

CANADIAN QUAKER HISTORY

JOURNAL

CANADIAN FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

ISSN 0319-3934

60 LOWTHER AVENUE, TORONTO, ONTARIO M5R 1C7

The Old Meeting House
Adolphustown 1798

No. 56

Contents

Winter 1995

Editorial

by Kyle Jolliffe.....

1

Address to the Annual Meeting:

People of Providence, Polity and Property: Domesticity,
Philanthropy and Land Ownership as Instruments of
Quaker Community Development in Adolphustown,
Upper Canada, 1784-1824

by Gregory Finnegan, Ph.D......

3

Report of the 22nd Annual Meeting:

Minutes of the 22nd Annual Meeting.....

15

Chairperson's Report

by Kathleen Hertzberg.....

17

Liaison with Other Heritage Organizations

by David McFall.....

18

Membership and Financial Reports.....

19

by Stanley Gardiner

Rendell Rhoades (1914-1976)

by Nancy Rhoades.....

20

From the Dorland Room.....

21

News and Notes.....

24

The Canadian Quaker History Journal is published twice annually in summer and winter issues by the Canadian Friends Historical Association (as part of the annual membership subscription to the Association). Applications for membership may be made to the address listed below. Membership fees for 1995 are:

Libraries and Institutions	\$20.00
General Membership	\$15.00
Seniors and Students	\$10.00
Life Membership	\$200.00

Contents of the published articles are the responsibility of the authors.

Copyright © 1995 Canadian Friends Historical Association.

ISSN 1180-968X

G.S.T. No. R118831593

Editor: Kyle Jolliffe

Production: Albert Schrauwers
Jane Zavitz

with:

Kathleen Hertzberg
Elmay Kirkpatrick

Editorial Address:

Dorland Room
Pickering College
16945 Bayview Avenue
Newmarket, Ont.,
L3Y 4X2

Letters and submissions from readers are always welcome.

Editorial

If you visit Adolphustown, Ontario today, the locale of Gregory Finnegan's perceptive study of Quaker patterns of domesticity, you will only find gravestones as a tangible reminder of the once substantial Quaker presence. Through his meticulous research Gregory Finnegan has provided us with important insights into how the Quaker community of Adolphustown thrived and then declined. His paper parallels Albert Schrauwers' work on the communitarian Children of Peace at Sharon, Ontario. In both instances kinship ties, charity and living near to each other were important to the survival of the group. The information he draws from Quaker and public records reveals to us something of the lives of people otherwise lost to history. It is worthwhile to recall here William King Baker's maudlin but still poignant description of the United Empire Loyalists, in his biography of John T. Dorland, the father of Arthur Dorland:

The story of the experiences of these scattered exiles...if fully narrated, would be crowded with interested incidents. Every year renders such a work more difficult, as there remain fewer of those who had the thrilling accounts of their adventures from the lips of men themselves expatriated and forced to leave their homes and property, to seek a refuge in the trackless forests of Canada. (London, 1898, p. 5)

Life in early Upper Canada had its difficulties such as war and drought, but the Friends of Adolphustown, like Friends in other places such as Norwich, West Lake and Yonge Street survived these hardships and the frontier era soon faded away. By the end of the nineteenth century Ontario had made the transition to an industrial society. In the process Quakerism

would shed its standoffishness from the world and become (with a few exceptions) a church where the emphasis on religious experience as the guide for an individual replaced the emphasis on a common religious doctrine.

History, of course, does not stand still in the twentieth century either. Arthur Clayton, a member of our Association since its beginning, passed away in September of last year. He was raised a Conservative Friend and was both a founding member of our Association in 1972 and of the Canadian Friends Service Committee in 1931. In his retirement he enjoyed travelling widely among Friends and many Friends valued his friendship. Oral history tapes of his life are deposited in the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives. In October of last year Stirling Nelson passed away. He and his wife Mildred, who survives him, gave decades of faithful service as Directors at Camp Neekaunis, a Quaker camp near Midland, Ontario. He was well known for a joyful smile and his wise leadership of young people. Both of these Friends had an ministry of humble service to those around them. And, not surprisingly for a religious body which emphasizes an experiential faith in preference to faith based on creeds, their lives were to others religious faith personified.

Kyle Jolliffe

Address to the Annual Meeting:

People Of Providence, Polity and Property: Domesticity, Philanthropy and Land Ownership as Instruments of Quaker Community Development in Adolphustown, Upper Canada, 1784-1824

By Gregory Finnegan, Ph.D.¹

Quakers were emotionally, spiritually and geographically among the most successful Anglo-American frontiersmen and women. Their emotional, spiritual and geographic frontiers were intimately related. Partly because they had lived on the Frontier of Great Britain's commercial and political expansion, Quakers took to exploring the frontiers of intimate relations.²

Like the English Quakers who settled the Delaware Valley in the 1680's, the pioneer American Friends who migrated to Upper Canada a century later were entering the vast forest of Britain's most recent frontier. Levy argues that the solution devised by the Quakers to the weakening of ministerial and communal institutions and the harshness of economic conditions in Frontier America, was a form of domesticity, based upon radical religious ideas.³ This solution focused spiritual and social authority upon the family, household unit and monthly meeting, institutions in which women played a central and frequently spiritual leadership role. It is logical to assume from a geographer's perspective that a community enacting such a social and religious solution would have created a unique cultural landscape in their attempt to reconstruct their society. Domesticity, as defined by Levy, can be traced to Quaker disciplines dealing with child care, household roles, household authority and the regulation of household standards through the regular visits of Quaker elders. In the first epistles of the Society of Friends in the late 1650's meetings were urged to take care of the

poor in their membership, to take up collections for them and especially that the children of the poor be given honest employment.⁴ Domesticity and philanthropy were central tenets of the religious and societal discipline of the American Quaker families who migrated to and settled Adolphustown, Upper Canada.

The reconstruction of the early social geography of Adolphustown clearly indicates the influence of Quaker domesticity, as applied to family development and assistance to migrating Friends. Quaker Disciplines relating to child care and philanthropy influenced household size and land acquisition patterns in Adolphustown. However other aspects of the Disciplines which restricted individual freedom of expression, especially as regards marriage partners, social engagements and expressions of religious beliefs and social well-being through song, dance and merriment, resulted in frequent disciplining of the young and even disownment. The Adolphustown Quaker community reconstructed in this study was also actively engaged in the theological debate that resulted in the 1827-8 Hicksite division, although the surviving Minutes provide scant testimony to debates of this nature.

Quaker frontier settlements were premised on the principles of social welfare and the basic provisioning of relief to those within the community who were in need. This was not the New World frontier of individualistic survivors, but one of community welfare. The Quaker records allow us to see the workings of human agency on the frontier within a structured, defined community, whose religious life-style teachings can be traced through the surviving

township records. Here kinship ties (or propinquity) can be measured based on family, religious community and the knowledge that their households interacted on a daily and weekly basis in the community, the town hall and the meetinghouse. This religious community transformed the landscape of early Adolphustown making it, for a period, a prosperous dynamic community, a place of agricultural prosperity and social welfare.

Data and Methodology

A reconstruction of early Adolphustown necessitates the cross referencing of the heads of households listed in the population returns to the land records and to the documents of the Society of Friends Preparative and Monthly Meetings. The early land records of Upper Canada allow for the reconstruction of land granting, patenting and subsequent land transactions. Here examples of Quaker land transactions can be traced, and when viewed over time, it is possible to argue that the Quaker community was involved in organized land banking, the purchasing of neighbouring properties, which over time, created blocks of Quaker owned and managed farms.

An example of the transfer of title for a typical property is the West Half of Lot 15 in the Second Concession, north of the Bay of Quinte. The original free grant for this 200 acre lot was registered to Philip Dorland in 1790. However, as was the case in 55% of all free grants in the township, the Crown patent was issued in another's name, that of Jacob Dulmage in 1803. Dulmage, who immigrated to the township in 1797, left after selling the property in 1806 to Peter Vancott. In 1807 the Abstract Index to Deeds records that Vancott sold the property to the Quaker, Samuel Howe. Howe, who paid £212/10s/6d. for 100 acres on the west half of the lot, had received membership in the Monthly Meeting in 1801 and was listed in the Township returns as a separate head of household in 1804. By 1805 Howe was absent from the Township, probably having

moved to Kingston, although he remained a member of the Meeting which disciplined him in 1809. Howe subsequently sold his 100 acre share of the lot to Thomas Dorland during the war torn year of 1814, for only £200.

The recovery of the history of this Quaker community was facilitated by the meticulous record keeping of the Adolphustown Preparative Meeting, founded in 1798, and the Monthly Meeting, established in 1801.⁵ The Meeting kept minutes of business transacted by members, but unfortunately not attendance. Between 1798 and 1821, these minutes reveal how the Meeting dealt with some 260 individuals and families in regards to such matters as membership, marriage, birth, death, certificates of removal, offences under the Discipline and disownments. While not all those in attendance lived in Adolphustown, regular cross-referencing of these records to the population returns and property ownership file reveals a number of demographic processes. These include:

- 1) a steady minority of Quaker households resident in the township;
- 2) the through migration of American land seekers until approximately 1812; and
- 3) the addition of the new landed households to the meeting and township in most sample years.⁶

The research is based upon eight sample years selected between 1794 and 1820, for which each successive population return was cross listed using Christian and Surname information to the Land Registry based lot location to form a master list. For example, Joel Haight's household of five is listed in 1800 and 1804; he purchased land in 1808, but was rather surprisingly missing from the 1808 population return, reappearing in 1812. In 1808, Daniel Haight's household expanded from seven to ten members. Did Joel work outside the township in 1808 in order to solidify his finances? It is unlikely he was missed by the township assessor, who in 1808, was his neighbour, uncle and fellow Quaker, Daniel

TABLE 1
Population Characteristics of Adolphustown Township,
Upper Canada, for Sample Years 1794-1820

Year	Total Population ¹	Number of Households	Number of All adult Male H'lds	Number of Women head of Households	Frequency of Multiple Adult male H'lds ²
1794	393	81	12	0	25.9%
1797	480	94	9	0	19.1%
1800	525	88	5	1	39.8%
1804	584	90	5	1	36.7%
1808	568	88	2	3	27.3%
1812	576	81	0	1	49.4%
1816	496	73	1	6	52.1%
1820	561	88	1	7	58.0%

Source: Ontario Bureau of Industries, (1897). Appendix to the Report.

¹ Minor errors exist in the totals as printed in the original report, these have been corrected.

² Multiple adult male households are an indication of maturing households in which parents and their adult offspring reside. It may also include transient families who are boarders.

TABLE 2
Matrix Of Household Continuity, Adolphustown, 1794-1820

Year	1794	1797	1800	1804	1808	1812	1816	1820	New H'ld	Tran' Rate*
1794 ¹	20	12	3 ³	4	6 ⁴	5	4	27 ⁵	N/A	66.6%
1797 ²		24	2	3	1	1	0	4 ⁶	35	88.6%
1800			20	3	2	1	0	3	29	89.7%
1804				18	3	3	1	4 ⁷	29	86.2%
1808					12	1	3	8 ⁸	24	66.6%
1812						9	3	5	17	70.6%
1816							11	6	17	64.5%
1820								31	31	N/A
n =	81	94	88	90	88	81	73	88		

¹ Read 1794 as last year listed for given number of original 1794 settlers; i.e. 1794 - 20 heads of household last entry. By 1820, 27 continuing families.

² Read 1797 (on) as 35 new Heads of Households entering the Township in 1797, 24 last entry 1797, 2 last entry 1800, 3 last entry 1804, 1 last entry each of 1808 and 1812, 0 left 1816, only 4 remaining as of 1820; Tran' Rate * transiency rate of — 88.57%.

³⁻⁸ Due to the fact that some residents of the township moved out of Adolphustown but later returned it is necessary to subscript certain migration statistics upon their return. To acquire the total number of 73 households in 1816 you need to add columns 1816 and 1820 which equals 79, then subtract subscripts 5 (5 - 1820 households absent in 1816), and 8 (one 1808 entry household that survives to 1820 absent in 1816).

Other subscripts relate to: 3 - One 1794 household absent in 1797 returns 1800; 4 - One 1794 household absent 1804 returns 1808; - One 1797 household absent 1800 and 1804 returns 1808; 7 - One 1804 household absent 1808 returns 1812.

Site and Situation

Hay Bay divides Adolphustown into two peninsulas, while the waters of Long Reach and the Bay of Quinte surround this minute township of 11,500 acres to the north, south and west. Predominantly a mixture of clays and loams, the soils were ideally suited for such frontier crops as fall wheat, fall planted rye, and spring pease.⁷ The slower draining clays, which inhibited early planting, are intersected by the better drained loams with most lots having a mixture of soil types.

In reply to Gourlay's questionnaire of 1817 the residents of Adolphustown noted one unusual attribute for Upper Canada, good roads. "The roads are unsurpassed by none in the province..." answered the municipal council, and so they should, having actively sought to improve these bane of frontier existence for over twenty years. Their boosterism was not limited to roads, but continued: "no township has greater advantage as respects water conveyance, every concession has communications with the Bay leading to Kingston". Such proximity was initially profitable, with Adolphustown and Kingston sharing the meetings of the Midland Court of the Quarter Session which attracted numerous travellers replete with information and currency. During this early period of Upper Canadian settlement, Adolphustown was a key central place with important functional attributes operating within the civil, economic and religious realms of society.

Period and Place

The settlement of early Upper Canada consisted of three prominent migration streams. These were refugee American Loyalists, 1784-1787; westward migrating land-seeking Americans to 1812, and after 1815 a planned shift to British Isles migrants, characterized by disbanded military and pauper settlers. Occupied in the initial wave of refugee migration,

Adolphustown's population records indicate that all three phases of migration influenced local development through to 1820.

In each phase Quaker households entered Adolphustown. Philip Dorland arrived in 1784, having suffered abuse and confiscation of his property due to his pacifist ways. While an avowed Loyalist, his loyalty was to the Quaker religion. In contrast, his brother Thomas was a Royalist, who had fought for British rule in America. Philip Dorland was elected to the first parliament of Upper Canada, but was disqualified for failing to take an oath of allegiance to defend the crown.⁸ Philip maintained permanent residence in Adolphustown until the War of 1812 at which time he fled to Wellington, Prince Edward County; dying there in 1814 at age 59.

The path of the itinerant land seeking American is less clear. Peter C. Brown, from the Galloway Meeting, Pennsylvania, appears on the 1800 and 1804 population returns with a household of six and then eight members. Brown was unable to attain land ownership and his residence in Adolphustown ended shortly after 1807. This scenario was carried out on numerous occasions by American migrants from 1794 to 1812.

The experience of British Quaker "pauper" migrants is somewhat different. After the collapse of his tannery in Bristol, England in 1820, William Mullet booked passage with his family of eleven on board the Friend, destined for Quebec City.⁹ By 1821, Adolphustown provided him with the opportunity to open a general merchandise store and to rent a farm from an absentee land owner.¹⁰

In these cases, and in countless others, the existence of a Quaker religious meeting and commercial community probably influenced the migrants choice of destination, while the community's collective spiritual and socio-economic support, probably facilitated the decision for some to settle, acquire land and become residents in Adolphustown. For those who did not succeed, the Monthly Meeting would have provided certificates of removal

and advice on which Quaker communities could provide better opportunities. After Adolphustown, stops along the western route included Young Street, Pelham and Norwich and Michigan.¹¹

The Society of Friends and Family Obligations

Within agricultural communities, childbearing fulfilled the primary goals of labour reproduction and religious community renewal through birthright membership. As such, Quakers in Adolphustown developed larger than average households, which can be attributed to their equitable devotion to economic prosperity and the attainment of spiritual fulfillment.¹² Frequent childbearing provided future labourers for the fields and members for the Meeting House.

The agricultural economics of frontier development, the preparation of forested lands for planting in a specie poor, high cost labour market, demanded that cheap labour be begotten within the immediate labour pool - the home. Gagan notes that family completion was as urgent a priority as family formation.¹³ In Adolphustown maturing families characterized by multiple adult male households, increased from 26% of all households in 1794 to 58% in 1820 (Table 3). With the closure of the local land market, indicated by an 85% of the land patent rate by 1805 (see Map 3), rural households in

TABLE 3
Multiple Adult Male Households As a Percentage Of All Households,
Adolphustown

Date	%	Date	%
1794	25.9	1808	27.3
1797	19.1	1812	49.4
1800	39.8	1816	52.1
1804	36.7	1820	58.0

(OBI, 1897; Compiled by Author)

which adult children and parents co-resided, became the norm.¹⁴ Within the Quaker community conflicts increased in the years following 1804. From 1798 to 1804 the Meeting was forced to discipline or disown only six members. In contrast from 1805 to 1812, 23 disciplinings or disownments were recorded, a rate of almost three per year. During this period the Monthly Meeting approved as few as six marriages, a situation which would have placed greater emphasis on attracting already established immigrant households.

Supplemental to natural increase, was the flow of migrants through the township. Prior to 1812 the Adolphustown Meeting thrived on the through migration of land seeking American Friends, who in Arthur Dorland's opinion were..."the merest trickle of the great Westward Movement that was occurring in Quaker society".¹⁵ This merest trickle though, provided both labour and spiritual renewal, for they brought with them information on religious teachings and agricultural practices, introduced new marriage partners and provided an opportunity for the newly prosperous Adolphustown Friends to fulfil the discipline of philanthropy.

Monthly Meetings such as that sanctioned in Adolphustown in 1801, acted as an insurance policy for child and family. Elders were assigned to carry out regular visits to the homes of Friends to investigate their spiritual and financial condition.¹⁶ Special visits relating to economic welfare and marriage partners were regularly undertaken by "weighty friends", who had the authority to condone marriages and report conditions requiring disciplinary actions.¹⁷ Infractions of the Quaker discipline were numerous, and included undisciplined speech, drinking in taverns, public drunkenness, gaming, fighting, dancing and fornication. The Adolphustown Monthly Meeting disowned Tabbi Dorland in 1809 for losing her innocence and having a child out of wedlock.¹⁸ Clearly this communal insurance policy was not without limitations.

While the Monthly Meeting managed

the propriety of the spiritual community in Adolphustown, the leading Quakers also worked to insure that their religious community existed within the territorial confines of an organized and regulated municipal district. Indeed, through their strong commitment to social well-being and commercial advancement the Quakers helped initiate local government. By such involvement they created an environment which maximized assistance to migrating and landless Friends, while insuring the advance of commerce through road improvements, fencing, regulation of noxious animals and weeds, and the collection of taxes to pay for public works.

Elected positions on the Adolphustown council were dominated by a small clique of families, but woven through this common Upper Canadian scenario was the influence of the Society of Friends. Between 1792 and 1820, Quakers held the influential position of Town

Clerk on sixteen occasions.¹⁹ In total a group of seven men held 34% or 50 of the 149 available offices (Table 4). Of these seven, Beedel, Casey and Haight were landed Quakers.

At the core of the Adolphustown community is the religious commitment of a minority of the population to a domestic life-style. Through domesticity the Quakers attempted to insure the physical and spiritual health of children and to improve the living conditions of less fortunate families. The Adolphustown Quakers achieved considerable success through participation in local politics and by acquiring property to aid in the development of large households while working together towards the creation of a Christian community.

Substantial Households, Quakers Comparatively Considered

Quaker religious discipline flourished in

TABLE 4
Profiles Of Leading Adolphustown Municipal Officials

NAME	No. Of Appoint-ments	Type of Offices	Land owned, Acquired by	UEL Muster/ Quaker
Wm. Moore	10	Town Warden Assessor	300 Acres Patent	1784 UEL
R. Beedel	9	Town Clerk Town Warden	100 Acres	QUAKER
D. Haight	9	Town Clerk Collector	225 Acres Purchase	QUAKER
P. Swade	6	Poundkeeper	-NONE-	---
Wlt. Casey	6	Town Warden Surety*	430 Acres Pat.+Purch.	QUAKER
J. Caniff	5	Town Warden Collector	100 Acres Patent	1796 UEL
W. Griffis	5	Constable Collector	-NONE-	1796 UEL

* Surety - Is listed as a Council position when one of the wealthier landowners acts to provide financial backing for a younger member who has been appointed tax assessor and collector.

Sources: Archives of Ontario; MS 788, Vol. 5; A.O., Abstract Index to Deeds; A.O., MS 303; Ontario Bureau of Industry Appendix to Report 1897.

TABLE 5
Comparison Of Quaker And Non- Quaker Households
Adolphustown, Upper Canada 1794 - 1820.

Quaker Households : Non - Quaker Households

Year	Number of Households Corrected	Average Household Size ¹	No. of one person Households	Number of Households Corrected	Average Household Size	No. of one person Households	% Quaker H'lds
1794	13	5.6	0	56	5.5	12	16.0%
1797	18	6.2	1	65	5.5	10	20.2%
1800	21	7.1	0	62	6.0	5	23.9%
1804	20	7.4	1	65	6.7	4	23.3%
1808	25	6.9	0	61	6.5	2	28.4%
1812	30	7.0	0	51	7.2	0	37.0%
1816	19	6.8	0	53	6.9	1	26.0%
1820	20	8.2	0	67	5.9	1	22.7%

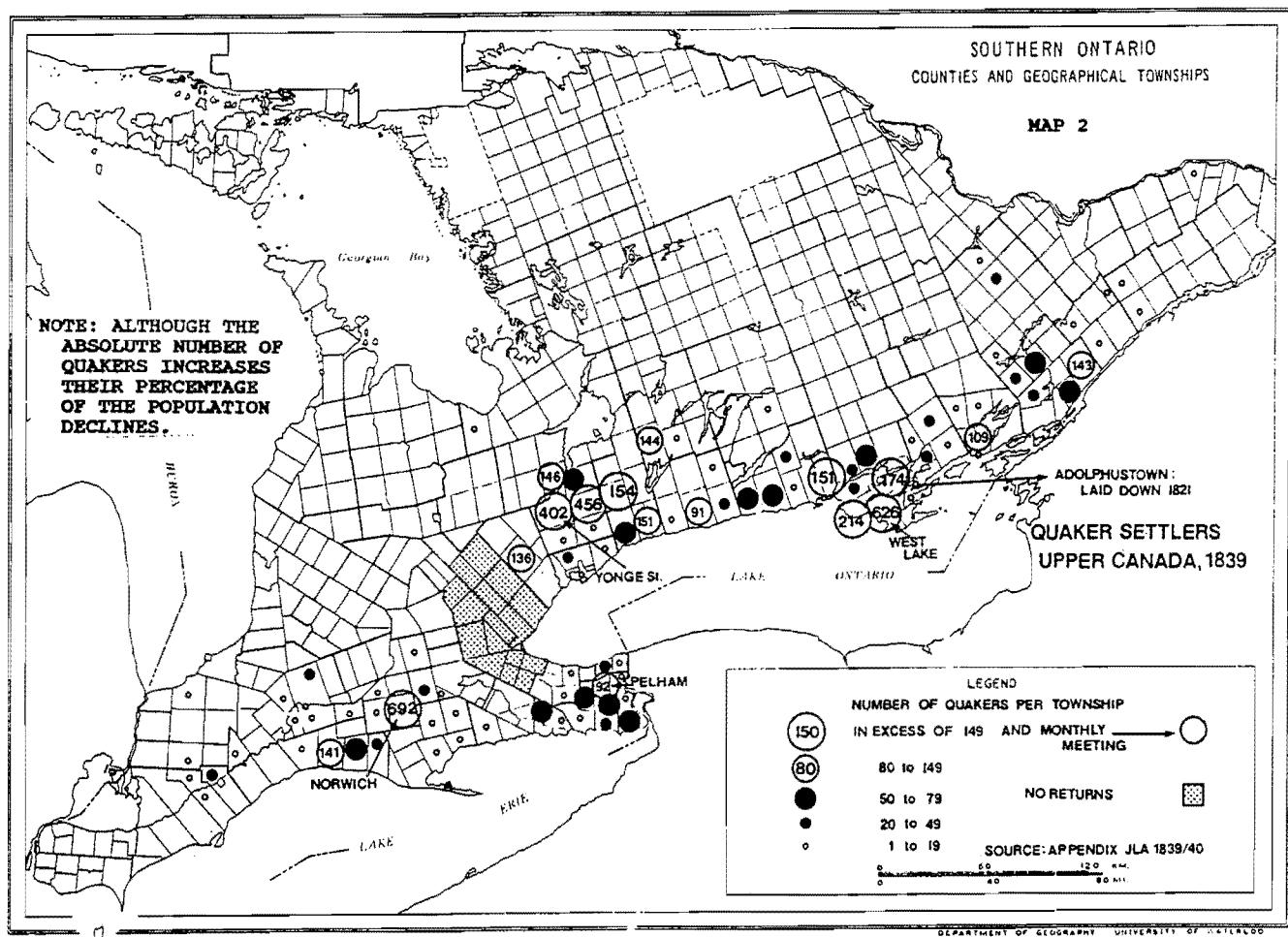
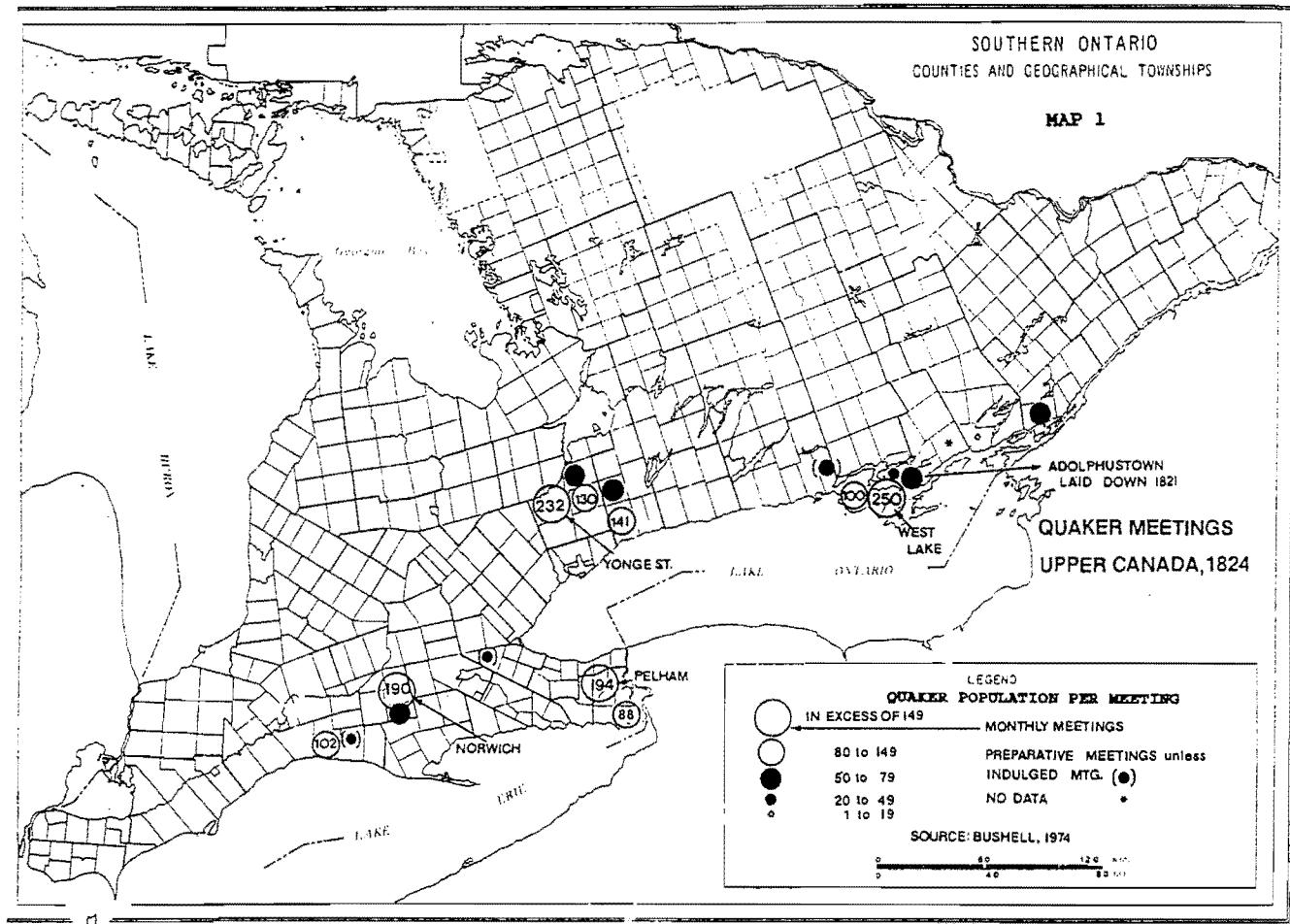
¹ Household size has been corrected as to include only multiple member households due to the disproportionate number of single member households in the Non-Quaker community.

Adolphustown from the 1790's to the late 1810's, at which time changes to British immigration policy,²⁰ and local land market conditions,²¹ irreversibly altered the environment in which the society had maintained their spiritual and economic vitality. The results of these changes on the Adolphustown community are recorded as early as 1821 when the Monthly Meeting was reduced to a Preparative Meeting, under the auspices of the West Lake Monthly Meeting (Maps 1 and 2). Thomas Shillitoe remarked on the small size of the Preparative Meeting in 1824, prior to continuing his journey to the Half Yearly Select Meeting being convened at the West Lake Meeting House.²² We know that by the autumn of 1824, the Adolphustown Preparative had slipped to 64 members, while the West Lake Meeting boasted 250.²³

What Shillitoe experienced was the remains of a community that had its source of migrating American Friends abruptly terminated at approximately the same time as their own families reached maturity. We can rea-

sonably hypothesize that the demise of the Adolphustown Quakers was a result of a rapid decline in new like-minded immigrants, marriage partners, and spiritual renewal, which (occurring after 1812) overlapped with the division of larger households, the exodus of familial labour and capital, as well as potential new leaders (Table 5).

Adolphustown Quaker demography can be divided into two distinct eras. Dynamic household growth marked the first era, which began with the attraction of households to the community and the establishment of the Quaker Preparative Meeting in 1798. Larger than average households rapidly developed in this era, which in turn generated an above average number of resident second generation households. The second era witnessed the stagnation, but not necessarily decline, of the community; although this followed shortly afterwards. Whereas the first era bore witness to proportional increases in Quaker households, the latter is characterized by a decline in the group, first to 25% and then 23% of all households in



1820. The next surviving religious census of Upper Canada in 1839 - 40 listed only two Quaker families totalling nine people.

The two periods can further be distinguished by the attraction of migrating households. In the 1816-20 period evidence of only four new Quaker households exists, of which all share the same surnames as prominent long term land owners. The future of the Quaker community was clearly jeopardized by the failure to attract new households and particularly landless or needy families. The era of dynamic expansion and spiritual fulfillment for the Upper Canadian Quakers was based upon the migration of Friends from New York and Pennsylvania. Hovinen found that 69% of the transfers into the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, prior to 1828, were of American origin, while 14% were transfers within Upper Canadian and 17% were British Isles transfers.²⁴ Migrating American Friends accounted for 84% of the certificates presented in Adolphustown to 1820, the remaining 16% being Upper Canadian transfers.

Quaker household sizes were on average consistently larger than households of non-Quaker households between 1794 and 1808. In the period 1794 to 1797, prior to the first issuing of land patents in the township, Quaker households grew steadily from 5.6 to 6.4 persons, while those of other Protestant households stagnated at 5.5 persons. It would appear that this pre-patent era was one of considerable insecurity, even among those who held land grants, as evidence by the fact that 55% of all grantees failed to negotiate the transition from grants to patents. Similarly, of the 93 men listed in the 1784 and 1796 UEL Musters for Adolphustown, 46% did not acquire land in the township.

In contrast, Quakers increased rapidly from 1794 to 1800, even though they were inhibited from acquiring patents by the oath of allegiance required of early land patentees. They did not receive relief from this condition until after the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had petitioned the

Upper Canadian Legislature in 1805, to rescind or modify the requirements.²⁵

By 1800 the average size of non-Quaker households steadily increased, reaching six persons per household and then peaking at 6.7 in 1804, prior to a decline in size that hit all households in the interval ending in 1808. Like Quaker households in this period, the average size of non-Quaker households was driven downward by the high number of resident second generation families that were being formed out of first generation households. Both Quaker and Other households increased their average household size during the economic boom of the Napoleonic Wars (1808 - 1812), when Upper Canadian farm products were in great demand. In 1812, Other households surpassed the average size of Quaker households for the first time. By this period the Quaker community was at its zenith, with thirty households resident in the township. Many of these would have been migrating American Friends taking advantage of the community's prosperity. At the same time non-Quaker households dropped from 61 to 51 households, as many new second generation families left the hearth in search of land.

Quaker settlement was disrupted during the war years when many pacifist families fled this front line township. From 1812 to 1816 the entire community was affected by limited immigration, and the apparent loss of male heads of households, as witnessed by the increase in female heads of households to six in 1816. Changes in post war immigration policies resulted in changes in the size of Quaker and non-Quaker households by 1820. The redirection of immigration away from the American states to British military and pauper migrants,²⁶ resulted in a large influx of non-Quaker households, leaving this group with an average household size below six persons. The Quaker community was bolstered by the return of 1812 - 1816 refugee households which, given the lack of modifying migrant households and few new second generation households, actually raised average household size above eight.

TABLE 6
Comparison Of Quaker And Other Household Size
Based On Land Ownership, Adolphustown, U.C.

Year	Quaker Land- Owners average Household Size (Sample Size)	Quaker Landless Households Average Size (Sample Size)	Other Land- Owners average Household Size (Sample Size)	Other Landless Households Average Size (Sample Size)
1794	5.8 (9)	5.3 (4)	5.5 (42)	4.6 (26)
1797	6.6 (11)	5.5 (8)	5.6 (30)	5.4 (30)
1800	8.4 (13)	5.7 (8)	6.6 (39)	4.7 (28)
1804	7.6 (14)	6.6 (7)	7.4 (36)	4.8 (33)
1808	7.2 (18)	6.4 (7)	7.3 (39)	4.8 (24)
1812	7.1 (22)	6.8 (8)	7.7 (35)	4.9 (16)
1816	6.6 (15)	9.0 (4)	8.1 (33)	4.7 (21)
1820	8.1 (16)	11.0 (4)	6.9 (32)	5.1 (36)

Source: Compiled by G. Finnegan from OBI (1897), Appendix to Report, and from A.O. Abstract Index to Deeds.

The data on Quaker and Other households can be further divided into landed and landless categories, thus creating four relatively distinct household size trend lines (Table 6). Disaggregating Other Households into landed and landless categories illustrates the particular influence of land ownership on this group and of the modifying influence of membership in the Society of Friends. Landless Other households initially grew from 4.7 to 5.4 persons in 1797, expanding more rapidly than landed Other households and landless Quakers. But this growth trend drops off significantly by 1800 after an initial 29% of the township lots had been patented. The possibility of obtaining legal titles to property in Adolphustown remained in doubt until the first patents were issued, thus giving hope to some heads of households who were subsequently shut out of the land market. After 1800, migrating landless non-Quaker households were replaced by new immigrant households of equal size, thus maintaining an average of about five persons per household.

With the increase in land patenting, and the security which was associated with it, non-Quaker households increased their average household size to 6.6 persons in 1800 and 7.4 in 1804. For the Quakers, security was to be found not only in land alone but in the fellowship of the Society of Friends as they pushed their households to 8.4 persons on average in 1800. Similarly the Quaker commitment to their religious community assisted the movement of larger than average migrating families to pass through the township, some of whom occasionally settled and acquired land. Prior to 1812, many of these households were captured in the population returns and minutes of the Monthly Meetings; their average household size profile is distinct. Landless Quaker households were larger than landless Other Households, and more approximately follow the trend line of landed Other Households. By 1804, thirteen Landed Quaker households were helping to support eight non-landed Quaker families. Due to successful economic conversion from landless to landed, and to a lesser extent emigra-

tion, this ratio was reduced to one landless family for every five landed Quaker households in 1812.

This combination of large landless Quaker households and their ability to maintain residence in Adolphustown long enough to gain property ownership points to the role of the Meeting as a distributor of social as well as spiritual assistance between established and new households. Such philanthropy was a central tenet of the Society.

By cross-referencing the Abstract Index to Deeds, with the Quaker and Adolphustown population listings, it is possible to determine which first generation patentee and deed holding family groupings were capable of assisting second generation households to establish families and acquire clear titles to property in the township, exclusive of land inheritances. Between 1794 and 1820, 52 extended land owning family households groupings can be detected in the population returns. Once again the results indicate that the Quakers, although a minority of the total population, were more successful in settling second generation households and in helping them

gain land titles in the township (Table 7).

Given the limitations of Adolphustown's land market it was inevitable that the majority of newly formed households would go landless. Quakers were again supportive of members of the Society, assisting 33% of their second generation households to achieve land titles. In comparison only 16% of second generation households generated by landed Other-households attained property.

Conclusions

In the period 1794 to 1820, the influence of the Discipline of the Society of Friends is readily apparent in the evolution of prosperous Quaker households in Adolphustown. At the household level Quakers developed larger than average family units, and did so at an early date. Landed Quakers led the way with households that exceeded eight people on average in 1800. These landed families, with their organizational basis in municipal and religious meeting halls, provided the financial and spiritual support for less advantaged migrating Quaker households. The philanthropy and prosperity of these landed households is attested by the larger household sizes attained by the Quakers and the frequency with which they acquired land. Through the assistance of the Society of Friends, it would appear that proportionally more young Quaker couples created their own households, retained longer residence, and acquired land in the township when compared to non-Quaker families. Finally, land transfers within the community and purchases indicate that proximity to members of the fellowship for practical, as well as spiritual needs, was of importance and sought after; a melding of familial and religious kinship ties.

While a core group of persisting households had managed to assist the migration, advancement and settlement of their fellow American Quakers from the 1790's through to the latter part of the 1810's, they were unable to maintain the community in the 1820's. Adolphustown was shut off from American

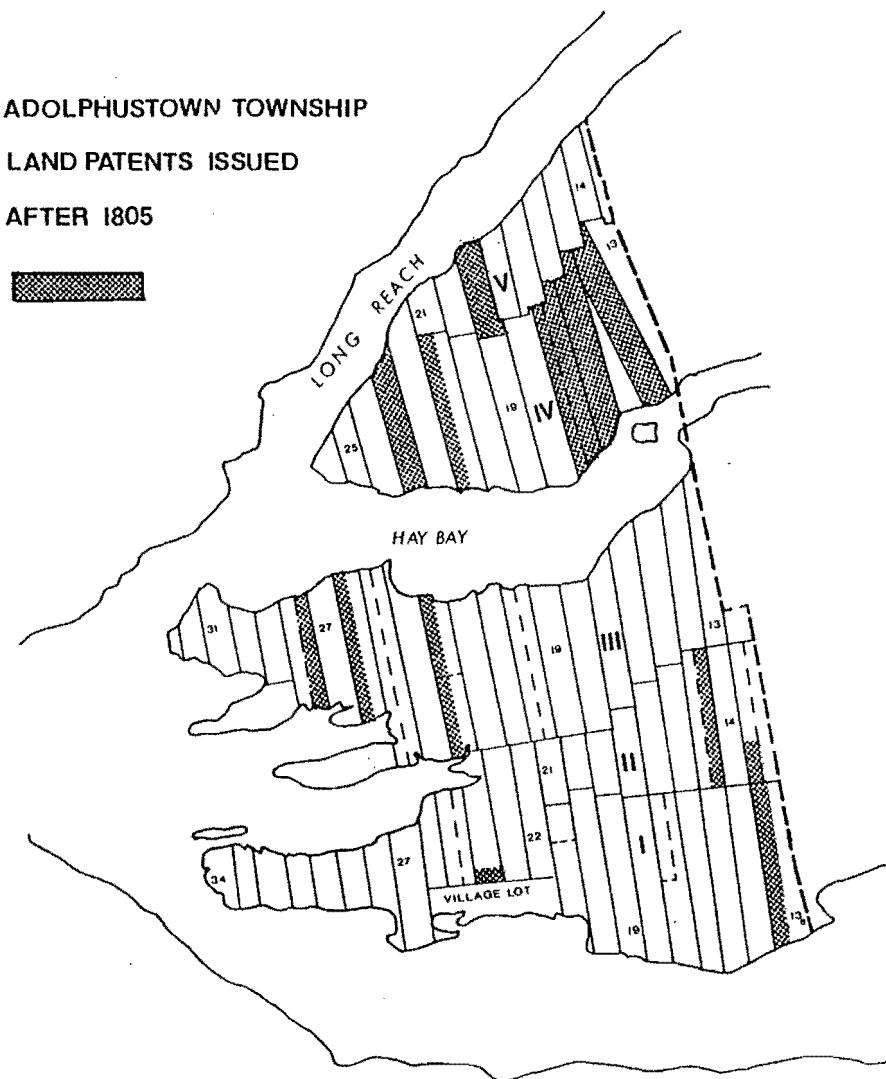
TABLE 7
Development and Entitlement of Second Generation Households in Adolphustown, 1794-1820

	Quakers	Others
Number of First Generation Landed Family Groups	14	38
Number of First Generation Landed Households	19	47
Number of Second Generation Households Resident ¹	21	31
Number of Second Generation Households Acquiring Land	7	5
Average Residence Landless 2nd Generation Households (yrs)	7.5	5.9

Source: Compiled by G. Finnegan.

¹ Excluding second generation sons who inherit land.

ADOLPHUSTOWN TOWNSHIP
LAND PATENTS ISSUED
AFTER 1805



MAP 3

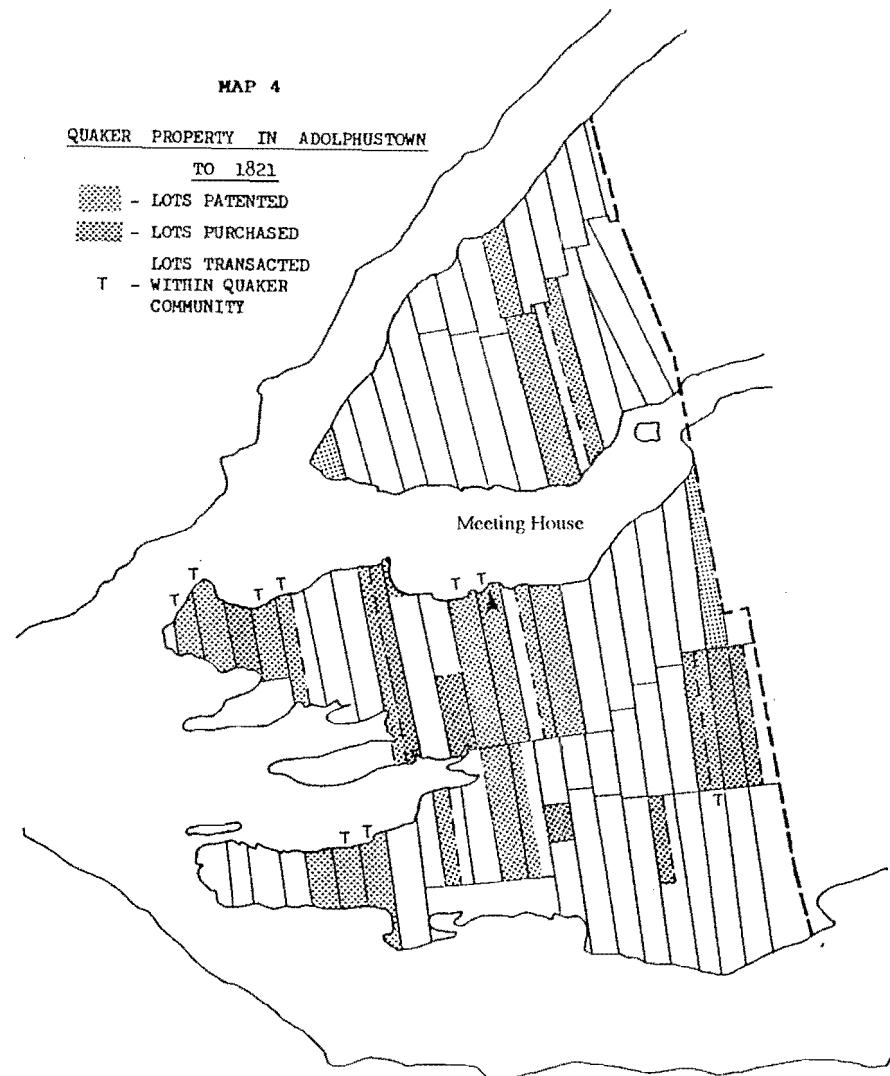
Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile

MAP 4

QUAKER PROPERTY IN ADOLPHUSTOWN

TO 1821

- - LOTS PATENTED
- ▨ - LOTS PURCHASED
- LOTS TRANSACTED
- T - WITHIN QUAKER COMMUNITY



Sources: Adolphustown A.I.D.
AO, MS 303, B-2-1,
B-2-2.

Quaker migrants after 1816 and in all probability would have been bypassed by westward migrants due to its restricted and expensive land market. After this period, the capital of persisting landed Quakers would inevitably have been used to acquire property for subsequent generations outside the township. As an area for new commercial developments Adolphustown offered few opportunities having had its 1822 petition for an official Port of Entry rejected by the Upper Canadian Legislature in 1826.²⁷

Thomas Shillitoe found the Bay of Quinte Quakers to be declined in 1827, having spiritually fallen from the wholesome discipline and having lost control of their domestic hearth

Death is come up into our windows
and is entering into our palaces
to cut off the children from without
and the young men from the streets.²⁸

The prospect of a strong Quaker future in Adolphustown and vicinity was ...” altogether discouraging given the conduct of the youth”.²⁹ Given the condition of the land market in Adolphustown it is apparent that the conduct of younger households could no longer be controlled by the promise of land and secured through proximity of new households residences within the townships, nor could the community be renewed in spirit by attracting new landless American Quaker immigrants.

Footnotes:

- 1) Dr. Gregory Finnegan is a Consultant in Ottawa, Ontario who is presently under contract with the National Atlas Information Service, Natural Resources Canada. Address enquiries to 1401-71 Somerset Street West, Ottawa, Ontario K2P-2G2.
- 2) Levy, B. Quakers and the American Family, British Settlement in the Delaware Valley. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) page 1.
- 3) *ibid.*, pages 4-17.
- 4) Homan, W.J. Children and Quakerism, A Study of the Place of Children in the Theory and Practice of the Society of Friends. (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1972), page 19.
- 5) Zavitz, Jane. “The Use of Quaker Records and Minutes for Genealogical Search in Ontario”, Families Vol. 19/1 (1980), page 10.
- 6) Secondary evidence relating to membership is found in

- the biographical sketches of the Appendix to the Report (including: Introduction, Record of Town Meetings, Return of Inhabitants, Personal Notes), Ontario Bureau of Industries (1897) pp. V-72.; in A. Dorland's authoritative, History of the Society of Friends in Canada (Toronto: The MacMillan Company, 1927) pp. 51, 80-81, 87, 194-195; and in the published accounts of Quaker travelling ministers Elias Hicks' 1803, Isaac Stephenson's 1824, and Thomas Shillitoe's 1827, on their journeys through Upper Canada.
- 7) Gourlay, R. Statistical Account of Upper Canada in two volumes. (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1822), page 272
 - 8) Dorland, op cit., pages 15, 16, 51.
 - 9) (A.D.; MU 1128: 4)
 - 10) Dorland, op cit., page 196.
 - 11) Personal Communication, C. Densmore, April 20, 1994.
 - 12) Tolles, F. B. Meeting House and Counting House The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763. (New York: The Norton Library W.W. Norton and Co., 1963), pages 73-75.
 - 13) Gagan, D. Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1981) page 93.
 - 14) Although a Town Plot (fronts of lots 22 through 26, 1st. Con.) and a 200 acre Glebe (lots 24 and 25, 1st. Con.) were set aside for the development of the Village of Adolphustown, it would appear that no contingencies were made in the Township for Crown and Clergy Re-serves at the usual rates of one-seventh of the land base.
 - 15) Dorland, op cit., page 56.
 - 16) Homan, op cit., pages 15-17, Tolles, op cit., pages 73-74.
 - 17) Levy, op cit., page 207.
 - 18) Dorland, op cit., page 10 ftn.
 - 19) It is doubtful that the Adolphustown Township Council positions held by these men provided either profit or honour. The primary function of the elected council was to gather taxes and provide rudimentary administration, including fence viewing, road opening the impounding of stray animals and other common place municipal functions.
 - 20) Harris, R.C. and J. Warkentin Canada Before Confederation: A study in Historical Geography. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974) page 116.
 - 21) Naylor, R.T. Canada in the European Age, 1453-1919. (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1987), pages 214-215; McCallum, J. Unequal Beginnings, Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario until 1870. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1980), p. 12.
 - 22) Shillitoe, T. Journal of the life, labours and travels in the service of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; in two volumes. (London: Harvey and Darton, 1839), page 205.
 - 23) Bushell, C. “Visit to Isaac Stephenson to Upper Canada in 1824”, Canadian Quaker History Newsletter, No. 7 (1974).
 - 24) Hovinen, E.J. The Quakers of Yonge Street. (Toronto: Discussion Paper 17, Department of Geography, York

- University, 1978), page 13.
- 25) Bowden, J. The History of the Society of Friends in America, in two volumes. (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850-1854), Vol. II, page 361.
- 26) Baehre, R. "Pauper Emigration to Upper Canada in the 1830's," Histoire Social, Social History, Vol. 14 (28) (1981), page 364.
- 27) (NAC, RG1, E3 Vol 62: 80-82)
- 28) Shillitoe, op cit., pages 206-207).
- 29) ibid.

Manuscripts

Archives of Ontario, RG1 AIII, MS 400, Reels 6 and 7 - Adolphustown, Midland District Land Schedule, Vacant Lands, 1790.

Archives of Ontario RG1 AIV Vol. 9 List of Proprietors, Adolphustown, Mecklenburg District, (Lots under Certificates of Location) 1790.

Archives of Ontario RG1 AIV Vol. 11 List of Proprietors, Adolphustown Midland District, 1800

Archives of Ontario (GS 4614). Ab. Index to Deeds, Adolphustown, Lennox & Addington County, c. 1797-1830
Archives of Ontario Ms303, B-2-1, Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, 1808-1824.

Archives of Ontario Ms303, B-2-2, Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, 1808-1824.

Archives of Ontario Ms 788, vol. 5 Misc. Collection 1796 #3 Roll of Inhabitants of the Midland District, ... who adhered to the Unity of the Empire.

Archives of Ontario, RG1 CIV - Adolphustown Township Papers.

National Archives of Canada RG1 E3 Vol. 62: 80-82. Petition of the Inhabitants of Adolphustown for a Port of Entry, July 22, 1822; not recommended to Council May 5, 1826.

Report of the 22nd Annual Meeting

Minutes of the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Canadian Friends Historical Association, held at Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario on October 15, 1994

Present: Kathleen Hertzberg (Chair), Elmay Kirkpatrick (Recorder), Kyle Jolliffe, Rosemarie McMechan, Christopher Densmore, Jane Zavitz-Bond, Everett J. Bond, Linda Knight, Don Knight, Albert Schrauwers, Joan Starr, Patricia Starr, Susan Bax, Stanley Gardiner, Irene Kapolka, Elizabeth H. Moger, Sandra Fuller, Stuart Starr, Ian Woods, (for the afternoon session) Brenda Horgan, Don and Heather Kiteley, Robert W. Kiteley, Dorothea Kiteley, Tim Benson

Regrets: Gerda von Bitter, Deborah Haight, Jean and David McFall, David and Joyce Holden, Harry and Ruth Haggerty, Bernice Ellis

Kathleen Hertzberg welcomed those present and asked the meeting to remember the following persons, who had died since the previous Annual Meeting: Fritz Hertzberg, Elsworth Rogers, Arthur Clayton, Stirling Nelson, Albert Field, John McNab, and Louise Wolfenden

1. The minutes of the 21st Annual Meeting were approved as circulated in Journal No. 54.

2. MATTERS ARISING

(a) **Doan House update:** Jane Zavitz-Bond reported that the 19th century home of Seneca Doan, a Quaker, has been offered to Friends by

a developer willing to move the house on to the Yonge Street Meeting House grounds. The Meeting is giving protracted consideration to the proposal, including in their review renovation costs and suggested uses. They have not yet made a decision. Ian Woods believes that donations (such as for the plumbing) would be forthcoming from the community. Jane commented that the Doan House could be put to very good use, as being important to the history of the area and is in harmony with the Meeting House. Yonge Street Meeting must make its own decision in the matter.

(b) **Hay Bay Quaker Burial Ground:** No report has been received from Anne Thomas as yet.

(c) **Peace Museum:** Kathleen Hertzberg reminded the Meeting that the concern for a Peace Museum in the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa arose from Ottawa Meeting in the early 1980s. Kathleen was asked to request the Canadian Council of Churches to support a follow-up with the Canadian government. This was done and Geoffrey Pearson expressed willingness to be interviewed and briefed about it. Ottawa Meeting was unable to pursue the matter and requested that the CFHA continue it. Consequently the prospect of founding a Peace Museum or having it as a section of the Museum of Civilization may depend on an initiative of this Association. Kathleen has often received information from Peter Brock about Peace Museums in Europe and around the world and had an informal discussion with the Director of

Museum Studies at the University of Toronto. He suggested that we work on it with him, the Canadian Friends Service Committee and Project Ploughshares. Kathleen expressed the thought that this concern should be carried through because peace is very important to us all. The suggestion was made that the Doan House might be used for this purpose.

(d) **Meeting Histories:** At our last annual meeting concern was expressed that more Quaker Meetings join the Association. Kathleen will approach Meetings to this end. We hope more Meetings will become active members of the Association, instead of only being Journal subscribers. Jane suggested that a Meeting might designate a member to be responsible for membership in the Association, to receive the Journal, and to keep Meeting members informed. The need was again recognized for Meetings to write their own histories. Kathleen will incorporate this into her letter. Kyle Jolliffe has done a number of oral histories and Meetings need to be reminded of this task. These histories are important for both the history of Canadian Quakerism and for the Meetings themselves. Arnold Ranneris pointed out that such a history would enrich newcomers and attenders.

3. REPORTS

(a) The report of the Chairperson is attached.

(b) The treasurer's report and Membership report, as approved by this meeting, are attached. We thank Stanley Gardiner for this work and Dorothy Muma for conducting an audit.

(c) **The Journal:** Kathleen said that production needs to be considered. Stanley Gardiner would be of assistance to Christopher Densmore in regard to bringing the index up-to-date. Kathleen considered that we need to clarify the role of editors. Designated editors could undertake particular issues. Sandra Fullers suggested issuing the Journal in spring and fall rather than summer and winter. The Meeting agreed that a Journal Committee would be useful to improve the content and quality of the production. In the past there had been a lot of theme issues. A theme issue on the Canadian Friends Service Committee is necessary. It was generally agreed that the present format should continue for the time being, but that this could be discussed by the editorial committee. Other suggestions were that there might be only one major issue a

year and an interim news sheet. The present layout of two columns should continue for the time being. Guidelines are needed and a style format should be decided. It was noted that the editorial role is concerned with content. The lay-out needed to be in consultation. If we are to change the format this will be a policy decision. It is also a policy decision to look at a particular type of publication. We have three publics: the general interest public, libraries and institutions, and historians.

(d) **Liaison with Other Heritage Groups:** The attached report from David McFall was read to the meeting. We thank David for his faithfulness in representing us at these meetings. He is willing to continue doing this.

4. NOMINATIONS

Having recognized the need for a Nominating Committee as outlined in the Chairperson's Annual Report, the Meeting named the following, who are asked to bring a report to the next Annual Meeting: Kathleen Hertzberg (who will convene the meetings), Arnold Ranneris, Rosemarie McMechan, Elizabeth Moger and Kyle Jolliffe.

5. CANADIAN YEARLY MEETING ARCHIVES AND DORLAND COLLECTION

Jane Zavitz-Bond reminded the Meeting that Quakerism in Canada is closely related to the history of New York Yearly Meeting. She also reported on the conference of Quaker historians and archivists in July at Guilford College, in Greensboro, North Carolina. Such meetings are open to anyone interested in Quaker history. The next meeting will be in 1996, at the Oakwood School in Poughkeepsie, New York. She described the progress made in the past year with microfilming, as well as how the existing microfilm can be accessed by researchers. One hundred and fifty boxes of Canadian Friends Service Committee records have been sorted and shelved. More boxes have arrived from the Canadian Friends Service Committee and this work will continue. The Dorland Room has received from the Knight family Quaker pamphlets dating back to the seventeenth century. Jane thanked Albert Schrauwers for his great help over the past ten years. His computer and desk top skills are especially appreciated.

6. HISTORY OF CANADIAN YOUNG FRIENDS

Kyle Jolliffe made a progress report on his history. The grant he received from the Historical Association covered travel costs to the Earlham College Archives. This was a profitable trip because besides information on Canadian Young Friends, he discovered a number of letters written by Thomas Kelly, author of the book A Testament of Devotion, while Kelly was teaching at Pickering College from 1914-1916. Kyle is about half way through writing his paper, which could be produced as a Canadian Quaker pamphlet if it is not too long.

7. QUAKER REGISTER

Ian Woods spoke about the Doan House and his hopes of raising funds toward its move and re-establishment. He has done a considerable amount of work in Guelph and much of this could be used in a future Quaker Registry.

8. HISTORY OF NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING

Christopher Densmore spoke to this. While many have contributed, Elizabeth Moger is the founder of this enterprise. It is hoped that this book will be completed next year.

9. FORTHCOMING ANNIVERSARIES

Mention was made of the 100th anniversary of the Doukhobor burning of their weapons and their subsequent emigration to Canada with the help of the Quakers, the 50th anniversary of the Canadian Council of Churches and the 350th anniversary of William Penn's birth.

10. TIME AND PLACE OF NEXT MEETING

The Meeting House at Sparta, Ontario is tentatively suggested for the next meeting in October, 1995.

The business meeting closed with the reading of a letter of thanks from Margaret Clayton Chapman, Arthur Clayton's daughter, in response to a letter which Kathleen Hertzberg, on behalf of the Historical Association, had written for the Memorial Meeting for Worship. Kathleen expressed thanks to Albert Schrauwers, Sandra Fuller and Margaret van Every for their work on the records.

After lunch and the business meeting was completed, Christopher Densmore presented a paper prepared by Dr. Gregory Finnegan on early Quaker settlement in Adolphustown, which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue of the Journal. Finally, before the day ended Jane Zavitz-Bond spoke about the completion of the on-line catalogue of the Arthur Dorland collection, read a brief biography of Rendell Rhoades by his wife, and talked about how the Rendall Rhoades collection of Friends Disciplines was acquired. Those present were then invited to explore the Arthur Dorland collection, which was a fitting climax to a most interesting day.

Chairperson's Report - 1994

by Kathleen Hertzberg

It is the task of the chairperson and officers to maintain and to expand the Objectives of the Association. Most of the activity in connection with Quaker history in Canada (and when needed, Quaker history in general) centres naturally around the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives and the Dorland Collection, both of which are housed at Pickering College. This is self-evident because the Archives and resources of the Dorland Collection are located there. In addition, the oversight, the counsel, the guidance and knowledgeability of the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archivist, who is also the Dorland Collection librarian, are put at the disposal of the Association and enquiring individuals. Therefore, there is a strong interchange and co-operation between us. Thus, the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives, which are constantly being added to, the research material in the Dorland Collection and the presence of the Archivist are resources which greatly enrich the Historical Association and any person who seeks to use the material for historical or genealogical research. The Canadian Friends Historical Association believes that this enrichment is of mutual benefit.

In 1972 when the Association was founded, the Quaker records were housed at the University of Western Ontario. By no means were they as complete or as well catalogued as they are today. Since the Archives were moved to Pickering College, a great deal of work has been done to collect and catalogue records, the most recent acquisition being the Canadian Friends Service Committee records.

The generosity of Pickering College has

been exceptional. The dedicated work of Jane Zavitz-Bond has brought the Archives and the Dorland Collection to professional level. The Canadian Friends Historical Association is deeply grateful for these contributions which provide the basis without which the Historical Association would be like a ship without an anchor!

The Historical Association also has its own avowed task in relation to Quaker history in Canada. Here I would refer members to the Canadian Friends Historical Association's Constitution which we revised together in 1990, in particular to Article 3 - OBJECTIVES. It is helpful to remind ourselves of the terms of our Constitution. We need to expand our work on these declared OBJECTIVES, in particular to encourage research, articles for the JOURNAL and Meeting histories.

This brings me to the appointment of officers, an important task of an Annual Meeting. Ever since the founding of the Association, the search for a suitable chairperson to head up the Association and replacements for other officers, has never been easy. The officers are: Chairperson and First Vice-chairperson (who shall be members of the Association), Second Vice-chairperson, Immediate past Chairperson, Treasurer, and Recording Secretary.

At this Annual Meeting I wish to give notice of retirement as Chairperson, an office which I have held for a number of years. For this reason, I would like to ask this Annual Meeting to appoint a Nominating Committee (according to our Constitution - Bylaw 11). I would like to propose that this Nominating Committee consist of 4 members to bring in definite names for all the officers to the 1995 Annual Meeting. This will give the Nominating Committee time to search. In the meantime, I am willing to serve until the 1995 Annual Meeting.

I would also like to propose that the Nominating Committee include a nomination for secretary of the Association (as Chairperson, I have acted in this capacity) and a nomination for a chairperson for the Publications Committee which has the important task of editing and producing the CANADIAN QUAKER HISTORY JOURNAL.

By far the most needful work for the Nominating Committee is nominations for officers of the Association. However, the Nominating Committee may at the same time, renew or confirm the other equally valuable appointments listed each year in order that an

Executive Committee, as outlined in the Constitution may have more in attendance and see that our work is continued.

During the year, myself as Chairperson, Stanley Gardiner as Treasurer and Membership, with Jane Zavitz-Bond and Kyle Jolliffe, have met twice as a small executive. We have reviewed the work of the Association, including the JOURNAL, suggestions for an outing at Canadian Yearly Meeting and for this Annual Meeting.

I would like to refer newer members to the 20th Anniversary Issue of the JOURNAL (Summer 1992) which is a good introduction to the history and work of the Canadian Friends Historical Association. The revised Constitution is contained in Issue No. 48 (Winter 1990).

Liaison With Other Heritage Organizations

Members of the Heritage Community are much concerned that the plans of two developers who own land to the east and south of historic Fort York would seriously interfere with the ambience of Fort York and make it more difficult to find. During the summer City Council gave tentative approval for tall buildings to be erected near the easterly and southerly boundaries of the Fort. This threat to the surroundings of the Fort caused Friends of Fort York to organize opposition. Three meetings were held which gave information about the plans. I attended the meetings. On September 26, 1994 City Council revoked its tentative approval of the plans. It approved the setting up of a working committee which will include representatives of the developers, historical advocates and others. It is to bring in a report.

In regard to next year there will be a two-hundredth anniversary of Yonge Street.

David McFall

CANADIAN FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE 12 MONTHS ENDING AUGUST 31, 1994

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	\$	\$	\$
Memberships	890.00		
Donations	<u>408.00</u>	1,298.00	
Archival Search Fees	17.00		
Bank Interest	157.00		
Premium on U.S. Currency	<u>52.00</u>	<u>226.00</u>	<u>1,524.00</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

<i>Journal</i> No. 54 - production	728.00		
- mailing	<u>167.00</u>	895.00	
<i>Journal</i> No. 55 - production	260.00		
- mailing	<u>176.00</u>	436.00	
Printing & Stationery		231.00	
Travel Expense		250.00	
Memberships - Ontario Historical Society	15.00		
General Expense - Phone, Postage, Etc.	<u>77.00</u>	<u>1,905.00</u>	

SURPLUS (DEFICIT) ON PERIOD (381.00)

BANK BALANCE

- Opening - Sep 1/93	7,778.00		
- Closing - Aug 31/94	7,398.00		

BANK RECONCILIATION

Bank Statement Aug 31/94	7,334.51		
Add - Deposit September 1/94	218.00		
Less O/S Cheque #94-048	154.44		

LEDGER 7,398.07

October 13, 1994	Stan Gardiner (Treasurer)
Friends House	
60 Lowther Avenue	Audited and found correct by
Toronto, Canada	Dorothy Muma (Auditor)

MEMBERSHIP REPORT & NEW MEMBERS

	SR	GM	ILM	Sub- Total	LIFE MEM.	HON. MEM	CEX	Sub- Total	TOTAL
Total No. of Members	63	59	26	148	21	3	9	33	181

(SR= Senior Members; GM= General Members; ILM= Institutional & Library members;
CEX= Complementary Exchange of Journal)

Note: This year there are membership arrears totalling 102 memberships.

Welcome to New Members

Brenda Horgan, Kingston, Ont.
T.H. McLeod

Althea Douglas
Patricia Walshe, Toronto
Patricia Menpreian, West Bloomfield, Michigan

Rendell Rhoades (1914-1976)

The following biographical sketch by Nancy L. Rhoades was read at the 22nd Annual Meeting, as part of the afternoon celebration of the completion of the On-Line catalogue of the Arthur Dorland Friends Historical Research Collection. Nancy Rhoades sent warm greetings and regretted not being able to attend. The Rendell Rhoades Discipline Collection is referred to so often that readers of the Journal might like this introduction to his life.

One day a friend asked him what Friends believed about a particular point. He looked it up in one Yearly Meeting Discipline, and then being a scholar looked in another Yearly Meeting's Discipline. They were not the same. This inveterate collector then began to make the monumental discipline collection that is the most complete in the world. When it was purchased in 1979 it became the core of the Dorland Collection which has been growing ever since as part of the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives.

Jane Zavitz-Bond

Rendell Rhoades was born 1 March, 1914, in Highland County, Ohio, and died 26 Sept. 1976. He received both B.A. and B.S. in Education degrees from Wilmington College. His M.S. and Ph.D. degrees were awarded by Ohio State University.

As a scientist, he served in many capacities. He was well known as a specialist in crustacea with emphasis on taxonomy and zoogeography, and his crayfish collection is now housed in the U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution. At one time or another, he was a fisheries technician, as well as a special investigator and staff writer for the Ohio Division of Wildlife, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Earth Sciences at Wilmington College, Curator of Collections for the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, a consultant on crustacea for the Tennessee Valley Author-

ity, research associate at the Frantz Theodore Stone Laboratory, technical representative for the Dow Chemical Company, consultant for the Bio-science Section of the Battelle Memorial Institute and consultant for environmental impact on aquatic life for Burgess and Nipke, and last served as Professor and Chairman of the Biology Department, Ashland University.

He travelled widely in connection with his research and his services as a consultant. He carried out special studies on sansevieria at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, England, was a guest observer at the Norwegian Whaling Association, Sandefjord, Norway, and was Biologist for the Cleveland Museum of Natural History Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego expedition in 1953, and returned in 1968 for further study.

He held professional memberships in the Ohio Academy of Science, the Society for Systematic Zoology, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and Sigma Xi. Twice he was named Outstanding Educator of America.

He published numerous articles in science publications. He also published on his hobbies, which consisted of studies on medieval and Renaissance natural history, stamp collecting, postal history, local history and humor. Through his hobbies on postal matters he served as postal consultant for the United States and coined the term "deltiology". From 1956 to 1976, he operated a small private press, Rhodopress Publications and Rhodopress of Ashland.

Rendell Rhoades was a true renaissance man of many and varied interests, wisdom and humor. Of his many collections, interest here is in his collection of Quaker Disciplines, now housed at Pickering College. Considering his lifelong loyalty to Quaker principles, he would be very pleased at the care and recognition Pickering College has given his collection.

Nancy Rhoades

From the Dorland Room

Once more the months have passed and many of you have been in contact with the Dorland Collection for books and the Archival vault for Canadian Quaker records. The Annual Meeting allowed those present to see the Collection and the print out of the Catalog. That is exciting, but it is never completed for there are always additions. We hope to continue this in the near future.

We are adding the vertical file folders and the Pickering archival files as well as more recent acquisitions, including the Eugene Knight Donation of 181 items forwarded to us from Sharon Temple Museum Association. The Temple felt these books belonged in our collection, rather than theirs, with the exception of one item entitled Sacred Architecture or the Design of Jehovah in Building the Temple of Solomon, 1793. This volume may have been known to David Willson, founder of the Children of Peace, who designed the Sharon Temple. We also have just received a letter from Valerie Osborne of Halifax Meeting that they have a number of volumes from the Pictou, Nova Scotia, Friends Meeting Library which give us a direct sense of earlier Friends in the Atlantic region. It would be appropriate to keep them in Nova Scotia as a reminder of early settlements there.

The concern for slavery and the black settlements in Ontario continue to involve researchers. The settlement in Peel was earlier than previously believed. Benjamin Lundy made a trip to Upper Canada in January, 1832, and mentions going to Woolwich north of Brantford. This establishes existence of the black settlement there by that date. Ian Easterbrook was happy to discover this from Fred Landon's article in Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 2.

Recently as I looked at Canada Half Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1835 (Hicksite Records) there was a minute of concern for slaves in the United States and a petition sent to

Congress. The international border did not deter Friends from communicating their testimony regarding "our enslaved brothers and sisters", clearly responding to the Friends Discipline of New York Yearly Meeting. Then a call came from a production company wondering if it would be realistic to use Upper Canada, Belleville area, for a movie set involving a runaway slave gaining protection from a Quaker family there in the 1840's. Yes, and we showed how this might be historically possible. Life remains interesting. No two days are the same and every phone call holds possibilities.

In turn Ian Easterbrook sent a transcription for a small Quaker cemetery with eight extant stones in Wellington County, Peel Township, Concession IX, Lot 2. Newton, Bishop, McCordie, and Kitely are the family names. They include several children, indicative of mortality rate in those days. There is another cemetery in Elgin County in the 2nd Concession of Yarmouth Township, south of Sparta, where families in that vicinity were buried until just after 1900. The stones are covered over but local residents can show the site. Forty years ago they were still readable. We are told some Yarwoods, among others, were buried there as the cemetery was on their farm. Keep us informed about any Quaker sites you learn about.

The visitors book continues to fill up. The photographs Brenda Knight Horgan took of the bonnets worn by her Luton ancestors who went from Yonge Street to Grey County are lovely. She read the Grey Monthly Meeting Women's Minutes with great interest. Then after Christmas a call came from a woman who hopes to have a Worship Group in the Owen Sound area who wished to be in touch with any Quaker-tied folks in Grey County. Not all of our dealings in history are for the past.

We are found by many. One day last week I had three calls: from Vancouver, North Bay, and Toronto. One was working on a thesis

on Quaker Relief Work in the Crimean War; the second was from a family genealogist for the Winn family. And the third wished to use a brief history of CFSC so that others might know of Friends' work. Remember, this was just one day. Meanwhile we have twice the number of students here than two years ago. The Junior and Co-educational School from grade 4 are all going well. The Spring work will be demanding and satisfying. The inquirers are coming to work on their projects.

We are being well utilized even before the Archival vault has been fully organized and inventoried. This presents a challenge, and a problem, but one we have thus far managed. The school is in need of full time support for the Library so I continue to tuck this work in the edges, and also to rely on the Junior Faculty who cover when researchers appear. I am grateful for this support. The fact that many people are now looking for the link between the family records they have and the records in the Archives presents a new challenge. The many years since early 19th century settlement means that many have a gap without enough information to connect the early Friends Records with the present era. They must turn to government records, other churches' records, newspapers, etc. to find the generations between. Some are doing this quite successfully. We assist by sending them to records for the area(s) in which the family lived. The migrations also make this difficult, but is another reason why researchers should leave a trail of their work so others may follow. We have encouraged searchers to send us findings for Quaker related families for that purpose. It is working. The Winn family is a good example of this; so are the Armitages.

Good news came this week from the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation that our application for a Grant under Organization Development within the regions of Ontario was approved. This will support the continuance of work in the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives on care for, and inventorying of the Canadian Friends Service Committee's records.

In the future our searches will be assisted

by the technological age. E-Net will soon be available at Pickering, as will Internet. The Fax machine assists, and speaking by phone is still one of our best forms of communication. We are looking into the modem and the CD as ways of assisting researchers. The College has added most of Ontario to its telephone area which allow us to return calls with ease. Fortunately letters are still written and have provided a number of highlights these past months. The photocopier is also a boon for us. The next phases will evolve and sound amazing, but at this point we use what we have and are thankful for what has been done.

The work done by and with Sandra Fuller, Margaret Van Every, and Albert Schrawers in the CYM Archives gives much encouragement and satisfaction that the goals are being achieved. I appreciate all the support I have been given for this work from Pickering, the Records Committee of CYM, and the CFHA members. I look forward to continuing with renewed energy and freedom to continue to carry it forward. The celebration of the Catalog of the Dorland Collection was a highlight, indeed, last Fall. Now we look to the horizon again for continued and new vision for our work. Do come visit, use and enjoy the collections and stay long enough to feel the spirit that continues in the life and work of Friends in the present which has grown out of our past.

Jane Zavitz-Bond, Archivist

Recent Acquisitions

Annual Monitor for 1851 or Obituary of the members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, for the year 1850 (London: sold by C. Gilpin, R.Y. Clarke and co., Darton & co. and E. Marsh: George Hope, York. New Series , No.9). The gift of Mrs. Eileen Mills

Ayoub, Christine Williams My father, Lloyd Williams - his role in the founding of the Canadian Mathematical Congress. (privately published, 1994). Contains photographs and selections from the 80th birthday book. Lloyd was a professor of Mathematics at McGill University, a founder of Montreal Meeting, and of the Save the Children Association for the Province of

Quebec, and chairman of the Canadian Friends Service Com. A life-long Friend. This gift from the author is much appreciated. To any who knew him he lives in our memories.

Brauer, Jerald C. editor, Reinterpretation in American Church History. Vol. V. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). Includes essay on Negro Christianity and American Church Historiography by Robert T. Handy. Purchased at Trinity College Book Fair.

Bailey, Sydney D. Peace Is a Process, Swarthmore Lecture 1993. (London: Quaker Home Service & Woodbrooke College for the Swarthmore Lecture Com.) Written by one who has served many years in Quaker International roles and can speak from his experience perspectives gained from this. He is highly respected at the United Nations.

Banker, J. Stanley Walk Cheerfully the Middle Road. (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1994). An approach to Christian life through humour.

Brock, Peter Pioneers of the Peaceable Kingdom. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press., 1968). This work which is part of the author's earlier work on Quaker Peace Testimony is a valuable addition to the collection.

Bronner, Edwin B. ed., William Penn: The Peace of Europe, The Fruits of Solitude and other writings. (London: Everyman, J.M.Dent.) Prepared to commemorate the 350th anniversary celebration in Philadelphia of Penn's birth.

Caulfield, Anna Breiner Quakers in fiction: an annotated bibliography. (Northampton, MA: Pittenbruach Press). Useful to see how writers perceive Quakers. Historic novels useful, some awareness of impact of Friends on larger society to be gained. A few authors had Quaker ties.

Cavanaugh, Marina B. Research, The Dartmouth Quaker Whalers and The Quaker Whaler House. (Dartmouth, N.S., 1993). The gift of the author and the Dartmouth Heritage Museum. See the Dorland Room article elsewhere in this issue.

Cockcroft, John, com. Questions of Integrity. (London: London Yearly meeting, 1993). Seeking ways to live truth in the present day.

Dart, Martha, Marjorie Sykes: Quaker Gandhian.

(York, England: William Sessions Ltd., 1993). Biography of English Friend who went to India and taught, living her peace testimony. Translator for Tagore at his request. The author also spent time in India. Her Rasulia ties and Friends World Committee sessions allowed many of us to know her.

Heathfield, Margaret, Being Together. Our Corporate Life in the Religious Society of Friends Swarthmore Lecture 1994. (London: Quaker Home Service and Woodbrooke College, 1994). Being led by the Spirit as individuals and in corporate matters. Food for thought.

Hillis, Newell Dwight, The Quest of John Chapman: the story of a forgotten hero. (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1904). A novel based on the Johnny Appleseed legend. His parents were Quakers and part of the westward migration. This book No. 126 of the Pickering College Library is transferred to the Dorland Collection as a rare book. A gift from Gertrude M. Hutchinson, Toronto, in 1909.

Hughes, Walter, F., A Bomber Pilot in WWII: From Farm Boy to Pilot, 35 missions in the B-24 Liberator Bomber, (privately printed, 1994). Gift to the Dorland Collection by the author, a CFHA member whose Hughes ancestors were Yonge St. Meeting pioneers.

Ingle, H. Larry, First Among Friends: George Fox & the Creation of Quakerism. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). With full notes and bibliography. This eagerly awaited study of Fox and early Quakerism will be an important resource for any researchers of Fox and the early period of Friends' history in the future. Larry Ingle is a professor of History at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. He is clerk of the program committee of the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists.

Oliver, John W., ed. J. Walter Malone: The Autobiography of an Evangelical Quaker. (Lanham, MD.: Univ. Press of America, 1993). This is valuable for history of evangelical Friends movement. John Oliver, a professor at Malone College, has made this significant autobiography available to us. It is a companion to the volume of essays recently published, edited by David Johns, Hope and A Future: The Malone College Story. The tie to Canada through Ellen Brown Malone ties both these works to the Canadian Quaker Collection.

Platt, LaVonne Godwin, Bela Banerjee: Bringing Health to India's Villages. (Faith and Life Press., n.d.) One who worked with the Abbott's in India. Again a visitor to Canada, and helps readers know better what our CFSC work in India involved. Her recent death makes this a timely memorial.

Wigham, Maurice J., The Irish Quakers: A short history of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland. (Dublin: Historical Com. of the Religious Society of Friends In Ireland, 1992). An valuable segment of Quaker history less studied, and the origin of some early Canadian Friends' families.

NEWS AND NOTES

McGill Queens Press has just published Children of Peace by Dr. W. John McIntyre (260 pp., \$39.95 including tax). This story of the 19th century sect, which separated from the Yonge Street Quakers, the history of this group, its artifacts, and its buildings.

The Records Committee of Canadian Yearly Meeting has produced From Meeting House to Archives—What does the Archives Want? This four page practical guide has been distributed to all Quaker meetings in Canada and committees of Canadian Yearly Meeting. The chief author of this guide was Kyle Jolliffe.

Scholastic Canada Ltd. has published Eleanora's Diary by Caroline Parry. The author is a member of Ottawa Monthly Meeting. This 240 page book introduces young readers to pioneer living through the journal of Eleanora Hallen, a feisty twelve year old English girl whose family emigrated to Upper Canada in 1835.

The Ontario Historical Society will hold workshops in the fall of 1995 to introduce historical societies and museums into the Common Curriculum (for schools) of the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training.

Anne-Marie Ziliacus of Ottawa Monthly Meeting is the new Interim Editor of The Canadian Friend. She succeeds Caroline Parry, also of Ottawa Monthly Meeting, who was the temporary editor after Dorothy Parshall resigned last year after many years of service. The new editor has a B.A. in Journalism and is self-employed as a consultant working on

programmes for women in developing countries.

Ursula Franklin of Toronto Monthly Meeting was selected for the Macleans Magazine Honour Roll of Canadians. She is profiled for her work for peace, in the December 26, 1994 issue of this magazine.

The Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library has 5,718 titles under "genealogy". A list of these can be accessed by home computer. For more information, telephone the Library (416-397-5926).

There will be a Heritage Showcase at Sherway Garden Mall in Etobicoke, Ontario, from February 24-25, 1995.

The Ontario Genealogical Society 1995 Seminar "Tween the Lakes" will be held at the Wheels Inn, Chatham, Ontario from May 19-21, 1995. The advance notice for it promises an adventure in genealogy and living history, with workshops on the Home Children and Black Settlement. For more information, contact the Ontario Genealogical Society. Their address is 40 Orchard View Boulevard, Suite 251, Toronto, Ontario M4R 1B9.

Professor Thomas C. Kennedy of the University of Arkansas is the 1995 President of the Friends Historical Society. His is currently working on a study of the Quaker renaissance, 1890-1920.

The second province wide conference of Community Heritage Ontario and the Archives Association of Ontario will be held from May 26-28, 1995 at Huron College, London, Ont. Its theme is "Papers to Parapets."

This year is the 100th anniversary of the coming to Canada of the Doukhobors. They were aided at the time by Quakers. Among the events planned is a cross-country tour of the Doukhobor Centennial Choir.

"The Canadian Sojourn of Thomas Kelly" by Kyle Jolliffe appeared in the November-December 1994 issue of The Canadian Friend. It describes the experiences of Thomas Kelly, author of the devotional classic A Testament of Devotion, while a teacher at Pickering College from 1914 - 1916.