

# **The Canadian Quaker History Journal**

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# The Canadian Quaker History Journal

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## Thoughts on Quaker Women, Feminism, and Feminist Pacifism

*Jo Vellacott*

*A talk delivered to the Annual Meeting, CFHA, 12 Sept. 1998*

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This year, 1998, is the sesquicentennial of the Women's Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, from which issued the Women's Declaration of Sentiments, based on the 1776 Declaration of Rights.

It is an appropriate time to reflect on the role played by Quaker women and their use and understanding of Friends' traditions and process in the background to this event. I shall also draw some parallels between how the Seneca Falls Convention came about in 1848 and the role played by Quaker women in the feminist pacifism of the 1970s and 1980s, in a story which makes another link with Seneca Falls.

### §

Quaker women took an active role in the anti-slavery movement of the early nineteenth century, alongside Quaker men. Well, not quite alongside. Certainly Quakers were leaders in social reform, but they were not altogether immune from contemporary cultural influences. The tradition of gender equality played an immensely important part in the conviction of self-worth evinced by Quaker women, but its social application had been substantially eroded by the criteria of respectability which prevailed. Quaker women, like others of their gender, were expected to work for social causes quietly, among themselves, and as behind-the-scenes supporters of their husbands.

I would posit that the tradition of equality

would not have sufficed, and indeed might not have survived, had it not rested on the deeper belief of Friends that God still speaks to people, and that it is possible to discern God's will and act upon it. In theological terms, this is called the doctrine of continuing revelation. In social and practical terms it meant that Quaker women - who were mostly eminently respectable - found themselves challenged to fly in the face of what was considered right and proper for women.

The Grimké sisters, Sarah and Angelina, daughters of a southern slaveholding family who were aware from an early age of the evils of the system, moved to Philadelphia in the 1820s and became Quakers. A few years



Lucretia Mott

later, they found that moving away from daily contact with slavery was not enough, and knew themselves called to work against the institution. Gifted speakers, their parlour anti-slavery meetings (supposedly for women only) attracted attention and they found themselves addressing large mixed audiences. Many people, especially among church leaders, saw such public activity as "threaten[ing] the female character with widespread and permanent injury."<sup>1</sup> And worse.

When the Grimké sisters, and others of like mind, found themselves forced to address directly the question of women's rights, they stepped even further into impropriety, and had to contend with accusations even from among abolitionist Quakers that they were bringing discredit to the antislavery cause, or that they had turned aside towards another and self-serving issue. In addition, by no means all Friends favoured abolition at this time, and the Grimkés met with more opposition than support from the Orthodox meeting they had joined.

Nevertheless, by the late 1830s women gained ground and some acceptance in the United States anti-slavery movement, with Angelina even speaking for abolitionists before a committee of the Massachusetts State Legislature. At the same time, arguments for the rights of women resonated in a number of different strata of American society for a variety of reasons.

A key event took place in 1840, when the World Anti-Slavery Convention met in London. Delegates from New England and Pennsylvania anti-slavery societies included a number of women, of whom several were Quakers. After a stormy debate preceding the conference, the women were refused seats, and were allowed only to watch proceedings from a curtained gallery. Outstanding among the women were Lucretia Mott (1793-1880), a Hicksite Friend, and the young Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902, not a Friend), who

had long found the limitations placed on women's activities hard to bear. Together they agreed to hold a convention on women's rights when they went back to the U.S., and it was this promise which bore fruit eight years later in the Seneca Falls Convention.

My account greatly oversimplifies the background to the gathering, but the pattern is clear. Women called to serve in a variety of social movements of the time, especially the anti-slavery and temperance movements, had found themselves hampered at every turn by the restrictions placed on women by custom and law, but nonetheless had gained experience and some organizational expertise, and had built a network of contacts through their activity; women talking to women. It was illogical to submit to having their own humanity denied while they struggled to free others. It was also immoral to obey societal conventions which forbade them to do what they knew was right.

Much leadership came from Quaker women, and support from some Quaker men. These were the Friends who had been seasoned by their own tradition of the equality of women in worship and ministry. Quakers, too, lacking the authority of a clerical hierarchy, had to reject barriers to the use of god-given gifts in response to a clear leading. The move to work for legal and cultural freedom was not only a logical and practical development, but was morally and spiritually driven.

We can take this story no further at the present time. The 1848 meeting provided a catalyst for feelings that were more widespread than had been supposed, and was followed by others. Interestingly, the one resolution brought forward in 1848 that seemed so outrageous that even Lucretia Mott feared it would bring ridicule on the gathering, and the only one not unanimously adopted, was the one that suggested that women should work towards obtaining the vote.

Cont'd on page 6

## DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

of the Seneca Falls Convention, 1848

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles. and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men — both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master — the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women — the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation — in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions embracing every part of the country.

The following resolutions were discussed by Lucretia Mott, Thomas and Mary Ann McClintock, Amy Post, Catharine A. F. Stebbins, and others, and were adopted:

WHEREAS, The great precept of nature is conceded to be, that "man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone in his Commentaries remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with man kind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore

*Resolved*, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

*Resolved*, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are con-

trary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

*Resolved*, That woman is man's equal — was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

*Resolved*, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

*Resolved*, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is preeminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

*Resolved*, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

*Resolved*, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

*Resolved*, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

*Resolved*, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

*Resolved*, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

At the last session Lucretia Mott offered and spoke to the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

From: The Concise History of Woman Suffrage, 94-97.



Some century and a quarter later, in 1983, women again gathered at Seneca Falls, this time at the women's peace camp a few kilometres away.

Quaker influence, and the contribution of individual Quaker women, are a little harder to pinpoint and isolate in the emergence of twentieth-century feminist pacifism than they were in the nineteenth-century women's rights movement, and I do not want to exaggerate the Quaker claim for good things that came from many sources, but we know Quaker women were there wherever protest was made against injustice or for peace, and a number of developments are in line with Friends' traditions and understandings.<sup>2</sup>

The peace and civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s were one of the important seedbeds of modern feminism. Just as the antislavery drive sensitized women to their own bondage in the nineteenth century, so some women engaged in work for civil rights and against the Vietnam war and nuclear arms became aware that the principles of respect for all people were only too obviously not always present in interpersonal dealings within the movements. Women were often expected to take traditional roles, typing, copying, providing food, cleaning up, doing the dishes, even at times providing sexual service. They should not complain as the importance of the cause was overriding, and the charismatic male leaders put themselves on the line in their chosen roles. Decisions were made hierarchically, and most often the leadership was dominated by men. Women recognized the anomaly of working on non-violent action and yet making use of decision-making process which was not free of systemic violence.

As women's consciousness rose, several distinct responses developed. Many active movement women turned away from the peace movement and focused all their energy on women's rights. Some became active in the

women's peace movement, some from disillusionment about working with men, and some in order to explore the strength of women. We shall look briefly at just one example, one that brings us back to Seneca Falls.

The two aspects of feminist pacifism that I want to touch on are the work on process and the commitment to nonviolence. Feminist pacifism at its best has consciously carried both these elements to new levels. The long-enduring women's camp at Greenham Common in Britain is a particularly interesting example because it came about spontaneously, and both the understanding of non-violence and the decision-making process had to be developed by trial and error, of which some records remain. When Sister Rosalie Bertell visited there, she made careful notes of the process as she found it: copies of her notes are included here, and you will see how close the process is to Quaker decision-making, although it is inevitably presented as a secular consensus method, rather than as the spiritual seeking for Light which is the true basis of Friends' process.

To begin with Greenham is not really a digression, since the Seneca Falls Women's Peace camp drew its inspiration directly from Greenham. More elaborate, less spontaneous, much more self-conscious, the Seneca Falls camp came into existence in the summer of 1983. Unlike the Greenham women, the Seneca women were immune from eviction (the camp owned the land) and had more freedom to work deliberately on their vision of a new kind of community. The women at Seneca Falls camp developed a written process, very similar to the Greenham one but more elaborate, and what they called "respected policies". As well as the immediate purpose of mounting protests (at the nearby military base) against militarism and the nuclear arms race, the camp was designed to provide an experience of a different kind of relating and organizing, in a community free

from hierarchy and free from compulsion, with a strong sense of common purpose, and leaving room for an element of spontaneity. Probably some of the most profound experiences came through working out the commitment to truly listening, with its corollary of being truly heard, and making this the basis of an alternative way of living.

Moving to other aspects of nonviolence in the feminist peace movement, we can again only suggest areas of commonality between Quaker belief and what is found in the best of feminist pacifist understanding and practice. Nonviolence is a complex subject.<sup>4</sup> For example, it is a misnomer to describe as "non-violent protest" actions which are informed by bitter hostility and stop short only of physical violence. Quakers seek that of God in everyone; in practical terms this emerges as a need to recognize the humanity of the opponent, to keep communication open, to maintain eye contact, to refuse to return abuse - most importantly, to work at internalizing non-violence. These were all part of the training and part of the understood way of working at the women's camp.

"That of God in everyone" also has implications for how we think about ourselves; in 1983 at Seneca Falls, as in 1848, women were affirming their own dignity and right to be heard. One incident particularly interests me. About seventy women from the Seneca Falls Peace Camp attempted to walk from the Seneca Falls site of the 1848 Declaration to the camp, making the link, as I am doing now, between the spirit of the nineteenth-century women and themselves. Barbara Deming has left a remarkable account of the walk, which was not even planned as any kind of protest but which engendered - or provided a focus for - intense hostility among some of the local men, including a group of veterans from the Vietnam war. Before the walk, the women had formed a circle; the Quaker term would be that they were "centering". When the road was blocked and the situation at its most

tense, with a real potential for physical violence, some of the women sat down, again in a circle, conveying both that they were no threat and that they would not be turned back, and providing themselves with an opportunity to discuss how to proceed. Nevertheless, in the outcome, fifty-four of the women were arrested and held in custody for five days; again they managed to hold to their process most of the time, and established some communication with the guards, very evidently touching their humanity at times.

Rather than claiming glibly that the best of all this came only from Quaker influence, I prefer to word it that Quakers sometimes find themselves in situations where what they believe will work really does work, and work among a larger group responsive to their experience and conviction. At Seneca, other sources of light, or perhaps more precisely the same source but coming through different channels, were equally significant. Barbara Deming, herself a Friend, describes the spiritual strength brought by a Buddhist woman to the Seneca Falls camp, and openness of spirit was found among women of many different religious backgrounds or of none.

## §

I have omitted the most contentious area from my discussion. Why were men excluded from Greenham and from Seneca? Personally, I am convinced that it was the only way in which the women could gain the freedom to experiment with a different kind of community. And this is not completely foreign to Quaker tradition; I understand that George Fox and Margaret Fell set up separate women's Meetings for the purpose of ensuring that the women would have a forum in which to develop their own ideas and leadings unhampered by customary male dominance. And of course, in the twentieth century, what women were addressing was the connection between patriarchal and militaristic values,

## New Model for Negotiation

Developed by women at Greenham Common and reported by Sr. Rosalie Bertell to the March 10, 1985 Toronto Women's Negotiation Workshop



Greenham women identify force and militarism as underpinning our present mental models of decision making. In this process, groups came together, maybe they vote, then everyone pretends to go along with the majority - a "common front" until another vote comes.

The alternative used by Greenham women is a different style of decision-making. This is the process:

1. The women try to have all non-essential decisions made outside the meeting.
2. Before a proposal is presented, a small group works out the details ahead of time, develops it as far as possible so that it is not a suggestion off the top of anyone's head. The proposal is made to the whole group (usually 70-80 women). There are two rules in dealing with it:
  - a) Everyone has to say something about the proposal. None can keep her mouth shut.
  - b) You cannot definitely approve or reject, but can express feelings. If you say "Yes, let's do it" that polarizes the group.
3. After discussion the proposal goes back to the small group, perhaps adding one or two interested people, for modification. They try to be sensitive to what has been said.
4. The proposal then returns to the group a second time. Everyone then takes a stand on the proposal. There are four possible options:
  - a. I accept and will work on it.
  - b. I accept it but cannot work on it.
  - c. I object to the proposal but won't stand in the way, i.e. "stepping aside".
  - d. Blocking stand. I object to the proposal and don't want the group to do it. If this happens the proposal is dropped.

After the decision none is pressured. Those who step aside may have creative ideas for alternatives, one can take a public or private stand or join a coalition for further discussion. Rosalie suggested that those who block several decisions may not remain long with the group.

which had only too well survived the gaining of the vote.

I am well aware that the CFHA is an historical society and not a futurist society; and I am certainly a historian, not a futurist. But I have to conclude by pointing out that the story is an incomplete one. Women had to take these steps for themselves and by themselves. If there is so much in common between Quaker beliefs and practices and those of the best of feminist peacemakers, is there not some way of building on the women's experiments and moving forward, but by a route which will bring in men and women together? Essential as I believe the work of women with women and for women has been, at some time the two genders have to work together.

Alongside the growth of feminist pacifism in the 1970s, there developed one group which specifically worked on non-hierarchical and non-sexist group process; this was the Movement for a New Society, a Philadelphia-based group active in community nonviolence and civil rights issues, and involving both men and women; here too there was a substantial leavening of Quakers. But not enough has yet been done in the wider society to address the failures of majority rule and widen the use of nonviolent decision-making process; perhaps it has a past and may have a future as an active Friends' testimony, not just something we keep for ourselves.

### Notes:

1. Flexner, Century, 46, quoting Pastoral Letter of the Council of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, 1837.
2. I believe the rather striking lack of "known names" from Seneca Falls and Greenham Peace Camps is in large part a measure of success in the experiment in shared nonhierarchical leadership.
3. Where specific analysis has been possible, the results are interesting. Sybil Oldfield, a British scholar, has sought out the affiliations of over 200 British women who planned to cross the North Sea to attend

the conference (called together unofficially by prewar suffragists) at The Hague in April 1915, which led eventually to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She was surprised at the large proportion who were Friends.

4. I have recently been privileged to put together some thoughts and examples of nonviolence in a chapter for Larry Fisk and John Schellenberg, eds. Patterns of Conflict, Paths to Peace, a text for an introductory peace studies course (Broadview Press, forthcoming, 1999). Fisk and Schellenberg both teach at Mount St. Vincent University in Halifax, N.S.

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## Three Early Quaker Visits to the Bay of Quinte, 1798, 1799 and 1804.

*Edited by Christopher Densmore*

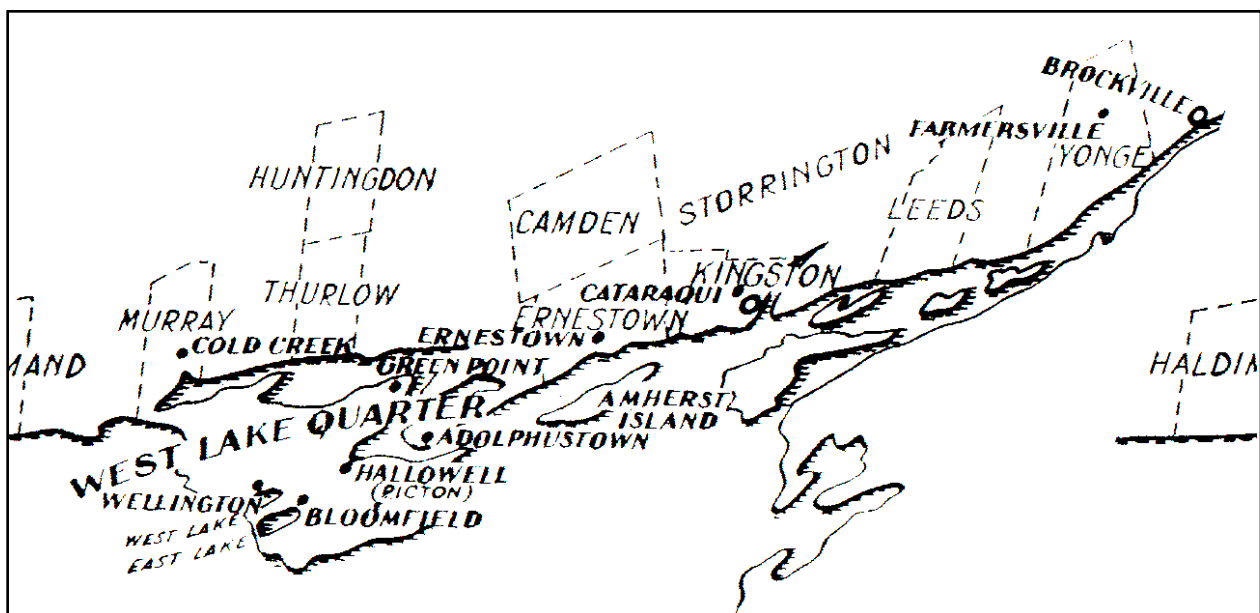
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Quakers were among the Loyalists refugees who came to the Bay of Quinte in 1784, and it is likely that Quakers were meeting informally in the 1780s and 1790s. However, there was no formal structure until September 1798, when a Preparative Meeting was organized as a distant branch of Nine Partner's Monthly Meeting in Dutchess County, New York (Dorland, 50-51, 77-81). It was the monthly meeting that received and disciplined members, acknowledged ministers and elders, and in general conducted most of the business of the Society of Friends. Since Adolphustown was far distant from Nine Partners, this Preparative Meeting was given the authority to conduct marriages, receive new members and deal with offenders against the Quaker discipline. In October 1798, the new meeting decided to build a meeting house on the south shore of Hay Bay, on the farm of John Dorland. By January 1800, Friends at Adolphustown were sufficiently established to

warrant the establishment of Adolphustown Monthly Meeting. Adolphustown Preparative Meeting was the first organized Quaker meeting in what is now Ontario, though it preceded the establishment of Pelham Monthly Meeting on the Niagara Peninsula in October 1799 by little more than a year. The Adolphustown Quaker Meeting House on Hay Bay was the second Quaker Meeting House in Ontario, as the Friends settlement at Pelham in the Niagara District, though without a formal organized meeting, had built a meeting house some years before (Dorland, 68, 81).

The early years of Quakerism in Adolphustown, West Lake and the Bay of Quinte is documented in the journals of traveling Friends Rufus Hall, who visited in 1798 and returned in 1804, and of Hugh Judge, who made an extended visit in 1799. Rufus Hall's journal was published by John Comly at Byberry, Pennsylvania in 1840, and Hugh Judge's journal by Comly the following year.



Arthur Dorland used both journals as sources for his History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) In Canada (1927) but quoted only brief passages from the two accounts (81, 82). The text is reproduced as originally printed, preserving the original spellings of names and places. Both men employed the Quaker style of dating, using numbers rather than names for the days of the week and the month: Sunday is First Day, Tuesday is Second Day; January is First Month, February is Second Month.

Rufus Hall was born in Exeter, Rhode Island, in 1744, and moved with his family to Dutchess County, New York in 1754. He moved to Easton (then called Saratoga) in Washington County, New York, in 1775. Hall's journal is a primary source for the often retold story of Quaker pacifism during the American Revolution known as "Friendly Feathers" or the "Feathers of Peace." During the Burgoyne Campaign in 1777, the opposing Revolutionary and British armies faced each other near the Easton Quaker meeting house. Many of the local inhabitants fled, particularly fearing the Indian allies of the British forces, but the Quakers remained. One day, while the Quakers were in meeting for worship, a war party of Indians arrived with a prisoner and freshly-taken scalp, but they respected the Quaker religion and neutrality and left -- in some accounts after sitting in meeting a brief time- without offering any violence to the Friends (Williams; Hall, 18). Hall "appeared in the ministry" at the age of twenty-six, and by early 1790s was frequently traveling in the ministry to visit Friends, paying special attention to Quakers in the newly settled areas of New York. In 1804, shortly after his return from his second visit to Canada, Hall moved to Northampton, NY, near Galway, where he died in 1818.

### **Rufus Hall's First Visit to the Bay of Quinte, 1798**

Rufus Hall received the approval of his monthly meeting for his concern to visit Friends in Western New York and Canada in April 1798, and set off from Easton with Matthew Rogers as his traveling companion on June 16th. After visiting Friends in the Mohawk Valley and the newly settled "Genesee Country" he crossed over the Niagara River to visit Friends in Pelham and Black Creek in Canada on July 28th. Hall and Rogers spent two weeks in the Niagara Peninsula, before leaving their horses with a local Quaker to take the packet boat to Kingston. The following account is from pages 54 to 57 of the published journal:

"8th of 8th mo. In company with our friend Wm. Lippincott, we went to Queenstown, and agreed for passage in the packet to Kingston, it being about one hundred and sixty miles by water on lake Ontario. Next day [9th] we went on board, and sailed in the afternoon; but got little sleep in the night following by reason of a company of loose drunken men who were very noisy: which led me to consider what a pitch of hardness and unthoughtfulness men may arrive at by keeping bad company. Who that is concerned for his children's welfare, can consent that they would follow a sailor's life for a livelihood in this world?

"On the 13th we landed at Kingston, and went thence on foot about four or five miles to our friend Aaron Brewer's. We were much fatigued by being on board the packet, and having hard lodging four nights, with loose company, and some of us being sea-sick; but were kindly received and refreshed by our friends Aaron Brewer and his wife; with whom we rested a day or two: then attended a meeting appointed at their house, which was large for this wilderness country, being made

up of a few Friends and others of various denominations. But all were quiet, and I had an open time to declare Truth among them. Thanks be to the great Master of our assemblies for his manifold mercies, saith my soul. Next day we rode to the Bay of Quinty to the house of John Dorland, and the day following visited the families of James Noxon and Reuben Beadel, a friendly man. We also made several others religious visits to families, and on the 19th, being first-day, had a meeting at Philip Dorland's, which I thought was a favoured time. We then crossed the bay in company with Philip Dorland to West-lake, where we visited the family of Jacob Cronck; but it was a low time with me. Our friend James Noxon, being in the ministerial line, laboured with some success, for which I felt thankful.

"22nd. Attended a meeting we had appointed at the house of Cornelius Blount, and I thought it a favoured one, though I was yet so low in mind as to be entirely silent; but James Noxon was much favoured in testimony, thought not yet a recommended minister, but in unity with Friends. Next day, after visiting another family, we went to a place called Grassy Point, in order to visit the few Friends there. Had sittings with them to some satisfaction, although it was still low water with me. I compared myself to a vessel that was endeavouring to make the best of her way with a small wind, so that one could but just discern that she got along at all. But I endeavoured to be as well contented as I could, seeing I could be no otherwise, and believing that my heavenly Father knew what was best for me at all times. After visiting another family, we again crossed the bay, and lodged at David Barker's.

"26th. We again attended the meeting at Philip Dorland's, in which I was silent as to public testimony. I thought the people might see that the Lord's ministers could not preach at any time when they would have them. So I felt easy in mind, and willing to be disposed

of as my heavenly Master should see best. Next day visited Daniel Haight's family to good satisfaction, a little stream of gospel love flowing freely towards them.

"28th. We set out for Kingston; feeling myself fully clear of these parts, and seeing nothing but that I might soon proceed homewards; so we came to Aaron Brewer's that night. Next day visited Joseph Farris's family; and the night following was taken unwell with an ague and fever, which was very trying to me. On the 31st, feeling fully clear of this part of the world, I was easy to return homewards; and on considering in what way to proceed, we at length concluded to take passage by water in a small boat. So we wrote to our friend Jeremiah Moore, at Niagara, who had our horses in keeping, to sell them, and after satisfying himself for his trouble, to transmit the balance to us.

"1st of 9th mo. We took leave of our friends, and went on board the boat; got on about eighteen miles to Grenadier island, and lodged on the ground, there being no inhabitants on the island; but making a good fire, and having blankets and sail cloth to cover us, we fared tolerably well. Next day, we continued our voyage along the lake shore, and at night again lodged on the ground; but the ague and fever again seizing me, I got but little rest. Yet I was borne up, I trust, with a good degree of patience, under it all, and the company were very kind to me.

"3d. Pursuing our course along the shore, we arrived at Oswego some time after night-fall, being about eighty miles from Kingston.

After arriving in Oswego, Hall and his companion travel via Fort Stanwix and Schnectady, arriving back in Easton on September 12. Hall records in his journal that, according to his companion, that in three months they had traveled twelve hundred miles, and attended twenty-four meetings, in additions to many visits with families (58). Hall is not quite "clear" of his Canadian

concern, the following January prepares a long "Epistle" of counsel and advice for the new Adolphustown Meeting (pages 74-80)

"1st mo. 11, 1799. About this time I received a letter from my friend Aaron Brewer, of Upper Canada, which revived a concern that had been on my mind for some weeks, to write an epistle to Friends and friendly people at and about the Bay of Cauty. This being something new to me, after the concern became ripe, I thought best to advise with some Friends about it; being loth to do any thing that might occasion offend, or appear like forwardness in myself. But after opening my concern to my friends, they left me to my freedom to act therein.

"Now these Friends at the Bay of Cauty were mostly new members, and had but little experience in the discipline of society; they had also lately had a preparative meeting settled among them, and indeed more than a common preparative meeting; for they had liberty to accomplish their marriages as though it was a monthly meeting; also to deal with offenders, but not to disown or receive members without the consent of Nine Partners monthly meeting, of which they were a branch. These privileges were given them by reason of their remoteness from Friends at Nine Partners, it being four hundred miles hence to the Bay of Cauty. These circumstances, together with the great distance they were from experienced Friends, so that they were not likely to be visited very often by such, occasioned me many serious thoughts about them since my late visit there, which resulted in the following essay.

#### AN EPISTLE

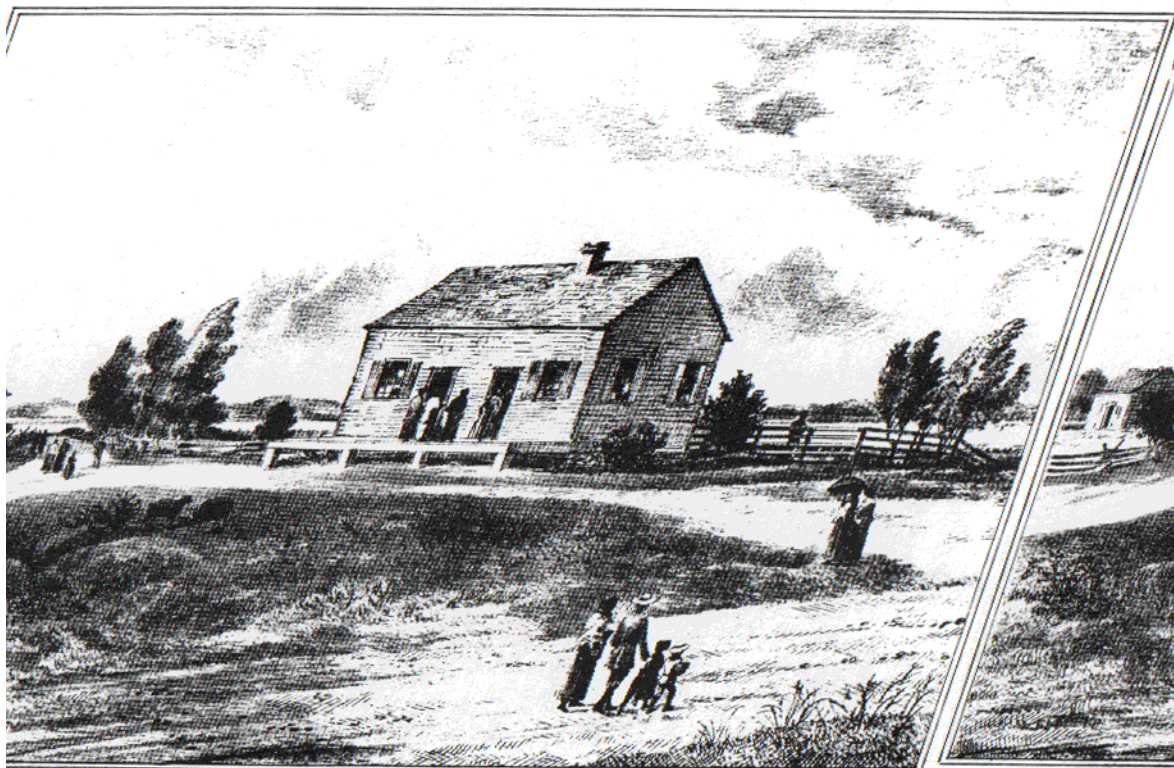
To the Preparative Meeting, at Adolphustown, on the Bay of Cauty, Upper Canada.

"Dear Friends, -- In that love which neither distance nor place, nor length of time can erase, do I salute you; and hereby inform,

that since I was with you I had cause, in my serious meditations, to sympathize with you, I trust, in a degree of feeling sense of your remote situation from Friends. And lately hearing of the labours and service the committee from the Yearly Meeting, it hath increased my concern: not that I think it was not right that you should be favoured with a meeting for discipline in some sort, but because I discovered among you divers states that would either be made better by a right use of such a privilege, or made worse by a wrong use, or rather the abuse of it.

"Dear friends, it seems to me that it is somewhat like lighting the candle for you. Now no man lighteth a candle and putteth it under a bushel or bed; but setteth it on a candlestick that all who are in the house may have light; which represents to my mind an exertion of talents. You all have gifts or talents and some of you will have to stand as it were in the foremost rank, in order to hold forth the light to others; and it may be too in a public way, as well as in a more private capacity. O dear friends, be not negligent; and say not in your hearts, I am about as good as such or such an one; and it is a cross to me to deal with another, although I see that he or she doeth not right. I had much rather some one else would do the work, for I think it would be better received than from me; and he or she is more capable than I am. O dear friends, this sort of reasoning is too much like hiding the light under the bed of ease, or under the bushel or measure, and measuring ourselves by ourselves. Remember, dear friends, that it is said, "The sluggard will not plough by reason of the cold; therefore he shall beg in harvest and have nothing;" and that "slothfulness will cover man with rags." This kind of reasoning, I believe, is the cunning insinuation of the enemy of all good and will bring on poverty of spirit in an imperceptible manner; and you may have to cry for help when it is too late.





QUAKER MEETING HOUSE.

From Canniff Haight, Country Life in Canada

“Wherefore, dear friends, be aroused and work while it is day, for the night cometh wherein no man can work. A disposition to put off and make excuses, serves but to dim the little light we are favoured with; and by thus giving way from time to time, the little sense we have of good and of our duty to God and one to another, at length becomes entirely lost. On the contrary, as we give diligence to occupy our talents, we find by experience that the five doth gain other five, the two other two, and so might the one as well in proportion.

“I do not thus write to stir up any thing before the right time, or to hasten an untimely birth in any; for I am fully sensible that there is a time to be silent, as well as a time to speak; and to know the right time, and what, and where to speak, is a great point of wisdom, which nothing but the true light of Christ in our hearts can testify and explain to us.

“Dear friends, remember the case of the impotent man that lay at the pool of Bethesda. It seems there was an angle went down at a certain season, and troubled the water, and that whosoever first stepped in after the troubling of the water, was cured of whatsoever disease he had. But we may be too fast, as well as too slow. Had any one stepped in before the troubling of the water by the good angle, he would not have been healed, any more than if he had not stepped in after it was troubled; although he might have felt the shock of being plunged into the water, but the qualifying virtue being wanting no effectual healing could take place. We may also observe that there are divers causes by which waters may be troubled or moved; sometimes wind; sometimes by casting in something; but none of these ways of moving it will effect a cure, short of the efficacy of the angel's power or virtue. O Friends, whoever acts for God in the cause of Truth, may act in the life and

power of God, or it will not redound to his praise. We may try all we can do though and by our own windy wisdom or wit; and may by our own strength cast in something that may seem to agitate the water, or fan the flame of zeal in our own minds or the minds of others; - yet the right anointing, the baptizing power of God, being wanting, nothing is done to profit.

"There are some people who seem to have the bell to make a sound, but not being furnished with the pomegranate which gives the proper savour, they make an uncertain sound, and therefore none prepares for spiritual warfare. I greatly desire not to discourage any tender mind, but to encourage every opening of duty that is in the light of Christ: which light, as it is duly attended to, will show with clearness, and distinguish the precious from the vile. It will discover to us the difference between the movings of the angel of light, and our own creaturely contrivance, in our religious performances. In this way, you may be qualified to act as far as the light dictates; and as you keep to this sure guide, and take it for your moving principle and rule of action, you will feel true peace in your labours. And though you may see but little and therefore do but little, yet it will be approved, as were the widow's two mites; for "a living god is better than a dead lion."

"And, dear friends, there are amongst you those that attend your meetings for worship, and who are partly convinced of the Truth; and it is likely some of these are at times thinking of joining themselves as members of our religious society. I greatly desire that they may be tenderly dealt with, and that you may observe a harmless and innocent openness towards them, with such a christian deportment as shall in no wise discourage them or disgust them. Thus will you be enabled to lead them gently along, and be qualified to feed them with milk and not with strong meat: and in this prudently nourishing the children,

you will find in the Lord's time the family of his house will flourish and grow up like the calves in the stalls; and others will flock to the windows of the ark of God's covenant, like harmless doves. O my friends, I feel a flow of love towards others as well as the members of our society, I mean such especially as are well affected towards Friends' principles, and attend their meetings, and have in some measure seen the necessity of taking up the cross, so as to appear in a good degree of plainness of speech and apparel. To such I would say, take heed to yourselves; hide not your light; for although it may be known that you are not members of the society of Friends, yet you are considered as Friends and numbered among them: and therefore it becometh you to be wise and exemplary in all your conduct, lest you mar the work that may be begun in others who yet make no visible appearance or profession of Truth to the world. Oh! therefore consider your standing and the necessity of advancing in the truth. I apprehend some of you feel somewhat like the impotent man that had laid at the pool of Bethesda a long time, and thought himself so unable to help himself that he was ready to complain, "I have no man to put me into the pool, but while I am getting ready, another steps in." Oh! may you remember how he was healed through obedience to the command, "Arise, take up thy bed and walk:" and he arose, took up his bed, and went on his way. This was as great, or a greater miracle than if he had plunged into the pool; for it was the word or power of God, and faith in Christ, that healed him. Doubtless, if he had not been faithful and obedient to the command, and had not made trial, he would not have been healed. So likewise, in a spiritual sense, if ye are not faithful to the sense of duty given you, but reason within yourselves, that he have none to help you, ye may lay a long time, weak, impotent, and uncured. But, dear friends, (for I love you) be faithful to the

inward call; take up your beds of ease, and bear them (though as a burden or cross) on your shoulders, and suffer not them (or that easy, reasoning disposition) to hinder you any longer. Arise, and walk; or go forward in the faith and light of the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world: that so ye may obtain peace and rest at last, when time shall be no more.

“So wisheth, so prayeth, one that travails in spirit, in his measure, for the prosperity of Zion, and the enlargement of her borders, your friend,

“Rufus Hall, Easton, Washington country, state of New York, 16th of 1st mo. 1799.”

### **Hugh Judge's Visit to the Bay of Quinte, 1799**

Hugh Judge was born in Philadelphia circa 1750, the son of Irish emigrants. Though raised as a Catholic, Judge was attracted to Quakers, and began attending Quaker meetings as an adolescent. He first “appeared in the work of the ministry” in 1772. He moved to New Rochelle in New York State in 1792, and then to New York City in 1797. Later, 1815, he moved to Ohio. During the Hicksite-Orthodox Controversy, Judge sided with the Hicksites. Beginning in 1780, Judge was frequently traveling to visit Friends throughout the United States. He died and was buried in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, in 1834, while on a visit to Friends in the east.

Hugh Judge proposed a visit to Canada to New York Monthly Meeting in August 1799, but his departure was delayed by an outbreak of Yellow Fever in New York City. He left on October 8, 1799, traveling up the Hudson River Valley and then up Lake Champlain, visiting Friends meetings in Vermont and northern New York State. The narrative reproduced below begins as Judge prepares to cross the St. Lawrence River into Canada in

November (pages 260-278).

“Having agreed with some of the Indians (one of whom used no strong drink of any kind) to take us across the river St. Lawrence, this morning the 26th of the 11th month, 1799, we went on board the canoes, three of them being lashed together, and had two Indian men and a squaw to take us over. The wind being ahead, it too them near four hours to go about three miles; but they managed well, and we thought ourselves safer with them than with those of own colour, though we could not understand them, not they us. Being so long on the water, we got very cold and considerably wet, but were landed near a public house, where we got some refreshment. We were now in Canada, and traveled on about eleven miles, when we put up and had to stretch our weary limbs on hard straw beds that were none of the cleanest. However, I have found it best for me to put up with those things quietly without finding fault, which often sources the minds of people, inducing them to speak evil of Friends as a difficult people to please. Next day, [27th] we traveled about thirty miles, and put up at a Dutch tavern where we had good quarters. The day following we set out early, took breakfast at Johnstown, and reached our friend Joshua Wing's, where we were kindly and cheerfully received and entertained.

“So far as we have traveled, the country is level and the soil appears very good; considerable settlements are making, but there seems to be a scarcity of good water, and few running streams: their mill-seats are chiefly on the river St. Lawrence, and not many of them; yet where they are improved they are very valuable. I observe, the first settlers in new countries are generally people in low circumstances; and they have many difficulties and hardships to encounter. When amongst them, I have often felt great tenderness towards them. Their fare being every hard, they are low and poor and feel them-

selves so: some of them have large families about them to provide for, and little to do it with. Many of them feel humbled under the trials of their situation; and I have found their minds more tender and open to receive the truths of the gospel, than those in old settled places. For where riches flow in, without great care, they captivate and steal away the affections and the tenderness of feeling. Riches are a great snare to the unwatchful; for, as Augustine says, he who loves not God over and above all, loves him not at all. Why should the sons of men so universally pursue with eagerness the things of time? Is it because they think to find happiness in the enjoyment thereof. Do riches give happiness? No; they oftener bring discontent, and destroy true harmony and peace. Where the mind is bent after the pursuit of wealth, that love which is due to the supreme Lord and Law-giver, becomes rooted out; and out of the enjoyment of his presence, there be no true happiness here, nor hereafter. Where men keep the world in its proper place, possessing what they have as though they had it not, it is then a blessing to them, and to others that they are stewards over it. These are true philosophers, though too few in number, who view and estimate things as they really are. Far the greater part of mankind are pursuing the world in order to be great, pompous, and to make themselves a name of distinction; which often makes them proud and disdainful. Oh! the folly, the great folly in beings formed for immortality, to descend so as to be grovelling continually in the low things of time! Raise they ideas, O man, towards heaven; look beyond the things that vanish, or perish with the using; seek durable riches and righteousness: they shalt though enjoy the earth with pleasure, and the fruits of the field with delight. I am fully of the mind, there is no people [who] enjoy life with greater satisfaction, than those whose minds are least in the earth, raised above it and kept out of it.

Those who walk in the fear of God enjoy this life most truly; they pass the time of their sojourning here with an eye to the recompense of reward, and are looking forward to that city which hath foundations, and whose maker and builder is God.

“29th. It snowed all day, so we rested at our kind friend's; our horses also needed rest. But I was mindful of the neighbourhood, and being remote from a settlement of Friends, proposed having a meeting appointed, which was accordingly done and notice spread. Next day we attended it; and though it continued snowing, a considerable number assembled, and it was a good meeting, in which Israel's Shepherd was near to help and instruct. We dined with the family where the meeting was held, about four miles from Joshua Wing's and had a comfortable sitting with them afterwards. On first-day, the 1st of 12th month, we had a meeting at Joshua Wing's, which was large and favoured. Next day, [2nd] having Matthew Howard for a guide, we traveled most of the day through the wilderness in search of one Joseph Day, a Friend. In the evening we found him; but, poor man, he had no way to keep us nor our horses. I wanted to stay a little with him and his family, although our company urged us to go on; but two men happening to pass by the hut or cabin, we hailed them and inquired where our horses could be taken care of. One of them agreed to keep them that night; so we let him take them along, concluding to walk on after awhile. Then, taking a little refreshment (having passed the day without any) we had an opportunity with Joseph and his family; after which, we walked near two miles through the woods; [264] and tired enough I was before we got to our quarters, as the snow was of considerable depth. We lay down on the board and slept sweetly; what a favour! Next morning [3rd], the young people gave us some breakfast early, which we eat by fire-light, for they had no candles, being poor and

beginning in the woods. So we paid them well for what we had, and set out on our wilderness road. After traveling eighteen miles, we stopped to bait our horses on some oats we had with us; and the man having killed a fat doe, they gave us some friend venison that relished well. After a solid opportunity here, we parted with our kind guide, Matthew Howard, who had come forty miles through the wilderness with us. It was now past two o'clock, and we had eighteen miles to go through an uninhabited wilderness to reach Kingston mills, with no track but a foot-man's. A very tedious time we had, and did not arrive at the mills till eight o'clock in the evening. Here again we lodged on the floor; but my mind being calm and peaceful, the wilderness and floor were pleasant to me. Many times, in passing along these rough ways, my heart was contrite and my eyes were full; so that I was enabled to sing praises to his most holy Name, who is worthy thereof forever and forevermore.

"4th. Left our quarters early and went to Kingston, seven miles, to breakfast. This village stands on the banks of lake Ontario. After refreshing ourselves and horses, we went on to Aaron Brewer's, where we were kindly received: next day, had a meeting at his house, to which came a considerable number, inasmuch as the morning was stormy, and the notice short. The Spirit of Truth was exalted over and above all human forms and inventions, and the meeting ended well. On sixth-day, we set out for Philip Dorland's, where we arrived at five in the evening, and were heartily received. The road from Kingston has been generally good, on the side of the bay of Canty, and the country is considerably settled, their improvements looking well for the time. The settlers are chiefly from the United States, but they have to go through a seasoning, being subject to fever and ague for awhile, -- as the country is flat, and but few steams of running water.

Seventh-day, I rested, and being much along, I enjoyed the presence of my great and good Master; feeling an engagement of mind for preservation and right direction in the great and weighty service of the gospel.

"On first-day, the 8th, we attended meeting in Friend's new meeting-house at Adolphustown, Upper Canada; in which I was silent, and felt thankful in believing I was preserved in my proper place. In the afternoon, we crossed the bay of Cantay and went ten mile up the bay to Daniel Way's, where there are a few members of our society: next day [9th], we had a meeting in the afternoon, which was a very satisfactory opportunity. On third-day [Tuesday, 10th], we crossed the bay on the ice and returned to John Dorland's; and next day [11th], were at Friends' meeting-house again, which was a good time. We also had meetings the two following days [12th - 13th]; the latter at Daniel Haight's was a profitable season. On first-day, the 15th, we were again at the meeting-house, -- a season of much favour, in which doctrine flowed freely, and to the praise of the Helper of his people. In the afternoon, we visited several families, some of which were precious opportunities. Next day [16th], after a tendering season in the family of David Barker, and another visit to a member, we crossed the bay of Cantay on the ice and rode to West Lake. On third-day, the 17th, had a large meeting in the neighbourhood, in which many were broken into tenderness. What a mercy it is that the Most High is pleased to look down upon us in our low estate, and favour us with the visitations of his love! In the afternoon and next day, we visited families to our satisfaction: on fifth day [19th], had a large and favoured meeting at East Lake; the people behaved well, though but little acquainted with the way of Friends. Next day [20th] we returned to West Lake to a meeting appointed at two o'clock; to which came a much larger number of people than to the first we had there. One man of the Baptist





THE FIRST HOME.

From Canniff Haight, Country Life in Canada

persuasion was so reached, that when I took my leave of him after meeting, the tears rolled from his eyes as fast as one could well follow another. These meetings have all been precious seasons; the Lord's truth and power reigned over all, and great strength and clearness were given to labour in word and doctrine. Glory to his most excellent name forever: it is his own works that praise him.

"21st. We returned to Philip Dorland's, having passed an industrious week, and had some precious opportunities. At one meeting, after I had been on my feet about half an hour, and a solemn, good covering prevailed, all of a sudden I noticed alarm in the countenances of divers of the people. I was standing with my back towards a window which opened to the road, and which many of the people faced. -- On turning my eye round, I saw the occasion of the alarm, -- a sleigh was coming towards the house, and the horse on full run with it; and just as it reached the yard, it

overset. Feeling great weight on my mind and concern for the meeting, I spoke to the people as soon as I could, that a few only of those sitting near the door should go out, and the rest endeavour to be as still as possible. However, the alarm was such that I thought best to sit down. Being under no small concern, and keeping quiet in mind, I was favoured to continue inwardly attentive to the motion of life. Those who had gone out soon returned, and the people who were overset in the sleigh escaping without much hurt, also came in, and all settled down so quietly, that I thought it remarkable how quickly the meeting recovered from the jostle. I again stood up and observed to the people, that it ought to excite thankfulness in us all to the Preserver of men, that there had been no lives lost, nor much damage sustained by the accident. As I made these remarks, many minds were tendered; and I then proceeded with the subject I was on when I sat down, and which

still dwelt with me in a lively manner; -- doctrine which flowed freely thereon, and the Lord favoured us with a blessed opportunity till the close of the meeting, which was under a solemn covering.

“It seems right for me here to advert to the necessity there is for all who are engaged in the important work of the ministry, to know the ground on which they stand, move and act; -- to keep the eye singly attentive to the motion of Divine life, and to mind with watchful care the opening, arising and spreading of the pure gift. Under this exercise, the mind is kept in solemn, attentive, awful calm, and cannot be easily jostled, when circumstances which are not pleasant occur. It is not unusual, amongst people [268] who are almost or altogether unacquainted with our way and manner of worship, and who are great strangers to silence and an inward exercise, that a little thing gives them alarm, or diverts their attention. As there is great allowance necessary to be made on account of the bias and prejudice of education, so we ought to exercise much patience with others under such circumstances; inasmuch as some know how it has been with themselves in earlier life.

“I am also drawn to leave another caution to those who travel in Truth's service in new countries. -- There are many infants and sucking children brought to meeting in newly settled places, and at times some of them are very noisy. But when we consider that it is the people we are drawn to visit, and were they not to bring their infants with them, we should have very few of that class of mothers at meeting, -- we should also remember, that the first settlers in new countries are generally those who are in low circumstances, but are glad of the opportunity of going to meetings: so that great tenderness is due them, and we ought to bear and forbear. In a multitude of instances of this kind of meetings, when they mind has kept to its right exercise, I have

rarely found that the service or the meeting has been hurt by the dear babes. But on some cases Friends travelling among the back inhabitants of new countries, hurt has been done by sharply rebuking the mothers for bringing their little children to meetings; and some have been disgusted and railed on Friends on this account; so that their minds have been shut up against Truth's testimony: therefore, on this and some other subjects, there is great need to exercise tenderness and care, lest we block up our way in the minds of the people, and render our service useless.

“On first-day, the 22d, we attended their meeting at the meeting-house; it was large and a highly favoured season, in which the gospel flowed freely towards the people with great clearness and authority. Next day [23rd], we had a second meeting at Grassy Point, to which there came a larger number of people than at the first, and we had a precious season. On third-day [24th], we had a meeting on the other side of the bay; fourth-day [25th], attended Friends' meeting and preparative meeting also. At this preparative meeting, a proposal was made for holding a regular meeting in the middle of the week, which they had not heretofore done. This proposal was cordially united with, as a number of the members had been previously exercised with the same concern, and a meeting was now concluded to be held in the future on the fourth day [Wednesday] of the week.

“It may seem strange to some who may not be acquainted with the circumstances, how a preparative meeting should be held, and not a meeting in the middle of the week. A few years past, our Yearly Meeting sent a committee to visit Friends settled in Canada, who reported their situation and circumstances to that body. The subject being weightily before the meeting, and much sympathy felt towards Friends in these remote settlements, another committee was appointed to make them a second visit, to which authority was

given in the wisdom of Truth, to open and establish a preparative meeting among them somewhat different from others, in order to meet their situation. As Friends settled here were so remote from any established meeting for discipline, they were allowed to accomplish their marriages under the care of this preparative meeting, which appointed overseers, and was authorized to treat with offenders, and to visit those who might request to become members -- and in either of the last two cases, when they came to a judgment, they were to forward the same to the monthly meeting of Nine Partners, of which this preparative was considered a branch. And inasmuch as Friends in these parts were few in number and considerably distant from one another, they were only enjoined to meet on the first day of the week; yet it was left with them to feel after their strength, and [in] the right time to hold a meeting in the middle of the week. And now, their numbers being increased, and a meeting-house being built in a more central place, it appeared to be the right time to have a week day meeting established in Adolphus-town.

"The next day [26th?] we set out for Kingston, and rode about thirty miles; lodged with Joseph Farris's; and the day following had a large meeting in that neighbourhood, amongst a people very little acquainted with Friends, but it ended well. On seventh-day, I rested at Aaron Brewer's, and wrote home to my dear wife and friends. Aaron and his wife are tender, kind Friends; they came into society by conviction, and appear to be well grounded in the principles of Truth; they are also very useful in the neighbourhood, and a meeting is kept up at their house. In a little review of my labours and travels in this land, my soul has great cause to worship God in deep humility and fear; for he it is that clothes with strength from day to day, to proclaim his everlasting Truth in the demonstrations of the Spirit and with power. Blessed be his excel-

lent and holy name, who will yet exalt the standard of Truth and make it glorious.

"29th. Attended meeting at Aaron Brewer's in the forenoon, and had another in the afternoon a few miles westward: both were large and highly favoured opportunities. Truth's testimony reigned triumphantly over all, and the holy arm was magnified. -- Near the close of the afternoon meeting, a Methodist teacher stood up, and wished liberty to speak a few words; and no one making any reply, he proceeded, and told the people to lay aside their prejudices, and receive the things they had heard delivered; for he had to testify among them that the truths of the everlasting gospel had been preached to them. After adding a little more he sat down, and seemed much affected, having delivered himself in a tender, feeling manner; and I felt well satisfied that what he said did no hurt to the meeting. When he rose, a Friend who sat next to me made a motion for me to request him to sit down; but I thought it would be less likely to interrupt the solemn covering that was over the meeting, to let him alone; and so I believe it proved. There is a great need of care on all hands. This man had with him most of his hearers, and divers of them were in a tender, seeking state; some having lately left them and come to Friends' meetings -- so that his testimony would be likely to be confirming to those newly convinced. May the Lord prosper his own work.

"On second day, Philip Dorland and wife being with us, we returned to their house, through a tedious snow storm, but did not arrive there till late at night. This morning, Nicholas Holmes and Elihu Hoag took leave of me, in order to return home, but Elihu came back before noon. Next day, I rested at Philip Dorland's, being fully of the mind that rest is as necessary as labour: for it is sometimes needful to retire, in order to see and understand what is proper and right for us



to do. It has become customary for some Friends who travel in Truth's service, to push on as fast as they well can, in order to get through and extensive visit in a short time. But for some years past, I have not been able to see that such running visits will answer for me. It was the track I first set out upon; but I found there was need to watch against self in all its shapes, and to be careful that nothing actuates us like glorying that we have performed a long journey in a short time. I therefore leave it as a caution, that nothing like haste to get through in a short time should have place in our religious engagements. It is not enough only to feel a draught to a place, but when there (especially when remote from home) it is needful to feel after the mind of Truth, that we may know what there is for us to do. Even to this day, whenever I look back over my visit to the southern states, it affords me but little satisfaction, because I went through in more haste than I think was best. But in my visit to the eastern states, it was quite different. I took time, moved slowly, and felt my way from place to place; and some of the ground I went over several times, the last visits being generally the most favoured. So that I have this counsel to those who travel in the service of the gospel, that when we are clearly convinced and give up to the call to go forth, let us endeavour strictly to attend to the directions of the great Law-giver and Shepherd, who puts forth his own and goeth before them.

"The 1st of the 1st mo. 1800, we attended their fourth-day meeting at Adolphus-town, chiefly in silence. Being about to leave these parts, on a review of my public labours among the people, I have often been led to enlarge on the doctrine of baptism, and to show the wide difference between that of John which was outward and elementary, and that of Christ which is spiritual and saving; -- that John's ministry, as he was the forerunner of Christ, was only preparatory, and that he

stood as with the forefinger pointing to Christ, and directing those whom he baptized to the Lord Jesus to be baptized of him, as the great fulfiller of the law and the prophets, the anti-type, in whom all the shadows and figures do end;-- and that now, under this glorious dispensation and sonship, there was no more need of the outward form and outward water. For Paul justly observed, that the kingdom of heaven stands not in meats and drinks, and divers washings and carnal ordinances; but in righteousness and peace and joy in the holy Spirit. I have also often been largely opened to set forth the gospel state, which is a pure state, inwardly felt and experienced, as true obedience is yielded to the gift of Divine grace manifested in man, which puts an end to sin, and brings in everlasting righteousness. Many times, in treating upon these things, my mind has likewise been livingly opened to set forth the true spiritual worship, which stands in the true and perfect obedience; keeping to an inward watchfulness and exercise in the pure measure received of God, and out of all and every thing that is of self and self-workings. Here, many times, the true church and true worship were exalted over and above the false church and false worship; and the testimony of Truth was held up to the people against priestcraft, hireling ministry, wars and fightings, and oaths and swearing. The views of Friends on these subjects, and their reasons for refusing to join in with them, were advanced, and the power of Truth often rose high with clearness and Divine authority. And although meetings have frequently [been] held from two and a half to three hours, the people continued in great stillness and attention. Let all the praise be given to the Lord Most High, who is forever worthy. Amen.

"2d. We set out in order to see Friends at Niagara, and the first night lodged at a very poor tavern; Philip Dorland, Elihu Hoag and myself being in company. There was a good many people there who soon fled as chaff

before wind; and we lay down on the floor before a great fire in the common room. After awhile there came another rough company, intending as we thought to have a high time of low diversion; but on finding who was there they soon went off. Next morning early [3rd] we set out, and before noon reached the head of the bay, or carrying place between the bay of Cantay and lake Ontario. We had travelled several miles on the ice, but now found it getting weaker, so that it was unsafe to venture further on it; so we again crossed the bay, though not without danger, and put up at a tavern. On seventh day [4th], a motion was made to have a meeting in the neighbourhood, and we stayed till next day, that notice might be spread. On first day, the 5th, a large collection of raw people got together, and it seemed in the public like beating upon rocks; however, we were not dissatisfied that we had a meeting with them, concluding Truth's testimony did not [275] suffer thereby. Next day [6th], we went on to David Barker's, and again attended meeting at Friends' meeting house on fourth-day [Wednesday, 8th]; it was an open, good time, to the tendering of many hearts. Thence, accompanied by David Barker and wife, we went to West Lake and had a large meeting that held upwards of three hours; it was also a highly favoured season. We then visited a number of families, several of them newly convinced persons, who will, if faithful, come forward in the Truth: after which we returned to David Barker's. In the retrospect of the week past, I do not see that I could have sent it more to my satisfaction. But, O my soul, keep upon the watch; for though knowest not how soon thou mayst take the last step in time; and it is an awful consideration to pass from visible to invisible things.

"In passing through this country, I have endeavoured to demean myself amongst the people as becomes an ambassador of Christ. I find it needful and right to put up with such fare as they have with cheerfulness, though it

may sometimes be coarse. We do not go from house to house for the sake of a living, but for the good of souls, -- for the honour of God and the peace of our own minds; and feeling the love of Christ in our hearts to draw us among the poor, why should they be faulted in entertaining us, when they do the best they can under their present circumstances? I am the more particular in leaving these remarks, because much hurt has been done by a fault-finding disposition in some travellers, even in Truth's service. In some instances, where the instrument has been much favoured in meeting, but coming to a house where things were not to their liking, for want of a patient guarded care, there have been evidences of a will not sufficiently subdued. Here harm has been done, and the service of such very much laid waste. Let us, therefore, who are concerned to travel on Truth's account, gird up the loins of our minds, watch and be sober; let us endeavour, though meekness, gentleness and long-suffering patience, to exemplify the doctrines of Truth, that we are called to publish, and in all our condition to support its precious testimonies in the eyes of the people.

"12th. Again at Friends' meeting house, a large gathering and highly favoured opportunity, not soon to be forgotten by some present. It was a parting season, in which much tenderness appeared, the love of Christ cementing our spirits in the gospel of peace. The two following days [13th - 14th], we visited some families and rode to Aaron Brewer's near Kingston. 15th had a meeting at his house, to good satisfaction; next day, after a baptizing time in the family, we set out for Elizabethtown, and had a tedious ride of upwards of fifty miles, the snow being deep and the roads not beat, till we reached Mathew Howard's, where we tarried till the 19th and had a meeting in the neighbourhood, which was a solid, profitable season. After dinner, we had an opportunity in Mathew's family, and took leave of each other in nearness of affection.

The snow was falling and the roads heavy, but we set out and travelled about fifteen miles in a sleigh; there being four of us in company, Philip Dorland, Elihu Hog, Samuel Howe and myself.

"23rd. After a tedious, fatiguing journey, the snow being deep and the road not much broken, we reached Montreal, and put up at a private house where they were all French people. They were civil to us; but it was an evening in which my mind was clothed with sorrow, in reflecting upon the great superstition that prevails among the people. The old woman of the house wore her crucifix hanging round her neck, and the younger branches of the family were very merry all the evening. If I could have conversed with them, I should have mentioned some things for their consideration: but as they could neither speak English nor understand it, I sat quietly sorrowing for the evils, blindness and ignorance that are owing to the abominations of priestcraft. My soul pities them, and my prayers are that their eyes may be opened to see, and their hearts to understand the things that belong to their everlasting peace.

"On second-day morning, the 27th, we left Montreal, and crossed the river St. Lawrence on the ice, it being about five miles wide; thence going by way of St. Johns, we reached Nicholas Holmes's at Ferrisburg in Vermont, on the 29th. After calling at Thomas Robinson's, where I received letters from home, we went on, and reached Hudson meeting on first-day, being the first we had attended since leaving Mathew Howard's, in Canada. On second-day evening, the 3d of 2d month, we got to Isaac Hallock's, and after the Quarterly Meeting at Nine Partners, I came directly home, where I found my family in good health, and glad to see me safely returned. My ride on horseback was somewhat fatiguing, yet on the whole, I had no cause to complain, for marvelously kind has the holy Shepherd of Israel been, in support-

ing and bearing me up though many hardships, and permitting me to return to my dear family and friends in peace; so that I can say, Return, O my soul, to the place of thy rest; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee."

### **Rufus Hall's Second Visit to the Bay of Quinte, 1804**

Rufus Hall felt a concern to make a second visit to Canada which he took to his monthly meeting in December 1803, despite his concern about traveling in the middle of the winter. He left home the last day of December 1803, and after visiting Quaker meetings in the Genesee County, arrived at Pelham in February 1804. He briefly visited with Friends in Pelham, before traveling on to the new Quaker settlements in the Yonge Street area. The following narrative (pages 133-136) begins with Hall in the Yonge Street area, preparing to travel on to the Bay of Quinte.

"[2d Mo] A circumstance occurred here, which ministered encouragement to me. As I was conversing with Friends about my journey to the Bay of Canty, or Adolphustown, I perceived the subject was likely to be very trying to them; for they were resolved I should not go alone, it being near two hundred miles and the roads bad, and Friends of that place all new settlers and in low circumstances. I felt willing to undertake the journey alone, notwithstanding the badness of the road, and my age and infirmities; but they would by no means consent to it. While we were thus conversing, Samuel Howe, a Friend from the Bay of Canty, came in, and informed us he would be ready to return in four or five days. At this I was truly rejoiced, to be thus provided with a suitable companion, beyond my expectation; and he offered to take me in his sleigh, which would be a great easement to me, as I had rode more than six hundred

miles. I felt thankful for this favour, as believing the hand of Providence was in it. So on the 24th, I set out with Samuel Howe, and went thirty miles to York, near which we lodged at George Playter's. Here Samuel was detained on some business, so that I waited most of the next day for him to be ready to go with me. But as his business was of an outward nature, and no certainty of its being accomplished in several days, I set out alone and went to William Cornell's, where I waited till the 29th, but Samuel did not come. So, notwithstanding all my hopes of having suitable company, I had to travel a long tedious journey alone. The first day, I travelled twenty-five miles through a lonesome woods, in one place ten miles through deep snow, and no road nor even a stick removed out of the way, over steep hills, and a large stream of water, where my mare had to jump down and up the banks. But at night I found a house where I lodged, and the people were very kind to me.

"3d mo. 1st. Continued my journey over very rough way, still much uninhabited, but found good entertainment at night. Next day, came to my old friend and acquaintance, Peter Irish's, at a place called Haldimand. Here I stayed till first-day, the 4th, and had a meeting, in which my mind was much opened, and it was a precious opportunity. Next day, in company with Peter and his daughter, travelled forty-two miles to West Lake, and the day following attended the preparative meeting there. Thence, in company with Philip Dorland and James Noxon, I went to Adlophus-town, and was at the preparative meeting there; in which I was engaged to tell them that it was the hungry that should be filled, and the poor in spirit that were entitled to the kingdom of heaven. 8th. Had a meeting at Grassy Point, in company with John Dorland, and James Noxon a public Friend of Adlophus-town. In this meeting I was largely opened in declaring gospel Truths

to the people.

"I stayed about a week in the neighbourhood, resting and visiting some families, till the monthly meeting came on, which I attended, as also the select preparative meeting, and had some good service in both; the business being transacted in much brotherly love and concord. Thence I went to Kingston, and visited the widow of my friend, Aaron Brewer, deceased; and attended the meeting held there, wherein thro' Divine favour, my mind was much opened and enlarged in public testimony. After meeting, in discourse with some Friends and friendly people, the feeling sense of Divine goodness so covered our minds as to produce much tenderness. In the afternoon, had a solid opportunity in Mahlon Knight's family, and another in the evening at the widow Brewer's, where I parted with divers friends, in heart-tendering nearness.

"19th. Set out from Kingston, with Hugh McMullin, a Friend, and Lewis Cameron (a methodist who accompanied me several hundred miles homewards) and we travelled that day about thirty miles, most of the way one continued wilderness, -- a part of which we had to pass in the night, which made it seem very lonesome; and more so, by reason of the wild beasts that inhabited those parts. In the midst of this dreary wilderness, the wolves set up a hideous yell, seeming to be very near us; but we were preserved from them, and got safely through to a house, near ten o'clock at night, where we lodged on the floor till morning. Next day we reached Gershom Wing's, and had a meeting in the evening among Methodists, Baptists, and others, to general satisfaction.

"21st. Feeling fully clear of those parts, I set out for home, with great peace and satisfaction in having endeavoured to answer what I thought required of me by my heavenly Master. Yet the thoughts of a long a tedious journey, through deep snow, and in many

places long wildernesses uninhabited by any human beings, and also large rivers to cross, -- appeared serious. In the afternoon, parted with Hugh McMullin, and crossing the great river St. Lawrence, we lodged at an inn."

Hall continued his journey, and after a brief delay crossing the North (Hudson) River because of the ice, arrived home on the March 30, 1804, having travelled, according to his computation, about twelve hundred miles in three months.

### **Works Cited:**

Dorland, Arthur G. A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada. Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1927.

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Judge, Hugh. Memoirs and Journal of Hugh Judge; A Member of the Society of Friends and Minister of the Gospel. Byberry [Pennsylvania]: John and Isaac Comly, 1841.

Williams, Dorothy M. "Feathers of Peace." Quaker History 65 (Spring 1976): 32-34.

## William Mullett Family Letters, Canada-England, 1821-1830

*Transcribed by Thomas Sylvester*

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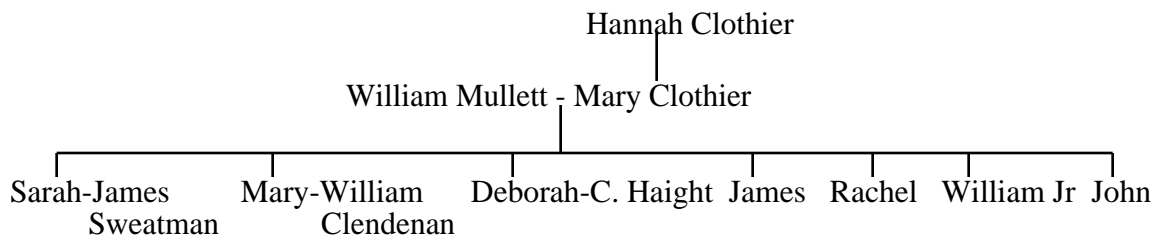
These nine letters record the personal experiences and hopes of an English family who, with other Quakers, emigrated to and settled on Amherst Island, Upper Canada in 1821. The letters were written by the children to their maternal grandmother in England. The letters having become family treasures, were typed in 1899 by Mary Bowerman. The location of the original letters is unknown. Merton Y. Williams of Vancouver, BC donated xerographic copies of the manuscript to the Wellington Public Library in June 1965,<sup>1</sup> and to the Archives of Ontario. Mrs Frances Howes of Adolphustown, Ontario donated her manuscript including these letters to the Queens University Archives, Kingston, Ontario.<sup>2</sup> I transcribed the Wellington Library copy into its current format. Not even the most obvious typing or original spelling errors have been corrected. The supplemental notes that have been presented within round brackets (for example) were likely added circa 1892-1899.

Five families of Friends from the Bristol

area pooled their resources and chartered a vessel which was appropriately named "Friends." William Mullett was one of the leading spirits in this venture. The Boones, Nashs, Shepards and Sweatmans were the four other families. They collectively bought 500 acres of land on Amherst Island July 1821.<sup>3</sup> In May 1825, William Mullett [Jr] and [William] Clendean drew seven year leases on South Shore Lots 1 & 2 (200 acres), 3 & 4 (209 acres) respectively. Both were extraordinarily large leases.<sup>4</sup>

The known intermarriages help identify some of the individuals named by the correspondents. Sarah, daughter of William and Mary Mullett married widower James Sweatman, eldest son of Jerome Sweatman. James had emigrated directly to the US and by 1825 had settled in Montreal. He died young. Widowed Sarah moved to Fredericksburg and in time married Morgan Outwater. Thomas Nash married Hannah, daughter of Jerome Sweatman. They settled in Picton. Isabella, daughter of Jerome

### The William Mullett Family



Sweatman married Ebenezer Shepard. He was identified as a merchant in Bath, U.C. in October 1821. They built a large house on Amherst Island by 1825, and eventually settled in New York State. The William Faulkner family sailed in the same cabin with the Mulletts and were known to Aunt Martha Clothier Gillett. George Boone had kin Ambrose Boone and Hannah Boone.<sup>5</sup>

Correspondent Mary Mullett Jr married William Clendenan, an Irishman, whose father had settled on the south shore of Amherst Island in 1822. They lived with his parents briefly, then settled on the frontier. Also known as Maria (?), Deborah Mullett

married C.? Haight, blacksmith. James Clothier Mullett of Adolphustown moved up the country to their remote new farm "Island" about 1830. Rachel Mullett & husband and two young sons had gone 100 miles up country by 1830. William Mullett Jr went to the Island about 1830. John Mullett and daughter Deborah by 1824.

#### Notes

1. "William Mullett Family Letters, Canada-England, 1821-1859," pp 34, 971.03 Wil. Wellington Public Library, PO Box 370, Wellington, Ontario, KOK 3L8.
2. QUA, Arch 2999 Mullett Family Letter book 1821-1830, pp 84.

### List of Passengers on board the Brig *Friends*, 1821

Thomas Templeton	Thomas Nash	James Chambers
Charles Woodward	George Beauchamp	George Laver (child)
John Clothier	Ebeneser Shepherd	Jerome Sweatman
James Clothier	Ebeneser Shepherd J	Joseph Sweatman
John Seagram	William Mullett	Hannah Sweatman
Benjamin Thorn	William Mullett Jr	Isabella Sweatman
Francis Jennings	John Mullett	Edward Young
William Morse	Arthur Mullett	John Manerfield
John Mogt	James Mullett	Ann Dell &
John Millard	Henery Mullett	two children
John Kite	Benjamin Mullett	Mary Parsons &
Benjamin Willmot	Mary Mullett	three children
James Scott	Mary Mullett Jr	Mary Shephard
William Scott	Sarah Mullett	Sarah )
Robert Trefry	Deborah Mullett	Mary ) Children of
John Surnmers	Rachel Mullett	Harriet ) Elizabeth
John White	Maria Mullett	Edward ) Sweatman
Aaron Wheeler	Sarah Elliot	
Aaron Wheeler Jr	Mary Wheeler	
George Wheeler	Mary Wheeler Jr	

The above list is incomplete. The original made in 1821 was so obliterated, some of the names were indecipherable.<sup>1</sup>

1. Queens University Archives (here after QUA), Arch 2999 Mullett Family Letter book 1821-1830.

3. QUA, Addington Copy Book E 521.
- 6 QUA, Burleigh Papers, Series III, Box 16, File 17, "Rental Book of Richard Hitchins [1824-1846]," p2, 16-18.
4. Anonymous, Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, Rolph and Clark, Toronto, 1904, reprinted Mika Press, Belleville, 1976, p740-743; Lennox & Addington County Archives, Letters Sweatman/Nash, Edward [Mullet?] to Anna Hannah Sweatman, Montreal, 20 Oct, 1821 and "The Nash family of the Bay of Quinte area" by M.Y. Williams, Oct 1961; QUA, Addington Copy Book E 752 & G 1887.
5. Sylvester, Thomas Early Residents of Amherst Isle, (Curbside Publishing, Stella, ON) 1998.

## Letter I Before the Journey

Letter from William Gillett in Bristol  
to his wife, M. Clothier,  
staying at Ilminster  
at Wm. and Mary Mullett's (her brother-in-law) and sister.

*These letters were found by their cousin Joseph Clark, (junior), (of Street, Somerset, England) among his Grandmother's (Martha Gillett's) treasures and were returned to the respective writers (or one of the family). K. Impey and C. Beatrice Clothier caused the whole to be copied before the distribution - these also being descendents of Hannah Clothier through her younger son Arthur (Tanner) Clothier of Street.*

*Those who emigrated were Mary Clothier Mullett, her husband William Mullett, Tanner and Currier, of Ilminster, Somset, and Frampton Cotterell, Gloucestershire) and eleven children - the six elder of whom had been educated at Sidcot School.*

Somerset Place, 4th/3rd, 1821

My Dear Martha:

Thy very kind and affectionate letter of the 25th ulto. I did not receive 'till last fourth day which was very acceptable and pleasant for me to find thou got safe and well to Ilminster and found our dear Brother better than thou expected, for I was got very uneasy on third day when I found the Postman had no letter for me; I should have wrote thee ere this but thou mentions of Cousin William's being likely to return here some time in the week therefore delayed writing as I expected thou would send a few lines by him to say how Mother and thyself were but he did not arrive here 'till last evening about 8 o'clock when I received thine dated 26th which afforded me further pleasure to find dear Mother was a little better and as thou dost not mention anything of thyself I have made up my mind to conclude thou art tolerable but it would have been more satisfactory hadst thou said as much. Cousin William did not see Martha on his return as she was gone out for a walk with Cousin Martha, they were all very well and Brother and Sister tolerable so, and intend being at our July Meeting if not worse. Brother Arthur I expect this evening, as by a letter Brother Sturge showed me on fifth day from him respecting Brother Mullett and family it is his intention to be at Frenchay Mo. Meetg. tomorrow to try if the ways and means can be accomplished to fit them out for Canada, but I am very doubtful the sum wanted is more than they will be willing to advance at once. I think brother Arthur has come forward with a very generous offer of giving them 70 pounds towards it and were it in my power should most willingly have done something for them also. Cousin Wm. have wholly declined going to Olveston, and I intend setting out for Frome on third day morning; we both dined to-day at frd. Webbs. She is very poorly but the rest of the family are very, well. They all desired me to give



their dear love to thee and mother.

Jane last week got through with the washing very well as on third day she dried most of it, and well she did as on fourth day we had a very heavy fall of snow for most part of the day. On fifth day they had finished all the ironing by 7 o'clock. So I think may say we got on very well, and therefore hope thou wilt make thyself easy on my acct. And as long as thou can be rendering dear Mother any comfort shall be quite willing to give thee up 'till the time thou proposes to return or even longer shouldst thou see any necessity for it, altho' must say it seems very lonely without thee. It was great satisfaction to me to find our dear Martha's being poorly proved to be a wrong report I received a letter from Sister Sarah on fourth day in which she enclosed an offer from some one of a very good shop, dwelling house, outshouses, etc. which is rented on a Leases for 40 years renewable every 14 years, paying the value of 1 year's rent the stock and fixtures to be taken to at a fair valuation and a premium expected for the goodwill of the business, and the sum wanted is only 700 guineas for the premises; poor's rates 7 pounds and the other taxes about 11 pounds, so that reckoning the whole the rent would stand in would be 67 pounds per annum; as she requested an early answer I wrote her yesterday saying as thou wast from home I could not consult thee about it but made no doubt thou would be of the same mind as myself, that at my time of life it would be very unadvisable for me to lay out money on leasehold property that would make the rent so extravagantly dear for a country situation - in thy next say if I have acted right.

As to Ilminster we must talk over when we meet as nothing appears in the business to decide upon at present.

Now my dear I can inform thee that through mercy my health is quite bravely and my cold quite gone off which I consider a great favor. - Deaths amongst us seem to

prevail as Neamiah Duck has two children laying, dead, Philip Sanson one child, and Sam'l Alloway one. Several other children very unwell mostly inflamations on the chest attended with spasms. Brother Arthur is just arrived and appears to be very well, all at Street pretty well. - Now with dear love to thyself and Mother and no forgetting my other relations as tho' named, I remain thy affectionate Husband,

William Gillett.

(Addressed "William Mullett, Currier,  
Ilminster, Somerset, For M. Gillett")

**Letters from the Children of  
Wm. and Mary (Clothier) Mullett  
to their Grandmother  
Hannah Clothier,  
(of Street, Somerset, England)  
on and after their  
First Arrival in Canada, 1821.**

**Letter I  
(From Mary Mullett, Junr.)**

Montreal, 10th of 7 mo, 1821

Dear Grandmother.

Having a few hours to spare, which I have not had for some time past, and knowing the pleasure thou wilt derive my dear Grandmother at receiving a few lines from me I shall avail myself the opportunity. We are now in lodgings at Montreal very comfortable. They are equal to most of our English Hotels. We pay six dollars and half per day for lodgings and boarding which is half a crown each, one with the other, not as we think an extravagant charge. William Falconer's family are at the same place, the children, both theirs and ours, take their meals together with the landlady. I looked in on

them this morning at breakfast, and they were sat round the table very well pleased with rasberries and milk, and tea and bread and butter, which thou mayest suppose was quite a luxury to the children, having been so long deprived of their liberty. Our table was elegantly laid out. The custom of the Country is to have three meals a day. We breakfast at eight, dine at two, drink tea at seven. We sadly annoyed with bugs here - they have served Father and William very bad. We are going to set out from here tomorrow in some covered conveyances to La China, nine miles from here and then we shall proceed afterwards by boats again. Oh! I wish you could but look on us you would see a novel scene indeed - We find it very hot - the glass stands at 91 degress this morning. It stood as high as 80 when we were in the steerage. I must not omit telling thee of an offer Father had of a farm from a person who has three to let or sell. One he tells father of is one hundred and eighty acres with a good commodious house and outhouses. etc. on it which we may go into immediately, and remain there if we please for a twelve month at the expiration of which, should we not like it we may leave it without paying any rent or anything else. He will also give us an acre or more if we wish for garden. Thomas Wally, a person thou mayst have heard of, lives about fifty mile from this place. We received our information from a young man friend who called on us yesterday and the only one in the place. I could my dear Grandmother enlarge but time will not admit. My next letter to all my English friends will be better worth their acceptance; hoping when I write them to have a home.

I am with dear love in which all as tho' named from thy affectionate Grandaughter  
M. Mullett

(The above letter, written in a fair legible flowing hand, is addressed: H. Clothier,

William Gillett, Somerset Place, Redcliffe Meads, Bristol.)

**Letter II**  
**(A small diagonal note from Rachel Mullett)**

Adolphustown, January 17, 1823

Dear Grandmother;

I have sent thee a ball of thread of our own manufacturing that I thought would do for knitting and I should have written thee but thought a letter would be more acceptable some other time, but have to thank thee for the butter print and writing paper that thou wast so kind as to send for I see that my Grandmother has not quite forgotten me.

Please to forward the parcel to Ilminster the first opportunity that offers. With dear love to all I remain thy ever affectionate Grandaughter

Rachel Mullett  
In future direct:  
Wm. Faulkner  
Hamilton  
Upper Canada

(The above is in a neat firm writing addressed Hannah Clothier, Street)

**Letter III**  
**(From Mary Mullett, Jnr. The postscript being signed after her marriage - "Mary Clendenan")**

(1 sheet, closely written and crowded all over)

No date at head - but, by internal evidence, written April 6, 1823

My Dear Grandmother,

It really is so long since I took my pen to address any of my dear relations in England

that I feel quite at a loss for a subject to write on, though could we but have a personal interview I could my dear grandmother tell thee many many things that when writing do not at all times occur to me.

I shall in the first place proceed to thank thee for thy very kind present of a shawl and comb which I received together with letters one from Aunt Martha and one from Cousin M. for which thou mayest tell them, if I do not write that I feel very obliged for. I received letters from several of my other Cousins and only wish I could but find time to write them by private conveyance. Perhaps they will be ready to say Cousin Mary may surely find time to write her absent cousins do tell them for me they are, very often the companions of my thoughts, and the bare idea of our some day or other meeting again gives me pleasure, all tho' the wide Atlantic now rolls between us, I shall live in the fond anticipation of Hope that such thing may some day come to pass. I well know my dear Grandmother thou wilt be pleased to hear every trivial thing that may occur and shall proceed to tell thee in the first place that we are likely to milk six cows this summer. Four have calved, three of the calves we are weaning or rather I am, being a part of my employment. I weaned five last summer, had the whole care of them myself. Young pigs we have in abundance - a great quantity of poultry such ducks, geese and fowls. We lose a great many when young for want of care, the pigs eat them. Eggs we have in great abundance. I am very sure thou wouldst enjoy thyself among us - we could now accomodate thee with three or more rooms, better than we could when in England with one. Oh how I wish we had thee here! The children make themselves very happy. Harry sometimes talks about his grandmother but not so often as he used to - he is become a great rude boy so bold as he used to be when indulged by thee at Ilminster. Ben begins to talk a little

though 'tis very crooked talk I assure thee. We had a letter from Uncle Arthur some little time since in which he says but little about thee, it would have been pleasant to have heard how thou bore the last winter if much troubled with thy old complaint of a cough - we have had a very trying winter indeed, the cold very intense - now the sixth of the fourth month and the snow not off the ground and the ice on the Bay sufficiently strong to bear foot passengers, though I should not much like myself to go on it. We have heard of many span of horses being lost. I think there is no fear of father losing his - being very timid unless perfectly safe. The twentieth of last month we came from our monthly meeting five on a sleigh ten miles on the ice in about three quarters of an hour. It was the pleasantest ride I have had this winter though have had many. It is very common in this country to go sleigh riding on the ice for pleasure. The Canadians prefer going in the evenings late, what Father will not suffer us to do. I must say 'tis not a good plan.

Aunt Martha queries if I can spin sufficiently to be able to spin thee some caps. No my dear Grandmother I can not. I can spin fine enough for sheets, etc. of which I shall send thee a sample which will do for thee to sew coarse work with. Thou also wished to be informed what sort of young women John has made choice of for his intended partner for life. She is in my eye better than the generality of the Canadian girls. I think thou would not object to her for a grand-daughter - She has two brothers which I think most likely will become thy grand-sons. They have not yet made known their intentions to father and mother, neither is it the practice of the Country till a few weeks before they send in their intention of marriage to the Monthly Meeting. I quite forget to say their visits are to Sarah and Deborah. The latter desires me to tell thee she has not yet, forgot all her old tricks, and for all people tell her she is going

to get married she will have a good bit of play with thee any day she can "get a chance", and also tell Uncle Gillett for her, we have orchards here in abundance where he may drive her round bare-footed without running over so many docks and nettles as there is in the orchard at Frampton. We have not any in this country. Don't think R (Rachel) is without a beau - no, she has had several though neither of them have pleased her fancy. They were Irishmen. In my last letter to thee, I think I said I would have nothing myself but an Englishman, and expect thou wilt be surprised to find I am likely to become united with a young Irishman by the name of Wm. Clendenan who came out last summer. His uncle will, I expect, be the bearer of this - You must make much of him - he is a very nice friend. Thou must also consider him a relation by marriage. I should much like to have many of my dear relations to attend my wedding which is likely to take place the twenty-first of the fifth month. Do tell me how many of my cousins are likely to follow my example, or if any have. I much wish thou couldst see thy intended grandson - he stands by looking over my shoulder, telling me to give his love to his grandmother. I shall send thee by pre(a)sent conveyance a very good likeness of him by which pinning on anything dark appears to the best advantage. For a time we are going to live in a part of his father's house on account of his being in partnership with his father in a farm which they have taken for three years and then I expect to go the same as all young married people right into the bush, were I sincerely hope we shall succeed and live toge(a)ther in peace and tranquility. You will have heard all particulars respecting Shepherd ere this he has proved himself a disgrace to the English Emigrants, in fact a disgrace to the country. He is a complete drunkard. Poor Isabella is much to be pitied. What she will do I know not - her prospects I do think must wear very gloomy

appearances. T. Nash has a daughter, we hear he is disappointed at its not being a son: 'tis to be hoped he will do rather better than his brother-in-law. Jerome and wife live in the same house with them. When are we to see Cousin Edward out. I think 'tis a country he could much like. The only thing we want is agreeable society. As for living that we can do with the greatest ease. We can give any of you that get a mind to come and see us a plenty of fat pork. Father has by his n..barrels for sale of two hundred weight each wh..he intends to keep till it will fetch a better price, being at this time very low, not more than nine dollars pr. barrel. I expect he will have a larger quantity next fall, having. at this time upward of twenty store hogs. Should I. Parsons come out next spring or any other friend of our acquaintance I shall be very much obliged if thou w(h)ilt send me a Butter-print, also please excuse the freedom. I make use of. I think my dear I know thee too well to suppose thou wilt be displeased.

My paper warns me 'tis time to conclude, also my time is rather short. If I write any more letters I should much like to write to our friends the Webbs. Had I heard from either of them I certainly should but as I told you before I left my native land I should write to the writers. Please give my dear love to all my dear relations in which the whole of the family unite and tell Aunt Martha I hope she will write to me and tell me all about you and what you are doing, and I guess before long I shall write her a considerable of a long letter. I also calculate to write to Cousin Martha. From the language I make of please not call me a Yankee girl, We often make use of a few of their phrases among ourselves. You would laugh to hear us often times, - I could fill another sheet had I but time. Not having it must conclude and believe me my dear Grandmother to be thy ever affectionate granddaughter.

Mary Mullett

(on the outside is added:)

The enclosed skin please present my cousin M. G. with my dear love - also a small piece of my wedding gown. I hope to write to her soon and Cousin S.C. in great haste from thy affectionate grand-daughter

Mary Clendenan  
Hollowell 4th/6 mo. 1823

**Letter IV**  
**(From James Clothier Mullett: to his**  
**Grandmother Hannah Clothier, c/o -**  
**William Gillett, Street, near Glastonbury,**  
**Somerset.)**

Adolphustown, U.C. 1st mo. 16th 1825

My Dear Grandmother,

I now meet with a opportunity of sending thee a few lines by a friend who is returning to Ireland by way of Bristol whose name is George Penrose - there is a squirrel skin two ears of Indian Corn and a picture of our house which thou wilt have put in a frame, I expect and I don't say I shall not see it once more aere in my life time. And I should send thee many other things if he was not going by the way of New York. I took three sides of pork to a store last week for Father, and got six dollars a hundred with the heads, feet and fat taken off. We have had no slaying this winter but when it does come we expect two or three feet of snow. William and me went about a month ago after some pork-barrels on a slay and coming back we got into the Bay. It happened not to be very deep. We lost nothing. I believe Father has made some Cayenne pepper to send to Aunt Martha and there is one of the peppers wich he makes it of. There is no real art in making it. He takes one of those and pound it in a pistol and mortar fine as he can it is made. We have had a consider-

able crop of corn this year about 5 hundred bushels 1 hundred of potatoes 50 bushels of barley 200 bushels of wheat 60 bushels of Oats 50 bushels of peas and a considerable quantity of Hay. We have 4 milking cows, 8 young cattle, one yolk of working oxen. one span of horses, 13 sheep and 100 fowls 20 geese 5 Pigs. We killed nine hogs two weeks ago. We keeeped six ourselves for our own consumption. We finnis cutting our winter wood about three weeks ago which was about sixty cord. We shall burn that in about three months. Father sent a cow to Kingston about six weeks ago to sell for beef which fetch him 17 dollars which was very little indeed. He expected to have 20 dollars for her, Brother William Mullett is fating 2 oxen of his own he expected to get 25 dollars a piece for them. A Dollar is 5 shillings in this Country. I have learned to make shoes since we have been here and I have made all they shoes since I have been able to - they men's shoes in this Country are not made as they are there the bottim instead of beeing sown on are pegged with wooden pegs. The 25th of last month we spent very pleasant we had seven Old Country people here they were all friends. We can get rumps of Beef and plum puddings here as well as there I suppose thee thinks there is no such things here but I tell thee 'tis true. I suppose thee has heard that Brother John has a Daughter, they have named her after Sister Deborah. We are all looking forward to remove up the Country on our new farm it is 20 miles back from any village or store and a lake to cross of three miles. I suppose thee wilt think it is a great way but we do not. Unless it was 60 or 70 miles and that is not ~:ar in this country the Canadian~s think but very little of getting into there slays and going 7 or 8 hundred miles. Deborah has wrote a letter to thee I believe and Arthur Also. There is considerable of letter writing these days. I am getting a considerable of a Canadian they tell me. When Cousin Edward returns as he

talks of I expect there will be a great many things sent home by him - He has sold one of the Coats he brought out with him for 200 acres of land. If thee meet with a opportunity, I should be very much obliged to thee if thee wouldst be so kind as to send me out a good penknife for the knives that we get in this Country are not worth anything as I have nothing more to say this time I shall conclude with dear love to all relations and partake a large share thyself,

From thy affectionate Grandson,  
James Clothier Mullett

P.S. E... all errors and bad writing.  
(The above is written in a fairly good rather uniformed boyish hand on a foolscap sheet.)

#### Letter V.

**(A letter from the boy Arthur Mullett to his Grandmother - round hand between double lines on a foolscap sheet.)**

Adolphus Town 1st No. 16th 1825

My Dear Grandmother,

I fetch the cows morning and evening for sisters to milk then, I also feed Williams oxen. Father was so kind as to give me an axe, and I take great pleasure in chopping the wood for the fires. In the summer I plough and drive the oxen. Henry and me have learnt to skait this winter an amusement we are very fond of. I have a hen and 8 chickens that Henry gave me. I had a pig that I let father have for a dolar. I took it to the store and got three knives for it. Father intends to let me learn the Blacksmith- trade.

I remain, thy affectionate Grandson

Arthur Mullett

#### Letter VI

**(Closely written strongish running hard, covering a foolscap sheet and fully crossed) from Deborah Mullett.**

Adolphustown, 21 st of 1st mo. 1825

My Dear Grandmother,

Four long years have I been an exile from my native land and not wrote to thee, which I should have done long ago could I have thought it would be as acceptable as from some other parts of the family, for I very well know I was too rude and noisy to be a favourite of thine, but I think I may safely say now their is not one in the family more fond of being quiet than myself - the winds of Canada have taxed me. In the first place I must tell thee we are all well, a great blessing I hope my dear Grandmother enjoys. The bearer of this are two young men from Ireland. They intend leaving this in about three weeks for England then will be at Bristol, they have spent the last two Christmas days with us, with several other young people. We had two of the fatest Geese I ever seen and a fine large piece of roast beef, as we always killed a fat cow the week before as yet, but I don't know how it will be when we get into the woods, where we are going the latter end of next month. I hope it will answer Father's expectation there are none of our friends scarcely like our going there, I do not like it all myself as there are no friends and the nearest friends that will be to us is forty miles and its eighteen miles back through nothing but woods. I was there last winter with Father, Sarah and James. We shall have a very pleasant neighbour, a gentleman and lady from Swansey. They have been there five years. We shall be about twenty miles from William Faulkner's family that came out in the Cabin with us. Perhaps Aunt Martha might recollect them, he appears to be a very nice man and feels much interested about our going there, he has a nice place of his own. They have lost two children since being in Canada. We have had no snow yet a very remarkable winter. Father killed ten fat hogs last fourth day they

were considered the fatest that has been killed in Adolphustown this year Some of them were four inches thick in fat. Mother was making candles last week, we make all our own things most - soap, candles, candlewicks, ropes, thread, bed-linen, blankets and William and James' shirts for them to work in - also we have a cloth gown apiece of our own spinning, and they are very comfortable for this cold country - people are very often froze here. James have had his ears froze. It is also so cold here that Rachel and myself slept in the stove room all last winter but we do not intend to do it again or else we shall lose all our English colour. That is the only attraction Cousin Edward says he sees in us. I do not think he likes Canada very well. Yesterday he went over to John's on his way to Bath to see a young man that came out with us on some private business we know not what yet. I believe Cousin Edward made use of my names when he wrote home so that I may do the same, if he had not been disappointed I believe he would have settled in Canada as he took a fancy to one of George Boone's daughters a very pretty little girl but too young to be married. He has talked of going in partnership with John but he does not seem to know his own mind long together. You have heard of John's being married long ago I suppose. He has one little girl about eight months old named Deborah. Father drives a pair of white horses. We have eight young cows of our own raising to take into the woods. We have had a great many geese this summer but very poor luck with our fowls. Ducks we cannot raise here but hope to when we get into the woods so I think we may say when we look all round us that we have things as comfortable as at home. The only thing we miss is society. Oh! what a favour I should think it if I could live within the compas of such a nice meeting as Bristol no person can tell but those that are deprived of it. We have had a very nice friend here about three months ago from England.

Elisa Robson - her Brother was traveling, through Canada in the summer. I am afraid when we get into the woods we shall miss seeing many of these friends - Jerome Swetman's two sons William and James are come from the States. James is a widower and has two children. They all intend going on an Island where Ebeneser have built a large house. Henry is grown a fine boy he very often talks about thee. He says he wishes some person would guide his fingers that me might ask thee to send him a penny trumpet, he says he will send thee two coppers to pay for it. He is standing by me and says I am to tell thee that he can scate and swim. Mother desires her love to thee and wishes me to ask thee to send her out a piece of yard white Irish cloth for her own wear and a picket knife to pare apples and potaties, and my dear grandmother when thou hast a few shillings to spare wilt thou buy me some cloth to make a large cloak on purpose to wear in the sledge, the coarser and thicker the better. I don't know how I can pay thee unless 'tis by promising to write to thee and spin thee a piece of sheets or anything else that thou would like in our way. We die our own cloth and stockings. We picked up thirty-eight bushels of apples this fall on shares as we have not many on our own farm. Wouldst thou like to have some melon seeds? There you would raise them in hot beds they are beautiful fruit. Mother have sent thee a hand-towel of our own spinning and some cayenne (chyan-peppers) of our own raising. Please to give our love to Uncle Gillett and tell him we have at length procured some Balsam of fir for him. It is a very dear article where we are living now. There is plenty growing on our own land. Then we shall be able to send him plenty if he wants it. It is contained in small blisters on the side of the tree each containing a few drops. Mother have sent thee a little sat(?)an and some of the seed - thee must please to get Aunt to answer this letter for thee. Please to mind

Grandmother this letter is not to be shown to any person out of the house. If they want to know that is in it you can tell them for my writing and spelling will not bear criticising by the clever folks of Street - that is one, great reason I do not like to write to you, my correspondent lives at Bath where I have wrote four letters - We have a washing machine that helps us a great deal for we used to be two days washing and now we are but one. If Jane is with you please to give my dear love to her. I am but a poor washer with my hands but am a better cook. We take it by turns to be cook and dairy-maid and house-maid. We often tell mother she never had so many servants before. I am very much obliged to thee for the butter print and if I should ever keep house in Canada shall find it very useful. Thy granddaughter Bathsheba had the one that was intended for our dear Sister Mary. We have a very easy way of baking hear, when I come home I will show you the way but am afraid it will be a long time first. Thee must please to give Rachel's love to Uncle and Aunt Sturge and tell them that she would have wrote to them if the had answered her letters. She told me to tell thee she intend writing to thee by Cousin Edward. I must now bid thee a long farewell for it is getting dark and past milking time. Please to give my deare love to the Payns at Glastonbury and to all my Dear relations at Street as tho' named and tell them if they will write to me I will answer them and tell them all the news this wooden Country will afford. Please to accept a large share of love thyself from thy Affectionate Grandaughter

D. Mullett. (then the letter is crossed thus:)

My dear Grandmother, I take up my pen again to try to tell thee a few more things that I have thought of since yesterday. We are becoming tailoresses since being in Canada. We make our own starch and I have learned

way to make butter and cheese also straw hats. I have made seven this summer. We made butter this morning and we have been clear starching today. It is our Monthly Meeting next fifth day at Hollowell. Father, Mother, and Sister Sarah intends going if the ice is safe to cross. It is also our Half Yearly Meeting the week after next, where I suppose there will be from a hundred to two hundred sledges if there is plenty of snow on the ground. Thou wouldst like the way of travelling here in the winter very much. There was so much snow the winter before last that we could not see c.... neighbours's house. We have not begun our winter's work yet spinning flax so that we shall be very late in the Spring with it. We shall have a great deal of wool to spin next summer as Mother intends having William Faulkner on shares. He keeps about one hundred and fifty sheep so you may think we shall not have much time for play. William and Edward got their legs poisoned last summer when they were mowing with a weed that rains along on the Ground called poison ivy, the former was laid up all harvest time not able to do anything. James had the fever and ague last spring. Please to give my dear love to Cousin Celia and tell her I should be very glad to have a letter from her. Mother have not made much Chees this summer. We shall make our sugar when get on our new land. There are not many trees on this farm. I finished off about nine pound last Spring. I wish we had got a bit of it to send thee but if Edward should return we will send thee a large piece. We have a great many grasshoppers here so many that if we have any clothing out of doors they will eat it up. They ate up the tail of Father's coat most last summer, that was happened to be left out. We cannot afford for they to eat up our cloth as clothing of every description is very dear in Canada. James is our head shoe-maker. There are a great many wild Plums, Raspberry's and Strawberry's here. We have preserved a great



many since we have been here tho' none last summer for we had no time to pick them. They have a very nice and cheap way of making apple sauce by only paring them and cutting them in quarter's and boiling them in cider - the longer they are boiled the better it will keep. They also dry apples and they will keep for seven years - we have dryed a great many this year. When I come home I shall be able to show you the way to do a great many things that they do not know in England. Sarah and Mary carry hot bricks to bed with them, so you may think how cold it is in Canada. Grandmother this is a funny letter and will make thee laugh, but thou dost know I am a funny girl. I am baker and going to bake tomorrow - if Aunt do answer this letter for thee please to send me a bit of thy hair. We have the honor of visiting at the Judge's and Member of Parliament's what many of our English relations cannot say. The former is a very nice family, they have a very nice garden and a great many greenhouse plants what is very scarce in Canada. Please to send me two or three Tulip and Hyacinth roots if thou canst get them. I have not seen one in the Country. We had a great many cherries in our garden last summer and the year before. We raise our own coffee and most of our visitors think it is equal to the Turkey Coffee. We have made two feather beds besides bolsters and pillows since we have been here. I am very much obliged to thee for the writing paper and if this is acceptable thee shall not be without hearing from us once a year, if I am able to write.

I began this letter last first day and do not like to close it till Cousin Edward return for very likely he has some messages. Third day evening - Cousin Edward is just returned and have wrote from John's. I asked if he had many messages to send and he says I am to give his love to thee and tell thee he is sitting on the back-log behind the kitchen door. He traded one of his coats about two months ago

with William Clendenan for two hundred acres of land, now he has traded one hundred away since he have been out for a pair of trousers and he have traded them away for five bushels and half of wheat. We spun a hundred yards of cloth last year woollen and linen. We have made two bride cakes since we have been in this country. They all desire their dear love to thee and are very much obliged for the paper and prints. Please to give our dear love to Uncle and Aunt and Cousin Martha and all the rest as tho' named.

Once more I remain thy ever affectionate  
and faithful Grandaughter,

D. Mullett.

P.S. Please give my love to Cousin Martha  
and ask her to accept of the butterfly and  
flowers from her Cousin Deborah.

**Letter VII**  
**(Deborah to her Grandmother,**  
**H. Clothier)**

Fredericksburg, 21<sup>d</sup> mo. 9, 1830.

My dear Grandmother,

I am sat down in a great hurry to write thee a few lines by my Cousin James Clothier who leaves this tomorrow for the Island, brother William is company with him. They have been up to Hallowell to attend our Half Yearly Meeting and are now gone out with Consider for a deer hunt - thou wanted to here a little about John and Rachel. John's second son was born last first day two weeks which makes the fourth child, he often puts me in mind of Uncle Arthur - he carries a face as long as my arm, he is just gone by in his sledge with a fine span of horses down to his father-in-law's with his little family; as he intends taking James and William to the Island tomorrow I expect Mother will return with him to stop with me a short time - and poor Rachel is gone more than an hundred

miles up Country to settle in woods her husband two little boys so that we are deprived altogether of her society; and there is a prospect of Maria's going up there too, before long with an Irish husband who is settled up there, so that I know not what dear Mother will do, but I hope something will turn up, which we see not yet I received my dear Aunt Martha's letter of the 11th of 12th month bearing date of 29th of 8th (?) Father was here about two weeks after and took the letter home with him for Mother to see; - he sends me word that, I am not to answer it till I see him again; so I must leave it for the present; but thankful did I feel that there was a probability of our dear relations helping them a little; when Father was here after reading the letter he says what a mistaken idea they have; for I was never happier in my life and more contented, him and Henry spent nearly two weeks with us; I think I may say much as my father does of himself that I never saw him more resigned, and contented he has been since living on the Island ... Great pleasure did it give me a short time since, at hearing a letter read from Francis Tuckett; as there is now a prospect of having our dear Parents once more restored to society and so that they can visit their children; and their children them. I have now been living but fifteen miles from them for this last twelve month past and it has been so that Mother has not spent one day with me yet, their friends here as well as children have long regretted them been banished so entirely from society; I am more thankful to my dear friends and relations in England than I can express, but I trust that Him that alone knoweth all things will doubly repay them both here and afterwards. Well my dear Grandmother I have, at last, just made up thy kind present and it affords me more comfort than thou canst think, when I go out for a ride in the sledge with my dear husband; I have lined it all through with cloth of my own spinning and colouring; I will send

thee a bit of it. I made seventy five yards of flannel this last summer. I have two gowns of it for every day wear. It would look coarse to my friends in England, but alas they know but little of Canada. Our Cousin James will know double to what he did the first journey. I often wish I had all my relations' old cloths that they have thrown off; I wish my Aunt Martha and her dear daughter would send me a box of their old cast offs. I would pay them in my miserable scrawls if they are in the last acceptable. Tell Cousin Martha most likely she will have a namesake before this reaches you, should it be a girl tell her she must not forget it, though far away. We killed nine hogs this fall. I made about three hundred and fifty candles, which is to stand us till next season. I made about thirty-weight of sausage meet - this is a curious letter, my dear Grandmother, but thou must recollect who its from as well as my Uncle Gillett who may remember chasing me round the Orchard at Framptin in my nightgown, it seems like a vision of the night to look back to dear old England. William and James are gone up to spend the evening with John and his wife; my dear C. is smiting away in the shop; where he often stops till midnight so that I must spend much time alone. We have had some of the coldest weather since James has been in Canada that was ever known here. James tells us that he got his nose frozen on first day last, which much frightened him, at the prospect of leaving a nose in this cold country. They saw four deer today but did not bring home one. James is true blue, was out from morning to night in the woods up to their knees in snow. Consider has caught four foxes the skins fetch him from four to five shillings apiece and that is to help pay our little debts.

2nd mo, 21st - Since writing the above I have been down on the Island and Mother returned with me; and was called home again, after spending but one day with me on account of Maria's being married, to the

young man above alluded to, so that now Mother has lost all her daughters has occasioned me much trouble; to think of her having to go to work in her old days. I have said to myself why did I nor [sic, not] remain single, and have spared my mother from going to hard labour, which she is but ill fitted for.

Since beginning this letter I have some reason of looking forward to the great pleasure of having my dear Parents for near neighbours, should their friends in England fall in with the description of the place; its about a mile from us. I sincerely hope it may meet the approbation of their friends at home, for it will be such a happiness I never looked for, to have a Mother so near me; Oh that they were but there now, for I am expecting to be confined in the course of two or three weeks and not the least prospect of having one of my relatives near me, let what may happen it would be impossible to send for Mother owing to the ice which would be about breaking up then. This day Cousin James, Father, William, and Henry are gone to look at the above mentioned farm; though Father has looked at it before, but he sent for Cousin James to come and see it before he left the Island - They will be able to have a great abundance of fish there as Hay Bay joins it which runs in front of the house - I have not heard from Sarah lately so cannot give much account of them, but her husband was on the Island in the fall of the year, and brought his daughter with him, by his first wife - about twelve year [sic, years] old; he left her with Mother so that she be of some use to them, and more as she gets older. I believe now I must bid you farewell for the present. Please to give our dear love to all as though named not forgetting to accept a large share thyself from thy affectionate Granddaughter.

Deborah Haight. 2nd 24th  
(addressed to - Hannah Clothier, Street)

**An Astonishing Sisterhood:  
Women in the Bible Christian Ministry and their Debt to Quakerism**

*Una Beer*

*A talk delivered to the Annual Meeting, CFHA, 12 Sept. 1998*

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*In place after place the Bible Christian societies were the direct fruit of the women preachers' labours... Elizabeth Dart, Ann Mason, Mary Thomas, Mary Billing, Ann Arthur Guest, Eliza Jew and the rest of them were an astonishing sisterhood.*

Thomas Shaw, The Bible Christians

“The denomination recognized and encouraged the labour and ministry of women. Some of the earliest and best preachers and teachers of this church were holy women”.<sup>1</sup> The denomination referred to was the Bible Christian Church or “Connexion” as it was first known. It was founded in the early nineteenth century in North Devon and Cornwall by William O’Bryan, a Methodist lay preacher who chose to work in areas where there was little or no evangelical preaching. He was unwilling to conform to circuit boundaries and to the authority of his superintendent and consequently was asked to leave the Methodist society. The Connexion which he formed was based on the Methodist model but the influence of Quakerism is also evident. It has been said of O’Bryan he was “by inheritance a Quaker, by birth an Anglican and by choice and temperament a Methodist. And yet an unsatisfactory Methodist for his allegiance was only to its doctrines and not to its discipline”.<sup>2</sup>

From its inception in 1815 the movement relied heavily on the preaching of female itinerants, a practice which was not in conformity with the official Methodist position of the

period. I propose to look at the lives and work of these young women in both England and Canada and, in passing, to draw attention to the Quaker inheritance in the connexion which I believe was largely responsible for the initial encouragement of women preachers. After William O’Bryan left the Connexion in 1829, the number of women in the Bible Christian ministry began to decline, a development which may in part have been due to the removal of one who was by inheritance a Quaker. The conditions in which these women worked in England and more especially in Upper Canada and Prince Edward Island were extremely difficult. But from the time they first set sail to the close of their lives, they struggled with varying degrees of success to combine the duties of wives and mothers with the demands of an itinerant ministry in a new world.

As was probably the custom of the time, Thomasine Lawry of Luxulyan parish in Cornwall probably was “read out” of Quaker Meeting when in 1773 she married William Bryant, a member of the established church recently converted to Methodism. Their son, another William, born on February 6, 1778, was to become the chief founder of the Bible Christian movement. It has been claimed that William “owed more to his mother than to any other person for his spiritual education and that she owed much to the Quakers, with whom she was in membership”.<sup>3</sup>

William O’Bryan, as he chose to call himself, underwent several spiritual crises during his adolescence but it was not until

1800 that he experienced “a real Methodist conversion” and felt called upon to preach the gospel.<sup>4</sup> William had hoped to become a candidate for the ministry within Methodism but was turned down on account, it was said, of his family responsibilities. In spite of this rejection William decided to preach on his own and quickly formed small groups of converts in Cornwall and along the Devonshire border. He formed classes similar to those of the Methodists and soon recruited prayer leaders and others to assist with this growing Connexion.

Among the first of these was his wife, the former Catherine Cowlin, whom he had married in 1803. She was first moved to preach in about 1812 when her husband was traveling in the ministry, and it was reported that “she possessed an excellent gift in prayer”.<sup>5</sup> In William’s absence Catherine held meetings to which “multitude’s flocked”.<sup>6</sup> It appears that her husband was somewhat uncertain as to the propriety of her actions, but his doubts were dispelled when he eavesdropped on one of her sermons. This experience convinced him of the contribution women could make to the new movement. William was aware that Quaker women preached in Cornwall and Devon and also knew of two “women who preached among the Methodists”.<sup>7</sup> Both Quakers and Methodists contributed to the mission in its early days. Catherine eventually was forced to open a small shop in order to support the family. In 1816 she gave up the business and joined her husband in Devon.

Despite their leader’s approval, there was some opposition to women’s ministry among other members of the newly formed Connexion. In answer to these objections, the legitimacy of women preachers was examined at the first Bible Christian conference in 1819 when “the subject of women preaching was largely discussed, and unanimously approved”.<sup>8</sup> William O’Bryan dealt firmly

with all objections, reminding his listeners that “the Lord hath owned their (women’s) labours in turning many to righteousness through their word... and that we dare not be so insolent as to dictate to Him, whom he shall employ to accomplish His gracious purposes”.<sup>9</sup> A tract published by a Methodist objecting to the practice was dismissed “as being beneath our notice and worthy only of silent contempt”.<sup>10</sup> O’Bryan ridiculed other denominations that allowed women to sing in public assemblies, to pray vocally, and to teach, “yet say women ought to keep silence in the churches!!! What a heap of inconsistencies”.<sup>11</sup> Support for women’s work was reinforced by Biblical quotations and St. Paul’s famous text, I Cor. XIV, 34-5, used to advantage in conjunction with I Cor. XI, 56. Members were reminded that St. Paul “was too pious to oppose piety and too wise to oppose himself”.<sup>12</sup> What ever hesitation O’Bryan may have entertained a few years previously now seemed to be a thing of the past. We may surmise that his Quaker heritage made him more open to the role of women in the ministry.<sup>13</sup> In the 17th and 18th centuries Quakers were numerous in the areas in which Bible Christians later flourished, St. Austell and Launceston among them. The name of the outstanding female Friend, Loveday Hambly, “a nursing mother to Quakerism in Cornwall” would have been known to O’Bryan’s mother, and the memory of the imprisonment of George Fox at Launceston common knowledge.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps O’Bryan had read Barclay’s Apology in which he claims, of women’s preaching, that the “manifest experience of its usefulness puts the thing beyond all controverisie”.<sup>15</sup>

Many women were among the earliest Bible Christian converts. One of the first was May (Ley) Thorne who had already testified to her salvation in her local parish church of Shebbear before coming in contact with William O’Bryan. She and her husband enter-

tained O'Bryan at Lake Farm in October 1815 and urged him to form a society of evangelical believers. Mary Thorne traveled in Devon and Cornwall, "frequently addressing large congregations on the momentous subject of salvation".<sup>16</sup> The Bible Christian Church in Canada owed a debt of thanks to Mary Thorne for it was due to her son James's exhortations that missionaries of the Connexion first came here in 1831. Another early convert was a Mrs Rattenbury, of whom it was said that on hearing O'Bryan preach she "had gone out of her mind", meaning that she converted, and Hannah Row who, so overcome by the weight of her sins, fell prostrate on the floor while O'Bryan was preaching in February 1816. This was evidently a tumultuous occasion for it is recorded that "Many neighbours attracted by the noise gathered around the windows, listening to the praying and excitement within, wondering what it meant".<sup>17</sup> Joanna Brooks of Hollaborough, Cornwall, who like Mary Thorne had obtained salvation and witnessed to the same in her local church joined the new society and "preached the gospel with success" before being removed by the church wardens.<sup>18</sup> These were an older generation but there was no lack of younger women ready to share in the work of salvation.

Among the fourteen female itinerant preachers listed at the first Bible Christian Conference in 1819 was one who in later years was to be called "the best missionary the Bible Christians sent to Canada".<sup>19</sup> That Elizabeth Dart survived the rigours and demands of the itinerant life in Upper Canada in 1833-57 is remarkable in view of the fact that in the 1819 Minutes of Conference it was noted that she was "to travel as her health will admit." In that first list were other young women who were "among the best teachers and preachers" of the Bible Christian Church.<sup>20</sup> Most notable among these were Mary Ann Werrey, Mary Thoms, and

Catherine Reed, all strong-minded young women who were unafraid to stand up against the male superintendents if the occasion demanded it. Like early Quaker women, Mary Ann had a concern, or in Bible Christian parlance "an impression", that she was to minister in Northumberland where it was said "she could command the attention of 1,000 people in the open air".<sup>21</sup> She was also "powerfully impressed" that she was called upon to preach in the Scilly Isles, "where multitudes flocked to hear her" and as a result of her work "great has been the change in the condition of the Scillonians".<sup>22</sup> Later she laboured in Guernsey and Jersey with equal success. However, Mary Ann ran afoul of William Mason, her assistant in Northumberland; one wonders if it was jealousy on his part that led to the report in the Minutes of 1825, "Mary Ann Werrey is desisted".<sup>23</sup> Mary Thoms was the first Bible Christian missionary to the Isle of Wight where she arrived alone at 10 pm on August 2, 1823, "a stranger in a strange place." She first intended to preach on the parade but she "felt it would be a great cross to stand up to preach before a number of gay people" and instead preached by invitation at a nearby Wesleyan chapel. Her courage must have been restored because on the following Sunday at East Cowes "in the wind and the rain having obtained the loan of a chair she stood up" and began preaching, opening with a hymn, Come ye sinners poor and wretched.<sup>24</sup> Many of the large crowd which assembled to hear her mocked and laughed, but before long "tears began to flow copiously" and numbers were saved then and in the weeks following.<sup>25</sup> It required remarkable courage for a young woman to stand up to a hostile crowd in a strange place but courage was not lacking among these North Devon women.

For their audience hearing women preach was almost as good as going to a fair and the

Bible Christians did not hesitate to utilize their drawing power. Handbills were circulated and notices put up announcing forthcoming "Female Preachers." One man in Kent, on being informed that a "mad woman" (probably Catherine Reed) was to preach, decided that since he had never seen a mad woman "he would go and hear her".<sup>26</sup> He listened to her two-hour sermon and was converted. A similar story is told of a certain profligate who went to hear Ann Corry preach at New Brompton in 1821. When he found out that a woman was to preach it "so excited his curiosity that he was induced to attend" and as a result "was deeply convinced of his lost condition".<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, in some areas of Kent the acceptance of female ministry was a difficulty, "considerable objection was manifested" and James Thorne was obliged to defend his women colleagues on several occasions. Evidently he was convincing because "much unfounded prejudice was removed and many acknowledged that women had been the instruments of their conversion".<sup>28</sup> James Thorne later married one of these women, Catherine Reed, of whom he said, "She preached such an admirable discourse as to astonish me".<sup>29</sup>

Elizabeth Courtice was another preacher much in demand. In 1821 she was invited to Somerset as was Mary Moon. The latter's preaching in an Exbridge inn apparently aroused the wrath of a rival innkeeper. He arranged to disperse the congregation by persuading the local sweep, "well primed with beer" to go down the chimney making "hideous noises" and then descend into the room to impersonate the devil. Meanwhile his accomplices were to extinguish the lights and let loose a flock of sparrows to add to the confusion. The trick misfired however, for the sweep missed his footing and "fell heavily on the hearth" where he was captured. We are not told Mary's response or if the sweep was converted, but the mission did flourish in that

region of Somerset thanks to Elizabeth and Mary.<sup>30</sup>

It was not just novelty that drew crowds to listen to these itinerant preachers. The women obviously spoke with power and conviction. A bystander wrote of young Sarah Mills, whom he heard preaching outdoors near Islington, that "she appeared very earnest; she delivered her observations without hesitation - indeed with great fluency; with distinct enunciation, and generally very correct language".<sup>31</sup> Besides this she captured the rapt attention of her listeners. The writer admitted to a sense of being chained to the spot and regretted that he was forced to leave before Sarah reached her conclusion.

Power to sway large crowds must have been a heady stimulus for these young women, most of whom would not have traveled much outside their own parish. Elizabeth Dart, who was born in 1792, was a convert to Methodism at the age of nineteen; in 1815 she joined the Bible Christians, helped O'Bryan form the Connexion, and in 1819 was the first itinerant preacher. By 1819 another thirteen females had joined her as "useful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord".<sup>32</sup> These women had been "deeply impressed that it was their duty to preach and conduct public services" which they proceeded to do, being "truly pious and flaming with zeal".<sup>33</sup>

Catherine and Betsy Reed were likewise very young women who joined the society along with other family members in 1815. Both sisters were listed as itinerant preachers by 1820 and were very much in demand. Catherine appears to have continued in the ministry for two years after her marriage. Listed among the female preachers in the 1820 Conference Minutes is Ann Vickery, later of Upper Canada, who was nineteen when she became a Bible Christian; she too quickly found her preaching gifts put to full use. Sarah Willis is described as a "young female apparently twenty-two or twenty-three

years of age”.<sup>34</sup> Mary O’Bryan was also one of that first group of “useful labourers” who received the blessing of complete sanctification in December of 1816 when she was eleven years old. Her name first appears on the 1823 list of itinerants when she was preaching in both English and French in the Guernsey Mission, at which time she could not have been older than seventeen. Mary had previously visited London with her father and had preached there on several occasions. Her age and appearance must have been a drawing card, for she is described as an “attractive bright-eyed girl” and was known as “the Maiden Preacher.”<sup>35</sup> Mary later married Samuel Thorne of the Shebbear family that provided much of the leadership of the Connexion. Although she and Samuel were well acquainted, Mary seems to have been of two minds about her final decision, observing that “I had a feeling that I was doomed to do what I felt most determined not to do”.<sup>36</sup> Samuel, like his brother Jesse, became an itinerant preacher in his late teens. These young women and men were so full of zeal in their effort to lead others to Jesus that meeting for prayer at 4 am in mid-winter did not seem a hardship to them. Mary O’Bryan was one of those at the early morning meetings of December 1816, as was Elizabeth Dart; it was at one of these meetings that Mary experienced complete sanctification.<sup>37</sup>

A life devoted to the preaching of the gospel was not easy. Both men and women were taunted by angry mobs, horses and bulls were driven through their congregations, and a variety of objects including stones and eggs were thrown. Mary Mason speaks of being threatened and hunted by parsons and parish officers, but in spite of everything she was able to praise God that she had “stood singly against hell, earth and sin, yet undismayed”.<sup>38</sup>

The young male and female ministers, in spite of doing the same work, were not paid equally for their labours. Male preachers were

allowed £3 a year while females got half that amount. An itinerant man was given £4 and allowance was also granted for children. In times of financial difficulty for the society, as in 1830, both sexes had a reduction in salary. Women who through illness were unable to travel were entitled to receive the same support as when they traveled but with some provisions: they must remain single and “continue to maintain a becoming character”.<sup>39</sup> The allowance would continue, however, if they married another traveling preacher. Hence it was to the advantage of both if they married “within the family” so to speak. At the second conference in 1820, male and female preachers were advised to be very careful in their choice of a marriage partner. Male ministers who intended to marry were urged to choose a wife from “among our sisters who have dedicated themselves to the service of God by coming forward as traveling preachers”.<sup>40</sup> Bible Christian marriages evidently took place in the local registry office. In 1837 the possibility of having some of the chapels licensed for the performing of marriage was raised at Conference. The down-to-earth reply to the suggestion was “Certainly not, while such an extravagant sum is to be charged for such a license”.<sup>41</sup> The couple after their visit to the registrar was instructed to “repair to the chapel where there will be a suitable service”.<sup>42</sup>

It is not clear whether women preachers who did not marry a “brother” were allowed to continue preaching, but it seems unlikely. It is stated in 1827 that supernumerary itinerants who married “would be considered as having desisted from traveling”.<sup>43</sup> Jane Bird, who was listed in 1827 as a supernumerary for Ringsash in Devon, married a local preacher, John Beer, the blacksmith of nearby Haytown in 1828; but as her name does not appear in the list of itinerant preachers for that year it is probable that she desisted. (We know that she died in 1832 at the birth of her second child).



The physical strain of the itinerant ministry was a constant threat to the health of the ministers. Long walks between preaching stops, cold and rain, inadequate food and lodging all took their toll. In many cases the preachers lodged with "our friends" but even there they were warned against "sleeping in damp beds; it being so very injurious to the health." Their hosts were also required "to pay particular attention to this; especially in winter; as it may possibly cost the preacher his life!".<sup>44</sup> Men and women were urged to take care of their health - "beware of taking too long journeys, and of remaining with wet clothes on"; also to be avoided was going out after preaching at night.<sup>45</sup> Avoiding damp clothing and beds must have been particularly difficult in North Devon and areas around Cornwall. The words of Jane Bird, "I came to Wembworthy wet and weary but my soul was happy" must have found an echo in the hearts of other young women.<sup>46</sup> Jane Bird, like Elizabeth Dart, lacked a strong constitution and doubtless the stress of itinerant preaching helped to undermine her already frail health. Her early death wrung from her husband, John Beer, the sorrowful words, "Thus died my dear wife as a shock of corn ripe for the harvest".<sup>47</sup>

That women preachers were likely to be the subject of comment seems clear from the extra advice given to "our sisters": "They should keep their own place; be watchful, always neat, plain and clean, discreet, humble, grave as mothers in Israel; diligent according to their sex, as well as our brethren; being as much as they can their own servants; and assisting families where they go: and when they leave their room in the morning leave everything in its proper place".<sup>48</sup> Before being sent out to travel female preachers were also liable to closer scrutiny than their male fellows; the conference of 1827 ruled that the assistant preacher was "to converse with them (females) closely on the importance of the work" and "none were to be sent out without

the sanction of the Quarterly Meeting".<sup>49</sup> Men and women were urged to preach by "their life and conduct" as well as in the pulpit.<sup>50</sup> There is an echo here of the words of George Fox, "Let your lives peak."

The Quaker influence on the Bible Christians is clearly shown in the Connexion's insistence on plain dress, although Wesley had made a similar recommendation, acknowledging his debt to Friends. Conformity to the world with regard to dress was "repugnant." No one was to remain within the society who continued to follow worldly fashions; neatness and plainness were hallmarks of a Bible Christian. Men's hair was to be combed forward in "the natural way", no curling or parting was allowed. "The wearing of frills, chitterlings, laces or bunches, gold and pearls were also forbidden".<sup>51</sup> Wesley's influence was apparent here, and as with the Quakers the wearing of mourning dress was decried as mere outward show. Dress and shawls were to be of one plain colour, drab or brown; as in the Quaker tradition plain bonnets were a sign of conversion and with them went a plain hair style, without curls. From the beginning, however, there were objections to these rulings. Mary O'Bryan continued to wear a broad ribbon on her beaver hat and in 1825 wrote scathingly in her diary "of those bachelors endeavouring to lord it over us, tyrannically dictating the colour of our garments; what husband could do more! And having discussions about our very petticoats!".<sup>52</sup> Mary would have agreed with Margaret Fell that such rulings were but "a poor silly gospel." However, the men were also encouraged to dress simply, many wearing the wide-brimmed Quaker hat. In 1832 the wearing by men of *double breasted coats* was unanimously condemned as "a departure from former simplicity".<sup>53</sup> In the conference minutes of 1834, 1841, 1842, and 1844 the subject of simplicity in dress was

raised, a clear indication of difficulties in this area. In his address to the conference of 1844, the president, Henry Reed, notes that “conformity to the world in regard to dress had been seriously discussed” during the session.<sup>54</sup> Concentration upon “the frivolities of fashion” led to extravagance of dress resulting in debt, a lack of money for charity, and the loss of holiness. The preservation or original simplicity in dress and personal appearance was a sign and means of promoting the unity of the Connexion which was important for its prosperity.

In the early years, the Connexion also discouraged the use of titles among members, the terms “brother”, “sister”, and “friend” being considered more scriptural. This too was in the Quaker tradition, but unlike Friends the Bible Christians did allow for a servant calling his employer “master” because “that relationship really does exist”.<sup>55</sup> The concern about the use of titles was extended by some members to the title “saint” in place names. A further Quaker trait appears in the tendency to call days by their numbers rather than by their names, eg. First Day for Sunday and so forth. Plain living also extended to simple food on most occasions with perhaps treats on birthdays and holidays. Simple food evidently was forgotten in later years in Canada if recipes given in the Bible Christian Observer are anything to go by, as well as the frequent appreciative, though somewhat apologetic mention by the male missionaries of cakes and pies provided at social gatherings.

The request for missionaries for North America came from Bible Christians who emigrated there in “great numbers”.<sup>56</sup> The emigration was due in part to the Corn Laws which kept the price of bread beyond the means of the poor, and to the unemployment resulting from an extended recession following the Napoleonic Wars. General political and social unrest during the Reform Bill crisis also contributed to the exodus which was

especially large from Devon and Cornwall. In the 1831 address to the Connexion it was stated that the prospect of sending missionaries to America was “inviting and encouraging” but prayers and funds were needed if this was to become a possibility. Evidently both were forthcoming because in the 1831 conference minutes a new heading appears, “Missions in America”, with “John Glass and another” listed for Upper Canada, and Francis Metherall for Prince Edward Island. The annual flow of emigrants grew from 73 in 1832 to 166 in 1842.<sup>57</sup>

Among the earliest missionaries was John Hicks Eynon who joined John Glass in Upper Canada in 1833. John Eynon had set off for North America as a single man but he was “twice driven back by contrary winds” and in the interval married a fellow preacher, Elizabeth Dart, whose preaching had led to his conversion. Elizabeth was a poor sailor and was very ill throughout the 42-day journey.<sup>58</sup> She recovered quickly from the effects of the journey and in less than a month after their arrival at Quebec preached her first sermon at Coburg on June 10, 1833. The heat and mosquitoes of Upper Canada sometimes proved too much for her husband who was overcome by the long trips and his initial lack of success, frequently lost his way, and on occasion was an object of curiosity to a bear which sniffed all about him as he lay trying to sleep in the woods. Elizabeth, left to cope best she could while John was traveling, evidently managed well; here as elsewhere in the records, it is apparent that she was made of sterner stuff than her husband. On his return after three weeks absence in September 1833, he wrote with an air of mild surprise, “My dear Betsy is quite well, and seems at home, and quite as well satisfied as if she was among her many and old acquaintances of England”.<sup>59</sup>

Not all the women were blessed with Elizabeth Eynon’s strong faith and determina-

tion in the face of an unknown country. The Metherall family, newly arrived on Prince Edward Island in 1832, had to trudge through woods following a blazed trail to reach their destination carrying their young children. After many miles they lost their way and the final hours of the journey were too much for Mary Metherall: "the wilderness and lonely aspect of her surroundings were more than she could bear. She had to sit down on a log and weep out her distress, while Mr Metherall spoke words of encouragement and hope".<sup>60</sup> Like John Eynon, Francis Metherall found the distances and demands of the mission field very discouraging and warned that emigrants "should make up their minds to encounter difficulty" in the new country.<sup>61</sup> But in spite of frequent lowness of spirit and anxious introspection both men quickly built up established preaching places within their lengthy circuits of 150 and 200 miles.

It is doubtful that either of these pioneer churchmen could have achieved what they did without the help of their wives. Elizabeth became a missionary in her own right and has been described as "the best" of those the Bible Christians sent to Canada.<sup>62</sup> Admittedly had she not been the wife of John Eynon she probably would not have come here, but once settled both husband and wife took up their missionary tasks as we have seen. Elizabeth preached again in Coburg on July 21, 1833, speaking in the morning and afternoon before driving a further 10 miles to speak at another preaching place. On July 25 she proceeded toward Whitby township. After a solitary drive of twenty-six miles in a one-horse carriage she stopped at a tavern for the night, arose between 5 and 6 am., and having breakfasted on a pint of milk, continued her journey. She remarked in her account, "Nothing seemed strange to me except so many go without shoes and stockings".<sup>63</sup> In her lonely drives she was not unaware of the beauty of the surrounding countryside, noting

in her journal, "I delight to see on one hand the woods showing forth their beauty in so many shades of green and on the other the large lake that runs by Coburg shewing its fullness." On her return trip after preaching she "felt much blessed and felt the presence of God in the midst of the woods".<sup>64</sup> She rejoiced too that among those whom she preached so many were from Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset - "it makes it feel like home to be among them".<sup>65</sup> When unable to drive Elizabeth walked and occasionally was fearful when alone in the woods, but she trusted in the Lord and her fears were overcome: "the Lord knows what I am, He sees what I want and I have no doubt of His power, so I cast all on Him for body and soul, for time and eternity for things present and things to come".<sup>66</sup> Pregnancy did not interrupt her preaching activities but her only child, a daughter, died at birth. In his report to the Connexion in January 1834, John notes the death of "the precious babe", adding with more than a touch of self-regard that he was glad Elizabeth was spared "a little longer to be a companion for me in this vale of tears".<sup>67</sup>

In addition to looking after a husband who was increasingly incapacitated by the demands of the Canadian mission, Elizabeth kept house, continued preaching, led class meetings, and conducted protracted meetings in winter, and open-air revivals in summer in and around Bowmanville, Peterborough, and Dummer township. John Eynon informed the Connexion that during the summer of 1841, "I and my dear wife Betsy have frequently preached in the open air in this town (Peterborough) and I hope not in vain. In Dummer also we have held meetings in the wild forest which were well attended".<sup>68</sup> When her husband was ill Elizabeth took over his work as well as her own. The couple returned to England in 1848, both badly needing a rest from their missionary endeavours. They returned to Canada a year later;

in spite of increasing ill-health Elizabeth resumed her itinerant labours.

In reading the accounts of the missionary journeys undertaken by these women and men, one is humbled by the evidence of their faith and courage as they struggled against extreme heat and cold, forest and rivers, frost-bite and sunstroke, bears, mosquitoes and blackflies. They received very little financial support from the Connexion back home, which forced Francis Metherall, for instance, to work through a winter season outdoors for many hours of each day without a greatcoat and for several years without a horse. Finally he had to buy a horse out of his own small salary and reported to the Missionary Committee in Devon: "Sometimes the roads are in such a state that a man could not travel at all without a horse. I traveled on foot the first three winters... I found it a very great slavery".<sup>69</sup>

Elizabeth and John Eynon did not labour alone during these years. In 1846 Ann and Paul Robins arrived to work in the Peterborough area. Ann Vickery is first listed as an itinerant preacher in the 1820 conference minutes serving in Devon, London and then Hampshire, where in 1831 she married a fellow minister, Paul Robbins. In both England and Canada Ann worked alongside her husband. She was a devoted worker for the Lord, throwing herself wholeheartedly into what she was called upon to do, nor did she allow family concerns to stand in the way of her "higher" labours. Frequently she had to carry the latest baby with her as she walked several miles to preaching places. She was impatient with ministers who used bad weather as an excuse for failing to be at their appointed place. "She encouraged her husband to fulfill his responsibilities however painful or hazardous. As he described it, 'a coward husband... would lead but a sorry life with such a partner'".<sup>70</sup> She made sure that her household ran smoothly so that she could

take over the preaching if required. Good organization must have been essential in managing the Canadian household. Paul Robins writes in December 1846 that Ann had had "an abundance of fatigue" as single-handed she tended him for ten weeks (he had lake fever) in a house with no water close by and no means of catching rain water, and where the water available from neighbours was so hard it was impossible to wash in it.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, the house was very inconvenient, their bedroom being a long way from the kitchen, "upstairs and through two rooms." One feels that tempers must have been a bit frayed that autumn. Paul writes from personal experience of these inconveniences when Ann had been sick earlier. He finishes off his jeremiad with the gloomy observation that the coming snow and frost of winter would probably bring on Ann's rheumatism. In 1850 Paul returned home to Mitchell after a month away along roads that were "one vast continent of mud" to find Ann alone and very sick. Their helpful neighbour had been forced to leave in order to cut some firewood and Paul states with justifiable anger, "It is impossible for me to get wood with the constant toil and labour of this mission".<sup>72</sup> He adds that they frequently lacked meat or bread, the implication being that the Connexion thinks its missionaries can survive on very little money.

When Ann was well she preached in the Peterborough area in summer and winter. If the snow was too deep for her to travel she held house meetings instead. In some cases her preaching appears not to have been welcomed. Paul reported from Peterborough that when he had to be away only Ann and a Sister Head were left to preach and he warns, "there appears to be a prejudice in the minds of the people against female preachers".<sup>73</sup> I have discovered no further evidence of the alleged bias among Bible Christians in Upper Canada, but it must be remembered that not of those who attended their larger meetings and

revivals were Bible Christians. In any case, Paul Robins may well have been using the warning as a means of getting more manpower from the home base. It may be of interest to add here that the well-known English Quaker, Hannah Backhouse, who was preaching in Canada and the United States in 1833 observed that: "In a few places they refuse women's preaching; yet it is but rarely they do so... the people receive it (women's preaching) willingly".<sup>74</sup> Hannah preached not only to Friends, but also to Methodists who warmly welcomed her; she frequently addressed meetings in their chapels.

About other women preachers in Canada at this time less is known but it is recorded that Mary Metherall preached in Prince Edward Island besides leading the singing, conducting class and prayer meetings, and visiting the sick. She had as well, a family of eight children to care for. It is perhaps not surprising that she died in 1840 at the birth of her ninth child. In 1843 Martha Sabine began preaching in the markethouse at Charlottetown soon after her arrival from Cornwall. This "caused no small stir but the Lord made her a blessing to many".<sup>75</sup> Like Mary Metherall she also worked in other areas of church life and "was the means of much good".<sup>76</sup> From 1844 Frances Calloway shared with her husband William the work of the Vernon River circuit. She assisted at the night watch service at Ebenezer Chapel on New Year's Eve 1847 and in the following January preached at Vernon River while William was elsewhere. We read that she was "well received as a preacher" there.<sup>77</sup> In June 1848, having preached to a large congregation, she and William set off on a combined tour of duty that involved the usual hazards of an itinerant's life. William recorded that Frances "had put up as she thought a moschetto [mosquito] blind around the bed. But she is not as skilled as the Americans are; for numbers of them found their way in".<sup>78</sup> Frances con-

tinued to work alongside her husband in the early 1850s, driving with him thirty miles a day in the bitter weather of December, 1851. Only once was she prevented by weather: "on account of wind and snow she did not go out. The wind being so very high".<sup>79</sup> Jacob Gale's wife also worked with her husband throughout their eleven years on Prince Edward Island of which the early period was so taxing that Sister Gale wished she had never come. They had no furniture or cooking utensils; a kind neighbour lent them two chairs. In 1855 they occupied a house that leaked badly besides rocking from side to side when the wind blew. In these conditions, working a 100-mile circuit on their own, it is not surprising that they appealed to the Connexion for money to build a mission house - whether successfully or not is uncertain.

Frequent vivid glimpses of the trials and rewards of these Upper Canada missionary couples are provided in the Bible Christian Magazine. Brother John Tapp and his wife battled not only the demon rum but "moschetos" as well. At Mariposa in August 1847, "having kept the congregation in almost breathless attention for one hour and 50 minutes" - the subject was teetotalism - and "after a glorious time at the altar", the Tapps, armed with brooms and a candle, "went to work for half an hour to drive and kill the moschetos".<sup>80</sup> Newly married Brother Dix and his wife, traveling from Clinton to Ainleyville by wagon in July 1856, found the roads in the area so rough that they had to walk - "it was a case of get off or be shaken off." He adds: "I was somewhat afraid (my wife) would give up before we reached our destination, however, she stood it first rate, though she had to put on a second pair of shoes before we got through".<sup>81</sup> Later that year we read of this stout-hearted woman "walking the logs" across a river as she accompanied her husband on his round.

The Bible Christians owed a debt to the

Quakers but in one instance, at least the reverse was true. Ann Copp Gordon, who was born in Devon in 1837, and was a lay preacher at eighteen, came to Canada in 1858. She married another Bible Christian preacher, Andrew Gordon, in 1860; they both preached in the London area before moving to the North Grey region of Durham county. In this "wilderness" as she described it, Ann contended with intense cold, the bread dough and the baby's cheeks freezing one day during her second winter, and, in her husband's absence, with the unwelcome attentions of a dangerous neighbour. In 1877 the Gordons moved to Pickering where Ann regularly attended the First Day Quaker Meeting. She spoke freely in Meeting and often sang! Friends were unused to a sung ministry and the propriety of such was discussed at length by the Yearly Meeting. The sense of the Meeting was relayed to Ann by an elderly Friend: "Annie Gordon, Thee can sing. All who heard thee believe thee art moved by the Spirit... we hope thee will come often and teach us God's message through song" (Gordon papers). Ann must have been a popular preacher as her preaching engagements were made known by means of large handbills and notices in the *Observer* (eg. issue of March 14, 1877). The Gordons moved to "that terrible country," Manitoba, in 1882. Ann was the Womens Christian Temperance Union representative from Portage La Prairie to the Annual Meeting at Kenora and became a close friend of Nellie McClung, appearing with her on temperance platforms and speaking, as Nellie reported, "as a loving mother to her children" *ibid.* Ann traveled widely in her later years, mainly in the cause of temperance, a cause very close to the heart of every Bible Christian.

Among other women preachers in the Bible Christian Connexion during the years from 1830 to 1880 were Sister Green, who worked with her husband in Pickering in

1859, and Sister Nacekivell, who when William O'Bryan visited Oshawa in 1857 persuaded him to take her place as preacher. Sister Hoskins, also known as the Reverend Mrs Hoskins, was the first Bible Christian preacher in Huntington Township and along with Mary Hawke of Port Hope was "one of the very few who possessed the grace and courage in such an age of show and vanity to dress plain".<sup>82</sup>

Over the years from 1827, the number of women preachers declined until in 1861 "the last itinerant female was accepted".<sup>83</sup> From the beginning these women had suffered from some discrimination. They apparently did not serve on any of the committees, there were no women superintendents, nor is there any evidence that they baptized or celebrated communion. In every other respect, as we have seen, they made a vital contribution to the success of this strange small group of devout souls known as the Bible Christians. The Society of Friends had likewise from its beginnings owed much to female Friends, but Quaker women continued to contribute greatly throughout the nineteenth century and were especially influential in the mid-century, when Bible Christian women were increasingly being relegated to the teaching of Sunday School and advised to cultivate "deep piety" and business - "work, work, sisters, while it is still called today".<sup>84</sup> There was "a proper way" in which to work, involving less vain show and "more humility and devotion".<sup>85</sup> The decline in the number of women in preaching cannot be entirely attributed to marriage or the hardships of the itinerant ministry. The influence of Methodism was perhaps too strong in the formation of the Connexion and as it became increasingly respectable and middle-class the Quaker inheritance shrank while the Methodist ambivalence about women's role in the church grew stronger. Plain living and plain dress no longer distinguished the Bible

Christians, the preachers now used the honorific “reverend”, members were addressed as “Mr.”, “Mrs.” and sometimes even “Esquire”, and women were reminded of their proper place in church and society. In short, the early radicalism of a revivalistic group was giving way to the views and practices that prepared the ground for the absorption of the Bible Christians in the middle-of-the-road Methodist Church in Canada in 1884.

I have tried to do in this article what Brother Barker neglected to do in his jubilee Sermon of 1865, that is, to “mention some of those noble women who figured so prominently and were rendered to God” - and to man - “so extensively useful”, and to draw attention to the influence of Quakerism in the early years of the Connexion.<sup>86</sup> Little by little this influence waned though it may perhaps still be traced in the position of women in the United Church of Canada today. Looking back, it is not too fanciful, I believe, to see a line of descent from Margaret Fell to Catherine O’Byrne down to Lois Wilson - all members of a remarkable sisterhood.

## Notes:

1. Centennial of Canadian Methodism. Toronto: W. Briggs. p. 227.
2. T. Shaw, The Bible Christians. London, Epworth Press, 1965, p. 16.
3. Pyke, p. 17.
4. Shaw, The Bible Christians, 5.
5. Jubilee Volume of the Bible Christian Community. Shebbear, Devon: Thorne, 1865 (hereafter JV), p. 17.
6. *ibid.*
7. Shaw, The Bible Christians, 8)
8. JV, p. 49
9. Minutes of the Bible Christian Conference, (hereafter MC), 1815, p. 5.
10. *ibid.*
11. *ibid.*
12. *ibid.* p. 6.
13. O’Byrne in later years exchanged letters with Hugh

Bourne, the founder of the Primitive Methodists, who was closely in touch with the Quakers and who also encouraged women preachers.

14. M.R. Brailsford, Quaker Women. London: Duckworth and Company, 1915, p. 206.
15. *ibid.*, p. 18. The early 19th century witnessed the activities of many outstanding Quaker women preachers, among them Elizabeth Fry and Hannah Backhouse. These two women may have visited Devon and Cornwall, especially the Falmouth area where there were many well-known Friends, among them the Foxes of Wre who were related to the Gurney family of which Elizabeth and Hannah were members.
16. Bible Christian Magazine (hereafter BCM), 1843, p. 258.
17. JV, p. 28
18. *ibid.*, p. 32
19. Browne, p. 346
20. Centennial of Canadian Methodism. Toronto: W. Briggs. p. 227.
21. Pyke, p. 28.
22. JV, p. 57.
23. Pyke, p. 28.
24. JV, p. 88
25. *ibid.*
26. *ibid.*, p. 56.
27. *ibid.*, p. 58.
28. *ibid.*, p. 52.
29. F.W. Bourne, Centenary Life of James Thorne. London: Bible Christian Reading Room, 1895, p. 62.
30. JV, p. 54.
31. *ibid.*, p. 80.
32. *ibid.*
33. *ibid.*
34. *ibid.*, p. 80.
35. Shaw, The Bible Christians, p. 43.
36. *ibid.*
37. Bourne, Centenary Life, p. 37.
38. *ibid.*, p. 45.
39. MC, 1820?
40. *ibid.*
41. *ibid.*, 1837.
42. *ibid.*
43. *ibid.*, 1827.
44. *ibid.*, 1820.

45. *ibid.*
46. *BCM*, 1834.
47. *ibid.*
48. *MC*, 1820.
49. *ibid.*, 1827.
50. *ibid.*, 1823.
51. *ibid.*, 1820.
52. Shaw, *The Bible Christians*, 111.
53. *MC*, 1832.
54. *ibid.*, 1844.
55. *ibid.*, 1820.
56. *ibid.*, 1830.
57. The area of Shebbear in Devon, the heart of the Bible Christian country and the home of James Thorne, the leader of the Connexion from 1829 to 1869, sent most emigrants during the years 1839-1844.
58. John Eynon recovered quickly from a brief bout of seasickness. He enjoyed the natural beauty around him and was also appreciative of the company of Captain Robert Moon whom he found "kind, civil, good humoured and obliging" (*BCM*, 1833). These Devonshire captains appear to have been an outstanding group of men; almost all the missionaries write of them in glowing terms and even the ordinary emigrant met with kindness at their hands. Azarias Beer and his wife Catherine who sailed from Appledore on the *Lord Ramsay* in May 1836, wrote of their Captain England: "He hath been as a brother. He is a kind sympathising man and an honourable gentleman" (Beer family papers). The captain of the brig *Amethyst* on which the Metheralls sailed in 1832 proved to be "a dreadful swearer but very kind" (John Harris, *The Life of the Rev. Francis Metherall*. London: Bible Christian Book Room, 1883, p. 31). The captains welcomed the opportunity for worship provided by the presence of men and women preachers. In April 1848, Sisters Williams and Riden conducted a meeting on board ship while in route to Quebec (*BCM*, 1848, p. 320). John Beer, younger brother of Azarias, preached and led frequent prayer meetings on board the *Orient* in 1856. Perhaps it enabled him to cope with "the swearing and trifling" and "loose maidens" that surrounded him for six long weeks (Beer family papers).
59. *BCM*, 1834, p. 111.
60. Harris, *Francis Metherall*, p. 31.
61. *BCM*, 1833.
62. Bourne, *James Thorne*, p. 346.
63. *BCM*, 1834, p. 111.
64. *ibid.*
65. *ibid.*
66. *ibid.*, p. 110.
67. *ibid.*, p. 218.
68. *ibid.*, 1842, p. 23.
69. Harris, *Francis Metherall*, p. 44.
70. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 8: 908.
71. *BCM*, 1846.
72. *ibid.*, 1850, p. 162.
73. *ibid.*, 1848, p. 123.
74. Hannah G. Backhouse, *Extracts from the Journal and Letters of Hannah Chapman Backhouse*. London: n.p., 1858, p. 158.
75. Harris, *Francis Metherall*, p. 50.
76. *ibid.*
77. *BCM*, 1847, p. 82.
78. *ibid.*, 1848, p. 402.
79. *BCM*, 1852, p. 203.
80. *ibid.*, 1848.
81. *ibid.*, 1857, p. 284.
82. *BCM*, 1859.
83. Swift, "The Women Itinerant Preachers of Early Methodism" *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 29 (1953) p. 77.
84. *Observer*, Aug. 18, 1869.
85. *Minutes of the Bible Christian Conference in Canada*, 1875, p. 118.
86. *BCM*, 1865, p. 384.

### Manuscript Sources:

Beer family papers. In the possession of E.C. Beer, Kingston, Ontario.

Gordon papers. United Church Archives, Toronto.



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## The Spirit of Capitalism and the Collapse of Community: The Children of Peace in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

*Albert Schrauwers*

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The Children of Peace were a small, utopian sect which splintered off from the local Quaker congregation in Newmarket in 1812. Now known primarily for the distinctive "Temple of Peace" they erected in the village of Sharon between 1825 and 1831, the group was also known in its day for its radical support of political reform, its charity, and its co-operative economy. I have characterised their economic organisation as a "moral economy" elsewhere, and rooted their emphasis on co-operation and charity in a "subsistence-surplus" farming strategy"; as "mixed farmers" they sought to ensure their own subsistence and opportunistically sold only their surplus production.<sup>1</sup> This "subsistence-surplus" strategy was typical of most farmers of the period; McInnis points out that large amounts of Upper Canadian wheat never entered the international market, nor did farmers respond to markets by increasing their production of wheat.<sup>2</sup> In the first half of the nineteenth century, "only a small fraction of farms was producing a marketable surplus great enough to provide for more than just the local non-agricultural population".<sup>3</sup>

However, by mid-century, "all the available data suggest that the Children of Peace strongly resembled other rural people of

southern Ontario in most aspects of social structure" and had become more dependent on the market; they had made the transition from "egalitarianism to inequality".<sup>4</sup> Like other farmers in Upper Canada, the Children of Peace had made the transition to capitalist agriculture. This transition was to prove calamitous for them as in institution; while as individuals they formed the wealthiest agricultural village in the province in 1851, the transition marked the beginning of a long



slow decline for the sect as a whole. In this article, I would like to explore why economic prosperity was so disastrous for a group based upon charity, co-operative labour and concern for the poor. I believe these conclusions also have implications on the slow decline of rural Friends as well.

This analysis, like that of both Cooper and Diceman,<sup>5</sup> draws extensively upon the 1852 census reports and assessment rolls. However, their demographic analysis can be further refined by a comparison with membership lists prepared by the sect in 1845 and 1855.<sup>6</sup> The census reports depended upon individual declarations of religious faith, and generally did not accept an answer of "none".<sup>7</sup> This has artificially swollen the number of self-declared members of the

Children of Peace and clouded the distinctive demographic characteristics of those listed in the sect's own membership lists. The 1852 census sample can thus be further subdivided into three sub-groups: families who were members, families in which only one spouse was a member, and families who were self-declared members according to the census. Broken down in this manner, the census tabulations show that those families who were members continued to practice a "subsistence-surplus" agricultural strategy. Those who were only self-declared members were true market oriented producers. By comparing the two groups within the context of the sect's evolution, we should be able to trace the challenges faced by these "subsistence-surplus" farmers and why they ultimately succumbed, leading to the group's demise.

### **The "Subsistence-Surplus" Strategy and Agrarian Capitalism**

Little attention has been directed at the expansion of capitalist agriculture in Upper Canada.<sup>8</sup> Treatments of the early economy of the province tend to view market participation as diagnostic of a capitalist ethic. The influence of a capitalist economic rationale cannot, however, be implied from market participation; the inadequacy of that measure is quickly revealed by "communal groups" like the Hutterites who sell in the market but can hardly be characterised as "capitalists". Capitalism must be viewed as a multi-variant process marked not only by the sale of farm products, but also by the commodification of all inputs such as land, labour and agricultural technology. It is only when all inputs have been commodified that the "rational calculation" of the "maximising individualist" can operate. In the first half of the nineteenth century, few of these inputs were completely commodified; land could be obtained for performance of settlement duties, labour was

drawn from within the domestic unit, and farm technology was relatively simple. The farm was not a commercial enterprise, but a household whose primary purpose was to raise a family.<sup>9</sup> We should not expect these farmers to behave as if they were budding merchants. By mid-century, the same could not be said. It is possible to speak, therefore, of a capitalist transformation of rural Ontario.

It is important to emphasize that the presence of markets is not, in itself, an incentive to capitalist production. Indeed, studies of communities in the American northeast point out that farmers sought to maintain their economic and political autonomy from merchants by providing for their own subsistence.<sup>10</sup> This practice of ensuring that the consumption needs of the family and community are met before entering the market place is referred to here as a "subsistence-surplus" farming strategy. This is not to assert that these farmers are self-subsistent; non-market exchanges within the community provide those elements which no single farm household could produce for itself. McCalla notes that these circumstances were typical of early trade in the province.<sup>11</sup> Local exchanges were usually expressed in prices, but these prices appear to have been standard, and rarely in cash. The exchanges were not usually simultaneous, or precisely equal in value. The local community, including the local merchant, was thus tied together by multiple ties of debt and credit which were reconciled only after lengthy periods. McCalla cites one example of a merchant miller and a carpenter settling their mutual debts and credits only after a seven year period, in which an accumulated £100 of transactions were settled with an exchange of £6 cash. This "safety first" farming strategy ensures the continuity of the household despite the vagaries of the market, while providing the means of acquiring land through the sale of surpluses by way of long-distance

trade.

Capitalist production differs in that farmers produce “cash crops” which they sell in the market to obtain their household needs. In other words, all inputs including land and labour have been assigned a cash value, and the sale of the resultant crop is expected to provide a profit. This profit pays the farmer’s “wage” to himself (as both owner and worker), as well as providing the capital required for further production. Capitalist production results from a series of push-pull factors, in which the incentives offered by the market are matched by crisis in traditional productive strategies. Gagan’s description of the “mid-century demographic crisis” in Peel County is illustrative. Peel County farmers faced a land shortage by which new farm families could be assimilated into the community only through the death or displacement of established farmers, or the subdivision of existing farms.<sup>12</sup> The demographic crisis raised the price of land at precisely the moment when rising wheat markets provided a means of obtaining the cash needed to buy a farm. However, in hitching their wagon to the market economy, they submitted themselves to the logic of the market, whose booms and busts weeded out less productive farmers.

Darroch and Soltow have rightfully questioned whether such a mid-century crisis existed. Their statistical analysis of age by ownership patterns in the 1871 census shows no marked structural change at mid-century.<sup>13</sup>

They point out that rates of land acquisition remained stable, and age-related, with new farmers still able to acquire sizable properties over the course of a life-time. What Gagan has interpreted as a one time event, a “mid-century” crisis, was in fact a more common crisis in generational succession. The crisis which Peel County farmers faced at mid-century had been faced in earlier periods by the children of farmers in the more settled areas of the province. They responded by

either migrating to areas of cheap land (and so maintaining a “subsistence-surplus” orientation), or by increasing their market production so as to be able to enter the land market in the settled areas. It is the moment of creation of a new farm household and the conditions of its establishment which determine whether it faces a crisis which can only be met through capitalist production.

This potential crisis was faced by each new generation as it matured and sought to recreate the “subsistence-surplus” strategy which characterised the earlier agrarian regime. It occurred earliest in the settled areas of the province, such as East Gwillimbury township in York County, where 70-80% of all land had been patented by 1825.<sup>14</sup> Among the earliest settlers in the township were members of the Children of Peace, a small, radical Quaker sect which formed around David Willson, their charismatic leader. In numerous sermons and pamphlets, Willson outlined a set of economic precepts for his followers which, following E.P. Thompson, I refer to as a “moral economy”. Although members of the sect participated in the market, they were enjoined not to seek the highest market price:

that little time may be spent in selling and buying, I think it would be better for the religious people to give the seller his price, or not buy at all, and when we sell take up with what the buyer judgeth he can afford to give, or else not sell to him at all, which would always give peace and satisfaction in dealing, and would be a better standard than the market price.<sup>15</sup>

Such an economic logic only makes sense within the context of a subsistence-surplus strategy where the household’s subsistence has already been assured, leaving the sale of surplus production amenable to alternate

economic ideals. Willson emphasised that the disposition of surplus production should be guided by charitable impulses, not the maximisation of personal gain. To that end, the sect built an elaborate Temple in the village of Sharon between 1825 and 1831 for the sole purpose of raising alms for the poor. This emphasis on charity reflects a community oriented farming strategy which provides "subsistence insurance" to its members.

As noted above, the younger members of the sect faced a land crisis by 1825. Unlike their parents, they had to purchase land; they thus had the highest cash needs, but the smallest surpluses to sell (since they had the smallest farms and the least domestic labour).<sup>16</sup> The younger farmers in the sect thus had to maximise their profits from their small surpluses, an ethic which stood at odds with that expressed by their new Temple. They objected to being pulled away from their farms for community building projects and sought, rather, to contribute a portion of their cash profits. Their failure to abide by the economic ideals of the sect led to a political crisis within the group after the Temple's completion in 1831.

The response of the group was to reorder their economy along co-operative lines to help the younger members maintain the "subsistence-surplus" strategy.<sup>17</sup> These co-operative ventures were developed as a means of helping young farmers obtain land without dependence on the production of cash crops for the market. A short-lived land-sales tribunal was formed to prevent the sale of village lands to non-members. It was followed by land-sharing among members, so that the young could farm surplus lands within the village until they could afford to buy it. The 1834 assessment roll shows that 61% of the village's land was cultivated in this way. David Willson co-operatively marketed their surplus production, presumably guided by his expressed, anti-market principles. Labour was

provided through work bees. Most importantly, the capital of the "Charity Fund", the money raised in their Temple, was partly loaned to members. Since they controlled the fund themselves they could ensure that the terms were manageable, that no one was denied credit, and that the repayment of the principal remained flexible in poor economic times. All of these measures were aimed at easing the burden of land acquisition so that the "crisis" of generational succession could be met without dependence on the market, and hence without fostering a market ethic. By subsidising the land purchases of the young, the elders of the Children of Peace sought to recreate the agrarian order of the village and maintain their subsistence-surplus strategy.

These economic measures were accompanied by an elaboration of their anti-market ideology, which used the idiom of charity to criticise the merchant elite, the "Family Compact", which ruled the province. Willson cast the Children of Peace as the new Israelites in the wilderness of Upper Canada, and the colonial elite as Pharaoh who denied the poor their bread. Willson preached widely to large audiences: "The burden of his discourse seemed to be the injustice practised towards the world by all those who possess an abundant share of the good things of life; that they are all usurpers and that all mankind are equal; and that it is the duty of the poor to pull down the rich."<sup>18</sup>

The bold experiment of the Children of Peace was tragically interrupted by the Rebellion of 1837. When Willson sought to protect a number of young "rebels" from expulsion from the sect, two of the most prominent, and richest members returned to the Quakers. Without a large land-base under the control of the sect's Elders, the economic influence of the group over its younger members was weakened. They could no longer offer the kind of incentives or subsi-



The Second Meeting House of the Children of Peace, completed 1842.

dies of the early 1830s. As a result, the dispute which had erupted on the completion of the Temple in 1831 erupted yet again on the completion of their "Second Meeting House" in 1842. Between 1842 and 1845, the sect was wracked with turmoil, losing a large number of members in the process. In 1845, Willson temporarily halted the decline by threatening to resign and demanding submission on his terms.<sup>19</sup> The remaining members composed a new covenant for "the charitable institution at Sharon, now known by the name of the Children of Peace", which I refer to as the 1845 membership list. A similar list was prepared a decade later, in 1855.

By mid-century, the Children of Peace remained committed to their subsistence-surplus economic ideals, but increasingly lacked the resources to maintain them. As the 1852 census reveals, farmers continued to provide for their own subsistence first; subsistence needs, not markets, determined which crops,

and in what amounts were grown. Surpluses of subsistence crops were then sold to meet cash needs. This is not true capitalist production since labour was still drawn primarily from within the domestic unit, or through co-operative "work-bees". Land was generally acquired through inheritance or through familial - not individual - effort. However, David Willson no longer appeared to be in control of the co-operative sale of their surplus, nor did the Elders have the kind of surplus lands with which to subsidise new farm creation. Perhaps because of the diminished resources of the group, the Charity Fund became of increasing importance. The collapse of all other institutional supports for their "subsistence-surplus" strategy meant that the Children of Peace, like the farmers of Peel county, faced a demographic crisis at mid-century.

## The Children of Peace at Mid-Century

McInnis' analysis of net agricultural production of Ontario farms as revealed in the 1852 census shows East Gwillimbury to be one of the most productive regions in the province, with larger farms and greater output per acre.<sup>20</sup> Diceman, in turn, has shown that the Children of Peace were above average in the production of all crops within the township.<sup>21</sup> One would expect, given these figures, that the Children of Peace were exemplary market farmers - a sudden remarkable turnaround from their earlier anti-market stance. A closer examination of the census figures in combination with membership lists composed in 1845 and 1855 gives a more subtle shading to this picture. The Children of Peace were blessed with above average prosperity, yes, but the means by which they achieved this prosperity differed, and reflected the earlier history of the group as detailed above.

The 1852 census sample lists 305 self-declared members of the Children of Peace, a number which far exceeds the 162 individuals who entered into the covenant of 1845. Most of the remainder are listed in a membership list composed in 1831, but had let their

membership lapse after the Rebellion of 1837.<sup>22</sup> The census sample can thus be divided into three distinct groups: families who were members (23 households), families in which only one spouse was a member (15 households), and families who were only nominal members of the sect (20 households). The census sample is not a homogeneous group, and the division of the sample by their membership status highlights the differing economic strategies open to farmers in the mid-nineteenth century.

Members of the Children of Peace identified themselves as farmers (72% - 15 households). The remainder were artisans or retired. Farmers of this group owned, on average, 145.5 acres of land, well above the provincial average of 109 acres.<sup>23</sup> They cultivated an average of only 67.8 of these 146 acres, leaving a large margin for expansion - or, more pertinently, for subdivision among their children. Importantly, they did not expand production with the use of hired labour on these surplus lands as would be expected of capitalist farmers. Labour was still drawn from within the domestic sphere. They cultivated an average of 16.9 acres of wheat, or 25% of their cultivated acreage. This far

	Members	One Spouse Members	Nominal Census Members
<b>Number</b>	23	15	20
<b>% farmers</b>	73%	60%	30%
<b>Amount of land owned</b>	145.5 acres	74.1 acres	105.5 acres
<b>Land under wheat</b>	16.9 acres	11 acres	15.4 acres
<b>Average farm income</b>	\$393	\$187	\$287
<b>Average age of household head</b>	42	39.5	42

exceeded their subsistence needs, and represents the primary “surplus” which would be sold in the market. The remainder of their cultivated acreage was devoted to feed crops for animals, the surplus of which could also be sold. By these measures, the Children of Peace could have met their own subsistence needs, and still derived a cash income of \$393 per year - among the highest from farming in the province.<sup>24</sup> It should be emphasised however, that this income is derived from a “subsistence-surplus” strategy. The majority of farm inputs remain uncommodified, hence sales in the market do not necessarily represent a capitalist rationality. Given the history of the group, such an assumption would presume a radical turnabout in attitudes over a short period of time.

Nominal members of the Children of Peace, those listed in the 1852 census but not in the sect’s membership rolls, differed from members in a number of key respects. Only 11 of the 20 households (55%) can be classified as farmers, but only 6 of these 20 households (30%) identified their primary occupation as farmer.<sup>25</sup> Five households with sizable farms greater than 48 acres identified some sort of artisanal work as their primary occupation. Whereas 72% of the Children of Peace identified themselves as farmers, 70% of the nominal Children of Peace did not. The occupational diversity reported for this group hides substantial farming activity. The 11 farming households owned an average of 105.5 acres (near the provincial average for farmers), and cultivated an average of 15.4 acres of wheat, or 91% of that farmed by the Children of Peace, despite owning only 72% as much land. The farm incomes alone of this group, over and above their subsistence requirements, was \$287, or 73% of that of the Children of Peace.

In comparing the two groups, several points need to be emphasised. First, both groups had the same average age, 42 years,

hence differences in the amount of land owned cannot be tied to their position in the life cycle. Further, their average age also reveals the impending demographic crisis facing both groups. They had an average of 3.5 children for whom they had to provide a patrimony. As young sons matured, they contributed to the family fortunes. They provided the largest proportion of farm labour, for which they expected to be recompensed at marriage. Acquiring a farm without parental assistance was a formidable obstacle to land ownership. The majority of farmers of this age were thus actively seeking to enlarge their holdings prior to its division on the marriage of their children.

The Children of Peace were wealthy farmers with productive farms who could afford the subsistence-surplus farming strategy traditionally pursued by the sect. They were already well situated in the land market, had large pools of domestic labour on which to draw, and were deriving large enough incomes from the subsistence-surplus strategy to expand their holdings if need be. The nominal members were not so lucky. They clearly faced the demographic crisis described by Gagan for Peel County in the same period, and had responded by diversifying. They sought additional income through artisanal work, and devoted a greater percentage of their cultivated acreage to a marketable crop, wheat (47% of their cropped land, as compared to 41% for the Children of Peace). The continuation of farming in combination with other work shows that they were attempting to perpetuate the same subsistence-surplus strategy as the Children of Peace. However, they were forced to modify that strategy because of the need to expand holdings. They had taken the first steps towards dependence on the market by increasing their production and sale of cash crops, and seeking wage employment.

The remaining group of 15 households, in which only one spouse was a member, is par-

ticularly instructive. This group does not fall between the two extremes; it is, rather, the poorest of the three. Nine of the fifteen households (60%) can be classified as farmers, with only one reporting an alternate primary occupation. Like the other two groups, their average age was young, 39.5 years. They owned the smallest amount of land, an average of 74.1 acres, of which they cultivated 48.4 acres (compared to the average 47.5 acres cultivated by the nominal Children of Peace many of whom had alternate incomes). This group was not responding to market pressures, and cultivated the lowest acreages of wheat (11 acres on average, or 32% of their cropped land). They followed the “subsistence-surplus” strategy with its emphasis on meeting household needs first. As a result, their net farm incomes averaged only \$187, or 65% of that of the nominal Children of Peace. This group was more devoted to farming as a livelihood, but was at an extreme disadvantage when it entered the land market to expand its holdings. It was this group which the co-operative economy of the 1830s was designed to assist, but who now had few institutional supports.

### **Charity Begins at Home**

The 1845 covenant of the reorganised Children of Peace characterised the group as the “charitable institution at Sharon”. It is important to emphasize that their conception of charity was two edged. On the one hand, alms for the poor, the widowed and orphaned were freely dispensed. The sect had erected the first shelter for the homeless in the province about 1831, and subsidised the schooling of poorer members’ children. However, such charity took its place within the larger institutional order of the sect, which had sought not only to provide temporary “relief”, but a long term livelihood for the poor. Charity thus encompassed land-sharing, co-operative

marketing, and the loans of money from the Charity Fund. All of these strategies were aimed at aiding new farmers acquire land through the provisioning of “subsistence insurance”.

By 1845, the only institutional support remaining was the Charity Fund. Although the fund was worth £226,4s,5d at that time, only £132,12s,11d had been loaned out. Further, most of these loans were for sums less than £25. Of 61 loans made between 1845 and 1854, the average was \$96.18 (£19,5s,0d). While these are sizable amounts, equal to a third of the yearly earnings of most farmers, they were insufficient for land purchases.<sup>26</sup> Abraham Doan, a member of the Children of Peace and the 1851 census enumerator, stated that the cost of land in the township averaged \$40 (£8) per acre. Loans from the Charity Fund could thus do little to level inequalities in land holdings. This reflects the general low contributions to the fund, which averaged only 1.5% of the yearly income of the Children of Peace (excluding other contributions to the sect for meeting house upkeep, feasts, etc.).<sup>27</sup>

While the Charity Fund had insufficient capital to finance land purchases, almost all members drew on the fund at some time or another. Fifteen of the twenty-two households who were full members of the sect borrowed an average of £50 during the decade 1845-54. While charity may have been dispensed liberally outside the group, its capital fund was primarily for members. Six of the fifteen households where at least one spouse was a member drew loans averaging only £10,6s,0d. Only 3 of 20 nominal members drew loans, which averaged only £8,6s,0d. Two neighbouring non-member farmers also drew small loans in the same period.

### **From Inequality to Egalitarianism**

To summarize, the Children of Peace at





Walnut Farm, Leslie St, East Gwillimbury, the home of Judah Lundy, one of the prosperous members of the Children of Peace.

mid-century faced a demographic crisis. They had faced this crisis before in the 1830s and responded with an innovative, institutionalised co-operative village economy which subsidised the land acquisition efforts of young farmers. The success of these measures was predicated upon gross inequalities in land distribution; the Elders of the sect owned most of the land, and used their surplus holdings to subsidize the young farmers.<sup>28</sup> The success of their efforts raised the number of landholders in the sect from 39% in 1834 to 80% in 1852. By 1852, the distribution of land within the group was more equal than it ever had been. The sect had moved from inequality to egalitarianism, and herein lies their failure in the face of the demographic crisis at mid-century. Put simply, the Children of Peace, a society of relative equals, did not have a group of wealthy patrons who could

afford to subsidize the new farmers of the group.

The Children of Peace faced a crisis in their traditional “subsistence-surplus” strategy caused by the problem of acquiring land for their children. The history of the sect from 1845 is thus one of the continual sloughing off of members forced to alter their economic ideals and enter a capitalist market by their need to purchase land. I have emphasized that those who remained members of the Children of Peace in 1852 had proportionately larger land holdings which allowed them to continue the “subsistence-surplus” pattern. The nominal members, by 1852, were already dependent upon marketing wheat, and drawing wages. The pattern of land acquisitions between 1852 and 1862 reflects the differing abilities of each group to enter the land market.<sup>29</sup>

Of the 15 farming households within the sect, 8 were able to purchase an average of 34.9 acres. If we assume the cost of the land was \$40 an acre, and an average yearly income of \$393, this land purchase represents 36% of their net earnings for the decade.<sup>30</sup> The relatively modest expansion of their farms thus represented a significant burden. A further 3 farmers had lost land, although in two cases, the land was distributed to children. Four of the fifteen farmers were listed in the 1862 assessment roll as working their land in conjunction with a son. This groups' above average land holdings and its high income from the "subsistence-surplus" farm strategy were sufficient for it to face the demographic crisis. One of their members left the township, but the rest remained within the sect.

Of the 10 farming households in the nominal membership group, three sold off large parts of their farms although in one case, this may represent the division of the family farm with a son. Only two managed to add land, but they acquired an additional 38.5 and 97 acres, which brought their farms to 99 and 150 acres respectively. The largest land owner, at 200 acres, was cultivating his land with a son by 1862. This group of market-oriented, nominal members, like the Children of Peace, was thus generally able to enter the land market with some effectiveness and provide a patrimony for their children. They however, derived no economic benefits from the sect, and found its anti-market ideology unattractive; by 1861, most nominal members had joined other churches.

The future of the Children of Peace rested with the poorest group of households in which only one spouse was a member. Had the Children of Peace been able to assist them as they had helped others in the past, the sect might have continued as a viable entity emphasizing its own, increasingly distinctive economic strategies. But, of the nine farmers in this group, 1 abandoned farming, 1 left the

township, 4 acquired no additional land, and 3 acquired an average of 34 acres. Despite their additional acreage they continued to have the smallest land holdings. They had sufficient patrimony for only one of their children. This group had aspired to emulate the farming success of the Children of Peace but failed due to a lack of institutional support. Given their divided loyalties between two religious bodies and their inability to follow the distinctive farming life-style of the Children of Peace, most of them left the sect. Of these 15 households, only 5 retained their membership in the 1855 membership list. Only 7 were listed as members of the Children of Peace in the 1861 census.

## Conclusions

The Children of Peace at mid-century remained true to their heritage, utilising a subsistence-surplus farming strategy, and moulding their economic behaviour within their own conceptions of charity. But this strategy became increasingly untenable except for an increasingly small number of members with large land-holdings. Their farming strategy was endangered by a demographic crisis well documented by Gagan, although, as I have emphasized, this was a crisis faced in each generation. It is the recurring nature of the difficulty of establishing children on their own farms which caused the repeated upheavals within the Children of Peace in 1831 and 1845. During the first crisis, a "moral economy" was developed which temporarily resolved the problem. No such resolution was possible in 1845 since surplus lands within the township had been exhausted. The remaining members of the sect could no longer draw on community resources. As a result, membership was reduced to those with the individual resources to maintain their traditional life-style. With the demise of their distinctive community ethic, the sect could no longer

hold its own against an encroaching world. They first sought to become a church like any other, but, lacking a professional ministry, failed there as well. The sect disappeared after the death of David Willson's sons in 1889.

The history of the sect reflects back on the wider capitalist transition in Upper Canadian farming in the first half of the nineteenth century. A number of points related to this process require emphasis. First, as the group moved from inequality in land holdings to greater equality, they could no longer subsidize the land acquisition efforts of their younger members. These younger members were then forced to buy land, often mortgaged, which introduced a market rationality to their farm management. What I have described here is thus the individualization of community regulated economic practices. Second, I hope I have shown that a capitalist rationality cannot be assumed from higher farm productivity. Successful farming should not be treated as a typical capitalist enterprise. Greater attention needs to be directed at the patterns of economic decision making by households, which unlike capitalist enterprises, are both units of production and consumption. Lastly, the demographic crisis is directly responsible for the relatively egalitarian distribution of land holdings; those with larger land holdings sub-divided their farms among their children, while those with smaller parcels sought to expand their farms to the provincial mean of 100 acres or abandoned farming altogether. Darroch and Soltow describe a similar situation for Ontario as a whole in 1871. Darroch and Soltow find no evidence of this demographic crisis only because they, and Gagan, interpret the problem of generational succession of farms as a one-time "mid-century" transition.

Despite the many unusual features of the group, the Children of Peace provide a well documented example of the wider demographic crisis influencing mid-nineteenth

century Ontario as a whole, and Quaker communities in particular. They are instructive because of the very extremes they embodied; they were at once a group with a well articulated, community centred, anti-market economic ideology, yet they had some of the most productive farms in the province. This contradiction can only be resolved through attention to the social relations of production by which these marketable surpluses were produced, as I have done here. Given that the 1851 census recorded over 7,000 Friends in Ontario, yet Monthly Meeting records list only about 1,000, I believe a similar type of analysis of the Society of Friends would show a similar pattern behind the decline in rural meetings throughout the nineteenth century. While many might attribute this rural decline to the Hicksite-Orthodox separation, following Doherty, I would argue the reverse; the schism is itself the result of rural-urban tensions resulting from rural resistance to capitalist agriculture.<sup>31</sup>

#### Footnotes:

1. See Clark, Christopher *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1990) pages 23-44 for a more detailed discussion of the "subsistence-surplus strategy". See Schrauwers, Albert *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993) and "'I was a stranger, and ye took me in...': Charity, Moral Economy and the Children of Peace" *Canadian Historical Review* (in press) for a discussion of these ideas and how they applied to the Children of Peace.
2. McInnis, R.M. "Chapter One, The Early Ontario Wheat Staple Reconsidered" of "Perspectives on Ontario Agriculture 1815-1930", *Canadian Papers in Rural History* Vol. VIII, Donald H. Akenson, ed., (Gananoque, Ont., Langdale Press, 1992), page 44.
3. McCalla, Douglas *Planting the Province: The*

Economic History of Upper Canada 1784-1870 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993) page 87.

4. Cooper, Matthew "From Egalitarianism to Inequality: The Children of Peace in Nineteenth Century Ontario" *Ethnology* 25/1 (1986), and "Living Together: How Communal Were the Children of Peace?" *Ontario History* 79 (1987) no. 1, page 13.

5. Diceman, Janette D., *The Occupational, Agricultural and Demographic Circumstances of the Children of Peace in East Gwillimbury Township, 1851 to 1889* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Western Ontario).

6. Sharon Temple Historic Site and Museum Archives, Accession Number 986.3.1.

7. Gagan, David P. "Enumerator's Instructions for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861" *Social History* 7 (1974), no. 4, page 359. Cooper and Diceman accepted the census declarations because the enumerator, Abraham Doan, was a member of the Children of Peace. However, Doan's instructions were quite clear; he was to accept the declaration of all citizens except those who believed in "no revelation".

8. McCalla's *Planting the Province*, is an exception. McCalla, however, confuses the overall "development of the economy" with the growth of capitalism. His is a monolithic conception of capitalism rooted in market participation. Like McInnis, he has argued against the Wheat staple hypothesis, but only to counter that market activity was widespread in the first half of the nineteenth century. Here, I try to refocus the debate away from markets to the productive activities by which marketable surpluses are produced.

9. Sandwell, R.W. "Rural Reconstruction: Towards a New Synthesis in Canadian History" *Social History / Histoire Sociale* Vol. -- No. (1992?), page 13.

10. See Post, Charles "The Origins of US Capitalism: The Transformation of the Northern Countryside Before the Civil War" *Journal of Peasant Studies* 22 (1995) no. 3: 389-445, for a review of the pertinent literature.

11. McCalla, Dorglas "Rural Credit and Rural Development in Upper Canada, 1790-1850" in Roger Hall, William Westfall & Laurel S. MacDowell eds., *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History* (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1988), page 43.

12. Gagan, David *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1981), page 42.

13. Darroch, Gordon and Lee Soltow *Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario: Structural Patterns and Cultural Communities in the 1871 Census* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1994), page 40.

14. Johnson, Leo A. "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District, 1793-1851" in J.K. Johnson, ed. *Historical Essays on Upper Canada* (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart/Carleton University Press, 1975) page 44. 75.8% of patented lands were occupied by 1825, an increase of 56.7% from 1820, indicating very rapid settlement.

15. Sharon Temple Historic Site and Museum Archives, Accession No. X975.441.1 page 173.

16. See the analysis in Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, Chapter 5, "Market and Moral Economies".

17. See the analysis in Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, Chapter 6, "Ornamenting the Christian Church".

18. Wilkie, D. *Sketches of a Summer Trip to New York and the Canadas* (Edinburgh, J. Anderson Jr., and A. Hill, 1837) page 205.

19. Sharon Temple Historic Site and Museum Archives, Accession Number 986.3.1, pages 3-5.

20. McInnis, R.M. "Perspectives on Ontario Agriculture", page 64.

21. Diceman, *Occupational, Agricultural and Demographic...*, page 99.

22. Sharon Temple Historic Site and Museum Archives, Accession Number 986.3.2, pages 259ff, dated 15 Nov. 1831.

23. McInnis, R.M. "Perspectives on Ontario Agriculture", page 59.

24. I have followed a slightly different procedure than McInnis in calculating net annual farm earnings, since earnings were calculated on a per farm, rather than township basis. It was assumed that all feed crops were grown for on-farm use. McInnis assigned these crops a cash value, and then subtracted a feed bill commensurate with the number of domestic animals, scaled down by the deficit of feed to animals at the provincial level.

This seemed a clumsy calculation to make at the farm level. Secondly, the incomes cited are an under representation of net farm incomes in that the sale of surplus stock animals, especially horses, is not included. McInnis notes that one of the sources of East Gwillimbury's above average prosperity was the number of saleable surplus horses. They have not been included since it is not apparent how many were sold, and how many remained on-farm "capital".

25. The agricultural totals are missing for one of these farmers, who has therefore been excluded from the computations.

26. They might, however, have gone a long way in providing relief from mortgage demands in the case of crop failure.

27. It is important to emphasize that the Temple contributions were above and beyond the other financial demands of the sect. The sect maintained three separate meeting houses, a band, a shelter for widows and orphans, as well as a school. The Second Meeting House alone cost \$2,500 to build.

28. The six largest landholders in 1834 owned 53% of the village lands, yet cultivated only 12% of the total cultivated acreage.

29. The figures are drawn from a comparison of the more detailed 1852 and 1862 East Gwillimbury Assessment rolls with the 1852 and 1861 census.

30. This is fairly close to the one-third of their yearly income spent by the sect on land acquisitions between 1828 and 1835. See Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, page 98. The consistency of the figure would seem to indicate the perpetuation of a tried and true "formula" in the calculation of crop acreages and household financial management.

31. Doherty, Robert W., *The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1967).

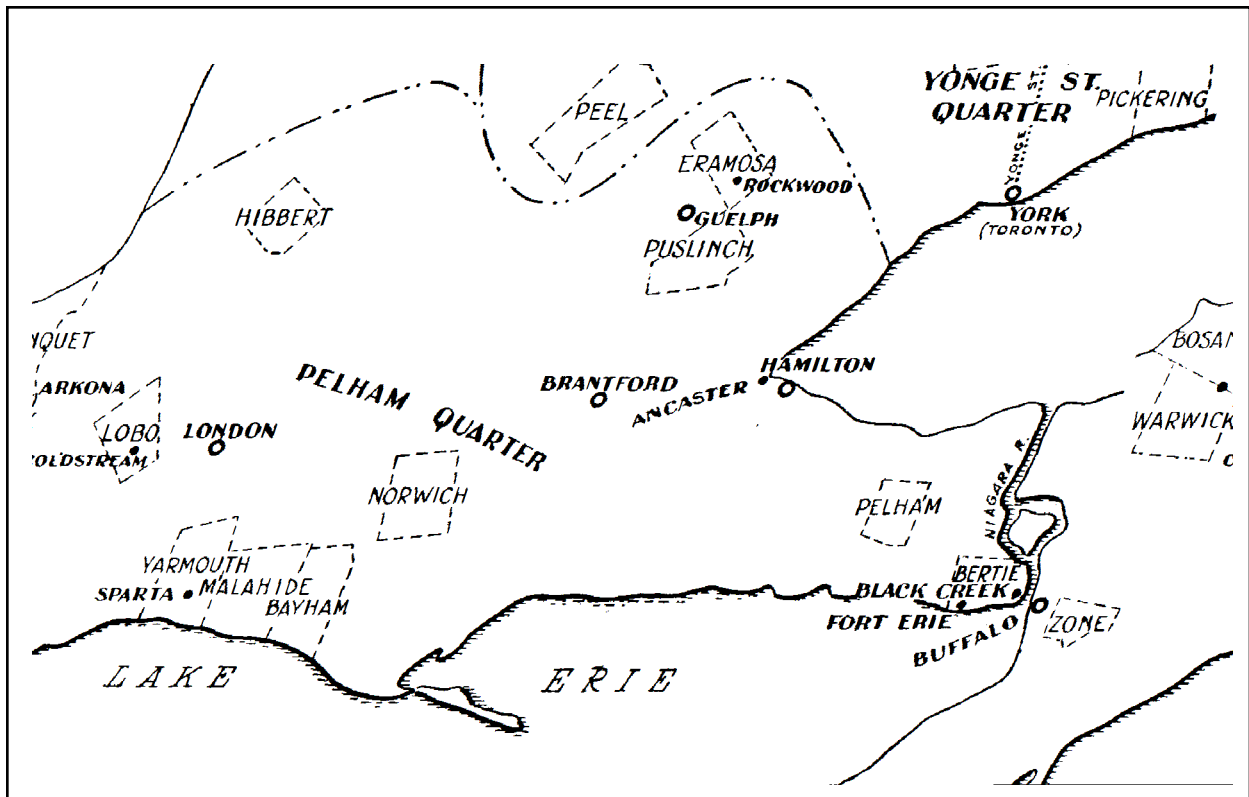
## Diary of Daniel Zavitz, of Lobo Township

Written at Guelph, 11th mo., 23rd, 1896.

I was born in the township of Bertie, district of Niagara, Upper Canada the 24th of 2nd month 1821. My parents names were Jacob and Elizabeth Zavitz, both of Bertie, who cared for me until I was 22 years old, gave me as good school learning as they were able to, or as they could afford, which was very little compared to what children get at the present time. Our day schools lasted three months. In the winter months after school hours worked doing chores, often late in the evening and early in the morning until school time. The rest part of the year worked on the farm.

I had three sisters and one brother older than I was, the latter died when young, which

left me the oldest boy to help father on the farm. The sisters older often took the rake and fork to the field to help at the roots, hay and wheat. Many a time I have seen their faces look red from hard work and hot sun. They knew mother had more help and better in the house than father had on the farm, therefore they went out day after day through the busy season of the year. Then of course they took their three months schooling through the winter the same as the brothers, and also helped mother cook and board the teacher when their turn came to do it, as the teacher always boarded around amongst the employees, according to the number of scholars each one sent to school.

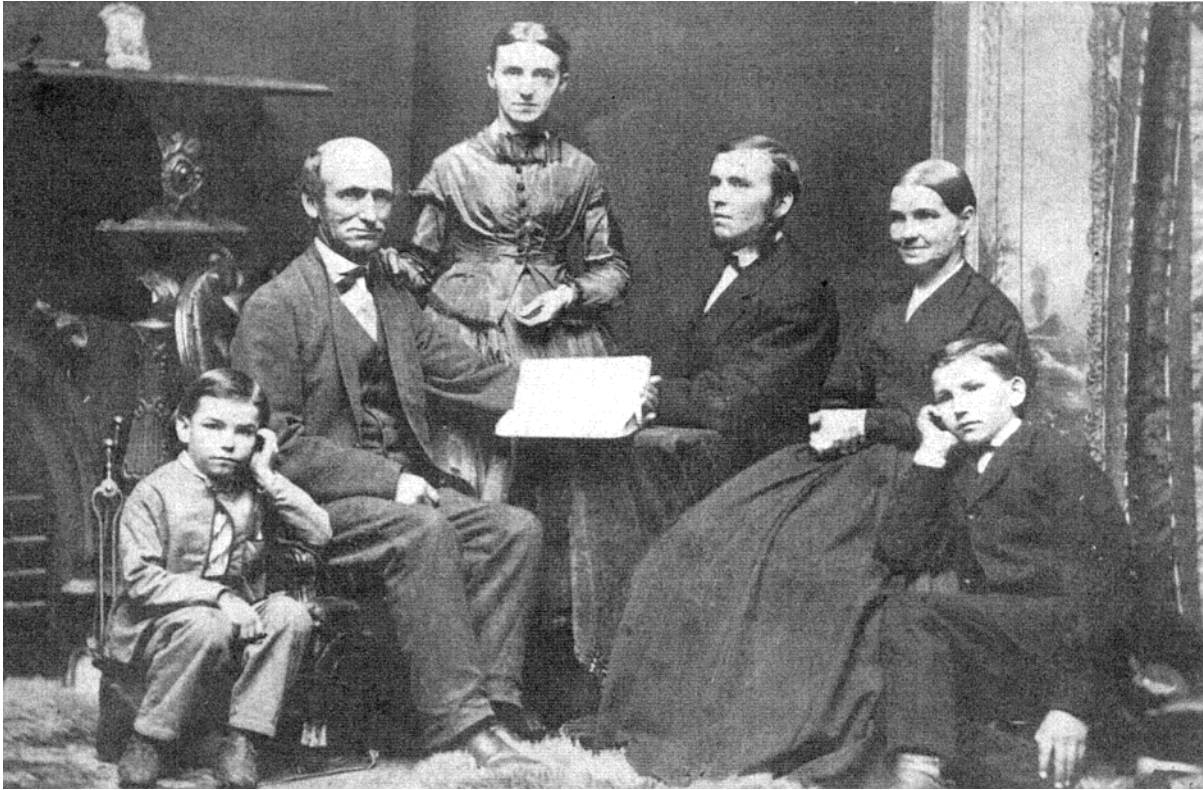


As time passed on and we grew up the oldest began to marry off. Sarah was the oldest and married first to John Marsh when ? years old, then Margaret who [was] next oldest to Zachariah P. Shotwell when ? years old. Emily was the next oldest of the family, then I, Daniel, was the next oldest and the next to get married, then Isaac, then Benjamin the youngest of the family, then Elijah the next youngest, then Emily, then Catherine. Ambrose not married yet, lives with me, nine of us living, two died when young. Margaret and Emily died since, leaving seven, five boys and two girls. Emily married and lived in Yarmouth. Catherine married and lived in Pelham. The rest moved here in Lobo - two girls and five boys all comfortably settled.

I will now return back to the Spring of 1843 when I left home - I was then 22 years of age. As there were four boys younger than I was, we thought as well for me to go to Lobo where Sarah Z. Marsh my oldest sister lived. Her husband and family moved there four years before. I also had one hundred acres of wild land which Father gave me, and to work on or hire out with some one there. I worked for my brother-in-law John Marsh for a short time then got an axe and went to chopping down the large trees on my wood lot which went very slow and discouraging, still kept hacking away getting some help by changing work with others in the place which made it go more lively. I got seven acres chopped and cleared off and in with wheat that fall, which I looked forward for my first crop of wheat. It grew and looked fine until the late frosts in the Spring seemed to hurt it very much on account of so many leaves and rotten wood which drew the frost, so that very little of it headed out. It started up from the root again but too late to ripen, so but what it shrunk, not much of a crop. The second summer I worked out by the month, then the third summer I cleared off five acres more and worked the first seven acres up and put

the 13 acres in with wheat which was better although hurt some with frost. The fourth summer I built a small house on said lot, which I might call farm now.

You will notice along back that I spoke only of summers, as winters were always spent at home around my father's fireside, helping them there as I still was interested there at home sometimes visiting around amongst my friends, While there I visited my sister Margaret Shotwell, living in New York State, about 40 miles East of Buffalo in the town of Oakfield, where I got acquainted with Susan W. Vail. After a time of correspondence and occasional visits we were married under the care of Rochester Monthly Meeting at an appointed meeting held at her father's, Moses Vail, in the presence of a committee appointed by the aforesaid Monthly Meeting the Second of Second month 1847. After visiting amongst her friends and neighbors around there we came to Canada and visited at my father's friends around there, attended Pelham Half Years Meeting then packed goods and loaded them on a lumber wagon and started with them. It seemed like a long ways travel on a lumber wagon and in the winter, and it must have seemed long, for Susan traveling so far that way in Canada, several long hills to go down and up, and some very icy. I remember one called the Spring Creek Hill near the Otter Creek, which looked so long, steep and icy Susan got out and walked down. I put a rail through the hind wheels and then started down. Went safe to the bottom although the horses stood and slid quite a distance. Both were quite still until we got over that deep gully, and felt thankful when we reached my uncle John Pound's although after dark and very tired. Susan looked tired and lonesome. How I pitied her as she was young and far away from her father and mother, brothers and sisters. We had been on the road then and had two days yet although not very long drives



From left to right: Charles, Daniel, Caroline, Samuel, Susan and Edgar Zavitz

each day. It seemed good to get at your journey's end, although mostly strangers to Susan, but they were so kind to her which made her look quite cheerful. Stopped at sister Sarah Marsh's a few days while we straightened up our house, and then moved in it. Soon began to look like home. Wife took charge of the house and I went in John Marsh's sawmill and worked on shares. Sometimes on the farm, I had to hire several hands which made a good deal of work for her in the house. She was used to housekeeping so we got along very nicely and pleasantly. Both had to work hard as there were many things to get for carrying on the farm and keeping house. Still it was in a new country, and neighbors were very kind to us, as I think they mostly are in a new country, more so than in old settled places.

Everything passed along nicely through the summer and the forepart of the winter, and Christmas coming near, of course as when children we were looking for presents, and

sure enough we had a nice present, a nice bright eyed little girl babe which still made our home more lovely and attractive than before, if possible. We still persevered on at our daily work, to the mill and Susan attending to the affairs in the house. Soon the little daughter whom we named Caroline Vail began to creep around, and appeared to be glad to see Pa come in for his meals and began to tell about the good things Ma had been cooking for dinner, and many other things that puzzled Pa to tell what she was saying.

I was mostly at the mill sawing and attending to it, mostly had two or three hands sometimes on the farm when any could be spared from the mill, chopping and clearing land which made hard work for Susan in the house, cooking for so many men, often without a girl to help her. Still she played her part remarkably well. I often felt sorry to have her work so hard, still she knew she had



a man too that worked hard and spent his evenings at home with her when not in the mill or husking corn in the barn which I often was at. Still all seemed to go along smoothly with us. The Fall of 1849 her Father, Mother and Brother Steven came to visit us, which was a great comfort and pleasure to Susan as it also was to me, and paid a good visit and returned home before the roads got too bad, as they had to travel in wagons those days, no railroads. Pleased to see them come, but hard to part with them again, although not knowing it would be the last time she, Susan, would see and visit with her mother here on earth, as she died the coming winter, 28th of 1st month of 1850. The first day of 1850 our second child was born, a New Years' present which still added to our comfort and loving care. His little sister seemed almost ready to take charge of him. We named him Samuel Pound. As soon as he got so as to run out of doors Carrie seemed to take almost whole charge of him. I remember when they were out together I had a yoke of oxen yoked and they were eating the grass around the yard by the house. He started towards them. She got a hold of him. He pulled to get to them and she to keep him away, and both hollered, she for her mother and he to get away to go to them. Often find her in trouble for fear he would get hurt until he got old enough to look out for himself. How soon they begin to have a charge and help their parents. Yes, they help to make the home cheerful and burdens lighter, still hard work and new country, where so much leaves and vegetation were decaying often brings on sickness, which we found it to be the case here in Lobo. We were both attacked with chills and fevers, which pulled both of us down so that we were weak and miserable, more particularly Susan. I saw it would be best to have a change. In the fall of '54 we arranged our business to leave home and pay a visit to her Father's in New York State, and friends in New Jersey. Left home

with the two children, one nearly six and the other four, or nearly. Left in twelfth month, the first regular train on the Grand Trunk from London to the Suspension Bridge. Visited with her folks in New York State from there came back to Pelham in Canada and attended Half Years Meeting at Pelham, then visited at my father's in Bertie, then back to her father's again, from there to New Jersey where Susan was born and lived until seven years old, and visited with her relatives who were numerous there and in New York City, until the last of Fourth month, then returned to her father's again and after a short visit there, returned home again, being away from home about five and a half months, which seemed good to be at home in our own house, Susan's health much improved. The children remember a number of places and visits while on the trip. We soon commenced our work on the farm. The trip seemed to improve Susan's health more than mine, still when I commenced work I commenced improving in health so I became quite strong and well again. Our business mostly clearing up our farm and building a barn which made heavy work both indoors and out, burning brush and the timber made black cloth to wash. Still we pressed on forward to get our farm cleared.

The sixteenth of first month 1857 our third child was born and named him Edgar Merritt. We began to think that we were getting quite a family to look after, the oldest being a girl now nine years old and quite a help to her mother. In 1858 we made some improvement about the house as there was no cellar under the house we dug out under the first part we built and put one under it 36 x 24 feet and added an upright two stories high which made a very busy summer. Edgar M. was a year and a half old that summer, and thought that he could do about as much as the rest of us, and kept his sister and mother quite busy looking after him.

I came very nearly losing my life that

summer. I was ripping up lumber with the circular saw and had Samuel, who was then about nine years old on the horse power driving. As I got through, had a piece of board in my hand, looked around when he was stopping the horses for fear he would get hurt, and the board I held in my hand came in contact with the saw, which tore it to pieces threw it back and struck me on the left side just in front of my arm, and went through close under my arm, and against the ribs, broke off leaving it completely covered over, which the doctor had hard work to draw out, being six inches long by three-fourths of an inch thick. Another piece struck on the right side and went through between the ribs to my lungs. That was smaller and came out without breaking off. I managed to get to the house and on the bed. The doctor was sent after, he being five miles away, but was soon there and drew the stick out and closed up the other place to keep the air from the lungs. Dr. Moore and Rachel his wife came there on a visit (religious) from Philadelphia. Of course, he did not do anything but look at me, and they said he thought it was doubtful if I got over it. His wife came in the room, and talked with me a while. After all it did not prove to be as serious as supposed to be. In about three weeks I was up and around at my usual work, and have not felt any serious effects from it since, which we all felt thankful. Now our house and barn was comfortable and sufficient for our farm. The land proved good when cleared and produced well, and we were quite prosperous in farming. After we began to plough the land and get the leaves worked up with the earth and the woods cleared away so as the air could circulate over our farms the spring frosts did not hurt our crops nearly so much, and as time passed along smoothly and prosperously we thought best to buy 50 acres of land that joined us on the south-west owned by McCollum, which gave us more cleared land and which cost

\$2,200. Soon after in 1863 - 25th day of 8th month our third son was born, our youngest son and is still the youngest. Four children, one daughter and three sons, and 1867 our oldest was married, Caroline, the 12th of 12th month to David Cutler and lived near us in a very comfortable home which left Susan to depend altogether on hired help. As Caroline got what school learning she had at our day school and at home nights, so she was always with us. And in 1876 Samuel married, the 13th of 1st month to Ida Haight, Ephraim and Elizabeth Haight's daughter of Yarmouth, and settled on a 50 acre farm we bought for him in the fall of 1874. Before that time was at home except a year and a half at a boarding school at Hamburg, near Buffalo, and one winter at the commercial college in London. In 1875 Edgar attended the High School at Strathroy, was there two years, 1877 at home, 1878 started to Swarthmore College. Was there four years. In 1882 Charles started at Strathroy to the Collegiate Institute, was there two years. In 1884 started to the Ontario Agricultural College. In 1886 was given a situation as chemist and experimentalist, still continuing his studies. In 1886 got his diploma, still continued on in his third years course, and in 1888 was admitted by the senate of the University of Toronto to the degree of Bachelor of the Science of Agriculture. In 18?? was given the superintendent of the experimental department and still holds that position up to this time, 1897.

In 1887 Caroline's husband died, leaving three children, two daughters and one son living, lost their oldest child Emaline when 7 years old, in 1877, whom they missed very much. When David her husband died he was not only missed by Caroline, but by all of us. They also lost an infant child, daughter in 1878.

In 1889 Edgar was married to Alzina, daughter of David & Phebe Brown of Pickering, and in 1890 Charles was married to

Rebecca C., daughter of Isaac and Ruth C. Wilson of Bloomfield, Prince Edward County, Ontario. In 1894 Samuel and Ida's fourth child died about 18 months old which we all missed very much. This left one son and two daughters, Howard, Mable and Edith. Edgar has two children, Camilla and Lorena; Charles, one, named Raymond.

Now as I have been reviewing my life from childhood all along up to the present time, and seeing so many changes - married 50 years ago, had 4 children born to us, all married and several grandchildren grown up and still living in the same house we moved in when married, although we have had some sickness in the family, but not a death in the house, something remarkable. It is something we often talk about and feel thankful of the blessing.

I will return back to my boyhood again, note down while under the care of my parents who watched over me, I might say over us children for our welfare spiritually as well as physically, endeavoring to direct us to that light within and as we are birthright members of the Society of Friends, always when little, they took us with them to meeting, and as we grew older wanted us to follow up the practice of attending meetings. We need not say that our bringing up was not good, for it was of the best both in example and precept, so when I left home and was tempted astray, there was the example which would come up before me. This is the way, walk in it, which has been as a hedge around about me. Then when I married my wife, too was a great help to me in guiding me aright, a good helpmate, so when I look back and see where I often missed the way and went astray I need not find fault and say the example and surroundings were not as good as it ought to have been, for it was of the best, still I often look back over my past life and see where I often strayed, but not so far, but what I could see a little glimmer of that light to direct aright, and

when I gave heed to its direction would always have peace of mind. Now as I grow older and continue to follow that light that never leads astray and continue to the end, my many misses may be forgiven, which thought gives me peace of mind.

When I first came to Lobo there was no Friends' Meeting and no meeting house of any kind nearby except a school house that was used by all that wished to hold meetings. The Methodists and Baptists held meetings often which I often attended - had some good meetings. Soon after I married we felt the need of meeting together for mutual worship as there were several families of Friends moved in. We met at our house and after a short time of solemn silence we talked over the necessity we felt of holding a meeting for worship, and were united in continuing holding the meetings on each first day and to meet at Benjamin Cutler's house which we did for some time, then concluded to build a small meeting house, bought half acre of land right where the brick meeting house now stands, and built a small house, continued the meeting for a short time then requested to come under the care of Norwich Monthly Meeting, which they indulged us under the care of a committee - this was 8th month 8th 1849, continued under the care of a committee until 1857 when we requested the privilege of holding a preparative meeting which was granted, and set up the first fourth day in fourth month 1857 and in fourth month 14th 1858 to be held here four times in the year, and in 1865 were privileged to hold Pelham Half Years Meeting in Lobo every second year in second month, and is still held there and also in every third year when the Yearly Meeting is held in Yarmouth, it is held here in Lobo in eighth month. Lobo is considered the largest Preparative Meeting belonging to Genesee Yearly Meeting, quite a large First-day school, I think over one hundred scholars, averaging about sixty or seventy.