

Collingwood Meeting House
c. 1861

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Editorial

Patterns, Connections and Contrasts

Each issue of the Canadian Quaker History Journal brings new information, and also the question of how this new information fits into what we know, or thought we knew. How does, for example, the experience of Canadian Friends with the relocation of Japanese in British Columbia compare with the experience of Quakers in the Western United States? Or with the experience of those British Friends who were involved with camps set up for Boers during the South African War a generation earlier? If there are differences, how do we account for them? Was the experience of Canadian women Quakers in the 19th and early 20th century similar or dissimilar to that of women Quakers in the United States or Great Britain?

The mystery writer Tony Hillerman has a series of mysteries set on the Navajo Reservation in the southwestern United States. In *Coyote Waits* (1990), one of Hillerman's characters, a member of the Navajo Tribal Police named Joe Leaphorn, recounts a story of how when he was a student at Arizona State, he tried to impress his more traditional uncle, a man named Haskie Jim, with his newly acquired knowledge of mathematics. The two men were discussing the concept of "randomness" while watching the rain fall. Leaphorn used the rain falling as an example of randomness. His uncle thought about it for a time, and then said, "I think from where we stand the rain seems random. If we could stand somewhere else, we would see the order in it."

So, I open each new issue of the Journal and, consciously or not, seek to understand the patterns, the connections. How does this information fit, or not fit, into what is known? If it doesn't fit, how can we challenge the readers of the Journal to do the research and thinking necessary to make sense of the new information?

At a recent meeting of the Executive

Committee of the Canadian Friends Historical Association, we discussed the need for a directory of the historic meeting houses and related Quaker structures in Canada. Here too, the question of patterns and relationships emerges.

Take the design of meeting houses. Does the architecture of the early meeting houses of Upper Canada derive directly from the architecture of meeting house in New York, Vermont, New Jersey or Pennsylvania? Did the first settlers build according to a vernacular tradition, or were their designs modified? If modified, why? Is there a relationship between the building forms used by Quakers in the early 19th century, and the forms used by early Methodist or other dissenters? What accounts for apparent breaks in the pattern of the built environment, either the seemingly major break between the Quaker architecture and the structures built by the Children of Peace, or the more subtle changes in the forms and layout of meeting houses over the course of the 19th century?

The search for pattern, either in the historical literature or in the built environment, carries its own dangers. We appear to be culturally or even essentially disposed to see patterns and connections, sometimes when there may be no pattern at all. If anything, the danger of making false associations increases with knowledge. Or, to put it another way, if you have a hammer, everything begins to look like a nail. It is our job as alert readers of and writers for this journal both to look patterns and connections, and also to read the articles with an awareness that what we think we know may not always be so. Or, to modify the comment by Haskie Jim, maybe if we stood somewhere else, we could see a new and different pattern. So, enjoy this issue of the Canadian Quaker History Journal.

Christopher Densmore,
Chair,

Canadian Friends Historical Association.

From the Dorland Room...

A High Flight - Some perspectives

Returning from Pendle Hill on 4-18-97, the flight followed the pathway of Friends' westward settlements. I saw the Susquehanna large and serpentine with the streams flowing in and the valleys nestled among the hills which sheltered the newcomers' homes and provided the small farms, orchards, and grazing for their stock. It reminded me of a Grant Wood painting, in greater miniature, or the Stevenson poem when a child flies over the garden wall in a swing and sees the world beyond spread out to view. The ideal overview, for the moment, obscures the imperfections. As clouds moved in I was free to ponder - in the present. Perfection is possible but not yet achieved! Indeed at times it appears to be further away, but we continue to strive. The lightness of tone should not detract from my real concerns for the present. We must not take ourselves too seriously, but we need to keep the long perspectives of history. That is easier for me now than fifty years ago. The flight landed.

Retirement should allow perspective, but one can also be very busy trying to do all the things that were put off until... Everett Bond and I want to visit meetings to work on the long planned Canadian Quaker Directory. Retirement should free me to work in the CYM Archives, a goal long anticipated. The delay has been my father's recuperation after being struck by a car on Jan. 31st. He will walk again, and I will be here more. My parents, at 92, are amazing and I am thankful indeed. My interests spring from their sharing the love for books, history, music, yes, and schools during my growing up.

Meanwhile the Dorland, and the rest of the Archives were not isolated. We were pleased to receive word the end of April that the Archives Association of Ontario, through the Canadian Council of Archives Board of Director's review of applications, recommended a matching grant to the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives of the

Religious Society of Friends at Pickering College for \$6400. The Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC), which generated these records, approved \$7500 to continue the work. These should permit completion of the project, a great step forward for the Archives.

Sandra Fuller has continued the project at least a day a week and has taken and received messages. I have been in touch by phone, been here for some working days, as now. You can call me in Sparta at (519) 775-2463. The College number will reach the Library Staff (905) 895-1700, ext. 242, and you may leave a message, if not urgent. The queries are beginning to come from the web page. In the future we hope to connect with other Quaker libraries and archives using webpac to permit easy sharing of resources.

Martin Donald has been in touch with Don Knight and the Whites in Grey County where a nucleus is perhaps forming a worship group after many years. Diane Hamilton has been working on a further paper related to Quaker women and traditional lore as lifestyle is related to Friends beliefs. The Armitage genealogists continue to write and phone. The OGS volume celebrating 200 years of Yonge Street had nearly forty articles, including my "Quakers of Yonge Street". It was quipped to be "the longest book signing ever, to match the longest street in the world". The work will go on.

Acquisitions

- Video, reformatted, taken in China during WWII Friends Ambulance Unit days on colour movie film by Gordon Keith, a member of the China unit. Donated by Gordon Keith of Oro Station, ON., May, 1997.

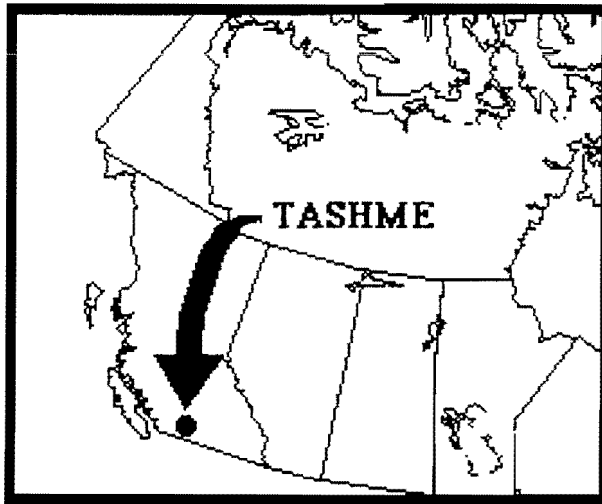
- Quaker Studies: The Journal of the Quaker Studies Research Association and the Centre for Quaker Studies, University of Sunderland. Vol. I, No. 1 (Winter 1996) ISSN:1363-013x. This complimentary copy

Continued on page 29

WESTERN FRIENDS

Experience of the Spirit in my life

(A review of the presentation at Canadian Yearly Meeting, Sorrento, 1996)



TASHME RELOCATION CENTRE

Winifred Awmack, Victoria Meeting

I was in an SCM study group in August 1944 when a request was made for help at a camp for girls from the Japanese Relocation Centre of Tashme. I went and had not been in the camp an hour before I was asked to come to Tashme and teach the science. They had 90 students coming into Grade 9, making almost 200 students in the High School and none of the three teachers had any science training. I felt I had to go even though I had no teaching training or experience.

When the Federal Government refused to provide High School in the Camp, the United Church minister, Rev. McWilliams, was asked by the parents if the church could do anything. He asked for help from the Womens Missionary Society. May McLachlan, a recent missionary to Japan, came at once, in January of 1943, and arranged for the students to take correspondence courses from Victoria. Later that year, Rev. McWilliams, known to us all as Mr. Mac., was able to get the release of Ernie Best, a conscientious objector who had been kicked out of Emanuel College in

Toronto because he refused to take officer training, to teach at the high school set up by the United Church. He had to teach the science, even though his training was in theology, history and philosophy. He shared a log cabin with Mr. Mac. Miss Greenbank, also a returned missionary, who had run a girl's school in Japan, came to Tashme at the same time as me, in Sept. 1944. I joined Miss McL. and Miss Greenbank in one of the tar paper shacks in the main part of the camp.

Mr. Mac. and the four teachers had our meals together in our "shack" in the Japanese Community. I found that as we sat around the breakfast table, it was the custom for one person to read aloud portions of a book and then lead in prayer. The leadership rotated around the group. The first book we read was Thomas Kelly's Testament of Devotion. During the first term, I'm afraid I often 'overslept' on my day to lead, but I found later that it became one of the most important activities to keep us on track - aware of the difficulties for our students and their families- and able to bring some strength and hope to the students in this very difficult time. In over two years, almost all the books we read were by Quaker authors. When I think back to why women and a minister who trained and worked in the United Church were using Quaker materials for worship, I feel that the books we read gave a way of dealing with difficulties and conflicts in a way that gave strength and courage to the person without demeaning others in the process. It was up to each one of us to act in whatever situation arose with a kindness and concern for the people involved, looking for a positive attitude and action to deal with whatever arose.

My experience at Tashme was not easy but was very rewarding. Our students faced very difficult decisions, and are now leaders in their communities across Canada.

TASHME - Japanese Relocation Camp

W. J. Awmack

I hope in this brief statement to tell you a little of my experience in the Japanese Relocation camp of Tashme. This is more fully reported in my booklet, Tashme, a Japanese Relocation Centre 1942-1946.

After Pearl Harbour in December 1941 there was great political pressure put on the Federal government to move the Japanese from the coast. The decision was made that no person of Japanese ancestry could remain within 100 miles of the coast. Many were sent first to Exhibition Park to live in the livestock barns until they could be moved to ghost towns in the BC Interior such as Greenwood, Kaslo, New Denver and Slocan. A group of more than 3000 people were put up in hastily built housing on the Trites Ranch at 14 Mile on the old Royal Engineer's Road from Hope to Princeton. It was just beyond the 100 mile limit.

Early in March 1942, the Dominion Government appointed three commissioners as the B.C. Security Commission to be in charge of moving the Japanese from the coast. The first three men on it were Mr. Austin Taylor, Mr. Shirras of the B.C. Provincial Police and J. Meade, Deputy Commissioner of the RCMP. The name of the new camp, TASHME, was derived from their surnames TAYlor, SHirras and MEade. The Security Commission, known to us only as the Commission, had rented the Trites Ranch for a Japanese Relocation Centre.

Tashme is in a triangular-shaped valley, at an elevation of 2200 feet, perhaps one mile wide and four miles long, lying between high mountains up to 6000 ft., which rise very sharply from the three sides of the valley. The altitude gave Tashme an Interior climate with winter temperatures often down to 0° F or lower, with a short cool growing season. The location was one of great beauty and majesty but the

The location was one of great beauty and majesty but the Japanese Canadian people there saw in the mountains, not only grandeur but also an ever-present symbol of a barrier, almost a prison wall, that isolated them from the outside world and emphasized their lack of freedom.

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The people moved into Tashme starting September 8, 1942. There was no schooling for months. Then the government said that it would provide only elementary school education but would provide some carpentry for the boys and clerical or similar skills for the girls.

The Commission did not want the high school in Tashme. I have a copy of a letter dated Dec. 18, 1943 from George Collins, the top commissioner of the B.C. Security

Commission to Mr. Hartley who was head of the Commission in Tashme which states: "Will you kindly convey to the Parent Teachers Association of Tashme that additional or alternative High School facilities will not be provided or authorized at the present time." They refused both the

parents and the church permission to put up a building for the high school.

The parents felt that this was not good enough. They went to Rev. McWilliams of the United Church who was working in Tashme and said: Can the church do something? Our children need high school or they will always be labourers." Mr. Mac, as Rev. McWilliams was known to us, knew that May McLachlan had returned from Japan the previous summer on the first trip of the M.V. Gripsholm with returning Canadians. She had left to go to New York to study at Union Theological College. Mr. Mac phoned her and told her of the situation. Could she come back and help? Miss Mac was delighted and returned west at once.

The Women's Missionary Society had sufficient funds to carry the cost of the school, salaries and activities. May McLachlan who had spent many years with the United Church in rural Japan had started

the High School with Doug Saunders of the Commission Welfare Department in January, 1943.

Because the Commission refused to allow for a building to be built we used the public school rooms after they finished classes for the day.

One day in the summer of 1943, Joe Awmack was in the SCM room on the campus at U.B.C., when Ernie Best, an alternative service worker, at Port Alberni, came to the campus on a short leave. Ernie was from Toronto but had been sent to B.C. to work for the Forest Service cutting snags on Vancouver Island. Joe was aware of the need for teachers at Tashme and asked Ernie if he would be interested in teaching the Japanese students. Ernie was very interested as the work in forestry was not the work for he was accustomed to. He was directed to Rev. McWilliams, who was working with the people at Tashme and very concerned for the education of the young people. Mr. Mac took it from there and got three young men released from the forestry camps to teach the Japanese. Ernie went with Mr. Mac to Tashme and the others were assigned to relocation centres in the interior of B.C. In September Ernie was teaching at Tashme and had the job of preparing to teach sciences, hardly the subject for one trained in history and philosophy!

Miss Mac told me of sitting down a few nights before school opened in September 1943, trying to learn French in order to teach it, when Mr. Mac came in and said "I've brought someone who will teach the French. It was Ernie Best. She said it meant so much to have him to share the teaching. I think it was during that year that the school became an organized school body with a school song and a student council that looked after a lot of the non-academic activities of the school including a music appreciation period once a week, sports, recreation, and a school annual.

Joe returned to U.B.C. in the fall with a teaching fellowship but kept in touch with Ernie during the year and was aware of the problems of teaching physics without a good grounding in the subject. He arranged to visit Tashme at the end of the University term to lend a hand. The end of April saw him teaching review classes in physics to

grade nine and ten students. He says it was one of the most interesting teaching he ever did as the students were so anxious to learn.

Near the end of July 1944 Joe and I were both in attendance at an SCM study group in Vancouver. After the discussion Joe said that he had been up in the Japanese Relocation Centre at Tashme. He said that there was to be a summer camp for girls at Six mile near Hope and that they needed some women as leaders. I had two weeks holidays coming and had found SCM camps interesting so I said I would go to this camp in August. The night before it opened May McLachlan phoned me to say "Don't come. A number of the girls cannot come so that we won't need the extra help." I thought for a few minutes and said that if she didn't object I would come as I could not change my holidays. She agreed to my request.

I arrived by bus at Six Mile -- an old logging camp on Nicolum River just at the bottom of Six Mile Hill on the old Engineers Road to Princeton. We were in tents with a good log building that served as kitchen, dining room and meeting place. I had only been there an hour or so when I was asked to come to Tashme to teach the science. There were 90 students coming into Grade 9 and they had no one to teach the science. My first reaction was to say "Can't you get a qualified teacher? ". " Nobody will come to this isolated place." I had no teacher training or experience but I did have training in the sciences. I felt that I could not say that I believed in the brotherhood of man and refuse this challenge. I said that I would come if I could be released by the company as we were considered "essential" to the war effort. My boss said "If this is something you feel you should do, we will release you to go."

On Labour Day weekend some friends took me, with all the science books and notes that I had, up to Tashme at 14 mile on the road where Sunshine Village on the Hope Princeton Highway is now. At that time, the road was under construction up to 4 Mile and from there on it was a narrow winding road up all the way to the Trites Ranch. After we came through the farm gates we passed 4 or 5 log cabins on the right. They were used by non-Japanese as the farm and road foremen, the Anglican

church workers, and one for the United Church minister and the male High School teacher. Across the road from these cabins were a piggery and blacksmith shop. At the end of the road was a large horse barn. The road turned at right angles and ran between two very large dairy barns with a low sheep barn attached to the one on the east side of the road. These buildings were given letters. The southern half or one third of the sheep barn was the "A" building and was used for primary grades of public school in the daytime and for High School at night and for the United church services. The other part of the sheep barn was used to house older single men of the camp. The two storeys of the large barn adjoining the sheep barn were divided up into one room apartments about 20 feet square which, when I was there, had to have 5 people each. There was a communal kitchen at the south end of each floor. This was "C" Building.

We reported to the RCMP office, left the car and walked past the white Anglican church building set in a lovely grove of trees. The Anglicans provided a very much-needed kindergarten and a place for women to meet in small groups, as well as providing Anglican services. Then we passed the office of the Shinwa-kai, the Japanese council that sent out notices in Japanese on events in the community, changes in government regulations etc. These were distributed daily, or as needed, as a sheet on a clipboard, that was delivered to the first house on each avenue. Someone in each household read the notices and took the clipboard to the next house. It was a very efficient way of getting news around the community quickly. We walked down to 401 Fourth Avenue where the women teachers of the United Church lived. The dreary greyness of the tar-paper on the houses was relieved by the three foot garden in front of each house, sometimes with flowers and sometimes with vegetables or both.

There were ten avenues of houses with about twenty houses on each side of the first few avenues and by the Tenth Avenue there were only ten or twelve on each side. The

rows of houses ended in a straight line. There were four bath-houses that ran length-wise across the end of the avenues. Beyond these were the fields in which Commission grew carrots, celery and cabbage for the store, and fodder for the horses. At the other end, the Sumallo River made the road slope at an angle. North of Tenth Avenue there were allotment gardens for those who wished to use them. They were very well cared for and helped provide vegetables and flowers for the families.

Each house was 14 feet wide and 24 feet long, built with a single layer of ship-lap and covered with tar-paper on the outside, and a single layer of grey building paper on the inside, hence the common name of "tar-paper shacks". The central room in each shack was a kitchen, 8 feet wide and 14 feet deep, with a cook stove and sink on the back wall and an oval tin heater about three

The dreary greyness of the tar-paper on the houses was relieved by the three foot garden in front of each house...

feet from the front wall. Two bedrooms, 7 feet by 8 feet took up the area on one side of the kitchen, and another area of eight by fourteen was on the other side. I understand that this was originally intended as a place where the family could store their belongings. Because there were often two families

sharing a house, with up to twelve or more persons, this second space was frequently divided into two bedrooms like the other side. There were wooden double-bed bunks built into each bedroom, sometimes there were bunks one above the other, so that four people slept in a bedroom. For some reason, unknown to me, doors were not allowed on these rooms. Curtains were used instead, perhaps because they took up less room. Where two families were in a house there would often be two small tables in the kitchen. Kerosene lamps were used for lighting. Each family had to put their lamps outside on the doorstep each morning and the kerosene man would come by and fill them as needed. No one was allowed to keep kerosene in the house - it would be too tempting to use to accelerate a slow fire in the cook stove.

Katherine Greenbank was the principal from August 1944 till the close of camp in August 1946. She had been principal of a

large girls school in Japan for many years. I lived with Miss Mac and Katherine, in one of the tar-paper covered shacks similar to all the rest. Mrs. Aoki, a neighbour, made our main meal while we were at school. She usually made us western meals but we sometimes had Japanese cooking. She was a delightful person to know and made our life much easier.

When school opened in September of 1944, we had four teachers and 90 students in grade 9, about 40 in grade 10, perhaps 30 in grade 11, and probably 15 to 20 in grade 12. We also had a number of students who were taking correspondence courses, direct from Victoria, mostly in mechanical drawing and similar subjects.

Katherine, Miss Mac, and I were in Tashme until its close in August 1946. Ernie Best taught from September 1943 to August of 1945. When Ernie went back to Emmanuel College in September 1945, Jim Williams took his place.

The science lab was a joke. I think we had two loose cattle stalls with the stanchions along the side walls, probably about ten feet square as two separate rooms. There was a central table about three feet at the most wide by about eight feet in length. As equipment we had about 50 test tubes, a dozen erlenmeyer flasks, a few beakers and a pound each of potassium chlorate, manganese dioxide and sulphur. That's all. I went back to the lab at Canadian Fishing Company and was given small amounts of chemicals we could use in our experiments. They also gave me a small balance that had been put up in the attic because it lacked its big weight. One of the men there made a weight for it from a lead fish weight. I still use this scale for weights of chemicals for fertilizer under 500 grams. Because of the crowded space and lack of equipment many of the experiments had to be done by a few students and the rest watching.

Because the Correspondence courses were intended for children in isolated places and on farms we were able to do many of the experiments using kitchen utensils. At one point in the grade nine science course there was a description of various sea creatures other than fish. When I told one of the men in the Canadian Fishing Company

lab., in Vancouver, that we would like to see a few of these if they turned up on the dock. He had a fisherman keep an octopus, flat fish and various other sea creatures and sent them up with the regular weekly fish delivery to the butcher shop. Most of these critters went home with various students for supper. They knew how to use them even if I didn't. The grade 11 students had to submit their lab books to Victoria with their final exam, set for the province by the Education Department. They all passed.

—THE SIGNING FOR REPATRIATION—

On January 1 1945, the Americans allowed their Japanese to return to coastal areas. The people in Tashme were beginning to hope that Canada might follow the American example. There was no such action from the government. Most of the students expected that, unless they were able to move east earlier, they would be in the camp until the end of the war and then would move east or back to their former homes. They were once more fairly secure after the shock of the evacuation. That hope was shattered by two signs posted March 16, 1945 around the camp, on the light poles, commission buildings, post office, etc.

These notices signed by T. B. Pickersgill, Commissioner of Japanese Placement and Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labour, were followed by instruction for every person of Japanese origin 16 years of age and over to report to R.C.M.P. Detachment on April 9 - 13 to signify his or her intention concerning repatriation. In my annual report to the WMS, written in March 1946, I wrote: "The next three weeks, the uppermost topic in everyone's mind was "What are we going to do? Their property, real and personal, which at the time of the evacuation was left in the hands of the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property, had been sold largely without their consent and often without their knowledge.

During Easter week the public school was on holidays so we used that time for the Easter exams which could be held during the day. When exams were being held, the documents to be signed came to Tashme.

The night they came a meeting was held for all Nisei (Canadian born Japanese). Most of the older students went. They could not sign for "repatriation" without also signing away their birthright of Canadian Citizenship. They came back to study, some bitter at the injustice of the whole thing, all of them very much disturbed.

"Their Easter holidays were in the week of the signing. Many older people as well as boys and girls signed thinking that they could cancel it later. Boys and girls unwillingly signed so that their families would not be broken up."

Mr. Mac spent a lot of time with families at their request discussing what they would do. Both parents and children had enough English and Japanese to discuss household things and general conversation, but lacked the words in the other's language to discuss citizenship and all the implications of this decision. Mr. Mac acted as an interpreter and advisor on how they could manage if they stayed in Canada. There had always been censorship of all outgoing and incoming mail of the Japanese but now it was even more stringent. Students said they had letters from older brothers or sisters in the east and that so much had been censored out of the letters that they were almost unreadable and what was left didn't make sense. Anything that suggested that they not sign was censored out. There were no phones available to the Japanese so they couldn't phone or wire their children or friends for advice. The RCMP were more visible. One was sent to attend the Japanese church services to see what Mr. Mac was telling the people. That didn't stop him from encouraging the people to refuse to sign for repatriation.

Some older students said that the RCMP officers had told them that they would later be able to cancel their "signing" to go to Japan. At a later date three Grade 10 and 12 girls were called up before the head of the RCMP on this issue. They had to go for questioning alone, without parents or other

adults for support, to answer their affidavits to this effect. I don't think they were ever told the outcome of this scary encounter. Ruth, the youngest of the three, said that "letters of revocation were sent to Commander Gray and to various other people including the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Justice. Mr. Mac undoubtedly advised us to do this."

They returned to the RCMP office with signed statements and they were accepted. Ruth says they wanted to know who wrote her statement and she told them she did. It was a scary experience for the girls. Since no adult could go with them for support, the teachers sat in our house and held them in prayer during these interviews. If my memory is correct the girls could not leave the camp till it closed a year later.

August 5th. the war ended. When we came back in late August those who had refused to sign had been moved out and had been replaced by families from other camps who had signed to go to Japan. With the war ended, people wanted to change their mind about going to Japan. They came to our house and asked Miss Mac to write a letter for them to the government asking that

Early in September Mr. Mac wrote to the Prime Minister and said: "I am personally skeptical, sir, about action of Government which encourages people comprising a minority group to surrender their citizenship status..."

it cancel their request for repatriation. These letters had to go to the Prime Minister and the heads of four government departments. Miss Mac would write down what the person wanted said and I would type it out with a total of seven copies - five to send away to the government, one for the family and the last copy I kept. I think I probably did close to 200 sets of these letters. No one ever got an answer. Some families wrote several times, asking for an answer to their request but none came.

At a supper meeting a committee representing a section of the community reported their reasons for hesitating to go east last spring and indicated various factors that contributed finally to their decision to sign the "expatriation" forms. They also stated their hopes that they be given a chance to remain in Canada, living wherever they

might be free to secure a livelihood.

Early in September Mr. Mac wrote to the Prime Minister and said: "I am personally skeptical, sir, about action of Government which encourages people comprising a minority group to surrender their citizenship status, and this I believe to be a mild interpretation of what happened in the process that obtained when the signatures were taken in April and the following months. The voluntary element in that process was frequently so ambiguous as to border on pressure."

In September, Jesse Arnup, the Moderator of the United Church, was in Vancouver for meetings. He had one free day for rest, and asked Mr. Mac if he would take him to Tashme to meet the people there. At the meeting he asked the people why they had signed to go to Japan and they told him. Many hadn't heard from their relatives for years and didn't know if they were still alive; some had lost their homes and business and felt they hadn't anything left to make a living here. There were many reasons.

Mr. Mac wrote in the Observer (Oct. 15, 1945) about this meeting. "Dr. Arnup went at the invitation of the people of Tashme. He sought information from them first hand relative to their predicament as a result of having consented to sign forms to be sent to Japan after the war."

Mr. Arnup spent the night in Tashme and left the next day for Calgary where he was speaking to a church group. He told them what the Japanese people had told him of their reasons for signing. A report of this meeting got into the newspapers. After the Japanese were moved from the coast, there was no news or reports in the newspapers of them or of the camps or of the government's repatriation plans. This may have been the first mention in the paper of the repatriation plans. But when the Commission saw it, they were furious. We were told we could have no visitors without the written permission of the head of the Commission. It did make it difficult to get anyone in, such as for the speaker at the High School graduation in June of '46. They finally let Alec Grant come in provided he didn't "speak of the atomic bomb"!

In December, 1945, we saw a small item on the back page of the newspaper that said that all the camps would be closed in a short time and the people in them sent to Japan. The next week Mr. Mac came into Tashme with 9000 copies of a letter asking people to sign a petition and send it and letters to the federal cabinet asking that this order-in-council be quashed and people be given a chance to remain in Canada. The students addressed one to every minister and the head of every women's group in the United and the Anglican Church in Canada. Mac took the letters out with him on the Monday. The cost of this mailing was borne by the Japanese community. The response in letters to the cabinet was the largest they have ever had and resulted in quietly dropping the order-in-council ordering all the Japanese who had signed to go to Japan.

STUDENTS WHO WENT TO JAPAN.

About 15 of our students went to Japan. Most of those who went to cities in Japan have returned to Canada. Many found work with the occupation forces. At least one student worked with the American forces and got his demobilization in Vancouver. At least two of our grade 11 class stayed in Japan. Dutchy Nakayama worked with the Indian Embassy and was with them when Mahatma Gandhi was killed, and later worked for many years with the Atomic Bomb Casualty hospital and commission in Hiroshima. Then he was asked to work with the large Japan Steel Co. In both of the last two places he did a lot of teaching of English to executives and others in the company. Dutchy died of cancer in February 1991. Shigo Uraisame is working with a firm where he has worked in several southeast Asian countries over the past few years.

Those student who went to the country faced a very different situation. Food was rationed, and as one student said, "You didn't know ahead of time, what you would get, one time whole wheat or rice, another time potatoes. Enough for two days but it had to last a week. Wood for cooking fires was scarce and one had to go out scrounging for twigs and sticks to cook meals.

Inflation made the cost of everything, including food, very high.

Jean K: "Miss McBride, have you heard anything else about us Nisei going back to Canada? I went up to the Tokyo Legation this June and filled up a Citizenship form. They said that you had to ask someone in Canada to help get you back. I've written to my cousin about it but have not received any answer. Miss McBride, I thought that I could live here in Japan, but when I come to think of all the customs and especially the language, I can't go through it. And another reason is the climate does not suit me very well. Ever since I've come to Japan, I've been getting sick." (Nov 48).

Chiye O: "It sure has been a long time since I've been in Canada. It is two and a half years of unpleasant surroundings and unfamiliar faces. Most of all is the suffering and hardship, hoping that tomorrow I'll be in Canada, but that tomorrow has not come. According to your previous letter, I learned that we Canadian-born that repatriated may go back but I would like to know when. I know it is hard to find out the exact time, but all we can do is wait and one day, I can go back to Canada. I am now working for the Military Government for about a year and a half as a clerk-interpreter... I like my work very much for while I'm working it makes me feel as though I'm back home. All the American-born Nisei have already left for America. They think the Canadians should do the same."... "The winter has come again. This means more suffering for us. The heating system is very bad for there is no stove or heater in the ordinary house the only heating system is a pot of charcoal which does not give much heat." (Nov 48).

STUDENTS WHO STAYED IN CANADA

One student said how glad they were when it became possible for the High School courses to be available, basically at cost. Otherwise, for him and his sister it would have been at least \$100 for courses from Victoria -- two months wages which, for his father, was out of the question. Now he said his children wanted to see BC because they felt it was part of their heritage.

The girls said they had been shy and

afraid of going east, not knowing how they would be received and feeling nervous about meeting people after being so long in isolation of the mountains at Tashme.

Gordon Imai - was in Hastings Park for four months, also not a happy time. He had been in Strathcona School which was located near Powell Street in Vancouver. He said so often he wished his skin was white and his hair blonde so that he wasn't picked out as Japanese. For the first six months or so he was very bitter about the evacuation. Then when May came in to help them - he felt, "They are white and they are coming to help us." As it continued and more teachers came, all white people who didn't have to come, he realized the church had something to offer. Here were people who didn't have to come, did so in order that we could have an education.

The general response over and over was thanks for the presence of the teachers and all that the school meant to them. They couldn't say enough in praise of the Church for providing High School and the teachers for coming into Tashme. It was a very joyful reunion - with each other and with me.

Arn expressed the view that this class had the greatest sense of community, that they were as one big family with a great caring for each other. It was obvious that they (we) all enjoyed being together. There was such a sense of joy, in seeing and being with each other that people didn't want to leave.

How Equal is Equal? Gender Inequality in 19th Century Canadian Quaker Education

by Dianne Hamilton

The development of the educational system in nineteenth century Upper Canada was determined by the socio-ideological norms of the early settlers. Their philosophical aims in the evolution of Ontario's educational system reflected and reinforced their moral and social values. The Quakers, whose presumption of gender tolerance promoted educational opportunities for girls, were crucial to the expansion of schooling in Upper Canada.¹ This paper will examine the principle of equality of the sexes within the Quaker educational system from 1841 to the end of the nineteenth century. It will look at the roles of girls and women as students and teachers at West Lake Boarding School, known today as Pickering College.

The principle of equality applied to sex, class and race and was fundamental to Quakerism. Quakers actively supported aboriginal and women's rights, advocated on behalf of the poor and aided in the abolition of slavery. The doctrine of equality, however, did not imply that everyone should be reduced to the same economic or social level but advocated an equalization of rights and opportunities.² In this context, girls "... were given educational opportunities equally with boys, in accordance with Friends' principles of equality of the sexes which extended to recognizing women as teachers..."³ It did not, however, ensure social and economic parity with men. Overriding patriarchal norms accounted for inequities divided along gender lines.

A primary concern of the early Quakers was to provide an environment where children could obtain a rudimentary education.⁴ Their vision of literacy was to ensure that all members of the Society could read the Bible, write minutes for meetings and be able to "... express views on religion, social, economic matters."⁵ This was a daunting objective in nineteenth-century

Upper Canada where schools were few or non-existent. Those operated by Friends were often the only ones in the area and were open to non-Quakers as well. Their commitment to education resulted in the establishment and maintenance of schools as early as 1809 and eventually lead to the birth of the first Friends' Seminary in Canada in 1841, West Lake Boarding School.⁶ In keeping with their principle of equality of the sexes, West Lake Boarding School officially opened as a co-educational institution in 1842.⁷ Approximating the ideals of other mid-nineteenth century co-educational institutions, where segregation was strictly enforced, no written or verbal communication was allowed between the girls and boys.^{8,9}

Despite these admonitions, however, youthful vitality and playful interaction did exist. Harriett (Pearson) MacCracken, at age eighty, writes about her days at West Lake Boarding School in 1841. She recalls a time when the girls were involved in a hurling match with the boys. While standing around a wash-tub squeezing the pulp of potato starch, several girls were challenged by some boys to a throwing competition which ensued until the tub was empty. She writes with affection and typifies the respect that others had for the school:

Not only had the Friends a high opinion of this school but all looked upon it as one of the best institutions of learning in Upper Canada ... The School was held in high esteem by everyone and to have attended the Friends boarding-school was of itself something of a guarantee of Scholarship.¹⁰

Undoubtedly, the Quakers established a system of education that earned the admiration of affiliates and non-affiliates alike.

This was evidenced by the increasing number of non-Friends which attended the school. Eventually, there were so few Quaker students that it no longer taught those it set out to serve. At the same time, there was a shift in the sex-ratio of students.

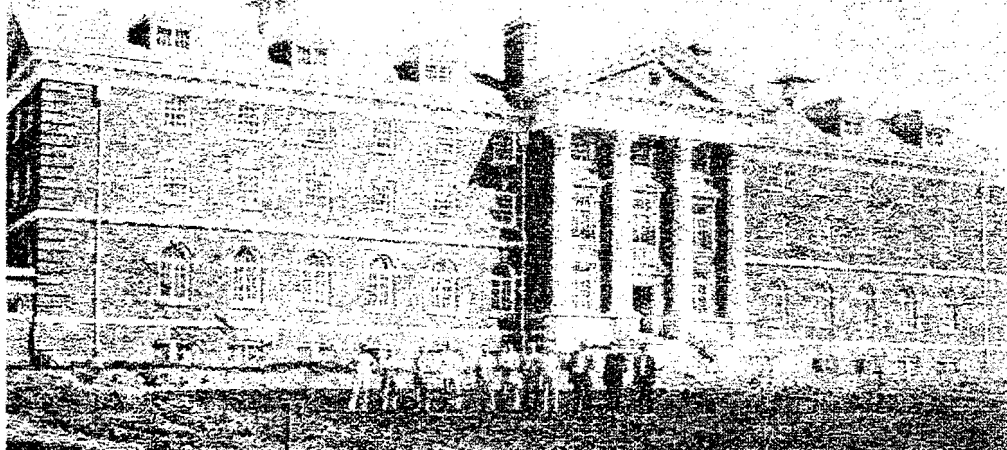
Although it is difficult to obtain accurate statistics, a look at the student enrolment allowed me to assess general patterns. Archival records show that the total number of pupils having had at least one semester of schooling was recorded with relative consistency; however, a breakdown by religion was not always available. Nevertheless, some patterns emerged which suggests that the Friends' principle of ensuring educational opportunities for girls was actively pursued.

In its earliest years, girls attended West Lake Boarding School in numbers equal to, or greater than, boys. Over the next several decades this sex ratio was challenged. In 1847, for example, there were 81 boarders of which 43 (or 53%) were female.¹¹ By 1880, only twenty (or 22%) from a total of 94 were female.¹² This pattern contradicts the common schools where the percentage of registered girls grew from 43.3% in 1850 to close to 50% by 1871.¹³ Coincidental with the shift in female-to-male students, there was also a decline in Quaker attendance. In the beginning, the school had been supported by Friends both financially and in the way of pupils. However, due to its distance from many Quaker settlements and the increasing competition of the public school system, the attendance of Friends'

children began to decline.¹⁴ In 1880, fourteen of the twenty females, and five of the 74 males, were Quakers.¹⁵ The strong female sex ratio of Friends' attendance suggests that the Society exercised their belief that girls should have educational opportunities equal to that of boys.

This philosophy appears to have extended to the curriculum, a progressive manoeuvre within the context of the competing development of the public school system which emphasized the gender gap. Boys, typically, studied bookkeeping, classics and mathematics and girls were instructed in needlework, drawing and penmanship.¹⁶ Conversely, the course of instruction at Friends' school appears to have been commonly applied to both sexes. A broadside dated 1847 shows that "Scholars [will be instructed in] Composition, Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Physiology, Astronomy, Book-Keeping, Algebra, Geometry and Surveying."¹⁷ References to students were not gendered, at least in the early years, suggesting that curriculum and rules of the school applied to girls and boys equally.

The curriculum changed throughout the decades in response to requests from students and issues arising within Quaker society. By 1879, Commercial Studies was offered to "boys and young men".¹⁸ This sex distinction, however, appears not to have deterred the female students from taking the course. A subsequent announcement showed that several women graduated in this discipline although I could not deter-



Pickering College, Newmarket, shortly after its completion in 1909.

mine if their focus was on professional, rather than clerical, subjects.¹⁹ Pickering College, however, hired a former female student to run their office at a time when clerical work was becoming increasingly feminized.²⁰ It employed Alice Pennington, in the early 1900's, as bookkeeper with full responsibility of the office.²¹ Commercial studies may have been intended for boys and young men in order to prepare them for the world of business, but women were able to access this discipline and, presumably, seek comparable employment within the Quaker community.

Contrary to Quaker tradition, art and music had been added to the curriculum in 1881, an addition made on behalf of the young ladies.²² By 1897, the school began to lose some female pupils because they "... were not able to offer equal advantages with other Ladies' Colleges in the matter of Elocution."²³ It is unknown whether these requests derived from Quaker families or non-affiliates but the fact that so few Friends attended during this time suggests that the curriculum shifted, in part, to non-Quaker influence. It should be acknowledged, however, that there had been "... increasing restlessness within the Society and a desire for change."²⁴ Accordingly, the prevailing political environment within the Society of Friends may have contributed to the shift in attitudes regarding gender-appropriate pedagogy. Nevertheless, students developed analytical skills and were able to examine women's position within society. The student newspaper, for instance, responded positively to women's entrance into university, stating that "Pickering College which has for several years followed a system of Co-education wishes [McGill and Toronto University College] every success..." Undoubtedly, the school provided a forum in which student's voices could be heard and became a locale for ideological change.

Friends' philosophy of education gave

girls opportunities that may have been unparalleled in Upper Canada. From the establishment of local learning centres in the early 1800's to the opening of West Lake Boarding School and its subsequent conversion to the more elaborate Pickering College, Quaker schooling advanced the notion of serious education for young women. Equality, therefore, existed in its representation of equal opportunity for girls and boys to participate, and have a voice, in the process of learning. It might be assumed, therefore, that notions of equality in education would extend to teachers.

At an early stage, Friends employed women as teachers.²⁵ West Lake Boarding School, likewise, actively engaged female instructors, superintendents and principals.

From the establishment of local learning centres in the early 1800's to the opening of West Lake Boarding School and its subsequent conversion to the more elaborate Pickering College, Quaker schooling advanced the notion of serious education for young women.

The Society's notion of equality allowed women to participate in the operation of the school. However, a division of labour existed and female wages reflected patriarchal values of women's work. While egalitarian in theory, notions of paternalism existed within the insti-

tution. Superintendents were equally responsible with the teachers for student misconduct but "The Superintendents are the heads of the family, invested with authority to enforce the Rules of the School..."²⁶ Women and men could be superintendents but the household affairs were the responsibility of the woman while the duties of her male partner consisted of purchasing, accounts and supervision of the family.²⁷

It appears as if gender-defined tasks persisted throughout the nineteenth century. At the time when plans were being made to erect a new school, an all-male committee was formed to address the issues of fundraising, architectural plans, property and tenders for furniture.²⁸ Joshua Richardson was hired to "... procure provision, and look after the absolute needs of the school, keep the Books and accounts..."²⁹ Subsequently, Richardson was "... directed to represent to Elizabeth Mullesin that she

should see that the House linen ... be left in complete order for putting away."³⁰

Perhaps, as an extension of maternalism, women provided nursing care in addition to their teaching and administrative duties. Ella Rogers Firth, employed as Lady Principal of Pickering College in 1892, contributed to the maintenance of good health among the students. Arthur Dorland recalls that Mrs. Firth would line up the girls and boys separately during sore-throat season and blow sulphur down their throats. She was, additionally, "... a capable business woman and to whose organizing ability much of the success of the school was to be attributed."³¹ It would appear that Quaker women had the power to actively participate in the operations of the school, unlike female teachers in the public school system where, "... by reason of their sex, [they] lacked authority."³² Gender relations, therefore, were complex. Female teachers worked within a patriarchal framework while maintaining a link with their domestic and/or maternal roles. Yet, they were instrumental in the administration of the school and influential in its success.

This margin of freedom, however, did not result in financial parity with men. Nineteenth-century women who taught at Friends' school were exposed to the patriarchal values that existed at the time. They were also subject to the same hierarchy that was inherent in the public school system.³³ West Lake Boarding School's first two teachers were Mary Hoag and Joseph

Haines who were paid £50 and £100, respectively.³⁴ Wage disparity established along gender lines remained constant and are highlighted in Table I.

By the time the school relocated and reopened as Pickering College in 1878, salary scales became more complex. As shown in Table II below, divisions were based on rank as well as gender.

The professional hierarchy within the school was characterized by a sexual division of labour and wages, whereby men were given the higher-paying positions and women were relegated to those that were considered less valuable.

The wage disparity among educators shows that access to education did not parallel financial independence. Women teachers at Friends' school were vulnerable to employment inequities not unlike those within the public school system. When the College was faced with the financial burden of adding elocution classes, they resolved the issue by

... letting the present primary teacher go and engaging in her place, at the same salary, a competent teacher of Elocution and Physical Culture, who could also take up the Preparatory work.³⁷

TABLE I
Annual Earnings of Teachers
1848-1862 ³⁵

YEAR	FEMALE	MALE
1848	\$170*	\$120*
1850	\$170	\$300
1853	£42	£80
1862	\$300	\$375

*Mariah Ellison was paid \$170 per year while Joseph Atwater was engaged for \$20 per month for six months.

TABLE II
Distribution of Salaries for
1899-1900 ³⁶

	Sex	Salary
Principal	male	\$1,000
Lady Principal	female	400
House Master & Commercial Teacher	male	475
Classical Master	male	350
Classics & History Teacher	male	350
English Teacher	female	300
English and Modern Languages Teacher	female	300
Preparatory Class & Physical Culture	female	250
Art Teacher	female	125
Assistant [Teacher]	male	100

Quaker women were a cheap form of labour and were essential to the economic viability of the school.

It was, therefore, not unusual for some women to work without pay. Gertrude Nicholson comments, "Miss Dale the house-keeper is just splendid the way she works for the College. She won't take any pay neither does Mrs. Firth although she does a lot of teaching."³⁸ Women's roles may have negatively affected their health and well-being. Elizabeth Comstock describes the superintendents of West Lake Boarding School when she visited them in 1854:

He is a grey-haired man of fifty-five, very active, and quite in his prime apparently. His wife is his junior by ten years, but looks rather more nearly approaching being worn out; a motherly kind-hearted woman, thin, working too hard for her station and her means.³⁹

It appears that the doctrine of equality of the sexes permitted women to acquire responsibility in the operations and pedagogy of the school. The wage disparity, however, points to a reflection of the patriarchal values generally accorded women's domestic role, a function never fully relinquished in spite of their organizational and academic expertise.

Undoubtedly, Quaker women were indispensable to the operation of West Lake Boarding School and consequential to the development of education in Ontario. The principle of equality of the sexes, in accordance with the Society of Friends, allowed women access to opportunities that might not otherwise have been available to them. However, recognition of women as educators and administrators did not extend to economic parity with men. Overriding patriarchal norms ensured a sexual division of labour and wage disparity. The additional responsibilities which women acquired, nevertheless, accorded them a voice that reinforced their power within the structure. The activities of female educators went beyond the traditional gender roles and provided the modelling necessary for young women to move beyond established norms. It is hard to imagine the creation of our

provincial school system without the efforts of the Society of Friends. They helped to establish an environment where women were provided the rudiments of learning as well as a forum for critical and analytical thinking that was necessary for the changing socio-ideological consciousness of the time.

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Emma Brown Malone Background and Implanting Quakerism in Kenya

by John Oliver

Introduction

Five decades ago, a Quaker historian selected two Quaker women who, in her eyes, represented "distinctive service" to education in the nineteenth century. These were Susan B. Anthony and Emma B. Malone.¹ Another Friend, Erroll Elliott, credited Emma and Walter Malone with leading an Evangelical Quaker movement that "may have saved Friends Meetings in the West from near extinction."² In our decade, Thomas Hamm names Emma as "easily [one of] the two most important figures in evangelical Quakerism in the last one hundred years,"³ yet, even today, few Friends know about Emma Malone.

It may be that little attention has been given to Emma Malone because she was an Evangelical Friend, and the story of this wing of Quakerism has been neglected, even by scholars. This should not continue, since most Quakers in North America are classified as evangelicals, even by a theologically liberal Friend.⁴

In education, more women ministers were trained under Emma's leadership in Cleveland at the turn-of-the-century than anywhere else in North America. However, this story, together with her work with urban missions, will be covered in a forthcoming article in *Quaker History*. In this article, we will look at the part she played in taking Quakerism to Kenya.

Trajectory of Quaker History

To understand the import of the Quaker mission to Kenya, one must take notice of the trajectory of Quaker history, and the sea change in this century in the ethnic makeup of Friends. Kenya is a part of this story.

As is well known to readers of this journal, the history of the Society of Friends has been, in large part, an Anglo-American

story. Friends began in 17th century England. From Britain, they spread to English colonies in North America. In the 19th century, Philadelphia continued to be the intellectual center for North American Friends. Haverford, Swarthmore and Bryn Mawr colleges were built in Philadelphia. The *Friend*, *Friends Review* and *Friends Intelligencer* were published there. Yet, in spite of the intellectual preeminence of Philadelphia, the greatest growth among Friends took place in the Midwest. This growth came as a result of Quaker migrations from the South and East, as a result of large families and because Friends were an endogamous religious community. It was not due to Native American converts, or converts whose ancestors came from continental Europe. Ethnically, even in the Midwest, Friends continued to be an Anglo-American people, at least through the 19th century.

In contrast, our century has seen an unprecedented change among Friends. Most Friends are no longer of Anglo-American descent. Most Friends no longer live in North America or Great Britain. Rather, more Quakers now live in the East African state of Kenya than anywhere else in the world, and almost all Kenyan Quakers are native Africans.

Ane Rasmussen, author of *A History of the Quaker Movement in Africa* (1995)⁵ and Harold Smuck, who wrote *Friends in East Africa* (1987)⁶ contend that some 200,000 Friends - or, they say, more than half the Quakers in the world - are Kenyans. In contrast, the London-based Friends World Committee for Consultation appears to count only Kenyans who complete a second year course in Quaker doctrine as true Friends, a standard which, if universally applied, would disqualify many Evangelical Friends in North America as well. All agree that, per capita, there are many times more

Friends in Kenya than any other place on earth and that more Quakers live in Kenya than in any other country.

Historians who follow the trajectory of Quaker history must give attention to this larger development, which is the transformation of Quakerism in our century from a Western to a non-Western movement. Historians are now challenged to explain this re-shaping of Quakerism from an Anglo-American to an increasingly African movement. To do this, we are going to have to know more about Evangelical Quakers, Willis Hotchkiss (the principal mover behind the establishment of the mission) and - the subject of this piece - Emma Malone.

A Canadian Hicksite/Orthodox Background

It is well-known that Quakerism in the nineteenth century was undergoing a radical transformation. In that era, Friends split into an increasingly theologically-liberal Hicksite faction and an increasingly theologically-evangelical Orthodox faction; and, after this, into modernists and evangelicals. This factionalism also took place in Emma's family. Her father's side, the Browns, were Hicksites. Her mother's side, the Hights, were Orthodox.

Emma's father, Charles W. Brown, was a son of Ira and Mercy Widdifield Brown. They were Hicksites, but after leaving Pickering in 1852, Ira and Mercy never again appear in Quaker records.⁷ In January 1866, nine years after Mercy's death, Ira - a brother of the well-known minister Nicholas Brown - came to Cleveland to work as a dentist. He lived there for twenty years without joining Cleveland's Evangelical Friends.⁸

Emma's mother, Margaret Haight Brown, was a daughter of Allen and Sarah M. Haight and grand-daughter of James and Anna Haight, who came to Norwich from Butternut, New York, in 1818. Margaret was married to Charles in her home town of Norwich on February 18, 1858 by a Wesleyan Methodist minister,⁹ even though her own mother was a prominent Orthodox Quaker minister.¹⁰

In spite of Emma's Quaker heritage (which reached for eight generations to the first decade of English Friends)¹¹ and in spite of relatives who were leaders among the Friends in Canada, especially at Pickering, Whitchurch, Pine Orchard and Norwich,¹² Emma grew to maturity at a time when her family did not attend a Quaker meeting and graduated from West High School, a public school in Cleveland. At the same time, Emma was, technically, a birthright Friend, for Margaret Brown kept her membership with the Friends. When Emma and her mother joined the Friends in Cleveland in February, 1883, Margaret Brown was received from Pickering Monthly Meeting.

Evangelical Conversion and Joining the Friends

Growing to maturity under the tutelage of one former, and one lapsed, Quaker parent, who disagreed about religion, it is not surprising that Emma was unclear about what she ought to believe about God or Jesus Christ. It was not until 1879 when Dwight L. Moody held five weeks of meetings in the largest auditorium in Cleveland¹³ that she became an Evangelical Christian.¹⁴

In these meetings, Moody focused heavily on the deity of Christ, explained that "an infidel is one that does not believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures"¹⁵ and argued that "any religion that is not based on the atonement... is not acceptable to God."¹⁶ Yet, while this orthodox theology troubled Emma, she liked his opposition to "dancing, theater going and card-playing"¹⁷ and welcomed his support for women ministers. Frances Willard and other women preached at his meetings.¹⁸ Elizabeth Comstock spoke from his pulpit in Chicago.¹⁹ After 1900 women from his school served as pastors in "a wide range of denominations."²⁰ She also appreciated Moody's insistence that his meetings, and his school in Chicago,²¹ be racially integrated. At the close of the last meeting, and after an intense inner struggle between the theological liberalism of her father and grandfather and orthodox views of her mother, Emma assented to Moody's preaching. She "accep-

ted Christ."²²

Two years after this initial conversion, Emma visited the Orthodox or, by then, Evangelical Friends Meeting on Cedar Avenue to hear Esther Frame, a second cousin of President Grant who was touted by the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* as a "peerless evangelist."²³ One year later Emma and her mother joined these Evangelical Friends.

The principal figure in reinforcing the orthodox evangelical theology that she had picked up from Moody, but with a Quaker twist to it, was Dougan Clark, a physician who pastored Cleveland's Friends from the fall of 1882, when Esther Frame left Cleveland, until January, 1884, when he became professor of Latin, Greek and Bible at Earlham College. He had taught that Scripture promises instant deliverance from all sin,²⁴ and "the obliteration of all inequality between sexes, in the work of the Lord, is an essential."²⁵

Emma became a leader among Friends. In 1892 she addressed the Conference of Friends in America. She was appointed Secretary of the 1897 conference,²⁶ which five years later became Friends United Meeting. Also in 1892, she became a recorded minister and co-pastor of the Friends Church in Cleveland, as well as the co-founder of a Christian Workers' Training School for Bible Study and Practical Methods of Work in Cleveland, which later became Malone College in Canton. She was the major decision-maker at the school²⁷ and co-president with Walter (her husband) until their retirement in 1917: taking this post seventy-five years before a woman headed a major American co-educational college or university.²⁸

Persons with an interest in non-Western and women's history may care to note that women who studied under Emma before 1900 worked in missions, training schools and orphanages in South Africa (Helen Farr Ford), West Africa (Lena Winkel who joined the Radical Brethren), East Africa (Helen Farr Ford), Mexico (Sarah A. Lindley and Clara Morgan), Cuba (A. Ellen Woody), Venezuela (Alice C. Wood), Jamaica (Alsina M. Andrews, Florence Baker and Helen Farr Ford), India (Esther

Frame, Delia Fistler, Anna V. Edgerton, Clara Morgan and Alice Herr, who pioneered the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Bombay). In Brazil, Elizabeth Wittman Price taught the first Brazilian bishop of the Methodist Church²⁹ and Esther Emery worked with "native Indians."³⁰

Kenya

No historian has taken notice of Emma's work in bringing Quakerism to Africa. This is because no historian has had access to the Minutes of the Friends Africa Industrial Mission (hereafter FAIM), which were discovered a few years ago in the archives at Malone College, or the diary of the pioneer missionary Willis Hotchkiss, most of which is at the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland.³¹ Portions of the diary are being prepared for publication by Charles Cherry, Mary Ellen Chijioke and myself.

This article will look at Emma's position on the board, and her role in a painful controversy that could have ended the mission to Kenya. In addition, it will give attention to racial attitudes and practices of these midwestern Friends that help to explain why these evangelical Bible Institute type of Quakers, rather than some more theologically liberal or "culturally advanced" Friends, took Quakerism to Kenya.

Decision Maker

The first meeting of the board of the FAIM took place at the Malone residence in Cleveland on February 2, 1901. While the Malones worked together as co-founders and co-presidents of the Christian Workers Training school (later called Cleveland Bible Institute) and co-pastors of the Friends Church in Cleveland, only Emma held a post on the mission board.

At this meeting, the board named an executive committee to manage the mission. Peter W. Raidabaugh of Chicago was appointed president. He was also president of the Publishing Association of Friends, publishers of the *Christian Worker*, the most widely-circulated Quaker periodical in North America at that time. The

Association, and the *Worker*, were owned and controlled by the Malones. The compliant Raidabaugh succeeded Calvin Pritchard, who offended the Malones when he compromised traditional Quakerism by recommending "tolerance" on the issue of water baptism. William C. Tabor of New York, a friend and business associate of the Malones, served as treasurer.

The third and, arguably, most powerful member of the board was Emma Malone, who was named Secretary. She continued to serve in this post until 1913, when the mission was put under Friends United Meeting.

Emma's leadership was due to several factors. She had a strong personality. The president of the board was a - compliant - employee of her husband. Board meetings commonly took place "on her turf," i.e., in the living room of her home. And she knew more about the candidates than did any other member. The committee selected three couples to go to Kenya. All six volunteers were members of the Friends church in Cleveland. Edgar Hole had served with Emma on the board of the Training School. Arthur and Edna Hill Chilson, Adelaide Hole and Willis R. Hotchkiss had been Emma's students at the training school. The only volunteer who may not have worked with Emma Malone was Matilda Koehler Hotchkiss, who joined the Friends Church after marrying Willis Hotchkiss.

Controversy

The best qualified applicant to lead the mission was Willis R. Hotchkiss, a former student in the Preparatory Department at Oberlin College who joined the Cleveland meeting on August 17, 1893, while attending the Christian Workers Training School. Hotchkiss had gone to East Africa in 1895 as a pioneer missionary with the Africa Inland Mission. After a famine in Ukambani in 1898-99 convinced him to teach modern methods of farming, and gender differences persuaded him to lift "the galling burden [of hard physical labor] from the shoulders of oppressed and burdened women,"³² Hotchkiss returned to Cleveland to raise financial support, create a mission board,

and secure volunteers for a Quaker mission to Kenya.³³ It was only with some reluctance that Ohio and Cleveland Friends were persuaded to take undertake this work, for they were already heavily committed to other mission projects.

After the board met, Hotchkiss noted on February 3, 1901, that "dear Bro. Raidabaugh informs me that the Board has practically decided to send out six, myself to be Supt. of Mission [and] Edgar T. Hole to be Business Manager." He promoted the work in white and black churches, rescue missions, the Hiram Settlement House, Earlham and Hiram colleges, the Ohio convention of the YWCA, a National Convention of the Christian Endeavor Movement where he spoke on "The Story of the African Jungle", and a National Peace Association Conference in Philadelphia.

In September the board decided that Edgar Hole would be "responsible head of the party"³⁴ because, as Hotchkiss noted, "some dear people have thought I was inaugurating this work for pleasure."³⁵ In addition, it is likely that the Malones may have feared that Hotchkiss would not take well to directions from the board; he was a fairly recent convert to Quakerism and had worked with an independent mission where he regularly participated in sacraments. Ironically, Hole was a descendent of Thomas and Margaret Fell and a second cousin of Senator Marcus Hanna.³⁶ In 1903, his sister, Adelaide Hole Blackburn, went to Kenya. In short, two of the first seven Quaker missionaries to Kenya were descended from the Fells.³⁷

On the way to Africa, Hotchkiss addressed Dublin and London Yearly Meetings and was hosted by "weighty" Friends like Henry Stanley Newman, George Cadbury and John Edward Wilson. After being in Africa less than a year, he resigned. On January 25, 1903, he wrote in his diary that "I sent my resignation by yesterday's mail." On January 29 he wrote,

I am informed tonight that I must pay my own way home, or at least as far as England which is as far as my own money will take me. This, not because there is not plenty of

funds on hand to pay my passage, for there is abundance, but because it does not suit our worthy Supt on the field to do so."

While returning, Hotchkiss expressed appreciation for the "sensible board,"³⁸ while at the same time, he offered an explanation of his difficulties to Dr. John Edward Wilson, Secretary of the Friends Foreign Missionary Association:

Dr. Wilson had received a note from PWR[aidabaugh] speaking of a "misunderstanding" and this, together with the fact that English Friends were preparing for a lot of meetings for me, led me to lay the whole matter frankly before Dr. Wilson. It was a hard thing to do but I did not want to stand in a false position with these dear Friends who have been so kind to me. To my intense relief he at once took my part and proposed to take up my defense with the Board. He also intimated that he was not altogether surprised at the turn affairs had taken, having observed some indications where we were here a year ago.

He spoke at a special meeting called by Isaac Sharp at Devonshire House, with many Friends coming from outside London.

In London, Hotchkiss rejected an order from his mission board that he return to Africa.³⁹ Instead, he returned to Cleveland for a "sad homecoming"⁴⁰ where he charged Edgar Hole with saying that he (Hotchkiss) needed a "deeper spiritual experience", and that this view was shared by the board. (In his diary, Hotchkiss sometimes lamented his spiritual inadequacies, but for a Holiness Christian it was a serious matter for another to make this charge).⁴¹ When board members "strongly disclaimed" making any such statements about him or any private correspondence with Hole, Hotchkiss wrote in his diary:

They sought to have it that I brought charges against Edgar Hole but I insisted that if there were any

charges they were against the Board and the Board must settle the question whether or not Edgar had authority to make the statements that he had made to me. Thus face to face with the fact, they strongly disclaimed having said or even intimated the things which E.H. had repeatedly stated to me as the Board's position. They even went so far as to say that none of them had had any private correspondence with him on any subject, much less concerning me, and that they had not as a Board been praying especially that I might be led to a deeper life in Christ. If this be true then it puts me in a very hard place, for I am forced to the conclusion that my companions whom I trusted have deliberately falsified and deceived.

The board responded by expressing "confidence and esteem" in him, refusing his resignation, asking him to complete work on the language and visit yearly meetings on behalf of the work. Emma sent copies of his letters to his fellow missionaries and Raidabaugh invited Hotchkiss to "prefer such charges as he may think best that such charges may be sent to [the missionaries in Africa] in time for them to reply to the Board before its next annual meeting." After this, Emma and Walter Malone entertained Hotchkiss and his wife in their home, where "after a social time" she read replies from the missionaries in the presence of Walter Malone and W.P. Pinkham.

At the next meeting of the board, Raidabaugh reported that Hotchkiss demanded that the other missionaries be called home "to make a satisfactory adjustment of the matter." The board was also told that Hotchkiss demanded to be "head of the mission and have Edgar T. Hole recalled or placed under Willis' direction."⁴² As they were unwilling to comply with this, they reluctantly accepted his resignation:

As Edgar T. Hole and Arthur B. Chilson have each acknowledged mistakes of judgment on their part

and manifested a tender Christian spirit toward Willis in all their communications on this subject, and as they have been faithfully carrying on the work in the field and repeatedly reiterated their call to this work and desire to remain, and as the Lord is manifestly blessing their labors, the Executive Committee found it impossible to recall them.

At 11 o'clock as previously appointed, W.R. Hotchkiss and wife met with the Executive Committee. After cordial greeting on the part of all, P.W. Raidabaugh told Willis that every one of the Committee was in deep sympathy with him and with the brethren on the field and wished to do justice to him and to them, and gave Willis an opportunity to make any additional statements he might choose.

He, however, had no new points to present, but went over the old ground and read some portions of his diary.

At 12:30 p.m. the Committee adjourned for dinner, but early in the afternoon resumed the conference with W.R. Hotchkiss, his wife also being present.

The case was considered in its different bearings in a friendly and loving spirit and after very careful and prayerful deliberation the Board were [sic] united in accepting the resignation of W.R. Hotchkiss tendered last year. W.R. Hotchkiss also stating that under the circumstances he knew no other course for the Board to pursue.⁴³

Later, Hotchkiss wrote that while the members denied any "private correspondence" with the missionaries, Raidabaugh admitted to him that "communications had passed between [Emma Malone] and Edgar T. Hole regarding me, and that these had been read by himself and the Treasurer of the Board."⁴⁴ We do not know what Emma Malone or Edgar Hole would have said about this.

Racial Views

Racial attitudes at the Friends school in Cleveland followed from the midwestern Quakerism of the Malones. In the 1830's, Walter's grandmother had worked at an Afro-American settlement in Stark County, Ohio, where, as early as 1810, two hundred former slaves had been brought from the South by Friends.⁴⁵ In the 1870's, Walter Malone had worshiped in an Orthodox Friends meeting in Cincinnati with Levi Coffin, and with his own great uncle, Hezekiah Bye Bailey, who helped to found the Foxwell Buxton Mission where Friends worked with thousands of former slaves at the Cincinnati Law School. This mission is commemorated by a historical marker at the Mercantile Library Building in Philadelphia.⁴⁶

These Bible Training School Friends welcomed Afro-Americans to their school at least twenty-five years before any of three Quaker colleges in Philadelphia admitted an Afro-American: co-educational Swarthmore, "the little Quaker matchbox," was the last to admit Afro-Americans.⁴⁷ The Malones urged Friends to petition Washington to treat mob violence against blacks as a violation of constitutional rights⁴⁸ and praised W.E.B. DuBois's article "What Intellectual Education is Doing for the Negroes."⁴⁹ Rufus Jones, who was becoming the leading intellectual among east-coast Orthodox Friends and, later, a founder of the American Friends Service Committee, charged that "the education of the Negro must be industrial."⁵⁰ College educated Friends were more atune to intellectual currents of their day, one of which was Social Darwinism. Not surprisingly, these Training School Friends - whose focus on saving souls led them to value even those who were sometimes rejected because of race or poverty - took Quakerism to Africa.

Conclusion

Given the above, no comprehensive history of Quakerism in Africa can be written that fails to take notice of Emma Malone. If, as Richard Wood, a former pres-

ident of Earlham College has said, the typical Quaker in the world today is a black Kenyan male, this is, in part, due to Emma Malone, Willis Hotchkiss and the pioneer Evangelical Quaker missionaries from Cleveland.

Endnotes:

¹ Anna Louise Spann, "The Ministry of Women in the Society of Friends," Ph.D. diss., The State University of Iowa, 1945. In contrast, see Carol and John Stoneburner, eds., *The Influence of Quaker Women on American History: Biographical Studies*, Vol. 21 in *Studies in Women and Religion* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1986), where Emma Malone is mentioned only once. She is not included in the chapter "The Contribution of Seven Quaker Women to Education" by Helen G. Hole and Carol Stoneburner, perhaps because she had already been written about by Spann.

² Errol T. Elliott, *Quaker Profiles from the American West* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1972), p. 152.

³ Akron *Beacon Journal*, November 15, 1992, Section C, pp. 1, 8. See also Barbara Galloway, "Ahead of Her Time," *Beacon Journal*, Tuesday, February 4, 1992, Section B, pp. 1, 5.

⁴ William Cayard, "Dramatic Changes in World Quaker Membership," *Friends Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 12 (December 1995), pp. 14-15.

⁵ Ane Marie Bak Rasmussen, *A History of the Quaker Movement in Africa* (London: British Academic Press, 1995). This book is distributed in North America by St. Martin's Press.

⁶ Harold Smuck, *Friends in East Africa* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1987).

⁷ According to Nancy Speers, a genealogist at Swarthmore College, Ira and Mercy Brown and their family were granted a certificate by Yonge Street Monthly Meeting on January 1, 1852, "but it didn't say where the certificate was granted to. They don't show up in Ohio records." See Speers, Nancy P. Letter to John W. Oliver. May 19, 1990. Malone College Archives. Ira Brown's Will, dated January 15, 1887, is in the Probate Court, State of Ohio, Cuyahoga County, Doc. O, No. 293. A copy is in the Malone College Archives. It is witnessed by Charles W. Brown and Ira Brown, Jr.

⁸ See Ira Brown's citizenship application in the Probate Court in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, April 6, 1874. A copy is in the Malone College Archives. Ira died on December 4, 1886. From 1883 until his

death, he lived with Charles W. and Margaret Haight Brown, first at 351 Bridge Street and after this on Franklin Avenue. Emma Malone claimed to have settled in Cleveland in 1866, which, according to immigration records, is when her grandfather immigrated from Canada. See "Memorial Bulletin, First Friends Church, June 22, 1924, in the Malone College Archives. The bulletin says that she came "with her parents to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1866, where she has since resided." Emma was born on January 30, 1859 at Pickering. Emma's parents came to Cleveland in January, 1874, where they joined Emma's paternal grandfather. See Declarations of Aliens, Probate Court in and For the County of Cuyahoga and State of Ohio, Vol. 8, (1883), p. 456. See also Probate Court Naturalization Book, Vol. 8, (1875), p. 325. Charles W. Brown is first listed in the Cleveland Directory in 1874. In Cleveland, he worked for a year as a clerk for his brother, H. E. Brown, who was in Cleveland by 1868 and who owned a grocery store at 352 Detroit Street and proprietor of a livery stable at 263 Detroit Street. In 1875 he opened a grocery store at 351 Bridge Street, where he lived until 1885 when he moved to Franklin Avenue. Charles Brown eventually joined the Orthodox/Evangelical Friends Church in Cleveland.

⁹ Rev. Joseph Sheply. Charles W. Brown was born at Pickering on March 8, 1833. See Britnell, William E. Letter to John Oliver. December 3, 1988. Malone College Archives. Norwich is in Oxford County, southwest of Toronto.

¹⁰ William R. Wood, *Past years in Pickering* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 135.

¹¹ These include Joan Tyler, who was imprisoned in 1660 for refusing to take an oath, and Henry Comley, jailed in 1664 for attending Quaker worship. See George Norwood Comly, *Comly Family in America: Descendants of Henry and Joan Comly Who Came to America in 1682 from Bedminster, Somersetshire, England*. (Philadelphia: Lippencott, 1939), pp. 3-13. Henry Comly of Bedminster married Joan Tyler of Bristol in 1673. They came to America in 1682 where they settled seven miles south of the present town of Doylestown in Bucks County and joined Middletown Meeting.

¹² A great-great uncle of Emma Malone helped to found the meeting at Pickering. See John Haight. *A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada*, p. 96. See also William R. Wood, *Past Years in Pickering* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), pp. 134-135. According to Wood, Haight's home was used in 1812 to found the meeting at Pickering. In

addition, a great grandfather, Henry Widdifield, was an original trustee at Whitchurch and a founder of the meeting at Pine Orchard, four miles from Newmarket. See Arthur Garratt Dorland, *A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1927), pp. 96-97. For Widdifields see Maria Young Widdifield and Albert Edward Widdifield, "A Brief Historical and Genealogical Account of the Widdifield Family in England, the United States and Canada With Notes on Some of the Allied Families," Unpublished mms., Swarthmore College Archives. Emma's great uncle, Nicholas Brown, was an ally of Elias Hicks. Nicholas and his wife, Margaret Judge Brown, were both Quaker ministers. According to the *Friends Intelligencer*, Vol. 25, No. 33 (Tenth Month 17, 1868), pp. 516-517, shortly before Nicholas' death, he told his brother that "I have seen thy Saviour and my Saviour; he smiled upon me, and gave me an assurance that I am accepted."

Ira Brown came to Canada from Farrisburg, Vermont. Ira was one of fourteen children of Abraham and Catherine Brown. Abraham, a member of Smithfield Monthly Meeting in Rhode Island, was disowned on February 28, 1781 for marrying "out of the order of Friends" with Catherine Cook, who was not a Quaker. See Speers, Nancy P. Letter to John W. Oliver. May 6, 1990. Abraham later reunited with the Society of Friends, and Catherine also joined.

Reuben and Sarah Haight, Emma's grandparents, came to Canada from Westchester County, New York, in 1817, and settled in South Norwich. See *A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada*, p. 74. They first lived near Otterville and later in Yarmouth Township. For Nicholas Brown at New York Yearly Meeting in 1828 see Martha Paxson Grundy, "The Quaker Background of Emma Brown Malone," in David Johns, ed., *Hope and a Future* (Richmond, IN: Friends United, 1993), pp. 19-20.

¹³ Moody was commended by the *Plain Dealer* for "religious teachings [that] are of the kind to win hearts rather than to terrify sinners." *Plain Dealer*, Monday, October 6, 1879, p. 1. Moody's meetings began on October 5, 1789 at the Ontario Street Tabernacle, also known as Doan Tabernacle. Emma was converted in November, on the last night of the meetings.

¹⁴ For contributions of evangelicals to gender equality see Winthrop S. Hudson, "Evangelical Religion and Women's Liberation in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Influence of Quaker Women on American History: Bibliographical Studies*, Religion in

America Series, Vol. 21, edited by Carol and John Stoneburner (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1986), pp. 191-201.

¹⁵ *Plain Dealer*, Tuesday, October 28, 1879, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Plain Dealer*, Tuesday, October 29, 1879, p. 1.

¹⁷ J. Walter Malone, *The Autobiography of an Evangelical Quaker*, edited by John W. Oliver (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 45-46.

¹⁸ *No Time for Silence*, pp. 33, 108. Willard once asked Moody if her preaching might offend persons who opposed women preachers. He insisted that she preach because "it was just what they needed." See Nancy A. Hardesty, *Women Called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the 19th Century* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984), p. 20.

¹⁹ Caroline Hare, *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock* (London: Headley Brothers, 1895), p. 333. Comstock noted in 1874 that Moody "has been a friend of mine for eight years, and in Chicago I have used his pulpit several times."

²⁰ For examples see *No Time for Silence*, pp. 40-41.

²¹ One of the first Afro-Americans at Moody Bible Institute was Mary McLeod Bethune, who studied there from 1895-1896. See Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry Around the Turn of the Century* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), p. 227.

²² In Emma's mind, her conversion to revivalistic evangelical Protestantism came when, after a tortuous inner struggle, she spoke the words, "Well, Lord, if I must, I will. I do. I ask for forgiveness in the name of Jesus Christ." The reality of her conversion was confirmed by "an incoming of light that never left a doubt in her heart, [so that] she began to sing the dear old song, 'Hallelujah, 'tis done. I believe on the Son. I'm saved by the blood of the crucified one.'" J. Walter Malone: *The Autobiography of an Evangelical Quaker*, p. 47. To revivalistic evangelicals, salvation was commonly understood as taking place at the moment when one requested "forgiveness in the name of Jesus" rather than - as with earlier Friends - as a process that required holy living and in which believers would have been cautioned against both presumption and despair. Thomas Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism. Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1992), p. 20.

²³ *Reminiscences of Nathan T. and Esther G. Frame*, pp. 303-304. Emma came to hear Esther Frame in March, 1882.

²⁴ For a comparison the Wesleyan and the more moderate Keswick traditions of holiness see Everett

L. Cattell, "An Appraisal of the Keswick and Wesleyan Contemporary Positions," in *Insights into Holiness: Discussions of Holiness by Fifteen Leading Scholars of the Wesleyan Persuasion*, edited by Kenneth Geiger (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 1962), pp. 263-280.

²⁵ Dougan Clark, M.D., "Women's Work, *Friends Missionary Advocate*, Vol. 5 (March 1889), pp. 33-34.

²⁶ *Proceedings of the Conference of Friends of America Held In Indianapolis, Indiana, 1897*. (Philadelphia: The American Friend, 1898), p. 41.

²⁷ Byron L. Osborne, personal interviews from 1988-1992. Osborne was a son-in-law of Walter and Emma Malone and a president of Cleveland Bible College and Malone College. Also Harold Smith, personal interview, March 25, 1989. Smith, who graduated from Cleveland Bible Institute in 1923 - six years after the retirement of Emma and Walter Malone - based his impressions on stories he heard while a student at the school. A transcript of the Smith interview is in the archives at Malone College.

²⁸ *The Women's Book of World Records and Achievements*, edited by Louise Decker O'Neill (N.Y.: Anchor/Doubleday, 1979), p. 406. In 1967 Mary L. Gambrell became president of Hunter College of the City University of New York.

²⁹ *The Malone Story*, pp. 101-102.

³⁰ *American Friend*, Vol. 2, No. 38 (Ninth Month 19, 1895), p. 911.

³¹ John Allen Rowe, "Kaimosi: An Essay in Missionary History," M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1958, pp. 39-40, reports that "in 1900 delegates from seven yearly meetings came together to set up the Friends Africa Industrial Mission Board. The Board was an independent project of those Friends who joined it, and it did not come officially under the control of the Five Years Meeting of Friends until eleven years later." Charles Gilpin, "The Church and the Community: Quakers in Western Kenya, 1902-1963," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1976, p. says that Hotchkiss resigned because he was "unable to accept" the appointment of Edgar Hole as superintendent of the meeting. Rather, Hole was appointed Superintendent on September 20, 1901, which was more than fifteen months before Hotchkiss mailed his resignation to the board from Africa.

³² Willis R. Hotchkiss, *Sketches From the Dark Continent* (Cleveland: Friends Bible Institute, 1901, pp. 37, 164-165. Peter Scott, who was a brother-in-law of Hotchkiss, was the co-founder of the Africa Inland Mission.

³³ As a result, an Africa Committee was established at the church in Cleveland. In these early days, a warm relationship existed between the candidates. On January 4, Willis and Matilda Hotchkiss visited Edgar and Adelaide Hole, who had expressed an interest in Africa. After this, Hotchkiss wrote in his diary, "I do praise God more than ever for such a volunteer as this dear brother. He is unusually fitted for the work."

³⁴ The board noted the men would leave in April, 1902, to locate a site; the women had agreed to stay behind until suitable accommodations could be provided. See "Records of the Executive Committee of the Friend's [sic] Africa Industrial Mission," p. 19. The committee also appointed Hole as business manager for the mission. The records are in the Malone College Archives.

The regulations that were to govern the work in the field were modeled after "the rule which is practiced by the English Friends in India, viz., The Superintendent of the mission [Edgar Hole] shall have oversight of the work, but - all the missionaries shall have an equal voice in the deliberations at the monthly consultation meetings. All decisions are to be returned to the home Board. Should any person or persons be unable to unite with what seems to be the sense of the meeting, they are at liberty to record their names as opposed to the measure. After doing this, they can write home to the Board any thing they like, but no one whose name is not thus recorded at the time of the meeting is allowed to write any thing home to their friends or the Board regarding a difference of opinion. A quarterly report shall be sent to the Executive Committee and an annual report to the Board." "Records of the Executive Committee," p. 20. The members of the executive committee at this time were Raidabaugh, Emma Malone, Charles Francisco and Edgar Stranahan.

³⁵ The entry in his diary reads, "It was decided that . . . Edgar Hole [would] have charge of the work. Some dear people have thought I was inaugurating this work for pleasure. And now I trust by the help of the dear Lord to show that I can labor as zealously as faithfully without official position as with one."

³⁶ Charles Elmer Rice, *A History of the Hole Family in America* (Alliance, OH: R.M. Scranton, 1904. Hole is credited by one historian with "an unusual degree of tolerance and understanding." See Clifford Gilpin, "The Church and the Community: Quakers in Western Kenya, 1902-1963," p. 26.

³⁷ Seven rather than eight because Willis Hotchkiss returned to the United States before his wife could join him in Kenya.

³⁸ Hotchkiss wrote in March, 1903, "I am glad in the face of this that the dear Lord has given our work such a sensible board. Although I have had to suffer grievously because they have not been willing to see some things which I pointed out to them as inevitable in a new work. I nevertheless thank God for them. I trust that my home going may mean a very great deal in the way of straightening out tangles which, however, might have been avoided." In England, Hotchkiss stayed with Dr. Wilson, Secretary of the Friends Foreign Mission Association.

³⁹ Hotchkiss also wrote that he had received a "long epistle from PWR giving the Board's view of my action. It is unquestionably the most cutting, most unreasonable thing I've had to face, giving no room for a statement of the case, but a preemptory order to return to the field from here for another year. It just about broke me up, but I've gathered the pieces together and patched them up with some "trust and patience" stickum so I think they will hold. The dear Lord is wonderfully precious to me."

⁴⁰ "Records of the Executive Committee," p. 46. Hotchkiss recorded in his diary on April 23, that he had sent a cable from London to William C. Taber which read: "Sailed. Dutchland. Inform wife." Arriving in New York, Hotchkiss noted that "I had a sample of the welcome that awaited me in the home land when not a soul was there to greet me." In New York, he went to Tabor's office where "I got a not over enthusiastic welcome from our Treasurer. We had quite a conversation until it was time to take the train." In Cleveland, he was met at the train station by "dear wife, Father, Mother and sister." To Hotchkiss, "it was a sad homecoming in other respects for not a few have shown a coolness which was very hard to bear. Sunday morning I went to service to receive but very scant recognition."

⁴¹ Hotchkiss wrote, "I . . . received a cordial but guarded greeting [from the board]. Aside from the members of the Board Walter Malone and Wm. P. Pinkham were present. After prayer I was asked to make a statement. I did so, reviewing the whole situation from the beginning as carefully and correctly as I could. At its conclusion I was plied with questions. These very clearly showed me that I faced a presumption on their part that I was wrong."

⁴² "Records of the Executive Committee," p. 67. This report came from William Pinkham who, while not a member of the board, was a guest at the meeting.

⁴³ "Records of the Executive Committee," pp. 68-69.

⁴⁴ Hotchkiss added, "At three different meetings of the Executive Committee subsequently, I requested that they be read to me, and my request was refused on the ground that they were personal letters to Emma B. Malone."

⁴⁵ Edward Thornton Heald, *The Stark County Story*, Vol. 1 (Canton, OH: Stark County Historical Society, 1949), pp. 154-55.

⁴⁶ Materials on this school are available at the Cincinnati Historical Society.

⁴⁷ Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (Westport, CN: Greenwood, 1988), p. 266.

Haverford admitted its first Afro-American student in 1926, Bryn Mawr in 1927 and Swarthmore in 1943.

⁴⁸ "Timely Earthquakes," *Soul-Winner*, Vol. 3 (1904), p. 545.

⁴⁹ *Soul-Winner*, Vol. 3 (1904), p. 522.

⁵⁰ Rufus Jones, "Our Duties to the Colored Race," *American Friend*, Vol. 5 (1898), pp. 508-509.

Book Review

God's Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, 1842-1846 by Thomas D. Hamm (Indiana University Press, 1995), xxv + 312 pages. *Reviewed by Peter Brock.*

A historical monograph centring on a mere half decade of time, Thomas Hamm's book nevertheless raises a number of issues that still have relevance for us today and are still keenly debated among Friends and like minded persons: political reform, for instance, social justice, racial equality, women's rights, intentional communities, vegetarianism, pacifism. The author teaches at Earlham College where he is also College Archivist and Director of the Institute for Quaker Studies. His previous book, published in 1988, dealt with the transformation occurring within Friends in the United States between 1800 and 1907, a theme covering *inter alia* the series of separations which were to divide American - and Canadian - Quakerism after 1828.

The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform established in Ohio in 1842, the subject of Hamm's book reviewed here, came into existence as a result of the joint endeavours of small groups of New England antislavery activists, inspired by the evangelical reform impulse, and of non-evangelical liberal Hicksite Quakers in the rural mid-West. In both cases their immediate inspiration arose from the radical movement of nonviolent abolitionism led by William Lloyd Garrison and including among its supporters men like Adin Ballou, whose Hopedale Community in Massachusetts was perhaps the best known communitarian venture of that age of social and moral ferment.

In 1838 Garrison had broken with the moderate peace advocates of the American Peace Society and set up a separate New England Non-Resistance Society, which espoused, in addition to radical abolitionism, what he called "the Government of God" to replace coercive human government: a form of Christian anarchism which was later to have a major exponent in the great Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy. During

the mid-1840s, some of the Garrisonian ultraists felt led to establish utopian alternative societies, where they could attempt the inauguration of God's government living in peace with themselves and their neighbours. These ventures were all short-lived. But, as the editors of the series (*Religion in North America*) in which Hamm's book appears comment: "Remnants of that ideal of nonresistance still drive visionaries today" (p. ix).

Until Hamm's book appeared, little was known about the Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform or about at least seven of the eight communities the Society established. (The exception was the community at Skaneateles, New York). Indeed, previous works on pacifism and communitarianism in antebellum America have for the most part omitted all mention of them. Hamm's study has an interesting genesis. "Although I did all of the manuscript research myself," he writes (p. xiv), "and recombined the reform press as well," he was fortunate in being able to utilize copious "information... combed from sources long vanished or people long dead" by an enthusiastic amateur Indiana local historian and genealogist, the late Willard Heiss, as well as the papers preserved by a great-grandson of one of the leading figures in the Society, the Hicksite Quaker Valentine Nicholson. (Nicholson's reform activities led ultimately to his disownment - strangely enough, amidst all of his heterodoxies, ... for organizing a singing school!" - p. 197.)

Hamm defines the aims of the Universal Reformers eight communities (four in Indiana, three in Ohio, and one in the state of New York) as the construction of "a new order of society."

To usher in the Government of God, they would abolish all private landholding. They would replace a competitive, capitalist economy with one based on cooperation. They would make technology an instrument of liberation, rather than of oppression and suffering for workers. They would sweep away "sectism and priestcraft", replacing them with a pure, uncorrupted Christianity. New ways of education would raise up a generation fit for a world being made anew. Women would achieve equali-

ty, freed from domestic drudgery and male tyranny, and would find freedom to seek their own fulfilment. And through diet and health reform, humans would become fit to live in such a world (p. xvi).

All this was to be achieved peacefully, without the employment of violent means, by the power alone of the example exercised by the peaceable communarians. Alas, none of these socialistic communities lasted more than four years.

One of the reasons for the obscurity in which the activities of the Universal Reformers have been wrapped hitherto lies in the fact that no outstanding figures attached themselves to their Society. Its founders, with the exception perhaps of John A. Collins, have at best found only occasional mention in the history books. Apart from articles and letters in the abolitionist or communitarian press its members published little; they were by no means inarticulate but their most revealing writings usually remained in manuscript until brought to light by Hamm and Heiss. In his first two chapters, dealing with the evangelical and Hicksite Quaker roots of Universal Reform, Hamm, on the basis of meticulous research into the primary sources, shows how these men and their families, along with several hundred other persons whom they succeeded in recruiting, came together to adopt a communal form of living and espouse the cause of Universal Reform. By 1842 "yearnings for holiness, agitation for immediate abolition [of slavery] and... nonresistance and the Government of God ... had brought [them] to a common commitment to begin the transformation of the world" (p. 1).

After describing the somewhat uneasy birth of the Universal Reformers' organization during 1842-3. Hamm devotes two of his most interesting - and analytical chapters to the operations and ideology of their eight communities. As one of the Society's founders wrote early in 1844: "Community [constitutes] the embodiment of all good and the consummation of all Reform" (p. 103). These communities, it was hoped, would realize in practice the aims of the Universal Reformers and provide an example for adoption by the rest of the world, leading

ultimately to the redemption of humanity from war between nations and oppression by coercive governments.

By the autumn of 1846 all eight communities had dissolved, victims of the same kind of defects, financial and interpersonal, as have afflicted most other utopian communities. Hamm's final chapter outlines the subsequent fate of the Universal Reformers. Some of them, especially those of Quaker background, joined the Progressive or Congregational Friends, a group of liberal Quakers committed to abolitionism which did not long survive the end of slavery. Many continued active in various reform causes, though doing this now in isolation from each other. Ernestine Rose of Skaneateles for instance, would make a name for herself as a pioneer of American feminism. Only the once fiery Collins seems to have abandoned almost entirely his former radicalism. At the same time spiritualism, then much in vogue, became a refuge for many Universal Reformers. Imperceptibly, too, they shed their belief in nonresistance and no-government." They were, it is true, mostly too old to participate actively in the American Civil War. But, Hamm remarks, as in the case of the Garrisonian nonresistants as a group, "there is ... nothing to show that they had any qualms about it. Certainly, by the 1850s, all had made their peace with politics" (p. 234).

Financial difficulties proved the most common cause of community collapse. Personal conflicts and lack of homogeneity in membership also led to serious trouble in several cases. At Skaneateles we find Collins accused, seemingly with some justification, of possessing all "the elements of a perfect tyrant." It is true," wrote one of the community members, "he binds with silken cords - but none the less sure" (p. 156). Though often suffering acutely from a sense of isolation, the Universal Reformers, nevertheless, failed to renounce the outside world as effectively as some of the more successful communal experiments, like the Hutterites or the Shakers, did. "Members were free to come and go, to associate with nonmembers as they chose, and to maintain a variety of ties" (p. 160). On the ideological level, diversity of views sometimes engendered strife, though a firmer sense of unity

prevailed on most practical issues than might have been expected. Universal Reformers virtually all agreed, for instance, in condemning the slaughter of animals for food - on both dietary and humane grounds. On the other hand, the problem of how to avoid internal anarchy without resorting to some form of coercion was never solved satisfactorily. Heterodox in their religious views, many of them "disowned" Quakers or "come-outers" from other Protestant churches, the Universal Reformers were not disturbed by the fact that some of their number, like Collins or the Vermont abolitionist editor Orson S. Murray for instance, eventually abandoned Christianity and openly avowed atheism. Naturally, such developments frequently led to charges of "infidelity" being levelled against the Universal Reformers by hostile outsiders, to which they replied by asserting that infidelity was "only another name for honesty" (p. 202). As a Michigan Hicksite, now a freethinker, put it: "If the pains taken by the teachers of the people to fix their attention on the unknown, were employed in developing social principles, and teaching ... known truths, a vast improvement ... would soon be effected" (p. 203). "By their fruits shall ye know them" was the principle adopted by most of the Universal Reformers.

Universal Reform proved a failure. Its communities, generally disregarded during their brief existence, faded rapidly from the public memory. The revived interest among historians during recent decades in "Garrisonianism" somehow passed over the Universal Reformers. Hamm, though, can rightly claim the communities the latter established as probably "the most ambitious attempt in America to usher in the Government of God" (p. 104). They sought to realize a vision of society that has not ceased to inspire enthusiasm and devotion. For most readers of this book, however, its main attraction may lie in the way the author reveals the working of this vision in the lives of mostly very ordinary men and women. This is not an epic of saints or intellectual giants. But as the author tells his story, we see how the vision raised these people, for all their naivete and mistakes, out of their ordinariness to become prophets of a future world order.

Acquisitions: Continued from page 2

elicits support and articles c/o Dr. P. Dandelion, Woodbrooke College, 1046 Bristol Road, Birmingham B29 6LJ, England. The journal appears twice a year to those with membership in QRSA @ £10/3Lpa.

• J.E. Brenda Bailey. A Quaker Couple in Nazi Germany: Leonhard Friedrich Survives Buchenwald. York, Eng.: Wm. Sessions Ltd., c. 1994, reprinted 1995. Footnotes, bibliography, index. Includes photographs. 296 pp. The author is the daughter of the subjects. It is a carefully documented account of Friends in Nazi Germany before during and after WW II, and the faithfulness of the Friedrichs in Bad Prymont. Mary, an English Friend, continued after Leonard's imprisonment in Buchenwald in 1942. After the war they rebuilt Quaker work in Bad Prymont. This is also a history of 20th century Quakerism in Germany.

• Sydney D. Bailey, Peace Is a Process. Swarthmore Lecture 1993. London: Quaker Home Service. Bibliography, illustrated. 188 pp. ISBN 0 85245 2497. The author spent his life in Quaker service for peace in FAU in China during WWII, at the Quaker United Nations Office, for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and as advisor to the British Foreign Office on the UN and disarmament. This volume is a history of Quaker initiatives for peace such as Friends Relief Service, the FAU, and Conferences for Diplomats. (Coincidentally he married Brenda Friedrich the author of the book above! What wonderful lives of service these two have given.)

• Lady Borton, After Sorrow: An American among the Vietnamese. Forward by Grace Paley. York: Viking Penguin, c. 1995. Photographs. 304 pp. ISBN 0-670-84332-6. Written by one who worked in Quaker service at Quang Nai during the war. She returned to write the stories of women who lived in three villages. One early reader wished all congressmen could read it to gain historical perspective.

• Shirley Dodson, editor, John Woolman's Spirituality and Our Contemporary Witness. Study Guide based on Autumn, 1994, Pendle Hill Monday Evening Lectures. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and Pendle Hill, 1995. 102 pp. Ten ses-

sions with references and questions for individuals or groups to use.

- Shirley Dodson, Quakerism 101: A Basic Course for Adults. Religious education Com. of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1995.

Bibliography, 93 pp. A series of six lesson units with resource sections and alternative course outlines. Focus on Friends' history, practices for worship and business and Friends living our faith in the world today.

- Chuck Fager, editor, Sustaining Peace Witness in the Twenty-first Century: Papers from the 1997 Quaker Peace Roundtable.

Pendle Hill Issues Program, c. 1997. 369 pp. Informative and current history of 20th century peace work. Bibliographies for most sections. Appendices include copies of key documents. David Jackman, a Canadian, presented the essay on "Civilian Peacekeepers".

- Chuck Fager, editor, Quaker Service at the Crossroads: American Friends, The American Friends Service Committee, and Peace and Revolution. Falls Church, Va: Kimo Press, c. 1988. biog. notes on contributors. 216 pp. Fifteen prominent writers explore concerns about the AFSC and respond to criticisms by Prof. Buenter Lewy in Peace and Revolution: the Moral Crisis of American Pacifism. Useful resource for ideas related to Quaker service work and organizations.

- Robert Halliday, Mind the Oneness: The foundation of good Quaker business method. London: Quaker Home Service/Headley Bros.; 1991. 85 pp. Bibliography, exercise appendix. ISBN: 0 85245 235 7. Contents include: personal and corporate discipline; techniques of Quaker business method; tradition and innovation. Useful for understanding Quaker business and perhaps making it more effective.

- John Ormerod Greenwood, Quaker Encounters: Volume I Friends and Relief. York, Eng.: Wm. Sessions Ltd., 1975. Appendix: List of relief projects. Index, Photographs and maps, 360 pp. ISBN: 0 900657 29 4. The study of two centuries of Quaker activity in the relief of suffering caused by war or natural calamity. The subtitle summarises the content.

- Douglas H. and Harriet E. Heath, Lives of Hope: Women's and Men's Paths to Success

and Fulfillment, expanded ed. Haverford, Pa.: Conrow Pub. House, 1994. 297 pp. footnotes. ISBN: 0-9641727-0-4. The book seeks to answer what leads to success in career, marriage, family and friendships? Do men and women follow the same paths?

- Alastair Heron, Quakers in Britain: a century of change 1895-1995. Keslo, Scot: Curlew Graphics, 1995. bib. 176 pp. ISBN: 1 900259 00 1. The story of a century of change among Quakers in Britain, providing a challenging look at some of the key issues facing Friends today.

- Wm. C. Kashatus, A Virtuous Education: Penn's Vision for Philadelphia Schools. Wallingford, Pa: Pendle Hill, 1997. Illus., bibliography, Index, 262 pp. A statement for continued vision in education based on Penn and his successors' support of schools.

- Rachel Labouchere, Deborah Darby of Coalbrookdale, 1754-1810. York, Eng.: Wm. Sessions Ltd., c. 1993. Illus., index. 438 pp. ISBN: 1 85072 100 9. Supported by much supplemental material, this book gives a picture of Friends of the 18th c.

- Michael Luick-Thrams, Out of Hitler's Reach: The Scattergood Hostel for European Refugees 1939-43. Iowa Community Action Coalition: Goodfellow Press. c.1996. 321 p. ISBN: 9-12072-25-1. A history of the Hostel and the people who found goodness there.

- Mary Rose O'Reilley, The Peaceable Classroom, Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook c. 1993. Bib. 160 pp. ISBN: 0-86709-328-5. Applying nonviolence to pedagogy. To foster a critical encounter with the intellectual and spiritual forces to reclaim the power of literature to change things.

- David J. Whittaker, Fighter for Peace: Philip Noel-Baker 1889-1982. York, Eng: Wm. Sessions Ltd. c. 1989. Bib.; Index. 401 pp. ISBN: 1 85072 056 8. Biography of a founder of the League of Nations and the UN, Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1959.

- Walter R. Williams, Paul Anderson, epilogue, The Rich Heritage of Quakerism. Newberg: Barclay Press, 1987. Illus., Notes, Bib., Index. 330 pp. ISBN: 0-913342-60-2. The history of Friends written from the American evangelical tradition.

News & Notes

- New Members: Ross Harrison, Port Stanley, ON, Donna Valentine-Sylvester, Weyburn, Sask., Robert M. Alexander, Meaford, ON.
- We regret to hear of the passing of members Bernice Merrick Ellis (1913-1996), Alaine Hawkins (1935-1997) and Bertha Pollard (1904-1997).
- Jane Zavitz-Bond was inducted into the "Class of 1842" during the Commencement exercises at Pickering College June 20th. The award recognizes Jane's outstanding contribution to the school and the Quaker Archives housed there.
- The Quaker collection of Haverford College announces the availability of three \$1500 (Am.) Gest Fellowships for one month of research using Quaker Collection materials to study a topic that explores the connections and relationships between various ways of expressing religious belief in the world. The fellowships, which are for dissertation research, post-graduate or social activist study, may be used for any one month period between July 1, 1998 and January 29, 1999. Application deadline is Feb. 2, 1998. For more detailed information contact: Ann W. Upton, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, PA 19041, tel. 610/896-1161.
- A number of related World Wide Web notices.
 - Bryn Mawr, Haverford and Swarthmore Colleges have put their library and Quaker collection catalogue on line. Visit their site at <http://tripod.brynmawr.edu>.
 - The Toronto Historical Board has a "virtual heritage site" at <http://www.torontohistory.on.ca>.
 - The Sharon Temple historic site and museum has revised its web page at <http://www.sharon.rogerswave.ca:8060/sharon/temple.html>.
 - And don't forget to check our own web-site at <http://www.interhop.net/museum/>. It contains a history of Canadian Quakerism, sample articles from the journal, and a complete list of available Canadian Quaker archival material.

CFHA SPECIAL EVENT during Canadian Yearly Meeting

You are invited to visit the
Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives
Pickering College
3:00 p.m. Wed, Aug. 20, 1997

Transportation will be provided
from the CYM site, and an early
supper provided
(donations accepted)

See displays related to the work of
C.F.S.C, some special treasures
from the vault and the A.G.
Dorland Historical Collection.

Notice of Annual Meeting

The Canadian Friends Historical Association Annual Meeting

**25 Oct., 1997
Friends House
60 Lowther Ave., Toronto**

Business Meeting 10:00
Lunch (provided)
Afternoon programme 1:30

**50 YEARS of PEACE
PURSUITS:
a panel discussion of Canadian
Friends activities since
Quakers received the Nobel
Peace Prize.**