

drawal of troops as early as August 21. (308) The CPA also made Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait their top demand, eventually resulting in a split in the Toronto Coalition.

The federal NDP is given credit for opposing both the military buildup and the war itself. This was contrary to pro-war social democratic parties in Britain, France, and Australia, and the federal Liberals whose meek opposition evaporated once the bombing began. The NDP's position was, however, sharply different from that of most of the anti-war movement. The NDP supported sanctions against Iraq, the presence of Canadian troops in the Middle East to enforce sanctions, and war as a last resort. While many individual members of the NDP did participate in anti-war organizing and demonstrations, the party as a whole cannot honestly be credited with a central role in building opposition to the Western war drive.

Rather than springing from established groups, the anti-war movement was a spontaneous gathering of thousands of people across Canada who were angry and frightened at the prospect of war, and at the Canadian government's complicity in the march to war. For inspiration they looked, not to the CPA or NDP, but to the growing anti-war movement in the U.S. which had mobilized thousands by September 1990.

If the war had lasted a year, *It Was, It Was Not* would have strengthened the anti-war movement by motivating and informing activists. However, despite its success at improving our understanding, and contributing to the fight against the war, it omits essential issues and reproduces some of the same confusions that inhibited the anti-war movement.

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Albert Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1993).

The study of religion in English Canadian history has been marked by a focus on denominational and theological issues, a focus that has frequently overlooked questions

about the historical place of religion in its broader social context. This problem is even more acute in Upper Canadian history, where religion and religious issues have customarily been of interest only in their relation to political affairs. Albert Schrauwers' study of the Children of Peace, however, takes a rather different approach in its treatment of religion in the past (Schrauwers is an anthropologist and this monograph originated as his masters' thesis in the University of Toronto's Anthropology department). So, while he is interested in questions concerning the social role of religion and its relation to political and economic events and processes in the nineteenth-century community of Sharon, his methodological and organizational approaches to these issues differ somewhat from those used by the majority of Canadian religious historians.

Schrauwers has divided his study into three distinct periods that, he argues, were of critical importance to the Children of Peace: their split from the Quaker Meeting on Yonge Street during the War of 1812 and their establishment of the Sharon community north of York; the changes in the community's organization after the construction of the Sharon temple in 1832; and the effects on the Children of the 1837 Rebellion, ending with their dissolution in 1889. The Children's break from the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting was prompted by theological disputes that were linked to other conflicts over the social and political direction of the Society of Friends. David Willson, the founder of the Children, felt that the particular "moral economy" of simple living and quietism originally propounded by the Quakers was endangered by the increased dominance of an elite group of wealthy Friends in the Society. Willson believed that this group's adoption of an evangelical stance alien to Quaker beliefs and its involvement in urban capitalism imperilled its commitment to the Society's ideals of egalitarianism.

In his call for a rejuvenation of the Society Willson's was far from being a lone voice; Schrauwers argues that the Children were a local example of the late-eighteenth century New Light movement in post-revolutionary America and the British colonies. He also points to the role played by the Upper Canadian state in this schism. Those who sided with

Willson were strengthened in their position by the government's unequal exaction of goods and services from the Friends during the War of 1812, exactions perceived as undermining the Quaker's pacifist principles. Over the next twenty-five years, the Children of Peace struggled with the problems common to many utopian communities, past and present. The most pressing of these dilemmas was rooted in the group's relationship to socio-economic and political developments in Upper Canada. Schrauwers sees the Friends and particularly the Children as operating within a distinct "moral economy," one that sought to distinguish itself from market relations and capitalist forces. A particularly contentious issue for the Children was the involvement of younger members with the growing market economy of Upper Canada. In order to establish their own farms, Schrauwers argues, these farmers "were impelled to follow the lead of the market," (90) but the demand of market production often meant they were unable to fulfill their obligations to the community (reciprocal labour exchanges at harvest time and donated labour on projects such as the construction of meeting and school houses). Tensions arose between these young farmers and their elders, who had been able to build the community on a "subsistence-oriented farming strategy." (107) While these tensions were resolved, the price of their resolution was invariably "re-cremations, personal disappointments, or broken relationships." (107) As Schrauwers demonstrates, the relations between religious and economic structures and ideals were complicated not merely by the Children's desire to establish an alternative model of subsistence; in fact, the older members of the sect managed to fend quite well for themselves, not least because of their earlier easy access to farmland. It was the historical processes (most particularly the development of a market economy) in which their children were caught up that made matters difficult for the sect, not some necessary and inevitable tension between religion and the market.

Schrauwers' reason for writing *Awaiting the Millennium* — "to show how their [the Children's] unique formulation of their ideals emerged out of the basic problems of everyday living" — is a welcome objective in a field

which has often ignored this question. But the ways in which he attempts to fulfill this goal create a number of problems for the book's cohesiveness. While Schrauwers professes an interest in examining historical changes and their effects on groups and individuals, he does so within a conceptual and methodological framework that focuses primarily on structures and models. For all that the book is concerned with change over time, there is a static quality to its interrogation of this process; it is frequently subjected to very sketchy analyses that are more often based on generalisations taken from the secondary literature than from Schrauwers' own inquiries. As an historian who is keenly interested in the relation of theory to historical inquiry, I was particularly concerned to see if anthropological inquiries might help shed some light on the Children's relationship to the wider historical context. However, Schrauwers' insights into the broader relations between religion and society that are set out in the book's last chapter ("Theoretical and Historical Perspective") would have been of greater use had they been integrated into his empirically-based chapters. Furthermore, the book tells us much about the Children and the internal workings of the community but generally says very little about their particular context (other than what historians already know about Upper Canada). To what extent were the Children really all that unique? Certainly their religious convictions set them apart from many Upper Canadians, yet Schrauwers' depiction of the "non-capitalist social relations of production typical of a peasantry" that he argues governed the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting (exemplified in their settlement patterns, cooperative work bees, and subsistence farming), might be found in other, non-Quaker settlements. (20) I would have found this argument more convincing had there been some reference to others' work — for example, Donald Akenson's study of the "atomistic" individuals of Leeds and Lansdowne counties.

Schrauwers' use of the secondary literature on Upper Canadian history is patchy at best, a problem in a monograph that often relies quite heavily on this literature. This problem is most apparent in his discussion of

the Children's involvement in the Rebellion of 1837 and its aftermath. Schrauwers' lengthy discussion of the rebellion is primarily a straightforward narration of events, much of which is taken directly from Aileen Dunham's study of Upper Canadian politics (originally published in 1927). Ironically, politics is the one area in the Upper Canadian field in which new and more sophisticated work exists and a greater use of this literature might have helped Schrauwers formulate a more nuanced argument as to why those from ostensibly pacifist and quietist groups joined the rebels. His argument concerning the reformers' "opportunism" in "appropriating" the "oppositional culture" of the dissenting churches in order to find an identity (163) is, to put it mildly, a curious one, as it presupposes two things. First, Schrauwers apparently feels that reformers were not part of dissenting churches or a dissenting tradition themselves but existed in some sort of religious vacuum; they thus mechanistically sought out religious issues to "tack on" to their political grievances. Second, he assumes that "clear identities" always drive social, economic, and political discontent, whether in the past or the present; the lack of such identities led reformers to believe that religion was just the ticket to draw their movement together. But, as historians have argued, rebellions and revolutions may be considerably messier than this tidy schema would suggest, and in fact "identities" or consciousness may sometimes be worked out in very complicated ways through the historical process of organising resistance. Furthermore, not only does this section rest on some dubious notions of the nature of political unrest in the colony, it fails to answer some very basic questions about the Children's involvement in reform (and as such I found it difficult to understand its reason for being in the book). Were reform meetings held in or near Sharon? Was the reform press available to the Children? How do the Children compare to those Quakers whose participation in Duncombe's revolt in the Western district has been documented by Colin Read and Brian Dawe? Unfortunately, Schrauwers' treatment of the Rebellion never really moves beyond general observations and tends to treat

Sharon as being isolated from Upper Canadian society (despite his admission that the Rebellion posed a crisis for the Children from which they never fully recovered).

Yet another, even more serious, problem with this book is Schrauwers' treatment (or non-treatment) of gender relations. Although he argues that women enjoyed a degree of egalitarianism in both the Society of Friends and in the Children of Peace (having their own meetings, being able to preach, and, in the Children, being encouraged to undergo arms training in the community's militia), there is no consideration of gender as a category of historical or anthropological analysis, no notion that the processes he analyzes might be complicated and differentiated by gender relations. Schrauwers' discussion of the farm family and the dilemmas faced by young farmers is unmarked by any recognition that farm families were made up of men *and* women, boys *and* girls; his "young farmers" are young male farmers, presented as individuals whose only goal was to get ahead and achieve economic independence. But, as Marjorie Cohen's work on nineteenth-century farm economies in Ontario has demonstrated, we cannot look at the relations of agricultural production without understanding the role of women's work, whether in the dairy, the henhouse, the garden, or in the home, rearing children and directing their work around the house and barnyard. Moreover, there is no recognition that the fates of the daughters of these families might have differed from those of the sons; Schrauwers states that children stayed close by their family home and that sons wanted to acquire their own farm, but he offers no explanation or even speculation as to the fate of daughters. Furthermore, these young, striving farmers who were forced to engage in the market may also have been motivated by desires stemming from their position as husbands and fathers, factors that would complicate the intergenerational conflict that Schrauwers describes between the elders of the Children and the young farmers. The split within Quakerism between evangelicals and quietists is another area where differing notions of relations between men and women played a significant role, a point not

lost on some American feminist historians. Given that the Children were more amenable to women's equality, it would have been instructive to know whether this issue entered the debate (or at the very least whether Schrauwers sees it as having been implicit). The potential tensions between the Children's egalitarianism and their possible acquiescence to some dominant notions of gender relations are as worthy of investigation as are the tensions between the economy and the commu-

nity's religious ideals. *Awaiting the Millennium* provides us with some important information and insights into the workings of religious beliefs and practices in Upper Canadian society; I only wish that its author's treatment of its material was more even-handed and his critical analysis more thoroughly contextualised.

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