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Editors: Jane Zavitz-Bond
Albert Schrauwers

Production: Albert Schrauwers
Jane Zavitz-Bond
Kyle Jolliffe
Kathleen Hertzberg

Editorial Address:

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

Letters and submissions from readers are always welcome.

Subscriptions and Correspondence:

Canadian Friends Historical Association
Friends House
60 Lowther Ave.,
Toronto, Ont.,
M5R 1C7

From the Dorland Room...

Anniversaries are institutionalized reminders of events now forgotten, a celebration of a once momentous change now unremarkable and unregarded. Anniversaries are the bricks from which we construct our common histories as individuals and organizations, a reminder of the many forks in the road, of choices made, and opportunities foregone. Such was the case at the 1995 Canadian Yearly Meeting, which reminded itself of its 40 years of common history, and in remembering, renewed its commitment to making a history in common.

In the opening session of Yearly Meeting, a number of Friends from the three faith traditions who met together in 1955, recalled the circumstances which first united them. Arlene Booth Hobson, daughter of Toronto Friends' minister Raymond Booth, recalled the decades of work rebuilding bridges between divided Friends which had preceded that inaugural meeting. She particularly remembered the role of the concurrent sessions of Orthodox and Hicksite Friends held at Pickering College. Others recalled the role of the Canadian Friends Service Committee, and the role of Fred Haslam, who chaired the committee for many years. In this issue, we explore these themes in greater detail.

Our first article is a profile of Raymond Booth, "a voice lost in history". Booth was an American Friends' minister who helped facilitate Toronto Monthly Meeting's return to an unprogrammed meeting for worship. In this transformation, itself a precursor to reunification, the memory of Booth himself was lost. Booth was one of the initial organizers of the Canadian Friends Service Committee. Marilyn Nefsky's article focuses upon his response to Nazi persecution of the Jews, and his efforts to ease the flight of Jewish refugees from Germany to Canada, which were forgotten with him.

Our second article is a profile of Fred Haslam by his long-term co-worker, Dorothy Muma. Haslam was instrumental to

the growth and development of the Canadian Friends Service Committee. The Service Committee was formed in 1931 as a united effort of the three Canadian Yearly Meetings. Common action on social concerns created a forum for long-term discussions of shared beliefs and traditions. Unlike Booth, Haslam was widely recognized in international circles as "Mr. Canadian Quaker."

The third strand in this shared history is Pickering College. Just as anniversaries are institutionalized reminders of a shared history, Pickering College now serves as our "institutional memory". The Archives of the Canadian Yearly Meeting, the paper trail that records the concerns, the testimonies, the life of the church, resides in the "Dorland Room" at Pickering College. This paper trail includes the records of the Service Committee, as well as Fred Haslam's personal papers. Archivists Jane Zavitz Bond and Sandra Fuller provide an overview of the activities of the Service Committee and the records under their care as a means of encouraging research like that of Marilyn Nefsky: that is, helping recover those important voices "lost in history".

The Dorland Room, under the management of the Records Committee of Canadian Yearly Meeting, has reached its maturity. Established in 1985, its collections now include meeting records from all three Canadian Quaker faith traditions, the largest collection of Quaker Disciplines in North America, and a library of more than 6000



Jane Zavitz Bond in the Dorland Room

volumes covering Friends' faith, history and social concerns. In one short decade, Canadian Yearly Meeting Archivist Jane Zavitz Bond has nurtured a research collection of which we should be justly proud, the repository of Quaker faith and action in Canada.

Yet, building this resource is only half the task. Memory is an active process, as the celebration of anniversaries reminds us. The Dorland Room by its very nature, needs a home; but having a home, it is not easily accessible to f/Friends dispersed coast to coast. It is equally important, therefore, that the "act of remembering", the work of researchers in our common history, be disseminated in some way. Someone must nudge us and remind us of that yet uncelebrated anniversary. This is the role of the Canadian Friends Historical Association.

The Association, now in its 24th year, has long supported the Records Committee and Archivist of Canadian Yearly Meeting in establishing the Dorland Room. It's major contribution, however, has been in disseminating research on Canadian Quaker history. It is not by accident that this editorial column has long been named "From the Dorland Room...", and that Archivist Jane Zavitz Bond has served as co-editor. This publication has matured in conjunction with the development of the research library. It made the transition from being a "Newsletter" to a "Journal" in 1990; and last year, it published the first of its monograph series, a collection of articles culled from the Journal entitled Faith, Friends and Fragmentation: Essays on Nineteenth Century Quakerism in Canada. The second in this monograph series, a history of the Young Friends Movement in Canada, will be published later this year. And beginning with this issue, we will be sending copies of the Journal to every Meeting for Worship in Canada.

This Journal is not being offered as an authoritative or conclusive history of Friends in Canada. It is rather, a medium of communication being opened to Canadian Friends coast to coast with an invitation to listen to the stories, the experiences and the accomplishments of others. It is not a defini-

tive history, but a means of constructing a "history in common". To that end, we encourage contributions and comments from wherever Friends are. Let us remember together. After all, isn't next year the 50th anniversary of the Quakers winning the Nobel Peace Prize?

Albert Schrauwers, co-editor

§

Recent Additions to the Dorland Room

- Abbott, Margery Post An Experiment in Faith: Quaker Women Transcending Differences (Pendle Hill Pamphlet #323, 1995), 30 pp.
- Barbour, Hugh and J. William Frost The Quakers (Friends United Press, Richmond, Indiana, 1988), 434 pp.
- Committee for Truth and Integrity in Public Affairs (ed.) Questions of Integrity: A Quaker perspective (London Yearly Meeting, London, 1993), 211 pp.
- Edgerton, Jewell Conrad (ed.) Quaker Profiles: A Memorial Volume (Celo Valley Books, Burnsville, NC, 1995), x, 189 pp.
- Garver, Newton and Eric Reitan Non-violence and Community: Reflections on the Alternatives to Violence Project (Pendle Hill Pamphlet # 322, 1995), 47 pp.
- Hadley, Herbert M. Quakers World Wide: A History of Friends World Committee for Consultation (Friends World Committee for Consultation, London, 1991), 220 pp.
- Hoffman, Gene Knudson No Royal Road to Reconciliation (Pendle Hill Pamphlet # 321, 1995), 35 pp.
- Jordan, Lois Harned Ramallah Teacher: The Life of Mildred White, Quaker Missionary (published by the author, 1995), 254 pp.
- Perry, Thomas, M.D. ed. Peacemaking in the 1990s: A Guide for Canadians (Gordon Soules Book Pub., Vancouver/Seattle, 1991), 309 pp.
- Selleck, Linda B. Gentle Invaders: Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction (Friends United Press, Richmond, Indiana, 1995), 312 pp.

G. Raymond Booth: A Voice Lost in History

by Marilyn F. Nefsky*

Introduction

"Raymond's work in Canada cannot yet be evaluated. Perhaps in years to come we may understand more fully just what his efforts have meant for Quakerism in Canada."¹ This was a passage in the December 1940 issue of The Canadian Friend, the organ of the Religious Society of Friends in Canada. It was written to commemorate Raymond Booth's contribution to Quaker life in Canada in the wake of his departure to the United States to assume the duties of the first Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in California. Neglected in this commemoration was the role he played in trying to overcome prejudice, racism and antisemitism in Canada. Indeed, G. Raymond Booth ranks with the few church leaders who denounced the Canadian government's immigration policy and valiantly fought against the odds to persuade the government to open its doors to the refugees of Nazi persecution.

For over a decade I have been conducting primary research in the archives of the Protestant Churches in Canada, examining the churches' responses to Nazi Germany, the refugee crisis and the Jewish plight. In this context I repeatedly came across references to G. Raymond Booth. When my research brought me to the Canadian Quaker archives housed in Pickering College, I expected to find materials which would indicate more clearly who Raymond Booth was and the role he played in the Quaker community in Canada. Yet in the records of his own community, the Toronto Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, I found scarcely little more that illuminated the man and his accomplishments.

Over half a century has passed since Raymond Booth and his family departed from Toronto; it is now time to evaluate his



Raymond Booth

work in Canada. My purpose here is to understand what his efforts have meant not in terms of the Quaker community per se but in terms of the Quaker response to the Nazi regime and the refugee crisis.

Quakerism is essentially a mystical religion; yet, in the twentieth century it has developed a very practical bent. The Quaker way of life places emphasis on the application of Christian beliefs and values rather than on speculation or doctrine. This emphasis on applied Christianity serves to direct its members to social and moral reform.² The goal of twentieth-century Quakers has been to "broaden their historic tradition of passive non-resistance into an active but non-violent resistance as a means

with which to achieve the new social order."³ Booth fit well in this twentieth-century mould. His efforts in the sphere of human rights in general and the refugee crisis in particular spoke to this broader Quaker vision.

Still, I found myself asking, who was this man, G. Raymond Booth? What were his accomplishments? Why has he remained in relative obscurity? Here I will address the first two questions and, for the interim, only speculate on the third.

Birthplace in America

G. Raymond Booth was born in Westfield, Indiana on 14 January 1895, into a pre-civil war lineage in North Carolina. Apparently, his ancestors came to the North America as religious non-conformists, possibly of a Methodist line and like many of their contemporaries became slaveholders. They subsequently joined the abolitionist movement, migrating with the Quaker abolitionists into Indiana. In the course of this migration, the Booth family joined the Religious Society of Friends;⁴ Raymond himself was born a birthright Quaker. He married Gracia, a lifelong helpmate and Quaker activist in her own right.

Although he was raised in a fairly strict Quaker household, Booth remained open to new experiences and possibilities.⁵ He attended the Cleveland Bible Institute (now Malone College), took college courses at Friends University and the Chicago Theological Seminary.⁶ With Gracia he went into service at Mt. Airy Friends' Church, which at the time was a remote town in the Blue Ridge Mountains. He subsequently became pastor in Marion, then Amboy, Indiana, a farming community settled largely before the civil war by North Carolina fugitives. Responding to the invitation to move north to Canada, on 1 February 1927 the Booth family left this "tender loving enclave of Quakers"⁷ and set out for the much larger and far more sophisticated city of Toronto. At this time Canada was a country inching into the vortex of the "dirty thirties." It was during the 1930s that Raymond Booth made his mark on the Canadian scene.

The "Dirty Thirties"

The 1930s was a devastating time for Canadians. By the early years of the decade the Great Depression of 1929 and the subsequent restrictions on credit and trade was bringing the Canadian industrial machine to a grinding halt. The agricultural industry suffered still greater calamity. The thirties was a decade rife with natural disasters; droughts, swarms of grasshoppers, and rust spores laid waste vegetation and arable soil. Almost twenty percent of the Canadian labour force was jobless; economic recovery was slow and uneven.⁸ Although the downswing ended in 1933, a severe recession in 1937-38 retarded economic recovery, which was still far from complete when the war broke out in 1939.

Even without an economic crisis, the 1930s would have been a period of controversy and confrontation. Canadians demanded political action, despite the insoluble nature of the depression. The inadequacy of the Bennett and King governments to deal effectively with the social, economic and political crises diminished the promise of the social order, intensifying a growing mistrust in the democratic process. The prewar period was not only a time of great physical suffering but also a time of psychological trauma. The psychological angst had to do with a loss of faith in the notion of personal security: "a generation learned that the independence and security they gained from work was largely illusory."⁹ As a result, Canadians developed an exceedingly cautious and xenophobic mindset.

The conditions of the 1930s led to an intensification of an Anglo-Saxon nativism already prevalent in Canada. British ideas and institutions were considered the spiritual as well as racial heritage of Canada. There were strong emotional ties with Britain, especially among the policy makers. "Canadian identity was somehow linked with the British connection."¹⁰ This Anglo-Saxon nativism manifested itself increasingly in anti-foreign sentiments, directed specifically against Asian and European immigrants, Asian Canadians, French-Canadian Catholics and Canadian Jews.

Raymond Booth in Canada

These were the conditions in which Raymond Booth and his family found themselves a few short years after arriving in Canada. In Toronto he served first as pastor for the Toronto Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, then in 1930, after proposing a change, served in the more encompassing role of Executive Secretary. A dynamic soul,¹¹ a disciple of Quaker mystic Rufus Jones¹² and an ardent social activist, Booth became an early member of the Social Service Council of Canada, which brought him into contact with those Canadians most outspoken on issues of human rights and human welfare.

At a time when a latent antisemitism was growing increasingly overt, Gracia and Raymond Booth became close personal friends of Rose and Maurice Eisendrath,¹³ the rabbi of the Holy Blossom Temple, the reform synagogue of Toronto. Here they established a foundation for ongoing inter-faith dialogue. A prominent member of a group who promoted Jewish-Christian seminars, Booth concerned himself with, among other things, the menace of antisemitism in Toronto and elsewhere in Canada.¹⁴ In the mid-1930s Booth was aware of the growing antisemitism and racism in Toronto and spoke to the value of breaking down racial barriers. For him racial prejudice was rooted in psychological problems and ultimately led to open conflict.¹⁵ To prevent such conflict, one had to recognize and to treat the psychological problems — an advanced notion for his day. An early member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), Booth began to participate in their various activities shortly after arriving in Toronto. In 1931 the FOR planned to hold an open forum on the topic of free speech but was prohibited from doing so by the Police Commission. At the threat of arrest and incarceration Booth and other prominent church people took to the streets and addressed the issue of free speech on soap boxes.¹⁶ In keeping with the Quaker tradition of socially radical pacifism,¹⁷ Booth sat as a member of the national committee to establish an official Canadian FOR.¹⁸ In 1931 Booth helped to organize the Canadian

Friends Service Committee (CFSC), an organization which promoted 4 testimonies of the three Quaker Yearly Meetings. This meant that for the first time since 1827, Canadian Quakers were united within one committee and spoke with a unified voice.¹⁹

Canadian Response to National Socialism

Throughout the 1930s Canadians generally perceived Nazism as just another foreign nationalistic movement. Never exceedingly interested in international affairs or in participating in international diplomacy, Canadians became increasingly introverted. The catastrophes of their own lives, against which European events seemed very remote, served to concentrate their attention on their own domestic problems. As early as 1933, however, the Canadian Quakers expressed concern about the suffering of victims of the Nazi regime—the German pacifists, Jews and Christians of Jewish descent.²⁰

When Mackenzie King returned to power in 1935, he adopted a policy of utmost caution, especially "in the areas which might prove dangerous to national unity, such as foreign policy and immigration."²¹ It became evident that Prime Minister King was determined not to challenge the strong feelings of nativism, racism and xenophobia²² prevailing in Canada. Despite the few protests against Nazi persecution and the few resolutions urging an open door refugee policy, Canadians on the whole were more preoccupied with surviving under the difficult conditions of the 1930s. They gave neither Nazi persecution nor the refugee crisis priority in the concerns they expressed. Since Canada for the most part remained relatively silent on these issues, Prime Minister King — as he was wont to do — adopted the line of a closed door immigration policy.²³

Quaker Response to National Socialism

The Religious Society of Friends did not remain silent. In 1936 the Quakers joined with other Toronto church people in preparing a manifesto to demand that the Canadian government open the doors to the

growing number of refugees.²⁴ But Mackenzie King, aware of the generally strong opposition to an increased flow of refugees — especially Jewish refugees and particularly in Quebec²⁵ — politely rebuffed this demand. Adopting a lofty tone, he argued that any willingness to accept large numbers of victims of Nazi persecution would merely serve to encourage other repressive regimes to think that victimization of their unwanted minorities would open the doors of immigration abroad.²⁶ He had no intention of providing such encouragement.

A few days after Kristallnacht ("The Night of the Broken Glass"), 9-11 November 1938, King acknowledged privately that the suffering of the Jews was almost beyond comprehension. "Something will have to be done by our country," though "difficult politically," he was determined to fight for the admission of some Jewish refugees because it was "right and just, and Christian."²⁷ The solid opposition of Quebec and other cabinet ministers managed, however, to deflate his determination. To a delegation requesting a humanitarian gesture from the Dominion government, King replied that "the problem must be met without enhancing our problems at home, and above all, without creating dissension between one part of Canada and another."²⁸

Raymond Booth and the Refugee Crisis

After Kristallnacht it became clear to those with eyes to see that, as Booth wrote, Hitler and his Nazi followers would never restrain themselves from "their sadistic desire to annihilate" German Jews.²⁹ In his report on the Social Service Council of Canada to the Annual General Meeting of the CFSC, he described the work of the Council, adding in particular the problem of European refugees now seeking homes elsewhere.³⁰ He, along with other members of the Quaker community, continually agitated for admission of European refugee children, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. Clothing, collected and made by the local Quaker community, was sent with other items to Quaker service centres in London, England for dis-

tribution to the refugee children.

Booth was painfully aware that Christian conscience required that something be done to help the wretched victims of political and religious persecution, especially the Jews. After all, he argued, "Jesus was a political refugee. Moreover, he was a baby refugee. Indeed a Jewish refugee. Even more tragic is the story of the Jewish innocents whose parents did not or could not awake and seek refuge in the night."³¹

In December 1938 a new organization was founded under the aegis of the Canadian League of Nations. The Canadian National Committee on Refugees and Victims of Political Persecution (CNCR) "drew its support from the more international anti-Nazi segments of English-speaking Canada."³² In March 1939 Senator Cairine Wilson requested of the Toronto Monthly Meeting that Booth be seconded as Executive Secretary to the CNCR. They sought his assistance, she maintained, because of his highly effective "speaking and organizing ability."³³ The Meeting expressed sympathy with the cause and released Booth from his responsibilities for a period of six months.

According to Booth, the CNCR had two tasks. The first was to inform the Canadian public, especially the churches, of the events in Europe and, in so doing, appeal to their Christian conscience. The second task of the CNCR was to exert pressure on government officials for admission of refugee applicants.³⁴ None of the Committee's supporters saw themselves as mobilizing forces against the Liberal government which, on grounds other than the refugee crisis, they supported. Senator Cairine Wilson, the Chair of the Committee, was convinced that the most "effective strategy was to seek to persuade influential members of the government from within."³⁵ Her strategy proved to be ineffectual.

Would any strategy have proven to be effective during these years? The CNCR was strong on ideas but weak on funding; from the start it was doomed to failure. It drew its support from the most liberal segments of Anglophone Canada, including some of the main-line church leaders. Its members, though well meaning and dedicat-

ed, were in effect a select population without much popular support or political thrust. The meetings of the committee "were principally occupied with passing high-sounding resolutions, deploring the sluggishness of the government to respond to the international refugee crisis and calling for arousal of public sympathy."³⁶

Nevertheless, Booth attended to his responsibilities with the seriousness of a Quaker who opposed all forms of social oppression and believed in both the essential goodness of humankind and the perfectibility of the world. He engaged in a number of activities, such as taking stacks of applications for German refugees to J. S. Woodsworth, a sympathetic albeit minority Member of Parliament in Ottawa. He spoke widely and forcefully on the subject of the refugee crisis. He wrote articles published in the wider church press. He encouraged ongoing communication with the Minister of Immigration in respect to the victims of Nazi persecution.³⁷ Booth engaged in these activities in the hope that they might initiate action by the Dominion government. However prudently the case for admission of refugees was argued, however great the appeal to national interest as well as humanitarian duty, his voice and others sympathetic to the cause landed on deaf ears. "We have been quite disappointed in the reluctance of the government to admit refugees [F]or some unexplainable reason the government is very reluctant to permit even those who can make a definite and immediate contribution to Canada to come in."³⁸

The reason, however, was clearly evident for those more cynical than Raymond Booth:

After many months of intense and nerve exhausting work on behalf of refugees, I am feeling low tonight... I am chaffing under the anti-refugee attitudes of people who ought to know better... Particularly obnoxious are the anti-Semitic objections... They say, for instance, that the refugee problem is only a Jewish problem... A scurrilous attack on refugees has coined the hyphenated word, 'refu-Jews.' But

calling names is always the last attempt of the man who has no valid argument.

The refugee problem is not a Jewish one, but if it were, I would want to help just the same.³⁹

The CNCR initiated a plan to bring to Canada some nine thousand refugee children currently residing in England, the majority of whom were Jewish. In January 1940 the CNCR was advised from Britain that Canada must move quickly if it were going to help to alleviate the children's refugee crisis. In the summer of 1940 Booth reported on the CNCR's negotiations with the Canadian government over the previous winter months. Once again Booth indicated that the "negotiations had so far proved unsuccessful;" yet it was decided that the committee should continue to persevere.⁴⁰ Although accepting nine thousand children, the majority of whom were Jewish, was "totally unacceptable to government officials," the Canadian government later agreed to accept ten thousand British children, as long as they were not of Jewish descent.⁴¹ It defied Booth's comprehension that a nation which could not act morally would not at least act rationally.

In the spring of 1940 the British government arranged for Canada to provide internment facilities for German prisoners of war and others currently in Britain. Almost seven thousand persons were shipped to Canada in July. Only later in 1940 did the CNCR become aware that more than one third of the internees were refugees from Nazi Germany, who had sought asylum in Britain. The Canadian authorities, disclaiming all responsibility, refused to release the refugees, arguing it was solely a British responsibility.⁴² That three-quarters of these refugees were of Jewish or part-Jewish descent was sufficient to explain the response of the Canadian authorities. Booth spent considerable time visiting these internment camps.⁴³ He was greatly disturbed that many Jews and non-Aryan Christians, who were obviously victims of the political and religious persecution of the Nazi regime, were classified as enemy aliens and incarcerated in the same

camps as German prisoners-of-war. Booth assisted in practical ways to ease the lives of these refugees until they were gradually released to private sponsors located by the CNCR, some of whom were Quaker.

Raymond Booth resigns

That year Booth submitted his resignation to take effect no later than 1 January 1941. He had already served well beyond two five-year terms. A passionate American, he returned to the United States in November 1940 as the first Executive Secretary for the west coast branch of the American Friends Service Committee in Pasadena, California. Here he fought against the evacuation of Japanese Americans from the west coast and when evacuation was instituted, worked with the relocation camps for the Japanese Americans. He helped to organize the interracial Church of Christian Fellowship and in 1948 moved as minister to the Avalon Congregational Church on Catalina Island.

Why did Booth leave? The Toronto Monthly Meeting claimed:

His contribution to the life and well-being of Ontario have [sic] been unique. He has carried Quaker ideals to all corners of the Province and beyond; he has made Quaker thought and practice known among influential people in many circles; religious, political, economic and industrial. His gospel of peace has brought something of understanding and of hope to people in all walks of life, from the great ones of our own country to the strangers from other lands.⁴⁴

It was clear he was accomplishing much in Canada. Raymond Booth was a spiritual leader; his prime reason for being was the spiritual dimension which pervaded every aspect of life. When he came to Toronto, he hoped to facilitate a spiritual transformation through a return to an unprogrammed meeting.⁴⁵ From the beginning he worked with the assumption that the Friends had a distinct contribution to make to the

community at large and thus he considered the whole community, not just the Meeting, the focus of his attention.⁴⁶ Consequently, he sat on the YMCA Council, working directly with the Toronto branch. He involved himself with the Worker and Adult Education program, the Neighbourhood Workers Association and engaged in inter-faith dialogue.

When the refugee crisis raised its ugly head, Booth extended his concerns still further to include the victims of political and religious persecution. Perhaps, Booth reached the saturation point. On the one hand, he could not do more, though more had yet to be done; on the other hand, he suffered from the frustration of seeing his efforts — seeing all efforts — fail to come to fruition. An American at heart, perhaps, he felt a call to service in the United States. Booth expressed great concern for the plight of the Jewish and non Aryan Christian refugees; perhaps his frustration with the lack of response from the Canadian government led him to return to the United States where he thought he might accomplish more on behalf of the oppressed and persecuted. An ardent pacifist, perhaps his return to his homeland was induced by Canada entering the war.⁴⁷ It is uncertain what motivated Raymond Booth to leave Toronto, but one thing is certain: he followed the Quaker tradition of "few words and many deeds."⁴⁸

Why has this man remained in obscurity when we are all familiar with the names of lesser lights? Perhaps, the answer lies in the nature of the man himself. As Gracia Booth said of her husband, Raymond was a man with a great capacity for love and compassion.⁴⁹ His love and compassion manifested in the Quaker preference for action rather than speech. Consequently, there is little written by or about Raymond Booth. Indeed, Booth believed in the "parsimony of speech," saying what needed to be said as briefly as possible and in the simplest of terms. He felt the conviction to assume the leadership when it became necessary but stepped back when it was no longer required. He saw himself as a facilitator, not an instructor. He was a man with a calling⁵⁰ not an agenda.

Raymond Booth died prematurely in 1953 at the age of fifty-eight. The minister⁵¹ presiding at the funeral remarked to Booth's daughter Arline that Raymond Booth just missed greatness... because he always regarded the person as more important than the program. His greatest achievement, Booth had once expressed, was transforming young lives into commitment to service.⁵² If he missed greatness, he missed it because history failed to record his thoughts and deeds. But true greatness is not determined simply by what is recorded in history. Raymond Booth was a great man whose voice — more so whose deeds — were lost in history.

Notes

* Marilyn F. Nefsky is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and Religious Studies at the University of Lethbridge, Lethbridge, Alberta. I would like to express my gratitude to Jane Zavitz Bond, Archivist of the Quaker Collection at Pickering College, and Arline Booth Hobson, Booth's daughter, who have been fonts of knowledge and exceptional resources for the preparation of this article. Any information or comments regarding this article would be most welcome.

1. "News of Our Meetings," The Canadian Friend 37/6 (December 1940) p. 13.
2. Arthur Garratt Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, A History. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968, p. 290.
3. Thomas P. Socknat, Witness against War: Pacifism in Canada 1900-1945. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, p. 115.
4. Arline Booth Hobson attributes this to the Lewis family, Quakers with whom the Booths migrated; conversation with Arline Booth Hobson, at Quaker Archives, Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario, July 1994.
5. Ms Hobson remarked that her father had once told her that he had been raised to think that the Hicksites had horns, but as he grew older and experienced more he found some Hicksite associates inspiring. Dancing was never allowed in the household as Raymond was growing up, but when his children were invited to attend dances, he recognized the different context and permitted them to participate in the activity. After that, according to Arline, their

house was always filled with music and dance; correspondence 24 January 1995.

6. The American Friend (31 Dec. 1953) n.p.
7. Correspondence with Arline Booth Hobson, 24 January 1995.
8. H. Blair Neatby, The Politics of Chaos. Toronto: Macmillan, 1972, p. 46; Michel Horn, The Great Depression of the 1930s in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1984, p. 3.
9. Horn, p. 20; also see Neatby, p. 22.
10. Neatby, p. 166; see also Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, Canada 1900-1945. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, pp. 299, 312-13.
11. Fred Haslam, A Record of Experience with Canadian Friends (Quakers) and the Canadian Ecumenical Movement 1921-1967. n.p., 1968, p. 10.
12. Rufus Jones was the Chair of the American Friends Service Committee, a prolific writer and the great Quaker mystic of the first half of the twentieth century.
13. For example, Rose Eisendrath accompanied Gracia Booth to the swimming pool at the Women's Christian Temperance Union but was turned away because she was Jewish.
14. "Seventh Annual Report," The Canadian Friend 31/9 (March 1935) p. 7.
15. Minutes of Canadian Yearly Meeting (1935) 64-72. For example, Booth was active in bringing the Black church youth and Young Friends into close association.
16. Socknat, pp. 134; correspondence with Arline Booth Hobson, 24 January 1995. In particular, see "Police Dictatorship," by J. F. White, Canadian Forum, February 1931, pp. 167-68, and "The Intellectual Capital of Canada," Canadian Forum, March 1931, pp. 210-12.
17. When it was suggested that he serve as chaplain in the armed forces, he agreed to but only if he did not have to wear a uniform; he refused to let his children join the Scouts which at the time had a military orientation of which he disapproved; communication with Arline Booth Hobson, 24 January 1995.
18. Socknat, p. 181.
19. Socknat, p. 158. The Genesee Yearly Meeting, Canada Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) and the Canada Yearly Meeting (Conservative).
20. "Quakers Ask League to Give Passports to German Exiles," The Canadian Friend 29/12 (June 1933) p. 11; "German Refugees, American Christians," The Canadian Friend 32/6 (December 1935) p. 13.
21. John S. Conway, "Canada and the Holocaust,"

Remembering for the Future. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988, p. 296.

22. Arthur R.M. Lower, Colony to Nation. Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1946, p. 519.

23. "The astute Mackenzie King knew that there were no votes to be gained in admitting... [refugees]; there were, however, many to be lost" (Irving Abella and Harold Troper, None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1983, pp. 281-82).

24. John Copithorne, "The Refugee Problem - The Peace Parade," The Canadian Friend 32/9 (March 1936) p. 6.

25. Abella and Troper, p. 18.

26. Abella and Troper, p. 27.

27. King Diary, 12 and 13 November 1938, cited in Abella and Troper, p. 39.

28. Abella and Troper, p. 46.

29. "Our Brothers — The Jews of Germany," The Canadian Friend 35/6 (Dec. 1938) p. 6.

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38. G. Raymond Booth, "Working in Canada for European Refugees," The Canadian Friend 36/2 (August 1939) p. 13, *italics added*.

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43. See Abella and Troper, p. 203 *fn.* where they claim some 4500 camps were established.

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FRED HASLAM (1897-1979) **"Mr. Canadian Friend" - A Personal View**

by Dorothy Muma*

Fred Haslam devoted his entire adult life to Quakerism, becoming so central a part of it in Canada that - half in jest, half in earnest - U. S. Friends referred to him as "Mr. Canadian Friend." Non-Friends in Canada dubbed him "Mr. Quaker." While accepting those titles with a smile, he nevertheless shrugged them off with characteristic modesty.

Early Years in England

Fred Haslam was born on May 26, 1897, in Middleton, Lancashire, England, the second child of Samuel and Emily Haslam. Samuel Haslam was a carpenter and cabinet maker, while Emily managed a bakery in one part of their home.

His early years were spent at Providence School, run by the Providence Congregational Chapel, which the family attended. The headmaster was a strict disciplinarian who enforced his wishes with a cane, applied as he saw fit. Because of the family's economic problems, Fred left school immediately following his 13th birthday, taking a job as a clerk in a cotton mill. However, he continued his education in night school classes for several years. Believing that continuing education was a necessity, he read extensively on many subjects throughout his life. For a period of two years he worked for the railway, but later returned to the cotton mill office.

Fred's family was active in the Providence Congregational Chapel, attending two services and two Sunday School classes each Sunday. The hymns sung at that time remained Fred's favourites throughout his life. Among them were Whittier's "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind" and "O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go."

When World War I broke out, Fred was 17 and had not yet become a pacifist.



Fred Haslam

At first he saw Germany as an enemy and resented its reported atrocities. However, his brother Bill's Sunday School teacher felt that young men should hear both sides of the argument about war and presented the anti-war position to his class whenever the minister preached a pro-war sermon. Discussing his teachings with Bill, Fred had his first exposure to pacifism. Conversations with Bill about German casualties led Fred to consider the Germans as men rather than an enemy, leading to the conclusion that he could not accept a combatant role.

When Fred was conscripted in 1916 he appealed for exemption from military service as a conscientious objector. His refusal was an affirmation of a way of life

so he initially took a first aid course with the intention of serving in the Medical Corps, but later turned away from it when he learned that members of that Corps carried arms. He had heard of the Friends Ambulance Unit, but upon application discovered that no further appointments were being made at that time.

Fred's refusal to have any part in combat led to his incarceration in Wormwood Scrubs prison in March, 1917. After a period of restricted confinement he was given jobs as a cleaner and in the mailbag department. In June, 1917, his application for alternate civilian service was finally approved and he was transferred to the Work Centre at Wakefield. The atmosphere there was quite different from the prisons; there were no locks on the doors and he had limited freedom of movement. After a short period making mailbags he was given work in the office. In later years, he wrote of the degree of intelligence of the inmates, some of them being university professors who taught in their free time. There were many Quakers at the Work Centre with whom Fred became acquainted. He later became an attender at the Meetings for Worship and a regular participant in the Adult School. Some of the literature he acquired at that time remained his favourites for life.

After a year bad feelings developed locally against the conscientious objectors which resulted in riots. The Centre was closed and Fred was sent to the Work Centre at Dartmoor where he continued his contact with local Friends. Late in 1918 he was sent to a very difficult job in South Wales constructing a reservoir under harsh winter conditions.

It was not until April, 1919 - five months after the war had ended - that conscientious objectors were released. Soon after his return home, Fred's family emigrated to Canada. He remained in England, taking an office position in London with the Friends Emergency War Victims Relief Committee. The Committee was then concerned with the repatriation of alien internees. After his work there had run its course, he applied for overseas work with Friends and was accepted for the Relief

Mission in Vienna, Austria, as secretary to the Head of the Mission.

He was in charge of the 21 food depots, eventually serving as cashier. During those 18 months he gained experience in coping with the frustrations of always having too few resources to meet the many desperate needs. His frustration was evident in his letters home. For example, he wrote:

It is very hard to live amongst it all and see the suffering which is absolutely unparalleled in England, and to know that one cannot help them because there are not enough supplies. It is a hard fact that adults are depriving themselves of things for children, and in spite of all *their* efforts, and all *our* efforts, the children are dying in increasing numbers.

He was also concerned about the prisoners in Vienna, many of whom had been incarcerated for stealing because they and their families were starving. Members of the Mission staff spent Christmas Day distributing food to prisoners. A report, written by Fred and printed in one of the Vienna newspapers, was instrumental in persuading the government to improve prison conditions. He also helped to start a movement which would aid prisoners upon their release, helping them to reenter normal life more effectively.

Fred's experiences during World War I and in Vienna had a powerful impact on his later years. They laid the groundwork for his concern for the unfortunate people of the world. His later work in his prison visitation in Canada, the relief efforts of the Canadian Friends Service Committee and the Canadian Save the Children Fund were direct outgrowths of this early period.

Emigration to Canada

In 1921, at the age of 24, Fred responded to an urgent call from his family to emigrate to Canada. An accident had impaired his father's ability to work and Fred was needed desperately. English Friends gave him letters of introduction to

Phebe Wright and Albert S. Rogers, prominent Friends in Toronto. Rogers was descended from the family which had started the Toronto Meeting, was chairman of the Service Committee of Canada Yearly Meeting and the Finance Committee of the Toronto Monthly Meeting. He had retired from Imperial Oil but was still a director of that company. Phebe Wright was editor of The Canadian Friend.

An instant liking sprang up between Haslam and Albert Rogers. Eventually Fred worked as Rogers' personal secretary with duties including collecting funds for the relief of the victims of the war and of famine in Europe and in Japan. Fred's close association with Albert Rogers lasted until Roger's death in 1932. Fred became Secretary-Treasurer of the newly established Rogers Radio Tube Co in 1924. The company was sold in 1939 when it took orders for war materials. Fred could not conscientiously continue to work for them; he resigned in 1941. He thereafter devoted even more of his time to the activities of Friends.

In 1940 Fred Haslam married Maud Watts, his secretary. At first they lived in suburban Toronto. After his retirement from the Canadian Friends Service Committee in 1956, they moved to the country. He had always dreamed of starting a rural meeting and study centre peripheral to Toronto, and so Meetings for Worship were held in their home. Although Maud did not join Friends, her support was invaluable. She died of cancer in 1958. That terrible blow put an end to his dream of a Meeting at that location. He discovered that he could not maintain the home alone, so he moved to an apartment in Toronto. He continued to look to the future believing that, "The future, while it is influenced by what has gone before, is flexible and can be moulded, within limits, for good or ill."

Activities with Canadian Friends

Although he had no children of his own, Fred had a special love and concern for them perhaps growing out of his experiences in Vienna with the child feeding program. Fred began to work with Albert

Rogers for the Boys Club sponsored by the Toronto Friends Meeting in 1924. The club was established for both the boys attending the Sunday School and those from the local inner-city neighbourhood. Activities of many kinds were carried on, including a bowling alley in the basement and a newsletter. Fred directed the Boys Club for several years until it was disbanded in the early part of World War II when the basement was turned over to the Save the Children Fund as a place to bale clothing.

In 1930, Albert Rogers asked Fred to find a property north of Toronto for use as a summer boys camp. A suitable location about 90 miles north of Toronto on a beautiful ten acres of woodland was obtained, initially for use by the Boys Club. Fred purchased a small piece of property adjacent to the camp in 1940, increasing its size. Later it was also used by the Girls Club and various Quaker groups. The camp was called NeeKauNis the Indian name for "friends" and is now owned by the Canadian Yearly Meeting.

Fred's vision of Camp NeeKauNis as a place for a variety of educational and recreational programs, helped play a major role in bringing all Canadian Friends together in one yearly meeting. At that time there were three yearly meetings. The young people in those three groups met at the camp. They saw no reason for the separation and pressed for amalgamation, which finally took place in 1955.

Fred was appointed treasurer of the Toronto Monthly Meeting in 1922, a position he held until 1942. He was also a trustee of the Meeting until his death in 1979 and served as one of its representatives on numerous yearly meeting committees. When the Meeting made its decision to move from a large church downtown to a house near the University, Fred took care of all the arrangements. He was long a member of the Committee on Ministry and Counsel, seeking to be of assistance wherever he could be helpful. His sense of responsibility to the Meeting was very strong, as witnessed by his statement that:

The Meeting will only be as strong and as effective as the sense

of responsibility of its members permits. There is, therefore, all obligation which commences with the individual Friend, which has its relation to the local Meeting and through successive stages, to the broadest human relationships.

He always maintained that any growth of the Toronto Meeting should be into the peripheral areas, and he was instrumental in having a fund established with that in mind. However, the Meeting decided to solve its overcrowding problems by building a new, large meeting room as an extension of the Meeting house. Although he was not in total unity with that decision, he never the less abided by the decision of the Meeting and later agreed it had been a good thing.

In January, 1960, Fred took up new positions as Secretary Treasurer of the Canadian Yearly Meeting and as Visitation Secretary of its Home Mission and Advancement Committee. As he phrased it, he was not "retired"; he was merely "retreaded." The visitation work always involved a continuing struggle with the vast area of Canada but he continued that service even after his retirement in 1972 as the Yearly Meeting Secretary-Treasurer.

Canadian Friends Service Committee

In 1931 the Canadian Friends Service Committee was established as an amalgamation of the service, peace, social concerns, and temperance testimony of the three Quaker yearly meetings in Canada. Its terms of reference were "To unify, coordinate, and expand the work of peace, social concerns, and temperance for Canadian Friends." Since Fred had been involved in the Service Committee of one of the Canadian yearly meetings, he became active in the new C.F.S.C. as a volunteer while still working with the Radio Tube Company. In 1941, however, the Secretary's position in the C.F.S.C. was made a full-time, salaried position and Fred was selected for the post. He carried on that responsibility until 1956.

Originally, the committee worked to

relieve famine in other parts of the world. With the outbreak of World War II, that role changed as Friends in Canada were faced with helping their young people remain true to their pacifism. Fred spent most of his time during this period counselling and assisting Canadian conscientious objectors. From his own experiences in World War I he knew the difficulties c.o.'s faced.

The National Resources Mobilisation Act of 1940 recognised the right to exemption from military service of only two groups: the Mennonites and the Doukhobors. Friends were deeply conscious that many sincere conscientious objectors had no religious affiliation, or were members of churches without a peace testimony. Fred brought that situation to the attention of the government, and when the regulations were published in 1941, all conscientious objectors were included. The government allowed alternative civilian service but required that a high percentage of the income gained from such work be given to the Canadian Red Cross.

In 1940 the Conference of Historic Peace Churches was formed by the Mennonites, the Brethren, and Friends. Haslam served as its Executive and on its Military Problems Committee. In a letter to the Prime Minister of Canada in 1940, Fred suggested various kinds of alternative service. Among them were:

- Reforestation or other conservation work.
- Maintenance of roads which might otherwise be neglected because of the national emergency.
- Social service work in distressed areas.
- Non-competitive agricultural work, the produce from which might be devoted to designated social welfare organisations.
- Participation in post-war rehabilitation plans.

These suggestions were accepted. Meanwhile Friends in the United States persuaded their government to recognise the British Friends Ambulance Unit as a form of alternative service and invited Canadian Friends to explore the possibility of its acceptance in Canada. Fred Haslam began those difficult negotiations in 1943. After

protracted discussions, recognition was finally granted; the first group of 20 Canadians was accepted in 1944. While those young people were serving in China and elsewhere, Fred kept in close touch with their families and friends through a Newsletter. After their return, assistance was continued because no educational or retraining program had been made for c.o.'s similar to what had been made for the returning soldiers. A report of the Chinese War Relief Fund, which supported the Unit in China, said:

The debt which the Chinese owe to this group will never be really estimated. We who have been their intimate associates know that millions unknown to themselves, were aided, if not saved, by their prompt and efficient delivery of relief supplies over a period of years.

Arthur Dorland wrote that "Without the experience and personal dedication of Fred Haslam this project would never have got off the ground." Many of the young people in the Unit who were not Friends at that time, joined the Religious Society of Friends later and have remained active, concerned members.

During World War II, the Canadian government decided to follow the lead of the American government and to move all persons of Japanese ancestry from the west coast. Some of those evacuees went to Toronto. Meanwhile, Friends in British Columbia were active in assistance to the Japanese-Canadians, helping them in their makeshift camps and schools. In Toronto a Japanese-Canadian Association was formed and Fred was on its executive committee. In that period the Japanese-Canadians were invited to hold their gatherings in the Toronto Friends Meeting house. Fred worked long and arduously to help such people, many of whom had few assets. After the war he cooperated with an ad hoc interchurch committee in an endeavour to obtain compensation for those displaced Japanese-Canadians and eventually a million dollars was distributed to them. To show their appreciation of his efforts, the

Japanese-Canadians made Fred Haslam an honorary Japanese-Canadian. Other groups of "aliens" were interned in Canada in camps at various places during the war. Fred negotiated with the government and finally obtained permission for Friends to visit such camps, even though they were located in isolated spots.

In 1950, the Sons of Freedom branch of the Doukhobors in western Canada made violent protests against government actions, particularly compulsory public school attendance. They burned homes, bombed electric installations and bridges, and staged nude parades in the Kootenay area of British Columbia. American Friends had helped the Doukhobors emigrate to Canada from Russia at the turn of this century. The Canadian government then asked Canadian Friends to assist them in solving this delicate problem. The authorities felt that Quakers were uniquely fitted for the task because of the high esteem in which they were held by all factions of the Doukhobors and because of their long experience in bringing about reconciliation in areas of tension in many countries.

The request came to Fred Haslam in the office of the Canadian Friends Service Committee. The Committee appointed a Minorities Committee to work on the problem. Fred was sure that Friends could bring a fresh outlook, but he was not certain that they could come up with a solution. Although he deplored the violent means of protest, he believed strongly in the right of the Doukhobors to religious freedom. Emmett Gulley, an American Friend with experience in conflict situations in the Near East, was appointed by Canadian and American Friends to represent Quakers on the scene. Fred carried the burden of the heavy correspondence and reported to all the Friends groups involved, as well as arranging government contracts in Ottawa and Toronto.

When Friends found they lacked enough money to continue paying Emmett Gulley's salary, he was paid by the British Columbia government. Consequently, in the eyes of the Sons of Freedom, he was no longer unbiased. Protests by the Sons of

Freedom against him eventually meant he had to give up the work. It was extremely difficult for Fred and other Friends to admit failure in this perplexing situation. Since that time the Sons of Freedom have repeated their protests and Quakers in British Columbia have maintained contact with them as the way has opened.

After World War II, the Canadian Friends Service Committee sent food, blankets, and medicines to India, Japan, Austria, and Germany. This work was a cooperative project between the Service Committees of the United States and of Canada; Fred thus had to make many trips to Philadelphia for consultations. Funds gathered by the Ontario Committee for relief in Japan were channelled through the Canadian Friends Service Committee and administered by it. Later, many kinds of medical supplies were shipped to Korea. And still later they were shipped to Vietnam.

Other Interests

Fred maintained that wars could be prevented if all the needy people of the world were cared for properly. He believed deeply that much of the discontent of the world arose from the lack of proper food and clothing. That feeling led him to support relief work and to take an active part in many such projects such as the Right Sharing of World Resources, the Canadian Save the Children Fund, UNESCO, and the projects of the Friends Service Council (of British Friends) in India and parts of Africa. He insisted on the primacy of the spiritual basis of the Friends peace testimony rather than on the political or expediency basis of peace.

Until his death, he was a member of the Corporation of Pickering College in Newmarket, Ontario. That institution had begun in 1841 as a coeducational secondary school. In 1916 it had been used for disabled soldiers, especially those affected mentally by their war experiences. The school was reopened in 1927 as a private boys school and was no longer responsible to the Canadian Yearly Meeting, although a majority of the Corporation members were still Quakers.

His opposition to capital punishment was strong and he worked to effect its abolition through service in several organisations concerned with that issue. He helped to produce a leaflet on capital punishment for the C.F.S.C., and he urged the member churches of the Canadian Council of Churches to examine this issue. When capital punishment was finally abolished in 1967, Fred felt that he must maintain constant vigilance lest it be reinstated.

Throughout his life he also devoted a great deal of effort to the temperance movement. He was a total abstainer and encouraged others to do the same. He would not even take shelter from the rain in the doorway of an establishment which served alcoholic beverages; and when organisations served liquor, he always registered his objections.

Because he had been in prison, he was well aware of the problems faced by prisoners and their families. Consequently, he worked slowly for well founded prison reforms. His careful pace often led impatient activists to feel that his approach was ineffectual. Frequently he was asked by authorities to visit in the Toronto jail. On such visits he was repeatedly distressed by the living conditions against which he protested. He supported the John Howard and Elizabeth Fry Societies in their work with prisoners and ex-prisoners and cooperated with the Criminology Committee of the Christian Social Council of Canada when it made a survey of the penal institutions in Ontario and Quebec.

Growing out of his experiences in Vienna, Fred developed a strong concern for the needy children of the world. He was initiated into the work of the Canadian Save the Children Fund by Albert Rogers. Eventually he joined the Executive Committee of that organisation and supported its many projects, becoming in time one of its Honorary Presidents. In 1977 he was awarded the Canada Medal on the 25th anniversary of the Queen's accession in recognition of his many years of devoted service to the Fund.

Role in the World Family of Friends

For a long time Fred Haslam was the only Canadian member of the boards and commissions of the Five Years Meeting of Friends (now Friends United Meeting). At those gatherings he was affectionately called "Mr. Canadian Friend." Although he could support many of their concerns, he had to remind them that Canadian Friends needed to use their limited time and energy on such matters as the work of the Canadian Council of Churches and representations to the Canadian government. He was also active on the executive committee of the Friends World Committee for Consultation (American Section). His earliest contact of that nature had been back in 1920 when he attended the Young Friends Gathering at Jordans, England, held at the same time as the first World Conference of Friends, in London. He was often the only Canadian Quaker available to represent Friends on the boards and commissions of the Canadian Council of Churches. The part he took in that ecumenical association is detailed in his book 1921-1967. Believing as he did that worldwide ecumenical action was important, his representation of Friends on the Canadian Council of Churches and its predecessor, the Christian Social Council of Canada, was one of his most valuable contributions to the life of the Canadian Yearly Meeting. His question, especially in relation to relief work, often was, "Why try to do the job with a teaspoon when by cooperation you can use a bulldozer".

He encouraged all efforts to bring the three yearly meetings of Friends in Canada together. In 1928 Friends of the Canada Yearly Meeting (Five Years Meeting) and Genesee Yearly Meeting (Friends General Conference) began meeting in concurrent and joint sessions. In 1944 they were joined by members of the Canada Yearly Meeting (Conservative). In 1931 all three had taken part in the formation of the Canadian Friends Service Committee and all three had taken part in programs at Camp NeeKauNis. He had pointed out the waste involved in three separate organisations, the insufficiency of communication, and the lack of a central

point which could collect and supply information concerning Canadian Quakers.

The final union of these three groups took place in 1955 with the formation of the Canadian Yearly Meeting. By extensive visitation across the 4000 miles of Canada, Fred encouraged new Meetings. Heartened by those contacts, Friends in Alberta and British Columbia became active in the new, united yearly meeting. For many years those western Meetings had held dual membership in Pacific and Canada Yearly Meetings. At that juncture, however, they opted for membership in the Canadian Yearly Meeting.

After the three yearly meetings joined, much work remained to form a cohesive group. Prior to that time the work of the yearly meetings had been done by volunteers. In 1960 a permanent office for the Canadian Yearly Meeting was established in the Toronto with Fred Haslam as its full-time Secretary Treasurer. In addition, he greatly increased contact with the Meetings across the vast expanse of Canada and set up a fund for members to attend committee meetings. Without that fund it would have been impossible for many persons to attend because of the expenses involved. Such increased contacts have meant a more vigorous and active group — a truly "Canadian" Yearly Meeting. While Fred did not approve totally of moving the site of the annual sessions away from Ontario because of the high cost of travel, he did agree that the yearly meeting should be a nationwide group.

Fred was concerned with the imbalance between the outward expressions of life as a yearly meeting and the inward spiritual nurture needed to maintain those expressions. He said, "It is necessary that there be a spiritual identity which is recognisable by members of the Society as being the foundation on which the outward efforts rest."

In 1967 Fred was accepted as a Fellow at Woodbrooke, the Quaker Study Centre in Birmingham, England. During that time he wrote 1921-1967, which has become a definitive work on Canadian Quakerism. He returned there for a term in 1972, after his retirement, as a special gift

from Canadian Friends to thank him for his untiring devotion as their Secretary-Treasurer. During that second period at Woodbrooke he wrote Some Reflections On Life, a manuscript which has not yet been published. It is a commentary on his outlook on philosophy, Quakerism, peace and social concerns, and astronomy.

Back in Toronto, he served for a time as Quaker-in-Residence at Friends House. Although he did not live in the house, he was available for consultations with inquirers several days each week. He also continued as Visitation Secretary for the Home Mission and Advancement Committee, visiting many Meetings across Canada and representing Friends on affiliated bodies.

He was concerned to see Christian values put into practice in the contemporary world. His ministry in Meetings for Worship was always moving and continued as an expression of his Christian faith up until the time of his final hospitalisation in 1979. He often quoted from John Greenleaf Whittier, his favourite poet: "I only know I cannot drift beyond His love and care." After his retirement as the yearly meeting's Secretary-Treasurer he felt he still had a task among Canadian Friends and hoped to travel, giving spiritual leadership. However, his conservative outlook did not enable him to feel reconciled to the newer ideas surfacing in Canadian Quakerism. Often he was resistant to new ways of accomplishing things and was inclined to avoid giving full access to yearly meeting information, especially about finances. The modern lifestyles of some Friends often perplexed him and he was reluctant to accept such new conditions. His total dedication to the work of the Religious Society of Friends was such that at times it appeared he felt that he was the only person who could do things. This caused some Friends to feel uneasy because too much power rested in one individual. Likewise, he was so careful about all money matters that he often took a parsimonious approach to such matters as salary scales.

Although most of his time was spent on work for Friends, he did make opportunities for his other interests, such as his love of classical and church music, his interest in

nature, and his hobby of astronomy — begun back in his days in Vienna where he had spent much time with a noted astronomer. When he died on October 16, 1979, messages of appreciation for his life and work came from Friends across Canada, from the United States, and from other parts of the world. One summarised these thoughts: "The honest, unassuming, and spiritual presence which he was, would lead us to say, 'Not to him but to God be the praise and thanks for his life'."

Notes:

* Dorothy Muma was secretary to Fred Haslam at the Canadian Friends Service Committee. This is a shorter version of a paper first published in Living in the Light, Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century in the Wider World, Vol. II, ed. by Leonard S. Kenworthy (Friends General Conference and Quaker Publication, Kennett Square, Pa., 1985).

Background History to the Records of the Canadian Friends Service Committee, 1931 to Present

By Jane Zavitz-Bond, CYM archivist, with Sandra Fuller

The beginnings of the Service Committees go back to the founding of the Society of Friends in the mid 1600s, and are rooted in the testimonies and practice of love and peace. Canadian Quakers carried these concerns for peace and human rights from the founding of the first Canadian meeting at Adolphus in 1798. British Quakers relief workers first adopted the red and black star as their symbol during the Franco-Prussian war, in 1870. The star was originally the emblem of the city of Nancy, France, an area in which they worked. It has appeared in many parts of the world since as a symbol of Quaker service. The British Friends Service Council was joined by the Americans (AFSC) during World War I, and the Canadian Yearly Meetings (CFSC) since 1931.

The Canadian Friends Service Committee (hereafter CFSC) was formed officially in 1931 by joint action of Canada Orthodox and Genesee Yearly Meetings. They hoped that the new body would "provide more effective machinery for expressing here in Canada the social implications of Quaker testimonies, but also more effective means of cooperation both with the American Friends Service Committee and with the Friends Service Council of London Yearly Meeting." The Social Service and Temperance Committee, the Peace Committee and the Friends Service Committee were combined with additional active Friends named to serve. This reflects the action of CFSC over the years. It has worked on domestic and international levels putting Friends beliefs to work for concerns as they arose over the past six decades. Though remaining a standing committee of the Canadian Yearly Meeting, CFSC has a unique relationship as a body which makes appeals to the general public for work of a public nature.

The first annual meeting was held at Norwich, Ontario, in the old brick meeting-house on Quaker Street. All three yearly meetings: Orthodox, Conservative and Genesee were represented. Charles A. Zavitz was the first chairman; Arthur G. Dorland and William Hallam were vice chairmen; and Fred Haslam served as the able and dedicated general secretary and treasurer from 1931 through 1956. The general secretary reported to the executive committee along with the standing sub-committees of finance, nominations, personnel, and publicity. The programme sub-committees and staff reported with minutes and reports or accounts of their activities to the general secretary who administered necessary advice, oversight and care in relation to overall policy and finance. Until 1949, the office was in the Toronto Meetinghouse on Maitland Street; an executive committee met regularly in various meeting locations. Regional superintendents were appointed: three in Ontario, and three for the rest of Canada.

During this time, Friends cooperated with other bodies: the Toronto Boys and Girls Clubs, the Save the Children organization. Camp NeeKauNis began programs, including camps for city children with Young Friends staffing them, and a camp for blacks. The Canadian Council of Churches was formed with Friends reaching into world ecumenical activities through the World Council of Churches; later an association of the Historic Peace Churches was created out of common concerns. Issues of temperance, concern for those in prisons and work to eliminate capital punishment reflected the testimonies of Friends, as the amalgamated committee had been directed.

On the world scene in the early years CFSC encouraged the Prime Minister to attend the Disarmament Conference;

Japanese Christians, including Quakers, were supported as they raised issue with their government over the Manchurian crisis. At home, Arthur Dorland and Raymond Booth, with concerns for economic and international relations, were appointed by CFSC to work for the YMCA camp program and the Couchiching Conferences began. Programs for Young Friends utilized Camp NeeKauNis with speakers, including Eugene Forsey, later Senator and constitutional authority. It was a significant beginning for CFSC. As a by-product, much of the later leadership of Canadian Friends came from members of CFSC and many of the youth who had participated in these early programs.

During World War II CFSC approached the Canadian government to gain rights for conscientious objectors, visited prisoners of war in Canada, sent a Friends Ambulance Team to China, fed children and sent relief to refugee camps in Europe, and looked toward peace with support for reconstruction and development in the world. These activities required funds so CFSC launched appeals for specific projects, providing all the office expenses to allow donations to go fully to the work. Generous support came. After the war, Doctors Ed and Vivien Abbott took their family for three terms in Barpali and later Rasulia in India's Deccan plateau to engage in public health work under CFSC and Friends Service Council of London Yearly Meeting. Peter and Rosemae Harkness followed them in Indian service.

CFSC was asked to assist in resolving conflicts between the Doukabour Sons of Freedom and the government in British Columbia. At times the work was difficult indeed. Immigration after the war brought requests for assistance to hopeful settlers with Friends' ties, and some requests for work and housing from refugees.

The war work brought closer awareness of the world's situation and Friends naturally expanded CFSC activity reflecting, as it had in the past, the concerns of the larger society that Friends felt a responsibility to address. The Quaker United Nations Office allowed impact on world affairs for Peace, including controls for nuclear, bacte-

rial and chemical weapons. Historically, human rights and social justice were given priority in Friends approaches.

The same concerns were reflected at home. Grindstone Island in the Rideau Lakes near Portland, Ontario, hosted conferences including those for junior diplomats as it became a peace education centre for 13 busy years. Murray Thomson served as Peace Education Secretary with vision for what could be done and the discipline to carry the work forward. Sharing work with common unselfish purpose drew Canadian Quakers together, and in 1955 the three yearly meetings reunited as Canadian Yearly Meeting. The CFSC played a major role in this amalgamation as Friends had worked closely together in all its activities.

When Fred Haslam went on to become General Secretary of the Canadian Yearly Meeting in 1956, he was replaced by Cecil Evans as General Secretary of the Service Committee. He was ably equipped to coordinate CFSC work as Friends extended across the continent and their activities



Dr. Vivien Abbott, teaching a young girl in Rasulia, India

expanded to reflect the concerns of the post war world and to implement their dreams for a better world. The CFSC was involved with the Quaker United Nations Office in New York, as were the American Friends Service Committee and Friends Service Council. The work obliterated national lines among Friends. At home CFSC encouraged Canada to be a leader for peace and development in the world.

Friends' concerns for human rights grow out of their belief in that of God in each human being, and therefore they upheld the ultimate value and worth of each person. Expanding previous work the CFSC developed subcommittees for work for Native Peoples and for prisoners in Jails and Justice. Again, the demands on the human and financial resources increased. Fund raising became an ongoing activity; the public was supportive. Friends were speaking for change in society from an historic and respected position. Canadian International Development Agency projects continued the international work. Friends' personnel worked on some projects, and CFSC matched funds for many others. Committee members came to CFSC annual meetings from across the country. It was a vital group with proliferating points of concern - nuclear disarmament, peace for the Middle East and care for refugees; mercury poisoning of native people in Northern Ontario, and incidentally, preservation of their culture. During the Vietnam War all the refugees were not from far-flung lands. Conscientious objectors came from the USA and were befriended. Medicines were sent to both north and south in war torn Vietnam. The measure of public discontent was reflected as support came and aid was distributed. The philosophical and real rights of all individuals were held up to government officials and 'neighbours' in the street. Pamphlets and newsletters were written, bandages wrapped, and medicines collected to send to the victims of war.

During the 1970s more space in the Yearly Meeting Minutes was filled by reports of CFSC work. The office staff grew as the work expanded. Public awareness education program increased; relief work lessened as development programs

increased. Leadership in the executive committee, through the clerk of the CFSC, was a vital component. As many demands pressed those who came to serve, the length of the Coordinators time lessened. The current areas of concern called for attention. Decisions were not easy. When a new activity was begun, a previous project was seldom dropped. Expansion required more structure.

At present the work is ordered with a clear awareness that CFSC must keep priorities, work within today's frame of shrinking funds and rising costs, and keep faith with the principles of Friends. The distance of 4000 miles with only 1200 Friends in Canada presents challenges for the future. The concerns that have always been part of the work continue, sometimes recast in changing times. Now that the immediate fear of nuclear holocaust is past, peace is broader in concept. We seek peace with social justice and face environmental and economic problems that impinge on human rights as population pressures increase fears not imagined in 1931. The minute establishing the Canadian Friends Service Committee still rings true, to create "more effective machinery here in Canada for expressing the social implications of our Quaker testimony."... and to find ways to continue our work with Friends around the world for the good of all people.

Remembering those who have served over the years, and thinking of those who carry the work now, it is with deep appreciation that their names are listed in the appendices as chairmen, clerks, general secretaries, treasurers, coordinators, office staff, or peace secretaries, workers for native peoples, or jails and justice staff to complete this short history.

CLERKS

Fred Haslam (1930-1931)
Charles A. Zavitz, later Hon. Chairman
(1930-1939)
• Arthur G. Dorland - vice (1931-1939)
• William Hallam - vice (1931-1939)
Arthur G. Dorland - Chair (1939-1955)
• Howard W. Clayton - vice (1947-1950)
• J. Allan Hall - vice (1947-1950)
Alternatives became vice chairman 1949
• alternatives - Stanley Van Every, Stirling
Nelson; C. Harold Zavitz (1951)
• Mable B. Willson - vice (1952-1955)
• Francis Starr - vice (1952-1953)
• Howard Clayton - vice (1952)
• J. Allan Hall - vice (1952-53; 1956)
• Burton S.W. Hill - vice (1953)
• LeRoy Jones - vice (1953)
Mable B. Willson - chair (1956-1958)
W. Lloyd G. Williams - chair (1959-1963)
Kathleen Hertzberg - chair (1964-1970)
Edward S. Bell - chair (1970-1975)
P. Rajagopal - chair (1975-1977)
Nancy Pocock - chair (1977-1981)
Vivian Abbott - chair (1981-1985)
Isabel Showler - chair (1985-1989)
Gale Wills - chair (1989-1991)
Mona Callin - chair (1992)

TREASURERS

Fred Haslam (1931-1941)
Ada Lehman (1941-1945)
John Petrie (1947-1965)
Stanley Gardiner (1965-1968)
Lloyd Haines (1968-1974)
Ray Morris (1974-1985)
Peter Cross (1985-1989)
Derek Collins-Thompson (1989-1991)
Tim Benson (1992-1995)

GENERAL SECRETARIES

Fred Haslam (1931-1956)
Cecil R. Evans (1956-1960)
Ralph M. Eames (1960-1965 (Aug.))
David Newlands (1965-1967 (Sept.))
Kathleen Hertzberg (1967-1968 (Sept.))
and Jadwiga Bennich shared
Jadwiga Bennich (1968-1975)
Betty Polster, interim coordinator (1975
(Feb.-July))

Nancy M. Pocock, interim coordinator
(1975 (July -Aug.))
Ruth Morris, coordinator (1975-1978)
Norman Walsh (1978 (June)-1979 (Dec.))
Frank Showler (1980 (Jan.)-1981 (Dec.))
Carl Stieren (1982-1987)
Elaine Bishop (1987-1991 (Mar.))
Rich McCutcheon (1991-1993 (Oct.))
Peter Chapman (1994 (Feb.)-present)

OFFICE ASSISTANTS

Kathleen Green (Savan), Louise Franco
(Zavitz), Barbara Walker, Ruth Lor,
Monica Brown, Elizabeth Warburton,
Dorothy Muma, Tomi Mizusawa, Kathleen
Hertzberg, Susan Reasor, Margot
Elsermann, Doyin Odusanya

PEACE EDUCATION SECRETARIES

Murray Thomson (1969)
John Pocock (1970-1971)
Peter Crysdale (1972-1973)

Released Peace Workers:

East: Ken Hancock (1982-1983 (May))
West: William Curry

Records of the Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) 1931 - 1986

By Sandra Fuller

The records of the Canadian Friends Service Committee were kept in the CFSC office at the Friends' Meeting House, Maitland Street, Toronto, from its inception in 1931, to 1949 when the offices of the Canadian Yearly Meeting (including the CFSC) were moved to 60 Lowther Avenue, at the time that Toronto Monthly Meeting purchased Friends' House. It is possible that some early records may have been discarded in the process of moving.

At various times, records were moved to basement storage as projects were completed, when office personnel changed, or filing space was required. The records were not always stored in an orderly

manner, particularly when files were no longer needed for reference purposes. There is evidence of dampness and mildew damage in some of the records.

This basement storage location was used until 1983, when the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives was established at Pickering College, and an archivist appointed in 1984. When the CYM offices were moved to Ottawa in 1988, Toronto Monthly Meeting requested use of the space in their building and the CFSC records were moved to the archival vault at Pickering College. The surviving unprocessed CFSC records up to 1987 amounted to approximately 150 cubic feet. This amount was increased in 1994 by another 35 cu. ft, and in 1996, with 19 cu ft, making the present total over 200 cu. ft of records.

The records in the 1988 accession span a period of approximately 55 years from the formation of the Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) in October 1931 as a standing committee of the Canada Yearly Meeting when Fred Haslam acted as the first general secretary, to the spring of 1987 when Carl Stieren's term of office ended. Until 1956, the Canadian Friends Service Committee was composed of representatives appointed from all three Canadian Yearly Meetings: Orthodox, Genesee, and Conservative. After 1969, members of the Committee represented Monthly Meetings across Canada.

The many changes made in the composition of both the Canadian Yearly Meeting and the Canadian Friends Service Committee, and in the direction of their service during this period are mirrored in the records. CFSC's work greatly expanded - subcommittees were formed, and many new concerns arose. In addition, the CFSC records reflect major changes in office management and practices over the last fifty years. The combination of computers, photocopiers, and increased interest in work in the areas of peace and social justice in the past several decades have produced an abundance of information on paper, as well as with other media.

The huge bulk of records and their disorganized state required attention in order to preserve them and make them accessible to researchers. So that some

measure of physical and intellectual control could be obtained over them, the CFSC records were roughly sorted into a number of units from which finding aids might be prepared. Units were allocated according to type of record (textual, photograph, sound recording), office of origin, and function of the record (general and committee minutes, general/subject correspondence, and committee correspondence). The majority of the records are textual. From the initial rough sort, the following units were set apart:

- 1) Minutes of meetings, reports, financial records, publications, 1931-1986;
- 2) Correspondence of General Secretary, Fred Haslam, 1931-1956;
- 3) Correspondence of General Secretaries/Coordinators, 1956-1987;
- 4) Correspondence of Peace Education Secretaries, 1969-1974
- 5) Correspondence of Quaker Committee on Jails and Justice, 1978
- 6) Correspondence of Quaker Committee on Native Concerns, 1977
- 7) Photographs;
- 8) Sound recordings.

Records in the first three units have been processed. Computer-generated finding aids have been prepared describing the arrangement of the records, thereby making them available for research purposes. The first unit describes the minutes of general and annual meetings of CFSC, its executive committee, and subcommittees. It also includes financial records, such as audited financial statements, journals, ledgers, and administrative subject files, as well as CFSC publications: newsletters, newsletter reports, and printed matter. The second unit describes correspondence from the office of the first general secretary, Fred Haslam, who held the position over a period of 25 years from 1931 to 1956. The third unit contains correspondence from the offices of a number of general secretaries/coordinators, who contributed to CFSC work over a period of 30 years from 1956 to 1987. Materials in the third unit are organized into the broad categories of National and International Concerns according to categories in budget allocations in the 1980s.

Book Review: UTOPIA REVISITED

Children of Peace by W. John McIntyre
(McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994)
\$39.95 (cloth)

This is a new volume in the McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, supported by the Jackman Foundation.

W. John McIntyre is Professor of Liberal Studies at Seneca College and a member of the Board of Directors of the Sharon Temple Museum Society. He has had a particular interest in the Children of Peace for many years.

In this book the author holds the reader's interest with a colourful picture of David Willson and his followers. His descriptions of their buildings and their way of life are clear and precise.

Two family names predominate in this story, Willson and Doan(e). David Willson, originally from New York state, son of a Loyalist sympathizer, was not a member of the Society of Friends before coming to Upper Canada, although his wife, Phebe Titus, was. He became a member of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in 1805 and continued until 1812, when he was disowned. He then founded his own religious group, which he named the Children of Peace. John and Ebenezer Doan, brothers from a Pennsylvania family, were disowned at the same time and moved with Willson to the area which was later called Sharon, north-east of Newmarket.

McIntyre tells how Willson's vision of a Utopian community resulted in the beautiful Temple and Meeting House at Sharon, the banners painted by Richard Coates, the organs built by Coates, and the choir and band which were widely known for their excellence. The master builder was Ebenezer Doan, while John Doan contributed his exceptional skills as a cabinet maker, as shown in the Ark in the Temple and many fine details in the general construction. John also produced many beautiful pieces of furniture, some of which have

survived. Professor McIntyre attributed their ability to a line of carpenters running back five generations, and to their apprenticeship to an older brother on several important projects in New Jersey.

The author recounts the involvement of the Children of Peace in the Mackenzie Rebellion of 1837, when two of David Willson's sons and two members of the Doan family were imprisoned in the York jail for five months. Two others from the area were killed in the fighting.

McIntyre states: "The Temple, David Willson's study, the banners and organs built by Richard Coates, the Ebenezer Doan house, furniture made by John Doan and other surviving artifacts linked to the Children of Peace declare that these people led a rich spiritual and material life."

He concludes that "the fact that their distinctive way of life vanished by the end of the nineteenth century need not be seen as failure." This conclusion is encouraging to all who over many years have sought to preserve the buildings and history of the Children of Peace.

David McFall

News and Notes

THE 1904 FRIEND'S GENERAL CONFERENCE

The city of Hamilton, Ontario, will host the Friend's General Conference in June, 1996. These conferences bring together members of the Religious Society of Friends in both the United States and Canada. The reason for their gathering, in general terms, is to encourage intellectual vigour, to discuss the best ways to do the work of this democratic religious organization, and to provide an opportunity for fellowship, and spiritual uplift and renewal.

Quaker leaders have frequently been people who believed in the instructional value history can bring to bear on current decisions. This brief article will review some of the salient points of the first Friend's General Conference ever held in Canada. It took place in Toronto in August of 1904. That was four years after the turn of the century; this coming conference is four years before the turn of the century. Ninety-two years is most of the 20th Century. The hallmark description of this century has been change with the necessity for people to find ways to adapt to the rapid rate of change. Values change also, but the best values prove they can carry on through time informing and directing appropriate responses to new challenges.

The backdrop to the 1904 conference was that in the decade 1900 - 1910, American Quakerism had virtually split into two factions. Holiness Quakers and modernist Quakers battled over which of their visions would define the future of Quakerism. The holiness Quakers were millennialist, negative and other-world oriented, and actually administered their own coup de grace by giving themselves over to fanatical extremism, pentecostalism, speaking in tongues, and the like. This proved too much even for Quakers who had embraced revivalism and the pastoral system.

Modernist Quakers, similar to modernist Protestantism, had three basic tenets, "that religious ideas must be adapted to modern culture; that God is immanent and is

revealed through human cultural development; and that the human race is moving fitfully toward realizing, if never quite attaining, the kingdom of God."¹ Modernist Quakers had a progressive vision of Quakerism; the enemy was a "cramped conception of Christianity."² Progressivism's trademark was the belief that the world was getting better and better. Society would be reformed through the outreach of the social gospel with its activism in political and economic reform.

Modernist Quakers reaffirmed the concept of the Inner Light' that of God within every person. This also had been repudiated by the holiness Quakers' as well as quietism. For Modernist Quakers the new biblical scholarship and accompanying criticism was important. The bible was not infallible, as the holiness group claimed. Because of the revelation of God through the Inner Light, Friends should avoid biblical literalism and "bibliolatry." Freedom of conscience must be paramount. It is not surprising that education was considered vital as the foundation for building a strong faith and for creating successful programs for social reform. The holiness Quakers tended toward anti-intellectual feelings, especially with regard to the modernists, and were even suspicious of higher education.

By 1904 modernist Quakerism had won; the feuding was certainly not finished, but the existence of modernist Quakerism was no longer in danger. It would be these Friends who would set the image of Quakerism for North America. It is the modernist program which has largely endured to the present. Against this milieu, the Toronto Friends General Conference came together. They were for the most part modernist Friends including many famous persons in attendance. Rufus Jones, perhaps the leading defender of modernist Quakerism, was among the participants.

This conference served to solidify and confirm Friends' transition from protest against the ways of the world to using their powers to mend those ways. The conference provided a forum for speakers and discussion on virtually every social issue of the day. It was a week long with fourteen sessions, as well as a meeting of the Central

Committee. The importance of education and first-day schools was attested to by the five sessions dedicated to this. Education delivered by well-trained and competent teachers, with relevant content appropriately tailored to each age group was essential preparation for religious faith, just as it was for a productive and active life in society.

Four sessions were devoted to "philanthropic work", their term for social problems. The list is long, and most of it continues to remain problematical in some respect to the present. These Friends were concerned about factory working conditions for women and children, race relations, temperance, prison reform, and "purity." This latter term covered a broad range of problems from tobacco and drug use to sexuality to "right thinking", ie. "that individual thoughtfulness and personal inquiry as to why I am doing this, and what is the result of it."³ Two other sessions of specific importance were the one on peace, and one on Young Friends' Associations. The last three were routine: welcome, business, and worship. However, not so routine, hidden in the business agenda, was discussion of the Committee on Advancement of Friends' Principles. This was critical for a religious organization which was becoming activist oriented. The Committee was to be expanded and given permanence by employing a paid secretary (or secretaries). Edward H. Rawson described the committee as one "for informing people of the kind of work we are doing and of encouraging them to join with us in the doing of that work."⁴ He meant this to be a concerted outreach into society. The term outreach is a better descriptor than missionary work. The effort was to lead people to give their time and attention to preventative work that amelioration of social problems required. The effort was not in trying to convert others to Quakerism as a religion other than by modelling how their faith was realized in every day living. At the conference Bertha L. Broomell said, "one of the most important missions of Friends, to live and to preach this gospel of simplicity before a tired, overwrought and anxious world."⁵ She commented that the numbers of Friends was irrelevant, and that justification was in

whether there was still work to be done. "Our Society is not worth preserving for what is has done, only for what it can still do."⁶ These are surely the words of a brave people ready to meet the future and work hard at realizing the best of human life.

This upcoming Friends' General Conference is heir to modernist Quakerism. That core of progressive ideas of nearly a century ago can still provide valid direction. The details, the programs for delivery will be different; the worth of the ideas and values remains, and the perspective from which to create responses to challenges retains its merit.

In summary, three broad themes encompass the vision for action mapped out at the 1904 conference. Education ranked first, as it was the foundation for all other efforts. Education prepared the individual for useful work in society. It fostered the ability for critical thought thereby ensuring freedom of conscience and personal strength. Education would chew at the root of gambling and of tobacco, drug and liquor use. It is true that in this century's first decades Quakers worked for Prohibition which proved an unworkable solution. But it was not Prohibition or surrender, there was the support of education upon which to rely. Educate people about how vices might steal their living, health and happiness then persons would be enabled to chose more wisely.

War and peace greatly concerned these Friends. War was the expression of the total deterioration of society. Quakers endeavoured to be representatives of the great principle of peace. The irony was and is that, short of total genocide, any and all wars have had to eventually give way to the arbitration table. A.C. Courtice said succinctly that supporting peace and abolishing war meant "seeking everywhere to substitute arbitration, as an appeal to reason, for that appeal to force that is known as war."⁷ People develop the mature ability to reason through education.

The third theme of Quaker activism was that of human emancipation. This included freedom of conscience, racism, the church (awash as it was in a sea of fundamentalism), working conditions for women

and children, and the treatment of crime and criminals. Inhumanity as a cure for crime was a contradiction. Brutality, repression and retaliation, the "weapons of darkness", could not accomplish what can only be accomplished with the "powers of light."⁸

Anna M. Jackson said, "Pursuit of happiness must mean opportunity, without which life and liberty are of little account."⁹ She was speaking with regard to African-American emancipation, but her words ring clearly in the broadest perspective of the burgeoning population of today's world. Education is the first foundation for opportunity which in turn informs a mature appeal to reason, being the spring-board for dealing with the multi-faceted questions of human emancipation. Surely these progressive ideas and values hold as bright a promise for the 21st Century as they did in 1904. They can be the backbone of and inform the perspective for planning and programs into the coming century. The details of programs and efforts will be different, perhaps even the scope of this day and age appears daunting. Hasn't every age thought theirs to be the most set upon? And when have Friends ever been daunted by the scope of the problem? Yes, there is lots of hard work yet to do in this world, and everyone needs support. Those at the 1904 Friends General Conference did indeed extend long-term support.

Joyce Way

Notes:

- 1) Hamm, Thomas D. The Transformation of American Quakerism (Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 146.
- 2) Ibid., p. 154.
- 3) Proceedings of the Friends' General Conference Held at Toronto, Canada 1904 (Philadelphia, Franklin Printing Co., 1904), p. 390.
- 4) Ibid., p. 301.
- 5) Ibid., p. 323.
- 6) Ibid.
- 7) Ibid., p. 70.
- 8) Ibid., p. 267.
- 9) Ibid., p. 140.

**We study war culture,
but what about peace?**

The McGill University debate team recently triumphed over teams from Princeton and Fordham to win the North American championship in a competition at University of Toronto. At one pivotal moment, the debate centred on whether a statue of Albert Speer, prominent German architect and Nazi party leader, on display in a German museum, should be removed. The question was a difficult one, involving our whole notion of history and memory, commemoration and context, censorship and freedom of expression — all in the context of a museum.

The debate brings into sharp focus many of the difficulties of this past year, which witnessed a number of events, ceremonies and exhibitions commemorating the end of World War II. The end of the war had only one meaning for the victors and was, indeed, a benchmark in the life of their generation. But 50 years later — when historians, curators and journalists went back to look the beast of war full in the face — conflicting versions of history and memory collided.

It happened again and again. Here, with the documentary *The Valour And The Horror* and the veterans who this month lost their battle to sue the CBC over the series, which they said portrayed them as cold-blooded killers. In the U.S., the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum (NASM) spent \$1 million restoring the Enola Gay, the war plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. It became, in the words of one curator, "the most controversial exhibit ever not to be mounted." Air Force veterans, the mayor and city council of Hiroshima and organizations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom all read the text to accompany the exhibit, each with their own memory. To say that there was little agreement among the parties as to what actually occurred during the course of the war — what should be emphasized and what should be diminished — is an understatement.

The whole affair erupted in a critical

farrago that became a denotation for the 50th anniversary commemoration itself, while the argument over military targets versus civilian casualties and body counts began to resemble commodities trading. The controversy eventually reached the floor of the U.S. Congress and led to the resignation of the NASM director under pressure reminiscent of the McCarthy era.

We have gone to great lengths in our museums and galleries, our public statuary and historic sites, to preserve the material culture of war. Associated as it often is with concepts such as patriotism and heroism, the warring instinct as inherent in human nature seems to be a given. And why not? We give precious little time and space to other points of view. This, I believe, was at the root of the problem in our attempts to understand and honour those who were called upon to make sacrifices during World War II, while also trying to provide a critical assessment of the period. For those who lived through the war, the exhilaration and joy of its end were part of a greater yearning and hope for a lasting peace.

But how much time do we really spend on understanding "the peace"?

Last October, an anti-Cold War group named for a small village in Nova Scotia was honoured for its association with the international movement for peace and disarmament. The Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs shared the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize with one of its co-founders, physicist Joseph Rotblat. Having come of age during the peace movement at the time of the Vietnam War, I was immediately struck by the fact that I had never heard of Rotblat or Pugwash, N.S.

I went to the quickest reference available, Microsoft's Bookshelf: not a word on Rotblat or Pugwash. The Encyclopedia Britannica was similarly silent. I was intrigued. Our society has devoted much time and expense to commemorating and preserving the experience of war. We have established war museums to displays of medals and other military trophies. We have developed sophisticated technology to measure the ballistic accuracy of muskets, pistols and arquebuses so we are able to discover — with an almost ghoulish fascina-

tion — the accuracy and velocity with which one soldier could point a weapon at another soldier, fire a bullet at a certain range and penetrate the flesh of this human being, hopefully killing him. Our ability to quantify, calibrate and evaluate the "effectiveness" of weaponry over the past four centuries — paying special attention to bullet entry patterns and resultant "wound cavities" — is scientifically unparalleled.

But what have we done to understand the material conditions necessary for peace?

Type in the word "Pugwash" and hit the search button — you won't find anything. We know that we can commemorate and, in some cases, even reenact the wars of history. But how can we remember, recapture and reconstruct the peace?

The material culture of peace is an interesting and challenging concept. True, there is the important role of pacifism (led by organizations such as the Society of Friends — the Quakers) and the lives of prominent leaders (such as Mohandas Gandhi, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Vera Brittain) that have much to teach us. But this is only a starting point in a cascade of references highlighting the road to peace.

Museums themselves have been among the most important constituencies in taking up this challenge over the past 10 to 15 years. To their credit, some war museums have increasingly focused on building a "peace component" into their exhibitions and education programs. Japan, which is the only country that has known the devastation resulting from nuclear attack and which is still studying its effects, has established four peace museums since 1991. The U.K lists 29 peace museums and a trust, established in 1986 by a small group of Quakers, exists to "promote the creation of a national peace museum as well as other educational facilities."

In Robert Lepage's epic theatre piece, *The Seven Streams Of The River Ota*, there is a scene depicting an American GI photographer who is assigned to document the damage done to Hiroshima by the bombing. He is befriended by a woman who was disfigured by the bomb and, when she asks if he might want to take her photo-

graph, he answers: "No, just the buildings and the landscape — that is all." It is a telling moment that speaks volumes about our understanding of history and memory and the limits of representation and debate that have been imposed by the "official record." When compared to the glorification of war and violence, so endemic to and infused throughout our popular culture, the vocabulary and iconography of peace seem parts of a small and comparatively nascent movement.

Robin Breon

11th Biennial Meeting of Quaker Historians and Archivists

The Quaker Historians and Archivists will assemble for their 11th biennial session from 21-23 June, 1996 at Oakwood School, Poughkeepsie, New York. Anyone interested in attending, or in reading one of the papers should contact Jane Zavitz Bond in the Dorland Room, Pickering College, Newmarket. The schedule of papers is as follows:

June 21: Civilian Public Service

- Mitchell Robinson, "'Healing the Bitterness of War and Destruction': C.P.S. and Foreign Service"

June 22: 9:00am Twentieth Century Quaker Politics

- Hugh Barbour, "The Woods of Mt. Kisco"
- Elizabeth Cazden, "New England's Evangelical Friends: The Rhode Island Schism of 1951"
- David McFadden, "The Spirit and Politics of Relief: Rufus Jones, Wilbur Thomas and the AFSC, 1917-1927"

10:45am Carrying the Message

- Louisa Mae Kaufman, "'A Woman's Life-Work': Laura Smith Haviland and the Underground Railroad"
- John Oliver, "Emma Brown Malone: Training Women Ministers and Implanting Quakerism in Kenya"
- Maina Singh, "Coalitions and Conflicts: Early Quaker Interventions in 19th Century India"

1:30pm Quakers and Anti-Slavery

- Carla Gerona, "'Quaker Seers' and 'Black Interpreters': Dreams of Equality and Freedom"
- Michael Groth, "Quakers and Slavery in the Hudson Valley"
- Thomas Lamont, "Gambling with God: The Effect of the American Revolution on the Anglo-American Antislavery Movement"

3:30pm Quaker Interactions with Broader Anglo-American Thought

- Irene Baros-Johnson "Urged Onward by a Longtime Friend: Lucretia Mott and the Unitarians"
- Caroline Cherry, "John Milton and Quaker Thought in the 1660s: the 'Inward Oracle' and Paradise Regained"
- Jay Worrall Jr., untitled paper.

7:30 Plain and Worldly Friends

- Charles Monaghan, "The Murrays of Murray Hill: A New York Quaker Family Before, During, and After the Revolution"
- Anne Verplanck, "Abolitionist Assemblages: The Quaker Silhouette Album"
- Jane Williamson, "Stephen Foster Stevens: Quaker Cabinetmaker"

June 23: Business Meeting

The Underground Railroad Study Group

The National Parks Service of the United States is seeking to develop appropriate ways of commemorating the Underground Railroad, perhaps the most dramatic protest action against slavery in North American History. Quakers, of course, played a central role in the creation and activities of the railroad, as pointed out in Chris Densmore's paper to the last Annual Meeting. Since Canada was the terminus of the Railroad, many Canadians may have an interest in this project. For more information on these activities, ask to be put on the mailing list of the "Underground Railroad Study Newsletter", available from the National Parks Service, Denver Service Centre, 12795 West Alameda Parkway, P.O. Box 25287, Denver, CO 80225-0287.

In Memorium:

We regret having to report the passing of Anna L. MacPherson of Norwich on 16th May, 1996.

New Researcher:

Allison McNaught has been researching the impact of textbooks upon students' outlooks on peace and war in Friends' Schools for her thesis at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Her father, Kenneth W. McNaught, professor of history at University of Toronto and former teacher at Pickering College, will be awarded the "Class of 1842" award at this year's commencement exercises at Pickering College. Prof. McNaught will be recognized for his contributions to the understanding of Canada as a teacher and writer for the past 50 years.

200 Years Yonge!

Lt. Gov. John Graves Simcoe made a dramatic return to Upper Canada in March as part of the 200 Years Yonge! Bicentennial Celebration. Lt. Gov. Simcoe visited the York Regional headquarters on Yonge St. in Newmarket, where he was greeted by

guests from Yonge Street's past, including our own Jane Zavitz-Bond, Sheldon Clark, and Sandra Fuller representing the Yonge Street Quakers.

Other events are planned for the bicentennial celebrations, including a picnic at the Yonge Street Meeting House, and the Canadian Friends Historical Society Annual Meeting in November. Contact the Newmarket Chamber of Commerce for a complete list of events.

Plan to attend

200 Years Yonge! Reunion and Picnic

Descendants of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting members are invited to a reunion and picnic at the Meeting House

Sunday, July 21st, 1996

Church service 10:30

Picnic from noon to 5:00 p.m.

Musical entertainment, games for children, a display of town and local Quaker history, and a meet & greet are planned. Bring your own picnic, lawn chair or blanket. Lemonade supplied free.

For further information call Jackie Playter (905) 895-3382



Canadian Friends Historical Association Board member Sandra Fuller, and Yonge Street Monthly Meeting member Sheldon Clark as they appeared before they made their presentation to "Governor Simcoe."