Education for Girls

in Quaker Schools In Ontario

by Marion V. Royce

When Schools were few and far between

Some of the earliest schools in Upper Canada were organized by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) who had come from the United States, chiefly in the period from 1790 to 1820.(1) There are records of a Quaker School at Yonge Street, near Newmarket, in 1809, one at Pelham in Welland County in 1811 and another at West Lake, Prince Edward County in 1816.(2)

Quakerism, from its beginning in seventeenth-century England, had a strong educational tradition.(3) A lay religious movement without a professionally trained clergy, the propagation of its message depended upon the members of the Society, who were identified with its beliefs and practices. There was also a strong tradition of equality among members of the Society. "All were called to be priests," and men and women were "equals in the priesthood." In keeping with this belief, throughout the history of the Society boys and girls have been given equal educational opportunity, at least in theory. (4)

Further, the nature of that education was a matter of deep concern. It must be "religiously guarded" in order to shield their children from "contrary influences" and give them a sense of belonging within the Quaker community. (5) Also, if they were to be useful citizens and succeed in life, they must be taught to read, write, keep accounts and speak clearly and correctly.

So it was that, even amid the exigencies of pioneer life in early Upper Canada, Quaker settlers took steps to ensure that their children should have "the rudiments of an education." Once

a "Monthly Meeting" had been organized, a school also was brought into being and carried on under the direct supervision of the Meeting (i.e. local congregation). While these schools were primarily for the education of the children of Quaker families, they were open to other children and, in the prevailing conditions of the Province, were more often than not the only schools in a large area. (6) Moreover, there were girls as well as boys among their pupils.

William Lyon MacKenzie reminisced about a Quaker school that he visited while travelling in the Niagara Peninsula:

Fort Erie, Upper Canada, July 1826.

A few miles from Lake Erie, in the township of Bertie, in a quiet and retiring spot, nearby a concession road, stands the plain and unadorned place of worship of the society of friends; and at a little distance beyond, their school.

On entering the latter, I recognized the teacher, my old friend, Mr. William Wilson. He had twenty or thirty boys and girls around him, the children of neighbouring quaker families.... Opposite the schoolhouse, and fastened to the boughs of the lofty beech and maple trees, which surround the area, are placed two swings, in an ashery-

one is for the boys, the other for the girls.(7)

In the late 1830's, more ambitious plans for Quaker education in Upper Canada culminated in the establishment of the Boarding School of the Society of Friends at West Lake near Picton in the District of Prince Edward. Joseph John Gurney, a distinguished member of the Society of Friends in England (a brother of Elizabeth Fry), who was present at the Half-Yearly Meeting in the summer of 1838, encouraged the project and made a substantial contribution towards it.(8) In his memoirs he recalled the occasion:

The half year's meeting (at Yonge Street) was held in a large rustic meeting house; it occupied parts of three successive days and was an occasion of much interest. . . .

The attention of Friends, at this meeting, was closely directed to the subject of education; and it was determined to take immediate steps towards the establishment of a boarding school. The subscriptions made for the purpose, throughout the province, were aided by funds from New York and England, and before we left Canada, an excellent house and farm on the borders of Lake Ontario, admirably adapted for a manual labour boarding school, were purchased for the purpose. (9)

The new institution began in September 1841 with "a school for female children," using a brick house on the property that had been fitted for the purpose. The opening of the boys' department, dependent upon the completion of a new building, was postponed until the spring of 1842. Committee of Management, which had been entrusted with the planning, ruled that until 20 boarders had been enrolled "day scholars" might be accepted if one parent were a member of the Society of Friends, it being understood that they would leave as boarders applied. These day pupils were to pay 16 shillings a quarter, while the full price for board and tuition, including pens and paper, was set at 12 pounds, 10 shillings per annum. At the end of the year, however, fees were increased to 65 dollars for boys and 55 for girls.* A year later the Half-Yearly Meeting accepted a suggestion of the Committee of Management that a limited number of children whose parents were not members of the Society be admitted on condition that they "strictly conform to the order of the School," preference being given always to children of Friends. Fees for nonmembers' children were set at 70 dollars for boys and 60 for girls. addition, all those "whose parents could conveniently spare them feather beds" were requested to bring them for use while at school.

While girls and boys were to have equal

education, their classes were held separately, and the extent of their association was strictly limited. munication between them was not allowed "under any circumstances" and the only concession was that, if granted permission. boys might meet girl relatives separately in the sitting-room. "Anent this regulation," writes the historian, Arthur G. Dorland, "it is said that some very distant relationships were discovered, but first of all by the scholars themselves,"(10) Boys (not girls) "of age to do so" were permitted to work two hours each day, and those "of advanced years" might be employed longer if they wished, the full value of their work being allowed them.

At the beginning pupils were to be taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and Geography and "hereafter such other branches as the Committee may approve as the way opens." The curriculum was, indeed, broadened; a circular issued in 1847 listed text books in English Grammar, Chemistry, Geography, Physiology, Algebra, Geography of the Heavens, Geometry, Surveying, Arithmetic, Composition, Rhetoric and Natural Philosophy.

Meanwhile the fee schedule had been revised: for Children of Friends, Boys,

^{*}Until 1858, when Government accounts were first published in decimal currency, dollars were used interchangeably with pounds, shillings and pence at a rate of five dollars to the pound.

16 pounds, five shillings and Girls, 13 pounds, 15 shillings, and for "all others," 17 and 15 pounds for Boys and Girls, respectively.

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Staff of the School comprised the Superintendent, his wife, who was "Lady Superintendent," and two teachers, a woman in charge of the girls' department, whose salary was 50 pounds per annum, and a man with oversight of the boys' department, who was paid exactly twice as much as his female colleague. The duties of the Superintendent were wide-ranging, from the purchase of supplies and keeping of accounts to "general superintendence of the family" and management of the farm, including supervision of the work of the boys who were employed in outdoor work. household affairs were entrusted to the Lady Superintendent. Also involved in the administration was the Visiting Committee which kept in touch with the life of the school and was responsible for the selection of the pupils; it reported at regular intervals to the Committee of Management.

The "order of the school," based on the rules and regulations adopted by the Committee of Management, included details relating to behaviour and to the dress of the pupils. "Plainness of dress and propriety of language" were basic requirements. Boys were to wear "single breasted coats, vests and straight collars," and their hair was to be of "becoming" (no doubt suitable) length, while the girls were to have

"plain coloured dresses with proportionate sleeves," "plain bonnets" and no "ruffles or edging on their clothing." All were required to attend Friends; Meeting on First Day, walk in regular order going and returning and "demean themselves in a manner becoming the solemnity of the occasion." Letters written by pupils were inspected by teachers or superintendents and it was forbidden to leave the premises without permission, though they might be allowed to visit friends once a month.

On the whole the School prospered, but there was constant regret that "so many pupils remained for such a short time." In 1844 the Committee of Management opened voluntary subscriptions for funds to help pay board and tuition for one or more pupils from each Monthly Meeting. Four years later Friends in England sent donations for the education of 10 pupils for one year or 20 pupils for six months, provided parents accepted responsibility for payment of the remainder of the cost. Despite such efforts, however, the School was not being supported by those it existed to serve. Year after year Friends' children comprised less than a third of the total attendance. Also it was charged that scholars "whose influence was decidedly pernicious" had been admitted. Many Friends preferred to have their children live at home under their own watchful care and attend the common schools, which had been greatly improved. Enrolment diminished until, in the autumn of 1864, the Committee of Management decided to recommend that their successors "lay down the school in the spring. . . and dispose of the property in such manner as will be of best advantage to the institution." In the following year the Quarterly Meeting accepted this advice; the School was closed and the property sold.(11)

(ii)

A new school at Pickering(12)

In 1870 the recently organized Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends (a regional association of monthly meetings) again took up the idea of having a boarding school. A suitable site was purchased in the Village of Pickering and by the autumn of 1878 a new school called Pickering College had come into being. It was an impressive building with accommodation for 100 pupils, the east wing for girls and the west for boys. The aim of the College was to give all students who attended it "as far as possible, a thoroughly useful and wellgrounded education at the lowest possible cost." Moreover, as a residential school it offered "the healthy influence of a well-ordered home." "housemaster" and a "lady governess," in addition to teaching responsibilities, had special supervisory duties in the boys' and girls' departments, respectively.

Like its predecessor at West Lake, the College was open to "young people of

all denominations." The chief criterion of selection was seriousness of purpose:

None but earnest students, those willing to work, are invited to attend. There are no prizes or scholarships: there is no marking system; nor any inducement held out to students to work and study; except satisfying of their own sense of duty and the pleasure which comes to those who endeavour to acquire knowledge for its own sake.(13)

The programme of studies extended from the level of fourth grade in the public schools through the upper school of a collegiate institute in the provincial system of education and included a certificate course in commercial subjects. More purposefully academic than West Lake had been, the new school was to prepare students for the non-professional examinations for teaching certificates, for admission to university, and entry into the learned professions or the business The time-table was rigorous. The day began with a rising bell at six o'clock and ended at 9:30 p.m., when a retiring bell was rung. were study periods before breakfast and after supper, with three hours of "school" in the morning and two and a quarter hours in the afternoon, and girls were taught in the same classrooms, and morning and evening "collections" brought all pupils together for worship and announcements.

For out-of-door activities, however, they were separated by sex. During free-time, from 3:45, when "school" was dismissed, until supper at six, the boys, restricted to their own side of the playground, played vigorous games, while the "young ladies," weather permitting, were "expected to walk out together for exercise," accompanied by the "lady governess" or a substitute whom she selected.(14)

Friday evenings were given over to meetings of the Literary Society which had been organized in January 1879, "to promote literary and aesthetic culture by discussion, original essays, music, readings or recitations." Membership was open to students, officers and teachers of the College and later, also, to exstudents, for payment of a small fee. Occasional lectures on literary and scientific subjects were given by "Masters and other friends of the College," but for the most part programmes were the work of the students In all cases, however, themselves. the Constitution of the Society prohibited discussion of controversial points in religion and Canadian party politics. A magazine in manuscript at first called Bric a Brac (in 1882 the name was changed to College Cabinet) was read from time to time. Literary contributions were interspersed with comradely quips, usually boy versus girl or vice versa, but not excluding teachers. The object of the editors,

defined in the edition of February 27, 1885, was "to please, interest and instruct."

Should anything be read that touches someone's feelings, we assure him (sic) that it was not out intention to offend. However, there are articles inserted with the desire that they should correct certain personal habits and practices. We trust that these will be taken in good part by all.

For mental recreation there was also the Reading Room which the College supplied with well over 60 carefully selected newspapers and periodicals. (There were monthlies; e.g., Harper's, Scribner's, Atlantic, Chamber's Journal, Cassell's Magazine, Canada School Journal, Canada Educational Monthly, The Bystander, The British Friend; a fortnightly, Literary World (Boston); Weeklies such as Graphic (London), Times (London), Scientific American, Canadian Illustrated News, Canadian Statesman, Littell's Living Age (Boston), Canada Presbyterian, Christian Guardian, Saturday Night, The Globe, The Mail, and local papers from various Ontario towns and cities.) It was run by students--a curator, an assistant curator, and a librarian-all of whom were officers of the Literary Society. (15)

The College flourished, enrolment increased, and in 1882 two acres of adjoining land were rented to enlarge

the playground. Meanwhile, in 1881 art and music had been added to the curriculum, an innovation that was contrary to Ouaker educational tradition as being "inconsistent with the simplicity of truth as well as timeconsuming."(16) Music, in particular, it was believed, "stirred up feelings which corresponded to no objective facts and resulted in no specific actions." Even more, it was regarded as "a waste of time," and there was "risk of a desire for it in the meeting for worship."(17) Friends who held these views could not accept the explanation given in the College Announcement for 1881:

While Pickering is denominational, it is not sectarian. Young ladies of different denominations are enrolled among its students and many of them desire to include a knowledge of music in their education. The College Committee, therefore, has determined to add music to the curriculum.

It should not go unnoticed that the innovation had been made on behalf of
the "young ladies." May it have been
that the "time-consuming" nature of
the two subjects made them less appropriate for young men whose professional goals should have been allabsorbing?

However that may have been, this controversy, together with other internal issues within the Society plus looming

deficits, led to the closing of the College in 1885. It was re-opened, however, in September 1892 "in a somewhat smaller way than it was formerly conducted." (18) Professor William P. Firth, a Minister of the Society of Friends, accepted the principalship at "a very reasonable salary," and Ella Rogers, also a Friend and a recent graduate in Modern Languages of the University of Toronto, was engaged as Lady Principal. Both were gifted teachers.

Of the Principal, Dr. A.G. Dorland, who was a student of the College in the early years of this century, completing his Junior Matriculation in 1905, has written:

He was never happier than when explaining a difficult problem to a class or to some puzzled student, and neither time nor trouble were any consideration to him when thus engaged. . . .(19)
The "Lady Principal" he held in equally high esteem. To her organizing ability he attributed much of the success of the school.

Under their leadership (they later married) the College attained stature and status. A competent teaching staff was built up, and a high proportion of students were successful in the annual examinations of the Ontario Department of Education. Commercial studies were continued and the issue with respect to art and music was resolved. In 1898 a chemistry labora-

tory was equipped and in the same year a new gymnasium made possible an expanded programme of athletics. Literary Society continued to thrive as did the school magazine, now called Pickering College Journal. the school became more widely known a substantial number of students came from outside Ontario (27 in 1902), and in 1904, of a student body of 120, there were 100 living in residence. The college was described as "the intellectual and spiritual nursery of those who later became leaders, not only in the Society of Friends but also in the life of the Canadian community."(20)

Then in the Christmas break of 1905-06 disaster struck in a fire that destroyed the main building. Temporary accommodation was not available, and the Yearly Meeting was obliged to suspend the work of the College.

(iii)

Pickering College, Newmarket

Despite so grave a setback, the Canada Yearly Meeting, convinced that such an institution was germane to its life and work, again took up the task of raising funds to rebuild the College. The response was encouraging. Former students took an active part in the campaign. Canadian contributions were supplemented by generous gifts from Friends in England and the United States. Also gratifying were tributes to "the standing and work of the

school" from non-Quaker sources. One of these was a letter from William Houston, M.A., a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto. He praised not only the academic work of the College but also "the coeducational feature in its residential life."(21)

"Overtures" came from several nearby towns "soliciting relocation of the College in or near their respective limits." Of these the Committee favoured the one from Newmarket, "the centre of the largest early settlement of Friends in Canada," where there was still "a prosperous Friends' Meeting." Moreover, the application included the offer of a cash bonus sufficient to cover the value of the former site in Pickering as well as free water and light for a period of ten years.(22)

The canvass for funds having achieved promising results (although nearly \$20,000 was still required if the school was to be re-opened free of debt), the Yearly Meeting of 1908 authorized the Committee to proceed with construction.(23) The new 25-acre site in the outskirts of Newmarket gave ample area for a campus and a garden where much of the food could be The design of the new building provided for "a substantial structure for college residence and instruction, upon as simple and inexpensive a plan as possible." The contract was let, and Sir William Mulock(24) laid the

cornerstone on the first of October.

As construction progressed the assets of the new building were eagerly noted:
 Classrooms will be convenient,
 well lighted and ventilated, bedrooms uniform, ample in size for two students, everyone with a glorious outlook on one of the fairest rural scenes in Canada.
 Anyone with a soul in his body who for a month of mornings looks out through a window here will love this College and its associations forever.(25)

The formal re-opening, held November 26, was an occasion of special rejoicing. Former students, some from West Lake days, returned; telegrams came from Friends abroad. Sir William Mulock "addressed the meeting," recalling the visit of Joseph John Gurney in 1837, "whose action was the germ which developed into the institution," and Dr. Pakenham, Dean of the Faculty of Education of the University of Toronto, put in a word in favour of educating boys and girls together. (26)

The work of the College resumed according to the previous pattern. Staff had been selected to ensure "competent teaching, supervision and influence in harmony with Friends' ideals."(27) Almost every issue of The Canadian Friend reported monthly test examination results and described extracurricular activities. There were

separate athletic grounds for boys and girls, (28) and various facilities were shared on a "turn about" basis. For instance, in the edition of February 1912 one reads:

The toboggan slide is now going full tilt. The girls have the use of the slide while the boys have the rink, and vice versa. By this arrangement everyone can enjoy two of the choicest Canadian sports. . . .

In the annual carnival of the same year, which was "a great success," first and second prizes were offered both boys and girls for the best costumes. In some things, however, the boys had the edge. For instance, at the opening of school in September 1915 it was learned that "the brook which cuts across a corner of the farm, had been dammed up, affording a swimming pool for the boys in the open-air season." (29)

During this period the College came into closer association with other schools through competition, especially in football in which the boys excelled. (30) There is mention also of a YMCA and a YWCA in the College, each affiliated with the student movement of the related Association. In June 1915 The Canadian Friend reported that the College YWCA hoped to send delegates to the YWCA Student Summer Conference in Muskoka.

But the war years were taking heavy toll. There were fewer resident students, costs were high, revenue diminishing and deficits growing. number of Friends who were able and willing to contribute substantially to the College was limited. Plainly there was need of a broader basis of support. The College Committee, therefore, "after careful consideration, and after consultation with leading educationalists among American Friends," recommended a change in the Charter to put the school "on a broader and more permanent foundation." Subscribers would then have more confidence in the institution, and with greater stability it should be possible to acquire needed capital. (31) With the authorization of the Yearly Meeting, a petition to create "a self-perpetuating corporation" was drafted for presentation to the Provincial Legislature, and on April 12, 1917, an Act respecting the Friends' Seminary of Ontario received official assent, to come into force on June 30.(32) The Corporation was to consist of 20 members of the Canada Yearly Meeting, four of whom would retire annually, their places to be filled by vote of the annual meeting. The body was empowered to increase its numbers to 35, of whom not less than 75 per cent must be members of the Society of Friends "to insure that the College will continue to be operated primarily in the interest of Friends' ideals."

Reorganization under the new charter had just been effected and outstanding debts, except the balance on the mortgage, cleared away, when the Corporation was faced with a fateful decision. Among the Canadian soldiers returning from Europe there were large numbers of "broken and disabled men," and the Dominion Military Hospitals Commission was "at its wits' end" to find suitable quarters for them. ficers of the Commission having become aware of the facilities of Pickering College, urgently requested use of the premises as a hospital no later than early May, if possible. (33) The need was so impelling that to refuse was out of the question.

. . . our testimony with regard to war lays a responsibility on Friends to contribute towards the relief of suffering. Therefore, for that reason, the lease was granted, without rental charge, for a period of one year after the close of the war.(34)

Students preparing for matriculation examinations were enabled to continue their studies at the summer home of the Principal on Georgian Bay, and the contract with all parents was carried out.(35) It was assumed that the work of the College would be resumed when the building was returned, the Commission having agreed to restore it to the original condition.(36)

Two years after the end of the war the Government gave back the College

buildings.(37) When the College was re-opened in 1927, however, it was as a school for boys.(38) This departure from the earlier pattern of Pickering was not without precedent among Canadian Friends. As early as 1850, the Rockwood Academy, a boarding school for boys, had been founded by William Wetherald, an English Quaker who had come to Upper Canada in 1835.(39)

Nevertheless, belief in co-education had run deep in the minds of the founders of Pickering College, its predecessor at West Lake and even the early schools in Upper Canada.

. . . They believed . . . that co-education was the proper education, because the natural education. Young people possess social as well as intellectual natures and these need development and refinement. What can be more helpful than their association under careful and judicious supervision? (40)

Howard Brinton, an American Friend who taught at Pickering for several years and filled the post of housemaster, suggests that "an unmentioned reason" for the Quaker policy of co-education, adopted in so many of their boarding schools on this continent, was its "facilitation of likemindedness." It made possible friendships that resulted in marriage within the Society thus helping to ensure continuity in the Quaker community. (41) By 1927,

however, there remained no vestiges of the harsh policy of "disownment" occasioned by marriage outside the Society.(42)

Dr. Dorland suggests that the high cost of maintaining a co-educational school was a determining factor in the decision. Nor, he suggests, had such a policy any degree of support in the community at large at that time. (43) In the perspective of the 1970's one might ask, why a boys' and not a girls' school? Precedent for the latter was not lacking. The famous Mount School in Yorkshire, England, would celebrate its centenary in 1931, (44) and there were equally distinguished Friends' schools for girls in the United States. Indeed, as evidence of Ouaker concern for the education of women at even higher levels, one need only mention Bryn Mawr College, which had been established in 1885.

But enthusiasm for a progressive school for boys had been awakened, and, despite Quaker conviction regarding the "spiritual equality" of men and women and recognition of their equal responsibility in the Society's councils, (45) no effort to awaken interest in providing similar opportunity for girls appears to have been made in Canada.

NOTES

- Arthur G. Dorland, A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1927), pp. 57-58. As early as 1783 there were Quaker settlers in the Niagara District, a fringe of westward Quaker migration that by 1820 had brought some 20,000 Friends into territory west of the Alleghany Mountains. (Ibid., Chapters III, IV, V and VI).
- 2. Ibid., p. 297.
- 3. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 296.
- W.A. Campbell Stewart, Quakers and Education As Seen in Their Schools in England (London: Epworth Press, 1953), p. 31.
- This did not mean "a guarded religious education." See Howard H. Brinton, <u>Quaker Education in Theory and Practice</u> (Pendle Hill Pamphlet, No. 9, 1967), pp. 45-54.
- 6. Dorland, p. 297
- W.L. MacKenzie, Sketches of Canada and the United States (London, 1833), pp. 234-235.
- 8. Dorland, p. 300.
- 9. Joseph Bevan Braithwaite (ed.) Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney; with Selection from his Journals and Correspondence (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1854), p. 190. In the belief that "learning and labour properly intermixed greatly assist the ends of both--a sound mind in a healthy body," and in keeping with "their very practical view of education." Friends' schools often made provision for manual labour. See Dorland, "A Hundred Years of Quaker Education in Canada," Proceeding of the Royal Society of Canada, 1942.
- 10. Dorland, p. 302 (footnote).
- Archives of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada. "West Lake Seminary--Minutes, Committee of Management, 1841-1865," Archives of Ontario, (Microfilm Ms 303).
- 12. <u>Ibid.</u>, "Pickering College--Minutes School Committee meetings--1871-1885."
- 13. Pickering College Announcement. 1879. (Microfilm) Archives of Ontario.
- 14. <u>Ibid.</u>, 1881-1882.
- 15. <u>Ibid</u>., 1882-1883.
- 16. Howard H. Brinton, <u>Quaker Education</u>, p. 20. Brinton makes clear that this restraint no longer exists. "Today Friends are hardly to be distinguished from others in such matters."
- 17. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 48.
- 18. Pickering College, Minutes 1891-1900.
- Arthur G. Dorland, Former Days & Quaker Ways. A Canadian Retrospect (Belleville: Mika, 1972), p. 145.
- A.G. Dorland, "A Hundred Years of Quaker Education in Canada, The Century of Pickering College." Royal Society of Canada. <u>Proceedings and</u> Transactions, 1942, Third Series, Vol. xxxvi. p. 77.
- 21. The Canadian Friend, February 1907, pp. 3-4.
- 22. Ibid.

- 23. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 24. <u>Ibid.</u>, July 1908, p. 9.
- 25. <u>Ibid</u>., October 1908.
- 26. Ibid., January 1909, "College Reconstruction," p. 13.
- 27. <u>Ibid</u>., January 1910. "Special Pickering College Number," p. 8.
- 28. <u>Ibid</u>., July 1909, p. 10.

- 29. <u>Ibid.</u>, September 1915, p. 4.
- 30. Ibid.
- 31. Ibid., April 1917, "Change in the College Charter, " pp. 3-5.
- 32. Statutes of Ontario, Canada 9 George V, 1917.
- 33. Op. cit., May 1917, "Pickering College, A Hospital" pp. 1-3.
- 34. Ibid., September 1917, p. 5.
- 35. Ibid., May 1917, p. 3.
- 36. Op. cit., p. 5.
- 37. Dorland (Royal Society) p. 84.
- 38. Dorland, Former Days and Quaker Ways, p. 156.
- 39. Rockwood Academy 1850, Historic Plaque erected by the Dept. of Travel and Publicity, Toronto. The school building in Rockwood, Ontario has been restored and may be visited.
- A statement, probably written by Principal Firth, in the <u>Pickering</u> <u>College Announcement</u> for 1902-1903.
- 41. Brinton, p. 43.
- 42. J. William Frost, The Quaker Family in Colonial America--A Portrait of the Society of Priends (New York" St. Martin's Press, 1973) p. 218. Frost states that in early days one could be disowned by the Society as readily for marrying a member of another denomination as for committing adultery.
- 43. Dorland, A History of the Society of Friends in Canada.
- H. Winifred Sturge and Theodora Clark, <u>The Mount School York</u> (London and Toronto: Dent, 1931). (Written to colebrate the centenary of the School).
- Stewart, p. 240. (Recognition of the equal executive responsibility of men and women in the councils of the Society of Friends in England had been confirmed in 1907).