

The Canadian Quaker History Journal

No. 66

2001



**Special issue celebrating the
70th Anniversary of
Camp NeeKauNis and the
Canadian Friends Service Committee**

The Canadian Quaker History Journal

No. 66

2001

Contents

Special Issue: 70th Anniversary of Camp NeeKauNis and the Canadian Friends Service Committee

Meeting Place of Friends: A brief history of Camp NeeKauNis <i>by Stirling Nelson</i>	1
CFSC Support to Friends Rural Centre, Rasulia, Hoshangabad District, Madhya Pradesh, India <i>by Peter and Rose Mae Harkness</i>	5
The Grindstone Era: Looking Back, Looking Ahead <i>by Murray Thomson</i>	12
The Origins of the Canadian Quaker Committee on Native Concerns <i>by Jo Vellacott</i>	17
Fred Haslam (1897-1979): "Mr Canadian Friend" - A Personal View <i>by Dorothy Muma</i>	23
A Benevolent Alliance: The Canadian Save the Children Fund and the Canadian Friends Service Committee between the Two World Wars <i>by Meghan Cameron</i>	35
Trying to Serve God in the Spirit of Christ: The Canadian Friends Service Committee in the Vietnam War Era <i>by Kathleen Hertzberg</i>	61
Rogers Family - Radio and Cable Communications <i>by Sandra McCann Fuller</i>	73
An Account of the Widdifield Family <i>by Emma Knowles MacMillan</i>	79
The Black Creek Meeting House: A description from 1876 <i>by Christopher Densmore</i>	96
Book Review: T.D. Seymour Bassett "The God's of the Hills" <i>by Robynne Rogers Healey</i>	99

The Canadian Quaker History Journal is published annually by the Canadian Friends Historical Association (as part of the annual membership subscription to the Association). Applications for membership may be made to the address listed below. Membership fees for 2002 are:

Libraries and Institutions	\$15.00
General Membership	\$10.00
Life Membership	\$200.00

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

Copyright © 2001 Canadian Friends Historical Association.

ISSN 1180-968X

G.S.T. No. R118831593

Editors: Jane Zavitz-Bond
Albert Schrauwers

Production: Albert Schrauwers
Jane Zavitz-Bond
Sandra Fuller
Ruth Jeffery-MacLean

Letters and submissions from readers are always welcome.

Subscriptions and Correspondence:

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

WWW page: <http://www.interhop.net/museum/>

Meeting Place of Friends: A brief history of Camp NeeKauNis and the surrounding area

Stirling Nelson, Niagara Falls, Ont.

*"On a hill far away overlooking the bay
A part of the Georgian expanse
There is a view that is grand
Both of lake and of land
A view that all souls must entrance."*

This view of the lake and the land had its beginnings in the ages long ago. The glacial lakes of Algonquin and Nipissing covered this area. The beaches of these lakes remain as the slopes on the way to the swimming area.

The NeeKauNis property has a long association with the geological history of the area. This affords great opportunity for the student of geology to explore the area.

The name NeeKauNis comes from the Huron Indian language and means "The Meeting Place of Friends". This name was

chosen as the whole area was once inhabited by the Huron Indian Tribe. The Indian capital for this area, Cahaigue, is assumed to be about six miles from NeeKauNis and from the writings of the great French explorer, Champlain, we realize that he spent the winter of 1610 at this site. Although the Hurons and Iroquois had a blood relationship, the activities of Champlain and the rivalry of the fur trade between the French and British led to wars between these nations. Some of this rivalry found expression in the area near NeeKauNis. We know that the Jesuit missionaries, Lalement and Brebeuf were massacred at St. Ignace by the Iroquois. This was an Indian village on the Sturgeon River only a mile and a half from NeeKauNis.



Camp NeeKaunis as seen coming from the Bay (photo by Ken Muma)

The Huron Indians for the most part lived at peace with their neighbouring tribes. Like all the North American Indians they had no metal tools or utensils. They were a stone age people. In spite of these handicaps the Hurons had managed to make the difficult transition from nomad hunters to settled agriculturalists. Corn was their main crop and the mainstay of their diet. They also grew beans, squash, sunflowers and hemp. The fibre from the hemp made their fish nets. Even before the French came, the Hurons had developed an extensive trade with the Algonquins. They exchanged corn for the furs and hides and meat which were more plentiful in the thinly populated country to the north.

The name Huron, by which this nation became called, was in reality a nickname. The Indians wore their hair in a single high ridge, and the French referred to them as "boar heads". "Hure" in French meant boar-head. Their real name however was Wendats and their home land Wendake (the island or the land apart). Where they came from, why they came, we do not know. Archeologists have found clay pots in this area that indicate they were people living here as much as 2500 years before the birth of Christ.

We also know that in the days before railroads, travel was by stage coach and steamship. There was a port on the shore of Sturgeon Bay known as the Tay Port and this was the eastern terminus for Great Lake ships. Tay Port was on the point just to the west of the NeeKauNis property and with the advent of lumbering became known as Tannerville. The present road which leads down to the water's edge was built by the Hudson Bay Company and brought travellers by stage coach from Coldwater. This road was built and Tayport was established about 1845. One of the steamships was known as "The Gore".

Tannerville became the site of the most modern sawmill in the area. In the early years of NeeKauNis many campers made excursions to the "Old Mill". This was the site of the ruins of the stone mill that was the centre for lumber sawing from the years 1870 to -1912. This mill was owned and operated by the Tanner Bros. It was completely remodelled in 1900 and booms of logs filled the bay and piles of lumber covered the shore. A fire in 1912 completely destroyed the mill and the sawmill operation ceased. The property known as NeeKauNis to us was the site of the houses used by the mill workers. These houses were moved away and the land became idle until it was put up for sale in 1930. The foresight of A. S. Rogers caused him to investigate this property for camping purposes; ten acres being purchased in 1931 and made available to Canadian Friends for summer programmes,

In 1932 the main building which has become known as Nelson Hall was erected and contained six sleeping rooms, a dining hall and a kitchen. Over the next four years four cabins were added. In 1951 plans were made for the erection of a cottage which became known as Haslam. Since that time the sleeping quarters have been converted in Nelson Hall, and a total of eleven separate cabins have been erected for that purpose. In addition a building has been put up at the beach as storage for boats and a swimming change room.

The erection of the Meeting Centre which began in the summer of 1968 gave a closer association with the area historically. The lumber which was used came from 'Edgehill'; a home that had been built in Midland by the British Canadian Lumber Company. Edgehill at one time was the home of James Playfair, a man whose name will always be associated with lumbering, ship building, flour milling and shipping on

the Great Lakes. James Playfair was liberal in his charitable gifts and acts for the welfare of the community. This home was given to the town of Midland and served as the Huronia Museum for a number of years. It was torn down in 1967 and some of the material purchased to be used in the Meeting Centre. We realize this gives an association related to the development and growth of the area.

Although this article for the most part has centered around the history on the geology of the area, we realize this is not the most significant part of NeeKauNis, which is rather in the lasting friendships and the development of personalities that has gone on and will continue over the coming years.

*"From this place we'll go forth realizing the worth
Of the spit-it of love which makes free,
And we'll join heart and hand
Length and breadth of the land
Forever united to be".*

**NeeKauNis 1931-1993
Historical Overview:**

1. Around 1930 a member of Toronto Monthly Meeting, Albert Rogers (son of Samuel Rogers), decided that there should be a summer camping place for children who were members of the Boys and Girls Clubs that Toronto Friends supported. He asked Fred Haslam and Raymond Booth to seek out a suitable camp site.
2. In 1931 ten acres of the present camp was purchased privately for use by these clubs and immediately afterward it was put to use by Friends in general.
3. The camp came under the care of

Canadian Friends Service Committee in 1942. It was used by Young Friends for leadership training and conferences and for adult camps as well as the Boys and Girls Clubs.

4. On January 1, 1962 the operation of Camp Neekaunis came under Canadian Yearly Meeting with a standing committee responsible for its operation (Terms of Reference on page VI-65 of GYM Organization and Procedure).
5. Camp was enlarged by the purchase of three acres from the neighbour on the East in 1940 (Mr. Albin) and by five acres on the West which was bequeathed by Fred Haslam on his death in 1979. This brought the size to 18 acres.

Facilities:

- Made possible in large measure by the labours of a great many volunteers.
- 1932 Nelson-Hall (six sleeping rooms, dining hall, kitchen)
 - 1934 White Feather, Amitie, Welcome
 - 1935 Wetaskiwin
 - 1952 Haslam cottage
 - 1955 Jordans
 - 1957 Green Oak, Green Garth
 - 1960 Rogers (relocated to become King in 1988)
 - 1961 Addition to kitchen
 - 1962 Beach House
 - 1965 Swan
 - 1967 Willson
 - 1968/9 Meeting Centre
 - 1971 Jones, Zavitz
 - 1973 First indoor bathroom
 - 1975 Side entrance to Nelson-Hall
 - 1977 Cooks
 - 1982 Dug well
 - 1988/9 Rogers

1990 Drilled well
1993 McNicol
Stirling and Mildred Nelson about 1971

Program Development after 1946:

From 1946 to 1971 Stirling and Mildred Nelson were the 'guiding hand' in establishing the policies and traditions that make Camp Neekaunis the special place it is today. Key elements include Quaker Worship, morning 'messages', volunteer service by cooks, directors, program leaders,.... They directed the initial Family, Young Friends, and Community Camps. In 1975 they initiated the Carry On Discovering (COD) Camp. Their 25 years of service to Neekaunis was recognized in July 1971 with a very well attended reunion.

Numerous volunteer directors and program leaders continue to carry forward camp traditions with the invaluable support of cooks and untold others.

Canadian Friends Service Committee Support to Friends Rural Centre, Rasulia, Hoshangabad District, Madhya Pradesh, India

*by Peter and Rose Mae Harkness
Paper given at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the CFHA*

Rose Mae Harkness

In preparation for going to the Friends Rural Centre at Rasulia, we had spent considerable time with Ed and Vivian Abbott. They had been at Rasulia for eight years, and before that at another programme in Barpali. They and Murray Thomson were the old India hands in Canadian Yearly Meeting. We often went to the Abbotts for an evening meal, and in addition to the food and conversation about India, we all received our injections needed for serving in tropical India! We certainly were indebted to Ed and Vivian for all their loving support and information, and in India, we always checked under our children's beds to make sure there were no cobras lurking there! (The Abbotts had found a cobra one day under a bed.)

Canadian Friends Service Committee wisely arranged for us to spend two months at Woodbrooke College, near Birmingham in the United Kingdom for study and orientation. From the U.K. we flew in late November to Delhi, and on to Bhopal where we were whisked away by Landrover to Rasulia by Peter Stein, a British Friend. On this 45 mile road trip, I remember being very tired after being up so many hours, nodding off in the warm winter sun, and then awakening to observe small brown mud-walled villages. "This is India at last!"

Compare our entry to India and Hoshangbad by air and road with that of Elkanah Beard, the first Quaker to visit Hoshangabad. He was an American mis-

sionary who was supported by the Friends Foreign Missionary Association. In search of a new area for missionary work, he set out westward from Jabalpur in 1869 following the Narmada River valley until he reached Hoshangabad. "The ancient little town was very attractive, but in those days before the railway had been built down the valley, it was also very remote."¹ Hoshangabad felt remote to us, but considering the century of changes in world communication and transportation, we were in no way as isolated as the Quakers in 1869! Yet, in this period there was considerable work going on in India by both British and American Quakers, and inter-visitation did occur.

The Quaker work in Hoshangabad District began after seven acres of land on the river bank on the edge of the town of Hoshangabad were purchased in 1875. This land was considered an ideal site for Quaker "witness to spiritual truth in education, health, agriculture".² As has often been the case, the planning undertaken for this work required adjustment to the demands of nature. In 1877 it was the Deccan famine which demanded the adjustment. An orphanage fund was set up to address the needs of children affected by the famine, and in 1891, a ten acre plot of land a short distance from Hoshangabad town was purchased from Rasulia village as a site for an industrial works and training centre. A local mechanic, Shiv Dayal, and the trainees, set up worksheds on this site. A bungalow was built for the British missionary couple, Alfred and Florence Taylor, "with a peepul

sapling in front of it, a banyan behind and a lovely view westward down the Narmada valley."³ This new Industrial Works expanded from the original employees to 40 during the next few years as it undertook work, not only for the various Quaker missionary activities in the District, but also for government projects related to the expanding road and rail infrastructure. Rasulia centre was able to provide tools, water carts and other equipment needed for food-for-work and other relief projects organized in the area when subsequent famines occurred.

This then was the beginning of the Friends Rural Centre, Rasulia. When we arrived in 1968, we lived in the bungalow with a huge peepul tree out front and a large banyan tree behind. We shared the bungalow with the coordinator, Sudarshan Kapur and his wife, Sita. Under the peepul tree was a concrete platform used for meetings of various kinds; under the banyan tree, the well-ring industry was set up. The well-ring industry had originated with Ed Abbott who spent considerable time developing water and sanitation projects to improve the agriculture and health of Indian people in the area.

By the time we reached Rasulia, we had heard something about the different periods of work that had been undertaken by Friends since 1875. The history was not one of well-considered planning over time; it seemed to grow and fade as inspired people and budgets came and went. Thus the Industrial Works were closed down in 1918. In the 1920s the idea of using Rasulia as an Indian Woodbrooke was discussed. Supported by Jack Hoyland, a British Quaker educator in India, he envisioned a centre with simple ashram-style accommodation, with a library, and book-centre, summer schools, youth camps, retreats and study courses dealing with Quaker religious and social concern.⁴ This vision was cap-

tured by Hilda Cashmore who arrived in Rasulia in 1935 in a motor car named Prudence, to undertake the development of a Quaker ashram, on a temporary basis at Rasulia. The buildings at Rasulia were repaired and a library set up; Mid-India Yearly Meeting of Friends was held there in!

The same year, and numerous guests from around India, including Ranjit Chetsingh, arrived for Christmas. Conferences on political changes in India and Christian education were held, as well as camps for students. When Ranjit Chetsingh replaced Hilda Cashmore in 1937, his interest was more in basic and adult education than in the concept of a Woodbrooke in India so that vision faded. Ranjit, like some other Quakers in India at this time, was profoundly inspired by Gandhi's ideas on education; practical courses to develop village industries as well as conferences were organized by Rasulia. While these efforts were in keeping with India's needs, Marjorie Sykes has concluded that much of the misunderstandings and conflicts among Indian Friends in the area might have been avoided if a Quaker centre for study and fellowship had been developed at Rasulia.⁵ After Ranjit Chetsing and his wife left Rasulia in 1942, Donald and Erica Groom became directors. Donald was a follower of Gandhi and in addition to agricultural and economic work around Rasulia for the benefit of all local people, he was also very active in the land reform movement of Vinoba Bhave. The broader religious outlook which he shared with Horace Alexander, another British Quaker who became a close friend of Gandhi, was not always appreciated by Friends in the more conservative Mid-India Yearly Meeting.

During the period in which the Abbotts served at Rasulia, much groundbreaking work was done in health, water and sanita-

tion. Villagers were trained at Rasulia to make well-rings and water-sealed latrine forms which in turn created some small industries in the area. Family planning was provided at the medical clinic attracting villagers for miles around. Village extension programmes in agriculture continued under Banwa Lal Choudhury and a primary and middle school and a hostel for male high school students operated at the centre. Canadian Friends Service Committee funding to Rasulia began during this period when the Abbotts were in India.

Peter and Agnes Stein, Friends from Britain followed the Abbotts as administrators of Rasulia and a British doctor, Dorothy Rule and an Australian nurse, Pat Hewitt with Indian nurses served at the clinic. Peter Stein was an ingenious technician and built a hydraulic pump with all Indian parts, except for one small component. The week before we were to leave for Rasulia, we received a cable from Peter Stein asking Peter Harkness to go to Bristol to buy this small component to bring to India. Peter Stein also worked at drilling wells in various parts of India in what must have been another period of drought and famine.

The day we arrived at Rasulia was the same day that Sudarshan and Sita Kapur arrived. Sudarshan had been hired as coordinator of the centre, and Sita, a nurse, was to work at the clinic. Sharing the same split bungalow with the Kapurs meant that we became quite good friends. The birth of their first child a few months before we had our first daughter, Heather, provided more common ground for us. In addition to looking after our own family and household, Rose Mae managed the guest house and then at the request of the headmaster of the school, started a *balwari* or nursery school. Since Andrew and Colin were at nursery school age, they enjoyed the morning sessions held in the meeting-house

with the two Indian instructors and Rose Mae in a supervisory role. In addition to the two women hired for the nursery school, Rose Mae urged the hiring of the first woman teacher for the primary school at the centre. Apart from the school and clinic, women worked as agricultural labourers on the centre's farm.

This period was one in which modern agriculture was being encouraged in the district. Canadian Friends Service Committee had obtained a grant from the Canadian International Development Agency which was just beginning to give funding to non-governmental agencies. With the grant, fields were leveled and new equipment was purchased. Sudarshan later hired a veterinarian to undertake artificial insemination in order to build up the milk-producing herds in the district.

The Kapurs stayed at Rasulia for about ten years. In the late 70s a new coordinator, Partap Aggarwal, came to Rasulia. The governing body invited Marjorie Sykes to live at Rasulia at this time also; she was interested in the proposed natural farming initiatives, and felt she could make a contribution. Marjorie did note that "Although the main thrust of work at Rasulia is towards showing how a village may become self-reliant in the provision of its basic needs of food, clothing and shelter, different administrations had different approaches, and the transition from one to another was not always easy."⁶ The centre also experimented with appropriate energy projects and solar cookers in this period. A highlight was the visit of Masanobu Fuknoka, the Japanese scientist-farmer who had inspired Rasulia's natural farming. He was pleased with the efforts that he saw during his visit.

Last summer at the FWCC Triennial, Rose Mae met a young man, Ronald Titus, who has property across the road from the Friends Rural Centre. He reported that there

is no coordinator and no programme there at present. Some fields are being farmed; the town of Hoshangabad is circling around those few acres which were purchased in 1891. One cannot help wondering what the future of this small rural centre in India will be.

Over the years since 1891, the various and diverse programmes at the Friends Centre at Rasulia affected the lives of many local people in Hoshangabad District. In her book, *An Indian Tapestry* Marjorie Sykes has shown how the work at Rasulia had much wider implications in India. It would be interesting to examine what the centre's influence on the world has been through the many people who have worked and lived in Rasulia. Our experience led us into careers in international development at the Canadian International Development Agency. In 2000, we visited the Kapurs and learned more about Sudarshan's work as the director of the Gandhi-Hamer-King Center for the Study of Religion and Democratic Renewal at the Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colorado. We know that Pat Hewitt for a number of years was director of the family planning program in Australia. Steve Abbott has spent his adult life in water engineering related to developing societies. What of all the rest?

Peter Harkness

For about 5 years until June of 1968 I worked in the Radio Engineering Department of Canadian National Telecommunications (CNT) helping to plan and build microwave radio systems in various parts of Canada. These systems were used at that time for transmitting telephone and teletype messages around the country and a few for television channels. They consist of a tower with antennas and a small building housing radio equipment and sometimes

electrical generation equipment every 25 miles or so along the route. The first system I worked on in 1963 linked Montreal and Vancouver. The last one, for which I did the radio system design as well as oversaw the installation and startup testing, was from Corner Brook to St. Anthony in Newfoundland.

Working on such extensive and useful radio communication systems was exciting for the time I was involved in it. However around June of 1968 I began to feel that I had done everything that could be done in that field at least once and more work of this type would just be more of the same. I felt that there were probably others who could do it just as well as I and perhaps with more than my waning enthusiasm. I began to feel two things: I wanted to spend more time at home with my wife and two young children, and I wanted to do some work with a more people-oriented aspect to it. So perhaps a little recklessly, I quit my job.

Shortly after leaving CNT Jadwiga Bennich, then coordinator of the Canadian Friends Service Committee, told me she had heard that I was looking for new work to do and asked me if I would be interested in thinking about going to Rasulia in India for the Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC). Rose Mae and I thought about it, and talked to Vivien and Ed Abbott and Murray Thomson and other friends about it, and I expect, prayed about it, and finally with some trepidation, said, "Yes, we would like to go."

By this time we had been attending Quaker Meetings for about 6 years and had been members for 2 years. We had lived in Friends House in Toronto for 3 years with Rose Mae as Resident Friend and this was an excellent education in Quakerism and Quaker ways as many Friends from around the world passed through Toronto, staying at Friends House while there. We gave

many of them breakfast and listened eagerly to their stories as we ate together. Our enthusiasm for Quaker worship and the Quaker approach to business and social causes had grown with our exposure to them.

From Canadian Friends Service Committee's point of view we were young (in our early 30's) but with some years of working experience, we had university level educational qualifications, we were a family with twin boys, 2 years old, and we were enthusiastic Quakers. Our assignment was to go to Rasulia and make ourselves useful.

Various bits of advice were given to us as we prepared to go which became part of our lives and which we have remembered many times since, e.g.

Vivien Abbott - to Peter when he was showing some anxiety about what specifically he was going to do -

"Sit under a banyan tree for 6 months observing what is going on before you try to do anything."

Ed Abbott - to Rose Mae showing worry about the 2 year old boys playing on the dirty Union Station floor on the night we were leaving -

"Don't worry, they're just working on their immunity."

Leroy Jones - on being told by Rose Mae that she was concerned about the children not being toilet trained before we left -

"Well Rose Mae, there are probably a few Indian children that have not yet been toilet trained."

Kathleen Hertzberg -

"People tend to compare the best in

their own countries with the worst in the country they are visiting."

We sailed from Canada for England in September, 1968. The Globe and Mail and Toronto Star sent reporters to interview us shortly before we left and concluded before long that we were modern day missionaries. When they learned that we were going to England on an ocean liner, one wondered somewhat enviously what benefits a couple of missionaries would get out of an ocean cruise.

We arrived in Liverpool 5 days after leaving Canada and took a train to Birmingham where we went to spend some time at Woodbrooke College. There we studied various subjects that seemed relevant to our assignment, spent an hour or two a week talking with the Director of Studies, Maurice Creasey, visited with some old India hands such as Mildred Maw, and spent time with other students including one from the Hoshangabad area, Paulina Titus.

The registrar at Woodbrooke had been reluctant to accept us there thinking the unguarded ponds around the college would be dangerous for our small children. We had assured her that we could and would look after the children; so were permitted in the end to go. Then on our second day there Andrew fell into one of the ponds and although I got him out quickly, a nearby policeman insisted on calling an ambulance and we all had to roar off to the hospital in a great cacophony of jangling sound to get him checked out. It was embarrassing, but fortunately Andrew did not seem to suffer any ill after effects.

On November 30 we flew off to India arriving in New Delhi early in the morning of December 1st tired after many hours of travel but amazed at the sights. One that has stuck with me was scaffolding several stories high around the New Delhi terminal

building made of crooked wooden elements rather than straight steel members or pipes. It was strange looking, but apparently was adequately effective.

We had to wait 3 to 4 hours in the airport before getting a local flight south about 370 miles to Bhopal, where we were met by Peter Stein. He took us to meet a member of the Rasulia Governing Body who lived in Bhopal where we had tea and our first Indian sweets. Then he drove us the 45 miles down to Hoshangabad and Rasulia. Shortly after our arrival, the community gathered to welcome us and I got to deliver a line in Hindi, which Paulina Titus had taught me at Woodbrooke and which still sticks with me, "Hum aap se milkr bahut kush hain." It means, "we are happy to meet you", and was well received.

Hoshangabad district is a mainly rural Hindi speaking area. So it was important for us to learn as much Hindi as possible. Rose Mae and I did learn quite a bit and could function to a certain extent. But our sons became quite fluent to the point where they could translate for us if necessary. From early on their main playmates were Indian children and the language of play was Hindi. They spoke English to us, but even after they returned to Canada, they continued to speak Hindi with each other until they started playing with English speaking children here, when they switched to English. After that the Hindi seemed to disappear as fast as they had picked it up and within a year or so, it seemed to be gone.

The same day we arrived, a new coordinator, Sudarshan Kapur and his wife, Sita, moved in. Agnes Stein had been in charge and she and her husband, Peter, stayed on for a few months to help the Kapurs and ourselves get settled in.

Apparently the Steins had not heard the Vivien Abbott rule of sitting under a banyan

tree for 6 months (I doubt very much that she followed it herself) as Peter immediately started getting me involved with the things he was doing as well as some language training. After a short time (it seems now that it was just a week or two), he took me about 50 miles south to an area where a camp was being set up for some refugee families. Peter had agreed to drill a well for them using a drilling rig which he had constructed. He taught me how to run the rig and then within a day or so went back to Rasulia taking the Indian driller with him and left me alone there in the "jungle" to get on with the drilling during the day and to stay in a tent beside the rig, at night. I was only alone for a day or so but it was a memorable change from Toronto.

The drilling rig was driven by a diesel engine which was started by a crank. In a short time the teeth into which the crank was inserted broke; so I could no longer start the engine. What to do? The engine had a flywheel, i.e. a heavy steel wheel about a foot in diameter attached to one end of a shaft extending from the engine. As I looked at it, I remembered starting outboard motors in Canada by wrapping a rope around a pulley-like part on top of the engines. There was lots of rope around the rig. Could a diesel engine on a drilling rig be started like an outboard motor? I tried wrapping a 30 foot 3/4 inch rope around the flywheel, put the end over my shoulder and started moving away from the flywheel in such a way that it started to turn, slowly at first but then faster and faster. What a delightful sound it was to hear that engine roar into life! From then on that was the way I started it.

It took about 2 weeks to drill the contracted depth of 50 feet and unfortunately, we did not find water but the experience was a good introduction to working in India. 50 feet, of course is a shallow drilled well,

and two weeks is a long time to reach such a depth. But the machine was home made and did reach water in other places, I believe.

As well as helping to maintain wells with electric pumps in them, I got involved in a couple of other projects.

There was a high school at Itarsi, a town about 8 miles away, which was supported by British Quakers. Dayal Gour, one of the teachers there, was interested in teaching radio repair and I worked with him on introducing some basic electronics as a first step.

In addition I got the idea of manufacturing ballasts for fluorescent lights at the Centre and in the surrounding area as a cottage industry to provide income and a useful product. The idea had quite a lot of merit in that the area was becoming more and more electrified and fluorescent lights were popular because they gave a lot of light with low power consumption. The ballast consists of many coils of fine wire on a laminated metallic core with a connector attached and the whole thing enclosed in a metal box. Thus the components are not complicated. The Coordinator and Governing Body were supportive of developing the idea.

We bought a hand operated winding machine for \$64 Canadian and I was able to learn how to make the ballasts myself and then teach a 12 year old boy in the Centre to do so as well. There seemed to be enough of a profit margin to make them worthwhile and a market locally and also further afield. A representative of Philips in Bombay told us that if we could make them to their specifications, they would buy them from us. Unfortunately I had to leave India before we got into production but it seemed a useful thing to work on while I was there.

In addition to the technical things, I spent time on Quaker activities, e.g. attending Meetings for Worship, Yearly Meetings and other Quaker gatherings such as the

General Conference of Friends in India. Occasionally I was asked to give a talk on a Quaker subject.

We left Rasulia in June of 1971 having just survived another of the hottest times in India to return to Toronto where a heat wave by local standards was being experienced. Having become adjusted to the much higher temperatures in India, we were not bothered by the Toronto temperatures at all that year. Another reaction we had to Toronto on our return was that the busiest streets seemed empty after the masses of people and cars and bicycles and rickshaws and animals we had experienced in the cities in India.

The total impact of sending someone to work overseas must include the effect on the person and the influence his or her experiences have on his subsequent life and work. A few months after our return to Canada I was hired by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and spent the next 22 years there working on many millions of dollars worth of development projects for many parts of the world. While it is impossible for us to judge exactly what differences in my life were the results of the Rasulia experiences, I think that they must have helped my candidacy for a position at CIDA and must have had a positive influence on the work which I did while with that Agency.

Footnotes:

1. Sykes, Marjorie, *An Indian Tapestry*, (Sessions Book Trust, York, England, 1997), page 62.
2. *Ibid*, page 64.
3. *Ibid*, page 105.
4. *Ibid*, page 223.
5. *Ibid*, page 274.
6. Dart, Martha, Marjorie Sykes, *Quaker Gandhian*, (Sessions Book Trust, York, England, 1997), page 129.

The Grindstone Era: Looking Back, Looking Ahead

Murray Thomson
Paper given at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the CFHA



1. Introduction

Although I am unable to present, in 15 minutes, the Grindstone Era of the Sixties, the seven years in which I was involved, I will focus on a few key elements, and leave the rest for another time. Indeed, this challenge has rekindled in me, and I hope some of you, the desire to examine that creative, turbulent and exciting period in our lives in the form of a thesis, a book, or even a movie.

2. Beginnings

In the Fall of 1962 the Canadian Friends

Service Committee was presented with a 12 acre island, complete with a large lodge and fireplace, several useable houses and cabins, a boathouse and a boat, for a rental cost of \$1 a year. After a few months of earnest discussion - Friends do not like to rush blindly into things - the Service Committee agreed to a one year contract with its owner Diana Wright, herself an activist for peace, women's rights and the environment. Indeed, several questions did require immediate and practical answers: Who would use the Island, and for what purposes? Who would prepare the programs? How would the many necessary operations be managed: maintaining the water supply, electricity and plumb-

ing? Who would do the cooking? Would Friends groups in Ottawa, Montreal, Kingston and Toronto, the four nearest Meetings, cooperate and take an active part? Who would provide the staff? How large would the budget have to be and where would the funds come from? Would Grindstone not be competing with Camp Neekaunis for the attention of Friends and their supporters? What ethical standards needed to be maintained, whether or not Friends groups were using the Centre's facilities? How would the Centre's staff be recruited?

3. The first year: 1963

I believe we were surprised by how successful many of these original questions were answered in that first year of 1963. True, there were hang-ups, foul-ups, blowups and even a holdup of sorts when the cook we had hired nearly got away with a large box full of lamps, sweaters, loose change and other things she had gathered and stored away for a rainy day! But that first year set both the administrative and the program patterns for the entire decade. In a relatively short summer period of three months we managed to have a total of 16 different programs on the Island, most but not all sponsored by Friends. There was an opening and closing work camp, the first of several annual InterFaith Seminars, Training Institutes in Nonviolence, Conferences for Diplomats, Unesco International Seminars and French English Dialogues. All of these were cosponsored by the Service Committee but with the active involvement of Friends Monthly Meetings. For instance, Thousand Islands and Ottawa Friends were intimately involved in conducting the work camps. Hamilton Friends planned and conducted the Unesco Seminars. Montreal Friends ini-

tiated and led the French-English Dialogues. Ottawa Friends took the lead in establishing the annual Conferences for Diplomats. Toronto Friends were mainly involved in the InterFaith Seminars. Of course, Friends from different Meetings also helped to plan and participate in several of them.

Yet only a minority of participants were actually Quakers. Most of the participants came from all over the country, the continent and, increasingly through the years, from other countries, other religions and other social and political perspectives as well. The overall purpose of the Grindstone Island Peace Centre was stated in these terms:

"We believe the securing of a just and lasting peace should be the concern of everyone. Such a task requires all the human and spiritual resources that can be mustered. The Centre provides opportunities to develop such resources. Through programs of education, training and action, it seeks to contribute to the quality of ideas and action, and to the growth of insight and skills required by peacemakers today."

4. The Major Themes

The spiritual base for the initiation and conduct of the Peace Centre was, of course, the Quaker Peace Testimony. We tried, always, to have a Quaker core present on the Island, whether we were in charge or not. And so, even at the annual conferences for diplomats or for journalists, one could usually find one or more of them down at Moonwatchers' Point in one of the silent periods of meditation. And there were several activities in the course of the decade which were designed essentially by and for Friends. These included some of the work camps, a Friends Seminar on Education,



Murray Thomson (left) talks to a participant, Grindstone Island, 1965.

another on Friends and World Poverty. Other pacifist groups like the Fellowship of Reconciliation also held their own programs on the Island.

We recognized, however, that the attainment of peace and justice was not to be brought about by a tiny group of Quakers located in the northern half of this vast continent. Remember, too, that the Centre's start coincided with the growth of a continent-wide, indeed global explosion of concern for social change. Hydrogen bombs were being tested in the atmosphere and Strontium 90 was found in mothers' milk. The hideous war in Vietnam was escalating and thousands of young Americans were coming to Canada, saying "Hell, no; we won't go!" Buddhist monks were immolating themselves in the streets of Saigon, and one young American pacifist in Washington.

There was absolutely no contact in those days between the most powerful nation on earth, the US, and the most populous, China. One of the more useful things the Canadian Friends Service Committee did for their counterpart, the American Friends

Service Committee, was to arrange for their annual meeting of Peace Secretaries to come to Bolton camp north of Toronto, there to meet with journalist Pu Chao Min and his colleague, the only mainland Chinese on the entire North American continent!

The very idea of working for peace had been besmirched by the belligerence and lies of Senator Joe McCarthy in the USA. Nor was it furthered by those who equated peace and freedom with the goals and practices of the Soviet Union.

Given these social and political conditions, then, a number of major themes developed through each of the seven years of the Sixties. The first one was that of nonviolence: both as a philosophy, and as a method for combatting injustice. Each summer, from 1963 on a ten day training institute in nonviolence was held in which participants became familiar with the theories and the people, such as Gandhi and Martin Luther King, who popularized the concept and applied it in campaigns for social justice.

Also explored at four of the institutes was the concept of nonviolent civilian defense. In 1965, the training institute featured a sociodrama which lasted for 31 hours, in which the island community sought to resist, nonviolently, an invasion by five symbolically-armed men. The findings were written up in a publication entitled *Thirty One Hours*, published by the Canadian Friends Service Committee, and it can be found in the Toronto Friends House Library.

A second theme, closely related to the first, was that of opposing nuclear weapons, seeking a ban on testing them and introducing them into Canada. One of the exercises at the 1964 TINV, for example, was preparation for those planning to block the entrance to the base in Quebec where nukes

were stored. Through role-playing, participants practiced being dragged by "guards" on the front lawn of the Centre, and being prepared for rough treatment.

A third theme, reflected in both the Conferences for Diplomats and the Quaker-Unesco International Seminars had to do with strengthening the United Nations, with the development of international law and global responsibility. One could spend the entire afternoon discussing this theme. Each spring, Alan and Hanna Newcombe prepared for the 10 day Unesco Seminars in which simulation exercises were featured. Some of the issues discussed may sound familiar: they were the Arab-Israeli conflict; violent conflict in southern Sudan; UN peacekeeping; the Vietnam War and the isolation of China.

If the nonviolence institutes represented the prophetic voice of Quakers, the conferences for diplomats were the voice of reconciliation. Many stories could be told. At one of them I remember the Hungarian diplomat saying that in capitalist countries man exploits man. But in socialist countries it's exactly the opposite!

The start of the 1968 Conference coincided with the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. That morning we had several cancellations from the Eastern Bloc. But the UN's Political Adviser to the Secretary General came anyway and added a great deal to the discussions.

An incident illustrates the difficulty for Friends trying to play both prophetic and reconciling roles. Following the 1966 Conference for Diplomats, Jack Pocock, who had been the Island's warden and conference host, took part in an anti-Vietnam war vigil in front of the US Embassy in Ottawa. The US Third Secretary, who had been on Grindstone the previous week, spotted Jack, complained, and did not participate the following summer.

A fourth theme was that of a Dialogue between English and French Canadians, which usually began during a weekend in Montreal and ended on the Island. There was the time we waited for René Levesque, scheduled to speak but who never arrived. And here's a quote from the 1967 Dialogue: "For the first time, perhaps, many of the English-speaking participants, (by listening to Prof. Giles Greniere of the RIN) caught and understood the mood of the angry young intellectuals of Quebec: why they feel that way and what they want Quebec and the world to become."

A fifth theme was that represented by the InterFaith Seminars, the first time some of us worshipped the Catholic way, or the Jewish way, on the lawn under the big oak tree.

Other themes were youth and the issues they faced, examined in the annual High School Workshops, freedom of the media in the two Conferences for Journalists, and a variety of other themes and subthemes in programs conducted by other organizations, including the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Canadian Teachers Federation, Voice of Women, World Federalists, Campaigns for Nuclear Disarmament and the International Confederation for Disarmament & Peace. The Student Union for Peace Action, SUPA, got its start on the Island, as did, 15 years later, Peace Brigades International.

I have run out of time and yet only lightly touched on the subject. What I am struck with in this brief reexamination, is how relevant most, if not all of the themes we discussed 35 and 40 years ago are today: still relevant, still burning, still seeking solutions!

What did the Island mean to the over 1,000 people who took part in one or more of its programs? A great variety of experiences, reflecting the turbulent times and changing mores brought to it. We had one

Quaker Friend who strongly opposed any kind of strong drink but who championed nude bathing. Another Friend strongly opposed nude bathing but was open to having an occasional drink. Many of the ethical and moral questions facing the general public in the Sixties were a part of the subculture of the Centre, causing the staff massive headaches and problems but also new insights.

One of my favourite evaluations was made or sent in following her time on the Island. She was from Saskatchewan and this is what she wrote:

Going to Grindstone is a trip through time... into another dimension... I came in the back way, into the boat house, and the first impression is that everything is falling to pieces. In some ways this is part of the magic: the melting in or absorption of the buildings into the island. At first I thought: why don't they fix things up? But now my feeling is: not too much too fast. Be careful; don't superimpose the new, the brash, into this.

For Grindstone is standing on the porch and being startled by a field mouse rushing into the flower bed. It is the rabbit freezing on the front lawn before the lodge, then fleeing into the underbrush. It is the giant oak tree with old dried acorns that hurt the feet and crush under the shoes. It is the old rope swing that one feels may break at any moment, but that is worth the fall for the exhilaration of a swing when things get too tough.

It is the tension created by the enclosure of water, the compression effect that it has on a group of people. Grindstone is the ultimate discovery

of man's helplessness, and the discovery of a new freedom of innocence. It is our inability to combine successfully the tools of science and the people.

Yet I hope that Grindstone is the ultimate discovery that if you don't fear: death or results or what other people think, or fear for your personality... and if you don't fear for yourself, you can become free - truly free and strong and wise, and you can work through the most impossible conflicts.

Grindstone is discovering that if we had a million Grindstones in the world, and kept dumping people on them for 10 days at a time, we'd know who was strong and who was weak... and that tenderness can be found in the most unlikely places. (Maryjo Kinzel, 1967).

The Origins of the Canadian Quaker Committee on Native Concerns¹

Jo Vellacott

Paper given at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the CFHA

The following is offered both for its value as historical narrative and as an example of a Quaker concern carried forward under guidance and with the safeguards of due process.²

ANICINABE:

Friends acting under concern

In August 1974, Anicinabe Park in northwestern Ontario was occupied by members of the Ojibway nation. Violence seemed likely: the native people were armed, and had fired shots in the air; armed police were patrolling outside the encampment; and feeling was running high among the racist elements in the local white communities.

Canadian Yearly Meeting, in session at the time (at Memramcook, N.B., 14-18 August), approved the following report of a group of concern which had met during the week, and encouraged the group to continue its work: "The confrontation between the Ojibway people in the Kenora, Ontario, area with various levels of government, occurring just before and during Canadian Yearly Meeting, has occupied our hearts and minds. We are concerned that active violence not erupt, and equally concerned that long-standing grievances be understood, and all measures of settlement of these grievances encouraged. Friends at this Yearly Meeting have gathered into a small ad hoc group to keep informed about the situation, including the underlying causes and fears, and to offer our services to all

involved as way opens to attempt to facilitate a settlement. We ask Canadian Yearly Meeting to support the efforts of the ad hoc group in this cause."

Shortly after, a group of Friends³ found themselves led to go to Anicinabe. Within a few days, with some funding from CFSC, they were camping just outside the gate to Anicinabe park, between the police and the occupying Warrior Society. They succeeded in gaining some acceptance and trust from both, and both proved to be anxious, in fact, to avoid bloodshed. A vocal minority in the surrounding white community, however, was putting pressure on the police and the authorities to take back the park by force, and escalated the tension by driving around the perimeter at night with guns. An important part of the work Friends undertook was to reach out into the community and identify and help to mobilize some of the people and groups who did not want to see a violent end to the standoff, and were uncomfortable with the racism which they saw around them daily.

After some days the immediate crisis was resolved, the Ojibway gave up their occupation of the park, and "a committee of reconciliation between white and Indian people" was set up. Friends had been guided into playing an important role in this outcome. However, as Canadian Yearly Meeting had recognized, helping to bring the armed standoff to a nonviolent conclusion could only be a beginning, not an end.

Betty Polster recalls a conversation with a young Ojibway, which took place in the

burned-out office at the entrance to the park. He told her that his mother was Chief at Rat Portage, and that he had early recognized the needs of his people and had studied hard at school and university in order to fit himself to speak out on their behalf to the ruling white authorities. When he came back to his community he had striven by every legitimate means to bring a number of problems and injustices to the white men in positions of power. No one had listened, he said, until he and his friends had occupied Anicinabe and had fired their guns; they had fired only in the air, as they did not want to hurt anyone. Betty was struck by the realization that Friends too had been paying little attention to the concerns of aboriginal people until violence seemed to threaten, and had done little indeed to "remove the causes of war".

Friends left Anicinabe with a commitment to meet with native leaders in the area to find out more of what lay behind the Anicinabe incident. The taking of the park had been symbolically important in itself, as the reclaiming of traditional aboriginal land; but it had also been a desperate attempt to draw attention to long-standing grievances. We were invited in particular to look into the problem of mercury pollution, which was at the root of a great deal of the social distress on several reserves.

Mercury Pollution

The White Dog and Grassy Narrows Bands were among those whose lives had been most severely affected by mercury pollution, and they were anxious to get independent medical assessment; what little assessment had been done by government had given them little information and no satisfaction. Meanwhile, the waters of the English-Wabigoon system were contaminated, a large hunting and fishing lodge near

Grassy (previously the major employer in the area) had closed, the cats at White Dog and Grassy Narrows were dead of "cat dancing disease", the result of mercury poisoning, and the people were still eating the fish, despite notices posted by an insensitive government, reading "FISH FOR FUN, NOT FOR FOOD!"

I want to stay mainly with the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, rather than covering the mercury issue in detail, and in fact the mercury problem was only one of many contributing factors and government actions which had brought the Ojibway of the region into despair. The Grassy Narrows Band had, for instance, been moved from their traditional location for administrative reasons, and had then not been provided with promised services. But the close relationship between the Ojibway and the lakes and the fish has to be remembered if we are to form an idea of what they were going through, and why the disaster was spiritual and psychological as much or more than it was economic and material. For me, one incident brought this home. Driving in one day from Kenora - a two-hour drive along rough logging roads - Peter Newberry and I had a Grassy Narrows man with us in the car. As we came over the crest of a hill, we caught a glimpse of a lake shining below us, and the Ojibway said, with intense bitterness, "There's the poison!" I find I cannot really convey the layers in his tone; it was his lake, part of his blood and bone, the source of his food, the home of his spirit, and it had been made into the enemy.

By November 1974, again assisted by CFSC, a small team was working on the mercury pollution issue, which had several facets. The medical one was urgent, and in the course of the next two years, Peter and Soo Newberry (and, for two months, Jo) spent much time at Grassy Narrows attempting some assessment of the effects suffered,

with limited medical facilities and in very difficult conditions. Imagine a medical clinic, equipped with a washroom, bath, toilet, shower, hand sink - but *no running water*; even water to wash the mud caked floor had to be carried in pails from a single ice-cold tap on the side of the teachers' residence, some distance away. Nor was there any sewage facility on the reserve, nor any uncontaminated water supply; several years later the government finally built the promised sewage lagoon.

In March 1975, a team of Japanese doctors and scientists, hearing of the mercury pollution, came to Canada to offer their help, spending some time in Grassy Narrows and White Dog, where their expert knowledge, gained as a result of the shocking mercury pollution episode at Minamata, was put to good use, and also traveling to Toronto and Ottawa, where they did a great deal to help publicize the seriousness of the situation. In early August, a group of Ojibway, and Peter Newberry, went to Minamata at the invitation of the victims, and the Japanese made another visit in September.

Community Development

Peter Newberry became extensively involved in community development at Grassy, as well as simply being available to provide medical service on a day by day basis, a task which at first took a great deal of time because of the high level of violence, the product of alcohol and despair. During the first seven weeks that he spent at Grassy, there was a violent death almost every week; this in a community of about 400 people. The band had agreed to the presence of a detachment of four Ontario Provincial Police, living in trailers on the edge of the reservation, but they could do little to help, and were ill-fitted for the task.

The work at Grassy also involved community and service projects, including canoe building, improving the insulation of the houses, a school lunch programme, a "Fish for Food" enterprise (members of the community fished in the nearest lakes believed unaffected by mercury pollution, and brought the fish back to freezers provided by the government at Grassy), a bead and leather craft programme of the women's sewing club, garbage cleanup and disposal. Most were initiated by the community, or by people within the community in consultation with Friends; Friends' role was to provide resource people if requested, and to keep the mercury issue in the public eye, which helped both to make funds available and on occasion to cut through red tape at various government levels. For a while, Friends were also able to fund an Ojibway project manager at Grassy.⁴ JoLeigh Commandant also spent time there, working with the community.

Public And Political Awareness

Back in Toronto, the committee had grown large and was kept busy providing support and care for those working in the field and for the concerns of the Grassy residents. Norman Polster and Phyllis Fischer continued to explore scientific research into mercury pollution. Keeping the issue in the public eye and in the awareness of politicians at several levels was an essential part of the work. The CBC's "As It Happens" ran two programmes in November 1975, entitled "A Clear and Present Danger", and in the course of their research brought pressure to bear on the government to disclose the results of tests they had been conducting on contamination of fish near the effluent of the Reed paper plant in Dryden. Friends also obtained samples of the effluent from the plant (the government ran its tests on

samples provided by the company), and Norman Polster's report was presented by JoLeigh to the Federal Standing Committee on Mercury. Press conferences and public demonstrations were held, as well as many public meetings, and there was extensive liaison with other groups concerned with ecology and native issues. Gini Smith was released for a number of months to travel among Friends, native peoples, and many different religious groups.

Widening Concerns

The global nature of the problems faced by native peoples quickly led to the interests of the committee⁵ widening to embrace a variety of concerns, in some of which Friends were already active in one or other part of Canada, and led also to the making of connections with other church and inter-faith groups.

A great deal of publicity attended a Native Caravan's journey across the country in September 1974, and its arrival in Ottawa, where the First Nations people occupied a government-owned building for some weeks. Friends JoLeigh Commandant and Derek Day traveled from Winnipeg with the caravan; JoLeigh played an important and courageous role in diffusing tension between the First Nations and the police after its arrival. Other Friends helped coordinate support, and a small group had spoken to the Ottawa police and the RCMP ahead of time in an attempt to reduce the quite extraordinary level of tension which built as the small caravan approached Ottawa. Friends also were observers at a demonstration held by the caravan members on Parliament Hill a day or two later, and witnessed the dispersal of what was no more than a small crowd by the Riot Squad in all its gear.

Structure

The ad hoc committee suggested at Canadian Yearly Meeting 1975 that they should become "an autonomous committee of CFSC" (minute 39), but instead it was continued until 1977 as a committee of Yearly Meeting, with an understanding that it could draw on CFSC for funds, as well as raising its own. Canadian Yearly Meeting named it the "Native Peoples Committee", but it was known fairly consistently (and more appropriately) from that time on as the "Quaker Committee for Native Concerns". Regular reports were made to Representative Meeting and to Canadian Yearly Meeting.

CFSC's report to Canadian Yearly Meeting in 1976 (minute 39) begins, "1975 saw the completion of the transition of CFSC from a largely international service organization to one with an equal commitment to concerns at home and abroad"; its continued support for QCNC is noted as part of this transition. QCNC remained as a committee of Canadian Yearly Meeting for another year, but experienced increasing difficulties in developing a structure that would "be not only accountable and supportive to those involved but also free enough to be sensitive to the winds of the spirit." (Canadian Yearly Meeting, 1975: min. 73) In 1977, on the recommendation of a committee set up for the purpose, Canadian Yearly Meeting transferred QCNC to Canadian Friends Service Committee, as "a working group" (Canadian Yearly Meeting, 1977, min.73). By this time QCNC had its own office and part-time staff (Donna Berry). The particulars of the structural transition took "hundreds of person hours" of another specially appointed committee to work out (Canadian Yearly Meeting, 1978, min.48), and for details readers are referred to Minute 15 of Canadian Yearly Meeting

1978.

What I shall now call QCNC (which has more recently become the Quaker Aboriginal Affairs Committee) addressed many other concerns and issues between 1974 and 1977 included racial tension and alcoholism in the Kenora region; arsenic in the water supply of Yellowknife's native community; land claims; the desecration of Native burial grounds; police harassment of Native people in Canada; the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Enquiry (the Berger Commission); liaison with native students in Alberta; Uranium Strip Mining in Saskatchewan; the effects of resource development throughout the north; the death of Anna Mae Aquash; the defense of Leonard Peltier; contact with native people in Ontario and federal prisons; a growing realization of the intimate connection between disregard for native peoples and disregard for ecology. Some of the ways of working on these concerns included liaison with the American Indian Movement, with the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples, and with native spiritual leaders, as well as with the Mennonites and other church groups; attendance of JoLeigh Commandant (representing FWCC) at the U.N. Conference on Discrimination Against Native Peoples; continued training of committee members and others in the understanding and practice of nonviolence; and the building up of a resource centre on native concerns - clippings, reports, data on mercury pollution, audiovisual materials - in the QCNC office in Friends House.⁶

Conclusion

One of the items in a report to Canadian Yearly Meeting (1976: min. 39) on the directions taken by QCNC reads "Learning to listen to the concerns and wishes of the people on the reserves...". Possibly this has

been the most important of all the developments of the past twenty years, stemming from the resolve of Canadian Yearly Meeting in 1974; Friends have come far and are still learning.

Footnotes:

1. I was not present at Canadian Yearly Meeting in 1974, nor at Anicinabe Park, so my knowledge of the action there is at best secondhand. I have sent this account to Betty Polster to check for errors of fact. I have made use of the Minutes of Canadian Yearly Meeting, as well as of my personal recollections, but have not done further research in newspapers and journals of the time. The following Canadian Yearly Meeting Minutes refer: 1974, 26, 63; 1975, 38 (pp 22-23), 39 (pp 35-49, which includes detailed reports and a month-by-month calendar of activities), 56, 57; 1976, 39, 43; 1977, 73.

2. A short version of this article was originally published in *Canadian Friend*, Vol. 92, No.1, January-February 1996, pp. 13-16.

3. The Friends who went to Anicinabe were Norman and Betty Polster, JoLeigh Commandant (who had first brought the concern to Canadian Yearly Meeting, and provided information on the issues), Lois Dunning, Caroline Ackerman (and two of her children), and Richard Broughton. It should not be supposed that Friends were altogether without interest in the condition of the native peoples before this time; for instance, that same summer (1974) Bert and Irmgard King had traveled with Ed Newbery of Laurentian University to a number of First Nations reservations (Ed, whose surname is misspelt in most Canadian Yearly Meeting minutes, was a United Church minister, and active in Laurentian's native studies programme).

4. Where did the funding for all these projects come from? CFSC put in a considerable sum. First the National Indian Brotherhood and later the Donner Foundation paid Peter a salary for some part of the time, the whole of which he used (except for what it cost him in income tax) as seed money in community development projects (I believe this does not show

up in financial statements to Canadian Yearly Meeting as it was a private arrangement). Soo Newberry was paid by the National Indian Brotherhood to do the hair sampling. The Save the Children Fund paid the two Ojibway women who worked on the school lunch programme, and the parents of the children paid the cost of ingredients, which was kept to 25 cents a meal by bulk buying organized by Caroline Ackerman; Government financing was obtained for the Fish for Food programme (to buy freezers and pay the fishers); individual Friends, Meetings, and other persons and groups contributed generously.

5. Some of the people active in the concern in the early days were Nancy Pocock, Gini Smith, Norman and Betty Polster (in Toronto on sabbatical from Argenta Friends School), Caroline Parry, Peter Newberry, Soo Newberry, Jo Newberry (Vellacott), Caroline Ackerman (Winnipeg), JoLeigh (who also made an extended stay in Grassy Narrows) and Alex Commandant, Phyllis Fischer, Joy Saunders, and many others. Support also came from a number of Meetings.

6. Others who were active in these various concerns - and no list will be nearly complete - include Fred Franklin, Martin Cohnstaedt, Bill Curry, Dee Mary Hyde, Loren Hepler, Jean Atkinson.

modern lifestyles of some Friends often perplexed him and he was reluctant to accept such new conditions. Nevertheless, he remained highly respected and welcomed in traveling among Friends.

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 summarized 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'."

expense. 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 that would mean, he did agree that the yearly meeting should be a nationwide group and he worked energetically to make such a move a success. Until 1970 the yearly sessions had been held in Ontario; in 1970 they were held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Since that time the sessions have been alternated between eastern and western locations and Ontario.

Fred was concerned over the imbalance between the outward expressions of life as a yearly meeting and the inward spiritual nurture needed to maintain those expressions. As he said, "It is necessary that there be a spiritual identity which is recognizable 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 Center in Birmingham, England and he spent the academic year of 1967-1968 there. During that time he wrote his book 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. For him that account was not a completed work but merely an attempt to outline some important personal, national, and global perspective's on life.

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 and others 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.

Fred's outstanding sense of responsibility and loyalty toward the Religious Society of Friends, based on his deep religious convictions, resulted in truly sacramental service. His example led others to expect the same level of honesty and service from themselves.

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 hospitalization in 1979. He often quoted from John Greenleaf Whittier, his favorite poet: 'I only know I cannot drift beyond His love and care.'

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. That 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.

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

issues as they 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.

His association with the Friends General Conference was largely indirect, but he was active on the executive committee of the Friends World Committee for Consultation (American Section) and often represented Canadian Friends at the triennial sessions of that group. 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.

For many years Fred was often the only Canadian Quaker available to represent Friends on the boards and commissions of the Canadian Council of Churches. That earned him the nickname "Mr. Quaker." The ecumenical association of Canadian Friends and the part taken in that association by Fred Haslam 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. Especially in relation to relief work, his question 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. The recovery from the separations of the 19th century were slow, however. In 1928 Friends of the Canada Yearly Meeting (affiliated with the Five Years Meeting) and Genesee Yearly Meeting (affiliated with the 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. Continuously he had pointed out the waste involved in three separate organizations, 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 the Pacific Yearly Meeting and in one in Canada. At that juncture, however, they opted for membership only in the Canadian Yearly Meeting, although maintaining friendly ties with the Pacific Friends.

After the three yearly meetings joined, much work remained to form a cohesive group. Prior to that time all 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 Meetinghouse, with Fred Haslam as its full-time Secretary-Treasurer. Using his talents as an administrator, he organized the information files, set up a regular accounting system, and applied to the government for recognition as a "Charitable Organization."

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 distances involved and the consequent

on the political or expediency basis of peace.

For many years, up until his death in fact, 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. Until 1969 it was the only location for yearly meeting sessions; thereafter-yearly meetings were held there every two years.

In 1960 when Friends decided to establish a small school under the care of the Argenta Meeting in British Columbia, Fred encouraged their efforts.

His opposition to capital punishment was strong and he exerted strenuous efforts to effect its abolition, including service in several organizations concerned with that issue. With other Friends he helped to produce for the C.F. S.C. a leaflet on capital punishment, 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 organizations served liquor, he always Registered his objections. Sometimes those protests were effective in having such service withdrawn.

Because he had been in prison, he was

well aware of the problems faced by prisoners and their families. Consequently he was concerned about prison reform. But he worked slowly on such changes as he wanted such reforms to be well founded. Often his careful pace led activists to be impatient with his outlook; they felt that his approach was ineffectual. Nevertheless he continued his careful way. Frequently he was asked by authorities to visit in the Toronto jail. On such visits he was repeatedly distressed by the living conditions, which he protested against. 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 organization 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.

His 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 the Friends United Meeting). At those gatherings he was often affectionately called "Mr. Canadian Friend." Although he could support many of their concerns he had to remind them frequently that it was sometimes difficult for Canadian Friends to become deeply involved in some

other Friends to admit failure in that difficult and perplexing situation. Since that time, the Sons of Freedom have repeated their protests over the yearend 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. As that work was a cooperative project between the Service Committees of the United States and of Canada, Fred had to make many trips to Philadelphia for consultations. All this necessitated a mass of correspondence, too, which he carried out.

Funds gathered by the Ontario Committee for Relief in Japan were channeled 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. During the war in Vietnam, Canadian Friends assisted draft resisters coming from the United States to Canada. Although Fred was not directly involved in that work, he strongly encouraged those efforts and assisted wherever he could.

Earlier, 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 Meetinghouse. 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 endeavor 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.

During World War II large numbers of aliens were interned in Canada in camps at various places. Fred negotiated with the government and finally obtained permission for Friends to visit such camps, even though they were located in isolated spots. Fred facilitated visitation by Quakers even though some stringent limitations were placed on conversations with the internees. Many of the friendships made through such efforts lasted long after the war.

Some of His Other Interests

During and after World War II Fred actively opposed cadet training in the schools, urging the substitution of other more constructive activities. Throughout his life he helped to draft many statements on peace, addressed to the Canadian government and other groups around the world.

Constantly he 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 in different parts of the world. He vigorously promoted such programs 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. However, he insisted on the primacy of the spiritual basis of the Friends peace testimony rather than

scientious objectors 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, the Canadian Quaker historian, wrote about this project 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.

In addition, Fred helped to encourage the sale of special Dominion of Canada non-interest-bearing bonds for relief purposes and about \$1,000,000 of those bonds were eventually sold.

In 1950 the Sons of Freedom branch of the Doukhobors in western Canada were making violent protests against government actions, particularly about the compulsory school attendance for their children. In protest they were burning homes, bombing electric installations and bridges, and staging nude parades in the Kootenay area of British Columbia. At the turn of this century American Friends had helped the Doukhobors emigrate to Canada from Russia, where they had not been allowed religious freedom. So the Canadian government asked Canadian Friends to assist them in solving this difficult and 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.

That request for assistance came to Fred Haslam in the office of the Canadian Friends Service Committee. The Committee accepted the challenge and appointed a Minorities Committee to work on it. Fred was sure that Friends could bring a fresh outlook to the problem 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 Galley, 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, and so he moved to British Columbia to take up his work.

That involved long hours of consultation between Emmett Galley and the two Service Committees, sometimes in Toronto and sometimes in Philadelphia. In all of those conferences, Fred Haslam was closely involved. He 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 themselves in the position of not having enough money to continue paying Emmett Galley's salary, he was paid by the British Columbia government. Consequently, in the eyes of the Sons of Freedom, he was no longer an unbiased individual. Friends regretted the necessity of that change and that action caused some controversy about the continued support of Emmett Gulley. That led to protests by the Sons of Freedom against him; eventually he had to give up that work.

It was extremely difficult for Fred and

three Quaker yearly meetings in Canada. On it were members of all three groups. Its terms of reference were "To unify, coordinate, and expand the work of peace, social concerns, and temperance for Canadian Friends."

As he 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 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 that post. He carried on that responsibility until 1956.

Originally the work of the committee was the feeding of needy people in other parts of the world. But with the outbreak of World War II, Friends in Canada were faced with the problems of helping their young people who were taking the pacifist position. Hence Fred spent most of his time counselling and assisting Canadian conscientious objectors. From his own experiences in World War I he knew the difficulties c.o.'s faced and was most sympathetic.

In the National Resources Mobilization Act of 1940 in Canada only two groups were recognized as having the right to exemption from military service. They were the Mennonites and the Doukhobors. Friends were deeply conscious that there were many sincere conscientious objectors who had no religious affiliation or who were members of churches which did not have a specific 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, and Fred 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 which Friends would be willing to undertake. 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 organizations.
- Participation in post-war rehabilitation plans.
- Any combination of the above.

Those suggestions were accepted and some Friends participated in such service in Canada

Meanwhile Friends in the United States persuaded their government to recognize the British Friends Ambulance Unit as a form of alternative service.* They invited Canadian Friends to explore with their government the possibility of its acceptance in Canada. So, in 1943, Fred Haslam began those difficult negotiations. After protracted discussions, recognition was finally granted. Then Fred had to deal with the deluge of applications from Friends and others who wanted to join that ambulance unit. Despite the difficulties, the first group of 20 Canadians was accepted by the Unit and then by the government in 1944.

While those young people were serving in China and elsewhere, Fred kept in close touch with their families and friends by distributing a Newsletter on their activities. After their return to Canada, assistance to them continued because no educational retraining program had been made for con-

as a place to bale clothing.

In 1930 Albert Rogers asked Fred to find a property north of Toronto, which could be used, as a summer camp for the boys. He found such a suitable place about 90 miles north of Toronto on a beautiful ten acres of woodland and it was obtained for use initially by the Boys Club. Later it was also used by the Girls Club and by various Quaker groups. The camp was called NeeKauNis, the Indian name for "friends" and is now owned by the Canadian Yearly Meeting.

As a result of his vision of Camp NeeKauNis as a place for a variety of educational and recreational programs, it played a major part in bringing all Canadian Friends together in one yearly meeting. At that time there were three yearly meetings: Canada Yearly Meeting, affiliated with the Five Years Meeting (now the Friends United Meeting); Genesee Yearly Meeting, affiliated with the Friends General Conference; and Canada Yearly Meeting, Conservative. The young people in those three groups met occasionally at the camp. They saw no reason for the separation and pressed for amalgamation, which finally took place in 1955.

In 1940 Fred purchased a small piece of property adjacent to the camp and bequeathed it to the Yearly Meeting.

In 1942 Fred was appointed interim treasurer of the Toronto Monthly Meeting when the treasurer was absent for an extended period. On her return, she did not wish to resume her duties, so Fred was chosen in her place, holding that position until 1942. He had become a member of the Toronto Meeting in 1931.

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. The business of that transfer was very complex but he was the ideal person for that task. Because of his business experience he was able to tie all the loose ends together admirably.

Fred was constantly concerned with the conduct of meetings, both the Meeting for Worship and the Meeting for Business. 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, an 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 extension 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 Meetinghouse. Although he was not in total unity with that decision, he nevertheless abided by the decision of the Meeting and later agreed it had been a good thing.

The CFSCCommittee and His Role in It

In 1931 the Canadian Friends Service Committee was established as an amalgamation of the service, peace, social concerns, and temperance testimony of the

chairman of the Service Committee of Canada Yearly Meeting and of the Finance Committee of the Toronto Monthly Meeting. At the time Fred Haslam met him he had retired from active employment with Imperial Oil, but was still a director of that company, with an office in their headquarters building.

When Fred met Albert Rogers, an instant liking sprang up between the two men. Eventually Fred worked for Albert Rogers as his personal secretary. In that capacity one of Fred's duties was to collect 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.

When the Rogers Radio Tube Company was established in 1924, to develop alternate tubes for battery less radios, Fred became its Secretary- Treasurer. In 1939 that company was sold and when the new company took orders for war materials, Fred could not conscientiously continue to work for them. Hence he resigned in 1941. He had already been giving much of his time to the work of Friends and he then devoted even more of it to those activities.

In 1940 Fred Haslam married Maud Watts, who had been his secretary at the Radio Tube Company. At first they lived in suburban Toronto. Then, 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 center peripheral to Toronto, and so Meetings for Worship were held in their home. Although Maud did not join Friends, her support helped Fred to maintain his activities with and for Quakers at a high level. In 1958 she died of cancer and that terrible blow put an end to his dream of a Meeting at that location. He discovered that he could not maintain alone the home they had built, so he moved to an

apartment in Toronto.

He continued, however, to look to the future, as he always had, believing that "The future, while it is influenced by what has gone before, is flexible and can be molded, within limits, for good or ill."

In January, 1960, he 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.

His Many Activities with Canadian Friends

Even though he had no children, Fred had a special love and concern for them and was popular with them. Perhaps some of that feeling grew out of his experiences in Vienna in the child-feeding program. He would often tease children, saying that his name was not "Fred Haslam" but "Malsahderf," spelling his name backwards to amuse them. The Young Friends of the Toronto Meeting felt very close to him and at one time hung his portrait in their gathering spot, which they called "The Fox Penn."

In 1924 Fred began to work with Albert Rogers for the Boys Club, which was sponsored by the Toronto Friends Meeting. That was a club established for the boys attending the Sunday School and for boys from the local inner-city neighborhood. Activities of many kinds were carried on, including a bowling alley in the basement. And at one time a Newsletter was published. 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

winter conditions.

It was not until April, 1919-five months after the war had ended, that conscientious objectors were released. Some of the friendships formed during those painful times were continued for many years.

Soon after his return home, Fred's family emigrated to Canada. But he remained in England, taking an office position in London with the Friends Emergency War Victims Relief Committee, which was then concerned with the repatriation of alien internees. There Fred taught himself to type, adding that to his other office' skills.

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.

Later he was in charge of the 21 food depots, eventually serving as cashier. During those 18 months he gained much experience in dealing with foreign currencies and coping with the frustrations of always having too few resources to meet the many desperate needs. He also gained an interest in statistics from writing reports, using that newly acquired knowledge later in communications for Canadian Friends.

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 re-enter normal life more effectively.

During that period in Austria, Fred determined to learn the German language and eventually he was able to read, speak, and conduct the business of the Mission in the local language. Furthermore he maintained his interest in the German language for the rest of his life, welcoming every opportunity to practice it in conversations.

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

His Emigration to Canada and His Work There

In 1921, at the age of 24, he 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.

Friends in England gave Fred 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 and Phebe Wright was editor of The Canadian Friend. At that time Albert Rogers was

incident, Providence School was condemned by the municipal authorities and the students were transferred to more modern schools nearby.

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. At first he saw Germany as an enemy country and resented its reported atrocities. However, his older brother, Bill, had a Sunday School teacher who felt that young men should hear both sides of the argument about war. Consequently that teacher presented the non-war position to his class whenever the minister preached a pro-war sermon. Discussing his teachings with Bill, Fred had his first exposure to peace ideas. Conversations with Bill about German casualties led Fred to consider the Germans as men rather than an enemy entity. A reassessment of his attitudes followed, 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 on the grounds of conscientious

objection. His refusal was not a negative one; it was his affirmation of a way of life. Consequently he took a first aid course with the intention of serving in the Medical Corps. But when he learned that members of that Corps carried arms, he turned away from it. 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 the combat caused 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 freedom of movement was possible within the local area. 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 others in their free time.

At the Work Centre there were many Quakers, and Fred became acquainted with them. Subsequently he began to join in activities at the Meeting House as a regular participant in the Adult School and as an attender at the Meetings for Worship. Some of the literature he acquired at that time remained his favourites for life.

When Fred had been at Wakefield about a year, bad feeling developed locally against the conscientious objectors. When that bitterness 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

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

*by Dorothy Muma**

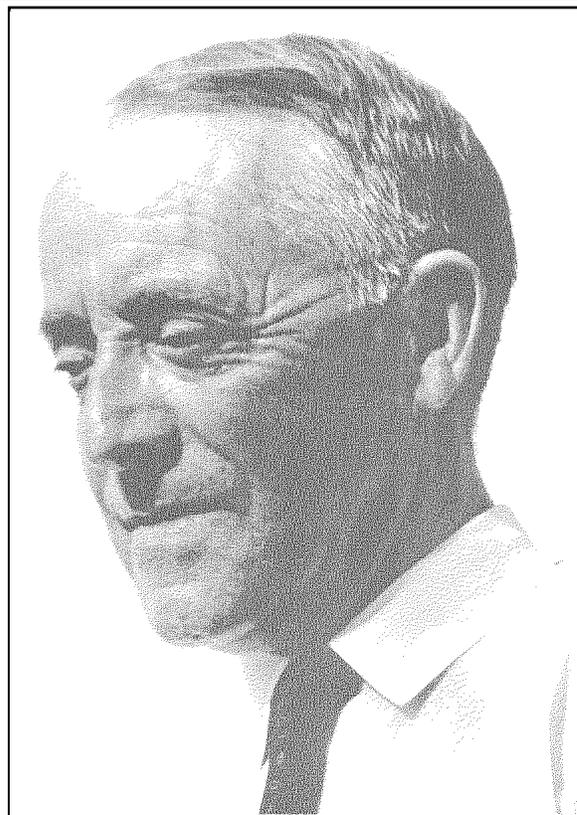
Over more than a century of Quaker existence in Canada, many outstanding Friends have emerged to take an active part. It would be impossible in a short essay to summarize the impact of those Friends on Canadian Quakerism. But through an account of one of the most prominent-Fred Haslam-some of the history of Canadian Quakers may be discerned.

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" and non-Friends in Canada dubbed him "Mr. Quaker." While accepting those titles with a smile, he nevertheless shrugged them off because of his deep concern and characteristic modesty.

One of the most memorable events of his life occurred on his first night in prison as a conscientious objector in World War I. The event was the singing outside by Friends and other peace advocates who came to the prison each week. Referring to that incident, Fred used to say, "After the singing ceased, I went to sleep feeling clean, relatively comfortable, and with the knowledge of support from the outside." That experience was the beginning of Fred Haslam's association with Quakers.

His Early Years in England

Fred Haslam was born on May 26, 1897, in Middleton, Lancashire, England, and he spent his early years in that area. He was the second child of Samuel and Emily Haslam, having one brother and two sisters. Samuel



Fred Haslam

Haslam was a carpenter and cabinetmaker, while Emily managed a bakery in one part of their home.

His early school 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. Rivalry developed between sets of boys, and on one occasion Fred was set upon by the boy known as "the cock of the school." Fred defended himself successfully and in turn became "the cock of the school." Soon after that

**A Benevolent Alliance:
The Canadian Save the Children Fund and
the Canadian Friends Service Committee
between the Two World Wars¹**

Meghan Cameron, University of Guelph

Between 1922 and 1946, a small, but enduring Canadian organization grew out of an international movement to improve the welfare of children. Founded in 1922 during an era marked by a universal drive for humanitarian relief and an internationalist spirit embodied in the League of Nations, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund (CCSCF) built on earlier domestic child-welfare initiatives to elicit concern for children on a global scale. A self-described non-partisan voluntary activity whose adherents co-operated with other similar organizations, namely the Quaker group, Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) to achieve its goals, the Fund's fortunes fluctuated despite prestigious support. This support from the Quakers was most conspicuous during the Spanish Civil War and into the Second World War when joint committees were formed between the two groups to collectively raise money for the respective campaigns. Administratively, the two organizations shared many active members, namely Fred Haslam and A. Scott Montgomery, among other notables. Similarly, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund depended upon the resources of the Quakers in order to maintain a strong publicity campaign as is seen in the extensive use of radio airtime provided by the Rogers Family, in the publication of many articles in *The Canadian Friend*, and in the petitioning of the government regarding aid to foreign children, that being led by Lloyd Williams, the Quaker who

established the Quebec branch of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund. This paper will focus mainly on the relationship between the two organizations of the Canadian Save the Children Fund and the Canadian Friends Service Committee during the inter-war period. Had it not been for the support of the Quakers, among other like-minded organizations, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund would have struggled to maintain itself as a philanthropic body and ultimately to achieve administrative independence from the British Fund by 1946.

Despite the amount of historiography on state institutions in the twentieth century and some philanthropic organizations in the nineteenth century,² there is a large deficit in twentieth-century international child-saving historiography and of its organizations more generally. While there is evidence of an international child-saving movement in the reports of the Save the Children Fund, and even later in the reports of UNICEF which was established in 1946, there is surprisingly little historiography on a subject with such rich primary sources.³ Even more so, the historiography of Canadian non-governmental organizations (or philanthropy) directed towards children in or out of Canada is lacking despite the fact that there were and continue to be a plethora of charitable organizations that have functioned throughout the twentieth century. Most of the historiography that focuses on the inter-war period and post-

World War Two era deals specifically with the newly implemented welfare state and its institutions.⁴ With the exception of a history of the Canadian Jewish Congress War Orphans Rescue Movement there has been little rigorous historical research done in the area of Canadian international child-saving.⁵ There is ample room in Canadian historiography for a critical historical account of one of English Canada's first international child-saving organizations and of its place within a group of closely knit relief and welfare organizations.

Sources

In order to properly contextualize the Fund in the public sphere several newspapers were consulted including the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Toronto Globe*. Private correspondence, minutes of meetings, lists of membership and subscription prove invaluable in developing a better understanding of the initial structure of the ad hoc committee, the permanent committee and the joint committee of the CFSC and the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund. Other sources which were essential for this investigation include contemporary periodicals, namely the Save the Children Fund publication *The World's Children* and the Quaker publication, *The Canadian Friend*. Internal documents such as financial records of subscriptions, donations, and gifts in kind, minutes and reports of the Canadian Friends Service Committee, various lists of subscriptions in the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Toronto Globe*, and annual reports of the Save the Children Fund in England proved invaluable.

Most important here is the use of the 1924 Declaration of Geneva on the Rights of the Child (DOG). This document provides the basic language upon which the international discourse of child-saving is

built. Excellent examples of how the Save the Children Fund participated in an international dialogue on child-welfare were found in the following periodical publications: *Ottawa Citizen*, *World's Children*, *Canadian Child Welfare News*, and *Canadian Friend* as well as contemporary monographs.⁶ One of the most effective sources for this exercise are the photographs, promotional pamphlets and literature that the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund circulated to the public either through mailings or as inserts in daily newspapers. The way in which international child-savers persuaded the public was not just a textual venture, but was reliant upon a range of media, including the heart-wrenching photographs of children who were suffering from the repercussions of international conflict.

A member of the early staff of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund once referred to the Save the Children Fund as a 'Great Empire Philanthropy'⁷ stating, "Canada was asked to join with the British Isles and other parts of the Empire in feeding as many of the unfortunate children in the refugee camps as the gifts would warrant, and she at once responded."⁸ It should be noted here, that the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund had two headquarters; the first in Ottawa and the second in Toronto. While there was a separate Fund in British Columbia, the focus of this paper will be on the Ontario Canadian Committee and its affiliates in Quebec, the Eastern and Western provinces.

International Child welfare: the Save the Children Fund and Canadian involvement

The impetus to start an organization such as the Save the Children Fund was grounded in the post-war world of the 1920s

that was increasingly conscious of the plight of the health and welfare of children. In 1922, Edward Fuller, editor of the Save the Children Fund's newsletter *The World's Children*, emphasized the legitimacy of the child-saving movement in an international context. In reaction to the aftermath of the First World War, Fuller acknowledged the prolific nature of this movement on an international level:

Probably never before has so much stress been laid on the importance of child life or so much thought been devoted to its welfare. This modern tendency is reflected all about us – in our newspapers, with their children's sections and supplements, and on our advertisement hoardings, with their insistence on the needs of the child, no less than in the school clinics, the welfare centres and the multitude of societies which have for their object the protection and welfare of child life, which have sprung up within the past decade or so. The Save the Children Fund is one of these societies, but it is unique in the breadth of its geographical scope. It represents the universal unifying influence of the child, [...] it has succeeded, as no society has ever succeeded before in abolishing within the sphere of its own work some of those differences between man and man, and between race and race, for which in time past men have tortured and imprisoned and slaughtered one another.⁹

While the above passage could easily be construed as a late twentieth-century observation, it describes the role of the Save the Children Fund in its international context in the 1920s. Nevertheless, the uni-

versal appeal of child welfare continues into this century.

Canada's contribution to such a far-reaching humanitarian movement is significant and lasting. The first national Canadian committee of the Save the Children Fund was established in 1922 but initially remained an organ of the British Fund.¹⁰ Monies raised by Canadian 'subscribers' and philanthropists were sent to the London headquarters where British Save the Children Fund workers would delegate rations and clothing to those who were deemed most needy. The immediate impetus for Canadian charity came with the onset of the Russian Famine of 1921-22 that devastated highly populated regions of the country, leaving many homeless, hungry and utterly desolate. The most distressed victims of this international disaster, according to moral reformers and philanthropists such as Eglantyne Jebb, were the children.

The initial British Save the Children Fund was established by two affluent English sisters, Dorothy Buxton and Eglantyne Jebb. Eglantyne attended Oxford University with her brother Richard and pursued a degree in history. Her sister Dorothy studied economics at Cambridge where her uncle held a position in the classics department. After university, Eglantyne produced a study of the charity organizations in the town of Cambridge which she published in 1906.¹¹ Dorothy became actively involved in politics with her husband Charles Buxton, a prominent left-wing politician. During her professional life, Jebb traveled throughout Europe doing relief work and it was there where she first encountered the effects of war on children. The sufferings of children in Macedonia and Vienna in 1917 had a tremendous impact on Eglantyne.¹² Inspired by what she saw, Jebb helped to establish the precursor to the Save the Children Fund, the Fight-the-Famine

Council, with Dorothy Buxton and Lord Parmoor in early 1919 with the aim of providing aid and relief to those countries ravaged by war. By January 1920, the Save the Children International Union was established and headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. The SCIU acted as “the co-ordinating and unifying body of the child relief efforts” of the various Save the Children Funds and Committees throughout the world.¹³ The first appeal from the Fund was on behalf of the children in Vienna, Armenia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The Save the Children Fund helped to raise money for other associations already established as legitimate relief organizations. Such organizations included the Friends’ Emergency and War Victims’ Relief Committee (Quaker), the Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor’s) Fund, Action Lodge Famine Relief Fund (for Hungary), Lady Muriel Paget’s Missions (to Czechoslovakia and the Baltic States), the Serbian Relief Fund, the Serbian Child Welfare Association, and the British Committee for Relief in Poland.¹⁴ However, a more permanent identity was imperative for the Fund and, in 1921, Lord Weardale was appointed to the executive committee whereupon he served as president of the Fund until 1923.

It was this body which began raising money for its own campaigns. The obligation to give extended throughout the Empire and the collective response from the Dominions was impressive, but special recognition of Canada was explicit in publications of the British Fund. This point was crystallized on February 2 1922 when a committee of the Privy Council of Canada issued a statement of support for any charitable organization that was similar to the British Save the Children Fund. Approved by Governor-General Lord Byng, the Council asserted that:

The government is prepared, however, to consider means of co-operating with voluntary agencies, should they succeed in effecting some responsible relief organization of which the government could approve. If, for example, a national organization, similar to the British Save the Children Fund could be formed in Canada, either as an independent organization or as a branch of the parent organization in Great Britain, whereby the efforts of individuals, societies, or churches or other agencies could be co-ordinated, the Government would be prepared to co-operate with such a responsible organization towards rendering effective such measures of relief as it might undertake.¹⁵

As a result of this formal recognition and support from the government, the CCSCF included several honorary members including the Prime Minister, W.L. Mackenzie King (Liberal) as Honorary President and Arthur Meighen (Conservative) as one of the Honorary Vice Presidents. Other significant members of the new honorary administration included W.S. Fielding (Liberal), Sir Louis Davies (Chief Justice), the Honorable T.A. Crerar (leader of the newly formed Progressive Party) and Rodolphe Lemieux (Liberal). The government’s support of the Fund was in the form of “patronage and personnel.” Office accommodation, printing, transport of food-stuffs and other incidental necessities of a nation-wide campaign were all provided at the charge of the government, and soon the Dominion was ringing with the cry, ‘Save the Children.’¹⁶ As a result, Edward Fuller, editor of the *World’s Children*, and Dorothy Buxton noted that, “particularly generous was a response made by Canada to the appeal for

the Russian famine... [and] ... the Canadian committee of the Save the Children fund was destined to organise a great campaign.”¹⁷

There were two committees in Canada, the first established in 1922 and the second in 1925. These two committees represent two completely different stages in the development of the organization in Canada, with the first committee serving only on an ad hoc basis, while the second committee was formed with more permanent intentions. It must be stated here that the intentions of the Canadian Committees were to aid foreign children exclusively. Not until it reached independence from the British Fund in 1946 was the Canadian Committee obligated to help Canadian children.¹⁸

The Canadian Committee and initial Quaker involvement

The Save the Children Fund’s growth is due almost entirely to its devoted and tireless workers, most of whom were simultaneously involved in a network of other like-minded organizations. Both Maggie Black and Mariana Valverde maintain that the study of specific individuals and reformers is of paramount importance to the study of any social movement.¹⁹ It is important to understand how powerful figures in the movement were placed in the social context. Understanding the ideas of individual leaders within this movement facilitates an intellectual contextualization of the Fund within the early twentieth-century child-welfare culture.²⁰ For example, Charles Bowman often used his position as editor-in-chief of the *Ottawa Citizen* to promote the Save the Children Fund in Canada by giving extensive coverage to the devastation of the Russian famine and the plight of children in that disaster. He often made grand statements about the importance of the Fund and

of Canada’s responsibility to the fund: “There is no question of politics in the work of the Save the Children Fund. It is a call to humanity to have pity and charity for the little children. Anything given will be literally carrying out the scriptural injunction to cast our bread upon the waters: the reward to the generous-hearted people of Canada will be manifold, in the simple blessings of doing good.”²¹ The initial establishment of the Fund in Canada can be credited to the voluntary efforts of individuals such as Bowman, among other distinguished patrons such as Bowman’s close friend Colonel Herbert J. Mackie.

The three ways in which the Save the Children Fund movement gained momentum in Canada were public lectures by overseas visitors from the British Save the Children Fund and of Colonel Mackie, the support of the press (particularly the *Ottawa Citizen*) and the promotion of the Fund through the Protestant churches across Canada.²² The latter two methods were cornerstones in the establishment of the Fund and were commonly referred to as the “press and the pulpit.” Regardless of the efforts put forth, the establishment of the Fund was only a product of the people who made up the Canadian Committee and of the networking of those individuals within the context of philanthropy and voluntary relief organizations in Canada. Between 1921 and 1946 the strength of the Fund and its success in Canada can be attributed to the individuals, both men and women, who were actively involved in the voluntary organizational culture of the inter-war period. The important men included: Colonel Herbert J. Mackie, Charles A. Bowman, Frank Yeigh, Norman Mackenzie, Fred Haslam (Quaker), James C. McRuer, and Scott Montgomery (Quaker). The role of women in the organization played an integral part in the success and growth of

the Fund as can be seen through the work of such individuals as Annie Louise Yeigh, Adelaide Plumtre, Mrs. J. Bundy, Mrs. J.A. Wilson and Grace Lediard who were all members of reputable women's organizations such as the IODE and Local Councils of Women.

During the inter-war period, the country underwent a shift in national character from one that was decidedly British to one that could be defined as "Canadian." With the passing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, Canada gained a political independence from Britain that facilitated a more distinctive national character. An illustration of this transformation, as has been argued by Mary Vipond, can be seen in the development of voluntary organizations in Canada, particularly during the 1920s.²³ Vipond stipulates that the nationalism embodied by a distinctive 'Canadian' character was shaped by the intellectual culture of the 1920s. Canadian nationalism found its genesis in "interpersonal relationships which previously had been relatively casual and localized." She further argues that those same ties "were transformed at a rapid rate during the 1920s into a multiplicity of active national organizations with specific goals, constitutions, regular meetings and frequent newsletters."²⁴ Furthermore, this 'national feeling' was symbolized by tradition, modernity, Britishness, North American collectivism and anti-American sentiment.²⁵ Additionally, these Canadian nationalists were well-versed not only in national issues, but were also interested in the issues of the international arena. Many of these elite belonged to various 'nationalist' and 'internationalist' organizations such as the Canadian Clubs and the League of Nations Societies.²⁶ The personal relationships amongst members of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund as well as with those of other organizations

only further illustrates Vipond's argument. Throughout the early history of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund, we can see how, through personal relationships, the Fund was able to maintain interest amongst a philanthropic elite in Canada, particularly those Quakers who participated in charity work at this time.

The goals of the founders of the Canadian Committee were not to re-invent the idea of international philanthropy, but rather to aid the British in their work. Mackie was insistent that the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund remain loyal to the British cause and declared, "it is the intention of the Canadian committee to co-operate with the British Save the Children Fund as closely as possible, to avoid duplication of effort and unnecessary overhead charges."²⁷ There was no threat of contest or competition between the British Save the Children Fund and the Canadian Committee. The Canadian Committee was representative of pro-British sentiment in Canada and was dedicated to serve subordinate to the wishes of the British organization. In fact, some members of the Canadian Committee saw their participation in the work of the Save the Children Fund as their obligation to help the Empire in its duty to help the helpless. In one of his many editorial commentaries on the crisis in Russia and of Canada's contribution to relief of children there, Bowman was clear in stating, "Canada is co-operating with Great Britain in this great work of rescue."²⁸

In the spring of 1922, Bowman was emphatic about the security of the Fund and its operations, "All money subscribed in Canada is to be expended on Canadian foodstuffs," he said, "and the relief work is directly supervised by Canadian and British representatives right to the feeding kitchens

on the famine front. The public is assured of the economical administration of the fund, and safe delivery of the Canadian food to the starving people.”²⁹ Yet, the desire to save children on an international level found its origins in domestic movements and was shaped by a similar dialogue. For example, evangelism, a key characteristic of those same domestic movements, was a prominent feature of international the child-saving dialogue. In 1931, Sir Philip Gibbs, a patron and member of the British Fund, described the early international movement as “a whisper at first, it was heard across frontiers, it was heard by those who hated each other, and it appealed to human instincts stronger even than those of race and nationality: and there was a great surging up of charity in the heart of a stricken world.”³⁰ Similar evangelical language can be found in the following statement embodying the values of those who endorsed the Save the Children Fund mission; “the work of the Save the Children Fund must not come to an end. It will never be finished until we create the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.”³¹

As a result, church support for the Fund proved to be third means by which Canadians became aware of the Fund. On April 2 1922, there was a ‘national effort’ for Russian relief among Protestant churches across Canada. The appeal was an event built up by the *Citizen*, which advertised it approximately three weeks in advance, arguing that a joint effort on behalf of the churches (Anglican, Baptists, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist) and the Fund would “further the aims of the Canadian committee.”³² Emphasis was directed towards the churches because, according to one campaign by the Save the Children Fund, “[i]f there is one institution in particular to which the work of feeding the starving Russian children should appeal strong, it is to the Christian Church. Its

mission among other things, is to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, care for the sick, and, in general, to relieve those who are in need.”³³ Aside from general collections given, a special plea for additional funds to be donated directly to the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund was to be announced in the churches on that day.³⁴

One specific religious group that was targeted were the Quakers. In March 1922 it was reported in an issue of the *Canadian Friend* that the appeal for Russian famine relief was continuing through the Canadian³⁵ and American Friends’ Service Committees and that a Canadian branch of the British Save the Children Fund had been established.³⁶ The article emphasized the importance of the support of the press and of the federal government in “response to various appeals.” The co-operation of the Canadian Friends with the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund was made public with this article. It urged people to earmark any contributions to ‘Save the Children Fund’ while all unmarked donations would go directly to Friends workers in Russia. Co-operation from big business was also established, as Charles Gordon, Manager of the Dominion Bank acted as Honorary Treasurer for all donations to that joint appeal in the Toronto area. One member of the CFSC and later of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund, Fred Haslam, reported in his memoirs that the “co-operation between the Save the Children Fund and Friends in Canada has since been very cordial, though each has its own sphere of work.”³⁷

It was not until 1925 that a new committee was formed in Toronto. Again, several prominent citizens in Canada began to meet and form committees of the Save the Children Fund across the country on both local and municipal levels. However, the

Fund was most highly publicized through the efforts of the Toronto committee, which became the Canadian headquarters for the Save the Children Fund. It should be stated that at the same time as these local committees formed a coalition for the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund, the province of British Columbia refused to join. It chose to donate separately to the British Save the Children Fund and remained separate even after the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund became independent and incorporated as a separate member of the SCIU in 1946.³⁸ As a Canadian representative of the Save the Children Fund, Yeigh was asked by the British Fund to report on the situation following his visit to the area in early 1925. Although Canadian involvement was never explicitly mentioned, Yeigh's report reveals that Canadian individuals could be objectively interested in and knowledgeable of international relief efforts outside of their own sphere of interest, thereby proving themselves well-versed and having a vested interest in international affairs. Yeigh reflects this authority in his concluding statement. Upon his return from the Near East his faith became stronger in "the worthwhileness of such an organisation as the Save the Children Fund and admiration of the breadth of its interest and the quality of its service in the truest international sense."³⁹ For Yeigh, the important aspect of the Fund was not in its individual committees, but rather in its far-reaching, international appeal and effectiveness.

By the spring of 1926, Yeigh continued to promote the Fund, this time with an article in the Quaker publication, *Canadian Friend*. In it, Yeigh clarified that the Save the Children Fund was still in existence. As a response to the refugee crisis that arose in the Near East after the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, Save the Children Fund

workers, "trained during the Russian Famine, came to the rescue by establishing 'Kitchens' in the refugee camps scattered throughout Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria and other neighboring [sic] lands."⁴⁰ Yeigh specifically referred to the devastation of the Smyrna disaster as an event that "awoke the sympathy of the English-speaking world."⁴¹ It was the events in the Near East that instigated the second stage of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund, one highlighted by a more permanent and established philanthropy.

The alliance between these two groups (CCSCF and the CFSC) became strongest in the late 1930s and is important to investigate in order to fully appreciate how the Fund persisted in Canada despite a national economic depression. In the face of adversity, Norman Mackenzie, chair of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund, argued that co-operation was vital to the efficient co-ordination of international relief. Recognizing both economic and political (particularly against Fascism and Communism) objections, he pleaded that, "[t]he tragedies in Abyssinia, in Spain and in China with their tales of suffering, particularly among the children, have overcome these [political] objections. When there is an emergency and the lives of innocent children are at stake, there is no time to weigh the merits of the political issues involved." The co-operation of organizations not only saved lives, but also ensured the survival of these organizations in the future despite the insubstantial fundraising efforts of the period.

Spanish Civil War

The Save the Children Fund also aided refugees and victims of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). In 1933, the rule of the Spanish monarchy was ended with the pro-

clamation of a Spanish Republic, led by President Azana. By 1936, two fundamentally different political parties, the Nationalists and the Republicans, struggled for power in a country that was mainly agrarian and poverty-stricken.⁴² By 1939, the Republicans, backed by the Russian Soviets and other international socialist groups, were defeated by the Nationalists who were aided by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Other major powers including the United States, France, England and Canada remained neutral and did not provide aid to either side of the conflict as a stipulation of the Neutrality Act of 1937.⁴³ The resultant effect of this was the displacement of thousands and a refugee movement which numbered to approximately one half million people.⁴⁴ Of those refugees it has been observed that nearly one half were women, children and elderly men. Historian Claudena Skran argued that it was not hard for the refugees to find asylum in France, but “they still needed some form of international legal protection and a means of earning a living while they waited and hoped for revolution in their home country.”⁴⁵

The joint appeal by the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund and the CFSC was inactive between 1925 and 1936. But, with the onset of the Spanish Civil War communications and formal relations recommenced. The first mention of the joint appeal between the CFSC and the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund was made in 1936 where it was argued that the work was “humanitarian and in no way partisan,” an important feature to keep in mind considering the tense political backdrop against which the refugee relief was taking place.⁴⁶ At first, the appeal was “somewhat local,” focusing in on the Toronto area, but “was expected to include all of Canada.”⁴⁷ In November of

1935, it was first suggested that the Save the Children Fund join the Society of Friends to assist refugees in Spain, but the initial contact was made by the latter.⁴⁸ The second Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund meeting regarding Spain was in March 1937, where a representative of the Friends was in attendance. Fred Haslam, an executive member of both the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund and of the Canadian Friends Service Committee, reported on the conditions in Spain and invited Sylvester Jones, president of the American Friends’ Service Committee (AFSC), to speak in front of religious and business leaders, to attend a church service and hold a meeting at the University of Toronto on behalf of the plight of Spanish refugees.⁴⁹ By the third joint meeting, the push to promote the cause of Spanish refugees was emphasized and a portfolio was arranged and put to press that included relief efforts on behalf of Spanish children. Four thousand copies were made and distributed to all subscribers in Canada.⁵⁰ As well, the press, including *The Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Daily Star*, included inserts and leaflets in 1937.⁵¹

The bureaucratic structure of the joint appeal was such that all monies donated to the joint committee were administered by the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund. The CFSC was raising money on behalf of the Save the Children Fund in Canada. J.W. Copithorne, a concurrent member of both the CFSC and the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund asserted this same tenet: “The Save the Children Fund, and the Society of Friends, working through the Save the Children International Union of Geneva, already have representatives in Spain administering supplies in a humanitarian way without regard to the political or other allegiance of those assisted.”

Concluding his article was an epilogue in bold typeface stating: "Every dollar given to this cause will be sent to help the children of Spain."⁵² Furthermore, any appeal made specifically by a member of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund, was appended with a promise that every dollar sent on behalf of the 'cause' would be spent exclusively on children, through the Save the Children Fund. Following this plea was the address of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund.

The combined effort between the Canadian Save the Children Fund and Friends Committee was a characteristic which was distinctly Canadian. While there had been co-operation between the British Save the Children Fund and the British Friends in the Russian famine there was subsequent bitterness and political dispute part way into the Spanish Civil War.⁵³ Regardless of problems arising between the British factions of the organizations,⁵⁴ the relationship between the respective Canadian organizations was 'cordial' and lasting.

One member of the CFSC, John W. Copithorne, who also happened to sit on the joint committee of that organization and the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund, described the horrible conditions in which refugees were living in 1937. The conditions were dire.

More than 30,000 war orphans and 150,000 refugee children bear pitiful testimony to the distress of this unfortunate, war-torn country. On both sides of the conflict there is a great shortage of the necessities of life, food and clothing for the civilian population. The particular food shortages are of milk, flour and sugar – all so very important for growing children. Internal resources

and clothing are diminishing rapidly, while the need grows ever more pressing as each day of war adds to the suffering and misery.⁵⁵

In response to this crisis, Annie Yeigh reported that relief centres were "widely distributed. They are to be found in Madrid and in Burgos, at Barcelona, Alcazar, Tortosa, Tarragona, Almeria, Valencia, Guadalajara, Murcia and elsewhere."⁵⁶

By the end of the 1930s, as economic conditions started to improve and international disasters helped the Canadian Committee expand, so did its level of agency. In 1938, Norman Mackenzie, eloquently explained how the Canadian Committee fit on the international map of humanitarian organizations. "Our work is non-political and it belongs to none of the ideologies save that humanitarian one of helping the unfortunate." The universal appeal of benevolence and voluntary assistance was emphasized first and foremost by Mackenzie. But, in a Canadian context he argued, "it rises above nationalism. It provides those of us in Canada who are interested in it with an opportunity to co-operate with other like-minded men and women in Great Britain and, through the Save the Children International Union, with the world at large, and there is nothing quite as effective in bringing people together in a common cause." Lastly, Mackenzie was adamant about the importance of the Canadian contribution to an international movement in stating, "although our contributions are small [because of economic depression] and although our work is carried on in a quiet way, it is important to Canada and to Canadians, and we propose to continue with it."⁵⁷ This is evidence of the strength of conviction of the Canadian Committee in playing an integral role in international humanitarian affairs. It is at

this point that we can see the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund starting to become conscious of its identity as an independent organization, working not only *with* Britain but with the rest of the world, via the SCIU, as an autonomous group. The identity of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund became more distinctive as a modest contribution to a greater British cause.

The start of the campaign for Spanish children started in late November 1936, and in eight months nearly \$1500 was raised, impressive considering the almost non-existent money raised in years prior.⁵⁸ Regardless, the response from the public was uninspired. After one year of campaigning for Spanish children, the Joint Committee had raised just over \$2000. With this lack of momentum, the Joint Committee started to request aid for victims in China and this two-fold approach garnered limited increases to the amount collected. However, the survival of the Fund depended upon the close association and partnership with the Quakers and this was publicized; and, “[the years] 1937 and 1938 have found the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund, in co-operation with the Friends’ Service Committee, more active and more enthusiastic than for years past.”⁵⁹ By the end of their work together in the Spanish Civil War, organizing secretary Annie Yeigh exclaimed: “without them [CFSC] it would have been impossible to secure the results shown.”⁶⁰ Relative to years previous, the money raised on behalf of the joint appeal was noticeably minimal,⁶¹ but was enough to sustain a public recognition of the Fund in Canada.

World War Two

With the beginning of World War Two in 1939, the joint effort continued. Annie

Yeigh argued that “the problem of merging with the larger charities might be better met by fresh executive. It may prove to be a critical period for the Save the Children Fund.”⁶² She recognized the Second World War as a time of trial for the Canadian Fund and saw further co-operation with other organizations as well as a new staff to meet the needs of the Fund in a transitional phase. The Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund obtained fresh blood through A. Scott Montgomery who was a member of the CFSC. Montgomery served as Annie Yeigh’s successor as Secretary of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund. Because of his close affiliation with the Quakers, reports on behalf of the Save the Children Fund became more frequent in the *Canadian Friend* as well as in the minutes of the CFSC executive and yearly meetings.

The partnership between the two groups was not only financial but there were some shared administrative duties as well. During the Spanish Civil War the joint committee met a total of nine times and, despite a schism between the American Friends Service Council and the SCIU, the committee kept in contact right through to the Second World War.⁶³ In 1939, the two organizations officially joined forces to make the Joint Committee for Relief of Refugee Children (JCRRC). This joint committee, whose members were seemingly independent of their headquarters in their co-operation with one another, worked together to raise money for children in Europe by campaigning to various committees and smaller interest groups across the country, most notably IODE and other women’s societies.⁶⁴ The joint committee met consistently throughout the war years as well. From 6 April 1939 to 22 March 1943 the committee officially met twelve times, but that does not include informal meetings and

correspondence between individual members from each organization. Those members who most actively participated in the Joint Committee included Mackenzie, McRuer, Mrs. W.J. Bundy, R.J. Dilworth, and Annie Yeigh from the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund. From the CFSC those most actively involved with the joint committee were Fred Haslam, Raymond Booth and J.W. Copithorne. This relationship between the two organizations created a strong sense of community and co-operation in their international efforts to save children from starvation and the ravages of war.

Similarly, the coordination of the smaller local funds with the larger fund in Toronto is an example of how the Save the Children Fund in Canada was dependent upon other organizations and committees in order to be successful in saving the lives of countless children in Europe and Asia. This cooperation of organizations continued throughout the 1930s, shortly after a declaration of War, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund was invited to join an ad hoc governmental committee called the Common Council on War and Welfare Services. It was at that meeting that Annie Yeigh, Canadian representative, met with members of the National Committee on Refugees and the Canadian Welfare Council to propose a meeting with these two organizations on behalf of children. Raymond Booth and Fred Haslam, of the CFSC met with the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund to discuss the idea of bringing children from Europe to Canada.

In January of 1940, Annie Yeigh reiterated the principles and goals of the Canadian Committee to the CFSC. She stipulated that the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund was still raising monies under the authority of the British

Save the Children Fund and had been doing so since the Armenian refugee movement and they continued to be interested in all child victims of war. Furthermore, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund did not wish to promote migration of children and instead they preferred to send money to the point of interest. Lastly, the present war highlighted the importance of France and England, and children from those countries were prioritized over Jewish children from Germany and Poland.

In reaction to this statement of terms, Booth stipulated his own concerns. He argued that his organization had been established to deal especially with victims of Nazi persecution, and that they had worked closely with the Canadian Jewish Congress, but that it was important and of special concern to save Aryan and non-Aryan Christians. In order to do this, Booth argued that he wanted to assist children's migration to Canada from Europe and to place orphans and children "hopelessly lost to their families" in Canadian homes.⁶⁵ Lastly, Booth wanted to ensure that any placement of children would conform to Canadian social work standards. The two parties finally agreed that two separate fund-raising campaigns would defeat the purpose of helping children and that an "aggressive united campaign for funds to care for refugee children now supported by Britons, together with a plan to bring them to Canada as rapidly as possible for free placement, would make a much stronger appeal."⁶⁶

The Joint Committee for the Relief of Refugee Children (JCRRC) united the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund and the Canadian Friends' Service Committee (CFSC). In the first months of this committee, the co-operation of the two organizations was a limited

success. Between March and April of 1940, the joint committee raised £443 for refugee children. It was proposed that the respective committees approach additional organizations in order to raise more funds. Mrs. J.W. Bundy (Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund) was to contact the Hadassah Organization, while Booth (CFSC) was to approach any relevant American organizations. The joint committee also started to fulfill requests from London regarding the accompaniment of children refugees with Canadian social workers overseas.⁶⁷

In a meeting with the Canadian National Committee on Refugees (CNCR), chaired by Senator Cairine Wilson on 12 January 1940, another joint appeal was discussed between the two organizations. Two aspects of their joint committee were emphasized in any appeal: that the CNCR would bring refugee children over and that the money for transportation and care of children overseas would be provided by the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund.⁶⁸ Financially, the cooperation of these two groups was vitally important. By September of 1939, the still limited success of the joint committee was evident with a combined donation between May and August of £490 which, while more than was raised one year previously, was still insignificant. But, in their combined relief campaigns, the Joint Committee of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund and the CFSC almost equaled the amount of money raised by the Save the Children Fund alone, thereby doubling the amount of money for relief. Between 1939 and 1943, the combined subscriptions and donations to the Save the Children Fund and the Joint Committee totaled £6902.⁶⁹

Methods of involvement

Activities of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund were publicized in the *Canadian Friend*. Yeigh commented at the end of one article that “[m]ost of the cities have set up local committees and several thousand dollars have been raised and some shiploads of flour and other food-stuffs sent to the refugee camps of Athens, Salonica and Sorovitch.”⁷⁰ The British Fund also recognized the efforts of the Canadian Committee in Greece and Armenia and praised its “stronghold of interest in Save the Children Fund work” in a news brief that highlighted the support of the Council of Social Service’s support for the Fund in Canada.⁷¹

By December 1943, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund was issuing reports not only to the *World’s Children* but was also sending others to the *Canadian Friend*. These reports not only documented the current events of the Fund in Canada, but also celebrated past efforts of relief. The Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund was becoming self-aware as an organization that had a lasting legacy in the sphere of international relief. A measure of independence and autonomy is seen in various excerpts from these reports which comment on the valuable work of the Fund that was carried on in the past. In the field, workers and teams sponsored by the funds of the Canadian Committee were given distinct “Canada” badges to recognize the efforts of those contributors.⁷² The partnership between the two organizations was vital to the maintenance of the momentum of the movement. In one letter to Norman Mackenzie, Annie Yeigh wrote, “Cooperation with the Friends made it possible to find a successor and I think all will go well ...” However, she forewarned him that co-operation of like-minded organizations

was necessary for both the act of international child-saving to be successful and, more importantly, for the continued success of the Canadian branch of the Save the Children Fund.⁷³

With the joint appeal of the Quakers, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund became more autonomous in its activities. On such illustration of this can be seen in a combined effort to encourage the government of Canada, then led by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, to aid mothers and children of occupied Europe with food and supplies. Various Canadian members of big business and relief organizations, including the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund, joined together to petition.⁷⁴ In order to convince the Prime Minister and his government, these business and community leaders drafted a question-and-answer platform in which they anticipated the concerns of the government and then answered them with responses from various international leaders in relief and social welfare.

The first letter dated 18 December 1943 was co-signed by several prominent Canadians including: James McRuer (chair of the CCSCF), J. Howson (CFSC/CCSCF), MacDonnell (President of the National Trust Company), N.J. McLean (General Manager of Canada Packers Ltd.), Malcolm W. Wallace (Principal of University College, Toronto), W.J. Gallagher (General Secretary of Christian Social Council, General Secretary World Council of Churches, Canadian committee), John F. Davidson (former chair Executive Committee, Student Christian Movement), Fred Haslam (CFSC/CCSCF), Mrs. H.P. Plumptre (Save the Children Fund and Canadian Red Cross), and A. Scott Montgomery (CCSCF/CFSC). In an effort to “impress upon the Government the ardent desire of the people that everything possible

be done to bring aid to the children and mothers in the occupied countries of Europe,” the letter referred to an informative and popular address given to the Canadian Save the Children Fund by Dr. Kershner, a prominent leader amongst the American Society of Friends, titled ‘How to save starving children of Europe without aiding the Enemy.’⁷⁵

The main argument of this address was threefold. Firstly, it was argued that if the Canadian government did not assist such organizations as the Save the Children Fund in feeding starving children of occupied Europe that as a result “those starving will be so debilitated as to be unable to carry on the race.” If Germans were to maintain a good quality of life for their younger population and the rest of Europe did not, the consequence would be a “robust” Germany ready to be on the offensive once reconstruction was over. Secondly, the transportation was already available for these organizations in Sweden, where it was not allowed for war uses. There would be no way the Germans could interfere with the feeding operations. Thirdly, the ‘Canadian people’ wanted it. Kershner claimed to “have reports of a growing bitterness and alienation from this country as a result of the blockade which might seriously affect the aid that could be given to our arms when the time came, as most certainly the loss of vigor through starvation must affect it.”⁷⁶ In his concluding statement Dr. Kershner made a strong declaration that he was “convinced that the schemes to which I give my support and which have been carefully worked out would not aid the enemy or hinder the war effort.”⁷⁷

Furthermore, Kershner maintained that a lack of relief would lead to a post-war relief catastrophe: “I fear that at the end of the war we shall find a relatively vigorous Germany surrounded by people so weak-

ened by starvation as to present an inevitable drawback to after-war pleas.”⁷⁸ The reaction of the government was less enthusiastic than was expected by the petitioners. Under-Secretary of State Norman Robertson wrote on behalf of the Prime Minister to say that, “Mr. King wishes me to inform you that consideration has been given to this question over a long period and that the possibilities of effective humanitarian action being taken which would not aid the enemy are still under examination.”⁷⁹

In reaction to this formal and unhelpful response from the government, the Canadian Committees of the Save the Children Fund persisted in sending an even more detailed and drawn out letter outlining possible arguments for and against aid to occupied Europe. Most notably, W.L.G. Williams of the CFSC and of the newly formed Quebec Committee of the Save the Children Fund was behind the impetus for this second flanking of the government with pleas for aid to European children. In four pages, Williams provided arguments against sending supplies and food but also provided detailed and expert-supported responses to those arguments. Those consulted included the Belgian Minister to Canada, the Charge d’Affaires of the Netherlands in Ottawa, M. Bonneau (representative of the French Commission of National Liberation), Howard E. Kershner and Clarence Pickett, executive members of the American Friends’ Service Committee (AFSC). The memorandum addressed nine arguments against relief: “Imminence of Invasion”, “The food would be taken by the Germans”, “Germans will take equivalent food”, “Germans will reduce the rations”, “Sufficient shipping is not available”, “It will take a long time to organize distribution”, “It would take a long time to arrange matters with the German government”, “Germans will not agree”, and “Public

campaign might hinder relief later.”⁸⁰

The issues of organization and distribution of the supplies seemed to warrant the most emphatic responses. The emphasis was on co-operation among organizations and the safeguarding of the rations from the Germans. The dire situation was relayed through a cablegram from the Secours Quaker in France,

Children’s health severely menaced, need dire... have negotiated purchases sweetened condensed milk enabling maintain some months supplementary rations for several thousand babies. Program pitifully small considering need ... we greatly desire all friends should know we are to carry on work without interference of any kind we maintain absolute control over all our distribution [sic].⁸¹

The arguments even went so far as to blame the Allied countries for the plight of children in occupied zones. In response to the position that the “Germans will not agree,” it was stated that it was the Germans who told the refugees “that their suffering is due, at least in part, to the actions of the Governments of the UN.”⁸² Lastly, emphasizing for the relief of Belgian and French children, Williams argued that the province of Quebec would see this as a great incentive to ‘help their own.’ Again, the government’s reaction was cool, yet there were some encouraging comments: “the Government of Canada alone cannot decide... the Government has recently renewed its earlier enquiries in London and Washington on the possibility of bringing about some modification of blockade policy so as to permit certain types of supplies to be despatched to Europe for distribution through the International Red Cross.”⁸³

While this response was encouraging, it

did not satisfy Williams. In a final letter, he reiterated the importance of relief and stated that the two provinces of Ontario and Quebec, represented by the Canadian Committee and the Quebec Committee of the Save the Children Fund, shared similar attitudes to the issue. He emphasized the co-operation of not only the two branches, but of the two provinces as well. This unified stance was buttressed by the names of the members who were present during the drafting of the memoranda as well as information regarding an alternative relief proposal. In this alternative, Williams proposed that because of their neutrality that either the Swiss or Swedish would be asked to name directors of 'colonies of children' that could be established in occupied countries. Because these directors would retain absolute control over the colonies, including the rations sent in, "there is no possible way by which an extra crumb can get to the Germans under this system."⁸⁴ This aggressive petition to the government was independent of the British Save the Children Fund and clearly illustrates how the Canadian contingent, while still supportive of the British aims, sought to campaign on behalf of Canadian concerns at a national level.

The conspicuous presence of various members of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund who were also members of the CFSC is not accidental. Combined efforts of the two organizations were especially important in fostering a more independent Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund. In a report on the Save the Children Fund in September 1944, organizing secretary, Scott Montgomery (concurrent member of the CFSC) clearly emphasized a different line from the one past chair, Herbert Mackie, voiced for the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund in the early 1920s.

Instead of close and obligatory ties to the British organization, Montgomery argued, "It is the objective of the Canadian Committee to create a strong purely Canadian link in the International Union. With this purpose in mind the Committee is applying for a Canadian incorporation." Montgomery was confident in the efforts of the Canadian Committee and eagerly anticipated the benefits of incorporation: "Incorporation as a direct member will give us a flexibility that has not been possible in the past."⁸⁵ To clarify his point even further, Montgomery gave a list of objectives for the Fund in 1944. Those were:

1. Continued and increasing war relief and rehabilitation.
2. Recruiting and financing of relief personnel in co-operation with the UNRRA.
3. To support the building up of the International Save the Children Union, on the present basis, but as a much stronger voice for the world peace, which must be kept by what are now the World's Children.
4. A Canadian project for children who would otherwise be neglected by reason of their race, religion or political colour.
5. The sponsorship of a Children's Charter for Canada.⁸⁶

Montgomery clearly saw Canada's role in the international community much more than as a partner to the British cause. In wanting to sponsor a Children's Charter for Canada and promoting projects for Canadian children, the voice of the Committee would become much more "Canadian" than a pro-British appendage to the Save the Children Fund. But, Montgomery's individualistic views were not shared by other members of the execu-

tive at that time and so the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund remained part of the British Fund until 1946, two years after his initial proposal.

By 1946, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund was an autonomous member of the SCIU, meaning that it had become responsible for its own international relief programs and schemes as was outlined in chapter one. The very nature of this autonomy was grounded in the legacy of the British Fund. But, the independence of the Canadian fund was a clarion call of a broader trend in international relief work. With the co-operation of several other organizations in Canada, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund maintained cohesion as a child-saving organization and by the end of World War Two was well-established in the SCIU. Throughout the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund's early history, the ideological tie to Britain remained strong, while administratively the group began to act independently. Through the connection with other organizations like the CFSC, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund was able to come into her own as a distinct international child-saving body, part of a broader British movement based in Geneva.

It must be reiterated here that without the support of the CFSC, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund would have died out. On that same note, the CFSC also recognized the importance of co-operation in order to effectively deliver charity to those that needed it most. In November 1936, CFSC member, Fred Haslam commented that "a joint appeal with the Save the Children Fund in Canada would be more effective than two issued separately by both organizations. This method was adopted with good results in 1922 during the Russian Famine."⁸⁷ The

amount of money raised by the joint appeal was not spectacular, but was enough to maintain the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund through until the Second World War, when there was a marked increase in donations.

One aspect of the joint appeal that was popular and is still in use by many child-saving agencies today is the adoption scheme. While this method was used earlier in the Fund's history it became a popular method of donation under the joint appeal. This method of fund-raising signaled the change in objective of the Fund in Canada from one of mass feeding to one that also 'saved' individual children. In the case of an 'adoption,' one donor was asked to contribute between \$25-50 and in return received a picture and case history of a child in a war-torn country. The emphasis of this appeal was the "personal link of unlimited possibilities ... established between giver and receiver." No longer were donors to the Fund anonymous "Friends," nor were the children part of a faceless mass of destitution.

By late 1944, the joint committee launched a campaign that targeted relief for individual children called "Kits for Europe's Children."⁸⁸ While cash donations dropped, another way in which the joint committee encouraged people to participate in international child-saving was in giving gifts in kind or in preparing home-made packages for individual children. While the cost for each donor decreased, the participation level is increased and thereby legitimized the existence and value of a child-saving agency such as the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund to distribute the gifts. The recipients of relief in this scheme were refugee children from Scandinavian countries in Swedish camps. The "objective is the collection, transportation and distribution of 45,000 complete

wardrobe kits for children up to five years of age who are now sheltered in the UNRRA administrated camps.”⁸⁹ This drive emphasized the “direct contact” between Canadians (mostly ‘needle-women’) and “mothers of ragged refugee children now in camps in Sweden and Egypt.”⁹⁰ Canadians were urged to take the initiative in organizing groups to get donations in order. The appeal was to individual donations and the organization of individual Canadians to help children in Europe.

Can we count on you for a contribution? This may be in the form of a donation, or in the form of a kit. Let us know what you can do. Perhaps you may be able to organize a group of your friends in your community to make a contribution, or to help in a sewing project. We will be glad to send you patterns of the garments to be made. Local retailers and manufacturers may be glad to help, too, if they are asked.⁹¹

Another distinctive feature of this more intimate and individualized form of donation was in the recognition garnered by contributors from the Canadian Committee of the Fund. One Quaker woman, Ella R. Firth (principal of the Quaker school, Pickering College, Newmarket) who gave clothing bundles to the Fund, received a letter of appreciation from the Secretary of the Fund, A. Scott Montgomery. The direct charitable action from a Canadian to a child in Europe was emphasized and Firth was told, “a Friendship Card will be placed with your contribution and it is hoped that you will hear directly from the mother of the child you have helped.”⁹²

One of the lasting benefits of this co-operation between the Quakers and the Canadian Committee of the Save the

Children Fund was the continued support even after the joint committee was officially adjourned. The joint committee was not dissolved because of any ideological dispute, as was the case with their respective English counterparts. In fact it was the increased ‘cross-membership’ of each committee that made a joint committee redundant. In March 1944 the case for shutting down the joint appeal was announced by the CFSC: “It was reported that the former joint arrangement of Canadian Friends Service Committee and the Save the Children Fund Committee was now discontinued, as Friends are represented on the Save the Children Fund Committee.”⁹³ Despite this discontinuance of an official joint appeal, the effects of the ‘friendship’ between the two organizations were positive and substantial to the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund’s relief efforts. By the fall of 1946, the Canadian Save the Children Fund was receiving free air time on local radio stations owned by the Rogers family, the same Rogers who, in 1922, promoted the initial joint appeal of the Quakers and the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund.⁹⁴ It can be seen then that the co-operation with the Quakers was successful for the fund on both charitable and publicity levels, as well as aiding in making the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund’s appeal efforts innovative and consequently effective.

In an article for the publication *Canadian Welfare*, aptly titled “Children of War”, Scott Montgomery (CCSCF/CFSC member) outlined the work of the Save the Children Fund with specific reference to the Canadian Committee’s contributions to the larger international movement.⁹⁵ In a similar fashion as domestic child-welfare advocate, Charlotte Whitton, the rhetoric used was focused on the international aspect of child-saving and clearly credited

Eglantyne Jebb with this philosophy towards child-saving. Montgomery used excerpts from Otto Zoff's work, *They Shall Inherit the Earth* to emphasize Eglantyne Jebb's universal philosophy.⁹⁶

Montgomery used the language familiar to child-savers of the day in that he not only referred to aiding children in distress but also to helping them reclaim what were then considered the "two simple freedoms [of childhood] - just to laugh and play."⁹⁷ Through the use of this rhetoric, Montgomery was alluding to the romanticized ideal of childhood that child-savers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries envisioned. Montgomery asserted that those two 'freedoms' were "the most precious heritage of childhood." This romantic ideal was threatened by the conditions of an increasingly modern world. With the processes of industrialization and globalization, Montgomery argued that those 'freedoms' "are what children of to-day have lost in their long night of suffering." He also used the rhetoric of mental hygienists (some of whom were eugenicists)⁹⁸ in his reference to protecting and helping children that did not fit into the pattern of a 'normal' child, another term adopted from the Declaration. "Without them [freedoms], the world's mentally and physically diseased children will be ripe for a new Hitler or indeed, anyone who offers some flimsy substitute for which they have lost." Montgomery's allusion to the childhood ideal combined with the rhetoric of mental hygienists of the day show how the Canadian Committee was in tune with the movement and was in fact part of it as well.

The radio was another avenue of publicity for the Canadian Fund and these appeals over the airways were started in the early 1940s. Thanks to the connection with the Rogers family, through the Quakers, the Fund was able to secure air space over a 10

week period. In 1946, a series of lectures were given over the airways, one of which was reprinted in the *World's Children*. The lecture, titled "Telling Canada", was important because it was seen as "offering insight into the type of publicity the Canadian Save the Children Fund is receiving."⁹⁹ The article was indicative of rhetoric used earlier in the history of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund. Most of the argument was based on the fact that Canadian children had a better standard of living than those in Europe, and therefore Canadians were obligated to help those less fortunate. Secondly, the impetus for philanthropy resided in the fact that there was no international body to co-ordinate relief efforts.

"United Nations is an ideal we are all setting our hopes on, but we must sadly admit it is not yet functioning." In light of this disparity in humanitarian relief, Mrs. Frank Chamberlain asked, "what happens to the children of Europe?" The answer was in the combined efforts of individual relief agencies such as the Save the Children Fund. Then, in order to appeal to this idea of individual charity, Chamberlain gave the story of how she sponsored a child, "Marcel," by packing a box of foodstuffs each month. She emphasized that the effort to help children en masse was "something I cannot do alone."

Canadian children will not die this winter from starvation or cold. I think it is highly unlikely that large numbers of Canadian children will walk barefoot on the coldest winter days, or will be clad in only thin, torn, ragged clothing. I do not think many children in Canada will be sleeping in caves, or empty buildings, with no mattress under them, and no covering over them. And I

am sure that no Canadian children will be seen roaming the streets like little animals, pouncing on the bits of rotting food which lie in the gutters.¹⁰⁰

Again, the idea that Canada is the “Promised Land” of child-welfare in the Western world is conveyed in order to justify charity to an international cause. This point is argued even further when Chamberlain exclaims that Canadians should be grateful for having their children live in Canada and “not in Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland, Austria, France, because your children live in homes, and not in caves and empty buildings; and because your children have food, clothing and loving care, instead of wearing a tag reading: Lost Child.” The language borrowed from the Declaration of Geneva was a tactic to help persuade the public of the value of the Fund. “Save the Children Fund[‘s]... purpose is ‘to preserve child life wherever and however menaced’. That is your aim toward your own children, isn’t it? – ‘To preserve their lives wherever and however menaced’.”¹⁰¹

Because of the anonymous nature of subscription for individual donors, it is difficult to capture the essence of why one specific person might contribute to the aid of starving children abroad. Yet, *The Canadian Friend*, while offering the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund an avenue of publicity, also was open to contributions from its members. An example of such support can be seen below, with a poem by E.U. Dorland, quite possibly a relative of Aurthur Dorland who was a member of the CCSCF/CFSC joint committee, who wrote in response to the many appeals that were published in *Canadian Friend*.

Starving! that little one
In the first years of childhood!
Can it be that any help of mine
Will come too late
To save him from such misery?
Starving! the desperate plight
Of Europe’s needy little ones.
Can it be that we would close our ears
To hunger’s cry,
Yet daily ask our mercy-gift of bread from
Thee?

Conclusion

The success of the Save the Children Fund in Canada is due to the extensive involvement of several prominent individuals who shaped the identity and direction of the Committee from 1922 to 1946. Several influential citizens who had vested interests in internationalist voluntary philanthropies such as the Friends Service Committee were represented on the Fund’s executive committee. The most prominent examples of these were Fred Haslam, J.W. Copithorne, A. Scott Montgomery and Lloyd Williams. Not only did the Quakers impact upon the CCSCF’s ability to draw in donations from Canadians, but they also contributed to the publicity of the Fund in Canada as well. The participation of the members of the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund to participate in the dialogue of international child welfare advocacy was facilitated through the “press and the pulpit.” The Canadian press as well as the various publications of other organizations, namely the *Canadian Friend*, were vital to the dissemination of the Save the Children Fund’s mission statement and ideology in Canada. As well, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund relied heavily upon the Protestant tradition in Canada as many appeals were made directly through the churches. The ways in which the Fund

were able to appeal to the public were varied and showed a flexibility that was also integral to 'spreading the word' of the Fund. While leaflets and pamphlets found in newspapers were important, so were the audio and visual appeals. Radio broadcasts, thanks to the connection with the Quaker family, the Rogers, were becoming an important part of the publicity campaigns of the Fund in its last years as part of the British Fund. Similarly, the use of heart-wrenching photographs, along with exclamatory headlines were effective in sustaining support for the Fund.

The Canadian Save the Children Fund is still in existence today and enjoys relative success when one considers the plethora of various like-minded organizations at work around the globe.¹⁰² For many, the contemporary relevance of such an organization as the Canadian Save the Children Fund is obvious; it is part of a network of organizations designed to rescue children around the world from poverty, neglect and abuse.¹⁰³ The broader relevance and significance of these organizations can be found in their histories.

Between the years 1922 and 1946, the Canadian Committee of the Save the Children Fund became part of a network of international humanitarian organizations that sought to rescue children "ground in the mills of international dispute." As involvement from individuals grew so did the size of the committee's membership and level of autonomy of the organization as a member of an international community of relief agencies.

Notes:

1. This article has been adapted from Meghan Cameron, *'How the Dominion Heard the Cry': the early history of the Canadian Save the Children Fund, 1922-1946*. MA thesis: University of Guelph,

2001. I am grateful to Linda Mahood for suggesting I write an article and for her guidance throughout the initial project, to Jane Zavitz-Bond for taking an active interest in my research and especially to my great-grandmother, Ada Johnson, who housed me while I conducted research at the Quaker Archive and Reference Library in Newmarket. This article and my graduate thesis have been funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

2. Carolyn Strange did a good survey of the YWCA in Toronto in the context of the moral regulation of young, single and working women in *Toronto's Girl Problem: the perils and pleasures of the city*. See also, Wendy Mitchenson, "The YWCA and reform in the nineteenth century," *Histoire sociale/social history* 12, 24 (November 1979): 368-84. For a study of the emigration of British children to Canada under Dr. Barnardo, see Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

3. There is a biography/history of the early years of the Save the Children Fund, but it is celebratory and not methodologically rigorous. It was written by Edward Fuller, long time member of the fund and editor of the Fund's newsletter, *The World's children*. Fuller, *The right of the child: a social history* (London: Gallancz, 1951).

4. There are several articles written on specific institutions, leaders and laws surrounding child welfare after the establishment of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, 30 May 1921. See the work of R.L. Schnell who has paid particular attention to Canada's first head of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, Charlotte Whitton: "'A Children's Bureau for Canada,'" in Moscovitch and Albert, *The 'Benevolent' State*; "'Making the way more comfortable': Charlotte Whitton's child welfare career, 1920-1948," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17, 4 (1982-3): 33-45; and, "Charlotte Whitton and the 'babies for export' controversy, 1947-48," *Alberta History* 30, 1 (1982): 11-16.

5. Ben Lappin, *The Redeemed Children: the story of the rescue of war orphans by the Jewish community of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963). The author actually stipulates that the book is "part of the literature of the great catastrophe called *churban* literature," p. vi.

6. Dorothy Buxton and Edward Fuller, *White Flame: the story of the Save the Children Fund* and Otto Zoff, *They Shall Inherit the Earth* (New York: John Day Company, 1943). Born in 1890, Otto Zoff was an exiled German writer who lived in and published

out of the United States from the 1930s until his death in 1963. He is the author of books on a diverse array of subjects including, *German theatre today* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1960), *Great composers through the eyes of their contemporaries* trans. and ed. Phoebe Rogoff Cave (New York: Dutton, 1951) and *The Huguenots - fighters for God and Human freedom* (London: George Allen Unwin, 1943).

7. Frank Yeigh, "The Save the Children Fund: A Great Empire Philanthropy," *Social Welfare*, April 1929, p. 155.

8. Frank Yeigh, "Canada's contribution to the Save the Children Fund," *World's Children*, October 1925, p. 15.

9. Edward Fuller, "World-Wide," *World's Children*, May 1922, p. 258.

10. The British Fund should not be considered truly representative body of the British Isles, considering how only England, Scotland and Wales comprised the main body of that fund. The Irish Committee was a separate body of the Save the Children Fund.

11. Eglantyne Jebb, *Cambridge: a brief study of social questions* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1906).

12. Dorothy Jebb and Charles Buxton married in 1904 and became actively involved in political and social issues, particularly with events occurring in Macedonia in the later part of World War One. It was well-known that Dorothy and Charles were pacifist, to such an extent that they joined the Society of Friends (Quakers) in 1917. Another influence on their philosophy can be seen in Charles' membership in the Independent Labour Party (socialist), starting in 1917. Because of her close relationship with both her sister and brother-in-law, Eglantyne was equally concerned with social and political issues of this nature. See chapter 9, "The Buxtons and the Cambridge Magazine," in Francesca M. Wilson, *Rebel Daughter of a Country House: the life of Eglantyne Jebb, founder of the Save the Children Fund* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967), pp. 163-172.

13. "World-Wide," *World's Children*, May 1922, p. 259.

14. Buxton and Fuller, *White Flame*, p. 23.

15. "Extract from a report of the Committee of the Privy Council, Approved by His Excellency the Governor General, February 2 1922, PC 232." NAC MG 28- I, 42. vol 1, article 7, pg. 11.

16. Edward Fuller, "Canada and the Children," *World's Children*, p. 262.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

18. The exclusive aid to foreign children was sometimes a point of contention for potential subscribers to the Fund. In fact, the promoters of the Fund often portrayed Canada's child-welfare program to be one of the best in the world, thereby legitimizing the need to give money for those starving children abroad.

19. Maggie Black, *Children and the Nations: the story of Unicef and Children First: the story of Unicef, past and present* (New York: Oxford University Press, for Unicef, 1996). Mariana Valverde, *The age of light, soap and water: moral reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991).

20. Similar methodology has been employed by Nancy Christie and Neil Sutherland in trying to intellectually contextualize the welfare state and the child welfare system, respectively. Christie argued that she, "attempted to place the ideas of these individuals within the larger stream of culture," in her examination of welfare policy in the first half of the twentieth century. Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: family, work, and welfare in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 11. Neil Sutherland looked at the role of individual reformers, but more important to the present study, was the "series of 'networks' these people had to ties with those in the United States, Britain and Europe who worked for similar goals." This gives evidence of an international component of the child-welfare advocacy movement. See Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: framing the twentieth century consensus* (Toronto: Wilfrid Laurier University Press reissue, 2000), p. ix.

21. C.A. Bowman, "Opportunity to Save Lives," *Ottawa Citizen* 6 February 1922, p. 2. Charles Bowman, editor-in-chief, *Ottawa Citizen*; an editorial commentary on the virtues of providing charity for starving Russian children, December 1921.

22. Protestant churches dominate the appeals at this time, despite the fact that non-Protestant religions were well-represented on the original committee list, including Toronto Rabbi Brickner. Roman Catholics and Jewish contributors were almost non-existent. Mariana Valverde comments on the strong and dominating influence of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in the area of social welfare and reform at this time. See Valverde, *Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, pp. 52-58.

23. Mary Vipond, "Nationalism in the 1920s," in J.M. Bumstead (Ed.), *Interpreting Canada's Past: volume two, post-Confederation, second edition* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 445-

466, as reprinted from "The Nationalist Network: English Canada's Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* V(Spring 1980), pp. 32-52. As case studies, Vipond uses four organizations that reflected the nationalist sentiment found in the intellectual culture of the 1920s. Those organizations included the Association of Canadian Clubs, the Canadian League, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the League of Nations Society in Canada. Vipond defined the constituencies of these clubs to made up of the intellectual elite which was represented by creative artists, writers and university professors.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 447.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 448.

26. Norman Mackenzie, who will be discussed in detail later, was one of the founding members of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA). Several members of the League of Nations Society of Toronto, including J.C. McRuer, Adelaide Plumptre and Mrs. J.W. Bundy.

27. Mackie as quoted in "Russian Famine Most Terrible, Millions Dying," *Ottawa Citizen* 4 February 1922, p. 5.

28. Bowman, "Canada to the rescue," *Ottawa Citizen* 18 March 1922, p. 2.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Sir Philip Gibbs, "Introduction" in Buxton and Fuller, *White Flame*, p. v.

31. *Ibid.*, p. vi.

32. "Special Appeals for Relief Funds Sunday, April 2," *Ottawa Citizen* 13 March 1922, p. 2.

33. "Pulpits to Appeal Save the Children," *Ottawa Citizen* 29 March 1922, p. 3.

34. The domination of the Protestant church in this venture is due, in part, to the very nature of the committee of the Fund at the time. Many Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican (especially out of Montreal) reformers and representatives sat on the committee, but very few Roman Catholics held a seat or were represented. This may account for the deficit in Roman Catholic donations at this time.

35. It should be noted here that the organization of the Canadian Friends' Service Committee was ad hoc and not officially announced as a sub-committee of the Community of Friends. The Canadian Friends' Service Committee was not officially announced as such until 1931.

36. "Russian Famine Relief," *Canadian Friend*, March 1922, pp. 11-12. An additional article describing the joint appeal was published later that summer, "Report of the Friends' Service Committee of Canada, Yearly meeting on European relief work,"

Canadian Friend, August 1922, pp. 10-11.

37. Fred Haslam, "Significance of Quaker Service," Quaker Archives, Fred Haslam Papers, pp. 10-11.

38. For instance, in the *World's Children*, both the British Columbia Committee and the Canadian Committee reported separately on activities within their respective organizations.

39. Frank Yeigh, "Among the Near East refugees: impressions of an eye-witness," *World's Children*, November 1925, pp. 28-29.

40. Frank Yeigh, "The 'Save the Children' Fund," *Canadian Friend*, February 1926, p. 6. Yeigh expounded upon the current events of the British Save the Children Fund who came to the "aid of refugees forced to leave Asia Minor under the innocently worded "Exchange of Population," of the Treaty of Lausanne." Furthermore, Yeigh conveyed the absolutely dire situation that ensued: "This terrible displacement of millions of people has constituted one of the greatest human tragedies in the world's history."

41. *Ibid.*

42. Harry Browne, *Spain's Civil War* (Essex: Longman Group Ltd., 1983), p. 6.

43. There was no official military intervention offered by the respective governments of these countries, but there were individuals who signed up to fight for the Republicans and these groups were called the International Brigades. The two most famous examples of this are the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion from Canada and the Abraham Lincoln Battalion from the United States.

44. Claudena M. Skran, *The Refugee Problem in Inter-War Europe: the emergence of a regime* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 57-8.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

46. Fred Haslam, "The Spanish Crisis," *Canadian Friend*, December 1936, p. 9.

47. "Spanish Relief," Sixth Annual Report of the Canadian Friends Service Committee, 1936-37, Reports and Documents Issued Jointly by Genesee and Canada Yearly Meetings, *Minutes of the Religious Society of Friends: Genesee and Canada Yearly Meetings* (Pickering College, Newmarket Ontario, 1937), p. 60. QA.

48. "Minutes of the meeting of the CCSCF, November 25 1936," NAC MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder 4, article 1.

49. "Minutes of CCSCF meeting regarding Spain, March 3 1937," NAC Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder 4, article 3.

50. "Minutes of Fifth Joint Committee(CCSCF and

FSC), May 14 1937," NAC Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder 4, article 5.

51. "Annual Report of the Secretary, 1937," NAC Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder 4, article 6.

52. J.W. Copithorne, "The Child Always Pays," *Canadian Friend*, June/July 1937, p. 5.

53. For a discussion of the breakdown of the relationship between the British Save the Children Fund and Quaker organizations during the Spanish Civil War, see Farah J. Mendlesohn, "The ethics of Friends' Relief Work in Republican Spain," *Quaker History* 88, 2 (1999), pp. 1-23. For specific reference of the dispute see *idem* pp. 4, 7-11.

54. This bitterness and rivalry was not a new phenomenon amongst international organizations. One such example can be seen in the relationship between the British Red Cross and the Save the Children Fund. In the 1920s, the British RC was reported to have fought "an inglorious campaign against the Save the Children Fund; and, everywhere from Washington to Paris, there had been accusations of fiddling and corruption, laziness and incompetence." See Caroline Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: war, Switzerland, and the history of the Red Cross* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1998), p. 282.

55. John W. Copithorne, "The Child Always Pays," *Canadian Friend* 33, 1 (June/July 1937): pp. 4-5.

56. Annie Louise Yeigh, "Relief For Children," *Canadian Friend* 34, 8 (February 1938): p. 4.

57. Norman Mackenzie, "How Canada Saves the Children: We Co-Operate with Britain and the World," *World's Children*, June 1938, p. 129.

58. "Minutes of the Seventh Joint Committee, June 23 1937," NAC Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, vol 7, folder 4, article 5.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Annie L. Yeigh, Secretary's Annual Report, 1 December 1939-1 March 1941, Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, NAC, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder 4 (minutes and meetings), article 30.

61. In the first two years of the joint appeal on behalf of Spanish children, the joint committee boasted only \$3,000. The rationale given to explain the meager economic showing was explained in the 1938 yearly meeting minutes of the CFSC: "It seems as if the ocean of suffering in these two [including China] countries is quite beyond the power of man to deal with, and the combined efforts of all relief societies and interested Governments touch but a small fraction of the need." "Seventh Annual Report of the Canadian Friends Service Committee," Reports and

Documents issued jointly by Canada and Genesee Yearly Meetings, *Minutes: Religious Society of Friends, Genesee and Canada Yearly Meetings* (Pickering College, Newmarket), 1938-39. P. 57, 53. But, considerable improvement was seen in the next year when, between January and March of 1939, \$2,012.17 was raised on behalf of China and Spain. See Eighth Annual Report of the CFSC, 1938-1939. QA.

62. Annie Yeigh to Norman Mackenzie, 25 January 1944, Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, NAC MG 29, I42, volume 7, folder one, article 49.

63. By 1937, "personality clashes exacerbated what was fundamentally a different ethical stance" in providing relief in Spain. See Farah J. Mendlesohn, "The Ethics of Friends' Relief Work in Republican Spain," *Quaker History* 88, 2 (1999), p. 11.

64. 24 May 1940-5 September 1940, Joint Committee meeting minutes, Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder 4 (minutes and meetings), articles 24-25. Members of the respective organizations were assigned various smaller organizations to solicit for support, including the IODE and Jewish Women's organizations.

65. The idea of refugee children migrating to 'safe' countries was also introduced at the Evian Conference in 1938. In an appendix to a summary of the conference, the Jewish Council of Germany supplied a memorandum and statistical account of present and proposed Jewish migration out of Germany. In a section devoted to "Administrative and Financial Problems of Immigration," the council addressed some possible problems arising out of Jewish migration. Under the sub-heading of "Immigration of children and youth," it was argued that "from the point of view of the receiving country it appears as though the admission of youthful immigrants offers great advantages. Our experience shows that those children will most easily and completely adopt the language and the customs of their new country who had previously been trained with an eye towards the particular circumstances of their country of immigration." There was then an emphasis on the fact that these children would then be productive asset to the receiving country because of their placement with "families willing to take them in or to be trained in schools or institutions." S. Adler-Rudel, "The Evian Conference on the Refugee Question," *Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute* 3 (1968): p. 267.

66. "Letter/report received from Booth January 6 1940 regarding the December 8 1939 informal meeting between President Booth and Mrs. Yeigh regarding co-operation between the Save the

- Children Fund and the CFSC to help refugee children," NAC Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, vol. 7, folder 4, article 22.
67. "Joint Committee of the CCSCF and the CFSC, September 5 1940," NAC Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder 4, article 25.
68. "Canadian National Committee on Refugees and the CCSCF, January 12 1940," NAC Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder 4, article 23.
69. This total is derived from individual subscriptions and does not include the donations by several other organizations including the Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of Canada and Newfoundland (BPOE), the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE), local Councils of Women, and Havergal College, Toronto.
70. Frank Yeigh, "The 'Save the Children' Fund," *Canadian Friend*, February 1926, p. 6.
71. "A Canadian Pledge," *World's Children*, November 1927, p. xxiv.
72. "What the Save the Children Fund is Doing Now," *Canadian Friend* 40, 12 (May 1944), p. 14.
73. Annie Yeigh to Norman Mackenzie, 25 January 1944, Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, NAC MG 29, I 42, volume 7, folder one, article 49.
74. For a list of members who petitioned the government, see Appendix B.
75. *Ibid.*, letter one from McRuer et al to the Prime Minister, W.L.M. King, 18 December 1943.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. Norman Robertson, Under-secretary of State on behalf of Prime Minister W.L.M. King, to James McRuer, chairman of the CCSCF, 24 December 1943 NAC Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder one, article 50, letter two.
80. Letter from Williams et al. to Prime Minister W.L.M. King, 23 January 1944 NAC Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder one, article 50 letter three.
81. Cablegram from Secours Quaker in France to American FSC, sent from Lisbon, 11 December 1943 in Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, NAC, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder one, article 50, letter 3, part 6.
82. *Ibid.*, part 8.
83. Confidential letter from Prime Minister W.L.M. King to Quebec Save the Children Fund co-chair Lloyd Williams, 5 February 1944, Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, vol. 7, folder 1, article 50, letter 5.
84. Letter from Quebec Save the Children Fund Lloyd Williams to Prime Minister W.L.M. King, 22 February 1944, Canadian Save the Children Fund Fonds, NAC, MG 28, I 42, volume 7, folder 1, article 50, letter 6.
85. Scott Montgomery, "Rehabilitation- Save the Children," *Canadian Friend* 41, 4 (September 1944), pp. 11-12.
86. *Ibid.*
87. QA, Fred Haslam to Fred J. Tritton (English FSC), November 21 1936, Papers of CFSC General Secretary.
88. "Kits for Europe's Children," *Canadian Friend*, February 1945, pp. 5-7. The appeal was also advertised and promoted in "'Kits for Europe's Children' Drive Launched in Toronto," *Globe and Mail* 11 November 1944, p. 11.
89. "'Kits for Europe's Children' Drive Launched in Toronto," *Globe and Mail*.
90. *Ibid.*
91. "Kits for Europe's children," *Canadian Friend*, p. 6.
92. Letter from A. Scott Montgomery, Honourary Secretary CCSCF to Ella Firth, April 2 1945, Box 1 of 2, "Correspondence - Canadian correspondence, 1945-48," QA, Ella Rogers Firth Papers.
93. "Minutes of the Executive committee of the CFSC, 18 March 1944, Hamilton YMCA," QA, Papers of the General Secretary of the CFSC.
94. This appeal tactic was "most successful according to officials." According to then secretary, R.T. Tanner, the radio broadcasts afforded "a straight appeal for the Save the Children Fund" from "well-known organisations in the city... and some outstanding figures in literary, radio or civic circles," and thereby increased the likelihood of subscription and charitable success for the Fund in Canada. This appeal over the airways was an intensive 10-week campaign that was broadcast over Toronto radio station, CKEY, a station owned and operated by the prominent Quaker family, the Rogers. For an example of the type of broadcast given during these time slots on behalf of the Save the Children Fund, see Mrs. Frank Chamberlain, "Telling Canada," *World's Children*, November 1946, pp. 214-15.
95. Scott Montgomery, "Children of War," *Canadian Welfare*, April 15 1945, pp. 21-25.
96. Otto Zoff, *They Shall Inherit the Earth* (New York: John Day Company, 1943). Zoff was heavily influenced by Jebb's vision of child-welfare on an international level. In his bibliography, Zoff cited

several Save the Children Fund publications as well as personal publications by Jebb, including "The Geneva Congress on Child Welfare; an Impression," *Child Life*, October 1925, and her *Save the Child; a Posthumous Essay* edited by D.F. Buxton, 1929. As well as drawing from Save the Children Fund literature including Dorothy Buxton and Edward Fuller's *The White Flame; the Story of the Save the Children Fund* and various articles from the official journal of the Fund, *The World's Children*, Zoff also relied heavily on publications of other organizations as well. These included the *American OSE Review*, *The Junior Red Cross Journal*, the American Friends Service Committee's *Bulletin on Relief in France* and *Bulletin on Refugees Abroad and at Home* and the Boy Scout Association's *Weekly News Bulletin*. Zoff got most of his information from the official reports of the League of Nations including, *Protection of Children; Report of the Fifth Committee to the Fifth Assembly*, Geneva, 1924; Reports of the Child Welfare Committee; *Minutes of the First, Second and Third Sessions*, Geneva, 1925-27 and the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, *Minutes of the Third Session, Held at Geneva from April 7 to 11, 1924*.

97. Montgomery, "Children of War," *Canadian Welfare* 21, 1 (April 15 1945): p. 23. All proceeding quotations in this paragraph will be from this piece.

98. For a discussion of the incorporation of the terms "mental hygiene" and "eugenics" under the same heading in a Canadian context see chapter five, "The Canadian National Committee: the politics of privilege," in Theresa Richardson, *The Century of the Child: the mental hygiene movement and social policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 59-107; and, Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*.

99. Mrs. Frank Chamberlain, "Telling Canada," *World's Children*, November 1946, pp. 214-15.

100. *Ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*

102. International child-saving organizations in Canada are numerous and all reflect similar goals and ideologies. Two examples can be found in World Vision Canada and Foster Parents Plan.

103. The relevance of such organizations is showcased by newspapers consistently. Recently, the *Globe and Mail* included a special marketing supplement for Foster Parents Plan. This six page supplement included articles on the AIDS epidemic and its impact on orphans, various 'success' stories of children who were helped by the organization, and pro-

files of young children 'awaiting funding.' See "Foster Parents Plan: investing one future at a time," *Globe and Mail* Wednesday 13 December 2000, pp. F1-6.

Trying To Serve God in the Spirit of Christ: The Canadian Friends Service Committee in the Vietnam War Era

Kathleen Hertzberg

Paper given at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the CFHA

My reflections are on Quaker life in Canada as it refers to the work of the Canadian Friends Service Committee from about 1955 to the end of the Vietnam/Indo-China War in 1975 - a period which we are attempting to revisit at this annual meeting. We are not writing history per se. I want to keep my reflections in the context of the Quaker faith and, in particular, the Society of Friends in Canada during that period.

When we (myself from England, Fritz from Germany) came to Canada as immigrants in 1951 with our small family, Friends in Canada were in the process of becoming a unified Yearly Meeting. The three branches united in 1955 to become Canadian Yearly Meeting. The centre of Quakerism was in Ontario where the main settlements of Friends had been established at the time of the American War of Independence. It was Quakers from the British North American colonies who brought Quakerism to Upper Canada (Ontario).

At the time of unification in 1955, rural meetings were dying out in places which Quakers had pioneered. Friends were moving to urban areas, in particular to Toronto, with Friends House becoming the centre of Quakerism in Canada. Unification combined the spiritual strength, tradition and faith of the remnants of 19th century Quakerism. Not all Meetings joined the unified Canadian Yearly Meeting in 1955 and the question of articulating a shared faith was difficult (and continues to be so after 40 years). The total membership of the

unified Yearly Meeting in 1955 was just over 500.

New strength came from immigrant Friends from Europe after the war; from London Yearly Meeting, or from small Yearly Meetings on the continent (Germany and Holland). Their experience of Quakerism was in Yearly Meetings which had not separated in the 19th century, notwithstanding the century of theological differences in London Yearly Meeting, and that some Friends from England had been influential in triggering the Separations in North America.

The post-war immigrant Friends from Britain had gone through the traumatic experience of being Quakers in war-torn Europe and some in Nazi Germany. They had been conscientious objectors and had participated in Quaker service during and after the war. Those from the continent of Europe had lived under the Nazi regime. Their experiences had been even more challenging to their Quaker Faith. These Friends had idealistic expectations of life and work in and through the Society of Friends in Canada. The historical and still existing separate Canada Yearly Meetings up to 1955 seemed unQuakerly to them. They found genuine Quakers in all three branches and they received a warm welcome and assistance in settling into their new country.

The Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) was founded by members from the three Canada Yearly Meetings in 1931, under the impetus of Young Friends. Some of the Young Friends

had served abroad in the Friends Ambulance Unit in China and India. After the war ended and they returned to Canada, they were a source of strength towards unity. Friends who had worked together in the Canadian Friends Service Committee since before the Second World War had made CFSC an active and strong Quaker Service Organisation. In 1955 when the three branches united to become Canadian Yearly Meeting, the Canadian Friends Service Committee became a committee of Canadian Yearly Meeting (not an independent Quaker Service organization like the American Friends Service Committee). Thus CFSC is subject to the guidance of Canadian Yearly Meeting. Interaction between the Service Committee and Yearly Meeting in witness and service is essential.

At the time of the Vietnam War most of the Friends appointed to CFSC came from Central Canada. Toronto Monthly Meeting, the largest in Canada at the time, was active in CFSC and provided office space both for CFSC and Canadian Yearly Meeting. The work of the CFSC attracted not only Friends from traditional Quaker Meetings, but also recent members and attenders.

The main efforts of CFSC in the fifties were directed towards the Doukhobors in Western Canada, the abolition of Capital Punishment, disarmament and peace (with the other Peace Churches), atomic weapons, the "Cold War", refugees and displaced persons in Europe, as well as for the plight of Canada's native people. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize jointly to Friends Service Council (London) and American Friends Service Committee (Philadelphia) for "Friends silent service from the nameless to the nameless" was widely known.

Then began the unfolding of Canadian Friends' concern and service in response to the tragedy of the American War in Vietnam and the tremendous impact of that

war. In 1964 I became chairman (clerk) of the Canadian Friends Service Committee. I had ten years of Quaker Service, pre-war, during the war and after the war in devastated Europe. I had been a conscientious objector when women were called up in 1942. The religious basis of Quaker witness and service had been important to me as a Young Friend who felt called to give Quaker service and this has been my "way of looking at this world, of living in this world and of changing this world" as I have participated in Quaker life and work. There will be three points on my experience with CFSC which I will elaborate on in this article:

- 1) the Peace Education Program and Grindstone Island Peace Education Centre.
- 2) the Vietnam Medical Aid Program.
- 3) Draft Resisters and Deserters in Canada.

Peace Education Program

I had just been appointed when CFSC felt led to establish a Peace Education Program. The "Cold War" tensions, atomic weapons, rearmament, post-Colonial conflicts around the world and in Canada (Quebec, Canadian Indians) weighed heavily upon the spirits of Canadian Friends. A timely offer of service was received from Murray Thomson, a well-qualified and experienced social worker who had participated in the Quaker South-East Asian Seminars. Almost simultaneously a Canadian, Diana Wright, offered her island in the Rideau Laker near Ottawa to the CFSC as a Peace Education Centre which CFSC accepted.

Though it could only be used in the summer months, for ten years Grindstone became a Centre of experimentation and

learning in a way which did not seem to be done anywhere else. There were encounters which would not have taken place otherwise. Distinguished resource people, Canadian American and Vietnamese participated in the programs. The programs centered on the Peace Testimony, training in non-violence, conferences for diplomats, peace research, French-English Canadian dialogues, the Vietnam War and the famous socio-drama, "Thirty-One Hours". Between 1965 and 1969, over 1600 adults and 300 children participated in the various Peace Education Programs on Grindstone Island. Participation from the United States was quite substantial. The programs were organised by Murray Thomson who completed seven years of fruitful service, especially during the Vietnam war years, as CFSC Peace Education Secretary with the help of a Peace Committee chaired by Ursula Franklin.

The peace agenda and the anti-war agenda were not always identical. The programs were not only about ending the Vietnam War. The war in Vietnam hung over the work of peace education as a very real war which affected us all. It was the ever-present challenge for the understanding and application of the Quaker Peace Testimony and the longing to "stop the war now." Of course, people from the US were attracted to Grindstone Island. It was an important experience in training in non-violence for young people.

When CFSC Programs on Grindstone Island were laid down, the Canadian Peace Research Institute (now the Dundas Peace Research Institute), under the direction of Alan and Hannah Newcombe, continued their groundwork for peace. Later a peace co-op ran the island.

Vietnam Medical Aid Program

Concern for the suffering of the people of Vietnam on all sides of the conflict arose early amongst Canadian Friends and others in Canada. It was the first time that TV had brought war into the homes of people everywhere. Canada had outstanding reporters whose reports moved many - the bombing, the napalm, the use of defoliation chemicals, the destruction of villages, the wounding, maiming and death, were all brought home to us. The war in Vietnam hung over the work of Peace Education as a real war in the world which affected us all. It was the concern of some Friends on CFSC to join others in protesting the war. American draft resisters, who participated in Grindstone Island programs, were seen as exiles from an unjust and cruel war.

Everywhere it was an era dominated by the politics of the Cold War, and Canada was no exception. The United States and the Soviet Union were the main protagonists. The Canadian Government would have liked to have remained neutral. However, the Canadian public was almost as divided as the American public in its opinion about the threat of Communism and the justification for the war in Vietnam. Canadians also joined the U.S. Forces and fought in Vietnam.

The "protest movement" was the atmosphere in which the CFSC Medical Aid Program had to function. An "endemic" anti-American feeling had also arisen from the use of the atomic bomb, atomic testing, the Korean War, Cuba, the use of force in Latin America, and, not least, the American intervention in Vietnam. In the McCarthy Era, Communism had been portrayed in the US as "the devil incarnate" and sympathisers were punished. People from the "New Left" applauded CFSC's action, not only the medical aid program to all parts of Vietnam, but also our Statements to Government. The "Teach-ins" were a useful means of public

education. Concerned Canadians did not hesitate to convey to their own government their opposition to the Vietnam war; neither did Quakers. Already in 1966 Canadian Yearly Meeting issued a public statement which also went to the Canadian Government. The Canadian Security Investigation Service did surveillance of university and high school students and others, at that time.

Young people were enthusiastic about the music of the Beatles and Joan Baez - some of it moving and expressive of the longings of youth. We experienced it with our own children as they attended the Mariposa Folk Festivals in droves. Young Friends were also captivated. They protested, helped wherever they could, meeting U.S. Friends and others at border crossings to accept medical supplies and money for the CFSC Vietnam Medical Aid Program. A highlight was in 1969 when a group of Canadian Young Friends met U.S. Young Friends with Mennonites and Brethren on a bitterly cold day in January on the Peace Bridge at Fort Erie to accept funds for the Medical Aid Program. They attended Grindstone Island seminars (especially non-violence training). The use of drugs was a concern to parents. A visiting US professor lecturing at Grindstone Island, promoted the use of LSD. It was popular in some circles to be a "Peacenik" - the public did not always differentiate! Quakers sometimes seemed to the public to be part of the "fashionable groundswell"!

The Medical Aid Program was a labour of love embarked upon with dedication, careful planning and execution. To do so proved to be difficult in the prevailing atmosphere, and in the knowledge that our efforts could only meet a very small part of the great and ever-growing need. However, it was not to be a token "band-aid" but an expression of Quaker witness against war,

care for the victims of war and a desire that the war would end. Friends and other Canadians who supported the program, just wanted to do good relief work in the Quaker tradition. There were no less than 72 Friends on the Service Committee and many others who participated and who contributed financially to the Vietnam Medical Aid Program.

Canadian Friends were aware of their special responsibility as citizens of a country which is a neighbour of the United States to the south and of the Soviet Union in the far north. Canada was a member, although an ambivalent one, of the International Control Commission for Vietnam. The widespread concern and compassion for the people of Vietnam led the Service Committee to embark on a Program to send aid to people in all parts of Vietnam regardless of political affiliation.

In 1964 a meeting for Worship, called by the Toronto Monthly Meeting Peace Committee, gave the first spiritual impulse, but asked Canadian Friends to be clear on the issues. The concern was presented to CYM in 1964, which made a strong statement of sympathy with the people of Vietnam and pointed to the dangers of escalation of the war to other parts of South East Asia. Sent to the Government, this statement said: "We believe it to be the moral duty of the Canadian Government towards the United States to strongly oppose this policy in Vietnam. To do so would be an act of friendship, fulfilling also our duty to the people of Vietnam and to the world."

In 1965 CFSC organized a Conference on Vietnam at Carlton University, Ottawa. The Conference called upon Canada to be a reconciler and to send aid to the victims on all sides of the conflict. The Conference also asked CFSC to set up a program of practical aid to all parts of Vietnam and to organize local groups across Canada to seek

public support and donations, as well as the support of church groups, labour and others. Over the period of the Medical Aid Program CFSC benefited greatly both morally and financially from the support and contributions of people in all walks of life. The Conference also sent Dr. Vo Thanh Minh and two Canadians on a Peace Mission to Vietnam where Dr. Vo was imprisoned in South Vietnam.

As CFSC gathered strength towards the organization of a Medical Aid Program to Vietnam, fifteen Canadian Friends attended the Friends World Conference in Greensboro, North Carolina. The Conference heard movingly from U Thant. A statement was issued on the Vietnam War which greatly moved and inspired those Friends present and confirmed CFSC in its endeavours to send impartial medical aid. The statement also encouraged Friends to help stop the war but to keep the spiritual and religious leading and inspiration.

CFSC made efforts to establish the need in all parts of Vietnam, firstly through consultations with the Canadian Red Cross, who in turn enquired through the International Red Cross to the Russian Red Cross about how to get relief supplies to all parts of Vietnam.

The program was launched after prayerful deliberation with the sincere desire to express the religious basis of Quaker relief work as an expression of Christian compassion, the witness against war, and the positive motivation of the Peace Testimony. The first brochure was published in September 1966 with the following statement of purpose:

We, members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada, feel moved to send medical aid to the non-combatant sufferers in the present tragic war in Vietnam. We believe all wars are contrary to the Will and Spirit of God as against the

sacred purpose of man's existence on earth. We are moved by Christian love to act now by sending a practical contribution of medical aid for the healing of the wounds of innocent fellow men in all parts of Vietnam, regardless of political, religious or ideological barriers. We appeal to all men of goodwill, wherever they may be, to assist us in this work of mercy, which, with God's help, may bring the spirit of reconciliation and peace into the hearts of men.

This statement was a modification of the statement of purpose issued by London Yearly Meeting for their aid program to all people on all sides of the conflict in the Franco-Prussian War, the time when the Quaker Star was born! The brochure was also used for fund-raising.

Through the good offices of the Canadian and the International Red Cross, permission was received to ship our first deliveries of medical supplies aboard the Russian vessel *Alexander Pushkin* which docked regularly in Montreal.

Three large consignments of carefully chosen medical supplies were prepared - all labelled with the Quaker Star. Members of CFSC, Montreal and U.S. Friends met the *Alexander Pushkin* in the docks in Montreal with two of the packages: one addressed to the Red Cross of North Vietnam and the other to the Red Cross of the National Liberation Front (PRG); the third parcel was mailed at the main Post Office in Montreal addressed to the Red Cross of South Vietnam. The supplies on the *Alexander Pushkin* travelled via Moscow to Hanoi and were acknowledged by Mme. Tran Thi Dich of the North Vietnamese Red Cross. In time we received photos showing the supplies being unpacked.

A press release was issued prior to the distribution of packages and it was made clear that we were sending impartial aid to suffering people on all sides of the conflict.

Following the deliveries a Meeting for Worship was held in the Montreal Meeting House. The message arising out of the worship was that no matter how dedicated the efforts of human beings may be the blessing can come from God alone.

Back in Toronto CFSC diligently pursued plans to extend the program. By now we knew which drugs were needed from our contact with the Vietnamese Red Cross. Over time the list of drugs and supplies requested included penicillin, streptomycin, surgical instruments, maternity kits, medical textbooks in French and school supplies.

The medical supplies and drugs were often manufactured in Canada by Canadian subsidiaries of American pharmaceutical companies who soon informed us that they could not fill our orders because of restrictions under the U.S. "Trading with the Enemy" regulations. We appealed to Canadian pharmaceutical companies, to drug stores, hospitals and Canadian physicians to donate drugs. The United Church of Canada shared their Medical Aid Distribution Centre with CFSC, so that the drugs and other supplies could be sorted and repackaged under the care of their physician-in-charge and Dr. Vivian Abbott, a member of Toronto Meeting who, with Dr. Ed Abbott had given many years of service at the Friends Rural Centre in Rasulia, India.

Friends, including Young Friends, worked diligently at the Centre, sorting and packing medical supplies and drugs. The Centre did not prove to be the most useful in the long run and the other churches pulled out.

CFSC appointed Frank Dingman as Director of the Medical Aid Program. He went twice to Hanoi to consult with the North Vietnamese Red Cross.

The Program soon benefited from the frustration which some American Friends

and pacifists and other concerned people felt when the U.S. Government prohibited the sending of aid to the "enemy" and refused export permits for the transfer of money and supplies to CFSC. AFSC had already established the Quang Nai Rehabilitation Centre in South Vietnam, an important contribution to the healing of the wounds of war. The eagerness of some American Friends and others to circumvent the U.S. regulations resulted in some moving and strange experiences. When parcels and cheques addressed to CFSC were stopped by the U.S. post office and by both U.S. and Canadian banks, some Friends sent parcels and cheques to me personally and to other Friends. This became public and the newspaper headline ran: "Mrs. Hertzberg's main aim is to get aid to the Viet Cong."

CFSC set aside some funds for reconstruction in Vietnam and a register was compiled of people willing to serve there but no opportunity ever arose.

By 1969 CFSC had ceased to collect, purchase or ship supplies from Canada. Arrangements were made instead to use the facilities of Quaker Peace and Service in London, England, and for transportation through a shipping company in London under the care of the British Committee for Aid to Vietnam. Canadian funds were sent to London which included, on one occasion, a large grant from Oxfam Canada. The London Quaker Conference on Aid to Vietnam agreed that all Quaker supplies from wherever they came would be labelled "QUAKER SERVICE -VIETNAM" in English and French. This arrangement continued until the end of the war.

CFSC funds were also sent to the Vietnamese Overseas Buddhist Association in Paris, France to train young Vietnamese for social work in Vietnam at the Buddhist School of Social Service in Paris.

CFSC asked the Canadian Government to intervene for the release of imprisoned Buddhist leaders in Saigon, in particular the Ven. Thic Thien Minh.

When the program wound down, and the American army withdrew from Vietnam, we estimated that medical supplies of various kinds had been sent to the value of approximately \$300,000. In this total were many gifts from individual American Friends, especially through "A Quaker Action Group", and also from AFSC. Canadian Friends welcomed this practical support from American Friends. CFSC accepted funds in support of the Medical Aid Program and offered friendship and solidarity to them in their pacifist stand against the war. CFSC said: "We are not encouraging U.S. citizens to contribute but we are willing to accept donations from wherever they may come."

In a Statement at the 1969 London International Friends Conference on Vietnam, Ross Flanagan of "A Quaker Action Group" said:

We wish to send supplies from people of goodwill in the United States to the victims of the war in all parts of Vietnam. The voyage of the vessel *Phoenix* carrying medical aid is a public witness and an act of disobedience.

He asked:

should AFSC commit civil disobedience to aid suffering people in all parts of Vietnam? Has AFSC's image at home suffered because it has not done so? A Quaker Action Group fulfils the concern of Young Friends of North America - they want an international Quaker organization under which they can serve.

On one occasion Murray Thomson and

I were interviewed by a reporter from the Russian daily newspaper "Pravda" in the breakfast room of the Royal York Hotel in Toronto. He wanted to know about the Medical Aid Program to help victims of the war on all sides of the conflict. He found it surprising that people could have religious motivation for what seemed to him to be a political act. He asked us: "Who do you think you are - Don Quixote?" In explaining the religious basis of Quaker work we referred to Quaker work in Russia during the famine in the twenties.

Another initiative was to interview representatives of the Canadian External Affairs Department in Ottawa who were responsible for Canadian participation in the International Control Commission for Vietnam. Canadian planes flew regularly into Hanoi, but our request to have CFSC medical supplies put on Canadian planes received a frosty refusal. They claimed it would interfere with their neutrality.

However, it was not the intention of CFSC to make the Vietnam Medical Aid Program the main service of CFSC. In 1968 a minute of the 37th Annual Meeting said: "Relief is not a solution but a way in which Canadian Friends can demonstrate their concern for the suffering people in all parts of Vietnam. We are challenged by the many aspects of our General Program: this is especially so in our Vietnam Medical Aid Program which relieves only a very small part of the tragic suffering and misery in Vietnam. We pray for Divine Guidance to us and to others in search for ways to bring peace to Vietnam and for the courage to act as we are led."

Some outside the Society considered the CFSC Medical Aid Program to be facile and unendurably idealistic. There was a danger that the religious message would get lost and that our work as a religious society would "get off track." No doubt this is an

ever-present danger whenever Friends feel led to act in the world.

It was difficult to make it clear that the program was not civil disobedience for Friends. It brought CFSC tremendous publicity and brought us into the national lime-light - we had to "bite our way through" - endeavouring to make our witness and work clear. And there was not much point in saying "it couldn't happen here". The Quebec Crisis in 1970, when the War Measures Act was invoked by the Liberal Government, showed that we had problems in Canada though they were not as immediate, grave or polarised as in the United States.

A 1970 Survey of Interests of Canadian Friends in relation to service work and concerns revealed that relief and medical aid were well down on the list. Peace and reconciliation headed the list, followed by Canadian Indians and Inuit, young people, community development, mental health, civil liberties, work camps and finally, relief and medical aid and immigration.

It was evident that support would continue for the Friends Rural Development Centre in India, to which Canadian Friends had been committed for many years, along with FSC London.

After the Medical Aid Program was laid down by CFSC, concern about the aftermath of the war did not end. With the help and support of CFSC, Nancy Pocock (who died in March 1998) went four times to Vietnam and CFSC continued to send some aid. A small clinic on the Mekong Delta is named the "Nancy Pocock Clinic".

During all these years, Friends were thankful for the dedicated and efficient service rendered by a series of well qualified Friends who served as general secretary.

Transnational Quaker Service

Arising from the Friends World Conference in Greensboro in 1967, Canadian Friends were attracted by the hope expressed for the development of a Transnational Quaker Service and saw the Vietnam Medical Aid Program in that light - as an opportunity for Friends around the world to work for a unified Quaker effort to help the people of Vietnam. To some extent this did in fact come about at a London Conference at which representatives were present from Quaker Peace and Service, AFSC, Australian Friends and CFSC. CFSC saw the service which each national Quaker organization was able to render to the suffering people of Vietnam within the circumstances in which each national Quaker service body could operate, as a component of the international community of Friends witness and service to fellow human beings. We were thankful to be able to participate in that service and welcomed the Mission and Service Conferences which took place.

Throughout the period under review, and of course since, the Service Committees exchanged information and made plans to send Quaker delegations to Hanoi and engaged in efforts to mediate an end to the war. They shared in the talks held with Vietnamese delegations in Vienna and Paris regarding the U.S. bombing and an end to the war.

One of the aims of this conference was to examine the impact of the Vietnam War experience on the Society of Friends at the Yearly and Monthly Meeting levels and in the case of Canadian Friends, on the Canadian Friends Service Committee.

Draft Resisters and Deserters

This section will deal with the general impact of U.S. draft resisters and deserters

and how some of them related to the Society of Friends in Canada. First, a few general comments.

Canada had no military draft. Canada became synonymous with "freedom" for thousands of draft resisters and deserters. There was a steady stream through to the late 1960"s. There was no extradition treaty between Canada and the US for draft resisters and deserters. They could be admitted to Canada as immigrants and were subject only to the usual requirements - the points system, which included: skill, education and the needs of the economy, as well as adaptability to Canadian life. Most such applicants were English speaking, college educated and in professional or occupational training. Up to 1967 they could cross the border as visitors and apply for landed immigrant status from within Canada but after that date they had to apply from outside Canada. The Liberal Government was neutral about draft resisters, harassment by police and immigration officials was negligible and on the whole their presence aroused relatively little controversy. Counselling groups and a network of support groups were formed across Canada, especially in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

Deserters presented a more difficult situation. The Canadian Government did not, of course, publicize the fact that deserters could also be admitted as immigrants and many thought they had to go to Europe. By 1969 it was virtually impossible for deserters to cross into Canada and some were even deported. Many deserters were working class and scored much lower in the points system. Whereas middle class draft resisters could score 71 points (21 above the 50 needed), an unskilled deserter could only score on average 44 points.

In 1972 this liberal immigration policy almost lost the election for then Prime

Minister Pierre Trudeau and newer, tighter immigration regulations were introduced which made it impossible to apply for landed immigrant status from within Canada. This practically closed Canada as a haven for draft resisters and deserters.

In the Second World War, British conscientious objectors were in a moral dilemma about the evil of the Nazi regime and the wrongfulness of war, whereas in the Vietnam War it was clear to conscientious objectors that the cause and the violence of war were both wrong. The Vietnam War was a "Cold War" conflict. The Peace Constituency became dissidents and individuals became conscientious objectors and opponents of the war. US draft resisters and deserters were fortunate that there was somewhere to which they could escape. German pacifists had nowhere but death to escape the draft during the Nazi regime.

In our discussions with Quaker Peace workers from the US who came to Canada to investigate the situation, we often found that conscientious objection to war and violence and their rejection of the cause for which the United States was supposed to be waging the war in Vietnam deeply motivated them; but, they were also motivated by a feeling that the war in Vietnam offended their understanding of the "American Dream".

A few Young Friends were amongst those who came to Canada as draft resisters. It is assumed that the number was low because it was less difficult for members of the Society of Friends to get Conscientious Objector status. Some who came to Canada participated in Friends Meetings. A few young people became members of the Society of Friends later on. A recent attempt to identify those who are still active members of the Society of Friends in Canada today has proved more difficult. Only a rough count could be made, but

there are probably about 60 in various meetings across Canada today. Some are active, dedicated and helpful in the life of their Meetings and in Canadian Yearly Meeting. A Friend commented: "the fact that so few joined is a sobering thought! None of us would want to label them 'Americans' now. Friends who came from the United Kingdom, tend to me more 'conservative' than those from the United States."

However, an 18-year old draft resister who came to Canada thirty years ago, will have matured, made a career and have raised a family in Canada but will still have strong connections with the United States, having family there and perhaps a kind of "double vision" about life in the two countries. This would also apply, of course, to the millions of immigrants from many other countries who have entered Canada in the past thirty years. During that time the population has greatly increase from 24 to 34 million. Canada has become a multi-ethnic country and nowhere is that more visible than in Toronto or Vancouver.

Our Meetings are often a reflection of this ethnic diversity and an enrichment to us. Through integration, we may become a harmonious community of Friends, not always without friction because people do have different backgrounds, understandings and experiences. But we recognise that the teaching ministry is essential to our growth in faith beyond our diversity. A Friend once commented that the country of origin of a person could be detected by the accent but even this changes as the next generation comes along. Personally I have never centered on the "national" background of a Friend or Attender. In a Quaker Meeting we are working towards, perhaps longing for, a fellowship of shared faith and action under God's guidance. It is only in times of conflict or change that "national" aspirations are noticeable or sometimes obvious.

Therefore we should not emphasize our different backgrounds or origins but recognize what it is that unites us in our common Quaker-Christian Faith (the Golden Thread from the 17th century), careful not to point fingers at differences which, by fate, have brought us into the Quaker community. Time passes and national backgrounds and country of origin blends into the new community. Cultural traditions can be an enrichment.

Canadian Friends assisted in the Aid and Advisory Centres established by the draft resisters themselves. As part of the supportive network, Quaker families took the young men into their homes, counselling them and helping them to adjust to their new country. Part of this network was the Toronto Ecumenical Counselling Service on which the CFSC Peace Education Secretary served. The Toronto Anti-Draft Program's "Manual for Draft-Age Immigrants to Canada" went through six editions and sold 25,000 copies.

Numbers differ on the number of draft resisters and deserters who immigrated because the Canadian Immigration Statistics did not distinguish between the reasons why US citizens emigrated to Canada. It is estimated that 18,000-25,000 draft resisters and 10-12,000 deserters entered the country. Of course, Friends and others from the United States had been settling in Canada prior to the American intervention in Vietnam because of the prevailing atmosphere in the US.

Another Friend commented that some Friends who came to Canada from the United States during the Vietnam War and who have remained in Canada, seem to live "withdrawn" "private" lives, somewhat disengaged from public life - not joining. She added that this may be a loss to Canadian Yearly Meeting today, whilst others are very active, not at all reticent. A Friend

family who came to Canada from England around that time said the war in Vietnam was not a burning concern for them at that time but rather the terrible things which were happening in Northern Ireland.

The general atmosphere of opposition to the war affected Canadian life to some extent. CFSC received letters from people who said that Quakers should disassociate themselves from opposition to the war. There were extreme positions. At times, the opposition to the war threatened to become violent - the "sit-ins", Peace Marches, demonstrations outside U.S. embassies and consulates. In the last resort, there was a danger that the religious message of Friends would get lost and our work would "get off track".

A decade later, a Friend met with officials of the Canadian Immigration Department to discuss a proposal made at CYM which asked that young Americans who consciously objected to registration in any future draft, should be admitted to Canada as refugees. The officials pointed out that refugees were those who faced immediate threats to their lives which cannot be said of young Americans. They could only be admitted as immigrants.

I had dinner a few weeks ago with a Vietnamese young woman who came to Canada as a Vietnamese boat person. In our sharing about CFSC Medical Air Program she said: "It is important to me to know that somebody cared."

"We had to recognize the separate identity of Canadian Friends from American Friends. Our meetings have been successful in succeed into all of this, I think beyond their proper place. This involvement has precluded Canadian Friends from attending to matters which are germane to us. As US Friends must

protest because of the special involvement of their government, so Canadian Friends should be specially concerned for the activities of our government. Though we may have to protest Canadian industrial involvement in armaments our major emphasis should be on the positive side of our Quaker Peace Testimony. Those things which must be done in the present world order to diminish the occasion for war. In this regard our government has spoken out but has not done much. It can do no more than the Canadian public wish and it is here where our role might be. Perhaps our Peace Testimony should be devoted to educating the Canadian people ... to pay African and South American more for their products. We cannot afford such a high standard of living if our fellow human being is living below human dignity. There are seeds of war which are in all of us. It is a far tougher assignment than the popular protest against war and government coercion. The Canadian Government is in a position to be heard internationally and Canadian Friends to be heard in Canada. Friends are good at talking to government through chosen individuals and feeling smug as a result. What is wanted is a movement away from US protest and involvement and a personal campaign by every Friend at the grass-roots level to influence neighbour and fellow Canadians. Such a campaign could build a vital and significant body of Friends in Canada which would be worth working for and which might be enough to overcome our smalltime differences in words and outlook."

Conclusion: Religious Experience and the Quaker Process

If you are not convinced about the religious experience, or have not had experienced it, you may think Quaker work can be done in another way. We had to cope with strongly left-wing people who were involved in the work - political activists who were emotionally on one side. But as a Quaker you cannot be neutral about the suffering of any of the victims of conflict.

Bibliography:

CFSC Minutes and Reports to Canadian Yearly Meeting. 1960 - 1974. (especially Canadian Friends Service Committee ten-year Report to Canadian Yearly Meeting 1970).

CFSC Brochures:

“Friends Rural Centre, Rasulia, India.”

“Medical Aid Program to Suffering People on all sides of the Conflict in Vietnam.”

“Canadian Indians - Right to a Future” by John Melling.

“CYM Organisation & Procedure - Recent Developments”, 1990. Introduction.

Emerick, Kenneth Fred *The World of the American Military Political Refugees*. Pennsylvania Free Press, Knox, Pa., 1972.

Grindstone Island Reports: 1966 -1972.

Stieren, Carl, “Crossing Borders” Canadian Quaker Pamphlet Series No.47. 1998.

Thomson, Murray “Unfinished Business: The Legacy of Grindstone Island” Canadian Friends Historical Association Journal No. 62 - Fall 1997, pp. 15-18.

Williams, Roger Neville, *The New Exiles: American War Resisters in Canada*. Liveright Publishers, New York, 1971.

Rogers Family - Radio and Cable Communications

information compiled by Sandra McCann Fuller

In the years 2000 and 2001 the town of Newmarket, Ontario, has been celebrating the 200th anniversary of its founding by Timothy Rogers and a group of Quaker settlers. After the American Revolution, many Quakers who had been long-established residents of the New England colonies, immigrated to Canada at the turn of the nineteenth century in search of fertile soil and freedom of worship. In the year 1800, Timothy Rogers (1756-1834), a Quaker coloniser from Vermont, visited Upper Canada and was very pleased with the part of Yonge Street near the Holland River, approximately 30 miles north of York (Toronto). An energetic colonizer, Rogers negotiated for grants of land for forty Quaker families with the government of Upper Canada which, recognizing Quaker ability to settle wild frontiers and to get along with the Indian population, was only too happy to use them as a buffer on the principal route to the interior of the province, north of York. Isaac Lundy, a Quaker from Pennsylvania subsequently made arrangements for another 20 families. The Quaker families, the first white settlers north of the Oak Ridge Moraine, began arriving in the spring of 1801 and soon established a Quaker Settlement on Yonge Street, near the present town of Newmarket.

By 1806, the pioneer settlement had established a meeting house and school, and Timothy Rogers turned his abilities towards organizing another settlement at Pickering, near the shores of Lake Ontario, approximately 25 miles east of York. This anniversary has generated a great deal of interest about the Rogers family, in particular the

branch of the family which has become well-known in the world of electronic communications. This Rogers family is descended from Mary Rogers, the daughter of Timothy and Sarah (Wilde) Rogers, who married Asa Rogers, son of Wing and Rebecca (Sherman) Rogers.

Timothy Rogers' certificate of removal from the Monthly Meeting held at Danby, Vermont, on the 8th of 1st month 1801, was addressed to Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends in Upper Canada, in those early days, the nearest meeting to Yonge Street.

This is to inform that **Timothy Rogers and his wife Sarah** requested our certificate for themselves and children whose names are Sarah, Timothy, John, Elizabeth, Asa, Matilda, Wing, & Elmsly. This is to certify on their behalf that they are members of our Religious Society and he is a diligent attender of our Meetings and in a good degree of an order by life & conversation, and have settled their outward affairs to satisfaction as far as appears; therefore, we recommend them to your Christian care & oversight, with desires for their growth and establishment in the truth, we conclude, and remain your brothers & sisters. signed on behalf and by direction of our Monthly Meeting

By Harris Otis, clerk
Judith Rogers, clerk

On the same date, similar certificates directed from Danby Monthly Meeting to

Pelham Monthly Meeting, Upper Canada, were provided for Timothy and Sarah's married daughters and their husbands:

Asa Rogers, his wife Mary, and little child Zenos;
Rufus Rogers and wife, Lydia;
Wing Rogers Junior and wife Hannah.

The following year, in the 7th month 1802, Danby Monthly Meeting provided a certificate for James Rogers, son of Timothy Rogers, who had removed within the verge of Pelham Meeting in Upper Canada.

A family Bible (1847) which belonged to Wing Rogers, son of Timothy & Sarah (Wilde) Rogers, and subsequently to Revd. Robert H. Rogers, Friend, and Methodist pastor at Newmarket, provides information about the Rogers family:

Timothy Rogers was born in the state of Connecticut, on the 22nd day of 5th month, 1756. His mother was Mara Huntley. Sarah Wilde, his first wife, was born the 3rd day of the first month, 1759, Dutchess County, New York State, daughter of Obadiah Wilde. Timothy Rogers & Sarah Wilde were married the 7th day of 1st month, 1776, Dutchess County, New York State.

Timothy and Sarah (Wilde) Rogers' children:

1. Obadiah W. Rogers (1776-1841) m. Cynthia Fisk (1780-1846)
2. Hannah Rogers (1778-1809) m. Wing Rogers Jr* son of Wing Rogers and Rebecca Sherman
3. James Rogers (1780-1856) m. Mary Agnes Harman (1786-1867)
4. **Mary Rogers (1782-1809) m. 17.01.1799 Asa Rogers* (1780-1834) son of Wing Rogers and Rebecca Sherman**
5. Lydia Rogers (1784-1809) m. Rufus

Rogers (1774-1809), son of Wing Rogers and Rebecca Sherman / Mercy Hatch?.

6. Sarah Rogers (1786-1809)
7. Timothy Rogers Jr (1788-18??)
8. Elizabeth Rogers (17??-1809) m 1806 Mr Bostwick
9. John Rogers (1791/93-1809)
10. Asa Rogers (1795-
11. Matilda Rogers (1797-18??) m 1813 Benjamin Widdifield
12. Wing Rogers (1798-1882) m 1822 Rebecah Hughes (1801-1888)
13. John Elmsley Rogers (1800-1809)
14. Stephen Rogers (1802-18??)
15. Stillborn

* Wing Rogers and Asa Rogers were brothers, sons of Wing Rogers and Rebecca Sherman. Rufus Rogers was their half brother, son of Wing Rogers and Mercy Hatch.

Sarah Wilde Rogers died the 13th day of 1st month, 1812. Timothy Rogers was married the second time to Anna Harned, the 28th day of 10th month, 1813, New Jersey State. Anna Harned, his second wife, was born the 12th day of 12th month, 1780, in the state of New Jersey.

Timothy Rogers died the 23rd day of 11th month 1834, and is buried at Pickering, Ontario. Anna Rogers, Timothy Rogers' second wife, died on the 16th day of 12th month, 1846. Timothy and Ann (Harned) Rogers' children:

1. Jonathan Harned Rogers (1814-1888)
2. Sarah Rogers (1815-1847)
3. Martha Rogers (1817- ??)
4. John Wilde Rogers (1819- ??)
5. David Timothy Rogers (1820- ??)

Asa and Mary (Rogers) Rogers were the parents of the following 4 children:

1. Zenos (1800-1820) m. Elizabeth Gager.
2. Anna (1802-1822) m 1822 Joseph Moore.
3. Rebekah (1804-18??).

4. **Elias (1806-1850) m. Sarah Pearson.**

In 1807, Asa and Mary Rogers gave the deed to 2 acres of land from Lot No.92 King Township, west side of Yonge Street, for use of the Yonge Street Meeting as a burying ground. After Mary Rogers' death in 1809, Asa Rogers married his second wife in 1810, Sarah Dennis (1788-1821) with whom he had 6 children, and his third wife in 1824, Lydia Ray (1790-1862) with whom he had 5 children.

On 22nd May 1828, at Yonge Street Meeting, Elias Rogers married Sarah Pearson, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Ray) Pearson. Their children were Elias Rogers Jr, Martha Rogers, Benjamin Rogers, and **Samuel Rogers**.

Samuel Rogers (1835-1903), received his education at the common school in Newmarket and at West Lake Boarding School, the Friends' Seminary near Picton, Ontario, the predecessor of Pickering College.

Marriage 1856:

Samuel Rogers of the Township of Whitchurch, County of York, son of the late Elias Rogers and Sarah, his wife, and Achsah Cody, daughter of Stephen Cody and Rebecca [Phillips], his wife, of the Township of East Gwillimbury, having laid their intentions of marriage with each other before two Monthly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends held at Yonge Street, Township of King, appeared in a public meeting of said Society, held at Yonge Street, and accomplished their marriage, this 24th day of the First Month, in the year of our Lord 1856.

And we being present have subscribed our names as witness thereof -

Elias Armitage, Caroline W. Armitage, John Armitage, Mary P. Armitage, John W. Bogart, Elizabeth A. [Brook?], Stephen Cody, Rebecca Cody, Benjamin Cody, Allen Cody, Elizabeth Cody, Susan Cody, Seneca Doan, Elizabeth Doan, Elizabeth Doan, Theodore Huntly, Huldah Huntly, Eleazar Lewis, T. A. Lewis, [Thomas?] Moore, D. S. Phillips, Joshua Richardson, Alfred Rogers, Nelson Rogers, Esther Rogers, Amos Rogers, Enoch D. Rogers, Augustus Rogers, Asa Rogers, Daniel H. Rogers, Esther S. Shaw, James Srigley, Francis Starr, Mary C. Starr, Clayton Webb, Sarah Webb, Ira Webb, Mary R. Webb.

In the early 1860s, Samuel Rogers became one of the first agents in the Newmarket district for the sale of sewing machines. Around 1870, poor health forced him to accept a transfer to Louisville, Kentucky, and subsequently he took charge of the Cincinnati, Ohio branch of the Grover & Baker Sewing Machine Company. Upon the death of his mother, Sarah (Pearson) Rogers, in 1876, Samuel Rogers returned to Toronto to join his brother, Elias, in a one-year partnership to establish the S. & E. Rogers Coal Company. This brief venture into the fuel business launched his interest in the oil industry, and he emerged as one of the leading oil dealers in Canada, with operations throughout the British Empire, in Australia, New Zealand and India. Samuel Rogers & Company, commenced in 1878, merged with several other independent oil companies to form the Queen City Oil Company with Rogers as president. This company entered into business partnership with the Standard Oil Company of America in 1896, and in 1912 was absorbed into the Imperial Oil Company Limited of Canada.

Outside of business, Samuel Rogers' most vital concerns were religion and children. With other members of the Rogers family, he assisted in establishing a Friends' Meeting in Toronto, and was instrumental in the resuscitation of Pickering College, the only secondary school in Canada supported by the Society of Friends. His daughter, Ella Rogers Firth, became its first university-educated lady principal, and served Pickering College faithfully for over twenty-five years. His delight in children also led him to join forces with John Ross Robertson, editor of the *Toronto Evening Telegram*, to found the Hospital for Sick Children, Toronto.

Samuel and Achsah (Cody) (1832-1903) Rogers were the parents of:

1. Joseph Pearson Rogers (1856-1922) married Jessie Carlyle
2. Sarah Rebecca Rogers (1858-1914) married Dr William Ianson
3. **Albert Stephen Rogers (1859-1932) married Mary Ella Elsworth**
4. Sherman Rogers (1862-1864)
5. Esther Rogers (1864-1931)
6. Ella Rogers (1866-1949) married Dr William Firth
7. Mary Rogers (1869-1909)

Of the seven children born to Samuel Rogers and Achsah (Cody) Rogers, their son Albert Stephen Rogers (1859-1932) was the father of Edward Samuel Rogers.

Edward Samuel "Ted" Rogers (1900-1939)

Edward Samuel Rogers, inventor, broadcasting pioneer, was born at Toronto 21 June 1900, and died there 6 May 1939. Son of Albert Stephen Rogers, a wealthy businessman, and Mary Ellsworth Rogers, Ted Rogers was obsessed with radio from



Pickering College, Newmarket

childhood. Experimenting with wireless came to Rogers at the age of 11, and it continued until, 14 years later, the results of his experiments were to startle radio engineers the world over. It started the year before the London Conference in 1911. Amateur had not been assigned a place in the air, and Ted Rogers wandered up and down the wave length range with a tuning coil and an electrolytic detector. Soon he replaced the electrolytic detector with the silicon crystal. After the First World War, he was one of the first amateurs to be given a place on the air and his station became known on all wave lengths as 3BP. From his school home, Pickering College, Newmarket, the



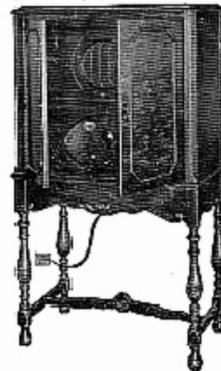
Ted Rogers

ROGERS BATTERYLESS TRADE MARK REGISTERED IN 1925 A/C RADIO

Now entering its fifth year, Rogers-Batteryless for 1929 offers to every Canadian home, where electric power is available, full command of the world's radio entertainment, backed by a four year record of Proven Batteryless Performance.

The Rogers-Batteryless Guarantee is the manufacturer's assurance of satisfactory workmanship and material — and the purchaser's assurance of satisfactory performance. The famous Rogers A/C Tubes are also fully guaranteed.

The illustration shows Rogers "Four-Tone" which follows the modern trend in cabinet design.



Created and Manufactured Solely by
STANDARD RADIO MFG. CORPN., LIMITED—TORONTO
Owning and Operating CFRB, Canada's First Batteryless Broadcasting Station

youthful wireless enthusiast went on the air with a so-called half-kilowatt spark transmitter. That transmitter was heard throughout the eastern part of the continent and often reports came of reception on the Pacific coast, a remarkable feat then. At the age of 13 he won a prize for the best amateur-built radio in Ontario. Ted Rogers graduated from the School of Practical Science, University of Toronto.

Rogers TransAtlantic Feat 1921

In December 1921, using a half-kilowatt telegraph station built in a small room on the first floor of the south wing of Pickering College, Ted Rogers Sr became the first amateur Canadian operator to send across

the Atlantic Ocean a successful telegraph signal originating in Canada, and was the only Canadian to win an American competition for low-power broadcasts across the Atlantic. His message began in Newmarket, Ontario, and was heard in Androssan, outside Glasgow, Scotland. Paul A. Godfrey had been sent to Scotland by the amateurs of America for the purpose of catching amateur signals from the North American continent. In a bleak, barren, field, Godfrey sat in a tent in front of a receiving set tuned in on America, and listened to catch amateur signals. One morning, Rogers received a cable that he had been heard in Androssan, the only Canadian among the 25 amateurs heard. This breakthrough achievement encouraged

further work which later resulted in the Rogers Batteryless Radio, the first all-electric radio receiving set in the world.

He continued experimenting for some time and on a visit to the United States first saw a small experimental radio tube designed to operate from the 110-volt electric light circuits. He was advised by engineers that the tube was the hardest to develop commercially of the whole tray of similar-looking tubes. That was a challenge to young Rogers. When he returned to Canada, he carried the patents to the tube in his pocket. Then followed long months of experiments with circuits and transformers. Finally, when the proper combinations were worked out, Ted Rogers found that music came through his light socket sweetly and clearly. His alternating-current radio tube, perfected in 1925, revolutionized the home radio-receiver industry throughout the world. Before Rogers, home receivers had to run on direct current from rechargeable acid-filled batteries: the 25- or 60- cycle hum of alternating-current mains electricity was often louder than radio signals. Rogers' amplifying tube eliminated this problem, making mains-powered home radios practical for the first time. In 1925, exactly one year after he had brought back the "hopeless" tube from the United States, he placed on the world market the first commercial light socket radio receiving set. The Rogers Batteryless Radio offered full command of the world's radio entertainment to every Canadian home where electric power was available. With his father, he founded the Rogers Majestic manufacturing company and established several broadcasting companies, including station 9RB (later CFRB, Toronto) named for the "Rogers Batteryless" system. Ted Rogers married Velma Taylor of Woodstock. Their son, Edward Samuel Rogers Jr, born at Toronto 27 May 1933, heads Rogers Communications Limited.

[Sources: *Toronto Daily Star*, Saturday, May 6, 1939, p10; Donald J.C. Philipson in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Year 2000 edition, Toronto, ON : McClelland Stewart Inc. c1999, p. 2033]

Rogers Communications Incorporated

Rogers Communications Incorporated, controlled by the Edward S. Rogers family, is one of the world's largest Cable Television holding companies, with subsidiary interests in radio broadcasting and entertainment services. Rogers Communications Inc. operates several cable-television systems in Canada and the USA, with over 1.9 million subscribers in Canada alone, and in both countries provides a variety of services including special programming, interactive television, and pay television services. Its principal Canadian operations are located in Vancouver, Victoria, Calgary, Toronto, and southern Ontario.

RTL's other holdings include CFTR-AM and CHFI-FM in Toronto and stations in Sarnia and Leamington, Ontario, and CFMT-TV also in Toronto. In 1986, Rogers gained control of Cantel Inc., Canada's only national cellular telephone company. Rogers owns the Canadian Home Shopping Network and shares control of YTV, a specialty network of children's programming. They are also partners with Canadian Pacific and American telephone giant AT&T in Unitel Communications.

Rogers completed one of Canada's largest and most complex corporate takeovers in 1994 with its \$3.1 billion purchase of Maclean Hunter. With revenues of \$2.25 billion in 1994, Rogers has grown into Canada's largest broadcasting operation. [Peter Anderson in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Year 2000 edition, Toronto, ON : McClelland Stewart Inc. c1999, p. 2033]

- 8) Joseph, married Christianna Willson.
 9) Benjamin, married and had 3 children.
 10) Mary, born 1794 or 95. Went on horseback about 1800 to Canada. Died in spring of 1885 or 87. Married 1st James Willson; 2nd 1824 Caleb Jones.

§

Notes by Dr Rachel Katherine Haight
 Ottawa, January 1972

Armitage - Randall - Lundy - Willson - Widdifield - Playter - Hughes - Webb - Hollingshead - are all names from childhood memories - not till today did I know how the lines of family relationship or friendship were drawn. I remember 'Jennie' Widdifield very well. She seems to me now to have been fairly tall - at any rate, a carriage which suggested it - fair - rather 'elegant' in dress (much more fashionable than my beloved aunts Eliza and Gulia) and therefore slightly frightening and 'foreign'. A woman of spirit (born out by the remarks in this account).

Dorothy McCormick - who married Gordon Taylor - was a student at University College, University of Toronto, while I was a medical student. I knew her slightly but our paths did not coincide beyond recognition.

Greta and Vera Playter - the twins - were also known to me - but our acquaintance was not deep. They belonged to Rachel Katharine H. 'Jennie's' generation, I think

The small armchair - now upholstered in velvet - formerly in reddish-brown leather - in my sitting room came from 'Mr Randall' who lived in Waterloo. Was he one of the Whitchurch Newmarket Randalls? I do not know.

The incident described, of Henry Widdifield and his neighbour Elisha, is highly characteristic of the meticulous

regard for 'truth' of the Quakers of the early centuries (mid 17th to early 20th centuries). It was a cardinal rule that one should not falsify or distort. If, occasionally it led one into slightly absurd 'righteousness', when perhaps the letter of the law rather than its spirit was paramount, it was also a discipline which I do not deplore (having been exposed to it) - and in the main, I have come to think it as important as they did. R.K.H.

§

For further reference: Commemorative Biographical Record of the County of York, Ontario, containing biographical sketches of prominent and representative citizens and many of the early settled families. Toronto : J.H. Beers & Company, 1907.

Widdifield Families, pp16, 379; A.E.Widdifield (1861-19??), son of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Smith) Widdifield, p379; Joseph Henry Widdifield (1845-1906) son of Charles E. and Angelina (Hughes) Widdifield, p16; William C. Widdifield (1855-19??) son of Charles W. Widdifield, p296; William Henry Widdifield (1837-19??), son of William and Annie (Wilson) Widdifield, p336.

Edited by Sandra McCann Fuller

little, we were thrilled because we heard that Samuel Lount, a cousin, had been hanged during the Rebellion in 1837. Imagine our great disappointment when we found that he was only a cousin of Grandma's brother-in-law, and no blood relation, so I can't hand you that distinction. The only stain ever known on the Widdifield name was when poor Charlie Widdifield proved dishonest. There was much to be said for him. Born a cripple and suffering greatly from birth, never able to run and play like other boys, hampered in every way, he felt the world was against him. At his trial held in Newmarket, it was told that there had never been a stain on the Widdifield name for 125 years. Of course, he did wrong, and it killed Uncle Ed, but none of us ever felt disgraced by it. Charlie was just a weed in a field of golden grain.

I can give you no highwaymen, no pirates, no murders, or suicides. Pretty tame I grant you, but something to be proud of and emulate. Our forebears were very human; they had strength and weakness, faults and virtues, even as you and I. Just a simple God-fearing people shining lights in a dark world. Always remember that on both the Widdifield and Hughes sides, you are descended from the Society of Friends, something to live up to. I've been sorry to intrude myself into these records or remembrances, but I was there and knew and loved all this of which I have written. So, I give it to you for what it is worth; at least it is true.

Now I am the eldest one living of that large family, the Matriarch of the Widdifields and 82 1/2 years old - a long way to travel.

" Oft in the stilly night
 When slumber's chain has bound me,
 Fond memory brings the light
 Of other days around me,
 I feel like one who sits alone
 The banquet halls deserted,

The guests are fled, the garlands dead,
 And all but he departed."

Thomas Moore

§

Notes provided by Charles H. Haight, Hotel Selby, 592 Sherbourne Street, Toronto, Ontario, 1946

Widdifield Line

I John Widdifield came with certificate from Thirsk, Yorkshire, England, dated 14-7-1703 to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. He married there Mary Lawrence of that Meeting, 11-29-1707. Daughter Mary Moore, late Widdifield, was disowned 9-26-1725 for marrying out.

II Henry Widdifield, son of John and Mary, came with his parents.

Henry Widdifield Jr took a removal certificate from Philadelphia to Wrightstown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 12-11-1760. He returned by certificate 8-10-1769. He appears to [have] returned to Sussex County, New Jersey. He married Martha Willson. He witnessed the will of Samuel Willson 1-5-1785. On 5-10-1792 asked for certificate for himself and wife Martha and their children to Camden, New Jersey. He likely died there. His children were -

1) John, married and had Phoebe, Henry, and Timothy.

2) Mark, married and had Mordecai, Henry, and Mary.

3) Henry, married Phoebe Randall.

4) Martha, married Joseph Webster and had 7 children: Joseph, Moses, Abram, Martha, Mary, Benjamin, Ruth, Anna, and Charlotte.

5) Mordecai, married Ann Lundy.

6) Robert, born 2-12-1785.

7) William, born 2-12-1785; died 1-19-1872. Married Anna Willson.

Johnathan Collins died in 1923
Mercie Moore and Alex Carrick were married in 1933, living in Toronto. Alex Carrick died in 1943.
Mercie Moore Carrick had two children, Judy and Johnny.

William Clark Widdifield (1855-) married Emma Cane.
William C. Widdifield died in 1930.
Emma Cane Widdifield died in 1934.
Marjorie Widdifield and Blake Underhill were married in 1919. They had two children Barbara and Bryan.
Barbara Underhill and Harold R. Scott were married in Barrie, Ontario, in 1946.

James Edward Widdifield (1857-) married Emma Watson.
Wentworth Widdifield, son of J.E. and Emma Watson Widdifield was drowned.
Emma Watson Widdifield died in 1921.
Edward Widdifield died in 1928.
Ethel Angeline Widdifield and Dr Victor MacCormack were married. They had two sons, Edward and Robert, and lived in Toronto.
Ethel Widdifield, Mrs Dr Victor McCormack , died January 12, 1947, in Toronto.
Charles Howard Widdifield was married to Greta Watson. They had three sons, McKenzie King, Bruce, and [Watson?].
Charlie Widdifield died in

Jennie Widdifield died in 1937.

There was a striking resemblance between the Widdifields and the Royal Family, that is, some of them. Uncle Doctor and King Edward VII could have passed for brothers. In Life magazine, not too many years ago, there was a picture of King Edward and Queen Alexandra / King George and Queen Mary, and one lady at

the side bore such a startling resemblance to Mother that a friend cut it out and sent it to me. It was Mother in her grey dress. The last few years of her life, Grandma wore rather fancy caps which sat up on her head and were most becoming. When people would look through the family album and come to Grandma's picture, they would often say, "There's Queen Victoria". That is why I think the Widdifields were originally English, and the ponhaus is why I thought they might be Dutch. You will see Grandma's cap in that crayon picture of her.

So now, Dorothy, you have a glimpse of the past of the Widdifield and the Hughes families. You know as much of the younger ones as I do. They have not stopped; they are going on and on, but the younger ones of this age will never know the dear ancestors from which they sprang. How I wish they could!

Other Widdifields must have come to Canada, of whom I have no record, for there were a number of cousins in Pine Orchard, but we knew little of them. Obed and Johnathan Widdifield were cousins of Grandpa, but I don't know how near. They used to come to see him, but I never saw their wives or families there. The girls, Jennie and Rose, held themselves somewhat aloof, as these cousins were given to rather coarse jokes; so the girls would not stay in the room. Grandpa insisted upon politeness towards his cousins, but it was of the frigid variety.

There was a Richard Widdifield, a Quaker preacher, but I have no idea whether he was a connection or not. In Picton, lived a fine family, Judge Charles Widdifield and his charming wife, who visited at Uncle Doctor's in Toronto, but I do not know their origin - all cousins of some kind.

It is said that if you dig back far enough in any family history you will find a relative who was hanged. When Howard and I were

wasn't long before Rose came down with the same dread disease; again, Jennie took her to Denver. She had always been frail, and the disease seemed so deeply rooted that it was plain from the first that there was no hope. So, after a few months, they came home knowing it was the end. Rose died in 1890. While Jennie and Rose were in Denver, the Playter twins, Vera and Greta, were born. So it went on - joy and sorrow, life and death. Losing her two youngest was very hard on Grandma who was such a precious Mother. Shortly after that, Uncle Doctor moved to Toronto, taking Grandma and Aunt Jean with him - a great loss to those of us left behind.

The next to go January 29, 1894 was your Grandfather Walter Playter, the most devoted husband and father, and beloved by all.

Grandma Widdifield died suddenly in 1896 at Uncle Doctor's home in Toronto., just as they had issued invitations for a large tea; so another great loss was keenly felt by old and young. They had bought a large family plot in Newmarket cemetery long before; so all were laid there. In 1906 J.H. Widdifield, Uncle Doctor, died in Toronto and was buried in Newmarket.

Elizabeth Agnes Widdifield (1842-) married George Barclay Knowles.

In 1899 Emma F. Knowles and Elsworth MacMillan were married in the Knowles' home in Newmarket to which they had previously moved from Whitchurch. They had one son, Stuart Barclay.

In 1900 Helen Maude Knowles was married to John J. Taylor in Newmarket, going to Hamilton, New York, to live. They had two sons, Gordon Barclay and Robert Brownlee. In 1903 Fred Knowles and Grace Waters of Kentucky were married in New York, making their home there.

George Barclay Knowles died in 1918 in

Pasadena, California, and was buried there.

Agnes W. Knowles died in 1922 in Pasadena and was buried there.

Stuart Barclay MacMillan and Mary Francis Stacy were married in 1923.

Ellsworth MacMillan died in November of 1938.

Stuart B. MacMillan had four children: Ellsworth, Stuart Jr, Mary Louise, and Malcolm Stacy.

Gordon Barclay Taylor and Dorothy McCormick were married in September of 1937.

Gordon and Dorothy Taylor had three children: Ann Barclay, Robert McCormack, and Dorothy Widdifield.

John J. Taylor died in 1940.

Robert B. Taylor and Helen Janota were married in May 1942, living in New York City.

Robert B. Taylor had one son, Richard Matthew.

Phebe Gulielma Widdifield (1847-) married Walter Playter.

In 1897 Florence Playter was married to Robert Lorne McCormick. They had one daughter, Dorothy Isabel.

Elma W. Playter died in 1938.

Greta Adele Playter and Stanley Gilbert Tobin, of Edmonton, were married in 1922. They had children, Dorothy, Gene, and Jimmy.

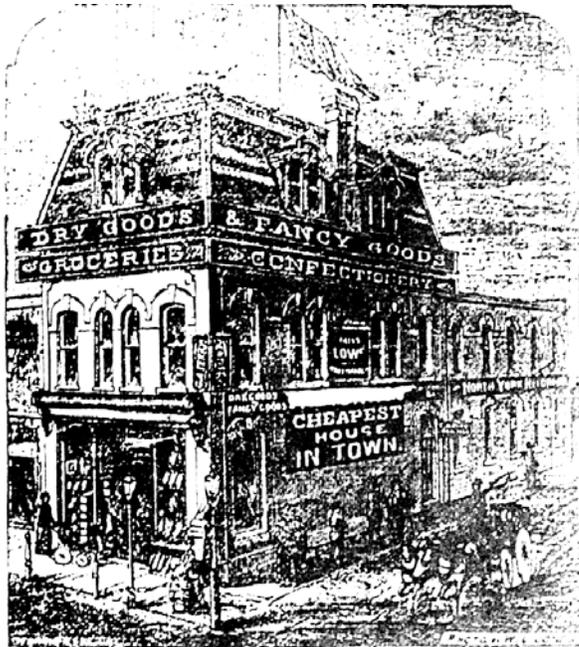
Florence Playter McCormick died in August 1943.

Mercy Ann Widdifield (1849-) married Johnathan J. Collins.

In 1900 Mercie W. Collins died in St Catharines and was buried there.

[Herbert Collins graduated from University of Toronto, class of 1904].

Evelyn Maude Collins and Samuel S. Moore were married and lived in Toronto. They had one daughter, Mercie.



The Widdifield Building constructed 1880, corner of Main and Botsford Streets.

NEW GOODS ARRIVING DAILY

New Dress Goods in all Leading Shades

being the only light available; therefore, a great many brass candlesticks were there, viewed with indifference by the family - even when kerosene lamps were used. Candles were useful for going down cellar, etc. When Grandma left the farm, these candlesticks - real antiques - of all shapes and sizes, were consigned to the attic along with the horsehair trunk and other abundant relics of the past. Later, when they realized that these same brass relics were becoming valuable, they went back to salvage them, only to find that Aunt Emma had given them and all the other contents of the attic to the junk man. So, they could only say, "Of all sad words of tongue or pen, the saddest are these - it might have been ..."

You thought, Dorothy, that the old Widdifield home must be out of existence by now, but the same old bricks are in the wall as they were 90 years ago, just like the old schoolhouse where they all attended. It

is interesting to note that all the little Widdifields who were taught there, learned the young ideas - how to shoot, and also how to elocute.

Howard got so well that if he had remained in Denver, he would no doubt have been cured. After a year or two, he could not stand it away from his loved ones and insisted upon coming home. Grandma, Jennie, and Rose, had gone to live with Uncle Doctor in Newmarket; so, when Howard came back, it was not to the old farm home, but to Newmarket where, after a happy year or so, he passed away, sure of his home in heaven. When a patient returns home from Denver, it is the end; so they say. They never gain again what they lost, and they only go back to die. Howard knew that and chose. Howard died in 1887.

Uncle Will had married and lived across the street from Uncle Doctor's house. Uncle Ed was in the dear old farm house. It

famous. The heads were used for ponhaus and your Grandma Playter was noted for her skill at that. Ponhaus sounds German to me, but we always made it. Howard and I, who were always under foot, roasted the tails and ears. I don't know why, for we never could bring ourselves to taste them. It seemed a family tradition. Uncle Will liked the brains. My father was very skilled in curing the hams and shoulders. They were packed in a barrel, and I know he used salt, brown sugar, and saltpetre. Then, they were smoked and ready for use. I have never tasted more delicious ham than our home-cured ones. After the hubbub was over, there was a good supper. Uncle Will never missed that, though I cannot remember that he worked much. Uncle Ed was so jolly that I had a little verse which I always repeated at that time. Sometimes he got ahead and said it first.

“Oh, Edward, Edward, what's a pig
that thou shouldst weep and wail.
Come bear thee like a butchers's
child and thou shalt have the tail.”

We always had Christmas with the Widdifields, as Father's family could not get all their children together at that time. Until I was eighteen years old, we were an unbroken family circle - the nine children and all the grandchildren were there. There would be two turkeys and a goose. Uncle Doctor always brought fruit and bonbons. After dinner, everyone would wear the paper cap with much hilarity. At Thanksgiving, there would often be a little pig roasted whole, as well as turkey. It was a happy family.

Then came the first break. On November 10th, 1883, Grandpa Widdifield died, aged 70 years. He had been a very healthy man, boasting that not a drop of medicine had passed his lips for forty years, and suddenly

crumbled. His hear failed, dropsy set in, and there was no hope. He had been a great smoker and that was the only reason the doctors could find for his condition. He could not lie down, so had to sit propped in a big chair, day and night. Different members of the family sat up with him every night. The large family was a blessing then. I was allowed to sit with him one night until 4am, when Uncle Ed relieved me. I was proud that they trusted me. He was so grateful for all the loving care given him. Very few had the record of such a large unbroken family circle for so many years. It was hard to adjust ourselves to the change. The day of the funeral was very cold and stormy. In those days, the women never went to the cemetery. Howard was not well but felt he must go; so, they bundled him up, but he came home very ill and was in bed many weeks. The doctors called it typhoid fever, but they knew later that it had been lung fever and in a few months, he was pronounced tubercular. Doctors didn't seem to know that good home treatment was better than Denver air, and always sent their patients to Colorado. It was a tragedy for Howard who was such a home boy, but Jennie went with him and got him comfortably settled in a nice home. After a few weeks, because of the expense, she came home.

In the meantime, while Howard was in Denver, Walter and Elma Playter who had been keeping house for her bachelor brother, Uncle Doctor Widdifield, wanted to move into a home of their own, and give more time to their general store [in the Widdifield Building constructed 1880, corner of Main and Botsford Streets]. Grandma, Jennie, and Rose, moved into Newmarket with Uncle Doctor. I don't know when Newmarket was first settled, as in my time, it was always there. In the early days, a great many candles were used,

Another son, Dr Edward Playter, lived in Toronto. His daughter, Kate, visited at Grandpa's with Hattie Brown of Kansas. One night, they had a party, and the next morning at breakfast, Kate was teasing Hattie about a handsome blonde young man from Newmarket. Hattie, who lisped, was protesting, "I didn't thay he wath the handthomest man I ever thaw, I thaid he wath handsome."

But I am digressing. I want to show you that these were all flesh and blood people, even as you and I. A nice lot of cousins on both sides of the family.

But we must return to the other Widdifields. Much digression must be expected.

In the spring, the making of soft soap was always interesting. Hardwood ashes were saved through the winter; when the ashes were banked and water made to flow through (or dripped), it made lye. In a huge iron kettle outdoors, a kettle full of fat covered with lye in some way turned into soft soap. White table and often floors were much used and these had to be scrubbed with a brush and soft soap. It never occurred to people to put oilcloth over the table and save such hard work. Fred and I have many laughs over the soft soap jar.

Sugar-making was a springtime event. Grandpa had the largest sugar bush (maple trees) in the country. I will not bore you with details, but only speak of the pantry off the dining room on the old farm, filled with pails and crocks and pans of delicious maple syrup. People came from all over to enjoy the treat. Several families came at that time who never thought of entering the door any other time, but they were always welcomed and generously served. Great kettles of taffy were prepared and served to the guests in saucers. There were pans of snow on which to spread the taffy if they wished, as it would make delicious wax.

They ate the first saucer anyway they desired; then, were given a second one, with little fluted pans to pour the sugar in after they had stirred it, and those they took home with them. Buckwheat cakes made with yeast were always served for breakfast, and the maple syrup eaten with them was something to dream about.

I shall never forget the wealth and beauty of wild flowers and ferns in Grandpa's woods in the spring. I often dream of them yet. At the end of the yard by the fence were hollyhocks galore. There were also horse radish roots which all the families helped themselves to. We grated them and mixed it with vinegar; it was strong and fresh, as those who took too much could attest.

We had grand apples. We cut them into quarters, then strung them on twine to make dried apples which would hang from the ceiling. They would also be in pans around the stove. We would say, "Tread on my toes and tell no lies, but don't give me dried apple pies". In the spring when fresh apples were gone, they had their place, and Mother really made good pies with them.

They had delicacies in those days, too. If any one were ill, Grandpa would take his gun, and the patient would have broiled pheasant breast for a treat. Grandpa would often go out on a Saturday and shoot enough black squirrels for all to have hind legs in plenty for Sunday breakfast. Nothing was used but the hind legs, and red or gray squirrels would not answer.

I must mention "pig killing time" which was always an event. Several were killed every fall. In the evening, Grandpa's family and our family got together. The men cut up the meat. The women cut lard ready for rendering. They cut sausage meat, and someone began grinding it. They made ready the livers, tongues, and hearts for liverwurst for which my mother was

came to see us in La Jolla where we were vacationing.

9) Elizabeth [Hughes], a beautiful woman, married Henry Van Allen; they had four children: Josephine, Charles, Letty, and Warren. Second time married W. Johnson. Elizabeth Van Allen, Aunt Lizzie, as we called her, was so sweet and pretty. Her younger son, Warren, often visited us and we all loved to have him. He sang comic songs and could entertain for a whole evening.

10) Angelina married Charles Widdifield and had 9 children - names you know.

Do you wonder I have 500 cousins! Many of these cousins lived near. So, you see, these are all people I know and I'm not making them up.

Great-grandmother Hughes, aged 92, Angelina's mother, lived with them after her husband died. I think that I never saw her smile. She was very strict and not very lovable - not a bit like dear Grandma who cared for her very tenderly. Her bedroom was off the dining room. All day long, she sat in her rocker by the door, never walking around the house. On the doctor's advice, she smoked a corn cob pipe. When I saw Grandma filling the pipe for her, I asked (when I was alone with her), "Grandma, why do you allow your Mother to smoke?" She replied, "My dear, my mother is very old and there is so little in life for her to enjoy, so if smoking is any comfort to her, I shall do nothing to prevent it." Young as I was, I felt that I had been unkind, and considered Grandma a pattern to live by. Gordon probably remembers the shock his mother received when Aunt Elma, visiting in Hamilton, told them that their great-grandmother smoked a pipe. Helen had not known it and she said, "Aunt Elma, I wouldn't have had John and the boys know that for anything". No doubt, they teased her about it after that. Great Grandmother

lived to be nearly 93 years old, but as she never gave us any affection, we younger ones felt little loss.

Now, a glimpse at many cousins on the Widdifield side -

Grandpa's eldest sister, Mercy, married Ira Brown; they had two daughters, Martha and Mary Ann. Martha Brown married Robert Willson of Ridgeway, Canada, and they had four children: Jennie, Ella, Will, and Ed, all of whom visited in Whitchurch. Mary Ann Brown, afterwards Marian, married Henry Marr. He had a very large nose, and was a Democrat - frequent visitors.

Hugh Brown lived in Cleveland. It was his daughter, Florence, who made the crayon drawing of our dear Grandmother which I want you to have in your home.

Mary Ann married George Playter; their children were Pemberton, Frank, Martha, Mercy, Joseph, Phebe, Emma, Agnes, and Clark. Mercy was mother's bridesmaid, and Frank her dear friend. Emma was the one who wrote poetry. She wrote for magazines. All Mercy's children have been in our Pasadena home. Her granddaughter, Mildred McAfee, was president of Wellesley College until she married. Joseph's wife, Eva, and son, Harold, visited us in Pasadena. Also, Phebe's daughter, Blanche - a most attractive girl. Clark was a part of my childhood, and he and son, Richard, came to see us in Long Beach, California. Agnes used to send me lovely books to read.

Aunt Agnes married James Playter of Thornhill. He was a great grumbler, and it was always said that he killed his wife by grumbling. If any child began to grumble, someone would say, "Now, Uncle James". He married again and I know there was one daughter and two sons. Henry, a great wag, visited Whitchurch. His wife was so nice, but so homely that she was good looking.

was highly esteemed. So, you see, the Society of Friends which is their proper name, still lives and is doing much good work.

When Mother was a young girl, Grandfather Henry wanted to take her with him to New York Yearling Meeting, but he said that she must wear the plain bonnet. Mother couldn't bring herself to do that, much as she wished to go. I have never been able to understand why the Widdifield girls were not forced to wear the plain garb. They all said thee and thine, the plain language, as it was called, at home and to all older Friends, but said you and yours among themselves and outside.

A Quaker wedding is very unique. The engaged couple stand up, either in the meeting house or in the home, join hands and say, "I, John, take thee, Hannah, to be my lawful wedded wife, to have and to hold, etc." - quite like any ordinary marriage service. Then the bride says the same.

The friends present then all sign the marriage certificate, and they are man and wife. None of the Widdifield girls were married with that service; they married outside the Society of Friends and had ministers of other denominations. Every child of Quaker parentage was a birthright member, and if he or she wished to unite with a person who belonged to another church, must be released from the Society.

Now, we must look at the Hughes family which gave us our dear Grandmother. As you know, Grandfather Joseph Anthony Hughes was descended from Daniel Boone. Grandfather Hughes was born in 1781, died in 1859, five years before I was born; so, I never saw him but I have his picture. He married Elizabeth Clark who died aged 92 years, and they had ten children. The children were:

1) Sarah Hughes married Clayton Webb; their children were Rachel, Silas, Caroline,

Elizabeth, Charles, Joseph, Sarah Ann. Aunt Sarah Hughes Webb. Her daughter, Rachel, married Arnoldi Haight and gave us six very nice cousins: Eliza, Franklin, Gulielma, Milton, Charles Henry, James Clayton. I think you have met Charles Haight. Joseph, Dr Webb of Waterloo. His daughter, Claribel, a great friend of your mother's. Was she a bridesmaid? I forget. Elizabeth married John Bogart; they had four children: Sarah, Mary, Rachel, Martin. I still correspond with her daughter, Mary Roadhouse, a very sweet woman.

2) Martha Hughes married Gabriel Lount, had one son, Hiram. Martha died, and Gabriel married again and had four daughters: Annie, Emma, Delia, Minnie, and one son, Will. The last three girls were our frequent visitors.

3) George Hughes married Edith Watson - they had four children: Joseph, John, Martha, and Matilda. I correspond with Uncle George Hughes' granddaughters, Louise and Millie Hollingshead.

4) Rachel [Hughes] married John Watson - they had one daughter, Martha.

5) William [Hughes] married twice, second wife Emmeline; they had four children: Ann, Sarah, Walter, Milton. Uncle William Hughes and Aunt Emmeline were at our wedding. Their daughter, Sarah, was Sade Fleury who lived in Aurora, and was mother of Will Fleury who died recently at 82 years.

6) Ellen [Hughes] - no record.

7) Clarkson [Hughes] married Martha Armitage; their children were Adelia, Caroline, Almeda. Two of Uncle Clarkson's daughters lived near us. Carrie lived in San Diego, California; she and her husband and four children visited us in Whitchurch.

8) John [Hughes] married three times - one daughter, Maude, is all I know. I met her at Grandpa's. Long after, she and her son

ollections of the family include Old John, too, necessarily.

In the Widdifield home, the family was usually welcoming the coming of guests or speeding the departing guests. There was a constant parade of uncles, aunts, and cousins, or nephews, and neices. I used to say I had 500 cousins, but I now think that was a conservative estimate. In the summer, our Jewish friends in Toronto visited us on the farm and shared their old world culture with us; in the winter, we visited them and heard good music and attended good plays. Then, there were the Lounts from Barrie - three very delightful girls; the Wales from Markham; the Chapmans from some place; the Websters from Pickering. And numerous Hughes relatives - Etha and Maude Hughes, Ada Brown, Retta Stickney (who visited us in Pasadena). Add to these, our nearby relatives - Browns galore, including Will Brown, who liked some poetry I wrote (for which I esteemed him highly), and Playters.

I wonder how the work went on. The Marrs from Markham, the Willsons from Ridgeway. With such a family connection and so many guests, we had little time for the country people. Though always friendly with these, we were always reaching out for improvement, learning new things and better ways, trying to absorb the best in social customs and manners which accounts for high standing in the community, and we always had good reading.

In a Quaker household, every Wednesday at 10 o'clock, work stopped and the family would attend 4th day meeting. Even the servants were invited to attend but as they were usually of other faiths, I do not remember them ever going. In my time, the young people did not go either - no, I think in earlier days every body went.

The Quakers held Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings at the different places.

When the Monthly Meetings were in our little meeting house in Whitchurch, Grandpa's house would be full. That is where I first saw Jacob and Rachel Doyle. The women looked so sweet in gray dresses, white surplices, and starched net caps. No permanents - only a permanent peace. It seemed a blessing to have them in the house. My memory of the Quakers is very sweet. It was such a simple faith, but founded upon a rock. Salvation through the blood of Christ emphasized strongly. No ordinances. No paid preachers. No music. No collections. They had men who gave their lives to preaching, and money would be slipped to them by various members; so, they never needed anything. I never heard of a collection being taken for one of the early preachers.

In meetings, they would often sit for an hour without a word being spoken. If the spirit moved any one, he or she would speak. The men used to wear their broad-brimmed hats in meeting. I can see them now on the high seats with those hats on. At the end of the hour, there would be a rustle on the high seats, and the two head men would turn and shake hands, after which there would be general handshaking and the meeting was over.

Of course, as time passed and the older Friends died, many of the younger ones left the Meeting. Then, the Progressive Quakers came in, quite like the Methodists; so, only a few of the old ways remain. In Whitchurch, where we lived, there is still a remnant who adhere strictly to the old faith.

The Quakers believed in peace, and would not fight in time of war - conscientious objectors. The son of one of my Jewish friends in Cleveland became a Quaker, and when the last war started, he would not join the army, and was imprisoned for 2 or 3 years. I heard that he did great work in prison among the men and

that in the early days they only had candles for lighting. When Mother was a girl, kerosene lamps came in. She was determined to have one, but the family were afraid, thinking them very dangerous. However, she finally got one. Then, everyone was afraid to light it; so, mother sent them all out of the house - without protest, as they fully expected an explosion. Mother calmly made the light and called them all in to safety. Very soon there were lamps in abundance.

In those days, there was no running water in the house, no sanitary conditions. Often, water had to be carried some distance, making housework a burden, but borne uncomplainingly. As a matter of fact, Grandma Widdifield never had a bathroom until she moved with Uncle Doctor to Toronto. The toilet in Newmarket was sheltered, being in a room off the back porch, which was quite a luxury. Baths were taken in the kitchen in a big round wash tub - not too much privacy. Such was the life of your pioneer ancestry. They didn't push a button to get electric light, or turn a handle for gas to gush out, or twist a faucet for water to flow. Meditate upon this and be thankful.

With a family of nine lively, growing boys and girls, it was natural that Grandpa should sometimes grow exasperated. Quakers never used profanity to relieve their feelings. I have heard Grandpa, in moments of great stress, say, "Barn the boy". But when he said, in stentorian tones, "Thee booby thee", the family looked for shelter.

Grandpa always kept a black driving horse named Bett. Of course, Quakers never raced horses, but if anyone showed signs of passing him, he gave a little cluck which Bett understood, and the aggressor was left far behind.

Grandpa was very kindly. There was an Irish settlement a few miles from his home,

and he hired many of the men and boys. Also, many of the women and girls worked in the house. They were very poor, and Grandpa helped them out with seed grain, etc. When the Fenian Raid passed without damage (but with a good deal of quaking), these Irish people came to Grandpa and said, "Charles, don't think for one moment that we would have allowed any harm to come to you or your family. You have been so good to us - we would have protected you with our lives."

This record would be very incomplete without speaking of Old John Thomas, an Englishman who came to the farm when Mother was a little girl; he remained, asked to split some wood for his dinner, and never left them. He was not hired as they didn't need him. As the years went on, he became quite an institution. Grandpa gave him clothes and spending money. When Mother was ten years old, Aunt Jennie was born. John said, "Another dish washer", and Grandpa said, "Her name is Sarah Jane", and it was. Every Christmas Day when the family was assembled in the parlour in the late afternoon, heavy steps could be heard coming through the sitting room, and in came "Old John" with his hat which he passed around and all contributed generously. It was an established custom and gave John spending money for a long time. There was always that spirit of goodwill and sympathy between master and mistress and servants - a good understanding which this old world so sadly needs now. John was a great eater and could not seem to curb his appetite; consequently, as he grew old he developed high blood pressure and had a stroke one day in the field. He narrowly escaped being run over with the mowing machine. He was tenderly cared for but only lived a short time. He was given a nice funeral and was really mourned after so many years of faithful service. So, my rec-

ships with his family and others that today I still correspond with his niece and nephew, and count them among my dearest friends. When Grandma died in Toronto in 1896, Henry Eloch (the Jewish boy, then a prosperous businessman of Toronto) stood by her casket and said with tears in his eyes, "There lies one of the grandest women who ever lived." - a beautiful tribute.

Grandma was brave, too. I think Grandpa never had a bank account. In their bedroom stood an old oak chest with a very heavy lid, but no lock or key. When grain or stock was sold, the money was placed in the chest. Although the family all knew it, no one ever dreamed of touching it, only Grandpa. Keeping such a large family on the money from butter, eggs, cheese, and maple syrup, which were the woman's allotment, was not an easy matter. When Grandma would suggest that she needed more, and Grandpa didn't respond, she would boldly open the chest, and help herself. She always told the older children when she did; so, there was nothing secret about it. When Grandpa next went to the chest, he knew it, of course, and would tell Grandma that he knew she had been into the chest. She would say firmly, "Charles, I cannot manage with this large family with the little thee gives me. I asked thee to remember." And the matter was dropped right there - until the next time. Grandpa was just, if not very understanding - the life of a pioneer woman on a farm was no cinch.

Grandma worked early and late. With her manifold duties, Grandma was always ready to help with a sick neighbour, or sit up all night with the sick.

Women raised the sheep, sheared them (not the women), carded the wool, spun it (that was the women), and after dyeing it different colours, sent it to the weavers. It came home in quiet colours for the men, and in plaids for the women. The women

burned the midnight candles to make suits for the men, and dresses for the girls. No sewing machines in those days - all done by hand. Sometimes, a tailoress helped with the heavy suits. I do not know that any of the Widdifield girls ever wore the homemade flannel dresses; neither do I understand how they ever escaped it, as it was the rule of the day. When Howard was 12 years old, he rebelled and said that he would not wear homemade clothes any more. As opinions had advanced somewhat by that time, his father was persuaded to buy him a corduroy suit. Never again did he don the homemade.

I have mentioned the girls sitting upstairs in the evenings sometimes - usually spring and fall. Heavy steps would be heard ascending the stairs. Grandpa would appear and throw a wad of bills in each girl's lap. That was to provide their winter or summer apparel. No ready-mades in those days. A seamstress - often of doubtful skill, but the best obtainable - would be engaged for a number of weeks, and outfits provided.

Grandma wore hoops; in my earlier days, in fact, I had some myself, but only for a short time. Of course, we all wore bustles in their vogue. When I look at some of the girls in slacks today, I'm glad they don't add bustles to what nature did for them.

Grandma made her own cheese. How well I remember those delicious curds! When the cheese was moulded in big rounds such as you see in stores, or used to, cheesecloth was put around them, and I suppose they were subjected to pressure. Presently, big round cheeses filled the shelves in the old house, and were soon ready for use. I suppose many were sold to the stores.

Grandma made her own tallow candles in moulds, too. I have often seen and helped her. She made dozens at a time. I keep thinking of one more thing. I mentioned

Ed” - both such fine women with such happy families. A home was built for them in the same big yard as the old farmhouse; they lived there until after Grandpa’s death when they moved into the old home. Later on, Uncle Ed was appointed postmaster in Newmarket, which meant moving and living there. The dear old Widdifield farm, with all its memories, went to strangers.

Rose died of tuberculosis in her twenties, and Howard died of the same disease in his 23rd year. They were neither one strong. Howard was a talented boy, loved music, painting, and wrote simple poetry of a religious nature. He intended to study for the ministry. He was a great home boy and adored his family.

You asked who were the young people with whom I had such good times. Well, I’ve just described them to you. We moved from Pickering to Whitchurch when I was nine years old and lived one mile south of Grandpa’s. I seem to have been in their home a great deal before that - no infrequent visits. By that time, Uncle Doctor was practising in Newmarket, three miles from our farm. Your Grandfather and Grandmother Playter were first on a farm near Aurora, and then keeping house for Uncle Doctor. In the old home were Mercie, Jennie, Will, Ed, Rose, and Howard. Mercie soon married. Uncle Will attended High School, and then Toronto University. Uncle Ed in school - Rose three and a half years older than I - and Howard only one year older. Howard and I were great pals, even nearer than brother and sister. They were all so good to me. I must have been “Johnnie on the spot” for I seemed to be in on everything. Howard, Rose, and I used to “tend gap”. This happened when the men would be hauling grain from the field to the barn. There would be cows in the lane where the bars were let down, and some one had to watch there. We were not too fond of the

task but Grandma always lightened it with a nice lunch and when Grandpa said, “tend gap”, we tended without argument.

There was a big front room upstairs where boys and girls congregated in the evening, often with one reading aloud, and always having a jolly time. Those evenings were educational too, for we all desired to improve ourselves, and caught at all available means. We gloried in Dickens, Scott, Thackery, George Macdonald, George Elliot, Jane Austen, Tennyson, and other poets. In those days, our reading was worth while - none of those sexy, inane books being written, or even published. I remember so well when the first light literature struck us. It was so different. The Widdifields had the first piano in our part of the country, and people would often stop their horses in the road to listen to the music.

To me, Grandma Widdifield (Angelina Hughes) stood and always will stand for the highest type of womanhood. Patient, affectionate, deeply religious in the best sense of the word, helpful to the last degree, she was a monument of strength. “None knew her but to love her; none loved her but to praise.” Her desire was to help everybody. In those days, hired men and boys were always necessary on a farm. Two Irish boys in the neighbourhood were often employed - Bill and Bob Gallagher - utterly untrained. The hired help usually ate with the family. Bill Gallagher had never had any opportunity to better himself though he desired to. In her quiet way, Grandma set out to help him, always calling him William and watching his table manners, speech, etc. He was willing and glad to learn. The last I heard of him, he was editor of a newspaper in some Canadian town, and a gentleman. To me, that one thing alone was so worthwhile.

Nearly 100 years ago, her kindness to a little Jewish boy led to such pleasant friend-

She was engaged to Henry Lyons for some time. Then a cousin brought George Knowles to visit them, and after that it was nip and tuck - for he became a suitor, though he met with slight encouragement at first. When she found that Lyons swore dreadfully, even when putting up his horse, she broke the engagement and married Knowles. Lyons was very angry and threatened breach of promise suit - I saw several of his letters. Whether Grandpa, in some way, settled with him, they never knew, but the matter was dropped and never renewed. Although Lyons lived a few miles from us in Whitchurch, he and Mother never met again - moral - don't swear.

Your grandmother, Elma Playter, had two great admirers - Walter Playter, and Wilfred Pegg, but Playter won. I'm sorry I couldn't have known her as a girl - she was a gay blonde, much beloved by her family and friends. She retained her friendly ways and quick wit until the age of 91.

As you know, Mercy, afterwards Mercie, attended Loretto Abbey in Toronto with her first cousin, Emma Playter, whose poetry in "The Old Homestead" you have read, and it did much for them both. She was most dignified and lady-like. She married Johnathan Collins, a widower with three sons, and all adored her.

I see in going down the line I missed the first son, Joseph Henry. He was a very studious and quite shy as a young man. He studied medicine, taking degrees in England and Scotland and having an array of letters to his name. He practised in Newmarket for some years, entered Parliament and after being undefeated for eleven years, took a government position and lived in Toronto the rest of his life. His mother and older sisters called him Joseph, but he never liked the name. His neices and nephews always knew him as "Uncle Doctor". I forgot to mention that, as a young man, Uncle Doctor

used to write love stories. They were printed in the Newmarket Era newspaper. At one time, I had one of those novels pasted into a big scrap book, but the vicissitudes of changeable time have left me without them now. Knowing him as we did later, it seemed incongruous.

Now I return to Jennie, or Jean as she was later known, - she came after Mercy. Jennie seemed to have no desire to marry, though I never knew a girl to have so many proposals. Howard used to hide behind the horsehair sofa, and listen and report to me. Even in Toronto, Mr Will Selby wanted to marry her, a man younger than herself, but she recommended a friend of hers, a rich widow, and he married her. I have seen them together, Selby and Aunt Jean, after he was married, and know he loved her and never got over it. When Uncle Doctor visited Palestine, his friend Dr Hamilton of Brantford accompanied him, and spent a few days in his Toronto home. Dr Hamilton also wrote a very charming proposal to Aunt Jean (which I was privileged to see), but like all the rest, he was refused - single blessedness being her choice.

William Clark became a most successful lawyer in Newmarket, and was married most happily to Emma Cane, daughter of the mayor of Newmarket, and a lovely woman. When Uncle Doctor moved to Toronto, Uncle Will bought the cottage he had lived in, and his daughter, Kathleen, owns it and lives there. It was just across from Uncle Will's lovely home which Kathleen sold, not long ago. [SW corner of Prospect and Water Streets]

James Edward remained on the old farm from force of circumstances as it was always considered necessary for one boy to retain the family home. He married Emma Watson, a very fine woman. The brothers having both married Emmas, we always designated them "Emma Will" and Emma

invited to share the meal but declined because he had just eaten. Later the appetizing odors were too much for him and he said, "Henry, I believe I will change my mind and eat with you". But Henry said, "No, Elisha, thee can't tell a lie in my house". Now, this was no lack of hospitality, but the Quaker's strict adherence to truth.

About that same time, Joseph Anthony Hughes, the descendant of Daniel Boone, moved to Canada from Pennsylvania, and lived for a time where Aurora now stands, afterwards moving to Lloydtown in King Township. Joseph Anthony Hughes and Elizabeth (Clark) Hughes had seven children when they came to Canada, and two more were born after, one being our revered grandmother, Angelina Hughes. Young Charles met her and fell in love. Being the only son and living on the farm with his father and mother, he knew that his wife must care for them in their old age; therefore, he was most anxious get one who would surely be kind to them. On the way to propose to Angelina, he got out of the buggy and knelt under a tree and prayed that she might be the right one, and she certainly was.

The date of the marriage of Charles Ellis Widdifield to Angelina Hughes is not recorded but it must have been in 1840 or 1841 as my mother was born in 1842. Here are the family records just as they were written in that day. There were nine children born to Charles and Angelina (Hughes) Widdifield:

Elizabeth Agnes Widdifield, eldest daughter, was born the 6th of 9th month 1842;

Elizabeth Agnes married George Barclay Knowles.

Joseph Henry Widdifield was born the 12th of 6th month 1845, unmarried;

Phebe Guli-elma Widdifield was born the 15th of 9th month 1847;

Phebe Guli-elma married Walter Playter. Mercy Ann Widdifield was born the 20th of 12th month 1849;

Mercy Ann married Johnathan J. Collins. Sarah Jane Widdifield was born the 13th of 3rd month 1852, unmarried;

William Clark Widdifield was born the 7th of 1st month 1855;

William Clark married Emma Cane.

James Edward Widdifield was born the 3rd of 5th month 1857;

James Edward married Emma Watson.

Rosalia Evelyn Widdifield was born the 12th of 11th month 1860, unmarried;

Charles Howard Widdifield was born the 12th of 5th month 1863, unmarried.

The Quakers never called the months by their names, but always 1st, 2nd, etc. You know the offspring from all these marriages.

I do not know how to group them into a family tree (or hang them on one). If I tried to make a family tree of the Widdifield and Hughes families, I would need a ten-acre tract.

Elizabeth Agnes, my mother, and the eldest of the family, was very gay. After attending the local school, she was sent to West Lake Seminary, then the highest Quaker School for girls, where she excelled in composition, mischief, and dramatics (Quaker dramatics). When at home, she had a certain stint of spinning each day; then, when finished, she and her first cousin, Frank Playter, would enjoy a wild horseback ride, she riding side saddle, of course, wearing a long dark green riding habit. Grandma helped the young people even when Grandpa didn't approve, as she felt he was rather strict; so, mother would pretend to retire, and when Grandpa was safely in bed (he retired early), she would climb out of the window and go off to a party, Grandma helping her. Although Mother was not handsome in her youth, she had many admirers - she was so full of life.

subjected to the rigors of pioneer life. However, when he was 26 years old he returned to Pennsylvania, and the course of true love running more smoothly, they were married. Their trip to Canada had to be on horseback. This was in 1805. I still have some of her sterling silver spoons, I suppose brought with her at that time. I have never known just what sort of cabin grandfather Henry had provided. Their property was called it Maple Grove Farm. Four children were born to them:

Mercy E. Widdifield who married Ira Brown

Mary Ann Widdifield who married George Playter

Agnes Widdifield who married James Playter

Charles Ellis Widdifield who married Angelina Hughes. Charles and Angelina being our grand parents.

I have just learned recently that Great-Grandmother Phebe's brother came to Canada, too, and was the father of John Randall, making Charles W. and John R. first cousins. The Randalls were a grand family and our good friends always.

I never saw great-grandmother Phebe [Randall] (1770-1855) who was beloved by all, but I remember great-grandfather Henry Jr (1779-1869) very well, one of the dearest men who ever lived, revered by all for his integrity. I can still see him, a little man, bent with the weight of years, but shining with kindness and goodness. Howard and I, little tots of three or four, would play outdoors and come in with cold hands and feet. The dear old man would seat us by the big wood stove, always burning brightly in the large dining room, and heat his bandana, then rub our hands until we were warm. Then he would sit on a hard chair and place us on each side in rockers with cushions and he would gently rock us, handing out peppermint lozenges which were always in his

pocket. A sweet memory. I remember when he died, over 90 years old. We lived in Pickering, Ontario, and started in the middle of the night. A 30 mile drive on dirt roads was no hour's drive as it is now. I can see myself bundled up to the ears, sitting on a table, waiting. I do not remember the funeral, as Howard and I were kept away. But when the procession left the yard, we went into the empty rooms and suddenly realized that some great loss had befallen us. We lifted up our voices and wept, howled would be the better word. I can still hear us lonely little tots with something precious gone out of our lives. Dear great-grandfather used to talk to mother of the coming of the Lord. He said, "It won't be in my time, child, but may be in thine". I am so glad that he really knew his Bible, as so many Christians have since the beginning. He died in 1869, so I was only five when he left us. I'm so glad I can remember him so clearly.

There were no roads where he settled and when they needed flour or cornmeal, he was obliged to ride horseback to Muddy York, the nearest grist-mill, carrying the grain in sacks on either side of the saddle and bringing the flour home the same way. It was 30 miles away. One day when he was in Muddy York (where Toronto the beautiful now stands), he was offered 100 acres of land for his horse, saddle and bridle. That was about where Yonge and King Streets are now. Of course, he refused. The first train in Ontario to be hauled by a steam locomotive left Toronto for Aurora on May 16th 1853 - a wonderful sight for the natives.

Great-Grandfather Henry was a Quaker preacher, they tell me, as well as a farmer, a consecrated Christian and one whose word was as good as his bond. It is said that one morning a neighbour came in while the family were at breakfast. He was at once

An Account of the Widdifield Family

*by Emma Knowles MacMillan, ca 1946,
with notes provided by Charles H. Haight, 1946, and by Dr Rachel Haight, 1972.*

Emma Knowles MacMillan was the daughter of George B. Knowles and Elizabeth Agnes (Widdifield). Her mother was the daughter of Charles E. Widdifield (1812-1883) and Angelina Hughes (1821-1896). In 1899, Emma F. Knowles married Dr Ellsworth MacMillan.

To Mrs Dorothy McCormick Taylor.
October 1946

My dear Dorothy:

This is just a little intimate recording of the dear Widdifield family for your benefit. I, being the eldest granddaughter, lived with them so much and knew the older ones and many of the Uncles, Aunts, and cousins, whom you were not privileged to meet. I am trying to show them to you as I saw them and loved them all. So take it for what it is worth and I hope you will enjoy your ancestors as much as I did.
Emma Knowles MacMillan

The Widdifield Family

I cannot find the origin of the name Widdifield - many think English - I cannot go back farther than Henry Widdifield Sr who was born in New Jersey, afterwards moving to Pennsylvania. His wife's name was Martha. They were my great-great-grandparents. Your great-great-great. They had two children, Henry Jr and Mary. If more, I have no record of them.

The first Henry was married twice, so Martha must have departed this life earlier. The second wife was an Irish lady named

Byrne, a widow with one son. A worthless fellow. She was heiress to a large fortune in Dublin and had all the papers to prove it. When the time came to claim the fortune, the family wanted her stepson Henry Jr to go, as he was reliable; but the mother said no, her son should go. Before it could be settled amicably, in a frenzy of anger, she threw all the papers into the fire and all proof was gone. I have always supposed she had red hair. If she had gone herself, at that time, no doubt she could have established proof, but she didn't, and the fortune was lost. Every succeeding generation was determined to still send some one to try, but never did. So you see, we were spared the trouble of wealth, and have been perhaps happier for it. I might add here that the name Byrne was the inspiration for Aunt Jean's naming the Toronto home "Glenbyrne".

Henry Jr was born in New Jersey in 1779. In 1800 he was living in Pennsylvania, but I do not know where. In 1801, he visited Canada and was so impressed that he returned and took up land in the County of York, settling on lot 32, Concession 3, Township of Whitchurch. I suppose it was a grant from King George 3rd. As I understand it, the country was pretty much of a wilderness then, and he must have had to chop down trees to build a cabin.

In Pennsylvania, he lived near Comely and Mary Randall, with daughter Phebe. They were all of the Quaker faith, and when young Henry was grown he fell in love with Phebe, but her parents did not wish her

The Black Creek Meeting House: A Description from 1876.

Christopher Densmore

The Black Creek Friends Meeting House in the Village of Ridgeway, Town of Fort Erie was one of the earliest Quaker meeting houses in Upper Canada. Black Creek and Pelham Preparative Meetings were created as part of Pelham Monthly Meeting, then a distant outpost of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in 1799, although the Friends were meeting informally in the Niagara Region since at least the early 1790s. Pelham Meeting in Short Hills began, and may have finished, construction of its first meeting house in 1798, while Friends at Black Creek continued to meeting in private homes. The date of construction, the exact location and the physical appearance of the Black Creek Meeting House has been a minor mystery of early Canadian Quaker history.

The Quaker College at Haverford College in Pennsylvania houses many of the early records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, including a series of loose papers, dated 1798 to 1809, on the meetings at Pelham, Black Creek and later Yonge Street that were originally part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting before being transferred to New York Yearly Meeting. A report, dated 12th Month 12, 1798, by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting mentions “a meeting house nearly covered in” (nearly roofed) at Short Hills (Pelham). The following year’s report describe the Pelham structure as a small log meeting house. From 1799 to 1809, Pelham Monthly Meeting submitted answers to the “queries” directly to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The report

from Pelham dated 2nd Month 5, 1806, includes a reference to a meeting house built at Black Creek. This is the best evidence found to date about the original construction of the Black Creek building. The minutes of Pelham Monthly Meeting for 1805-1806 do not mention the new meeting house, although at the meeting held 7th Month 3, 1805, Asa Schooley was appointed “to take in charge the declaration of trust for Black Creek Meeting House lot.” It should be noted that meeting minutes of this period are largely concerned with membership issues and the application of the discipline, and rarely include mentions of meeting houses.

A recent local history, *Many Voices: A Collective History of Fort Erie* (1996, p. 196) gives three supposed locations for Quaker meeting houses in the vicinity, the earliest built in 1784 and destroyed by the Americans during the War of 1812. The early date of 1784 is highly improbable, as no meeting house at Black Creek is mentioned by Quaker delegations who visited Friends at Black Creek in 1793, and the report of the Committee from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1798 specifically mentions that Black Creek Friends were meeting in private homes. The *History of Ridgeway Memorial Methodist Church*, by R. M. Disher (1972, pp. 5-6), identifies a three acre parcel of land along Dominion Road from Ridge Road deeded to the Society of Friends by Asa and Prudence Pound on March 4, 1805. This parcel included the land now occupied by the Friends Burial

Ground in Ridgeway. The weight of evidence suggest that the Black Creek Meeting House was always located near the Quaker Cemetery on Dominion Road in the Village of Ridgeway. The alternative locations listed in *Many Voices* may have had some connection with local Friends such as being locations where meetings were held before 1805 or after the 1870s or were connected with Quaker related schools, but this is speculation only.

No sketch or photograph of the Black Creek meetinghouse is known. William L. Mackenzie visited in 1826, and described it simply as a “plain and unadorned place of worship” near a concession road (*Sketches of Canada and the United States*, London, 1833, p. 234-6). Mackenzie also mentioned a Quaker school, run by William Wilson, and a burying-ground. There is a longer written description. In 1876, an article in the *Christian Advocate* of Buffalo, New York, reported on the visit to Black Creek by Eleanor Bowerman of Prince Edward County. The original article, with a response to some of the misunderstandings of the reporter by Friend Robert Willson of Ridgeway, was subsequently reprinted in *The Journal*, a Hicksite publication printed in Lancaster, Pennsylvania (12th Month 17, 1876, pp. 388-9). The following quotations are taken from the article as reprinted in *The Journal*. The unnamed reporter, apparently unfamiliar with the look of a Friends Meeting House, described the physical appearance of the Black Creek structure in detail.

The house, though somewhat dilapidated, no regular meeting having been kept up for the last few years, is in a tolerable state of preservation, and is capable of accommodating about three hundred people. The number attending on this occasion

far exceeded that number. The two entrances are on the east side by doors side by side, the ladies taking the left hand door and the men on the right, the sexes being separated by a strong partition with sliding panels which divides the house exactly in the middle. In this partition are several openings like doors or windows, one of which about 3x4 feet, is located near the speaker’s stand (for male and female, on either side of the partition) to allow the sound of his or her voice to pass freely though to the other part of the congregation.

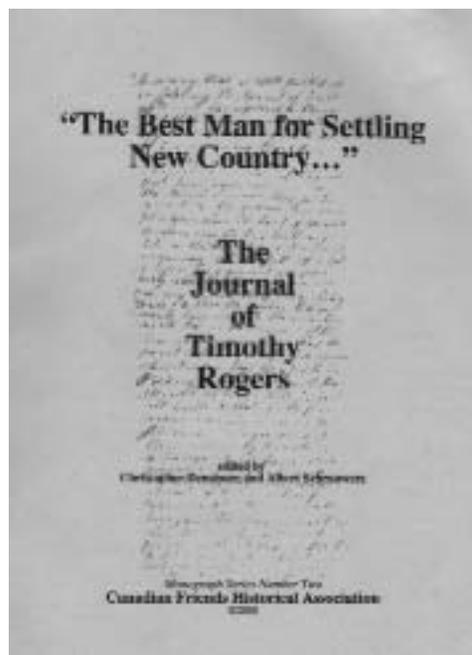
What the reporter described is a typical meeting house of the first half of the 19th century with two separate sides for men and women, and facing benches (called a “speaker’s stand” by the reporter) running along the long side of the building, opposite the double entrance doors. What the reporter did not understand was that the partitions between the men’s and women’s side were only closed during meetings for business when men and women met separately. Friend Willson, in his reply to the original article, stated:

Any person connected with the usages of the Society of Friends is well aware that they allow women Friends equal rights with men in transacting the affairs of the church. Hence meeting houses are built with an adjustable partition which is closed in meetings for transacting the affairs of the church.

In fact, the separation of men and women in meeting and the partitions to close off the meeting house into separate rooms for the men’s and women’s meeting

for business was a dying practice among Friends in the 1870s. In some meetings, men and women were already conducting joint “meetings for business.” Had the reporter from the *Christian Advocate* visited the Hicksite Friends Meeting House in Buffalo, New York, a meeting that like Black Creek was then part of Genesee Yearly Meeting, he would have seen a modern (built 1868) meeting house in the plain Quaker style built without partitions to separate the men’s and women’s meetings.

The 1876 gathering in the Black Creek meeting house was one of the last by Quakers in that structure. Black Creek Preparative Meeting had been “laid down” in 1869, and by the early 1870s, Friends had given up their regular meeting on First-days, though the meeting house was used occasionally by visiting Friends and perhaps on other occasions. Pelham Monthly Meeting on 9 Month 1st 1875, authorized Black Creek trustees Jonathan R. Page and Joseph Priestman to sell all of the property but the what was required for the burial grounds. In 1878, the remainder of the property was sold, and today only the Friends Cemetery in the Village of Ridgeway marks the site.



The CFHA has published an edited and annotated edition of Canadian Quaker pioneer Timothy Rogers’ journal. The journal has been an important record of Quaker life in the late 18th and early 19th century in New York, Vermont, the Maritimes and Upper Canada (Ontario), useful to both historians and genealogists.

“The Best Man for Settling New Country...”: The Journal of Timothy Rogers is 169 pages long, and costs \$15.00 plus \$2.00 for mailing. It is the second of the Canadian Friends Historical Association’s Monograph Series, following the very successful collection of essays, *Faith, Friends and Fragmentation: Essays on Nineteenth Century Quakerism in Canada*, which appeared in 1995.

They can be ordered directly from:
Canadian Friends Historical
Association
60 Lowther Ave.,
Toronto, Ont.,
Canada M5R 1C7

Book Review
T.D. Seymour Bassett,
The God's of the Hills: Piety and Society in Nineteenth-Century Vermont
(Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 2000), 324 pp.

Reviewed by Robynne Rogers Healey

Seymour Bassett's *God's of the Hills* is a comprehensive analysis of the religious history of Vermont. Even though, as the title indicates, the focus is on the nineteenth century, Bassett reaches well back into the pre-colonial years to include a discussion of the spiritual beliefs of Vermont's first nations people, the Western Abenaki. The theme that runs through this ambitious work is Bassett's conclusion that religion, defined as awareness of the sacred, was an important component in the life of each and every Vermonter, even those categorized as "secular" because of their lack of attachment to any denominational church. Bassett convincingly illustrates the vast religious heritage of Vermont: from the pantheistic spirituality of the Abenaki to the highly-defined liturgy of the Catholics, Vermonters were affiliated with religious groups of all stripes. Five major Protestant denominations were in place when Vermont gained admission to the Union in 1791. These groups—Congregationalists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Quakers—were quickly joined by others who engaged in an "open race" to gain adherents and members. In this way, pluralism became the defining factor of the religious environment of Vermont throughout the nineteenth century.

It is the story of this religious pluralism and the ebb and flow of the numerous denominations that makes Bassett's work such a valuable contribution to the religious history of Vermont. This is the work of a

senior historian. In that vein, it is based on an enormous quantity of research which has obviously been carefully compiled over the course of a career. Delving into the source materials of the various denominations and civic groups that form the backdrop of sacred in Vermont's past, Bassett employs a methodology he calls "historical pointillism." By weaving together a series of vignettes about the churches, leaders, and movements that have dotted the landscape of Vermont's past, Bassett's aim was "to produce a series of samplers that tell what Vermont was like in that bygone age" (p. vii). The author is forthright in stating his inclinations; in fact the first sentence of the book states that the "bias of this book is that the touch of the holy upon life is the most important fact in history and the most difficult to identify" (p. v). Moreover, Bassett is determined to demonstrate the distinctiveness of Vermont's religious past and the truth in Ethan Allen's claim that "the gods of the hills are not the gods of the valleys" (I Kings 20: 23, 28). Yet, even with these inherent leanings, Bassett does not sugar-coat the history of religion in Vermont. He offers no pat solutions to the very real problem presented by the fact that a significant proportion of Vermont's population were not adherents of any denominations and, therefore, would not be categorized as "religious" by many other historians.

Bassett has obviously wrestled with the issue of religion and church affiliation. Those drawn to the history of religion will

empathize with the dilemma that the line between the sacred and the secular is often difficult to discern and, more often than not, is rarely fixed. To address this issue, Bassett has introduced a fascinating notion in the idea of what he terms “civil religion.”

In the environment of religious revivalism that swept across the northern United States and British North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, unchurched Vermonters came together under the religious banner of patriotism, and created their own brand of religious fervour.

By the 1830s the civic religious of Vermont had their own institutionalized religion complete with holy days, scriptures, rituals and beliefs. All that was missing was a patron saint. This appeared in the form of Ethan Allen, the famed member of the Green Mountain Boys. Allen’s rise to hero/saint status in Vermont was slow and is representative of the quandary he presented even to the civic religious. His 1784 book, *Reason: The Only Oracle of Man*, placed Allen firmly in the camp of the deists and took him out of the running for hero status in the years immediately following his death when revivalism was at an all-time high. Nevertheless, after 1830, when memories had faded slightly and religious pluralism had left its mark on Vermont, Allen was looked upon far more favourably.

The rehabilitation of Allen’s memory was helped a long by some creative public relations work performed by members of his family. More than forty years after Allen’s death, his widow arranged for a grave marker with the following inscription: “His spirit tried the mercies of his God, in whom alone he believed and strongly trusted.” This went a long way in denying his status as an “infidel” (p. 55). When the Civil War ended and the fires of evangelical fervour were but embers, Ethan Allen became the first choice of Vermonters to be honoured in

the National Statuary Hall established by Congress in 1865. By the 1860s, the civil religion of Vermont was complete; in the tumultuous years after the Civil War it was also necessary. Its doctrine of patriotism provided an umbrella of unity under which the accommodation of difference could take place. There is little wonder that it took on the mantle of holiness both for those who claimed church affiliation and for those who did not.

The diverse viewpoints of holiness created the religious pluralism of Vermont. And it is Bassett’s focus on religious pluralism that gives readers a glimpse of Vermont’s past through a unique lens. The politics, economy, and social history of Vermont, as viewed through the lens of spirituality gain subtle shadings and help us to understand that the intentions of the historical actors were modified and influenced by their particular worldview. The evolving religious landscape of Vermont includes the story of competition between the denominations, the establishment of infrastructure, and the introduction of a plethora of groups and associations in the post-Civil War years. All of this creates a picture of a vivid and kaleidoscopic patchwork quilt with each group vying for the loyalty of followers amidst the waxing and waning interpretations of the true meaning of the divine. Certainly, Vermonters shifted from one group to another to serve their own spiritual needs. For instance, in the years preceding the Civil War, the Wesleyan Methodists, well-known for their abolitionist stance, were the recipients of a number of Quakers who were unhappy with the refusal of their own denomination to assume a more politically active stance against slavery. Interestingly, Quaker historians will be familiar with similar cases, such as that of Laura Smith Haviland in New York State, who left the Quakers directly as a result of

her abolitionist tendencies. However, once emancipation had been achieved, Haviland returned to the Quakers. Clearly, denominational loyalties served a certain utilitarian purpose. Vermonters, like those elsewhere chose a religious affiliation which most closely aligned with their particular worldview.

For those interested in Quaker history, *God's of the Hills* offers an interesting perspective. Here, the story of Quakers does not take centre stage. Rather, it provides a number of the threads that, woven together, made up the fabric of religious life in nineteenth-century Vermont. In this work Quakers are not just Quakers. They, along with the other folks who inhabited this state, became *Vermonters* who, in Bassett's view, all integrated some aspect of the holy into their identity. And, as he makes clear, changing notions of piety were a formative part of that identity. Therefore, although there are not extensive details about Quakers, this book provides a context of the extended religious environment in which Friends lived out their faith. Moreover, because some Upper Canadian Friends hailed from Vermont and maintained connections with family and f/Friends, *God's of the Hills* contributes to our awareness of the influences these Friends may have carried with them when they arrived in British North America.

The strengths of this comprehensive survey of religion in Vermont are sometimes its weakness. Bassett himself acknowledges the difficulty of producing a well-rounded history from the arid sources of organized churches. Amid the wash of institutional sources, glimpses of the private and personal lives of Vermont's faithful are limited. This is no more so in Vermont than elsewhere, but it allows only for glimpses of each group in question. When this is coupled with a survey of the scope of this

one, the number of snapshots can become distracting. There were many times that I was hoping for a more developed discussion of the larger themes within the context of individual denominations and associations rather than the introduction of yet another group. Moreover, the notion "that *all* Vermonters have *always* been religious," is nothing short of intriguing. Bassett contends that Vermonters "all have had 'spirituality'" (p. 261). The question is whether the sacred, the holy, and the spiritual are necessarily the Divine. And where is faith in all of this religion? What is so interesting about this question from the perspective of the reader is that it so closely mirrors that posed by nineteenth-century Vermonters themselves. Every reader will have his or her own interpretation of religion and will agree or disagree with Bassett depending on the viewpoint from which the book is read. The responses to this work will be as pluralistic as the religious perspectives of nineteenth-century Vermont. This is a comprehensive book that tackles a difficult topic in a new and refreshing manner. Whether one agrees or disagrees with Bassett's assumptions, readers will come away from this work convinced, indeed, that the gods of the hills are not the gods of the valleys.