Meaford home, now gone, in which an interdenominational Sunday School was held. His home which we visited is still called Swarthmore Hall. The gateway and carriage house testify to the builder's resources, and dreams.

It was from this Monthly Meeting that William I. Moore sent materials to publicize the establishment of Swarthmore Colony in southwestern Saskatchewan. These Friends reached out to the communities around them and were faithful indeed to their beliefs. My sketches of the crypt remind me that it was 'simple' when one remembers others built in the Victorian era. A pair of swans and their cygnets on the pond behind added life and beauty to the site. The swans were also most protective keeping us at

proper admiring distance! Even so it was a bit amazing to make the discovery, thanks to Bob Alexander's directions.

Meaford was busy and industrialized in earlier years, not now. The Knight's, also Quakers, had a local factory for wood flooring. The Richardson Boat Works, not Quaker Richardson's, were here. The town site on the harbour looking across to Collingwood was beautiful on this bright summer's day. We found our way to Robert and Marie Alexander's right on the shore and shared a hospitable lunch and much conversation. We saw the Roarke chair used in the meetinghouse/church and the poetry books privately published by Frank Moore, M.D., Bob's grandfather. To hear of his life and work was also a treat. What a marvelous group of people. Again, in the settling of this area the concerns Friends have for education and human welfare can still be seen in the results today. The concerns are still carried by their descendants, even though they are no longer

Friends. This was brought out again recently for Yonge Street at the Hicksite Burying Ground plaquing, and by some who came to a talk at Yonge Street Meetinghouse earlier in August about its history and Friends way of life which made them excited about the heritage because it was verified. Such makes this work valid.

Our next journey to the west took us into the next Valley and the peninsula to look for the site of another preparative meeting north-west of Woodford, which we were unable to find. We did find the site at Woodford, and took pictures of a house, south of the Meaford Firing Range(!) with a back portion said to be a meetinghouse. It certainly looked like it could have been. We went south from 26 in Woodford to the site where the Luton's and Knight's lived. The little burial site is still kept. I saw the marker for the woman who wore the bonnet for her marriage at Yonge Street in the early 1840's before going to Woodford as a bride. She saved it and put a shawl over her head because the branches and briars would snag it; now it is one of the loveliest extant bonnets given to us by Audrey Duff, a direct

descendant.

So we came back to Heathcote taking another cut across country. Gerald had directed and shared with us all what he could barely see, but knew so well he could locate the places and speak of people from memory. We are indebted to him for this trip. Before supper Everett and I walked with James White over the fields to the herd at the back and saw the Highland Longhorn bull, the cows and the calves. Blue, the farm dog paced us along. The farm is beautiful; a home such as that surely evokes love of beauty and related attributes in the family. I suggest there is evidence of this, too!

After supper we looked up and here were Bob and Marie coming to see if our afternoon had been successful, and bringing lovely jars of honey for each family or household. A sweet farewell. (Excuse the pun!) We extended the day with lights and looked at a number of books which Gerald had relating to the township and county. He helped with the preparation of some of these. He was still making additions and corrections in some volumes! He is meticulous in his work, and we are the benefactors. We were better prepared for the journey for having read the material Gerald wrote for CFHA's the "Grey County" issue. His career as an editor bore fruit in retirement! The trip to Swarthmore, Sask., was also supported by seeing where a number of those pioneer settlers came from.

Early Sunday we left for Camp Nee-Kau-Nis at Waubashene and arrived in time to share meeting for worship with the Friends Campers in the retired category called 'C.O.D./Carry On Discovering. We are! Bill and Rosemary McMechan were serving as the intrepid leaders. So there is still an active Friends center on Georgian Bay. The story of Nee-Kau-Nis is a saga for the future. We continued east and north to visit other sites in Everett's family history before returning to Pickering and another year of school. Next summer Everett wants to visit in the Maritimes. There is already a map made to follow early Quaker history there. I might be convinced to follow it.

NEWS & NOTES

Forthcoming CFHA events:

- 1) As has become traditional, the Canadian Friends Historical Association will host a summer gathering during Canadian Yearly Meeting. On Monday, 7 August, the CFHA will join the Teen Programme in a visit to the Dartmouth Quaker Whaler's House (50 miles from Dartmouth). To whet your appetite, we have appended a copy of the minute of removal of the first Friends to settle in the area to the end of the News and Notes.
- 2) The CFHA annual meeting 1994 will take place at Pickering College, Newmarket, ON, Saturday, 15 October 1994. The guest speaker will be Gregory Finnegan of Ottawa. See the notice on the back page for further information. All are welcome.

Our Changing Look:

As you may have noticed, the Canadian Quaker History Journal has a new look again. We have been experimenting to find a format which looks good and is easy to read. In this issue, we are experimenting with a two column format, which decreases the number of pages per issue (and hence our production costs), eases legibility, and gives us a less messy appearance. Let us know how we have succeeded.

Death notices:

- Elwyn Armitage "Al" Rogers (1915-1994) died on 16 February 1994 and was buried in Pinehill Cemetery, Scarborough, ON. He was the son of David P. Rogers and Anna (Armitage) Rogers of Newmarket. He did extensive research into the Rogers family, and was a life member of CFHA. His son, David, hopes to write the family history. He was known for his quiet faithfulness. We extend our sympathy to his wife, Margaret, and their family, and to his sister, Marian Thomson.
- Helen Elizabeth "Beth" Johnston Jones (1935-1994), died 6 May 1994. A memorial service was held on 28 May in the Sharon Temple. Beth was the business manager and volunteer co-ordinator

at the Sharon Temple Museum. Few who have visited the Temple could have missed her warm smile and quiet generosity. We extend our sympathy to her mother, Helen Johnston, her husband Don, and her children.

New Archives Pamphlet:

The Committee on Records of Canadian Yearly Meeting has issued a new pamphlet entitled "From the Meeting House to the Archives: What Does the Archives Want?" The pamphlet clearly explains what meeting records should be preserved, how they should be preserved, and explains the role of the archives in their long-term preservation. A copy of the pamphlet can be obtained from the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives, Pickering College, 16945 Bayview Ave., Newmarket, Ont., L3Y 4X2.

Peace Museum:

The 1993 annual meeting of CFHA discussed prospects for a Peace Museum project which has been long promoted. Originally a concern of Ottawa Friends' Meeting, Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) annual meeting asked Ottawa Friends for a progress report. They have responded that they had made no progress, but hope that the CFSC will continue to work with the idea of establishing a museum.

Genealogy at the Sharon Temple:

Many descendants of Friends from the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting also have ties to the Children of Peace, the Quaker sect which built the Sharon Temple. The Sharon Temple Museum has recently started a genealogical newsletter for descendants, titled **TEMPLE Trees**, the first issue of which was sent out in early July. The newsletter is sent out regularly to members of the Sharon Temple Museum Society (a public, non-profit charitable corporation), but a complementary copy can be had by indicating your tie to the Children of Peace and sending a large, stamped, self-addressed envelope to the Sharon Temple Museum, 18974 Leslie St., Sharon Ont., L0G 1V0.

Heritage Partners:

The membership program at the Toronto Historical Board includes public history programs at 5 museums: Fort York, Spadina, Mackenzie House, Colbourne Lodge, Maritime Museum, as well as at the office of the Toronto Historical Board, 205 Yonge St. Popular special events are guided walking tours, lecture series, plaquing, maintenance and restoration of the city's public monuments. For information, contact: Toronto Historical Board (416) 392-6835.

CFHA Liaison with other Heritage Groups:

1994 has been a busy year for Metro Heritage groups. Heritage Showcase was observed at Sherway Gardens where a number of heritage organizations participated in a three-day presentation. CFHA did not take part because of the length of the event. A report has been prepared on Toronto's Waterfront, and is being studied. The Toronto Historical Board unveiled a plaque marking the Daniel Brooke building at 152 King Street East (north side of King St a short distance east of the St Lawrence Hall). The building was beautifully restored. I attended the ceremony. The year 1994 marks many anniversaries, including the 125th anniversary of the York Pioneer and Historical Society, the 200th for Scadding Cabin on the Don, which has been located in the CNE grounds at the foot of Dufferin St since 1879, and the 100th anniversary of Massey Hall.

David McFall

Norfolklore '94:

18th annual Genealogy Fair, Saturday, 24 September 1994 at the Eva Brook Donly Museum, Norfolk Historical Society, 109 Norfolk St South, Simcoe, ON, N3Y 2W3, admission \$4.

The Ontario Genealogical Society

has published an article of interest in *Families*, Vol 33 No. 2, May 1994, p.67, "Genealogical Resources at the Canadiana Department, North York Public Library" by Philip Singer.

Toronto Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society

will have a complete list of Ontario Cemeteries available at Toronto Tree in 1994.

The Ontario Historical Society

is now located at 34 Parkview Avenue, Willowdale, ON, M2N 3Y2. The OHS also has available *A Directory of Heritage Organizations*, 1992, \$10.

For any of our members involved in heritage sites, the Government of Canada's new Parks Policy: *Parks Canada - New Guiding Principles & Operation Policies* may be obtained from the Department of Canadian Heritage, Communications Branch, 10th floor - Room 10H2, 25 Eddy Street, Hull, Quebec K1A 0M5.

ACQUISITIONS

by the Dorland Friends Collection

Gifts:

Corson, Lily, compiler, *Quakers Listed in Canadian Census Records*, additional extracts. Plenty, SA, 1994.

Davis, Bruce Pettit, and Carrol Langstaff Davis. *The Davis Family and the Leather Industry 1834-1934*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1934. Donated by Louise and Terry Carter, 1987.

Hill, Thomas C., compiled by. *Monthly Meetings in North America: A Quaker Index*. Third Edition. Cincinnati, OH: Thomas C. Hill, 1994. Donated by Thomas C. Hill.

Johnston, Helen. *The Lundys of Whitchurch: A Family History*. Queensville, Ont.: Photocopy of handwritten text, 1983. Donated by Helen Johnston, 1994.

Ontario Historical Society. *Hometown History: highlighting your heritage*. Toronto: OHS, c1992. Donated by Douglas Woods, 1994.

Tyson, John Shoemaker (A Citizen of Balti-

more). *Life of Elisha Tyson, the Philanthropist*. Baltimore: Benjamin Lundy, 1825. Facsimile reprint by the Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1994. Donated by Ronald E. Mattson, Baltimore M.M., 1994.

Wigham, Mabel. *Mabel Wigham's Journal of year 1769 and year 1770*. Copied from the original notes by Alice Thompson Wigham, Toronto, 1969-70. Donated by John D. Knowles, 1994.

Purchases:

Bronner, Edwin B. *William Penn: The Peace of Europe, The Fruits of Solitude and Other Writings*. Everyman Library Edition. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co. Inc., 1993.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. America: A Cultural History, Volume I. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Johns, David L., ed. *Hope & A Future*. Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1993.

Plimpton, Ruth Talbot. *Mary Dyer: Biography of a Rebel Quaker*. Boston: Branden Publishing Co., 1994.

Swayne, Kingdon W. *George School: The History of a Quaker Community*. Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Religious Society of Friends, 1992. Autographed by author, 1994.

Quakers at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Dartmouth, Nova Scotia 10th m 12th 1786

To the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Nantucket

Dear Friends,

In behalf of ourselves and others removed here being members of your meeting and known to you, Desire we may have a certified list of the names of ourselves and familys, and Liberty to hold a Meeting for Worship on the first and fifth days of the week, apprehending it to be our indispensible duty, and with this advice of our Friends John Townsend, Joseph Moore and Abraham Gibbons have for sometime past held a Meeting on first day all which we submit to the

Monthly Meeting aforesaid wishing you to take it into solid consideration. From your loving Friends Samuel Starbuck, Abigail Starbuck, Abial Folger, Seth Coleman, Deborah Coleman, Tristram Swain, Rachel Swain, Peter Macy, Sarah Macy, Samuel Starbuck Junr., Lucretia Starbuck, Judith Bunker, Phebe Coffin.

At a Monthly Meeting of Friends held on Nantucket the 27th of 8th mo. 1787.

Whereas several families of the People called Quakers have removed from this island and settled at Dartmouth in Nova Scotia and having requested of this meeting a Certified List of their names and right of membership with us. We hereby Certify that the following persons removed thither are members of our Society and of this particular Monthly Meeting, Viz.

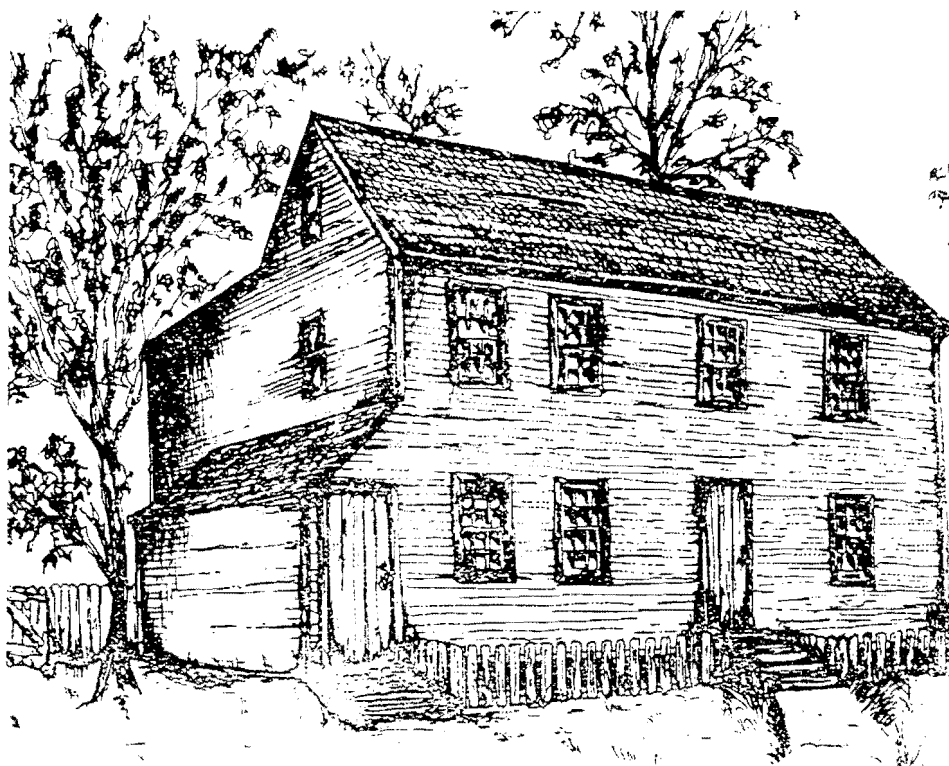
Samuel Starbuck and Abigail his wife. Abiel Folger, wife of Timothy Folger and Benjamin Folger their son. Seth Coleman and Deborah his wife and nine children namely Susanna, John Brown, Elizabeth, Rebeckah, Sarah, Lydia, Avis, Deborah, and Charles Howland. Judith Bunker

wife of Zachariah Bunker and their three children namely, Sarah, Lydia and Robert. Jonathan Coffin and Phebe his wife and their four children namely Laban, Lydia, Paul and Ruth. Tristram Coffin Junr and Rachel his wife and their five children namely Phebe, Obed, Thimbal, Rachel and Elihu. Elizabeth Ray wife of William Ray Junr. and their three children namely Nathaniel, Abiel and Elizabeth. Peter Macy and Sarah Macy his wife and two children namely Timothy and Alexander. Samuel Starbuck Junr. and Lucretia his wife and two children namely Benjamin and George. George Macy son of George Macy deceased, and Mary Swain.

Signed in and by direction of our said Monthly Meeting by Wm. Rotch Junr. Clerk.

P.S. Silas Swain son of Tristram Swain Junr. being about to go with his father has also a birthright with us. Wm Rotch Junr. Clerk.

(From the Minutes of Dartmouth Preparative Meeting, microfilmed by the Nantucket Athenium, July 1974. A copy of the microfilm is in the Dorland Room.)



Quaker Whaling House, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Notice of the Annual Meeting
of the
Canadian Friends Historical Association

Sifton Library
Pickering College
16945 Bayview Ave.,
Newmarket, Ont.
Tel. (905) 895-1700

Saturday, 15 October, 1994

Business Meeting	10:00
Lunch	12:00
Programme	1:00
Dorland Room Celebration	4:00

The guest speaker will be Dr. Gregory Finnegan of Ottawa, a geographer, speaking on "Early Friends Settlement in Adolphus (West Lake)". Following the afternoon programme, interested participants are invited to join us in a short celebration marking the completion of the cataloging of the Dorland Friends Historical Collection. Plan to attend! All welcome.

Welcome and Coffee at 9:45