



Coldstream Meetinghouse - 1859

# CANADIAN QUAKER HISTORY

## Newsletter

CANADIAN FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

ISSN 0319-3934

60 LOWTHER AVENUE, TORONTO, ONTARIO M5R 1C7

NO.26

Third Month (March) 1980

Contents:

Page

Editorial - Kathleen Hertzberg	26:1-2
Responses to the Arthur G. Dorland Commemorative Issue - Jane Zavitz	26:3
Minutes of Seventh Annual Meeting, Yonge Street Meeting House, 1st December, 1979	26:4-6
Burial Grounds and Genealogical Search - William E. Britnell	26:6
Treasurer's Report to 1979 Annual Meeting	26:7
Quaker Genealogical and Research Questions - Procedures	26:8
A Testimony to the Grace of God in the Life of Fred Haslam	26:9-11
Rendell Rhoades Collection at Pickering College Report - Jane Zavitz	26:12
Re: Priorities for the Canadian Friends Historical Association	26:13
List of Priorities for the Canadian Friends Historical Association	26:14
Canadian Friends Historical Association Annual Gathering at Canadian Yearly Meeting 1980 - Nelson, B.C.	26:15
Book Review - "Along the Trail of Life" - Arthur G. Dorland Dorothy Muma	26:16
New York Yearly Meeting Records Committee: Conference on writing of Quaker History and Keeping of Quaker Records - Powell House, October 31-November 2, 1980	26:17
News and Notes: Newsletter 1980 CFHA Summer Indexing Project 1980 Coming Events	26:17-18
Request re: United Farm Women of Ontario	26:18
Annual Service at Uxbridge Friends Meeting	26:19
Book Note: "Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, 1665-1966" by W. Pearson Thistlethwaite	26:19
"Some Lesser Known Separations in the Society of Friends" David L. Holden, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.	Concluding Pages



RECYCLED PAPER

EDITORIAL: By Way of Annals  
by Kathleen Hertzberg

---

Anyone who wishes to make a serious study of Quakerism and Quaker history will find an enormous amount of material available in England and the United States. Now into the fourth century, such Quaker records and published materials in the English language, naturally become more numerous. As they lived through their hard experiences, early Friends became aware of the necessity of good record keeping. As early as 1676 advices were sent out to Monthly and Quarterly Meetings asking them to collect an exact account of the "Valiant Sixty", the early ministers of Friends who first brought the message of Quakerism to them, the reception they got and how the Meetings were "settled". Soon after, directions were given to "collect matters for a General History of the Entrance and Progress of Truth by way of Annals".<sup>(1)</sup> From this, sixty manuscripts were obtained which became "The First Publishers of Truth".<sup>(2)</sup>

From the beginning, Friends were particular in keeping their registers of births, deaths and marriages. Records of those who were poor and families suffering under persecution were also kept and of those who were "walking disorderly". Books and tracts were to be collected "to be tried and weighed by such persons who are able in the wisdom of God" to decide whether they should be printed and published! As a result of the Quaker experience in keeping registers, Samuel Fothergill, the Quaker doctor, laid before the authorities in England the urgent need for a properly checked and regularised system of registration. Through his insistence, the modern system in England came into being.<sup>(3)</sup>

The discipline which travelling Friends observed by laying their concern before their Meetings, ensured that they were recorded in the minute books; the inspiration of many Friends to record their personal experiences in diaries and journals, has provided us with invaluable records.

The precise descriptions of the sufferings of Friends contained in "Besse's Sufferings" and in minute books, followed Fox's request

Editorial continued

"to keep copies of all their sufferings" (Fox's Epistles 140 and 141)

It is interesting to note that in his book The Quakers in Science and Industry, Arthur Raistrick points out that all this written work was not for the purpose of recording history or providing records for archives, but "to reveal to others how Friends were brought into a knowledge of the Truth". In other words, Friends were primarily concerned to preserve the truth in the history they recorded.

The history of Quakerism in Canada goes back at least 180 years. Friends who came to Canada as pioneers, and since, have endeavoured to follow the pattern of the Discipline and its various forms of recording. The practice of keeping personal religious journals was prevalent for many years; e.g. the Journal of Timothy Rogers for early Canadian Friends.<sup>(4)</sup>

Work has begun but there is still a great deal to be done if we in Canada are to complete and up-date our Canadian Quaker Archives and have the records available alongside a Reference Library for the use of serious researchers. This is not only a part of "good stewardship" of our heritage but is also "a concern for a knowledge of the Truth" as it was for Friends in the past.

The Executive Committee has prepared an outline of "Tasks ahead of the Canadian Friends Historical Association" which is printed in this issue. We welcome your response.

- (1) "Quakers in Science and Industry" by A. Raistrick, p.28
- (2) "First Publishers of Truth" edited by Norman Penney 1907
- (3) "Quakers in Science & Industry" by A. Raistrick, p.297
- (4) Howard H. Brinton listed nearly 1000 Friends Journals in his study of Quaker journals.

Responses to Arthur G. Dorland Commemorative Issue

"Thank You" (for responding)

The original reasons for the 'Afternoon with Arthur G. Dorland' were first, to let Arthur Dorland know of our appreciation for him and his work; second, to permit those who did not know him to meet him and learn of his life's contributions; and third, to tie those people who had known him together as they shared in the occasion. In spite of his death and the resultant changes, these goals seem to have been reached on August 16, 1979, at the Yonge Street Meetinghouse when the impact of his life was shared. For everyone it was an expression of love.

We want to thank all of you who came and helped to accomplish these aims. Your sharing that day and your responses to the commemorative issue of the C.F.H.A. newsletter continue to prove it was a "right leading" made meaningful by Arthur Dorland's students, friends and family. Letters continue to arrive. Goldwin Smith wrote after he read others' words that "He (Arthur G. Dorland) touched so many lives as he passed by and touched them for good. One can not say that about many men." That is why his life was significant.

Along with the letters have come memorial gifts to help purchase the Rendell Rhoades Discipline Collection and related materials to establish the Friends Research Collection at Pickering College which Arthur Dorland dreamed about years ago. It is a pleasure, and yes, a joy, to report that the collection is now being moved into the special storage and work area prepared for it. It is a pleasant place and will serve researchers well until the new library facilities in the long term plans also become reality. What might seem slow from day to day has been a good pace forward in a few short months. We thank all of you who have helped make the research library possible. The dream is becoming reality.

Jane V. Zavitz

Seventh Annual Meeting of the Canadian Friends Historical Association held at Yonge Street Friends Meetinghouse, Newmarket, Ont., on Saturday, December 1st, 1979, commencing at 10:30 a.m.

Kathleen Hertzberg, Vice-chairman, presided.

There were 27 members present.

In her opening remarks, the Chairman remembered those Friends who have died in the past year, Arthur G. Dorland, Fred Haslam, Margaret Pennington.

Regrets were received from: Elizabeth Moger, Len & Betty Huggard, Arnold Ranneris, Tom Socknat, Elma Starr.

Minutes of the Sixth Annual Meeting were published in Newsletter #24 in April, 1979, and were approved as circulated.

#### Matters Arising from the Minutes

- (a) Quaker Burial Grounds (1) New Glasgow, N. S. This matter is continued as Friends in the Maritimes have not yet visited the site. It was noted that there is much activity in the field of genealogy in the Maritimes, and we hope to hear more about this.  
(2) Moira, Ontario. This matter is continued.
- (b) Summer Indexing Project 1979 As no grant had been forthcoming, this work was not carried on in 1979. It is proposed to make application for 1980 as it is felt that the work is essential. Other possibilities of grants will be investigated by the Chairman. Friends are not easy about applying to Wintario because of the source of its income. It was suggested that Friends using the archives for research should make notes of interesting items on 3 x 5 cards for the reference of others.
- (c) Archives (1) Yearly Meeting Records Committee has not yet met. This matter will be followed up. The general oversight and care of all Yearly Meeting records is at question and Representative Meeting will be asked to give guidance to the Records Committee. A list of the archives at University of Western Ontario was published in Newsletter #13, copies of which are available from Dorothy Muma, 60 Lowther Avenue, Toronto, Ont. M5R 1C7, cost \$2.00.  
(2) Ottawa Meeting Records: Barry Thomas reported that Ottawa Meeting records have been microfilmed. He is preparing a history of that Meeting.  
(3) National Archives: It was suggested that some of the material microfilmed might need to be closed to the public. It was noted that the National Archives has offered copies of the microfilm for sale, but that we have no agreement with them on this. The Ontario Archives agreement specifically states that permission must be granted by Yearly Meeting for such sales.

Minutes of Seventh Annual Meeting continuedMatters Referred by Executive Committee

- (a) C.F.H.A. Program at Yearly Meeting 1980 (August 18-24, Nelson, B.C.)  
It is proposed that the program will highlight relations between Friends and the Doukhobors, with a second line of interest being Japanese-Canadians. Western Friends are helping to set up this program.
- (b) Housing of Quaker Archives and Reference Library at Pickering College. Jane Zavitz reported that plans are underway to include a large library space in the reconstruction of Pickering College, although these plans are not finally formulated. Jane Zavitz has undertaken to investigate acquiring a collection of Quaker books which is for sale in Ohio. If it is possible to obtain sufficient funds to buy this collection, the collection could become the basis of a Quaker Reference Library at Pickering College and might be called the "Arthur G. Dorland Memorial Library". Individual Friends and Monthly Meetings wishing to contribute towards the purchase of the collection should contact Jane Zavitz, Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario. Costs of maintenance of such a collection should also be considered.

Reports

- (a) Chairman The Executive Committee has met three times since the last Annual Meeting. Absent members sent in their comments on the business discussed at these meetings.
- (b) Treasurer A copy of the Treasurer's report is attached to these Minutes. Current bank balance is \$2,143.09. The report was approved.
- (c) Membership We now have a total of 132 members, made up as follows: General 74, Seniors and students 37, Life 17, Honorary and complimentary 4. It was felt that all Meetings in Canada should be encouraged to become members and to this end it was agreed that complimentary copies of the Newsletter should be sent to them.
- (d) Newsletter Only two issues have been produced this year because of lack of personnel and financial resources. Carolyn Ballard has acted as Production Manager, with Kathleen Hertzberg and Jane Zavitz as co-editors. Carolyn Ballard will be away for a year and it is now necessary to find other personnel. The necessity of members submitting good material for the Newsletters was stressed. It was suggested that three issues be prepared in 1980.
- (e) Burial Grounds Some records of the Bloomfield Friends Cemetery have been received. It is hoped to have a report from William Britnell later about other burial grounds.
- (f) Genealogical Search Letters requesting genealogical information have been sent to William Britnell who has been dealing with these. It was proposed that CFHA should charge a fee for this searching, and a letter from Elizabeth Moger in this respect will be considered by the Executive.

Minutes of Seventh Annual Meeting continuedNominations

Because of the difficulty of finding people to serve, the Nominating Committee recommended that the same slate be re-appointed with the exception of Mary Eck, who will be replaced as Secretary by Marguerite Johnson who will also be Membership Secretary. Kathleen Hertzberg will have the title of Chairman. It was approved that the Executive Committee look again for prospective Executive members.

New Business

- (a) A letter from Elizabeth Moger recommended that we become affiliated with the Friends Historical Society, London, England, and the American Friends Historical Association. Kathleen Hertzberg will investigate whether it is possible to become affiliated without taking out membership.
- (b) Brochure It was proposed that an information brochure be produced. The Executive Committee was asked to take care of this.

It was noted that the Quaker Book Service is now in operation again, and enquiries should be directed to P. O. Box 4652, Station E, Ottawa, Ont., K1S 5H8.

Appreciation was expressed for the use of the Yonge Street Meetinghouse facilities for this meeting.

Appreciation was expressed for the work of Christine Chatten in providing a lunch at modest cost.

The meeting adjourned.

In the afternoon, David Holden, Associate Professor of Sociology at Queen's University, spoke to us on "Some Lesser Known Separations in The Society of Friends." A report of his talk will be given in the Newsletter.

Dorothy Muma  
Recorder

Note:

Report on Burial Grounds - William Britnell  
and

Genealogical Enquiries - William Britnell

Both these reports to the Annual Meeting will follow in the next issue of the Newsletter.

William Britnell comments that genealogical enquiries are increasing considerably.

CANADIAN FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONFINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR NOVEMBER 1, 1978 TO OCTOBER 31, 1979

1978

Nov. 1	Balances at Bank:		
	Royal Bank Acct. #3009	1,004.16	
	DUCA Savings Acct. #1285450	139.81	
	DUCA Current Acct. #1285451	33.28	
	DUCA Term Deposit #6709 due Nov.1,1980	<u>500.00</u>	1,677.25
	Receipts:		
	Memberships	587.00	
	Donations	256.97	
	Sale of Newsletters	11.00	
	Rebates	9.60	
	Exchange and Interest	<u>110.54</u>	<u>975.11</u>
			2,652.36
	Payments:		
	Newsletter production	126.04	
	Stationery	33.15	
	Postage	160.50	
	Annual Meeting Speaker Travel	120.00	
	Copies	6.50	
	Telephone	33.73	
	Ontario Historical Association	10.00	
	NSF cheque	5.00	
	Miscellaneous	<u>14.35</u>	<u>509.27</u>
Oct. 31, 1979	Balance at Banks		<u><u>2,143.09</u></u>

Comprised of:		
Royal Bank Acct. #3009	1,413.72	
DUCA Savings Acct. #1285450	150.25	
DUCA Current Acct. #1285451	34.12	
DUCA Term Deposit #6709 due Nov.1,1980	<u>545.00</u>	<u><u>2,143.09</u></u>

Dorothy Muma, Treasurer

The above statement was compared  
with the records in detail and I  
certify it to be correct.

(signed) J. S. PETRIE, Auditor

QUAKER GENEALOGICAL AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS - PROCEDURES

Ed Phelps, who is the Librarian of the Regional Collection at the University of Western Ontario where the Quaker records are housed, writes that Elsie Cutler is unable to continue responding to and re-searching the reference questions which over many years have been dealt with by her, both genealogical and specific questions relating to Quaker history. Therefore, Ed Phelps is designing a new form letter to switch the questions over to

- (1) personal search by the enquirer
- (2) the individual asking for the information would be asked to hire a researcher whom Ed Phelps can recommend.

Copies or notification of such letters will continue to go to Elsie Cutler in case she has recollection of answering the same family information before, which sometimes happens. This would eliminate repetition.

However, enquirers will primarily be referred to the microfilms at the Provincial Archives in Toronto or to the microfilms in the National Archives in Ottawa.

William Britnell will also continue to assist with genealogical enquiries, c/o Dorothy Muma, C.F.H.A. 60 Lowther Avenue, Toronto M5R 1C7.

Questions previously addressed to Elsie Cutler should now be addressed to:

Edward Phelps,  
Librarian, Regional Collection,  
D. B. Weldon Library,  
University of Western Ontario,  
London, Ontario N6A 3K7

Thanks to Elsie Cutler (a member of Coldstream Meeting)

We would like to record our special thanks and appreciation to Elsie Cutler who has undertaken this service for many years both on behalf of the Records Committee of Canadian Yearly Meeting and the Canadian Friends Historical Association. She has put in many hours of research and correspondence in the good spirit of Quaker service. Thank you, Elsie.

TORONTO MONTHLY MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS  
A TESTIMONY TO THE GRACE OF GOD IN THE LIFE OF FRED HASLAM

"Fred Haslam gave us a fine example of a Quaker who combined deep concern, precise knowledge, and unswerving integrity with an endearingly modest approach." So wrote a Friend who was associated with Fred Haslam for many years.

Fred Haslam was born May 26th, 1897, at Middleton, Lancashire, England, and died in Toronto on October 16th, 1979. He entered employment at an early age and continued to educate himself throughout his life. During the first World War, he was imprisoned as a conscientious objector. While in prison, he met a Quaker and attended his first Friends Meeting for Worship. After the war, he worked for the Friends Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee in London, later serving in Vienna.

He came to Canada in 1921. His introduction to Albert S. Rogers by London Friends led to a lifelong association and to service with post World War I relief and in the Friends' Boys' Club. Work with the Boys' Club led Fred Haslam and Albert Rogers to seek a campsite for summer holidays for the boys. A campsite was acquired in 1931 which later became Camp NeeKauNis.

In October, 1931, Canadian Friends Service Committee was organized with Fred Haslam as its secretary, a service he gave until 1956. His persistence and resourcefulness were instrumental in bringing about the formation of the Canadian contingent of the China Convoy of the Friends Ambulance Unit in World War II as an opportunity for alternative service for young men of military age.

In 1940 he married Maud Watts who died in 1958.

Through his work with Camp NeeKauNis and Canadian Friends Service Committee, he contributed greatly to the unification of the three Yearly Meetings in Canada, which took place in 1955.

From 1960 to 1972, Fred Haslam was Secretary-Treasurer of Canadian Yearly Meeting. He acted as representative of Canadian Friends on Friends World Committee for Consultation for many years, attending Quaker world conferences and international gatherings. In his international representation he became one of the best-known and deeply

A Testimony to the Grace of God in the Life of Fred Haslam continued

respected Canadian Friends. On his death, messages of appreciation of Fred Haslam were received from Friends across Canada, the United States, Great Britain and Ireland.

Under the care of Home Mission and Advancement Committee, he travelled across Canada as Extension Secretary, visiting Meetings and isolated Friends, and corresponding with enquirers until prevented by failing health. In his nurture of Meetings, he wrote "There should be a spiritual identity which is recognizable by members of the Society of Friends as the foundation on which outward efforts rest."

He was on the Board of Friends United Meeting. He valued ecumenical friendships and exchange and served actively on Canadian Council of Churches, attending assemblies of the World Council of Churches. As a Fellow at Woodbrooke in 1967-68, he wrote his book "1921-1967: A Record of Experiences with Canadian Friends and the Canadian Ecumenical Movement". When he retired, he spent a second term at Woodbrooke, and wrote his manuscript "Some Reflections on Life".

His much appreciated work with the Canadian Save the Children Fund over a long period of time led in 1977 to his receiving a Canada Medal on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Queen's accession.

Throughout his life and in all his work, Fred Haslam revealed an innate sense of integrity, honesty and unselfish service. His outstanding sense of responsibility and loyalty towards the Society of Friends was based on his religious convictions, resulting in an example of truly sacramental service. He was concerned to see Christian values put into practice in the contemporary world by upholding of the peace testimony and in witness against capital punishment. He showed kindness, generosity and toleration, enhanced by a gently sense of humor. Though he had no children of his own, he loved and welcomed the children of others. He was a lifelong abstainer from alcohol and promoter of abstinence. A deep love of nature and interest in astronomy gave him spiritual perspectives through observation of God's creation and man's place in it. His ministry in Meeting for Worship was always moving and continued as an expression of his Christian faith up to the time

A Testimony to the Grace of God in the Life of Fred Haslam continued

of his final hospitalization in 1979. He often quoted and found comfort in lines from his favourite poet, Whittier: "I only know I cannot drift beyond His loving care."

"The honestly unassuming and spiritual person which he was would lead us to want to say 'Not to him but to God be the praise and thanks for his life.'"

March, 1980

Fred Haslam died on Tuesday 16th day, Tenth Month, 1979.

He is buried in Park Lawn Cemetery, 2845 Bloor Street, West, Toronto, next to his wife Maud.

A Meeting for worship in memory of Fred Haslam, appointed by Toronto Monthly Meeting, took place on Wednesday the 14th day of Eleventh Month, 1979, at Friends House, Toronto.

There were approximately 100 people present: Friends of Toronto Meeting, Friends from other Meetings, and personal friends. A list of those present is available from the guest book at Friends House and a report of the Memorial Meeting is attached to the Minutes of Toronto Monthly Meeting held 20:11:79.

Messages received from Meetings, Quaker organizations, Woodbrooke College, individual Friends, relatives, and friends are also available at Friends House Toronto.



# CANADIAN FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Pickering College  
Newmarket, Ontario  
L3Y 4X2

April 1, 1980

Dear friends:

The Rendell Rhoades Collection of Friends' Disciplines and related materials was purchased by Pickering College in December, 1979. Scholars interested in a comparative study of Quakerism via these historical documents will find them a valuable resource. The related materials come mainly from the nineteenth century, with some from the eighteenth and present centuries. The five hundred Disciplines, which are the core of the collection, represent most of the Disciplines used by Friends in all their Yearly Meetings since the practice of creating and using Disciplines arose in the second decade of Quakerism in England.

Pickering College received the collection during the Christmas term break. It is now housed in a specially prepared work and study room in the school. The area is fireproof, has a constant temperature, and good lighting. Pickering College hopes that eventually the collection will be an integral part of the expanded library facility.

The Canadian Friends Historical Association is grateful to the Board of Pickering College for the acquisition of this important collection. Individual contributions have been generous but not sufficient to date to guarantee the full purchase commitment, so it is hoped that Friends, and friends, will continue to support its purchase. Cheques can be made out to Pickering College and earmarked for this purpose. All such gifts are deductible for income tax purposes. Donations will be welcome and appreciated.

The Collection is the nucleus for a Friends Research Library in Canada. All of the volumes are more valuable because they are maintained as a collection. Some items are irreplaceable. It is also important to report that the collection will be available for use soon. It is hoped that other books pertinent to Quaker life and thought will be added in the years ahead. Arthur Dorland would approve that his vision for a Friends Collection at Pickering College has indeed become a reality. The Canadian Friends Historical Association is grateful for the work and contributions that have made this possible.

Sincerely yours,

Jane V. Zavitz  
Pickering College Librarian  
Member Exec. Com. of Canadian  
Friends Historical Association



26:13

# CANADIAN FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

60 LOWTHER AVENUE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M5R 1C7

March, 1980

To: Members of the Canadian Friends Historical  
Association  
Friends Meetings in Canada  
Individual Friends and those interested in  
the preservation and knowledge of Quaker History  
in Canada

---

The Executive has identified the following  
priorities and tasks for Canadian Friends  
Historical Association, in which we can all  
share.

The Executive would welcome comments and  
suggestions for their accomplishment, as  
well as offers of help.

Kathleen Hertzberg  
Chairman

PRIORITIES FOR THE CANADIAN FRIENDS HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION on following page

PRIORITIES FOR THE CANADIAN FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1. To seek Friends and others willing to take office in the Association.
2. To maintain the organisation and administration.
3. To edit and to produce the NEWSLETTER three times a year, encouraging a variety of contributions from capable researchers and writers. This will include encouraging Meetings in Canada to write their histories.
4. To organise annual events at Canadian Yearly Meeting for programs and pilgrimages to provide interest and learning experience for all involved.
5. To promote wider membership, including an awareness of our Association's contribution to Canadian cultural heritage and to interact with similar historical organisations.
6. To develop affiliation with the Friends Historical Society (London Yearly Meeting) and the Friends Historical Association in the United States for mutual benefit and support.
7. To locate and to collect Quaker records both older and modern, for deposit in the Archives and/or for microfilming. This is the task which Arthur Dorland commenced. He gathered the original Quaker Collection on deposit at the University of Western Ontario, London. This continues as a concern and requires time and care.
8. To work on the consistent up-dating of the Archives by the addition of the records of Yearly Meeting Committees (Canadian Friends Service Committee in particular); records of Monthly, Quarterly and Half-yearly Meetings etc. To work with Canadian Yearly Meeting Records Committee on this task, as all Canadian Quaker Records belong to Canadian Yearly Meeting.
9. To raise funds to pay for qualified help in indexing the Quaker Records, some of which are rare and frail. This work was first commenced in 1978 when the Association received a grant from the Ontario Provincial Government for a student who commenced the indexing at the University of Western Ontario under the supervision of the Curator of the Quaker Collection. It is hoped to continue this work in 1980 with a similar grant.
10. To co-operate with Pickering College in the pursuit of the plan for the establishment of a Quaker Research & Reference Library at Pickering College, which, in Arthur Dorland's own words "would provide adequate archival facilities and making this the centre for all Quaker Canadiana". (Letter to the Canadian Friends Historical Association, January 1971). This involves fund raising.
11. To assist in and to encourage collecting Quaker books and materials to add to the RENDELL RHOADES COLLECTION purchased by Pickering College in December, 1979, as the nucleus for a Friends Research & Reference Library.

ADVANCE NOTICE OF CANADIAN FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION EVENT  
AT CANADIAN YEARLY MEETING 1980 - August 18-24 inclusive

Date: WEDNESDAY, August 20TH, 1980

Place: David Thompson University Centre, Nelson, British Columbia

The Canadian Friends Historical Association program will focus on "Friends and the Doukhobors". At 3:30 p.m. there will be a talk by Hugh Herbison who has worked with the Dukhobors for many years. The group will then depart by bus to Brilliant. We will share a meal with Doukhobor friends and listen to a Doukhobor choir.

When in 1970, Canadian Yearly Meeting was held for the first time outside Ontario at Saskatoon, Friends received a warm and wonderful welcome from the Independent Doukhobor congregation. In their "Address to Friends", they reminded us that in response to the cry for help "from our revered mentor, the late lamented Count Leo Tolstoy, the Quakers of England, Canada and America came to the aid of our forefathers towards the end of the last century and literally saved the Doukhobors from certain genocide (in Russia) for their opposition to war and military service."

The Summer issue of the CFHA NEWSLETTER will contain articles by Hugh Herbison and Gordon Hirabayashi which will tell the story of Friends' connections with the Doukhobors and the history of the Doukhobors since they came to Canada. This will provide us with a good background for the Friendly encounter with the Doukhobors at 1980 Yearly Meeting and the opportunity it will be for us to express our friendship and continuing interest.

We are grateful to Friends in British Columbia for organising this event. Further details will appear in the next issue of the NEWSLETTER.

Correction:  
Newsletter #25

25:11 Dr. Helen B. Allison read "now retired"

ALONG THE TRAIL OF LIFE

A Quaker Retrospect

by

Arthur Garratt Dorland

For those of us who read Arthur Dorland's earlier book "Former Days and Quaker Ways", this new book is a must. While the first book dwelt much on Arthur Dorland's younger days, "Along the Trail of Life" gives a deeper perspective on his later adult years. From his early days at Wellington and Bloomfield, through a widening of horizons by visits to England and Ireland and contacts there with pacifists, through his early married life and loss of his beloved wife Nellie, down to his time of writing at age 92, Arthur Dorland weaves an interesting pattern of his philosophical journey. His adventures in the academic world of University teaching are told with wit and insight and lead us along many fascinating sidepaths of interest.

This book gives much more background of Nellie Malone, Arthur Dorland's wife, and Arthur Dorland's deep grief at her passing is very evident. The concerns of a pacifist father about his sons' attitudes to war are brought out clearly. The author's hard work to help bring about the union of the three Yearly Meetings in Canada is dealt with almost deferentially, and perhaps only those of us who were also involved realize how much of his work has been left out of this report.

This carefully written book deserves our attention both as a historical and philosophical record of Arthur Dorland's life and as a good book to read.

Available from: Quaker Book Service, P. O. Box 4652, Station E,  
Ottawa, Ont. K1S 5H8 or Publisher - Mika, Belleville  
Cost: \$25.00 per copy

Invitation from New York Yearly Meeting Records Committee  
"The Writing and Publishing of Meeting Histories"

Canadian Friends are cordially invited to participate in a conference on writing Quaker history and keeping Quaker records, to be held at Powell House, Old Chatham, New York, U.S.A., October 31 to November 2, 1980, under the sponsorship of the Records Committee of New York Yearly Meeting.

When the Records Committee met in December, 1979, its members decided to encourage each Meeting to appoint a Meeting Historian, to do research and prepare a Meeting history, if none existed. To assist in the process, the committee altered the focus of a projected second conference (following up on the one held in 1977) on the making and keeping of Friends' records.

Oral history techniques will be demonstrated when a life-long member of New York Yearly Meeting is interviewed, as the audience watches and listens. Members of a panel of Quaker writers will describe how they researched and wrote their histories.

In another seminar, archivists, recorders, and minute clerks will discuss the importance of making accurate minutes, and the best methods of insuring their proper preservation. Jane R. Smiley, New Paltz Meeting, is co-ordinating this session.

New York Yearly Meeting members planning the weekend are Richard Bowman, Linda Houser, Mary Ellen Singsen, Jane R. Smiley, Brooks Wright, and the Keeper of the Records, Elizabeth H. Moger.

For further information, please write to Elizabeth Moger, Haviland Records Room, 15 Rutherford Place, New York, New York 10003, U.S.A.

NEWS AND NOTES

CFHA Newsletter The Executive has decided that there will be three issues of the Newsletter in 1980, the present issue, June or early July issue focusing on the Doukhobors for 1980 Yearly Meeting and a Fall issue.

Articles and contributions are welcome.

News and Notes continued

Summer Indexing Project If, as we hope and as described, we are successful in our application for a grant from "Experience '80" to have a student working on indexing of records, we shall have to provide 25% of the wages (approximately \$750). Contributions would be helpful.

Coming Events

1. The Ontario Historical Society Workshop The Basics of Historical Research - April 26th at Simcoe County Archives, Minesing.  
Apply to The Ontario Historical Society, 78 Dunloe Road, Toronto M5P 2T6
2. Brock University April 11-13, 1980  
Second Annual Niagara Peninsula History Conference. Apply to Dept. of History, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ont. L2S 3A1
3. Ontario Genealogical Society, Seminar '80 at Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., May 23-25. Apply to OGS Seminar '80, P.O.Box 1476, Kingston, Ont. K7L 5C6

UNITED FARM WOMEN OF ONTARIO

Margaret Kechnie, a graduate history student at Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario, P3E 2C6, writes that she is researching the history of the United Farm Women of Ontario and asks whether we know of any groups which existed in the places where Friends settled, where minutes of meetings, correspondence, etc. survived? She is also interested in knowing the background of the women involved in the United Farm Women of Ontario. If you have any information, please write to her direct at the above address.

INDIVIDUAL COPIES OF THE "NEWSLETTER" ARE AVAILABLE AT \$2 PER COPY

MEMBERSHIP FEES: Please renew your membership in the Canadian Friends Historical Association

<u>Fee schedule:</u>	Regular Membership	\$7
	Senior Citizens & Students	\$3
	Life Membership	\$100

### ANNUAL SERVICE AT UXBRIDGE FRIENDS MEETING

The Board of Directors of the Friends Meeting House, Quaker Hill, Uxbridge announce the 171st Anniversary service of the church on Sunday, June 15, 1980, at 2:30 p.m. You are cordially invited to attend.

At the annual business meeting, March 27, it was decided that it was necessary to purchase a new mower to use to cut the grass in the two-acre cemetery and also the church yard. Funds are required to purchase this mower, preferably a riding mower. They are contacting those who have ancestors laid to rest in the cemetery, and those whom it is felt might be interested in preserving this historic site to a place of beauty. Official receipts for income tax deductions will be issued for each donation received, which should be sent to:

Mrs. Harold M. Clark,  
Secretary of Board of Directors,  
Box 1506,  
Uxbridge, Ontario, LOC 1K0

YORKSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING, 1665-1966 by W. Pearson Thistlethwaite a book published by the Author and produced at The Scholar Press, Ilkley, Yorkshire. A4, pp. viii + 452 +8 half-tone photographs (with Index), laminated covers, with a Foreword by Russell Mortimer.

As far as the Author is aware, the task of reviewing the whole life and concern of a British Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends has not been attempted before. Yorkshire is fortunate in having a remarkably complete set of Minutes and other documents - 121 items in all - the earliest going back to 1651.

The present volume contains 14 chapters in which the Q.M. is revealed as welfare state, landed proprietor, moral policeman, law court, educator, publisher, missionary agency and political agitator (in the non-party sense). Through the three centuries the emphasis gradually changes from an executive to a regulatory to a deliberative and inspirational function.

A selection of 'pocket biographies' is derived from the Testimonies.

The Index contains about 1300 personal names and about 2000 other items. Among the former are the founding fathers and mothers of Yorkshire Quakerism and members of many well-known families. It seems likely that many Friends outside Yorkshire, will find ancestors mentioned.

Order from: W.P.Thistlethwaite, 2 Rossett Holt View, HARROGATE HG2 9AF, UK  
Price £6, Postage 1 copy £1.30 (2) £1.90 (3) £2.40 (4) £2.80  
(5) £3.25

SOME OF THE LESSER KNOWN SEPARATIONS  
IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS  
by DAVID HOLDEN

---

(A talk given at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Friends Historical Association on December 1, 1979, at the Yonge Street Friends Meetinghouse, Newmarket, Ontario.)

---

The invitation from Kathlaen Hertzberg came over the telephone and I agreed to do it. She is very persuasive over the telephone; I think perhaps Fritz has found that out. I feel a little bit of a fraud in speaking to a historical association. I only joined the Historical Association very recently. I am not a historian, I am a sociologist; and hence, my treatment of the data, of the information, that I will be giving you is probably a little bit different to the way a historian would look at it. In a sense, what I have been doing is trying to find patterns of events, so that I can piece these patterns together and use those patterns to explain the events, to understand the events from quite a different point of view than the traditional recounting of what took place.

My interest in the question of the schisms and separations started with work in the Discipline Committee of Canadian Yearly Meeting. I was looking through the London Discipline and I ran across something that we do not have in ours. There is a series of pages on the procedures for appealing disownment. It struck me as being anomalous as Friends have long since said that we do not move unless we have unity on the subject. Yet there is evidence that quite clearly shows lack of unity on a thing, the disownment of a person. I wondered how it was possible to reach unity on somebody's disownment and then have them appeal it. I looked further and found that Friends had agreed to disagree sufficiently violently on occasions that we have had some memorable separations. The most memorable one, a schism most Friends have probably heard of, is the Hicksite separation that took place in Philadelphia in 1827, and 1828 in New York. They may have heard of the Wilbur-Gurney separation in New England and the fact that it reverberated all the way through Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, up into Canada. If they have lived in England any length of time, they may have heard of the Beaconite separation of the 1830's and perhaps they will have heard of the Fritchley separation of the 1860's. However, very few people have heard of some of the other separations. What I want to do this afternoon is to talk about two of the ones that many Friends simply may have never heard of.

I. The Keith Separation

The first of these is the separation that took place in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the late 1680's. The central figure in it was George Keith. He is one of the people who would be thought of as among the Valiant

.....

Sixty of Elfrida Vipont's book. He is a person who, older than Robert Barclay, had received training as a theologian in Scotland. He was one of the best Friends' theologians in Friends' early history. He was imprisoned for his work as a member of the Society of Friends, and he was one of William Penn's travelling companions. He was well known to George Fox. He was made the Surveyor General of East Jersey on appointment from a Friend. He was the first master of the Friends' School in Philadelphia. All these things, or any one of them, would have been enough to make him well known, yet I would say that the vast majority of Friends probably never even heard of his name and it is curious that someone who has made such a contribution is not well known.

An examination of this first of the large separations is basically an attempt to explain why it is that he is ignored and why it is that we have forgotten him. Parenthetically, one thing I think we should remember is that what I will be talking about this afternoon are the most painful, the most tedious, the most unpleasant aspects of Friends' history. I am not talking about the happy periods. I am talking about the very unhappy periods, where tremendous pain was caused, where people were hurt, where people still carry pain. The mere word "separation" is enough to give people pain. Had George Keith died on arrival in New Jersey, he would have been remembered; if he had been struck down by one of the early yellow fever plagues, he would have been remembered, but he did not. He survived.

His chief opponent, a man by the name of Thomas Lloyd, also a Friend, might also have been better known had the conflict not taken place. Thomas Lloyd was very active in Philadelphia politics. He was Governor for a while; he was Chairman of the Council; he was a member of the Assembly; he was one of the Chief Magistrates of the Holy Experiment, the Colony. Then again, if Thomas Lloyd had not been involved in the conflict and quarrels with George Keith, chances are Friends would know him better than they do. The only people that know Thomas Lloyd really are people who are interested in the history of politics in Pennsylvania and most Friends are not interested in that.

The separation took place in 1688, at least that was when the big quarrel came. To explain why it is that a group of Friends, roughly 500 strong, should at that early age, at a time when Friends were still very conscious of persecution in England, decide to pull away from this very important Society of Friends, is required. The Society of Friends was politically powerful, it was wealthy, it was trying to create a new society in a new place, and yet we had a separation. To explain, I need to go into a little bit of the history of the politics of the situation. Among the events leading up to the period around 1680 was the Cromwellian period. Cromwell died, was replaced by his son, and then Parliament felt moved to call back Charles II, son of Charles I whose head had been removed some time earlier. Charles II was a very convenient person, he was heir to the throne and he was fairly non-controversial. He did make the mistake of marrying a Catholic but that was not sufficient a mistake for him not to be allowed on the throne. He made another mistake, and that is he did not leave any heirs. So on his death in 1685, his brother James II, who was a Catholic, took over the throne of England. For Friends that meant toleration, it meant an end to persecution and in a very real sense it meant peace. They were quite grateful to James for his treatment of them. Another thing one has to remember about James II is that he was also a friend of

William Penn. That friendship with William Penn was, in part, the thing that allowed Penn to be given Pennsylvania, not for his service, but for the service of his father, who had been Admiral of the Fleet under both Cromwell and Charles II.

What Friends' historians do not often say is that the main advantage of giving all this land to one of the chief Quakers of the time was that it meant that they got rid of a very troublesome group of people. Friends got sent and came over in large numbers. While the Friends profited under James II, England was very unhappy about him. As a result of this unhappiness they had the Glorious Revolution in 1688. The Glorious Revolution placed William & Mary on the throne, deposing James II. That changed the religion of the monarch from Catholic to Protestant, where it has been ever since. The restoration and the Glorious Revolution meant the effective end of persecution of Friends in England.

For the first time, Friends were free of persecution and no longer feared it. They still faced certain bars: they could not work in the government and they could not enter University. Oaths were required to do these things and they refused to take oaths. It did not stop Friends from becoming prosperous and in beginning to build what eventually became a quite wealthy group of people in England.

In Pennsylvania and New Jersey it was quite a different state of affairs. In England they were politically powerless, but in Pennsylvania and in New Jersey they were politically the powerful group and as the powerful group, they attracted a lot of people to them. People joined the Society of Friends not always out of conviction, but sometimes because of the political power and influence the Society of Friends had in those colonies. In East Jersey they had a great deal of influence but they were never able to control it. In Pennsylvania, they were proprietors, they were the landowners and they were the wealthy merchants. They were people who were able to make a fortune. What Friends found was that being a Quaker meant not just being a member of the Society, a religious society, it meant being a member of a politically powerful group.

Another aspect of the situation was that there were people south of Pennsylvania, in what is now Delaware and Maryland, who had arrived before Penn had, who were put under the political influence of Penn and Penn's Governing Council. These people were not Quakers. Some were Dutch and some English. They had quite different views on the whole business of violence and war and they deeply resented this influx of Quakers that was given political control over them.

The big influx of Friends started about 1680 and lasted up through the 1690's. It seemed to carry a large proportion of the English Friends out of England into the colonies--a very large proportion, so much so that there were complaints in England about the declination of the Society and Meetings. In that four-year period between 1681 and 1685, about 8,000 Friends crossed the Atlantic. They came in two groups, a wealthy group at the top and a not-so-wealthy group below them. The wealthy came over and made money; the not-so-wealthy came over and became quite comfortable.

Penn had originally thought of setting up a very open sort of government. He changed his mind and retained power in his own hands, in part to retain control of the colony because he was answerable to the Crown. He had the problem of maintaining power in Pennsylvania and the problems of maintaining proprietorship of the colony in England. He feared that the Crown would take away his proprietorship and if they did that then the

.....

whole governing system that he had set up would have been taken apart. In his travels he was forced to leave control in the hands of the Governing Council. In his absence the Governing Council decided to take power away from Penn. They changed the rules and not only took power, at the same time they managed to gain control of some of the land that he had left behind. The result of this was a tremendous degree of contentiousness between Penn and the Governing Council.

Because of the problems, Penn decided to appoint a new Governor, a man of the name of John Blackwell. John Blackwell was charged with bringing order to the colony, restoring money that Penn felt was his due and restoring the kind of control that the Crown wanted over the colony. There was one serious political problem with John Blackwell, he was a Puritan, a representative of the people who had persecuted, tortured and hanged Quakers. He was appointed to reverse the trend towards independence that Pennsylvania was on, and the result of this was that there was a phenomenal degree of conflict between Blackwell and the Council. This conflict led eventually to the removal of Blackwell and to Thomas Lloyd's restoration in his place as Governor of Pennsylvania. It is against this background of political turmoil and struggle for power in England and Pennsylvania that one has to look at what took place in 1688.

The Society of Friends at that time was quite different from the Society of Friends as we know it today. In part it was a political movement; in part it was a religious movement, a reformation. It was a very amorphous, unstructured sort of thing. Fox was still trying to build up the structure of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. There had been a disagreement between him and James Nayler. There had also been further disagreements between Fox and the group in London and the Wilkinson-Story group in other parts of England and the separation of John Perrot.

Into this, Keith, the very strong-minded Scottish theologian, who was well-known and powerful, who had travelled in the ministry, who had witnessed to the Truth, who had understood the shortcomings of being politically powerful in the system and who objected to it. The result of his objection was that he wrote out a catechism. This catechism he suggested should be required of all Friends who wanted to join the Society of Friends. It was published and people objected to it, as I think most Friends if they saw it today would object to it. He was diametrically opposed to James Nayler and John Perrot as well as Wilkinson and Story. Keith was, in some ways, Joseph John Gurney's predecessor by something like two centuries, much more rigid than Joseph John Gurney was to be two centuries later. People read him and denounced him. What he was writing was denounced as being downright Popery.

At the time, there was a war going on and the French felt that it was quite legitimate for them to invade Philadelphia harbour and shell it. The people who were most exposed to the shelling and the attack were the non-Friends, who objected strongly to being unprotected. They did not understand the religious argument provided by Friends or share their ideals. In fact, they thought they were wrong and the matter itself became quite contentious. Then a man by the name of Babbitt, a smuggler, found that he had protection in Friends' opposition to force, and took advantage of it in his smuggling in Philadelphia harbour. He stole a ship and proceeded to raid the farms, boats and the docks along the river. Friends felt helpless in the face of this attack.

.....

What the Quaker Magistrates did was to close their eyes and let the others know that their eyes were closed. The others who felt at risk were enabled to do something about Babbitt. Keith saw this behaviour as against Friends' principles and he objected. The statement is that he "found fault with his friends in the magistracy and their execution of the penal laws against malefactors as being inconsistent with their religious profession" and in short contended that he and "such as those with him were the true Quakers" and all of the rest who opposed him were "apostates". The opponents were irritated by him; they were irritated by his criticism; they were irritated by the criticism of their political life, of their spiritual laxity, of their inability to govern morally and they came out against him. They came out with their very, very strong words. They felt that he had no right to call them "fools, ignorant heathens, infidels, silly souls, liars, heretics, rotten ranters and Muggeltonians".

Matters progressed and eventually Keith took the issue to Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting met. They argued about it; they fought about it; they had public conflicts. They had one case where in the meeting there was a gallery across one end where normally elders sat. He was not allowed to set on that, so his supporters built another gallery at the other end. The elders arrived and found that his gallery was occupied and they occupied their gallery. This so incensed them that they tore down his and then his supporters tore down theirs.

After this he withdrew from the Yearly Meeting with a large body of people and the Yearly Meeting disowned him. They disowned him in unity with the ones that remained. Keith objected to his disownment because of the body that had withdrawn with him. Something like 500 people had withdrawn with him from that particular meeting. These activities produced the lovely thing that we find in the archives--pieces of paper and these pieces of paper represent really what we are trying to do our history on. They are not the real history, they show only a part of history. One of the things that he wrote was "The Pleas of the Innocent, an Appeal to the Judges and Some Reasons and Causes of the Last Separation." He got someone to print it for him. The ones who printed it for him, William Bradford, Peter Ross and Thomas Judd, were brought to court. He and Bradford were fined, the other two were put in jail for printing something that Friends had seen as valuable. They were fined and were imprisoned for publishing the truth by Quaker magistrates. I think it is the only time in history where Quakers have locked up Quakers for printing the truth.

Keith never paid the fine and the people who were in jail were released. In time, the group of people who had withdrawn with him started calling themselves the "Christian Quakers." It was on the basis of this 500-strong group of Christian Quakers that he finally crossed to England and in England appealed his disownment to London Yearly Meeting. In the appeal he did a lot of things. He wrote several pieces. One he entitled "Truth Advanced to the Creation of Many Gross and Hurtful Errors" that was published to try and get the charges removed. In time Friends asked for a retraction of some of the things he had written. They redefined the separation. From being basically a political one as it had been in Pennsylvania it now became a religious one in England and in so doing he lost much of the strength of his position and he was very simply disowned.

On his disownment in England, he tried to join Wilkinson and Story, but as he was so different from them, they would not have him. Some

.....

of the other small groups also rejected him. In time he joined the Anglican Church and became a priest in that Church. He was one of the founding members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, basically designed to get Friends to move back into the Anglican Church. He travelled back to North America and worked very hard to try and get Friends to move back in with him. The Christian Quakers felt that he had betrayed them by doing this and they refused his appeal.

The principal question arising from this separation is: why did so many withdraw in Philadelphia and only one was disowned in London? Keith's catechism is posed as the reason by some historians, yet it fails to answer the question. Keith's behaviour is given as the answer by others and it too fails to satisfy. Keith's catechism and behaviour were important in that they acted like a flag at time of war. The real cause seems to me to come from the dichotomy that existed for Friends in being both a religious and a political body at the same time. It was the first time where the ideals of Friends had been exposed to political necessity of the need to counter violence and the apparent need in other peoples' minds that the only way to counter violence was by the use of violence. It was that political issue that really was at the core of the separation--some people saying "Let us do the best we can" and the others "Let us do the best conceivable", and it caused a separation. The arguments that the historians go through are in some ways as much fun as anything else. Nash, for example, points out the political motivations and neglects the religious ones; Frost accuses Nash of obscuring the theological issues and insists that the theological issues are the central ones; and in a sense I think that they both have a piece of the elephant. You know, the five blind men each touching the elephant feels a different sort of thing. I think that if we do not stand back we are likely to be just as blind as they. The background of the turmoil of the separations, the background of the turmoil of the political system, the move from one side to the other, are all important parts of that whole mess.

## II. Anti-Slavery Separation

Now I want to talk about one that took place that on the surface looks to be a very little disagreement. This is the anti-slavery separation in Indiana. It is one I think in some ways is fascinating, because it perhaps has more to say to us today than the Keith one did. Indiana Yearly Meeting I think was the largest Yearly Meeting in the world at the time it took place. In 10th month at their Yearly Meeting in 1839, they reported that "Our testimony against slavery was also brought forth to the view of Friends and with affectionate desires that it may be faithfully maintained." There was agreement on that. There was also agreement on concerns and reports of concerns of the Committee of People of Color and they went on to report "That we desire in brotherly love to remind such that our testimony against slavery is purely a religious ceremony." Those are quotations out of the Indiana Yearly Meeting Minutes of 3rd of 10th month 1839. This same report was repeated and the same concerns were repeated in 1840, 1841 and 1842. In 1842, the Epistle of Advice added that "We are again concerned to warn all our dear Friends against joining or participating in the excitement and overactive zeal of anti-slavery society. Let such beware and seek quietness and retirement from these things before it be too late." They are against slavery; everybody was; but by 1842, it was too late. What had happened was that some of the old Friends, the ones who had been on Ministry

.....

& Counsel, who had been ministers, had been removed from their positions. They were refused access to the nominations; all nominations for committee had to be cleared by the Clerk and the matter of fighting slavery was the central cause of the separation between these two bodies. The anti-slavery group that year proposed to remain behind at the rise of Yearly Meeting to discuss the problems that they had been given. They were refused access to the room and as a result of that they decided to call a special meeting of anti-slavery Friends in January 1843. At that time they wanted to reorganize Indiana Yearly Meeting on the basis of "true principles".

George Keith and his Christian Quakers were the first group of Friends in 1693 to get up with a statement against slavery. That is how far back this thing goes. Here we are roughly 150 years later arguing about it. The basic history was very simple. The split took place. Both sides took equal claim for virtue. In time, the larger body, the one they separated from, became more anti-slavery and the smaller body dwindled and finally disappeared. About 10 years later there were almost no anti-slavery Friends left and by the time the Civil War started in 1860's, the matter was academic anyway. Friends had been opposed to slavery from the time of George Keith. They had gone into the southern states and had fought slavery there. John Woolman is probably best known outside of the Society of Friends for his struggle against slavery. The Friends in South Carolina, for example, moved away from South Carolina and Virginia to get away from slavery. They took their slaves with them to escape the problems of slavery and as they went, the whole anti-slavery movement in the South seems to have gone with them.

The most peculiar thing about this separation was that Indiana was never a slave state; it was always a free state and yet that was where the anti-slavery schism took place. Furthermore, by this time virtually no Friends held slaves. Why then did a group of people that fought against slavery for 150 years split on slavery? They agreed on slavery; both sides felt it was evil. There were no theological issues. The matter of wealth hardly ever seems to have been discussed, at least I have been unable to find much of a discussion of it. The separation simply seems to have been between those who favoured immediate and active involvement and those who felt that it should be done gradually. The separation itself clarified the issue and afterwards everybody worked hard to get rid of slavery. This was true not only for the Orthodox Friends but also for the Hicksite Friends. The whole background to this is the same sort of background that we have-- phenomenally rapid social change, a great deal of disagreement about the issue, different views of the evil that one is supposed to be eradicating.

To try and get at this particular issue makes it a little hard for Friends today to understand it because we are looking at slavery from a different viewpoint. There have been over 100 years since the last slaves were owned. Much of the current view of slavery is the result of post-Civil War American rationalization for that terrible war. It was probably the most destructive war they have ever had in its impact on the whole society. The rhetoric and the change in time makes us have to go back and see why it was that slavery was strong at all. We can't justify slavery now. The justification then was in terms of a couple of things. The first of all, it was an economically viable system. There is a lot of good evidence to support that. Economically viable means that slave owners were making money on slavery that they could not have made without slavery. The second was

.....

that the conditions of the slaves were not as bad as they have been painted in the literature. Many of them were apparently physically better off--they had better housing, better food, better clothing--than some of the northern farmers. One has to almost over-emphasize the other side in order to get Friends to see the other side at all. One of the best arguments for the other side that I have ever seen was published by Vogel and Engelman, who have written a book on slavery. The debate on slavery has been something that has been going on for a long time. Slavery has been seen alternatively as an unmitigated evil and a very good and efficient system.

Proponents of the slave-holding system saw it as an economically efficient system that tended to care for the slaves because of their economic value. They saw slaves were able to rise economically and were able to live far better than they would without the institution. Opponents on the other hand, viewed the excesses of violence and deprivation visited upon the slaves, the very fact of loss of freedom and the utter lack of autonomy as sufficient reason to condemn it.

A second area of debate was the problem of how to be rid of slavery once agreement had been reached that the institution was wrong. As Friends agreed it was wrong, it was on this issue the debate became heated. Some wanted to get rid of it by working from inside, which meant doing a number of things. One was buying slaves and setting them free. Liberia resulted from that movement. Another was to pass legislation that would limit the length of time a person could be a slave in their lifetime, up to say 35, and also make a certain date beyond which nobody could be born into slavery. These movements were all gradually being pushed in together. The problem with this movement was that slave owners were making a lot of money and the American political system is set up so that those who make money can have a great deal of influence on the system and these laws were gradually being tightened as well.

Most Friends have heard of the Underground Railway, but what they do not remember about the Underground Railway is that it was an exceedingly dangerous and illegal game. Anybody could denounce somebody who was a member of the Underground Railway and could receive rewards for it. Threat of imprisonment was very high, threat of loss of property was very high. There was a group of people who had the tacit support of the legal system and these were the so-called bounty hunters. They could capture slaves who had freed themselves and run away to the free state and drag them back and push them into slavery. These men were not above capturing free blacks, kidnapping them and selling them into slavery. They had another unpleasant feature about them, and that is that if they were likely to be apprehended by the law they were not above simply murdering people that they had captured. That part of the system has been forgotten.

By 1843 Friends in Indiana were clearly divided on the issue of how slavery might best be eradicated. On the one side was a group that had come up from the South, had freed their slaves, had seen the conditions and were doing everything they could. Levi Coffin was one of them, putting slaves up, getting them out of the country, getting them across Lake Erie into Ontario as quickly as they could. The other side had the more benign view of, saying "Just calm down, things are going to be alright, let us not do anything violently, let us do it peacefully, let us do it within the Discipline, and let us not rock the boat and be too radical, and let us not

.....

break the law." Two sort of Friends, both with strong convictions on two different sides of an argument--some with very radical views, some with not-so radical views--finally decided they could no longer agree and sit in the same Yearly Meeting.

The more conservative Friends were also very concerned with not breaking the law. It was against the law to free slaves and transport them away. Friends who were involved in the Underground Railway were doing something illegal. Furthermore, in doing an illegality, they were endangering all other Friends by their actions.

We have the documentation of the people from London Yearly Meeting who came across the Atlantic to argue people like Charles Osborne, Henry Way, Elijah Coffin and Levi Coffin, Benjamin Stanton, Jacob Grave and William Locke, to relinquish their separate meetings. They never stopped to listen. There was one case where these weighty Friends from overseas were in a meeting and they were given a black baby to hold and were told "here is the reason for the fighting". The baby was passed back and they were told to relinquish their separate meeting. Not very curiously, they never did, and what has seemed to be the case is that both sides had essentially said "I have made up my mind, I am not going to change it, so don't try to confuse me with facts." Both sides felt vindicated by the polarization that took place.

The Anti-Slavery Separation took place in the background of tariff discussion and monetary matters of property. A lot of the other churches split into northern and southern factions--the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Anglican Church--all split and then some of them split again between white and black congregations. Friends never did, but I think the reason that Friends never did--and the only reason Friends never did--is because they had that very strong feeling against slavery that was so old, and had that not been there, I am afraid that we might have had a northern and southern branch of the Society of Friends. What happened in the end, however, was that those who did separate on the anti-slavery issue were finally joined in the stand on slavery by all the other Friends and the reason for a formal separation was gone. They died out, they disappeared and so the Society of Friends.

There you have, if you like, two contrasting groups, one where the separation took place and never healed and the other where it healed very quickly simply because, I think, of the number of issues between them. Healing took place on too many things than the main body finally caught up to the law-breaking radicals, when the law itself came to be seen as immoral.