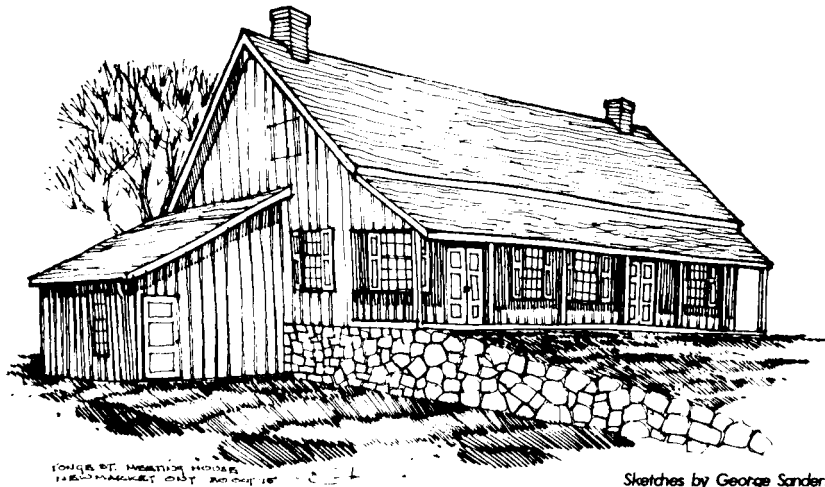

Faith, Friends and Fragmentation

Essays on Nineteenth Century Quakerism in Canada

edited by Albert Schrauwers



Monograph Series Number One
Canadian Friends Historical Association
1995

© 1995 Canadian Friends Historical Association
ISBN 1-895045-02-9

Monograph Series Number One

Faith, Friends and Fragmentation

Essays on Nineteenth Century Quakerism in Canada

edited by Albert Schrauwers

Canadian Friends Historical Association

Toronto

©1995

Contents

<i>Preface</i> by Jane Zavitz-Bond.....	i
<i>Introduction</i> by Albert Schrauwers.....	iii
Early Quaker Settlement in Canada	
Friends in the Niagara Peninsula 1786 - 1802 by Richard MacMaster.....	1
People of Providence, Polity and Property: Domesticity, Philanthropy and Land Ownership as Instruments of Quaker Community Development in Adolphustown, Upper Canada 1784 - 1824 by Gregory Finnegan.....	13
Friends Travelling in the Ministry	
Joseph Hoag and Travelling Under Quaker Concern by Christopher Densmore.....	25
The Journal of Joseph Hoag - A Quaker in Atlantic Canada 1801-1802 edited by Christopher Densmore and Doris Calder.....	31
Visit of Isaac Stephenson to Upper Canada in 1824 edited by Carson Bushell.....	51
The “Faith History” of Jeremiah Lapp from his Journal by Fritz Hertzberg.....	57
Separations Among Canadian Friends	
The Sociology of Separation in the Historical Experience of the Society of Friends by David E. W. Holden.....	63
The Politics of Schism: The Separation of the Children of Peace by Albert Schrauwers.....	69
Consensus Seeking, Factionalization and Schism in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting by Albert Schrauwers.....	83
“When Zion Languisheth”: An Account of the 1881 Separation in Canada Yearly Meeting by Kyle Jolliffe.....	88
A Canadian Separation in Two Parts by David E. W. Holden.....	97

Preface

It was a satisfaction to help make this volume of essays selected from the Canadian Quaker History Newsletter/Journal available for future readers and researchers. To have these essays appear and to support the creative energy and excitement as the ideas were brought to fruition is all the justification needed for the effort that has gone into the establishment of the Archives over the last two decades.

Each of these scholars, representing various academic disciplines, has used and added to the Dorland Collection with other books and essays besides those in this volume. It is a pleasure to welcome readers to this group of essays by individuals who have been in and out of the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives as they researched.

I count them all as friends in the common pursuit of social history and better understanding of our past. The contact with the authors is one of the pleasures of being archivist. A major purpose of the Archives is met when it is used, and the results made available for others. We are happy the Journal has had their supportive input over the past several years. Newsletters and Journals are ephemeral and we are aware that most copies have since disappeared. Some readers may have their interest aroused by the Journal and decide to search further.

This is a combined effort as the Canadian Friends Historical Association has agreed to underwrite the publishing of this volume as a service to developing more Canadian Quaker history resources. It should serve students, local historians, schools and libraries. If well received other volumes may follow. The materials are rich. We are grateful to the authors, to Albert Schrauwers, as editor, and to the CFHA for making this possible.

Do enjoy your trip into Canadian Quaker Meetings and communities of the 19th century.

Jane Zavitz-Bond
Archivist
Canadian Yearly Meeting

Introduction

by *Albert Schrauwers*

The migration of Friends to Canada has its roots in the Revolutionary War in America. Like other Loyalists to the Crown, these Quaker refugees fled to the periphery of the British North American colonies, to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and to the newly created province of Upper Canada. The majority of the American Quakers who settled in Canada were not, however, Loyalists. Following on the heels of the first trail-blazers, these “later Loyalists” were less political refugees than political pioneers setting out to establish new communities based upon their religious principles in the hinterland. Timothy Rogers, the founder of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, emphasized in his journal that the new community he planned was a religious “concern” to “unite Friends in Upper Canada”. The small number of Quakers who managed to settle in Canada before the War of 1812 ended the migration, were no more than a minor eddy in the wider westward movement of the Society of Friends. Although the flow of American migrants quickly ended, the Quaker Meetings they established were later supplemented by English and Irish immigrants.

The history of Canadian Friends, though unique in many regards, follows the main currents of American, rather than British Quakerism. This history has been captured in Arthur Garratt Dorland’s The Quakers in Canada: A History, a book of magisterial scope. An active Friend with roots in this early American migration, Dorland’s history clearly defines the themes with which this new collection of essays deals: early settlement, changes and developments in Friends’ faith, and the ultimate fragmentation of the Society in Canada as these developments led Friends in creative, but different, directions. Dorland’s book is more optimistic than this collection in at least one sense. Restricted to the nineteenth century, this volume focuses upon the divi-

sions that developed among Canadian Friends as a result of multiple cultural and social challenges to their maturing pioneer settlements. Dorland’s history, which continues into the twentieth century, records the ultimate re-unification of these different strands of Canadian Quakerism in 1955. Friends in Canada, no longer a house divided, appear to have learned from the mistakes of the previous century.

This collection of essays differs from Dorland in at least one other key respect. Although drawing on the historical experience of Friends in Canada, few of the authors whose essays are included are historians. They draw on disciplines as diverse as anthropology, medicine, social geography, sociology and theology. The perspective of this volume is thus more analytical, or perhaps clinical, than is typical of strictly historical treatments. The organization of the essays is intended to elaborate on a model of the causes of separations among Friends. The first two sections, that on early settlement and Friends travelling in the ministry, are thus an integral part of the arguments developed in the final section on separations. David Holden’s essay on “The Sociology of Separation in the Historical Experience of the Society of Friends” sets forth this general model and is thus the pivot around which the other essays revolve.

Part of the fascination of separations for historians of Quakerism (somewhat like the fascination of a moth with a candle), lies in the perceived contradiction between the emphasis Friends place upon consensus and conflict resolution, and their own repeated failure to live up to their own ideals. The separations recorded in these pages revolve around differences in faith. At the time of the separations, these issues were treated in absolute terms, as issues of theology insulated from the social and cultural conditions within which the disputes emerged. These

essays, in contrast, specifically attempt to link abstract theological ideas with the characteristics of the social groups who formulated them. As I argue in “The Politics of Schism”, we cannot treat “theological discourse as a self-contained system of thought rigidly insulated from social change by moribund tradition[. Rather] we should view theology as yet another means of speaking about experience” (page 80, this volume). Friends, who root their religious lives in the direct experience of the Inward Light, have emphasized the singularity of the originating spirit, the unity of Christ. They have less carefully elaborated on the process of individual interpretation of that experience. As a result, theological arguments have been expressed in terms of “Truth” without recognition of the role of individual interpretation and experience. Different social groups with different experiences, under specific circumstances, cease to recognize “that of God in thee” and disown large numbers of their opponents.

The specific social circumstances underlying the separations are discussed in the first two sections of this volume. Richard MacMaster’s paper on “Friends in the Niagara Peninsula 1786-1802” highlights the unique characteristics of Quaker migration. He notes the restricted number of home meetings from which Pelham Monthly Meeting drew its membership, and characterizes the process as “chain migration”. The migration of Friends involved the orderly transplantation of whole communities to pioneer areas. Gregory Finnegan emphasizes the same point in his study of Adolphustown Monthly Meeting in “People of Providence, Polity and Property”. He notes that “this was not the New World frontier of individualistic survivors, but one of community welfare.” The roots of later separations can be found in the breakdown of these communities due to the demographic and economic pressures of establishing grown children on their own farms. Finnegan’s paper thus discusses Adolphustown Quakers’ responses to the problems of “diversifying their children”, their ultimate failure and the dispersal of the community.

The second section of this volume

presents what Fritz Hertzberg has aptly called the “Faith History” of Canadian Friends. The Society of Friends evolved unique solutions to the problems of ministry. The nature of these solutions are the subject of Christopher Densmore’s introductory paper to this section, “Joseph Hoag and Travelling Under Quaker Concern”. Densmore notes that while Quakerism has emphasized universal accessibility of the spirit of God, “it did not necessarily follow that everyone was equally able to recognize the true leadings of the spirit or that everyone was called upon to minister to others. The early Quakers wanted to avoid the plight of the Ranters for whom all leadings appeared equally valid -- if everything is valid, then nothing is valid. The Quaker solution was to hold up individual experience to the collective experience of the meeting.” As I noted above, separations occurred when some groups in a meeting ceased to root the ministry in the meetings’ collective experience, but sought rather, to limit it to their individual apprehension of Truth.

Theological innovations like Evangelical Revivalism quickly spread throughout North American Quakerism due to the practice of “travelling under Quaker concern”. Recognized ministers, sanctioned by their home meetings, would frequently travel for extensive periods; Densmore notes that Joseph Hoag had visited every meeting in North America by the time of his death. Many of these ministers were leading members of London Yearly Meeting. These “Public Friends” frequently recorded their experiences in journals intended for publication. The journal format was broadly conceived as a method of religious instruction, documenting an individual’s leadings under the spirit. Since Friends’ ministry is spontaneous, these journals provide the only clues as to what occurred in Meetings for Worship of the period. They also provide a broadly comparative picture of the state of the Society of Friends. Hoag’s Journal, for example, provides a detailed picture of Quakerism in all of Atlantic Canada from the perspective of a knowledgeable observer. Similarly, Isaac Stephenson recorded the state of the Society of Friends in Upper

Canada in 1824. Fritz Hertzberg's article on the "Faith History of Jeremiah Lapp" provides us an intimate appreciate of the religious thought of one of the most prominent ministers in the Conservative branch of Canadian Quakerism. These travelling ministers were both the social glue which held the Society of Friends together, as well as the divisive focal point of the issues of faith which ultimately divided Canadian Friends.

The articles in the concluding section offer differing perspectives on each of the separations affecting Canadian Quakerism. The local division in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting which gave rise to the Children of Peace in 1812, presaged the wider division of Hicksites and Orthodox Quakers across North America in 1827-8. My own contribution to this volume examines these separations, the one locally instigated, the other imposed from outside, on the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. It is important to note that the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting was internally divided on central issues of faith from its inception. Yet only in extraordinary circumstances did these differences in faith result in schism. These articles attempt to uncover the politics of consensus seeking and the ways in which it can fail. The concluding articles by Kyle Jolliffe and David Holden examine the 1881 separation of Orthodox and Conservative Friends. Kyle Jolliffe's article, "When Zion Languisheth", gives the broader background of the introduction of revivalist methods and theology to Canadian Quakerism from the American mid-west. It is a detailed and sensitive study of the conflicts which resulted from these new methods within Norwich Monthly Meeting. David Holden's "A Canadian Separation in Two Parts" examines the same issues within Pelham Monthly Meeting, which divided in 1879, two years before the separation at the Yearly Meeting level. This earlier separation was not discussed in Dorland's History.

Great care has been taken in the selection of articles to ensure that the full geographical scope of the Society of Friends in nineteenth century Canada has been covered. This collection provides detailed discussion of most Friends' early meetings

in the Atlantic provinces, and in Ontario. It is hoped, however, that what this collection lacks in completeness, it makes up for in its ability to stimulate discussion and new approaches to current problems with historical roots.

About the Contributors

The late Carson D. Bushell was a descendant of a Norwich Quaker pioneer. He graduated in 1939 from the University of Toronto as a metallurgical engineer, and worked in Hamilton and Brantford. He later operated businesses in Norwich, Long Point & Simcoe. He is the author of a history of Norwich County, Gleanings by the Bushell published by the Norwich & District Historical Society (1982). Carson died in 1990.

Doris Calder has deep family roots in the Kingston Peninsula of New Brunswick. She received her B.A. from Arcadia University in 1963, and her B.Ed. from the University of New Brunswick in 1964. She is the author of All Our Born Days: A Lively History of New Brunswick's Kingston Peninsula (Percheron Press, Sackville N.B., 1984).

Christopher Densmore obtained his M.A. at the University of Wisconsin. He is currently an Associate Archivist at the State University of New York at Buffalo. He has served as the Vice-Chair of the Canadian Friends Historical Association for a number of years, and has written on Quaker topics for the Canadian Quaker History Journal, Quaker History, New York History and the Long Island Historical Journal. He was also editor of Quaker Cross-currents: Three Hundred Years of New York Yearly Meetings (1995).

Gregory Finnegan's M.A. thesis about the Adolphustown meeting is summarized in his article in this book. He has since graduated with a Ph.D. in Social Geography from York University in 1993. He is currently a consultant in Ottawa under contract with the National Atlas Information Service, Natural Resources Canada.

The late Dr. Fritz Hertzberg (1914 - 1993) obtained his M.D. in Munich, and his Ph.D. in Goettingen (1951). He was a founding member of the Canadian College of Family Practice, and of the Canadian Friends Historical Association. He was awarded the Glen Sawyer Service Award by the Ontario Medical Association in 1983. He was an active member of the Quaker Theological Discussion Group, the New Foundation Fellowship and of Toronto Monthly Meeting.

David Holden is Professor Emeritus of Sociology in Queen's University. He obtained his M.S. and Ph.D (1961) from Cornell University and has taught at the University of Miami, the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Earlham School of Religion, Woodbrooke and McGill University. His publications on Quakerism, of which there are too many to list, cover such diverse topics as conflict among Friends, the aged, and "Eldering".

Kyle Jolliffe was born in 1956, and has degrees in history from Dalhousie University (B.A.) and Queens University (M.A.). He is the author of a history of medical services in the federal penitentiary system in Canada, and is currently working on a history of Canadian Young Friends. He is a member of Toronto Monthly Meeting.

Richard McMaster received his doctorate from Georgetown University in 1968. He was the executive director of the Shenandoah Valley Historical Institute at James Madison University, where he was an associate professor. He is the author of a number of books on Mennonite history, as well as The Five George Masons (University of Virginia Press, 1975).

Albert Schrauwers graduated with a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology in 1995. His M.A. thesis on the Quaker sect, the Children of Peace, was published by University of Toronto Press in 1993. He has worked extensively on the catalogueing of the Dorland Library, Pickering College, and in the production of the Canadian Quaker History Journal.

Friends in the Niagara Peninsula 1786 - 1802

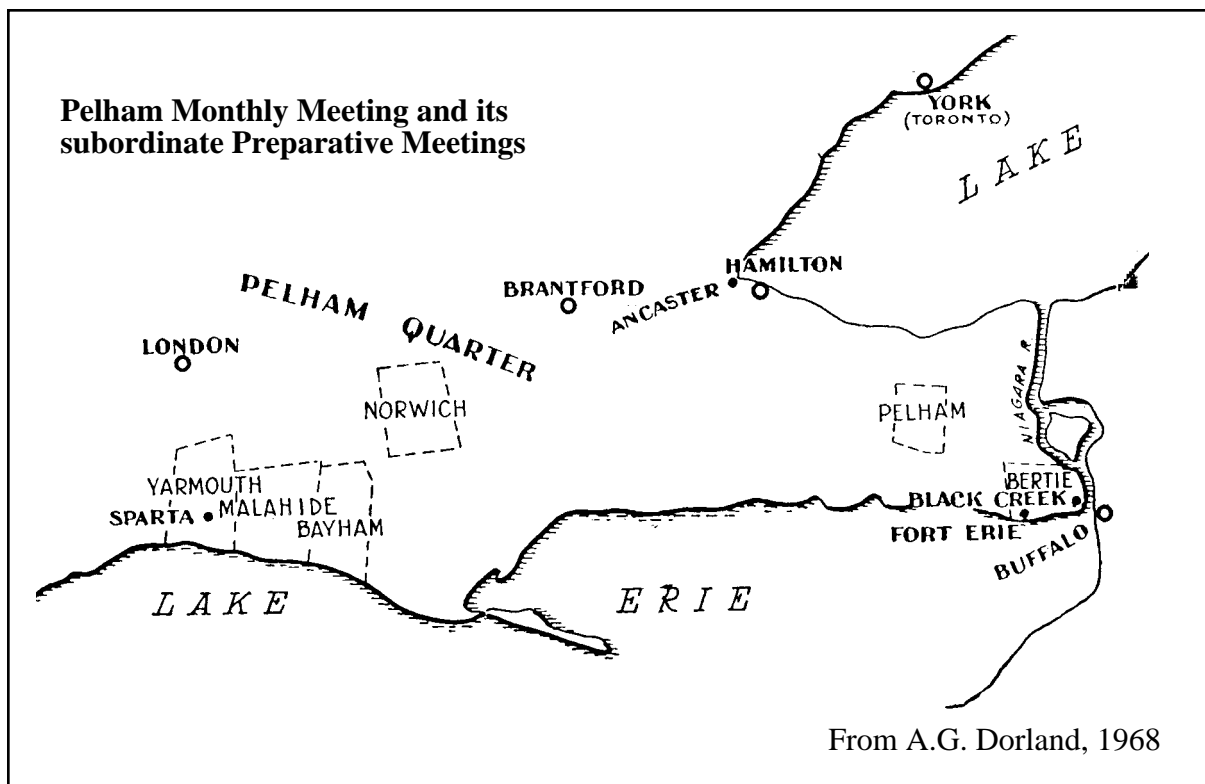
by Richard MacMaster

Friends began settling in the Niagara region in 1786. They were part of a larger migration "from the states of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, particularly the county of Sussex, in the latter state".¹ Many incoming settlers, including some Friends, had stood loyally by King and country during the American Revolution and could be counted as refugees from the United States. Nearly all Friends who came to Niagara had taken no active part in the war and did not claim to be Loyalists. They had suffered nevertheless from double taxation and the loss of civil rights for their refusal to bear arms or pledge to defend the new nation. These penalties continued after the war. In 1778 Quakers in Chester County "in behalf of themselves and others in similar circumstances" petitioned the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania for relief stating that "being conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, they

have been fined in considerable sums for not attending militia musters" and their property seized by local collectors who gave no receipts so "the petitioners are still chargeable with the same fines." In urging repeal of "the present disgraceful test law" in 1789, the editor of the Pennsylvania Gazette observed that:

Virginia, and the governor of Canada, have already taken advantage of our folly; they invite Quakers, and other sects who are opposed to oaths, and promises of fidelity to government to come and settle among them.²

Other patterns can be seen in this Quaker migration. It originated in a small number of Quaker communities that had exceptionally close ties with one another. Friends who settled in the Niagara peninsula



came from southeastern Lancaster County and eastern Bucks County and from Sussex County, New Jersey. Mennonites, Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutherans and Anglicans also came to Niagara from these same places. During the American Revolution this had been the safest route for British prisoners escaping from internment camps to reach their own lines at New York. Sergeant Roger Lamb, for instance, recorded in his journal how "our worthy friends the Quakers" helped him and his companions across Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Quite a few settlers in Ontario had sheltered these fugitives and some had suffered for it.

Friends in other parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey sent few or no members at all to Ontario. Friends moving to Shenandoah Valley of Virginia in these same years did not come from meetings in Bucks County or Sussex County. Of 84 Quaker migrants from Pennsylvania who brought certificates of membership to Hopewell Monthly Meeting in 1786-1797, Chester County meetings accounted for 52 individuals and families with certificates. Sadsbury Monthly Meeting in southeastern Lancaster County sent 15 certificates, two meetings in York County sent 10, Exeter Meeting in Berks County sent 4, meetings in Montgomery County sent 3, and Philadelphia only 2. Since the wartime experience of Pennsylvania Friends was much the same, with no regional differences in the enforcement of state laws, these different sources of Quaker migration to Ontario and Virginia are striking. Only Sadsbury sent members to both Niagara and the Shenandoah Valley. In this case Friends reflected a broader migration pattern.³

The pattern was already an old one. In the eighteenth century some 1,260 southeastern Pennsylvania Friends followed the Philadelphia Wagon Road to cheaper, but equally fertile, land in Virginia. "The migration accelerated dramatically in the 1760's, when 291 Quakers moved south," the majority of them with children. Land was no longer available for more than one or two sons of Chester County farmers, but the general prosperity of the region provided other alternatives to migration, as Duane Ball demonstrated. In his study of Chester

County Friends, Barry Levy showed the degree to which they were able "to diversify their children." They had some more investments, rented more land, and followed a wider variety of occupations than their parents had. Bucks County Friends used the same strategies. They combined farming and a trade and set their sons up as blacksmiths and wheelwrights and in every other honorable occupation. Migration also relieved pressure on a now limited supply of land. This migration was also at full tide in the 1760s. Fifty Quaker families moved to Virginia. Friends in Bucks County also crossed the Delaware to settle first at Kingwood in Hunterdon County, New Jersey and later to establish a daughter colony at Hardwick in Sussex County.

Movement to new lands on the frontier again began in earnest in the late 1780s as the economy revived in Pennsylvania after a period of severe depression. With farm prices improving, tenants and small land owners could afford to move. As Professor James T. Lemon noted in his classic study of southeastern Pennsylvania:

Even Quakers and Mennonites, after two or three decades during which their holdings did not expand, felt the pressure and established new colonies elsewhere. In the more expansive early 1790s movement was considerable.⁴

As land grew scarcer and land values soared in long-settled areas of eastern Pennsylvania, sons of large Quaker families would have to subdivide their father's farm, move away or choose another occupation than farming. Subdividing a small farm made no sense. Economic diversification and migration to other settlements of Friends worked as ways to preserve the Quaker community so long as the individual sought counsel from the meeting in making a change and did not go off on his own "in a disorderly manner." The experience of one Bucks County Quaker family can illustrate some pressures on the meeting.

John Gillam, who came to Ontario, a landless, unmarried young man, was one of eight sons of Lucas and Ann Dungan

Gillam of Middletown Township in Bucks County. His father ranked among the less prosperous farmers and paid taxes on 117 acres in 1782. One son Simon, who married in 1783, lived on his father's farm and eventually inherited it. Other sons appear on tax lists from 1785 through 1791 as landless or as tenant farmers, paying taxes only on a horse or a cow. Middletown Monthly Meeting disowned all of Lucas Gillam's sons except Simon and Joshua. Joshua was too young to be challenged by military service in the American Revolution. His brother Simon's losses by distraint for muster and substitute fines were reported to the Meeting for Suffering of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, but Lucas Jr. "left in a disorderly manner and joined a military body" in 1778. He was a Loyalist. Militia fines bore heavily on poor young men and distant places appealed to those with few prospects at home. Joseph "left his master and these parts" in 1781 as an apprentice or hired man. He later went to Ontario, according to family tradition. James and John mustered with the militia in peacetime in 1786. Thomas "left these parts as a soldier" in 1794 and joined his brother in Niagara a year later. The other Gillam brother, Jeremiah, married a wife who was not a Quaker. Daughters of the family all remained Friends; the eldest moved with her husband to Sadsbury Monthly Meeting in Lancaster County in 1787.⁵

Establishing new communities evidently ranked high in the priorities of Friends who came to Niagara. Nearly all of them chose to settle in a compact Quaker rural neighbourhood; only a few selected lands in isolation from other Friends.

They came to Niagara in extended families, so the religious community had a strong family base. Quite a few unmarried young men migrated, but usually in company with older parents, married sisters and brothers. There were not many isolated individuals among the Friends or any of the other migrants.

The typical Quaker settler in Ontario belonged to a network of more-or-less closely related families who had moved at least once in the Colonies before coming to Upper Canada. The settler's immediate

family included a United Empire Loyalist, usually a brother or brother-in-law disowned for taking up arms in the King's defence. Some Quaker settlers sold a profitable farm or mill before leaving for Ontario, but the typical Quaker migrant owned insufficient land for profitable farming and many were landless or farmed someone else's acres as a tenant.

Movement to the Niagara frontier in these years began what is called a chain-migration, with other family members and former neighbours following the first-comers a few years later. In some cases this involved migration in two stages. Friends from Bucks County, Pennsylvania and Sussex County, New Jersey were also going to the upper Susquehanna valley in Pennsylvania in the 1780s and 1790s, establishing meetings at Catawissa, Roaring Creek, Muncy and elsewhere. Some of them later moved to Ontario joining kin in Pelham and Yonge Street meetings.⁶

This chain migration of extended families included men and women of Quaker background who had been disowned in New Jersey or Pennsylvania or never associated themselves with the meetings in Upper Canada. Settlements of Friends in Niagara as elsewhere had families with only this tenuous link to the Society of Friends who nonetheless participated in the life of the community. Other convinced Friends carried unfamiliar surnames into the meeting. The Quaker settlements, while compact, were not isolated from their neighbours.⁷

Settlement Patterns

Friends, like other settlers, took their time in locating lands at Niagara. This enabled them to select not only fertile acreage, but land close to other Quaker settlers. Philip Frey received an appointment in December 1784 as deputy surveyor "for making surveys in the Upper District of the Province of Quebec" and began surveying in the settlements at Niagara in 1786. Major Campbell, commanding at Niagara, wrote Frey in July 1786 urging him to "come down" and begin "making a regular survey of the whole settlement" which was

needed "from the number of people daily coming in from American States." In October 1788 Frey sent "a plan of the settlement of Niagara" to the surveyor general, but he was asked to make a new plan with the names of each settler on his lot. Frey replied that this was difficult to do:

With respect to my insertion of each Proprietor's name in his Lot be pleased to allow me to observe that the change of property &c is as yet so frequent that it would convey but a very uncertain acco't of each man's settlement, therefore could not be depended upon to stand on record... the people being allowed to roam about and choose situations in every respect suitable to them makes this Settlement very much scattered and it would employ ten surveyors to follow them in order to lay out their lands .⁸

Irritating as this may have been to the deputy surveyor, Friends who came to Niagara over a period of years were enabled to locate or relocate Crown grants side by side in two major settlements.

Ezekiel Dennis may have been the first Quaker to settle on the Niagara peninsula. When he petitioned for additional land in 1797, Dennis presented an order dated 12 October 1786 from Major A. Campbell to Philip Frey, deputy surveyor, requesting that "Ezekiel Dennis being intitled to 500 acres for himself and Family as a Loyalist you'l please direct him to any ungranted Lands." He came up from Richmond township in northern Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Tax records there indicate that Ezekiel Dennis owned 15 acres of land, a horse and a cow. In 1784 the assessor noted that Dennis had a dwelling house and a family of nine. The 1786 tax list indicated that he had gone away. He evidently returned for his family and recruited others. Richland Monthly Meeting gave certificates dated 25 5th month 1788 and addressed to Friends at Niagara to Ezekiel Dennis and his brother Joseph Dennis and their families. On June 3, 1788 Ezekiel and Ann Dennis deeded their land in Richland Township to Robert

Penrose. Joseph and Deborah (Webster) Dennis, their three children, and Ezekiel and Ann Dennis and their nine children traveled to Niagara in the summer of 1788 to settle on lands Ezekiel Dennis had chosen.⁹

When he settled, Ezekiel Dennis located 200 acres at Point Abino on Lake Erie in what was to become Bertie Township. Since this represented less than his original grant, he was awarded 500 acres in 1797 for himself and his family. Ezekiel Dennis may have been the first settler in what was by 1789 "the Quaker township." On the same day as his brother Ezekiel's request, Joseph Dennis petitioned for confirmation of his lands fronting Lake Erie in Lot 15 of Humberstone Township and additional family lands.

John Hill Sr. stated in his 1796 petition that "he came into the Province in the year 1787 and was desired by Colonel Hunter to locate lands on Black Creek" and asked to be "confirmed in 400 acres which were allowed for himself and family." John and Elizabeth Hill belonged to Buckingham Monthly Meeting in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, but were living in Bertie Township in 1797 when their daughter Elizabeth married Nathan Havens. The tax lists of Buckingham Township credited John Hill with 180 acres, two dwelling houses, five outbuildings and a family of six whites in 1784. He was assessed for only 100 acres the following year and in 1786. His land petition is evidence that Hill was one of the earliest settlers in Bertie after Ezekiel Dennis.

The Dennis family network is a good example of the patterns of Quaker migration. Ezekiel's grandfather was Joseph Dennis who sold his land in Bucks County, Pennsylvania and moved to Sussex County, New Jersey where he died in 1770. His oldest son John Dennis, a wheelwright, remained in Rockhill Township in Bucks County and later acquired land in neighbouring Richland Township. (He conveyed 16 acres of that land to his son Ezekiel, the first Dennis in Ontario.) Charles, the second son, eventually moved to Muncy; his son Levi settled in Pelham Township.

Joseph's third son moved to Sussex County with his father. Richland Friends

gave a certificate in 1767 to Joseph Dennis Jr., his wife Hannah Lewis Dennis and their seven children to Kingwood Monthly Meeting. Their eldest son, also an Ezekiel Dennis, accepted a commission as Ensign in a Loyalist regiment, the New Jersey Volunteers; he came to Niagara and settled by 1790 in Clinton Township with other Sussex County Loyalists and died there in 1810. A sister (Anne) and brother (Lewis) of the Loyalist Ezekiel Dennis also came to Ontario. Anne Dennis married Daniel Willson in 1780. They moved with their nine children to Pelham Township with a certificate from Hardwick Monthly Meeting in Sussex County.¹⁰

Nathaniel and Obadiah Dennis came from Sussex County, New Jersey and settled in Humberstone. Obadiah Dennis indicated in his petition in 1797 that he came to Niagara with his wife and three children in 1787. Obadiah and Prudence Dennis were among the original members of Black Creek who were included in a 1799 list of "all those who have a right of membership" but some of the others who came in 1787 had been compromised by wartime activities and no longer belonged to any meeting of Friends. John Moore, although of Quaker background, had been fined and imprisoned in Sussex County, New Jersey for helping recruits get to the British lines. Benjamin Willson had also helped recruit for the British in Sussex County as his former neighbour Nathaniel Pettit testified. John Harrit came from Sussex County, New Jersey in 1787, according to his later land petition. He brought his wife, who was a daughter of Friends, Asa Schooley, and their one child. Abraham Webster, who was one of the original overseers of Pelham Monthly Meeting in 1799, came with his wife Ann Lundy and their nine children in 1787. All of them were from New Jersey and all of them settled on lands in Bertie Township and Humberstone Township fronting on Lake Erie.¹¹

Friends formed part of a growing migration from New Jersey. In September 1787 Robert Hamilton compiled a list of "Families who have this Season Come into the Settlement of Niagara" and, of 48 settlers, he identified 44 as from Jersey. None

of the settlers just named appeared on Hamilton's list or a companion "Return of Loyalists and disbanded troops" already in the Niagara district. It is probable that they came later in the year. Adam Burwell arrived in 1787 but made his first improvements only in 1788, an indication that he did not live on his land through the winter. Some migrants did come very later in the season. A group of Baptist Families left Mansfield Township in Sussex County, New Jersey in mid-November 1788 to settle in Clinton Township in the Niagara peninsula.

Some early settlers located their lands and then returned home for their families. A second migration of Friends came in 1788. Asa Schooley and his family brought a certificate with them from Hardwick Township in Sussex County affirming that "he is an orderly and peaceable man, and is a member of the Society of The People called Quakers" and dated in April 1788. They were following their married daughter and others might have come with them from Sussex County. The Dennis families from Richland Monthly Meeting cannot have left Bucks County until June 1788.¹²

These Friends formed a reasonably compact settlement within Bertie Township and adjacent parts of Humberstone Township by 1793 when Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore and other Friends from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting visited them. Moore mentioned Benjamin Willson, Asa Schooley, John Harrit, John Cutler, Daniel Pound, and Joseph Havens as among Friends he met in Bertie Township. The visitors "went to Ezekiel Dennis's, up the side of Lake Erie about six miles, to Point Ebino" and next day continued "on the lake shore, about ten miles, to what is called the Sugar Loaf," and called on seven Quaker families.¹³

The Quaker settlement stretched in contiguous farms on either side of the later town of Ridgeway. Joseph Marsh lived on Lots 16 and 17 Third Concession on the Garrison Road and the road from Fort Erie to Sugar Loaf. Adam Burwell was his neighbour on Lot 18. Joseph Havens, Benjamin Willson, Daniel Pound, Joel White Morris, John Harrit, whose petition suggest-

ed he had settled on Lots 28 and 29 as early as 1787, Asa Schooley, Jehoiada Schooley, John Hill, and Azaliah Schooley owned adjacent farms to the Humberstone line. John Moore, Joseph Havens and John Cutler all owned land across the township line. Ezekiel Dennis was located at Point Abino.¹⁴

Ezekiel and Nathaniel Dennis, Jehoiada and Azaliah Schooley, Joseph Havens and his son Nathan, John and Crowell Willson, sons of Benjamin Willson, Thomas Doan and John Cutler were among signers of a petition from settlers at Point Abino in 1793.¹⁵

Not all Friends lived in this neighbourhood. Abraham Webster settled much closer to Fort Erie on Lot 8 fronting on Lake Erie. Another group of Friends lived in Humberstone Township closer to Sugar Loaf. Abraham Laing, Wilson and Elijah Doan, Titus and Enos Doan, Joel White Morris, Joseph and Nathan Havens, Asa Azaliah, and Jehoiada Schooley, John Harret, John Cutler, Amos Morris, James and Samuel Wilson were among the signers of another 1793 petition, this one from "Inhabitants settled round the Point called Sugar Loaf." Some of them, as we have seen, lived closer to Point Abino. There was another cluster of Friends in Humberstone Township. Joseph Dennis patented Lots 14 and 15 fronting on Lake Erie, Benjamin Schooley had a grant for Lot 18 Second Concession, and Thomas and Aaron Doan patented Lots 16 and 17 Third Concession.¹⁶

When Pelham Monthly Meeting was established in 1799, members of these families formed Black Creek Preparative Meeting. Abraham Webster, Asa and Sarah Schooley were the first overseers. John Cutler and his children, Abraham and Ann Lundy Webster and family, Obadiah and Prudence Dennis and family, Joseph and Deborah Webster Dennis, Joseph and Ann Havens with daughter Sarah, son Nathan, his wife Elizabeth Hill Havens, and their son Daniel and Prudence Pound and family, brothers Abraham and Isaac Laing, Titus and Deborah Willson Doan and son Wilson Doan were on the initial list of those at Black Creek with a right of membership

among Friends. Ezekiel Dennis brought his certificate from Richland Monthly Meeting for himself and his family. Anna Morris, widow of Joel White Morris, and Joseph Marsh each brought certificates from Rahway and Plainfield Monthly Meeting for their families. Adam Burwell and his children requested to be joined among Friends.¹⁷

Other members of these same families evidently shared in the life of the Quaker community, for example, as witnesses at family weddings, but never held membership in Pelham Monthly Meeting.¹⁸

The Doan, Harret, Havens, Moore, Schooley, Webster, Willson families and some of the Dennis family were from Hardwick Monthly Meeting in Sussex County and Kingwood Monthly Meeting in Hunterdon County. The Laings came from Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting in Monmouth County, and the Marsh and Morris families from Rahway and Plainfield Monthly Meeting in Morris County. Ezekiel Dennis and his family from Richland Monthly Meeting and John Cutler and his children from Buckingham Monthly Meeting were the only settlers from Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Cutler, a widower, brought his nine children in 1789 from Buckingham Township where he was taxed for 117 acres.

Adam Burwell may not have been a Friend before coming to Upper Canada in 1788, as he said he had served under the British standard as a Loyalist and married the daughter of another Loyalist Nathaniel Veal. Daniel Pound, who served in the Engineers Department with the British Army on Staten island during the war, and was originally from Mendham Monthly Meeting in New Jersey.¹⁹

The Short Hills Settlers

Most of the Black Creek families came from New Jersey. Quaker settlers in Pelham and Thorold Townships, on the other hand, nearly all came from Bucks County and from Lancaster County in Pennsylvania. Joseph Moore, one of the visitors from Pennsylvania in 1793, set out from Niagara-on-the-lake and went along the Lake Ontario shore as far as the Twelve Mile Creek in Grantham Township, where

he met with Benjamin and Jesse Pauling. Both men served as officers in Butler's Rangers but they had Quaker relations in Philadelphia. The next day they "went three miles to our friend John Taylor's." John and Hannah Taylor lived in Township Number 3 (later called Grantham Township) in 1790 when their daughter Anne married Joshua Gillam of the same township. The Taylors came from Sadsbury Monthly Meeting in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.²⁰

John Taylor informed his visitors that "divers Friends live at a place called the Short Hills, about twelve miles off" in Pelham Township. They passed an area of woodland devastated by the 1792 hurricane and stopped on their way to see Thomas Rice and Joshua Gillam, who came from Bucks County, where both had been landless young men. Joshua Gillam was of Middletown Township, and Thomas Rice and his wife Mary belonged to Buckingham Monthly Meeting and had lived in Solebury Township before coming to Upper Canada.²¹

The Philadelphia Friends, "finding a few Friends settled in this neighborhood," mentioning James Crawford, Enoch Scrigley and John Darling, concluded to have meeting on first day with them at John Darling's house. James Crawford and Enoch Scrigley were also landless when they lived in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. In his 1795 petition for land, Enoch Scrigley said he arrived in the province on October 8, 1788 with his wife Mary and six children. The Scrigleys lived in Buckingham Township, where he was listed as a taxpayer in 1786 but owned no land, and belonged to Buckingham Monthly Meeting. John Darling was also from Bucks County. He married Elizabeth Canby Birdsall, widow of Samuel Birdsall, who emigrated with their children from Upper Makefield in Bucks County in 1788 and died a year later. After her first husband's death, she kept house for her brother Benjamin Canby. The Canbys belonged to Falls Monthly Meeting in Bucks County. Elizabeth Darling petitioned for land in her own right and for her four children in 1795.²²

Benjamin Canby, the father of these two Niagara pioneers, was a blacksmith by

trade. He moved from Buckingham to Falls in 1770 and on to Upper Makefield by 1786 when he sold his 50 acres in Falls Township. Falls Monthly Meeting disowned his sons Joseph and Thomas in 1778 for joining the British army. Joseph served in the Bucks County Volunteers and Thomas in the King's American Dragoons. Both men settled in New Brunswick. Joseph Canby joined the Quaker pioneers at Pennfield. Their nephew Samuel Birdsall, Jr. later wrote that his uncle Thomas Canby, "who was a British loyal subject, has at the close of the Revolution, retired with the British troops, and settled at the City of St. Johns in New Brunswick." The eldest son, Whitson Canby, was disowned in 1770 for marrying out of meeting and Elizabeth Canby Birdsall in 1780 for marrying a cousin, but both later satisfied Friends and remained active Quakers. Another sister Martha married Joseph Taylor at Upper Makefield in 1788. The Canby's, with their Loyalist connections and ties to other Quaker communities in Bucks County could be at the centre of the 1788 migration to Pelham Township.²³

The Pelham settlers actually formed a more connected migration than their Pennsylvania origins suggest. At first glance the Pelham Friends seem removed by more than just a few miles from the Black Creek community, but many ties linked Bucks County and Lancaster County Friends to New Jersey meetings. When James Moore Jr. from Sadsbury Monthly Meeting in Lancaster County was married to Rebecca Birdsall of Hunterdon County, New Jersey in 1782, many of the wedding guests who travelled from Bucks or Lancaster would be neighbours a few years later in Niagara. Among those who signed the marriage certificate were Samuel Birdsall, his wife Elizabeth Canby Birdsall, Benjamin Canby, Ann Birdsall, who married Samuel Taylor, William Pettit and his wife Sarah Birdsall Pettit, Andrew and Ruth Birdsall Moore, Jeremiah and Mary Moore.²⁴

The Moores and the Taylors from Lancaster County, the Canbys from Bucks County, and the Birdsalls from across the Delaware in New Jersey not only knew one another, but formed a single extended

family. When Pelham Monthly Meeting was constituted in 1799 Jeremiah and Mary Moore, John and Hannah Taylor, John Jr. and Elizabeth Moore Taylor, Samuel and Ann Birdsall Taylor, from Sadsbury Monthly Meeting, Joshua Gillam from Middletown Monthly Meeting and his wife Anne Taylor Gillam from Sadsbury Monthly Meeting, John and Hannah Hill from Buckingham Monthly Meeting, their son Benjamin Hill and his wife Ann Moore Hill from Sadsbury, and Benjamin Canby from Falls Monthly Meeting together with Samuel and Hannah Becket from Woodbury, New Jersey and Jesse and Sarah Thomas from Merion Monthly Meeting in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania were the original members. Jacob Moore (1767-1813), son of Jeremiah, brought a certificate from Sadsbury Monthly Meeting in 1800 "some years (2 or 3) after Jacob Moore had become a member."²⁵

They all came in 1788, as far as can be established, but they did not all settle together initially. The Pelham Quaker settlement represented a deliberate choice to locate Crown lands where Friends could form a compact colony.

Jeremiah Moore of Sadsbury in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania had "been a great Sufferer during the American War on account of his attachment to Great Britain," according to his 1795 petition for land. He said he came in 1786 with his wife and eight children. Sadsbury Township assessed Jeremiah Moore for 200 acres and two dwelling-houses and counted a family of ten in 1783. His 200-acre farm was valued at £600 putting him in the top 30% of landowners. His name is on the 1787 and 1788 tax rolls, with a tenant on the land in the latter year. The assessor marked "gone" against his name in 1789. If he was in Upper Canada in 1786 looking for suitable land, the family migration was evidently completed in 1788.

Jeremiah Moore located his lands in Township 2 (later called Stamford), where the visitors from Philadelphia stayed with him in 1793. They noted that his house was "within about three miles of the great cataract" and went with him and his son-in-law Benjamin Hill to see Niagara Falls. He was

still living in Stamford Township in 1795 when he asked for an additional 500 acres, which he located in Pelham Township.²⁶

Solomon Moore, on the other hand, related in his 1795 petition that he came into the Province in 1788 and improved Lots 11 and 12 in the Eleventh Concession of the Township of Pelham, as well as Lot 6 in the Eighth Concession, to which latter he was in some measure forced to go for water. He received Crown grants for all these lots. Sadsbury Monthly Meeting sent a request to Pelham Monthly Meeting in 1802 regarding Solomon Moore, but as he seldom attends our meeting Pelham Friends took no action.²⁷

The language of Solomon Moore's petition suggested that land in Pelham was there for the taking. This situation did not last long. Friends obtained Crown grants for a solid bloc of south eastern Pelham Township from the Seventh to the Fourteenth Concessions, and from the Thorold Township line westward as far as Lot 9. Additional grants to Moores and Hills extending along the western edge of Pelham gave grounds for considering it, like Bertie, the Quaker township.

Friends with Crown grants in Pelham Township were James Crawford, Enoch Scrigley, Jeremiah Moore, Jacob Thomas, Benjamin Hill, Jacob Moore, Solomon Moore, Joshua Gillam, Thomas Rice, John Taylor, Sr., John Taylor, Jr., Samuel Taylor, James Moore, John Darling, Elizabeth Darling, Jacob Birdsall, and John Hill, Jr.

A few Friends settled at an early date in Thorold. John Hill, John Wilson, John and Adam Dennis were among the settlers shown on a map made in 1794 by Augustus Jones. Benjamin Canby owned land in Thorold Township adjoining the Quaker settlement in Pelham.²⁸

The two centres of Quaker settlement at Black Creek and Pelham drew other Friends who had taken up land in more distant communities as well as Friends who came after the first settlers.

After 1801 new settlements at Yonge Street in York County began to attract migrants from the United States and a few families from Black Creek and

Pelham joined them. Before Yonge Street Monthly Meeting was established, Friends moving to Upper Canada brought certificates of membership to Pelham Monthly Meeting. A substantial number of early Pelham certificates consequently belonged to settlers who never actually lived in the Niagara district, but these settlers can be readily identified. A more difficult problem is the impossibility of knowing, given the fact that Pelham Minutes mention a certificate in a given year, whether the individual had recently arrived or had sent to the former place of residence for a certificate years after coming to Canada. Benjamin Canby left Bucks County in 1788, but only requested a certificate from Falls Monthly Meeting to Pelham Monthly Meeting in 1801. An analysis of Pelham certificates is fraught with peril.

Hardwick Monthly Meeting and neighbouring Kingwood Monthly Meeting in New Jersey kept up a small but steady migration to Niagara in 1790-1812. The later migrants generally settled in Pelham and Thorold, where they were obliged to purchase land in order to settle near other Friends. This was a classic chain-migration.

Daniel and Anne Dennis Willson moved to Pelham with their nine children from Hardwick in Sussex County, New Jersey requesting a certificate in July 1801. She was the sister of Loyalist Ezekiel Dennis. They may have joined her relatives in Niagara somewhat earlier. His younger brother Jesse Willson married Anne Shotwell in 1790 and also requested a certificate from Hardwick Monthly Meeting in January 1801. Her parents William and Elizabeth Shotwell, both ministers among Friends, came in 1803 with two unmarried daughters and settled in Thorold Township. A son Elijah Shotwell came soon afterward with a certificate from Westbury Monthly Meeting on Long Island, New York. All three subsequently married into families originally from Hardwick. Family connections similar to this drew Friends from Buckingham Monthly Meeting in Bucks County as well as the two New Jersey meetings despite the limited amount of free land available in or near the two established Quaker communities. For them the community and family were clearly

more important than access to good land at no cost. Joseph Hill married Grace Brotherton in 1798 at Hardwick and moved in 1800 to Niagara where both had relatives. In 1803 they went to Yonge Street where they could settle among Friends and obtain a Crown grant of 200 acres. Many others chose York County settlements. Contemporary Quaker migration to York County indicated free land was a factor.²⁹

Other Friends took a different approach. William Man, who came from New Jersey in 1787, selected lands in Grantham Township where his descendants lived a century later; he is identified a Quaker in government documents but never in the Pelham Minutes. The Friends from Philadelphia met with others in 1793 who chose to live at a distance from other Friends and remained on their original grants. They went about two miles from Niagara Falls "to our friend William Lundy's" where they held a meeting on first day. Lundy, who was from Sussex County, New Jersey, had grants of land on Lundy's Lane. Robert Spencer, another Friend, owned nearby land, but Stamford Township never developed a viable Quaker settlement. Later they visited "our friend Richardson" on the Niagara River in Willoughby Township. Edward Richardson sold his land in Willoughby to Benjamin Hershey in 1795.³⁰

Friends who took no counsel from their own meeting and "left in a disorderly manner" were less likely to choose land in one of the established Quaker settlements. Chesterfield Monthly Meeting asked Pelham Monthly Meeting in 1800 about Thomas Horner, originally from Kingwood, "coming to this province without concurrence of his friends." In 1803 Pelham Friends reported that Horner had accepted a military commission and was administering oaths as a civil magistrate and disowned him.³¹

Conclusions

Quaker migration to Niagara reflected Loyalist sympathies, since so many of the 1786-1790 settlers had close relatives who had violated the peace testimony of

Friends to take up arms for King and Country. Their deliberate choice of settlement in two compact Quaker communities, both when Crown grants were available and when land had to be purchased, is an indication of the importance of the religious community to them. Since so many Quaker settlers had been landless or had limited economic opportunity in their former communities, economic considerations played a significant part. Like other settlers who left older Quaker communities for newer settlements of Friends, those who came to Niagara were following a traditional strategy of preserving Quaker family and community values by migration. The gradual shift of migration to York County and away from Niagara reflected the desire for economic opportunity within a Quaker community.

Niagara was the destination of only a few Friends who chose migration. The movement to Niagara in 1786-1801 drew on such a small number of Friends meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and on a network or related families that linked them together, that it represented a chain-migration of family members over several decades. This migration of close relatives was complete by 1820. This fact, more than the availability of cheap lands in the Ohio Valley, will explain the gradual decline of Quaker migration from the United States to Niagara.

Footnotes:

1. R. Gourlay, Sketches of Upper Canada (London, 1822), I, 134.
2. Colonial Records of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1852), XV, 418. Pennsylvania Gazette, February 4, 1789. Arthur J. Mekeel, The Relation of the Quakers to the American Revolution (Washington, D.C., 1979), 315-319.
3. Hopewell Friends History 1734-1934 Frederick County, Virginia (Strasburg, Va., 1936), 422-434.
4. Larry Dale Greeg, Migration in early America: The Virginia Quaker Experience (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980), 27, 36-38. Duane E. Ball, "Dynamics of Population and Wealth in Eighteenth-Century Chester County, Pennsylvania," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VI (Spring 1976), 621-644. Barry Levy, Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley (New York, 1988), 241-
243. James P. Snell, History of Sussex and Warren Counties. New Jersey (Philadelphia, 1881), 743-745. James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore, Md., 1972), 227.
5. Martha Paxson Grundy made this material available to me from her forthcoming dissertation at Case Western Reserve University on Middletown Friends.
6. Bruce S. Elliot, Irish Migrant in the Canadas: A New Approach (Kingston, Ont., 1988), 82-115 and *passim* is a classic explanation of chain-migration.
7. Martha Paxson Grundy, "Are Outcasts Cast Out?: Disownment, Inheritance, and Participation in Middletown Monthly Meeting," Mercer Mosiac, IV (Spring 1987), 41-44.
8. "District of Nassau Land Board, Letter Book No. 2," Third Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives, 1905, 308-309, 312-315.
9. Bucks County Deeds, Richland Township Tax Lists, Microfilm, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pa., E.A. Cruikshank, "The Settlement of the Township of Fort Erie, Now Known as the Township of Bertie: An Attempt at a Domesday Book," Welland County Historical Society papers and Records, V (1938), 24-25 and 47. Elwood Roberts, Old Richland Families (Norristown, Pa., 1898), 40-42 and 62.
10. Clarence V. Roberts, Early Friends Families of Upper Bucks (Philadelphia, 1925), 99-103. Land Book B, May 2, May 16, 1797, Report of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, 1930, 149. Grimsby Historical Society, Annals of the Forty, IV (1953), 49. Record Group 1, L3, Land Petitions, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
11. Pelham Records, Canada Yearly Meeting (hereafter CYM) Archives, Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario. Cruikshank, "Settlement", *passim*.
12. Asa Schooley's certificate is owned by Howard Schooley, Port Colborne. E.A. Cruikshank, "Records of Niagara 1784-1787." Niagara Historical Society, 39 (Niagara-on-the-lake, 1928), 126-8.
13. Ambrose M. Shotwell, comp., Journals of Jacob Lindey and Joseph Moore or Quaker Accounts of the Excedition of 1793 to Detroit and Vicinty (Lansing, Mich., 1892), 76-77.
14. Abstract Indices, Bertie No. 1, Humberstone No. 1, Welland County Registry Office, Welland, Ontario. Record Group 1, L3, Land Petitions, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
15. "Petitions for Land Grants, 1796-1799," Ontario Historical Society 26 (1930), 99-100. Record Group 1, L3, Land Petitions, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

16. Ibid., 24 (1927), 136-137. Abstract Index Humberstone No. 1, Welland County Registry Office. Record Group 1, L3, Land Petitions, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
17. Pelham Minutes, 1799-1801. CYM Archives.
18. Pelham Register and Marriage certificate. CYM Archives.
19. Pelham Minutes, 1799-1801. Record Group 1, L3, Land Petitions, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
20. Shotwell, Journals, 58. Pelham Minutes.
21. Shotwell, Journals, 58. Record Group 1, L3, Land Petitions, National Archives, Ottawa. Bucks County Tax Lists, Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pa.
22. Ibid.
23. Samuel Birdsall, "History," Edwin Seaborn Collection, London Public Library, London, Ontario. W.W. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1936), I, 987. Bucks County Deeds, 1786-1787, 137, Microfilm, Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pa. Esther C. Wright The Loyalists of New Brunswick (Fredericton, N.B., 1955), 267.
24. James W. Moore, comp., Records of the Kingwood Monthly Meeting of Friends. Hunterdon County. New Jersey (Flemington, N.J., 1900), 14.
25. Pelham Minutes and Pelham Register, CYM Archives. Shotwell, Journals, 58. Record Group 1, L3, Land Petitions, National Archives, Ottawa. Lancaster County Tax Lists, Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Harrisburg.
26. Shotwell, Journals, 59.
27. Record Group 1, L3, Land Petitions, National Archives, Ottawa. Bucks County Tax Lists, Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pa.
28. Corlene Taylor and Maggie Parnall, The Mini-Atlas of Early Settlers in the District of Niagara 1782-1876 (St Catherines, Ont., 1984), 53, 62-63. Indices, Pelham No. 1 and Thorold No. 1, Registry Office, Welland, Ontario.
29. Moore, Records, 39-40. Pelham Minutes, Pickering College. Hardwick Register, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.
30. Shotwell, Journals, 59. Index Willoughby No. 1, Welland County Registry Office, Welland, Ontario.
31. Pelham Minutes. CYM Archives.

People Of Providence, Polity and Property: Domesticity, Philanthropy and Land Ownership as Instruments of Quaker Community Development in Adolphustown, Upper Canada, 1784-1824

by Gregory Finnegan, Ph.D.¹

Quakers were emotionally, spiritually and geographically among the most successful Anglo-American frontiers men and women. Their emotional, spiritual and geographic frontiers were intimately related. Partly because they had lived on the Frontier of Great Britain's commercial and political expansion, Quakers took to exploring the frontiers of intimate relations.²

Like the English Quakers who settled the Delaware Valley in the 1680's, the pioneer American Friends who migrated to Upper Canada a century later were entering the vast forest of Britain's most recent frontier. Levy argues that the solution devised by the Quakers to the weakening of ministerial and communal institutions and the harshness of economic conditions in Frontier America, was a form of domesticity, based upon radical religious ideas.³ This solution focused spiritual and social authority upon the family, household unit and monthly meeting, institutions in which women played a central and frequently spiritual leadership role. It is logical to assume from a geographer's perspective that a community enacting such a social and religious solution would have created a unique cultural landscape in their attempt to reconstruct their society. Domesticity, as defined by Levy, can be traced to Quaker disciplines dealing with child care, household roles, household authority and the regulation of household standards through the regular visits of Quaker elders. In the first epistles of the Society of Friends in the late 1650's meetings were urged to take care of the poor in their membership, to take up

collections for them and especially that the children of the poor be given honest employment.⁴ Domesticity and philanthropy were central tenets of the religious and societal discipline of the American Quaker families who migrated to and settled Adolphustown, Upper Canada.

The reconstruction of the early social geography of Adolphustown clearly indicates the influence of Quaker domesticity, as applied to family development and assistance to migrating Friends. Quaker Disciplines relating to child care and philanthropy influenced household size and land acquisition patterns in Adolphustown. However other aspects of the Disciplines, which restricted individual freedom of expression, especially as regards marriage partners, social engagements and expressions of religious beliefs and social well-being through song, dance and merriment, resulted in frequent disciplining of the young and even disownment. The Adolphustown Quaker community reconstructed in this study was also actively engaged in the theological debate that resulted in the 1827-8 Hicksite division, although the surviving Minutes provide scant testimony to debates of this nature.

Quaker frontier settlements were premised on the principles of social welfare and the basic provisioning of relief to those within the community who were in need. This was not the New World frontier of individualistic survivors, but one of community welfare. The Quaker records allow us to see the workings of human agency on the frontier within a structured, defined community, whose religious life-style teachings can be traced through the surviving township records. Here kinship ties (or propinquity) can be measured based on family, religious community and the knowledge that their households interacted on a daily and weekly basis in the community,

the town hall and the meeting house. This religious community transformed the landscape of early Adolphustown making it, for a period, a prosperous dynamic community, a place of agricultural prosperity and social welfare.

Data and Methodology

A reconstruction of early Adolphustown necessitates the cross referencing of the heads of households listed in the population returns to the land records and to the documents of the Society of Friends Preparative and Monthly Meetings. The early land records of Upper Canada allow for the reconstruction of land granting, patenting and subsequent land transactions. Here examples of Quaker land transactions can be traced, and when viewed over time, it is possible to argue that the Quaker community was involved in organized land banking, the purchasing of neighbouring properties, which over time, created blocks of Quaker owned and managed farms.

An example of the transfer of title for a typical property is the West Half of Lot 15 in the Second Concession, north of the Bay of Quinte. The original free grant for this 200 acre lot was registered to Philip Dorland in 1790. However, as was the case in 55% of all free grants in the township, the Crown patent was issued in another's name, that of Jacob Dulmage in 1803. Dulmage, who immigrated to the township in 1797, left after selling the property in 1806 to Peter Vancott. In 1807 the Abstract Index to Deeds records that Vancott sold the property to the Quaker, Samuel Howe. Howe, who paid £212/10s/6d. for 100 acres on the west half of the lot, had received membership in the Monthly Meeting in 1801 and was listed in the Township returns as a separate head of household in 1804. By 1805 Howe was absent from the Township, probably having moved to Kingston, although he remained a member of the Meeting which disciplined him in 1809. Howe subsequently sold his 100 acre share of the lot to Thomas Dorland during the war torn year of 1814, for only £200.

The recovery of the history of this Quaker community was facilitated by the

meticulous record keeping of the Adolphustown Preparative Meeting, founded in 1798, and the Monthly Meeting, established in 1801.⁵ The Meeting kept minutes of business transacted by members, but unfortunately not attendance. Between 1798 and 1821, these minutes reveal how the Meeting dealt with some 260 individuals and families in regards to such matters as membership, marriage, birth, death, certificates of removal, offences under the Discipline and disownments. While not all those in attendance lived in Adolphustown, regular cross-referencing of these records to the population returns and property ownership file reveals a number of demographic processes. These include:

- 1) a steady minority of Quaker households resident in the township;
- 2) the through migration of American land seekers until approximately 1812; and
- 3) the addition of the new landed households to the meeting and township in most sample years.⁶

The research is based upon eight sample years selected between 1794 and 1820, for which each successive population return was cross listed using Christian and Surname information to the Land Registry based lot location to form a master list. For example, Joel Haight's household of five is listed in 1800 and 1804; he purchased land in 1808, but was rather surprisingly missing from the 1808 population return, reappearing in 1812. In 1808, Daniel Haight's household expanded from seven to ten members. Did Joel work outside the township in 1808 in order to solidify his finances? It is unlikely he was missed by the township assessor, who in 1808, was his neighbour, uncle and fellow Quaker, Daniel Haight (Tables 1 and 2).

Site and Situation

Hay Bay divides Adolphustown into two peninsulas, while the waters of Long Reach and the Bay of Quinte surround this minute township of 11,500 acres to the north, south and west. Predominantly a mixture of clays and loams, the soils were

TABLE 1
Population Characteristics of Adolphustown Township,
Upper Canada, for Sample Years 1794-1820

Year	Total Population ¹	Number of Households	Number of All adult Male H'hlds	Number of Women head of Households	Frequency of Multiple Adult male H'hlds ²
1794	393	81	12	0	25.9%
1797	480	94	9	0	19.1%
1800	525	88	5	1	39.8%
1804	584	90	5	1	36.7%
1808	568	88	2	3	27.3%
1812	576	81	0	1	49.4%
1816	496	73	1	6	52.1%
1820	561	88	1	7	58.0%

Source: Ontario Bureau of Industries, (1897). Appendix to the Report.

¹ Minor errors exist in the totals as printed in the original report, these have been corrected.

² Multiple adult male households are an indication of maturing households in which parents and their adult offspring reside. It may also include transient families who are boarders.

TABLE 2
Matrix Of Household Continuity, Adolphustown, 1794-1820

Year	1794	1797	1800	1804	1808	1812	1816	1820	New H'hld	1820 Tran' Rate*
1794 ¹	20	12	3 ³	4	6 ⁴	5	4	27 ⁵	N/A	66.6%
1797 ²		24	2	3	1	1	0	4 ⁶	35	88.6%
1800			20	3	2	1	0	3	29	89.7%
1804				18	3	3	1	4 ⁷	29	86.2%
1808					12	1	3	8 ⁸	24	66.6%
1812						9	3	5	17	70.6%
1816							11	6	17	64.5%
1820								31	31	N/A
n =	81	94	88	90	88	81	73	88		

¹ Read 1794 as last year listed for given number of original 1794 settlers; i.e. 1794 - 20 heads of household last entry. By 1820, 27 continuing families.

² Read 1797 (on) as 35 new Heads of Households entering the Township in 1797, 24 last entry 1797, 2 last entry 1800, 3 last entry 1804, 1 last entry each of 1808 and 1812, 0 left 1816, only 4 remaining as of 1820; Tran' Rate * transiency rate of — 88.57%.

³⁻⁸ Due to the fact that some residents of the township moved out of Adolphustown but later returned it is necessary to subscript certain migration statistics upon their return. To acquire the total number of 73 households in 1816 you need to add columns 1816 and 1820 which equals 79, then subtract subscripts 5 (5 - 1820 households absent in 1816), and 8 (one 1808 entry household that survives to 1820 absent in 1816). Other subscripts relate to: ³ - One 1794 household absent in 1797 returns 1800; ⁴ - One 1794 household absent 1804 returns 1808; - One 1797 household absent 1800 and 1804 returns 1808; ⁷ - One 1804 household absent 1808 returns 1812.

ideally suited for such frontier crops as fall wheat, fall planted rye, and spring pease.⁷ The slower draining clays, which inhibited early planting, are intersected by the better drained loams with most lots having a mixture of soil types.

In reply to Gourlay's questionnaire of 1817 the residents of Adolphustown noted one unusual attribute for Upper Canada, good roads. "The roads are unsurpassed by none in the province..." answered the municipal council, and so they should, having actively sought to improve these banes of frontier existence for over twenty years. Their boosterism was not limited to roads, but continued: "no township has greater advantage as respects water conveyance, every concession has communications with the Bay leading to Kingston". Such proximity was initially profitable, with Adolphustown and Kingston sharing the meetings of the Midland Court of the Quarter Session which attracted numerous travellers replete with information and currency. During this early period of Upper Canadian settlement, Adolphustown was a key central place with important functional attributes operating within the civil, economic and religious realms of society.

Period and Place

The settlement of early Upper Canada consisted of three prominent migration streams. These were refugee American Loyalists, 1784-1787; westward migrating land-seeking Americans to 1812, and after 1815 a planned shift to British Isles migrants, characterized by disbanded military and pauper settlers. Occupied in the initial wave of refugee migration, Adolphustown's population records indicate that all three phases of migration influenced local development through to 1820.

In each phase Quaker households entered Adolphustown. Philip Dorland arrived in 1784, having suffered abuse and confiscation of his property due to his pacifist ways. While an avowed Loyalist, his loyalty was to the Quaker religion. In contrast, his brother Thomas was a Royalist, who had fought for British rule in America. Philip Dorland was elected to the first par-

liament of Upper Canada, but was disqualified for failing to take an oath of allegiance to defend the crown.⁸ Philip maintained permanent residence in Adolphustown until the War of 1812 at which time he fled to Wellington, Prince Edward County; dying there in 1814 at age 59.

The path of the itinerant land seeking American is less clear. Peter C. Brown, from the Galloway Meeting, Pennsylvania, appears on the 1800 and 1804 population returns with a household of six and then eight members. Brown was unable to attain land ownership and his residence in Adolphustown ended shortly after 1807. This scenario was carried out on numerous occasions by American migrants from 1794 to 1812.

The experience of British Quaker "pauper" migrants is somewhat different. After the collapse of his tannery in Bristol, England in 1820, William Mullet booked passage with his family of eleven on board the *Friend*, destined for Quebec City.⁹ By 1821, Adolphustown provided him with the opportunity to open a general merchandise store and to rent a farm from an absentee landowner.¹⁰

In these cases, and in countless others, the existence of a Quaker religious meeting and commercial community probably influenced the migrants choice of destination, while the community's collective spiritual and socio-economic support, probably facilitated the decision for some to settle, acquire land and become residents in Adolphustown. For those who did not succeed, the Monthly Meeting would have provided certificates of removal and advice on which Quaker communities could provide better opportunities. After Adolphustown, stops along the western route included Young Street, Pelham and Norwich and Michigan.¹¹

The Society of Friends and Family Obligations

Within agricultural communities, childbearing fulfilled the primary goals of labour reproduction and religious community renewal through birthright membership. As such, Quakers in Adolphustown devel-

oped larger than average households, which can be attributed to their equitable devotion to economic prosperity and the attainment of spiritual fulfillment.¹² Frequent child-bearing provided future labourers for the fields and members for the Meeting House.

The agricultural economics of frontier development, the preparation of forested lands for planting in a specie poor, high cost labour market, demanded that cheap labour be begotten within the immediate labour pool - the home. Gagan notes that family completion was as urgent a priority as family formation.¹³ In Adolphustown maturing families characterized by multiple adult male households, increased from 26% of all households in 1794 to 58% in 1820 (Table 3). With the closure of the local land market, indicated by an 85% of the land patent rate by 1805 (see Map 3), rural households in which adult children and parents co-resided, became the norm.¹⁴ Within the Quaker community conflicts increased in the years following 1804. From 1798 to 1804 the Meeting was forced to discipline or disown only six members. In contrast from 1805 to 1812, 23 disciplinings or disownments were recorded, a rate of almost three per year. During this period the Monthly Meeting approved as few as six marriages, a situation which would have placed greater emphasis on attracting already established immigrant households.

Supplemental to natural increase, was the flow of migrants through the township. Prior to 1812 the Adolphustown Meeting thrived on the through migration of land seeking American Friends, who in Arthur Dorland's opinion were..."the merest

trickle of the great Westward Movement that was occurring in Quaker society".¹⁵ This merest trickle though, provided both labour and spiritual renewal, for they brought with them information on religious teachings and agricultural practices, introduced new marriage partners and provided an opportunity for the newly prosperous Adolphustown Friends to fulfil the discipline of philanthropy.

Monthly Meetings such as that sanctioned in Adolphustown in 1801, acted as an insurance policy for child and family. Elders were assigned to carry out regular visits to the homes of Friends to investigate their spiritual and financial condition.¹⁶ Special visits relating to economic welfare and marriage partners were regularly undertaken by "weighty friends", who had the authority to condone marriages and report conditions requiring disciplinary actions.¹⁷ Infractions of the Quaker discipline were numerous, and included undisciplined speech, drinking in taverns, public drunkenness, gaming, fighting, dancing and fornication. The Adolphustown Monthly Meeting disowned Tabbi Dorland in 1809 for losing her innocence and having a child out of wedlock.¹⁸ Clearly this communal insurance policy was not without limitations.

While the Monthly Meeting managed the propriety of the spiritual community in Adolphustown, the leading Quakers also worked to insure that their religious community existed within the territorial confines of an organized and regulated municipal district. Indeed, through their strong commitment to social well being and commercial advancement the Quakers helped initiate local government. By such involvement they created an environment which maximized assistance to migrating and landless Friends, while insuring the advance of commerce through road improvements, fencing, regulation of noxious animals and weeds, and the collection of taxes to pay for public works.

Elected positions on the Adolphustown council were dominated by a small clique of families, but woven through this common Upper Canadian scenario was the influence of the Society of Friends. Between 1792 and 1820, Quakers held the

TABLE 3
Multiple Adult Male Households As A
Percentage Of All Households,
Adolphutown

Date	%	Date	%
1794	25.9	1808	27.3
1797	19.1	1812	49.4
1800	39.8	1816	52.1
1804	36.7	1820	58.0

(OBI, 1897; Compiled by Author)

influential position of Town Clerk on sixteen occasions.¹⁹ In total a group of seven men held 34% or 50 of the 149 available offices (Table 4). Of these seven, Beedel, Casey and Haight were landed Quakers.

At the core of the Adolphustown community is the religious commitment of a minority of the population to a domestic lifestyle. Through domesticity the Quakers attempted to insure the physical and spiritual health of children and to improve the living conditions of less fortunate families. The Adolphustown Quakers achieved considerable success through participation in local politics and by acquiring property to aid in the development of large households while working together towards the creation of a Christian community.

Substantial Households, Quakers Comparatively Considered

Quaker religious discipline flourished in Adolphustown from the 1790's to

the late 1810's, at which time changes to British immigration policy,²⁰ and local land market conditions,²¹ irreversibly altered the environment in which the society had maintained their spiritual and economic vitality. The results of these changes on the Adolphustown community are recorded as early as 1821 when the Monthly Meeting was reduced to a Preparative, under the auspices of the West Lake Monthly Meeting (Maps 1 and 2). Thomas Shillitoe remarked on the small size of the Preparative Meeting in 1824, prior to continuing his journey to the Half Yearly Select Meeting being convened at the West Lake Meeting House.²² We know that by the autumn of 1824, the Adolphustown Preparative had slipped to 64 members, while the West Lake Meeting boasted 250.²³

What Shillitoe experienced was the remains of a community that had its source of migrating American Friends abruptly terminated at approximately the same time as their own families reached maturity. We can reasonably hypothesize that the demise

**TABLE 4
Profiles Of Leading Adolphustown Municipal Officials**

NAME	No. Of Appoint-ments	Type of Offices	Land owned, Acquired by	UEL Muster/ Quaker
Wm. Moore	10	Town Warden Assessor	300 Acres Patent	1784 UEL
R. Beedel	9	Town Clerk Town Warden	100 Acres	QUAKER
D. Haight	9	Town Clerk Collector	225 Acres Purchase	QUAKER
P. Swade	6	Poundkeeper	-NONE-	—
Wlt. Casey	6	Town Warden Surety*	430 Acres Pat.+Purch.	QUAKER
J. Caniff	5	Town Warden Collector	100 Acres Patent	1796 UEL
W. Griffis	5	Constable Collector	-NONE-	1796 UEL

* Surety - Is listed as a Council position when one of the wealthier landowners acts to provide financial backing for a younger member who has been appointed tax assessor and collector.

Sources: Archives of Ontario; MS 788, Vol. 5; A.O., Abstract Index to Deeds; A.O., MS 303; Ontario Bureau of Industry Appendix to Report 1897.

TABLE 5
Comparison Of Quaker And Non- Quaker Households
Adolphustown, Upper Canada 1794 - 1820.

Quaker Households				:	Non - Quaker Households			
Year	Number of Households Corrected	Average Household Size	No. of one person Households	Number of Households Corrected	Average Household Size	No.of one person Households	% Quaker H'hlds	
1794	13	5.6	0	56	5.5	12	16.0%	
1797	18	6.2	1	65	5.5	10	20.2%	
1800	21	7.1	0	62	6.0	5	23.9%	
1804	20	7.4	1	65	6.7	4	23.3%	
1808	25	6.9	0	61	6.5	2	28.4%	
1812	30	7.0	0	51	7.2	0	37.0%	
1816	19	6.8	0	53	6.9	1	26.0%	
1820	20	8.2	0	67	5.9	1	22.7%	

¹ Household size has been corrected as to include only multiple member households due to the disproportionate number of single member households in the Non-Quaker community.

of the Adolphustown Quakers was a result of a rapid decline in new like-minded immigrants, marriage partners, and spiritual renewal, which (occurring after 1812) overlapped with the division of larger households, the exodus of familial labour and capital, as well as potential new leaders (Table 5).

Adolphustown Quaker demography can be divided into two distinct eras. Dynamic household growth marked the first era, which began with the attraction of households to the community and the establishment of the Quaker Preparative Meeting in 1798. Larger than average households rapidly developed in this era, which in turn generated an above average number of resident second generation households. The second era witnessed the stagnation, but not necessarily decline, of the community; although this followed shortly afterwards. Whereas the first era bore witness to proportional increases in Quaker households, the latter is characterized by a decline in the group, first to 25% and then 23% of all households in 1820. The next surviving religious census of Upper Canada in 1839-40 listed only two Quaker families totalling nine people.

The two periods can further be distinguished by the attraction of migrating households. In the 1816-20 period evidence of only four new Quaker households exists, of which all share the same surnames as prominent long term land owners. The future of the Quaker community was clearly jeopardized by the failure to attract new households and particularly landless or needy families. The era of dynamic expansion and spiritual fulfillment for the Upper Canadian Quakers was based upon the migration of Friends from New York and Pennsylvania. Hovinen found that 69% of the transfers into the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, prior to 1828, were of American origin, while 14% were transfers within Upper Canadian and 17% were British Isles transfers.²⁴ Migrating American Friends accounted for 84% of the certificates presented in Adolphustown to 1820, the remaining 16% being Upper Canadian transfers.

Quaker household sizes were on average consistently larger than households of non-Quaker households between 1794 and 1808. In the period 1794 to 1797, prior to the first issuing of land patents in the township, Quaker households grew steadily

from 5.6 to 6.4 persons, while those of other Protestant households stagnated at 5.5 persons. It would appear that this pre-patent era was one of considerable insecurity, even among those who held land grants, as evidence by the fact that 55% of all grantees failed to negotiate the transition from grants to patents. Similarly, of the 93 men listed in the 1784 and 1796 UEL Musters for Adolphustown, 46% did not acquire land in the township.

In contrast, Quakers increased rapidly from 1794 to 1800, even though they were inhibited from acquiring patents by the oath of allegiance required of early land patentees. They did not receive relief from this condition until after the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had petitioned the Upper Canadian Legislature in 1805, to rescind or modify the requirements.²⁵

By 1800 the average size of non-Quaker households steadily increased, reaching six persons per household and then peaking at 6.7 in 1804, prior to a decline in size that hit all households in the interval ending in 1808. Like Quaker households in this period, the average size of non-Quaker households was driven downward by the high number of resident second generation families that were being formed out of first generation households. Both Quaker and Other-households increased their average household size during the economic boom of the Napoleonic Wars (1808-1812), when Upper Canadian farm products were in great demand. In 1812, Other households surpassed the average size of Quaker households for the first time. By this period the Quaker community was at its zenith, with thirty households resident in the township. Many of these would have been migrating American Friends taking advantage of the community's prosperity. At the same time non-Quaker households dropped from 61 to 51 households, as many new second generation families left the hearth in search of land.

Quaker settlement was disrupted during the war years when many pacifist families fled this front line township. From 1812 to 1816 the entire community was affected by limited immigration, and the

apparent loss of male heads of households, as witnessed by the increase in female heads of households to six in 1816. Changes in post war immigration policies resulted in changes in the size of Quaker and non-Quaker households by 1820. The redirection of immigration away from the American states to British military and pauper migrants,²⁶ resulted in a large influx of non-Quaker households, leaving this group with an average household size below six persons. The Quaker community was bolstered by the return of 1812-1816 refugee households which, given the lack of modifying migrant households and few new second generation households, actually raised average household size above eight.

The data on Quaker and Other-households can be further divided into landed and landless categories, thus creating four relatively distinct household size trend lines (Table 6). Disaggregating Other-households into landed and landless categories illustrates the particular influence of land ownership on this group and of the modifying influence of membership in the Society of Friends. Landless-Other households initially grew from 4.7 to 5.4 persons in 1797, expanding more rapidly than landed Other households and landless Quakers. But this growth trend drops off significantly by 1800 after an initial 29% of the township lots had been patented. The possibility of obtaining legal titles to property in Adolphustown remained in doubt until the first patents were issued, thus giving hope to some heads of households who were subsequently shut out of the land market. After 1800, migrating landless non-Quaker households were replaced by new immigrant households of equal size, thus maintaining an average of about five persons per household.

With the increase in land patenting, and the security which was associated with it, non-Quaker households increased their average household size to 6.6 persons in 1800 and 7.4 in 1804. For the Quakers, security was to be found not only in land alone but in the fellowship of the Society of Friends as they pushed their households to 8.4 persons on average in 1800. Similarly the Quaker commitment to their religious community assisted the movement of larger

TABLE 6
Comparison Of Quaker And Other Household Size
Based On Land Ownership, Adolphustown, U.C.

Year	Quaker Land- Owners average Household Size (Sample Size)	Quaker Landless Households Average Size (Sample Size)	Other Land- Owners average Household Size (Sample Size)	Other Landless Households Average Size (Sample Size)
1794	5.8 (9)	5.3 (4)	5.5 (42)	4.6 (26)
1797	6.6 (11)	5.5 (8)	5.6 (30)	5.4 (30)
1800	8.4 (13)	5.7 (8)	6.6 (39)	4.7 (28)
1804	7.6 (14)	6.6 (7)	7.4 (36)	4.8 (33)
1808	7.2 (18)	6.4 (7)	7.3 (39)	4.8 (24)
1812	7.1 (22)	6.8 (8)	7.7 (35)	4.9 (16)
1816	6.6 (15)	9.0 (4)	8.1 (33)	4.7 (21)
1820	8.1 (16)	11.0 (4)	6.9 (32)	5.1 (36)

Source: Compiled by G. Finnegan from OBI (1897), Appendix to Report. and from A.O. Abstract Index to Deeds.

than average migrating families to pass through the township, some of whom occasionally settled and acquired land. Prior to 1812, many of these households were captured in the population returns and minutes of the Monthly Meetings; their average household size profile is distinct. Landless Quaker households were larger than landless Other-households, and more approximately follow the trend line of landed Other-households. By 1804, thirteen Landed Quaker households were helping to support eight non-landed Quaker families. Due to successful economic conversion from landless to landed, and to a lesser extent emigration, this ratio was reduced to one landless family for every five landed Quaker households in 1812.

This combination of large landless Quaker households and their ability to maintain residence in Adolphustown long enough to gain property ownership points to the role of the Meeting as a distributor of social as well as spiritual assistance between established and new households. Such philanthropy was a central tenet of the Society.

By cross-referencing the Abstract Index to Deeds, with the Quaker and Adolphustown population listings, it is possible to determine which first generation

TABLE 7
Development and Entitlement of
Second Generation Households in
Adolphustown, 1794-1820

	Quakers	Others
Number of First Generation Landed Family Groups	14	38
Number of First Generation Landed Households	19	47
Number of Second Generation Households Resident	21	31
Number of Second Generation Households Acquiring Land	7	5
Average Residence Landless 2nd Generation Households (yrs)	7.5	5.9

Source: Compiled by G. Finnegan.

¹ Excluding second generation sons who inherit land.

patentee and deed holding family groupings were capable of assisting second generation households to establish families and acquire clear titles to property in the township, exclusive of land inheritances. Between 1794 and 1820, 52 extended land owning family households groupings can be detected in the population returns. Once again the

People Of Providence, Polity and Property

results indicate that the Quakers, although a minority of the total population, were more successful in settling second generation households and in helping them gain land titles in the township (Table 7).

Given the limitations of Adolphustown's land market it was inevitable that the majority of newly formed households would go landless. Quakers were again supportive of members of the Society, assisting 33% of their second generation households to achieve land titles. In comparison only 16% of second generation households generated by landed Other-households attained property.

Conclusions

In the period 1794 to 1820, the influence of the Disciplines of the Society of Friends is readily apparent in the evolution of prosperous Quaker households in Adolphustown. At the household level Quakers developed larger than average family units, and did so at an early date. Landed Quakers led the way with households that exceeded eight people on average in 1800. These landed families, with their organizational basis in municipal and religious meeting halls, provided the financial and spiritual support for less advantaged migrating Quaker households. The philanthropy and prosperity of these landed households is attested by the larger household sizes attained by the Quakers and the frequency with which they acquired land. Through the assistance of the Society of Friends, it would appear that proportionally more young Quaker couples created their own households, retained longer residence, and acquired land in the township when compared to non-Quaker families. Finally, land transfers within the community and purchases indicate that proximity to members of the fellowship for practical, as well as spiritual needs, was of importance and sought after; a melding of familial and religious kinship ties.

While a core group of persisting households had managed to assist the migration, advancement and settlement of their fellow American Quakers from the 1790's through to the latter part of the 1810's, they

were unable to maintain the community in the 1820's. Adolphustown was shut off from American Quaker migrants after 1816 and in all probability would have been bypassed by westward migrants due to its restricted and expensive land market. After this period, the capital of persisting landed Quakers would inevitably have been used to acquire property for subsequent generations outside the township. As an area for new commercial developments Adolphustown offered few opportunities having had its 1822 petition for an official Port of Entry rejected by the Upper Canadian Legislature in 1826.²⁷

Thomas Shillitoe found the Bay of Quinte Quakers to be declined in 1827, having spiritually fallen from the wholesome discipline and having lost control of their domestic hearth:

Death is come up into our windows
and is entering into our palaces
to cut off the children from without
and the young men from the streets.²⁸

The prospect of a strong Quaker future in Adolphustown and vicinity was..."altogether discouraging given the conduct of the youth".²⁹ Given the condition of the land market in Adolphustown it is apparent that the conduct of younger households could no longer be controlled by the promise of land and secured through proximity of new households residences within the townships, nor could the community be renewed in spirit by attracting new landless American Quaker immigrants.

Footnotes:

1. Dr. Gregory Finnegan is a Consultant in Ottawa, Ontario who is presently under contract with the National Atlas Information Service, Natural Resources Canada. Address enquiries to 1401-71 Somerset Street West, Ottawa, Ontario K2P-2G2.
2. Levy, B. Quakers and the American Family, British Settlement in the Delaware Valley. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) page 1.
3. *ibid.*, pages 4-17.
4. Homan, W.J. Children and Quakerism, A Study of the Place of Children in the Theory and Practice of the Society of Friends. (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1972), page 19.

People Of Providence, Polity and Property

5. Zavitz, Jane. "The Use of Quaker Records and Minutes for Genealogical Search in Ontario", Families Vol. 19/1 (1980), page 10.
6. Secondary evidence relating to membership is found in the biographical sketches of the Appendix to the Report (including: Introduction, Record of Town Meetings, Return of Inhabitants, Personal Notes), Ontario Bureau of Industries (1897) pp: V-72.; in A. G. Dorland's authoritative, History of the Society of Friends in Canada (Toronto: The MacMillan Company, 1927) pages 51, 80-81, 87, 194-195; and in the published accounts of Quaker travelling ministers Elias Hicks' 1803, Isaac Stephenson's 1824, and Thomas Shillitoe's 1827, on their journeys through Upper Canada.
7. Gourlay, R. Statistical Account of Upper Canada, in two volumes. (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1822), page 272
8. Dorland, op cit., pages 15, 16, 51.
9. (A.D.; MU 1128: 4)
10. Dorland, op cit., page 196.
11. Personal Communication, C. Densmore, April 20, 1994.
12. Tolles, F. B. Meeting House and Counting House The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763. (New York: The Norton Library W.W. Norton and Co., 1963), pages 73-75.
13. Gagan, D. Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) page 93.
14. Although a Town Plot (fronts of lots 22 through 26, 1st. Con.) and a 200 acre Glebe (lots 24 and 25, 1st. Con.) were set aside for the development of the Village of Adolphustown, it would appear that no contingencies were made in the Township for Crown and Clergy Reserves at the usual rates of one-seventh of the land base.
15. Dorland, op cit., page 56.
16. Homan, op cit., pages 15-17, Tolles, op cit., pages 73-74.
17. Levy, op cit., page 207.
18. Dorland, op cit., page 10 fn.
19. It is doubtful that the Adolphustown Township Council positions held by these men provided either profit or honour. The primary function of the elected council was to gather taxes and provide rudimentary administration, including fence viewing, road opening the impounding of stray animals and other common place municipal functions.
20. Harris, R.C. and J. Warkintin Canada Before Confederation: A study in Historical Geography. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974) p. 116.
21. Naylor, R.T. Canada in the European Age, 1453-1919. (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1987), pages 214-215; McCallum, J. Unequal Beginnings, Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario until 1870. (Toronto; University of Toronto Press 1980), page 12.
22. Shillitoe, T. Journal of the life, labours and travels in the service of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: in two volumes. (London: Harvey and Darton, 1839), page 205.
23. Bushell, C. "Visit to Isaac Stephenson to Upper Canada in 1824", Canadian Quaker History Newsletter, No. 7 (1974).
24. Hovinen, E.J. The Quakers of Young Street. (Toronto: Discussion Paper 17, Department of Geography, York University, 1978), page 13.
25. Bowden, J. The History of the Society of Friends in America, in two volumes. (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850-1854), Vol. II, page 361.
26. Baehre, R. "Pauper Emigration to Upper Canada in the 1830's," Histoire Social, Social History, Vol. 14 (28) (1981), page 364.
27. (NAC, RG1, E3 Vol 62: 80-82)
28. Shillitoe, op cit., pages 206-207).
29. *ibid.*

Manuscripts

- Archives of Ontario, RG1 AIII, MS 400, Reels 6 and 7 - Adolphustown, Midland District Land Schedule, Vacant Lands, 1790.
- Archives of Ontario RG1 AIV Vol. 9 List of Proprietors, Adolphustown, Mecklenburg District, (Lots under Certificates of Location) 1790.
- Archives of Ontario RG1 AIV Vol. 11 List of Proprietors, Adolphustown Midland District, 1800
- Archives of Ontario (GS 4614). Abstract Index to Deeds, Adolphustown, Lennox and Addington County, circa 1797-1830.
- Archives of Ontario Ms 303, B-2-1, Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, 1808-1824.
- Archives of Ontario Ms 303, B-2-2, Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, 1808-1824.
- Archives of Ontario Ms 788, vol. 5 Misc. Collection 1796 #3 Roll of Inhabitants of the Midland District,...who adhered to the Unity of the Empire.
- Archives of Ontario, RG1 CIV - Adolphustown Township Papers.
- National Archives of Canada RG1 E3 Vol. 62: 80-82. Petition of the Inhabitants of Adolphustown for a Port of Entry, July 22, 1822; not recommended to Council May 5, 1826.

Joseph Hoag and Traveling Under Quaker Concern: Interpreting the Sources¹

by Christopher Densmore

In January 1801, Joseph Hoag left his home and family in Vermont and undertook a religious journey to visit Friends and others in New England, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. His trip took twenty months, nine of them spent in Atlantic Canada. This afternoon I want to use the account of Hoag's visit to the Maritimes as the basis for a broader discussion of Quaker custom and practice.²

The trip was not an unusual one for an acknowledged minister of the Society of Friends. During his lifetime, Hoag undertook several extensive journeys. In 1823, he began a journey which took twenty-one months and covered 7,600 miles. He began his last major religious visit in 1842, in his eighty first year, traveling to Indiana and Iowa before returning to Vermont in 1844. Other Friends were equally active. Quaker men and women, for gender was not seen as a qualification for the ministry, might feel called to visit all meetings within the compass of their own quarterly or yearly meeting, or make extensive visits to other yearly meetings and quite a few, like Hoag, visited all or virtually all, Quaker meetings in North America.

And Quakers often kept journals. The Journal of Joseph Hoag is a fascinating document and the most complete account of the Quaker settlements that flourished briefly in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the late 18th and early 19th century. It is also a bit of a textual problem because after Hoag's death, there was a schism among the Wilburite Friends and both sides published a their own edition of the journal. A manuscript copy of the journal in the Quaker Collection at Haverford College in Pennsylvania includes some brief sections that were left out of both printed editions. The transcription of the journal in the Canadian Quaker History Newsletter is an attempt to provide the fullest possible version of the portion of the Hoag journal covering his travels in the Maritimes.

Although the principle reason for printing the journal is as a document of a little known period in Canadian Quaker history, I think that Hoag's description of life and religion in the Maritimes will be useful for Canadian historians who may have no specific interest in Quaker history.

To understand the journal, we must begin by understanding the nature of the ministry in the Society of Friends. Robert Barclay's Apology for the True Christian Divinity which was held by generations of Friends as the summation of Quaker religious thinking, held the proposition that all have access to the inner light.³ People had direct access to religious truth. However, it did not necessarily follow that everyone was equally able to recognize the true leadings of the spirit or that everyone was called upon to minister to others. The early Quakers wanted to avoid the plight of the Ranters for whom all leadings appeared equally valid -- if everything is valid then nothing is valid. The Quaker solution was to hold up individual experience to the collective experience of the meeting. The monthly meeting could recognize as "ministers" those who spoke and appeared to be on the right path. Those so recognized spoke with some authority as representatives of the Society of Friends. However, the practice of recognizing certain people as having spiritual gifts could be a source of tension within the Society. The balance between the authority of the ministers and elders and the corporate authority of the meeting, or between either and an individual, could degenerate on one hand into an anarchy of belief and behavior, and on the other to an oppressive rule by elders. This is, in part, what the David Willson separation in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting was about.

Hoag was led to the conviction that he should visit New England and the Maritimes. As a minister, he could make such journeys but only with the permission of his monthly and quarterly meetings and

then he would travel with a certificate attesting to meeting approval or "unity" with his concern. In Hoag's case, some Friends were uneasy with his request and delayed approval. It is significant that although Hoag was satisfied in his own mind that his request was right, he waited for action by his meeting. Hoag recognized both the authority of his meeting and the religious nature of its deliberations.

Traveling ministers were accompanied by a companion. For most of his journey, Hoag traveled with Joseph Wing from New England. After Wing returned home from Nova Scotia, Hoag traveled with local Nova Scotia Friends. Hoag probably received some support from his home meeting and from Friends along the way, but would have rejected any assistance that would have implied payment for preaching. In the Society of Friends, women could also be acknowledged ministers as was Joseph's wife Huldah. Quaker women were used to managing farm and home during their husbands' absence, and Quaker men managed during their wives' absence.

A primary motivation for many Quaker journeys was to visit other Quaker meetings, particularly those in remote areas, but traveling Quaker ministers also "appointed" meetings among non-Quakers. Hoag also had some knowledge the situation of Quakers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. His neighbor in Vermont, Timothy Rogers, - who with other members of the Ferrisburg meeting would be an early settler at Yonge Street, had traveled there in 1795 as the companion of Joshua Evans, a Philadelphia Friend.

Some people seem to have the idea that the Society of Friends was a closed system in this period. Quaker did see themselves as a "peculiar people" and were distinguishable by their plain speech and dress, but at all periods in Quaker history, the Society was strengthened by "convinced" Friends. One problem with church history is defining religious affiliation. If we narrowly construe Quaker influence as limited to those who actually appear in the records of the meeting as members, we miss the reality. Here I must move forward in time to the 1870-71 Census of Canada which listed

7,106 Quakers in Ontario. At that time, the Hicksite Genesee Yearly Meeting counted 1,079 Canadian members (1868), and the Orthodox Canada Yearly Meeting counted 1,641 members. We get a total reported membership of some 2,700 Friends, set against a census count of more than 7,000. While some of those 7,000 may have had little real contact with the Society, they all presumably felt an affinity with the Quakers.⁴

Hoag is a representative of the what is sometimes referred to as the "Quietist" tendency in the Society of Friends. Hoag's journey and his preaching were done under the leadings of the spirit. Hoag strove to be faithful to the leadings of the spirit and on three occasions during his travels in Canada felt a great distress in his own mind when he feared that he was acting on his own initiative, trusting to his human understanding, rather than attending to his leadings. His feelings of distress are ultimately resolved by his submission to the will of the Lord.

Friends traveling in the ministry have sometimes been referred to as "missionaries." I am not entirely comfortable with this designation. I think of missionaries as people who go out seeking to convince others of a particular system. In Hoag's case, the beginning point of his labors was obedience to the spirit. Also I think that Hoag is not attempting to make people into Quakers. He certainly believed in the correctness of Quakerism, but the results of his preaching were not new Quaker converts -- there is only a single mention in the account of a family joining with the Society of Friends as a result of his activities -- but to have people attend to their own spiritual well being. It is therefore difficult to judge the impact of Hoag on his listeners.

Hoag's journal is the most extensive account we have of the Quaker settlements in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the early 1800s, but perhaps its value is even more as an account of Quaker attitudes toward non-Quakers, and of the state of religion in the Maritimes during a period of considerable religious awakening. If we focus solely on Hoag's Quakerism, we risk missing the fact that at that period, Hoag was only one of a number of itinerants trav-

eling through the Maritimes representing the Methodists, Baptists, New Lights and other influences.

Hoag characterizes many of the non-Quakers he encounters as "tender" and "loving" toward Friends and receptive to the truth. The most intriguing reference in the account is to three groups of people living on the St. John River above Frederickton who have adopted Quaker-like forms of meeting, have rejected the necessity of water baptism and allow women to preach in their meetings. This is not the only example of a group adopting Quaker forms apparently independently of the influence of the Society. The Nicolites in Maryland in the late 18th century eventually joined with the Society of Friends and early Quakers traveling in the ministry in New England ran across similar groups meeting after the manner of Friends. The Quakers themselves are sometimes considered to be the English form of European "Anabaptists", that is, that Quakers are closely related to the Mennonite and Amish. However, there is no direct connection between the Anabaptists of the 1520s and the first Quakers of the 1650s. As an aside, George Fox was not the founder of Quakerism in the sense of a Joseph Smith or Mary Baker Eddy, but more of one who had the organizational genius to bring together various like-minded groups. Had George Fox never lived, there would have been something very like the Quakerism we know today arising in England at that time.

Part of Quaker spirituality can be seen in the attitude of Quakers toward the Native Americans. Much of the early Christian Native American contact was colored by the idea of the exclusivity of the Christian religion. The Indians had no Bible, and were cut off from salvation. The Quaker concept, as presented in Barclay's Apology for True Christian Divinity held the universality of the saving light. An Indians who heard Hoag in New Brunswick placed his hand on his heart and said, "I could not understand every word, but I felt him here." The Quakers perceived the Native Americans as having valid spiritual insights and as being receptive to the leadings of the spirit even though they may have

lacked knowledge of the Christian religion.

Hoag's generally positive attitude toward religious people did not extend to those he referred to as "priests." In the Quaker sense, the term "priest" referred to those who took payment for preaching and also to those who set up outward forms as more important than inner spiritual life. Hoag often held meetings in Baptist and Methodist meeting houses though at first he felt some discomfort when sitting in the pulpit of the Methodist church in Halifax like a "priest." Hoag also did not care to engage in disputes over matters of religious doctrine, and was plainly annoyed with a group of Swedenborgians wanted to argue with him. Quakers mistrust the professionally religious. Hoag's greatest condemnation and sorrow, however, is reserved for those that know the truth but do not follow it, particularly irreligious people who were once Friends. Again, the point seems to be that faithfulness to the leadings of the spirit is more important than particular forms and doctrines. Quaker tolerance for divergence in religious sentiment does not mean indifference. Hoag did hold to specific theological positions, and at several points speaks against the doctrine of "once in grace, always in grace" that was held by some of the New Lights. I'm afraid Hoag did not think too much of David Willson and the Children of Peace who he encountered at Queen Street in 1824. "[H]ere are a number who have dissented from Friends, and gone into wild Ranterism."⁵

Hoag's journey probably strengthened the Quakers in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, where Friends from Nantucket settled in the 1780s, and the newer Quaker meeting in the Annapolis Valley that was an off-shoot of the Dartmouth Meeting. There is evidence in the manuscript journal of Timothy Rogers that the Quaker community in the Annapolis Valley flourished for some years after Hoag's visit. How long the Nova Scotia Quakers remained is not clear. The record book of the Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, meeting ends in 1798. Presumably there were records kept after that time, but their whereabouts is unknown. But the Society of Friends as an organized religious body died out in Atlantic Canada in the early 1800s --

at the same time it was expanding rapidly in Upper Canada. There are now Quaker meetings in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but not descended directly from those early meetings. I wonder, however, what became of those groups of people meeting Quaker-like up the St. Johns River. Perhaps those groups, or their members, were ultimately absorbed by the Baptists or the Methodists, but may have retained some of their older attitudes. There are significant ways in which Quakers, Methodist and Baptists resemble one another.

Traveling Friends like Hoag helped tie together the Society of Friends. By the time Hoag visited Yonge Street in 1823, he had visited virtually every Quaker meeting in North America from Nova Scotia to North Carolina and from Nantucket to Indiana. Hoag would have known many of the Yonge Street Friends, some of whom had been his neighbors in Vermont years before. Friends traveling reinforced Quaker unity in North America and with Friends in Great Britain. Friends traveling from Yonge Street in the ministry and to the Quaker Half-Yearly and Yearly Meetings as representatives of the local meeting also reinforced the sense of Quaker identity.

I don't have figures on the number of traveling Friends who visited Yonge Street, but I have seen a list kept by a member of the Orthodox Friends meeting in Shelby, New York, a small rural meeting, from 1836 to 1860. During this time, 113 traveling Friends visited Shelby, four or five a year.⁶ I assume that a meeting like Yonge Street would have had many more Friendly visitors. Certainly Elias Hicks, Joseph Hoag and Edward Hicks stood in this meeting house. Some of you may be familiar with Edward Hicks as the painter of the "Peaceable Kingdom."

Many Friends like Hoag kept journals. Literally hundreds have been printed. Others exist only in manuscript in libraries and historical societies. Others possibly exist in private hands. At least two members of this meeting left "writings" which may still exist. Samuel Hughes, who left the Society of Friends in 1812 with David Willson but returned to the Society in the late 1830s, left writings after his death in

1856 with the hope that they be published. Anyone knowing of Hughes' writings, either published or unpublished, please let us know. John Watson (1779-1865) also left "writings," some of which seem to have been published by 1872 but I have never been able to locate them.⁷

Most of these journals were written by Friends like Hoag who were acknowledged ministers and often they document travels in the ministry. Some are literary classics, some are little more than tallies of meetings visited. Too often, because these journals were often written for the encouragement of the rising generations, the journals concentrate on religious life and say little about the daily lives of their authors. Hoag and many of the other Quaker journalists of this period were farmers and artisans, but one learns very little about Hoag's daily activities from his journal. While we value deeply the view of Quakerism provided by Hoag's Journal, the history of the Society of Friends is also expressed in the collective deliberations of the Quaker meeting, in the controversial pamphlets of a David Willson, and in the diaries and account books of those many Friends who were not called to the ministry, but who within the Quaker scheme of things, participated in both the business and the spirituality of the meeting.

Footnotes:

1. A talk before the annual meeting of the Canadian Friends Historical Association, Newmarket, Ontario, October 25, 1986.
2. See the Canadian Quaker History Newsletter, Supplement to Issue No. 39, July 1986.
3. See the Fifth and Sixth Proposition in Robert Barclay Apology for the True Christian Divinity; Barclay's Anarchy of the Ranters also sets forth the early Quaker position on church discipline.
4. See Census of Canada 1870-1871. Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1873, Volume 1, Table II, "Population by Religions." Quaker figures from the printed minutes of Genessee Yearly Meeting for 1868 and of Canada Yearly Meeting for 1871.
5. Joseph Hoag Journal. (1861), p. 253.
6. Derived from a "List of public friends names and their places of residence, that have visited the Shelby Meeting when traveling in the ministry since the 5th

month of the Year 1836" in the Randsome Family Papers NM19.75 at the New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York.

7. The minutes of the Representative Meeting (also known as the Meeting for Sufferings) of Genessee Yearly Meeting refer to unpublished writings of Samuel Hughes (6 Mo. 15, 1848) and of John Watson (6 Mo. 11th, 1872). In reference to Watson, the Representative meeting reported that "A portion of the writing of John Watson (deceased), formerly of King[?], York County, Ontario, were presented to the meeting. Information being received that copious extracts had been taken therefrom and published, the meeting is united in passing them by." A memorial to John Watson is included in the printed minutes for Genessee Yearly Meeting for 1866.

The Journal of Joseph Hoag - A Quaker in Atlantic Canada

as it refers to his visit (travels in the Quaker Ministry) to Nova Scotia
and New Brunswick 1801 - 1802

*edited and with an introduction by Christopher Densmore and Doris Calder
with three maps by Doris Calder with Nancy Knechtel*

Introduction:

In 1801, Joseph Hoag set out from Vermont on a religious visit to Quakers and others in New England and to “Nova Scotia and the adjoining British provinces.” The journal kept by Hoag of his nine months in Atlantic Canada is the most extensive description of the Quaker settlements in that region and also records Hoag’s contacts with New Lights, Baptists, Methodists and Swedenborgians.

Hoag’s interest in the Maritimes may have been sparked by his Vermont neighbor Timothy Rogers who traveled to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in 1795, as a companion to Joshua Evans who was making a religious visit to Canada. Rogers’ manuscript journal contains copies of letters he received from Samuel Moore and Thomas Green who he had visited in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia and who, by 1797, were anticipating a visit from Joseph Hoag.¹

Joseph Hoag was an acknowledged minister in the Society of Friends. His concern to visit Friends and others outside of his own Yearly Meeting required the approval of his monthly and Quarterly Meetings who prepared a certificate or minute showing their approval. Friends traveling in the ministry normally were accompanied by a companion. For most of the trip through the Maritimes, Hoag traveled with Joseph Wing of New Bedford, Massachusetts. After Wing returned to New England from Nova Scotia in 10th Mo. 1801, Hoag was accompanied in the remainder of his journeys by Samuel Moore and Thomas Green of Nova Scotia.

At the time of Hoag's travels, there were three regions of Quaker settlement in the Maritimes. In the 1780s, a number of Friends from the island of Nantucket moved

to Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. The meeting at Dartmouth was a distant "Preparative Meeting" of the Nantucket Monthly Meeting. While a number of Quakers from the Dartmouth meeting moved to Great Britain in the 1790s some remained at Dartmouth. Quakers in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia appear to have been connected with the Dartmouth meeting. Another area was in New Brunswick where Quakers accompanying the loyalist settlers had a Meeting near Beaver Harbour.²

Joseph Hoag was born in Dutchess County, New York in 1762 and moved to Vermont about 1789. Hoag and his wife, Huldah Case Hoag, were well known Quaker ministers. Hoag continued making extensive travels during his life, the last to Iowa in 1842 when he was 81.

There are two printed editions of the Hoag Journal. The first was printed at Sherwoods, New York, in 1860. The second was originally published at Auburn, New York, in 1861 and reprinted in London in 1862 and in Philadelphia in 1909.

In the 1840s, Joseph Hoag was a strong adherent of the Wilburite position within the society of friends. Hoag, like John Wilbur of Rhode Island, disapproved of the direction taken by some Evangelical Friends, as represented by English Friend John Joseph Gurney. In 1845, Hoag gathered up his “writings” and took them to his granddaughter, Narcissa Battey, who acted as his scribe and amanuensis. The following winter, he placed his writings in the hands of Narcissa's parents, Ezra and Hannah Hoag Battey, with instructions that they not fall into the hands of the followers of John Joseph Gurney. The separation between the Wilburite and Gurneyites in the Orthodox Society of Friends which Hoag had anticipated occurred in New England Yearly Meeting in 1846. Hoag's own

Quarterly Meeting, which was a part of New York Yearly Meeting, primarily from Vermont and central New York, undertook the publication of Hoag's journal in the 1850s.

The Wilburite New York Yearly Meeting at Poplar Ridge sent the manuscript of Hoag's journal to William Hodgson in Philadelphia for assistance in preparing it for publication. However, the Wilburites in New York Yearly Meeting were divided, and one faction objected to some of Hodgson's editorial work. The Yearly Meeting split in 1859 and both factions published an edition of the Hoag Journal. The 1860 edition was printed by the "Otis" faction and the 1861 edition by the "King" faction.³

In the Quaker Collection at Haverford College is a manuscript copy of the journal which appears to represent an earlier version of the Hoag journal than either of the printed editions.⁴ The manuscript lacks punctuation, is marked by misspellings, and contains some materials omitted from both of the printed versions. The manuscript appears to represent the form of the Hoag journal sometime after Hoag's writings were put into shape by Joseph Hoag with the assistance of Narcissa Battey in 1845. In the absence of Hoag's original diaries and papers, it is this manuscript which appears to be closest to the original. The two printed texts differ from each other in numerous minor ways, but most of these differences appear to represent matters of editorial style rather than substantive disagreements on the meaning of the text.

The version of the Hoag account which follows is based on the Haverford College manuscript. In the interest of presenting a readable text, we have added punctuation, corrected spelling and in a small number of instances, changed the tense of a verb. The word order has been maintained intact. Words enclosed in brackets have been added. Place and personal names are first spelled as they appear in the text, followed when appropriate by the correct or more probable spelling of the name. Lengthy or significant passages omitted in the printed versions are under-

lined.

The manuscript of the Hoag journal is used with the permission of the Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. Among the people and institutions who supplied information and assistance in the editing of this manuscript are Elizabeth Potts Brown, Haverford College Library; Thomas E. Drake, New York City; Rosalind C. Wiggins, Archives of New England Yearly Meeting; Malcolm Thomas, Friends House, London; Edouard A. Stackpole, Nantucket Historical Association; Elizabeth Moger, Haviland Records Room, New York Yearly Meeting; Nicholas de Jong, Public Archives, Prince Edward Island; and Nancy Knechtel, Niagara County Community College, for drafting the maps.

The Journal of Joseph Hoag

[The following section is transcribed from page 73 of the manuscript; corresponding to pp. 107-138 of the 1860 and 77-78 of the 1861 editions.]

Having lived here [in Vermont] from about the age of twenty-eight to thirty eight years of age and meetings thus far settled in order and my family as comfortable as I in that time could provide [and] my interest being nearly clear of debits against it, I found my mind impressed from day to day with a prospect to pay a religious visit to the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and the adjoining British provinces to Friends with others of New England generally. After considering the importance of the subject several months the Lord gave me to see clear the time had come to inform Friends of my concern, which at the next Monthly Meeting I complied with under a feeling sense of the greatness of the undertaking. The meeting took up the subject and appointed a committee to consider of it and report. They named some of Danby Friends on the committee, one that had much influence. They set down stakes[?] at once [that] I should not go unless I would give up all my prospect on British ground and then I might go. This I could not dare to do. They kept it along about one year without giving a detailed report. At length the prospect and

concern left me as much as though it had never been. I informed the meeting. The Friends that held back appeared to be shocked the business dropped. I felt quite easy for more than a year but those that held back were very uneasy the whole time That it seemed we both shared the just reward of our works. It was ascertained that the one that most held back intended to go with me and have the certificate so fixed that he could go as far as he pleased and come home when he pleased and bring me with him as a guardian. This plan failed. He did not go with me. When I opened my prospect again in the year 1800, the meeting gave me a certificate expressive of full unity as quick as they could and the Quarterly Meeting endorsed it and sent me off without any companion at last, saving a Friend and his wife that was going on a social visit to their relatives to be my company until I got amongst Friends of that Yearly Meeting [e.g. New England Yearly Meeting]. It appears by the minutes I kept that I got ready and took a solemn leave of my family the 5th of first month, 1801.⁵

[Hoag traveled through New York and New England from January through July. The account is continued again at the time of Hoag's departure from Nantucket with his companion Joseph Wing. The main body of Hoag's account is from pp. 93-114 of the manuscript and corresponds to pp. 105-138 in the 1860 and 94-122 in the 1861 edition.]

On the 14th of 7th month, we sailed for Nova Scotia. We were ten days on the voyage occasioned by contrary winds, fog and [a] poor pilot, which took us to the 19th of the month when we got into Beaver [Harbor] where we came among the few Friends there and had a meeting with them that day. It being the first day of the week, there was more of a gathering than I expected. In the course of my testimony I was led to speak to a single state that felt whole and thought himself in good standing, who was in good health and as to the outward, appeared likely to live for years, [but] who had not long to live and was deceived in his favorable belief of himself and was led to call his attention home to a narrow heart search and a faithful petition to the Lord,

that He would shew them how it stood between Him and his soul; that the Lord will shew thee and shew mercy too; this is the only escape from a disappointment in the end, that cannot be recovered.

We then went back in the country to a new settlement and had a large favored meeting in a barn. A tribe of Indians came to it an sit very sober. After meeting they were asked how they liked what was said. One of them answered putting his hand on his breast, "I could not understand every word but I felt him here. I believe he is a very good man." Oh, thought I, how many of the wise and learned never think to try preaching to that standard.

We returned back to the Friend's house we first put up at. We left him well and found him sick with the pleurisy. I had it on my mind to have another meeting there. It was readily consented to and the sick Friend chose to lay in the room where the meeting was. I had to take up the subject of the woe to them that was at ease, and trusted in the mountain of Samaria, shewing there was no greater mountain than the gospel, and no greater name than the truth for that was all over and where all this was professed and believed, and their peace not made with God, it would disappoint in the end and this was the woe under the gospel. After the meeting the sick man was much broken down and acknowledged that he saw it was not with him as he expected. We left him under great exercise. I heard a few weeks after he was gone and that after passing through great and painful exercises he was favored to become quiet in a resigned state of mind which was joyful to hear.

Before I take leave of this place, I shall feel most easy to remark that all three of those meetings were favored ones. The truth was in dominion and the people generally acknowledged its doctrines. One thing led to mourning, as Friends did not meet together nor sit down in their families [but were] not willing that there children should go to other meetings. Of course [the] poor things were growing up in a way that was not only awkward but uneasy to themselves; not informed of Friends principles through the neglect of their parents. I was grieved

for them and cleared my mind to the parents faithfully and left them. Oh, may the Lord remember the dear children that are so neglected and be a Father to them and gather them into his own enclosure.

We stayed hereabouts to get a passage until first day. About 10 o'clock set sail for St. John's. Had a quick passage and made a short tarry at St. John's. Went up the river about 60 miles in an open boat. Set out late in the day and the wind leaving us, we sat in the boat nearly all night. It being foggy it was very uncomfortable and [what] made it more afflicting we had a noisy ruffian on board and a young girl. After dark he set to pulling her about. I saw she was not pleased with it and I thought she was alarmed. I asked her if she wanted protection [and] she said yes. I said, "Come and sit here and thee shall have it." She readily came and sat down between me and Joseph Wing. He then attacked me. I several times did him stand off which he appeared to resent. I then, with a tone of voice that expressed determination and resentment, bid him not lay hands on her nor thrust my principles too far, for I would protect a woman that asked the favor of me to the last. That he might depend upon. He came no more near us but kept his abusive clamor going until the girl went on shore. When we got started again I took up his conduct and reasoned with him until I got him still and told him I pitied his parents as they had given him a good education and the school-master that had bestowed so much labor in vain and that I was sorry for him that he had neither the gratitude, honor, nor good sense to shew to the world that he had been educated for, I said he was a man of pretty good learning, and that all civil people would feel as I did. The quicker they were out of his company the better they would be satisfied. The poor man looked sorry and shamed. I left him to think and parted.⁶

We landed near the place we intended and hired horses of Hugh Coperthite [Copperthwaite] and rode forty miles up the river and came among a people that held their meetings some like Friends. They rejected hireling ministry and held that none ought to preach, only those who were called on and qualified by the spirit of Christ.

There were three meetings twelve miles distant from each other.⁷ They generally closed their meetings with a prayer or a hymn. We got among them the second day's travel, about noon, and had a meeting with them at five in the afternoon. There was openness with the people to hear and receive the truth which flowed freely in gospel authority. They were broken into tenderness under a sense of divine favor. The day following we had a meeting about a mile up the river. It was large and favored and a truly humbling time. Praised be the Most High God.

After meeting we were called upon to give our opinion on women's preaching, [they] informing [us] that they had three women, one at each meeting who preached and that they were the most able ministers they had and that all the traveling ministers who came along before us had opposed women's preaching, which opened the door for us to let them know we approved of women's preaching and had them among us who were able ministers [and] gave them our reasons at large why we approved of them in a way that was satisfactory and rejoicing to many of them.

We then went to Nicholas Rideout's where we had another large meeting for the place, a day of high favor and renewed fervor to the people. May they be wise and improve it to their comfort. We returned to Hugh Copperthwaite's and delivered up his horses. He would take nothing for their services. We had no meeting on seventh day, first day two. The first was pretty satisfactory to the people, the latter a large gathering of several different societies. I was led to shew largely that the law and ceremonies in our day was all of a piece and that none of them would make comers to them perfect as to the conscience and, of course, left them under the dominion of sin, and that nothing could purify the conscience but the law of the spirit of life that makes free from the law of sin and death. This doctrine offended some, though they could bring nothing to confute it, yet were fretted with it. Others rejoiced that the subject was clearly opened to their understanding.

On the second day of the week we traveled twelve miles down the river. Had a

meeting at the house of one Birdsils [Birdsall] who went from Friends; a number being there of that sort. I had close exercise and plain labor among them [and] felt satisfaction in being honest to my Lord and Master.

We continued down the River to New Brunswick [Saint John] on sixth day, 14th of [the] month. We had a large meeting in the Methodists house. The people sat respectfully sober. [They] received our visit well and treated us kind. 15th [of the] Mo. had no meeting. 16th [of the] Mo and first day attended two. The first was satisfactory, the last meeting was much hurt by my endeavouring to evade taking hold of the subject as it opened in my mind. After pursuing a little it all left me and I had to sit down in confusion. It remained so until meeting ended and some after until the Lord shewed me if I had looked to Him for counsel and strength He would have carried me through all He required but in that leaned to my own understanding, it was but right He should chastise me. A humbling, instructing time it was to me.

The 17th we sailed for Westmoreland, but went up Maccan River to Nathan Hoag's and had a meeting there among a thoughtful, inquiring people, mostly Welsh, that appeared willing to hear and believe the truth. The day following we had a meeting down the River a piece that was satisfactory and the next day in the Court House near Cumberland. It was a large company of mixed people and exercising time though some of them acknowledged to the truth. There were many others that when their sentiments were crossed it seems to set them on fire, particularly the belief that if a man once has grace he cannot be lost, let him do what he will, he will be brought in at last. This idea is so pleasing to the carnal nature that it is almost impossible, sorrowful as it is, to prevail with them to admit the thought that it is possible for them to be wrong, which closes the way in these parts for profitable labor in this part of the land.

I fell in with Swedenborgians who tried hard to bring me over to their belief [and] kept about me several days.⁸ At length one of them asked what reason I

could give why we were not in duty bound to believe what that man of God [Swedenborg] wrote, as much as to believe the scriptures when the prophets said, "Thus saith the Lord." I mused a little. It came into my mind to answer, "That [Swedenborg's] was a revelation so different from the law or gospel and therefore was a new dispensation and that God chose his own way to reveal the law in a way that man could not counterfeit by signs and miracles that were visible to the natural eye, and that when Jesus Christ came to introduce the gospel he wrought miracles that were as much greater than those of the law as the gospel was more glorious and that we Quakers were not going to give away revelation that had no better foundation than the assertion of one man. They made no reply. I got rid of them to my joy and thankfulness.

After the last meeting we were kindly invited home by Thomas Roach [Rotch in 1860 ed], a Methodist by profession. He lent us horses to ride across the country. A civil old man was our pilot. They, neither of them would have anything for their services. We rode it in one day and dismissed the man and horses. He returned the next day. We were detained about a week before we could cross the Bay to St. John's Island. It being wheat harvest, we went into the field to labor to save spending money. We earned our living and one dollar over.

While detained here an enemy poured his floods upon me, insinuating that I had no business there. If I had, I should not have been disappointed and that was not all. I had left my business at home and family to suffer and that I was deceived and had deceived my friends. To be a deceiver and false teacher was the wickedest of all sin and that I was guilty of that sin for destroyed the souls of others which was worse than to destroy their bodies. In this way I was afflicted from day to day. When I strove to get these thoughts out of my mind, I found it in vain and to flee them out of my power. At length it was presented to me and it came like the voice of a lion, if I went on as I had, deceiving the people, that a dreadful judgement would come upon me for God would not always be mocked. It came

so heavy that my stomach failed for food and drink. My strength failed every way and when I thought of stopping to go home and told my friends how I was deceived, they would ever after disregard me, my wife would look cool upon me, then I had better be dead than alive. The best way for me was to slip away and to get into some solitary place where I never should be heard of. Then I should take some comfort for it was in vain for me to plead sincerity, for the Lord knew my heart and to plead was mocking of God for my own feelings told me better. My feelings and distress was such that I slept but little, eat little, grew weak fast and could find no other stays to my mind as to contain myself but in this appeal, "I am before Thee, Oh Lord, Thou knowest all things and if things are so or not, for to run away I cannot dishonor Thy Holy Name, reproach the Truth and Thy people and bring scandal on myself. I cannot do it. I had rather die in this strange land and be buried among this people, Oh Lord, if it is my offering. Here is my life, my body and my soul in time and eternity, to Thy disposal for Thou will do right. I pray Thee to preserve me from being a reproach on Thy Holy Name or on the righteous course." When my mind became stayed here the billows rolled away, the mists passed over and my pained mind was admitted once more into the clear sunshine to rejoice and give thanks to the Lord for His wonderful mercy and sustaining providences in the hour of temptation.

The 30th of the Mo. and first of the week we sailed for the Island of St John's. We were about twelve hours on the water, landed at Charlotte Town and [were] kindly received by John Cambridge and wife, [at] whose house we made our home while on the Island.⁹ The 1st of the 9th Mo. and 2nd of the week we had a large quiet good meeting. The Governor and his wife attended. He expressed his satisfaction with the communication as that he approved. Thus we see many will acknowledge and approve that which they are not disposed to practice. We inquired of horses to hire. The Governor hearing of it offered his. We accepted and sent for them next morning. He had his own riding horse furnished for me and said, "Let

the minister ride that, he will carry him well." He looked at the saddle and said, "It is so fine I do not know but that it will hurt the minister's feelings. Bring the blanket," had it put on and said, "now he will not see how find it is and it will not hurt his feelings." I note this as due to show the kindness of the man thought one of the great of the world.

The 2nd of 9th Mo. and 3rd of the week we rode 25 miles through a wilderness of good land to Tyra [Tryon] Village and had a comfortable meeting with a body of poor people. Thence we rode twelve miles through the woods to a settlement, mostly refugees,¹⁰ and had a meeting with them. It seemed like encompassing Jerico. Their walls were strong, but blessed be the name of the Lord who was pleased to give strength to blow the gospel ram's horn that the walls gave way and Truth rose into dominion. Not feeling clear, we stopped until first day, the 6th of the month and had another meeting with them that was large and much favored, minds reached and tendered. The way appeared open, the assembly solemn and ended well.

We put forward seventeen miles through a thick wilderness and a poor path and had two rivers to swim our horses across. In the latter we stood a narrow chance of drowning our best horse owing to the mud in the bottom but were favored happily to escape and get into Parker's Corner [Park Corner] in good season.

Went to Farmer Tonsend's [Townsend] who had formerly been a Friend and had a meeting at his house the 8th of the month. Here we had to wade feel deep sufferings, feel the ship-wreck of faith and a good conscience. I had to deal plain, close and solemn, shewing the desolation it produced where there was a known departure from the Truth and what stumbling-blocks such were to the honest seeker after righteousness, but it seemed like pouring water on a rock. I was informed before I left that a number of years past there came several families of Friends and one approved minister and settled in this place and had a meeting under the care of Friends in England for some years. The preacher and the next principal member took to

excessive drinking as often to be disguised. The people would not meet with them and the meeting had to drop. When I heard this I did not marvel at the sufferings we had to feel.¹¹

The 9th of the Mo. we left this place with heavy hearts. Rode thirty miles back to Charlotte Town, a dreary solitary ride to me through the wilderness. The 10th, 11th and 12th we stopped traveling and wrote home to our Friends and visited our former home. The 13th and first of the week we had a second meeting on the south part of the Island, five miles from town, among tender thoughtful people. The Lord was wont to do them good. His presence was felt among them. A tendering, humbling time, I think, not easy to be forgotten. Oh, how often is there renewed cause for humble thankfulness and grateful praise to the most High God for the continuation of His mercies that endure forever.

The 15th and 16th we rode to the east end of the Island. The 17th we had a small meeting at one Coffin's, formerly from Nantucket and brought up a Friend.¹² There were others of this description present. It was an exercising laborious time which is often the case when we fell among people that know what the truth is and who do not live up to it. It is not only a loss to themselves but often proves a hindrance to others. In the evening we had a meeting about three miles from this. A number came to it that had never been to a Friends meeting before. It was a favored meeting. The minds of the people were tender and [they] appeared desirous to shew their gratitude. I thought it best to retire from them as quiet as I could. At the house where we lodged in the evening it came into my mind that when departed to give the mistress of the house a dollar. In the morning it came into my mind again. When we departed, I left a dollar in her hand [and] told her to take it and make good use of it and left them. When we got on the road, John Cambridge told me he went out among the people after meeting and they were gathering money for me until he told them I would not take it. They then stopped. The husband of the woman I gave the dollar to was the most earnest to raise something handsome

for me. I then thought I could see clear why my mind was impressed to leave money with them to shew them I could give but not receive on the principle they gave to confirm John's testimony.

The 18th we rode back to St. Petersburg [St. Peters Bay?]. The 19th and first of the week we had a meeting where there was great opposition in the minds of the people that caused deep searching of heart for awhile until Truth arose and cleared my way, enabling me with gospel authority to hold up the standard of truth to which the people inclined, yet seemed to struggle under it Balaam like, which is often the case. I felt well relieved and good satisfaction. We stayed in the neighborhood. The night following, the 21st, we returned to John Cambridge's [and] stayed there for a passage until the 24th.

We took a solemn departure from those kind friendly people the 25th and landed in Picto [Pictou], a little Irish village, not a house without some more or less being sick with the smallpox in them. Neither of us had ever had it. We had to stay several hours to hire horses to ride across the country. At a place when [we] sat down we could look through a loose partition and see them on the couches apparently at the point of death all the natural way. Yet neither of us took the disorder, a proof to me of the care of diving providence, the remembrance of which is humbling to my mind, [it] awakens and calls for grateful thanks.¹³

We started the same day for Halifax, 140 miles, and got there the 28th very much fatigued and sadly loused. We stopped a few minutes at a Friends house in the city who asked if I intended a meeting in the city. I answered that I had heard said that when sailors came in from the sea they must first get a good entry in the harbor before they could tell much about their clearing out.

We crossed the river [to Dartmouth], put up with Seth Colman [Coleman] [and] kept close for several days to clear out from our disagreeable stock. After getting cleaned recruited and my spirits revived we appointed a meeting in the evening at Friends meeting house in Dartmouth. It was small but it seemed pleasant to be with

Friends again after a long absence. The evening following we had a meeting in Halifax which proved a good entry into harbor. At the close of the meeting it sprang in my mind to express my satisfaction with their solid deportment and good attention and that it was encouraging to me as it showed regard for religion and that I did not feel clear of the place and if it was agreeable to them I wanted to meet with them again such a day at the fourth hour in the afternoon. They answered it would be agreeable. I then requested them respectfully to inform their neighbors as the company would be grateful to me. After we came away Friends told me they thought I would get beat for there had been several Friends from England, they stated, who had made trial and could never get out a much larger meeting than we had. I felt easy in what I had done.

We returned to Dartmouth. From the 30th to the 3rd of 10th Mo. we stayed with Friends there and had no meeting. The 4th we attended our appointed meeting. It was thought more than two hundred persons came whose deportment was becoming Christians. It was a favored time. The people were tendered. On my sitting down it came weightedly on my mind to appoint another in the city. I said to myself, "It cannot be for this house is crowded full and there is nowhere to meet." While I was musing, a gentleman stood up and asked, "Do you want another meeting in the city? My mind is impressed that you do, and if you do, you can have the Methodist Meeting house. It is the largest in the city and best seated. I own two-thirds of it and you are welcome to it. Appoint your meeting at five o'clock in the afternoon for the laboring class will be at liberty and you will have a great meeting. There are many who want to hear you for you are gaining in the city." I turned to my companion and asked him what he thought of it. He answered, "It was on my mind with weight to have another meeting but I could not see how or where. It is best to accept the offer." I stood up and let the people know where we should be at the house at the hour to a minute if we could and that I wished them respectfully to inform their neighbors that it

would be cordial to my feelings to have company of all that was willing to meet with us. [We then] closed the meeting and went to the Friend's house that lived near. I soon asked the Friend if there was not a man living in the north part of the city that would let us have a meeting at his house. He answered, "yes." We sent a messenger with orders if the way was clear to make the appointment and go forward and notify the people. We attended and had a comfortable meeting. The people's minds appeared open to receive the doctrines of truth. At the close we informed them of the other appointment and returned to Dartmouth. Not feeling clear, I proposed another meeting there [with] general notice to be given. It was larger here. Way opened and utterance was given to clear my mind so as to feel fully relieved.

The 6th of the Mo. according to the appointment we attended. When at the place we found a large house. After we entered the doors we had to make often stops for the people to make way for us to get along to our seats. When we came there was no place but the pulpit for us. As we walked up I looked around and saw the house crowded from one end to the other with people and a great body standing outdoors. I, there in a lofty pulpit, seated on a satin cushion, a thought came into my mind, if my Friends at home knew where I was there hearts would tremble for me. I sank down and wished I had not made the appointment [and] concluded I could not open my mouth. There I sat under that depression of spirit and distress of mind that I could hardly keep from trembling for some time. My companion kept his faith well which was a strength to me. At length through the mercy of a gracious Redeemer all this was taken off. They appeared to me to be no more than children and all about me no more than dust. Feeling the word of life to arise in my mind with strength and gospel authority I was preparing to rise. A language saluted me, "see that thou keep calm and speak deliberate." Under the impression I rose on my feet and though there was considerable whispering over the meeting, the first sentence spoken stilled them that my companion remarked the like he never saw. He took

notice and did not remember that he saw a hand lifted or a foot moved for one hour and a half. The power of the Lord came mightily over the Meeting. Truth reigned beyond what I had ever experienced before. Gospel truths flowed as the gentle waters, dropped as the rain and distilled as the latter rain upon the people. The service closed with thanksgiving to the Most High God for favors past, and humble prayer for the continuation of them, and a blessing for the favors of the day. In going out of the house I felt a caution to take care and not be drawn away by the affection of the people. I was favored to take the hint and got away as quick as I could to the Friend's house nearby, away from all noise and felt joy and peace in so doing.

Next morning after having a sweet refreshing night's sleep, I awoke feeling clear of these parts. I told my companion we would now leave. While all was well, we would leave it well. We took the stage and in three days crossed the country over to the bay side and came to Samuel Moore's at whose house Friends meeting was held on first day once in two weeks. The 8th and 9th we lay by and wrote home. The 10th and first of the week we had a large favored meeting at Samuel Moore's. The minds of the people were broken into tenderness, several of them to shedding of tears plentifully. In the afternoon we had a meeting on the Mountain among a poor people that were glad of the opportunity and much tendered under the testimony I had to bear among them, yet there did not appear to be much religious concern with any of them. I felt peace in discharging my duty.

The 11th we rode to Grandville [Granville] twelve miles and put up with Thomas Grean [Green], a public Friend, and the only one they had in this country. The 12th we had a full and satisfactory meeting there where Friends Meeting is held half the time. 13th we had another meeting [at] Granville about eight miles down Digby River from the other meeting. It was held at a Baptist meeting house. I think this was a large meeting. I was told that four Priests came to this meeting, all of different sentiment and hearers with them, strongly armed with a coat of mail, the materials supersti-

tion. They did not mean to be hitched on any side nor have their castle defaced anywhere as much so as thought as ever I was sensible of. The state of the people very much depressed, my mind with painful exercise. I said in heart, "In vain will be to open my mouth unless the Lord giveth strength equal to the day for I felt much stripped in spirit and resigned to pass the meeting silent believing the Lord knew what was best for me and the people. My mind became calm and composed. It was a long silence. At length I felt the word of life to rise with powerful authority with these words, "Saul, Saul, why persecutist thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." I was led to open and apply the subject in all its bearings. The priests' heads fell, the Lord's power came over the meeting and the mighty power of the most High shook their castles to the foundation. Though they struggled awhile, their armor failed them, their Goliath fell and the spirit of opposition, Philistine like fled and left the field. Gospel truths flowed clear and easy, dropped as early dew. May it rest long on the people, many of whom were broken to tenderness of heart and some to tears. Oh, may my soul forever bow before the Lord in humble grateful thanks and praises to his everlasting Holy Name.

The 14th we had a meeting at Annapolis in a Methodist house of worship. Many enquiring tender people came to it. The Lord favored us with a good refreshing meeting. The 15th we had in Clemmens [Clements] a meeting twelve miles from Annapolis among the Dutch, a poor people, a solemn tendering time, the poor things seemed much rejoiced with the visit. We rode ten miles to Digby Village. The 16th and first day of the week we had a meeting in the Church meeting house. The minister gave up the afternoon to us and attended himself. [They] shewed no disgust though plain truths was told them. A satisfactory opportunity to us and generally to the people.¹⁴

The 17th we went to Trout Cove. The 18th we had a meeting there and found kind reception by the people. We also had a meeting at Little Gulvers Hole [Gullivers Cove]. The 20th we had another at Sanchy

[Sandy] Cove. In all these places we met with kind reception. Good attention was paid to us. The 21st we made round Stormy Bay [St. Marys Bay] ten miles and lodged with a man by the name of Jones and had a meeting in the neighborhood. The 23rd and first of the week we went to Waymouth [Weymouth] and had a meeting there. A great many people were gathered together [and] the power of the truth broke in upon the people in a wonderful manner. They seemed melted like wax, some wept aloud. The Lord was pleased to exalt the standard of truth and righteousness and magnify his power in the eyes of the people. Blessed be his holy name forever more.

The 24th we started for Wilmit [Wilmot] where Samuel Moore lived but hearing of Obediah Griffin, an old neighbor of my father's when I was a boy by whom we were joyfully received and well used.

My companion having informed me before that he must return home in the fall now let me know he thought the time was come. Not feeling clear of the country, I could in no way believe it right for me to return then. It was a trial for me to think of parting after traveling several months together without least discordance. After some struggle of mind I was favored to give it up and part with my companion. He went to Digby to seek passage and I went to Wilmot where I made some stay. The next meeting I have account of was on St. Marys road three miles from Digby. After it we rode to Digby and found my companion there who had not yet got a passage. We were one night together and had to part again.

We went on to Annapolis, made but little stop there. I now had Samuel Moore as companion. The morning following we rode about five miles and came to a thick neighborhood. [We] stopped and had a meeting with a careless, easy people that concerned themselves very little about religion. After meeting we went to Robert Fich Randolph's [Fitz-Randolph]. The 30th of the Mo. attended Friends meeting at Wilmot on first day and had an appointed meeting again on the Mountain in the afternoon, a full and favored season. Truth gave strength and utterance to clear my mind that I felt full

relieved.

I lay by a short time to recruit as I was much worn down. My rest was short, being strongly impressed to go to see Cornwallis and Hoveton [Horton?]. I informed Friends [of] my prospect [and] they approved it. Samuel Moore and Thomas Green were in company. The 4th of the week and Mo. we set out and rode forty miles. Got in so late there was not time to have a meeting that evening that we gave the next day to look a place and inform the people. [The] sixth of the week we had a meeting in the Baptist house of worship. The gathering was not large. The inhabitations mostly fixed in the Baptist belief that it seemed heavy getting along amongst them. I was favored to relieve my mind. The 7th of the Mo. and week we rode to Horton. The 8th of the Mo. and first of the week we had a large meeting in the Baptist meeting house of that place. Many of other societies coming in, there was an open door for labor. I was much enlarged. The doctrines of truth went forth clear and appeared to be well received by the people. We returned to Samuel Moore's the 11th [of the] Mo. I made a little visit to the inhabitants of the Mountain and took my final leave of them.
15

The 12 [of the] Mo. we went to visit the few Friends that lived at Granville and made our home with Thomas Green. 13th [of the] Mo. met with the few Friends there and some neighbors, where we experienced the Lord's promise fulfilled-that where two or three gathered in his name, there He would be in the midst of them whose presence gives joy and gladness of heart and raises the drooping head. The 14th I appointed a meeting at Annapolis but now feeling clear I appointed another the 15th on first day. The collection of people was large which gave opportunity to relieve my mind in a solid feeling manner and to part with them affectionately. The following day we rode to Digby, forty miles.

The 17th [of the] Mo we went up the River about nine miles and had a meeting the north side of the basin. I went poor, empty and bowed in spirit. In this depressed condition I mourned awhile. My redeemer was pleased in his own time to arise with

healing in his wings and to anoint the shield. I went forth under the banner of his love, my bow abode in strength. The battle was turned to the gate this day, I hope to the everlasting honor of the true and living God. The 19th we returned to Digby.

The 20th we had a meeting at evening in a private house. In the course of my communication I was led to address a mother of a family that mourned with heart-rending grief for a drunken husband that was spending his interest at taverns in drunkenness; that she greatly feared her children would come to poverty and want. I had to speak to her thus, "Hold up thy head in hope for thou shall soon be relieved of thy burden. Thy husband shall be taken away and laid beneath the turf, not suffered to deprive thee of a living, nor they children of a home. When this takes place see that thou art a mother to thy children, bringing them up in the fear of the Lord, that He may be a husband to thee and a Father to thy children and bless you." After meeting there came in several where I was. One man looked on me and said, "According to your preaching such a man is going to die soon and you pictured him out exact." I asked if he was at meeting. He answered, "Yes, and his wife too." Before I got away from the place there came a man into the house where I was and said, "Such a man is dead, just as this minister said. He died drunk and now we want to get the minister to stay and preach the funeral sermon." I thought it best to pass away as quiet as I could.

Not feeling clear of the other inhabitations up the River St. John I made the second visit with Samuel Moore for company. He made an agreeable companion. The 22nd we sailed for New Brunswick and the 23rd arrive there about 12 at night. It being the first day of the week at evening we had a large solid comfortable meeting in the Methodist house of worship. My spirit was revived and courage renewed in the Lord to go forward in hope. Accordingly we sailed up the river about forty miles to Archelas [Archelaus] Carpenter's. Got there the 25th [of the] Mo. The 26th we had a large meeting at Robert Smith's in the neighborhood. The way for communication was made easy, the doctrine of truth was

opened clear, the people gave good attention. Near the close a comely woman acknowledged what had been said to be the everlasting truth and that there was no other way to be saved, wished the audience to prize the favor in earnest, giving all diligence to made their peace with God.

Feeling clear of this place we took a boat to go up the river. The wind being ahead we stopped in about four miles. The next day, the 27th, we travelled on foot six miles to Benjamin Birdsall's; stopped and had a meeting with a careless people, yet such was the mercy of the Lord that the truth came over all. The minds of many were tendered. The 29th [of the] month and first of the week we had a meeting in Waterbury [Waterboro?] with the Baptists. Though the Lord gave strength and utterance amongst them they were so settled in their fixed belief that it was like pouring water on a rock. I felt peace in doing my duty. After meeting we traveled twelve miles to Hugh Copperthwaite in Sheffield. The 30th [of the] month we had a meeting in the evening with a loose hard people, mostly refugees. It required sharp heavy strokes to enter old dosy blocks. It made the labor hard, but good was the Lord who helped me to clear my mind that I felt easy to leave them and glad to escape with the skin of my teeth.

The first of the 12th Mo. we traveled twelve miles to Nicholas Rideout's and lodged with him. The 2nd of the Mo. we sat with a tender few that were concerned to meet together in the manner of Friends and were comforted. I had to encourage them to abide faithful and the Lord would be with and keep them in safety. The 3rd [of the] Mo. were detained by a snow storm. Early in the morning of the 4th [of the] Mo. we started for Frederick Town. Finding the river not passable we returned to our Friend Rideout. We had a little meeting in the neighborhood the 5th [of the] Mo. The 6th [of the] Mo. and first of the week we met with the few friendly people at Rideout's where they commonly met. Having notice of our being there, a pretty company came in I was favored with a lively clear testimony. In the afternoon we met with the few friendly people who chose to meet by them-

selves as usual. The life of gospel love was sweetly felt among them. Feeling much sympathy with them I was led to encourage them to abide in and keep the word of patience as those the Lord would keep in the hour of temptation.

The 7th [of the] Mo. the roads not being fit to travel we lay by. The 8th we made trial and got across the river on the ice. On the first it was crossed and went to Frederick Town, made out home with Robert Smith and were kindly used. The 9th at evening we had a large crowded meeting at Cornelias Ackarman's [Cornelius Ackerman's] where I was led to shew that the devil was the first that ever preached the doctrine that man might sin and should not die and that God has always said the soul that sins shall surely die and that God had ministers and the devil had ministers and when we heard ministers preach such doctrines as the devil first preached we might know they were not the Lord's ministers. I was led largely into the subject. The people have good attention and appeared solid. I was told after meeting that there was a great dispute between the New Lights and Methodists, each claiming the right of likeness to the Quakers and the man remarked, "You have decided the dispute." I asked him how it turned. He said, "The New Lights believed once in grace always in grace in the extreme and you laid that waste and the Methodist exults." I was told there was a number of both societies at meeting. After the meeting I was attacked by a New Light preacher with about twenty at his heels. A bright sharp eyed man approached and accosted me thus, "Well friend, I can fellowship with you. I have seen Quakers before and if I am ever so happy to get to heaven I expect to have Quakers company, but how you get along without baptism and the sacrament or Lord's supper I do not see." Being fatigued and seeing such a sharp looking man and large company with him, I was afraid for I thought they came for an argument which I was not fond of. I sat a little to think. It came into my mind to ask a few questions that would perhaps bring it to a close. I proceeded, "Did I understand thee that thou believed there was Quakers in heaven?" Answer, "Yes." Question, "Is

there any way for any to get into heaven but by Christ the door?" Answer, "No." I then remarked, "I think the Quakers have the better of the Baptists and make a savings." He says, "Why so?" I remarked, "We save the trouble of going down into the water and coming out again and drying our clothes and get into heaven as safe as you." He sat a little without reply, then arose on his feet, took me by the hand with these words, "I can bid you God speed, farewell," and went off and his company with him and glad was I.

The 10th of the Mo. we traveled up the river seven miles. A storm coming on, we stopped with General Isaac Allen who kindly invited us to stay with him through the storm. We gladly accepted the offer. The 12th we moved up the river about four miles before we stopped to have a meeting at evening. Met with painful trials as I had now got on the ground where the people had held their meetings somewhat in the form of Friends for several years and had rejected the common ceremonies. There came in a New Light preacher [who] stayed around several months and had got a number of them into the water and forbid women preaching. [He] had silenced one woman, the other two somewhat stood their ground. He forbid the people meeting in the Quaker way, as he called it. There was a number that would not go into the water nor receive his doctrine and, after he had got the people all in confusion and contention, he went off and left them in a pitiful situation. I found it my business to go among the remnant that had not been drawn away, encouraging them to meet together as before, and they had found the effects of admitting ministers to preach in meeting before they knew their principles. I thought it a sufficient warning in future, but poor things, they seemed so broken and heart rent that I could but mourn for them. Oh, may the Lord be a wall about them. I believed it right to encourage the women to stand their ground.

The 13th and first of the week we had a meeting in Cove Village in Kings Clear. It was large, both sorts at it. My mind was led in a clear discriminating line of doctrine between the precious and the vile, the letter and the spirit, ceremony and

gospel substance in that the letter killeth, but the quickenings of the spirit made alive unto love and good works. This rejoiced the poor broken ones. The others were silenced. Truth had the victory. Blessed be the name of the most High who is strength in weakness, riches in poverty, a ready helper in every needful time to all those that look to and put their trust entire in Him.

The 14th we had a meeting to which a number of black people came. It was a tendering time. They seemed more open and ready to receive and believe the truth than many that had more information, for they acknowledged they felt the truth of it. The 15th we had a meeting at Archelas Hammon's [Hammond] at evening; not large but satisfactory excepting some lightness among the young people who became sober before meeting ended. Not feeling clear of the place we appointed another meeting in the neighborhood the evening of the 16th. It was large. Truth came overall; rose in dominion. The people were tendered, fully acknowledging to the truth of what was delivered among them. The 17th we had a meeting at John Bookers¹⁶ to good satisfaction to ourselves and the people. The 18th had no meeting. 19th had a meeting at evening in the house of John Caroners¹⁷ a favored solemn time. The 20th and first of the week we had another meeting in the neighborhood. A large number came to it. I found my mind drawn to take up the subject of mans sinning during life and that those that believed in and taught that doctrine were not the followers of Christ, for He came to put an end to sin and finish transgression and in the room thereof to bring in the everlasting righteousness, a new doctrine in this part of the country. It made the people stare for awhile. Through the mercies of the Most High, I felt my mind harnessed for the day and enabled to shew them from many scripture texts that God through Christ had amply provided means in the pouring forth of the spirit of His grace upon all flesh, a measure of which was given to every man to profit with, all which if they believed in and obeyed in all things that it would become that through them which would enable them to walk in newness of life after the spirit and not after

the flesh, and worship the Father in spirit and truth which was only expected of him and was led to shew them that what was not of God was sin as well in worship as all other conduct. My mind was much helped, the word went forth clear and in good authority. The meeting [was] quiet and closed solemn for which I felt renewed cause to give thanks and praise to the Lord most high for the favor of the day.

The 21st not being well, laid by except riding about five miles to Bar Island [Bear Island?] where we had a large meeting the 22nd at evening. The people were attentive and quiet and I think it was to the satisfaction of all. After this meeting I felt at liberty to turn about; left some of them weeping, a humbling parting.

The 23rd traveled ten miles mostly on foot. Put up with Benjamin Stuart [Stewart in 1861], formerly from Fishkill, N.Y. state, and was kindly entertained. The 24th and 25th we continued our travel on foot through snow which was very fatiguing, until we got to Jonathan Sison's [Sisson] at Lisawa [Lizaway] Creek, who was from my native country and very glad to see me here. We had a good home where we rested the 26th. The 27th, first day of the week, had a meeting at his house. Found a few serious inquiring people and the way open to minister gospel truths which was gladly received. The 28th we traveled.

The 29th had a meeting on Shagar [Sugar?] Island. It was shown me in the clear light of the Lord that the people had [been] visited with the day spring from on high and much awakened, [but] that the priests as in some other places had taken this opportunity [and] made the people believe that this was their day of grace and seal of their salvation, that they never could be lost and had turned the minds of the people from that that began the work of reformation on their minds to believe that if they were baptised in water, partook the sacrament as they called it and kept the sabbath day and paid the priests well, all was well, even while sin had the dominion over them and the last state of such was worse than the first. I was constrained to take up the subject at large, go into all its branches and shew the corruptness of such

principles and the weakness and hardness of heart it would leave them in, that it was delusion that always brought forth sin and sometimes conduct acted and cloaked under religion that was strange. After giving of them this subject was helped in a marvelous manner to call the attention of the people to that that first awakened them, then shewing them from many scripture passages what it was and what it would do for them if they would believe in it. They would have the everlasting gospel preached to them without money and without price. After it [the meeting?] feeling so relieved and clothed with peace, I could but admire and marvel in thinking upon the goodness of the Lord and giving a sense of and strength to speak to the state of the people that they acknowledged it was so. Many had run into strange things so much so that a father had urged his daughter to an unlawful intimacy with one of their ministers to do the will of God.¹⁸

After meeting we went to Colonel Allen's. The 30th we came to Fredericks Town. Having a cold on my lungs we lay by until the 2nd of 1st Mo. 1802. In the evening we had a meeting in the town. Many came and appeared well satisfied. The 3rd and first of the week we moved down the river. My being much unwell we moved slow. The 4th we got to Hugh Copperthwaite's. The 6th we rode about twelve miles. Being more unwell I gave up crowding ahead only as I could bear it. [I] soon had to stop. It gave me a chance to recruit a little.

Feeling my mind drawn towards a village and the head of Grand Lake I proposed to Benjamin Birdsall to take us there, thirty miles. He took us to Marmaduke Hutchinson's. We found them Friends that rejoiced to see us come. We had a meeting at his house the next day. They being much beloved by their neighbors and living near the village the meeting was full, a precious tendering time. The first deacon in the church with his wife were convinced of the truth at that meeting, have since become members of our society and nearly all their large family of children. Next day we parted with them affectionately and returned to Benjamin Birdsall's. The 10th I lay by

several days until I got a little recruited and then went down the river to Samuel Underhills where we stopped and had a large meeting. The 17th of the Mo. and first of the week that was truly favored and the people generally tendered, acknowledging to the truth of what they had heard. When I came to this place I informed what my prospect was when they said a Baptist minister had appointed a meeting the same hour the same day and notice was spread. I thought of it a little and told them I felt best to attend to my own prospect as we lived in a free country the people might go the way they liked best which was complied with. When the time came the priest seeing how the minds of the people stood proposed to drop his appointment and come with them to my appointed meeting. After acknowledged he was glad he was there being well rewarded for coming for the presence of the Lord was amongst us and wished the people to take heed to what they had to hear for it was the truth; encouragement to you my children to stand faithful to the pure openings of light and life resting assured that the Lord will make a way for the right thing.

The 18th and second of the week we went down to New Brunswick. My lungs becoming more affected we stayed until we could get a passage in a good vessel to Digby. We sailed at two in the afternoon. In a few hours there came on a tremendous storm from the south east and brought the fog so thick that we could not see from bow to stern of the vessel. They had soon to light lamps, the tide going out we had a heavy sea, night coming on, dark beyond description that for twelve hours it seemed awful. In the morning we narrowly escaped dashing on the rocks. Our lives were all spared to look back and think upon the marvelous providences and tender mercy of Him that controlleth the great deep.

We stayed at Digby one night, then went up the river to Wilmot home with my companion who found to his joy his family all well. By this time I was not able to travel. I took a room for several weeks. Went out but little, only to attend meetings as they came in course, being half the time at Samuel Moore's where I then was.

Whilst here I heard of three families

of Friends that lived back in the country and had not been visited by Friends since they came there. I felt my mind arrested night and day to go and see them. When I was recruited so that I could ride I set out with Samuel Moore and Thomas Green in company. We found them. One of the brothers was dead. They were three brothers, they told us that they agreed for their passage to Pennsylvania. Before the sailed unbeknown to them the Captain was ordered to land them at Nova Scotia just about the time war was declared with America. It continued so long they became discouraged and bought there; had lived in the country twenty-eight years without any intercourse with Society. The old people appeared to retain the trait of Friends in language, dress and deportment. The children were gone from it except those of the youngest brothers who had settled a number of miles back were in the practice of sitting down with their children on first day which the others omitted. The difference was easily seen. We had a meeting in each neighborhood; this last was a solid tendering and joyful time to this dear family. When we parted with them tears fell from their cheeks like drops of rain. My heart ached for them.

We returned to the other settlement where I was taken sick and confined a week before I got able to travel. When recruited we had another meeting with them and parted. I returned to Samuel Moore's. After parting with those Friends and looking over the great number I had fallen in with that told me their parents or grandparents were Friends and some that they were members, seemed as sheep without a shepherd. All within me capable of feeling was awakened to sympathy that I could but pour forth my prayer to the Lord that He would pity this land and be a Shepherd to the peoples. In many places I was entreated with tears on their cheeks to come and live among them, then they would be Friends and enjoy society for they could be nothing else. The priests they could not go to hear. Many affecting scenes I passed through in this land feeling this language pass through my mind, "Oh, that Friends did but enough consider what our forefathers passed

through to support the principles we professed and the righteous blood that was shed for the liberty we enjoy. They would not wander from the sacred enclosure of Israel's King as they do, see the Lord doth not withhold anything that is good of those that love Him."

When [we] returned to Samuel Moore's, I found myself unable to keep up and in a few days was confined to the bed with an inflammation on the lungs near three months. The pain and agony I underwent at the lungs I cannot describe. It affected my head [so] that I was often fleetly and wild in my talk. When more settled the thoughts of being deranged was very afflictive and of dying in a strange land and away from my family and friends was also grievous. Yet I saw nothing but death for awhile and the old enemy was suffered to throw his fiery darts that tried my faith to a hair's breadth, in presenting to me that this was the reward of all my toil and anxiety, and that it was just such fare as God always rewarded his servants with. And that I had deprived myself of the enjoyment of life to serve God and now I see what I had got by it. And that had [I] preached repentance and that was false doctrine for God never received any to Heaven only those that never sinned, and that had told people that God had sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world who had laid down his life for the sins of the people to the acceptance of God His Father that sinners might be converted to God. All this was horrid blasphemy, inconsistent with the nature of a good reason or good sense to believe that God would take the life of a good man for he was nothing but a good man, and to take such a life to satisfy his revenge on the wicked was horrid to believe. And that I had preached it up, and that if would renounce this false doctrine, I should feel better as I was going to die, and if I did not do it hell would be my doom. My agony was great. I requested that no one should be admitted into the room without my consent. I took my room and bread in that way for two weeks. All through this sore trial I felt in me to contradict all of those presentations and when the darkest shades of despair came on me there was a little spark of hope kept

alive that could not be quenched, yet I was reduced under these trials almost to a helpless condition. To deny all that I had ever found comfort in, I durst not do without an evidence of light [that] would bring peace and quiet to the mind -- this I did not find. To try to comfort myself on old experience I found gave no relief. I turned and turned but found no way of solid comfort until gave up to die in that country in just such a manner as the Lord was pleased I should for in all those rolling thoughts there was nothing in me that would consent that God was not perfect goodness and equally just. This grain of faith I never gave up and it proved enough to keep the fire of hope alive. For a number of days, I durst not converse with any person, only ask for what I needed. I durst not look into a book as I found my mind could not bear it. I lay for days and nights and kept as still as possible in body and mind. The only thoughts or theme of meditation was "Here I am before thee, Oh Lord, a poor helpless creature. If I have been wrong, less or more, thou knowest it all and can shew it me. If I have been right thou canst confirm it to me and strengthen me as seemeth good in thine eyes." In this state of mind only could I feel composed and enjoy a little of the comforts of hope until the Lord was pleased in mercy to take me out of the horrible pit and give me to see in the clear visions of light that it was the hour of temptation I had passed through in which and with which floods the old dragon had swallowed up many and would down many with the sweep of his tail. Therefore in that I did not run with the temptation nor lean to my own understanding, but had regard to that spirit that withstood the temptation in me and had called to Him alone and not on another, that he heard me and would hear all such and keep them in the hour of temptation from falling. The floods passed away and it seemed as though I was in another world much like paradise. I found the feet of my mind once more standing of the rock of all ages that never was prevailed against.

I soon recovered and got out. Spring having come on I made preparations to return to the States. The 19th of 3th [3rd Mo. in 1860 edition; 4th Mo. in 1861] I

came to Digby to seek a passage. I had to wait several days in which I felt a draft on my mind to make some visits which were attended to and attended meeting at Jogins at James Holingheads; the next day at Joseph Young's, Digby, both comfortable, refreshing meetings.

The 23rd of 3 Mo., 6th day of the week, I embarked for the States about four in the morning with a fair wind. Had not sailed but a few hours before there came a heavy north east storm. Before it we ran three days and nights. When in sight and against Cape Cod the storm ceased and for twenty-four hours we had a still calm, the sea having been blown into great swells and the wind ceasing at once, we could not sail at all. The ship rolled exceedingly; were sick enough the next morning. The wind arose from the W.N.W., tremendous gale that we were in jeopardy and imminent danger for six hours. About the middle of the day it abated. I was set on shore at Martha's Vineyard near a Friend by the name of Coffin who with his family were glad to see me return.

[The following section follows immediately after Hoag's return to New England in the 1860 edition, on pages 139-140,-in the 1861 edition, this section comes after Hoag's return home to Vermont, on pages 137-138. The following transcript follows the 1860 printed version.]

Two circumstances transpired while I was at Nova Scotia, that I now think best to relate. The first occurred a short time after I left Halifax. A messenger came to me earnestly desiring to know, if five hundred pounds Halifax currency, a good-sized house well furnished, a cow kept for the year, and brought to my door to be milked, [1860 edition adds: and a horse and chaise the year round, at my command,] with sufficient wood cut at the door, would be salary sufficient to satisfy me to come and settle with them. It brought a close trial over my mind -- not that the offer was any temptation, any more than the dust I stood on -- but how to get along with it, and not hurt the people nor the good cause. Beyond my expectation, way opened to give my reasons why I could not comply with their desires, in so plain a way, with pleasantness, that

they took no offence, and we parted very friendly. The other was in another part of the country. They offered me a farm of five hundred acres of land, sixty acres under good improvement, with a good house and barn on it for £100, and furnish it with five cows, a yoke of oxen, a span of horses, and all farming utensils, which I should have at my own price, and from seven to ten years to pay it in, without interest. They thought I might accept of this offer, as it would not be taking a reward (they said) for preaching, but a chance that would put me in a situation to attend to my duty, without being embarrassed, or my family suffering want. In this it was more difficult to open the subject in all its bearings, so that they could clearly understand me, and to show them in what point I stood, and the difference between their view and mine. -- When they understood me they acknowledged that I could not accept it, so we parted very friendly and loving, which I viewed as a great favor.

Footnotes:

1. Timothy Rogers. Journal. In the Quaker Collection, Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario. Joshua Evan's account is included in his Journal Byberry, Pennsylvania: John Comly, 1837; the Evans Journal is also included in Friends Miscellany, vol. 2, 1837.
2. The minute book of the Dartmouth Preparative Meeting, 1786-1798, is at the Nantucket Historical Association. Although the Dartmouth group seems to have been functioning as a regular meeting in 1801, I have not been able to locate any further minutes. For a brief account of Quakers in the Maritimes, see Arthur G. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada (1967), pp. 30-38, 47-50.
3. For the editing of the Hoag journal, see Hodgson, William. Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century, 2 vol. (Philadelphia, 1875-1876), vol. 2, p. 183, and Densmore, Christopher. "New Information on the Wilburites of New York," Quaker History 72 (Fall 1983), pp. 130-133.
4. Hoag Journal at Quaker Collection, Haverford College (MS 975 C). The 1860 edition was published by David Heston at Sherwoods, New York, and the 1861 edition was published by W.J. Moses, Auburn, New York.
5. The records of Danby Monthly Meeting record Hoag's request on 3rd Mo. 1797, approval was given in 7th Mo. but it was reported that no companion could be found to accompany Hoag. The minutes for 10th Mo. 1797 state Hoag "had given up performance of said visit." In 10th Mo. 1800, Hoag again "opened a prospect of making a Religious Visit into Roadisland Yearly Meeting as far as Nova Scotia and the Island of St. Johns." The request was approved the following month. Minutes of Danby Monthly Meeting. Haviland Records Room, New York Yearly Meeting (#D1/1222).
6. Both the 1860 and 1861 editions omit Hoag's protection of the young girl and his conversation with the young ruffian.
7. The 1860 edition: "There were three meetings three miles distant from each other."
8. The 1860 edition begins the sentence "These were Swedenborgians..." as if this is a continuation of the preceding comments.
9. Probably John Cambridge (1748-1831), a land agent and business man who may have originally been a Quaker and had been connected in the 1770s with the Quaker settlement on St. Johns of Robert Clarke (ca. 1750-1794). Cambridge will be the subject of a sketch in a forthcoming volume of the Dictionary of Canadian Biography.
10. Refugees may be a reference to Loyalist settlement near Bedeque.
11. See R.W. Kelsey, "Quakerism on Prince Edward Island in 1774." Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association 12 (1923), and the entry for Robert Clark in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 4, pp. 152-153. Malcolm Thomas of Friends House, London, found in the Devonshire House Monthly Meeting a report that Clark had been "of disorderly conduct" and the appointment of two Friends to "visit & deal with him" (3rd 1 Mo. 1786). A later minute (7th 11 Mo. 1786) reported that he had gone to "the Island called St. Johns" so no action was taken.
12. The 1798 census lists Coffins in lots 38 and 47. Lot 47 is on the "east end of the island."
13. Pictou is known as a Scots rather than an Irish settlement. Possibly Hoag's characterization reflects his own confusion between the two groups. Dorland's The Quakers in Canada (1967), p. 36, mentions Quakers at Pictou.
14. "Dutch" may refer to German troops settled in Nova Scotia after the Revolutionary War.
15. Cornwallis and Horton were in Kings County, near the Minas Basin. Cornwallis on the Cornwallis River and Horton on the Gaspereau River.
16. The manuscript and the 1860 edition reads John Booker, 1861 edition reads John Baker. The individ-

The Journal of Joseph Hoag - A Quaker in Atlantic Canada

ual is most likely John Barker, as there is a place in the area named "Barkers Pt."

17. Manuscript reads John Caroner, 1860 edition reads John Carner and the 1861 edition reads John Lawrence.

18. Passage omitted from both printed versions.

Visit of Isaac Stephenson to Upper Canada in 1824

by Carson Bushell

During the 1820s many acknowledged ministers of the Society of Friends from England and the United States made “visitations” to Meetings in Upper Canada. Many of them travelled to the most remote settlements where members of the Society were pioneering. Men and women of undoubted sincerity, they made these trips under great hardship, experiencing dangers and discomforts for which travel in their own country had hardly prepared them.

The influence they had upon thought in the meetings they visited was probably quite substantial. The part they may have played in fostering the conflicting doctrines that led to the Separation of 1828 is explored by Dr. Dorland in his History of the Society of Friends in Canada. The religious impact they made was, however, not their only contribution to society. Many of them wrote of their travels and their accounts are of historical importance. Among those who have left us informative accounts of their penetration into the “wild lands” of Upper Canada are Phoebe Roberts,¹ Isaac Stephenson,² and Thomas Shillitoe.³

Stephenson’s accounts of his travels are preserved in letters he wrote to his wife, Hannah. In 1818 he visited Meetings in New York State and eastern Ontario. The letter quoted below gives an account of his trip in 1824 from York through to Yarmouth and Norwich and back to Buffalo from whence it was mailed to his home at Stockton-on-Tees. While the letter minimizes the hardships of the journey, the entries in minute books regarding the visit are masterpieces of understatement. A bare entry that Isaac Stevenson attended meeting on the 8th of 9th mo. 1824 with a certificate from Darlington Monthly Meeting in Minutes of Norwich Monthly Meeting gives the visit no more importance than it would one from a neighbouring Meeting.

The letter is dated at Ancaster, 9 mo.

16th 1824 Upper Canada.

My dearly beloved Hannah.

My last to thee was finished and left at York in this province the 3rd inst. But as the communication between that place and New York does not appear to be regular it appears quite uncertain by what vessel the same might be sent. The meeting at York was held in a Methodist meeting house and was both large and satisfactory. On the 4th we proceeded on our way toward a small settlement of Friends in this township and after travelling about 50 miles we took up our quarters at a poor Inn at Flamborough West.⁴ Next morning we rode 10 miles to Wilsons settlement and attended a meeting in a private house with friends and others which was I believe an entwining opportunity.⁵ In the afternoon of that day we had an appointed meeting with some of the Mohawk Indians at their village (a marginal note locates this as 14 miles from Wilsons settlement) on the Grand River in an Episcopal Church, so called, which has been erected there for them and where a priest officiated in the morning;⁶ -- We lodged at an Inn 2 miles off. -- On the 6th we went forward abt 26 miles to Pine Street and quartered at Wm. Cromwell’s;⁷ he is I think a valuable minister, brother to Hannah Field, lately come to settle in this province. This journey occupied nearly the whole of 2nd day part or most of the road being very difficult and bad wood-road.⁸ On 3rd day we had a meeting in W.C.’s house with friends and others, in which I believe best help was graciously afforded.⁹ On the afternoon of that day we travelled to Norwich abt 12 miles mostly through the woods and very bad.¹⁰ We attempted to go under a tree which was bent across the road, but after breaking the supports to the roof of our carriage we had to retreat and go another way. On 4th day we attended the Monthly Meeting at Norwich where a man (identified

in margin as Peter Lawson)¹¹ resides who has twice occupied the station of a minister in our society, and still continues to preach altho the sanction of society is withdrawn. He is said to be fluent, his natural abilities being great. We did not see him as he was confined by indisposition to his house. The monthly meeting was pretty large and exercising. -- On 5th day we went abt 36 miles much of the road being through the woods and had to Talbot Street, where John Pound and his wife entertained us kindly, yet for want of comfortable lodging and other accommodation I passed nearly a sleepless night fearing to take away with me some unwelcome companions or loathsome disease.¹² Next morning we had a meeting with friends and others. -- That afternoon we went abt 16 miles to John Kipp's at Yarmouth, the road being very difficult.¹³ On 7th day we rested, the friends being remote it took considerable time to extend general notice. Our accommodation was much better; we feasted on wild pigeons and watermelons, and our lodging was comparatively good. -- This journey to Yarmouth and back to Norwich was performed in a farmer's waggon, that being much more suitable for the roads than our carriage, which was left behind us to be repaired. -- On first day morning the meeting house was crowded, and my mind was I trust in degree clothed both for awakening instructive and consolatory labour. That afternoon we returned to our kind friends, John Pound and his wife where we passed another interesting night as to bodily feeling; we arose about 1/2 past four o'clock but had to wait abt 2 hours for our companions Fredk Stover and Hugh Webster of Norwich who slept at Elijah Pound's.¹⁴ Nearly the whole of 2nd day was spent in travelling to Norwich. We dined in the woods on bread, cheese and bramble-berries, the latter being plentiful. I felt inclined to hold a meeting with friends and others on 3rd day morning at Norwich which was appointed. We were very comfortably entertained at Sarah Webster's when we were at Norwich before; but at F. Stover's request we now went to his house where we were at least equally well and kindly entertained. Altho my bed was very

good on 2nd day night, yet my mind was involved in deep and bitter conflict for of late my faith seemed easily to fail -- I wrestled with the Lord in prayer that my ministry might be pure and unmixed and that I might in no degree desire or receive honour of man. -- The meeting on 3rd day morning was pretty well attended by friends and I trust the exercise of my Gift tended to stir up the pure mind by way of remembrance, yet my concern for the neighbours continued, and at my request another meeting was appointed in the evening which was large. It proved a relieving opportunity to me, so that I was permitted to leave the place comfortably yesterday morning. Wm. Cromwell and Fredk Stover accompanied us on an extremely bad road abt 14 miles, when we got to good road and Fredk left us.¹⁵ -- I feel often very thoughtful at being detained so long in this province, but don't see how I could have avoided it; friends being scattered over such an extensive country and the roads so exceedingly bad. I consider it a favour to have escaped thus far without bodily injury, except for the bites of mosquitoes, the effect of which have been rather trying and occasioned me some sleepless nights, but at present I am much relieved therefrom. The first settlers in the different parts of this woody country, many of whom are friends have had, and some of them still have many hardships to endure. The cutting down of the Trees and burning them is exceedingly laborious; but they are in general exceedingly hardy and seem content with their allotment. We saw a pine tree abt 100 ft. high and three ft in diam cut down by 2 men and a boy in 14 minutes. Government has given farms of 200 acres each to many and some friends. John and Elijah Pound's farms were thus obtained and they have, I think, about 40 acres each nearly cleared (as they term it) tho' still the stumps and some trees remain on it, but by good tilling it seems they can obtain abt 20 or 25 bushel of wheat from an acre. They have but few accommodations; the first night we slept at J. Pound's we had no candle, not even to go to bed by, and our small bedroom had no door to it. But on first day night after we got there, John Pound's wife melted some grease in a

Carson Bushell

frying pan and put in by spoonful into a pewter or lead mold and this made a candle which rendered us a little more comfortable.

From the best information we have been able to obtain the following is a correct list of the Meetings and Members of our Society in Upper Canada. In Lower Canada there is but one Meeting, viz Farnham.--

	Members	
Adolphus Town	64	Minister O. Elder, Sarah Barker
West Lake	250	J. Noxon 1. Elders Jacob and Anna Cronk, Eli Noxon 3. These belong to Green Point
Green Point	37	Saml Walton and Joshua Levins: Ministers Jonathan Bowerman, R. Burlingham, Ruth Christie
West Lake Monthly Meetg		
Kingston	18	no Minister or elder
Ameliasburg	100	Aaron White, elder
Cold Creek	37	no minister or elder
Leeds	50	Otis Smith minister
Pelham Mo. Meetg.		
Pelham	194	Wm Shotwell, Ann Taylor, Ministers
Black Creek	88	--
Yonge St	232	Margt Bownell Minister, Thos and Martha Linville, Amos and Martha Armitage, Henry Bownell 5 elders.
Yonge St. Mo. Meetg.		
Queen St.	62	---
Whitchurch	130	Martha Widdifield Minister, Henry and Phebe Widdifield elders.
Uxbridge	78	--
Pickering	141	Nichs Brown, John Haight ministers Josh Webster, elder.
Norwich Mo. Meeting		
Norwich	190	Fredk Stover, Anne Gilham elders
Pine Street	57	Wm Cromwell minister, Anne Cornell elder
Talbot Street	25	No minister or elders
Yarmouth	102	Sarah Haight minister
Ancaster	21	No minister or elder

Besides these there are a few members at Earnest Town but as we were told they held no meeting and we were stretching fortune we did not visit them. It is probable the whole no. is 1900.

[The above was the first half of the letter. A few sentences have been omitted as indicated by "--". The second part of the letter was dated Buffalo, NY 9 mo. 21. For the sake of space it is considerably abbreviated below.]

My dearly beloved.

We were favoured with a safe and short passage across the River Niagara this after-

noon -- arriving here 2 miles from the ferry at Black Rock -- [he then refers to a letter he had received from his wife and the health of his father whom he fears may "put off the mortal clothing". He mentions receipt of other letters including one from E. Robson)¹⁶ -- On the afternoon of 5th day the 16th instant our horse being dull we only travelled 3 miles and lodged at an Inn. - - That day we travelled 35 miles to Pelham, abt 14 miles from Niagara Falls where I expected to hear their roar but the state of the air was not favourable for conveying sound. We lodged at Isaac Wilson's¹⁷ [he then mentions a meeting in a Methodist meeting house about 2 miles from the falls]. The country is so covered with wood and the trees so lofty that we did not see the cloud of mist which arises from them until we were within abt 5 or 6 miles of them and we did not distinctly hear the sound at a greater distance than 2 or 3 miles -- We proceeded to the meeting house at Lundy's Lane, which was pretty largely attended and I believe many serious persons were present -- After meeting we drove to the Niagara Falls Hotel very near that amazing cataract but it was so dark I could see but little of it. I forgot to mention that sometime before we got to the meeting house the air was charged with mist arising from the falls. In the night I slept very little, the loud roar, the shaking of the bed, the clattering of the door and window kept me awake; and abt sunrise I arose and went on the balcony to view the falls. -- The River Niagara comes out of Lake Erie and runs into Lake Ontario, it seems generally above the falls to be at least a mile wide -- about halfway between the two lakes and about a mile above the falls the bed of it is extremely rocky and seems to be a gradual slope. This part is called the Rapids, the water is so exceedingly rough that no boat could possibly be kept from being knocked to pieces -- The principal falls is on the Canadian side, is something in the form of a horseshoe and is calculated to be 3/4 of a mile in extent, the water is said to fall from the top of the rock to the surface of the water below 155 feet and the depth of water in the gully is supposed to be 170 feet; joining to this horseshoe and there is a woody island and at the other end of it

is the falls on the American side which appears nearly in a straight line said to be 300 yards wide, 165 feet in height. -- We walked almost into the edge of the water near the edge of the top of the rock on the Canadian side. And we descended a perpendicular winding staircase 102 steps at the bottom of which we were a great height above the surface of the water below; we did not attempt to go between the falling water and the rock as it seems some have done. Our clothes were very wet all the time we were near the falls- -- the whole is probably one of the most wonderful natural curiosities to be seen in any part of the Globe. -- Abt 12 friends and one young woman, a Methodist all of Pelham were at the meeting at Lundy's Lane. [He then refers to a meeting at Black Creek and his arrival at Danl Pound's.¹⁸ He then mentions plans for meetings in New York State and a Quarterly Meeting to be held in Scipio. He concludes] -- This afternoon my heart was tendered as I rode, in anticipating our meeting again in my native land if Divine Wisdom should permit it, and the gratitude which I hope we should then feel if my recollections of this arduous engagement were peaceful. My mind is cheered with hope that some pure sweet enjoyment of each other's company may be granted us and our beloved children - - I salute thee my dearly beloved and with the tenderest love for thee and my dear children, our beloved mother and all our brothers and sisters, and love to all our dear relations and friends.

I remain thy truly affectionate

ISAAC STEPHENSON

Above letter addressed from Isaac Stephenson, Stockton-on-Tees, Postmark Buffalo NY Sept. 21. Stamped SHIP LETTER LIVERPOOL.

The letter quoted above was viewed at University of Western Ontario, courtesy of Mrs. Elsie V. Cutler and Mr. Harold Zavitz of the Society of Friends and of Mr. Edward Phelps, Librarian, Special Collections Library.

Footnotes:

1. An account of Phoebe Roberts religious visit to Upper Canada from Pennsylvania in 1821-2 prepared from her diary by Leslie R. Gray was published in Ontario History, Ontario Historical Society, 1950.
2. Two of Stephenson's letters including the one presented here are in the Special Collections Library, Quaker Records and Documents, University of Western Ontario.
3. Shillitoe's trip is recorded in his two volume work, Journal of Thomas Shillitoe. London, 1839
4. Ancaster was an indulged meeting under Norwich Meeting after 1819.
5. Wilson's Settlement was probably present-day St. George in South Dumfries Twp. named after Obediah Wilson who built a house there in 1814, on Lot 7, Concession 3. This location checks well with mileages given.
6. Stephenson fared better than Shillitoe who was not allowed to hold a meeting in the church but had to use a school house.
7. Pine St. Meeting House was on lot 13, Conc 9 of Norwich Twp. just west of Otterville.
8. Wm. Cromwell was a miller and prominent figure in early history of this area. The fact that he apparently reached Pine St. before Norwich might indicate that Stephenson travelled south from the Mohawk Village to Fredericksburg (Delhi) then up the Cole Road to Pine St.
9. No reason is given why the meeting was held in Cromwell's house. Pine St. Meeting House was built before this.
10. Norwich Meeting House a mile north of present village of Norwich was only about five miles away following a straight line. By road they probably travelled to Lossings Mill (Lot 2 Conc 7, Norwich) then north to Hilliker's Mill (Lot 2 Conc 5 Norwich) then east and north to the Meeting House on Lossing's farm (Lot 8 Conc 3 Norwich). This would be about twelve miles.
11. Peter Lossing, a miller by trade with his brother-in-law Peter DeLong had purchased 15,000 acres in Norwich Twp. and pioneered the Norwich Settlement. Peter and most of the first settlers had come from Dutchess County in New York State. As a community leader, his dealings with Government were sometimes suspect in the eyes of the Society. There was controversy among members when an action of Lossing's resulted in the jailing of a member of the community.
12. The Pounds were a pioneer family from Pelham Meeting. John and Elijah were brothers, sons of Daniel and Prudence Pound of Bertie Twp. The first

Malahide Meeting was held in the home of George Laur. Later a meeting house was built. In 1822 this was an indulged meeting under Norwich.

13. Yarmouth (Sparta) in Yarmouth Twp. Elgin Co. Early accounts all speak of the bad roads between Norwich and Yarmouth but an amazing amount of travel must have been done between the two Meetings, some meetings alternating between the two communities.

14. Stover and Webster were pioneer names in the Norwich settlement. Frederick Stover was a son of Adam Stover. They were large landowners in the area. There are still members of this family in the Norwich area.

15. There is nothing to indicate their road here but it may have been from Fredericksburg to York on the Grand River and then on toward Pelham.

16. He mentions that he has not heard of Elizabeth Robson's arrival. She was in America by this time, however. She was in Norwich by the end of 1824 and from there addressed an epistle to Upper Canada Half Year Meeting which is in the Records at University of Western Ont. [currently, Pickering College, Newmarket, Ont.].

17. Isaac Wilson and wife Phebe were living in Thorold region.

18. This would probably be the father of John, Elijah and David Pound who are mentioned above a s pioneers of the Malahide Meeting. The father lived in Bertie where he died in 1834 at the age of 83.

The “Faith History” of Jeremiah Lapp from his Journal: A Late 19th Century Quaker Minister in Ontario.

by *Fritz Hertzberg*

We are grateful to Carolyn Olynyk, a direct descendant of Jeremiah Lapp, who has presented to the Canadian Friends Historical Association a facsimile and a transcribed copy of the Journal of Jeremiah Lapp. The Journal has recently come to light during family genealogical research. The gift of the Journal has inspired the writer of this article to present aspects of Jeremiah Lapp's spiritual and actual journeys as a minister of the Society of Friends in Ontario. Though he is little known today, during his lifetime he was a “household word” amongst Conservative Friends.

Jeremiah Lapp was born in 1837 and died in 1910 at Eldon, Ontario (Mariposa Township). His travels in the ministry began in 1875 and continued until the end of his life. He is buried in the Friends Burial Ground in Mariposa.

He lived for many years on his farm in Mariposa with his wife, Sarah nee Rogers, whom he married in 1860. They had four children. They were members of the Mariposa Monthly Meeting of Yonge Street Quarterly Meeting.

His mother died in 1846 when he was nine years of age. He went to live with his mother's brother in the Township of Hamilton in Northumberland County, through whom he came into contact with Friends. He soon learned to accept the “doctrines of Friends which enabled the members to perform acceptable worship.” At this time, he speaks of “serious impressions” and he believed that “an All-wise Being was watching over me.” At age 16, he went to Toronto to work as a baker. There he attended the Presbyterian Church. He fell in with people who drank and smoked which he felt was sinful in the eyes of God. In 1858, he went home to Mariposa-Eldon to work on his father's farm. In 1862, he moved to Collingwood and then back to Mariposa-Eldon in 1877 where he lived to the end of his life.

Jeremiah Lapp's Journal helps us to see important aspects of Quaker history and religious experience. When we look back at events removed from our own time, it may be difficult for us to understand the world of thought and emotion and the way in which Friends at that time experienced living under God's guidance.

Jeremiah started his Journal in 1875 when he was already 38 years of age. It appears unlikely that he wrote anything before that time because his entries were introduced with an autobiography. “For some time, my mind has been under deep exercise in regard to writing an account of my life and I trust that it is with a desire that someone who may be endeavouring to walk the narrow way that leads to Eternal Life, may see and be encouraged to persevere. And also that those who have not yet set out, may be induced for themselves, whom they will serve, that our Father in Heaven may have all the praise, for He is worthy.”

All the information before 1875 stems from 18 handwritten pages of the Journal. He opens up his inward journey from early childhood, through adolescence to the beginning of adulthood. At the age of 38, he describes a prolonged dialogue with God, addressing the Divine Power in many different ways, revealing to us that he did not use the expression “God” but made a constant attempt to find various expressions to describe the presence in his life of a spiritual power for which no complete designation would suffice. The dialogue was almost a monologue as he sought for confirmation of the rightness or wrongness in the eyes of God. He was an untiring listener, waiting for God's word. “Gracious master,” “great physician of souls,” “loving shepherd of souls,” “comforter,” “redeemer” were some of the names he used when addressing God.

He was 22 years old when he married Sarah Rogers, daughter of Henry and Mary Rogers of Mariposa. Two years

later they moved to Collingwood where a few Friends held meeting in their homes. Collingwood, Sydenham and St. Vincent Preparative Meetings formed Grey Monthly Meeting. At this time, he had a strong feeling that God was seeking him for work to be done. It was his first leading to travel and to minister, though he did not respond easily. He was looking for pious ways out of something he feared. He expresses a deep sincerity, a directness in his dealing with God, Lord or Spirit, which did not permit him to push aside something which was difficult, or to resist the call and thus gain freedom to make the decision without God. However, something was paramount in the mind of Jeremiah Lapp. It was not rational thinking. He speaks of a "covenant with the Lord."

Lapp tells us "how often was I required to go down in the valley of humiliation before I was made willing to take up the cross and walk in the way of His requirements and to stand as a witness for my Lord and Master." He remembers his first vocal ministry "in the assemblies of the people . . . in obedience I submitted to take the yoke of Christ upon me and to learn from Him."

Not only God made ever-present demands upon him, but also the opposite figure which he always called "the enemy who may draw from the narrow way"; but Jeremiah was fully resigned to be obedient. He felt within "that I could give up all that I might win Christ."

Thus Jeremiah learned to discern "Opportunities" as they arose out of the Silence in Worship, though discernment of the opportunity given by God was not in itself sufficient. His own response was not to be avoided - "as soon as the opportunity was lost, I found I had been unfaithful and withheld that which was given for others, to the impoverishment of my own soul... mourning and bitter repentings during the week followed from not obeying the opportunity."

Now he speaks out of a different experience about the bond between God and the human being, in particular in regard to the task of the minister. "How necessary is it to wait for that life-giving power that alone can qualify the true minister; remem-

ber the injunction of our dear redeemer: 'Without me you can do nothing,' or, 'a little with the blessing of the Lord will feed a multitude.'"

It took years until he felt able to recognize the essentials of ministry, though "still perplexed with doubts and fears - fear of going before the Guide and doubting if I had gone when bidden . . . as I came to cast all my care on Him who careth for His trembling little ones . . . that He was pleased to increase my faith and to open my eyes to see His wisdom in thus leading me step by step, and the prayer of my heart is . . . that I may be kept in the path of duty and my heart fixed not on things of earth but on the never failing riches of Heaven."

Jeremiah was familiar with Friends' procedures on travelling in the ministry, and in 1875 he approached an Elder of the meeting "on the subject, who expressed unity therein and advised me to make Friends acquainted with the prospect before me." In Seventh Month 1875 he spoke to Friends at Sydenham Preparative Meeting and found "after due consideration, they united with expressions of unity in encouraging me to faithfulness in the pointings of duty."

We recognize here that Friends were well prepared for such requests to travel in the ministry through which close contacts with many small meetings were maintained. It was important that two Friends travel together. The second Friend could be appointed, or as in Jeremiah's case, a Friend often volunteered to be a companion.

On eighteenth of Ninth Month 1875, Jeremiah left for his first religious visit accompanied by George Rorke of Mariposa. They travelled 115 miles, attended three meetings and visited 28 families on the journey which lasted 8 days. With this experience, he had now reached the moment of confidence in the rightness of his calling for the rest of his life. After many years of waiting he received clear, Divine confirmation and assurance that the task was not for his own satisfaction but was in God's ordering. He knew that it would include hardship and even suffering. At this decisive moment and turning point in his life, the actual Journal begins with frequent, often daily

entries, painting a picture of a Quaker living in obedience to God's felt guidance though always aware of the "temptation of the flesh."

This Journal is a faith and life history which reveals the timeless characteristics of a truly religious person who accepted Quaker teaching. In the midst of the changes in Quaker ways and thought which were taking place in the Society of Friends at that time, Jeremiah Lapp did not attempt to formulate his own deep religious experience in terms of yet another theological, philosophical or church order. My own foremost interest lies in the spiritual life of Jeremiah Lapp, whilst the events of history, even the history of the Society of Friends, serves only as a background. Though the events of contemporary Quaker history caused him distress, they were not decisive for his spiritual journey lived in utter dependence upon God as he tells us with such continuity and conviction in his Journal.

As we study one particular individual, we are dealing with biography, whereas "history" deals mainly with outstanding events in the passage of time. Therefore, at this point, we need to take a short look at the far-reaching changes which were taking place at that time in the Society of Friends. Jeremiah Lapp lived in the period before and after the Great Separation of 1881 (in Canada) which produced the Orthodox and the Conservative Branches of the Society of Friends in Canada. The first Separation in 1828 had already resulted in two branches - the Hicksite and the Orthodox, thus making, in 1881, three branches of the Society of Friends in Canada (and the United States). Jeremiah Lapp belonged to the Conservative Branch.

Based on the Conservative Quaker way of life, Jeremiah faced those great and serious religious differences which arose in the Society of Friends and which lead to separations within local meetings, often resulting in the loss of meetings, both large and small, or duplication of meetings in the same place. Through it all, Jeremiah's faith in God's guidance remained steadfast and saved him from the temptation to change his religious affiliation during the changing

ways of Friends and the "temptation by the enemy."

Readers of his Journal will find that Jeremiah Lapp faced the dangers to his inward, spiritual peace but remained unwavering in his faith. In referring to the challenges of the Separation of 1881, he uses the expressions "regressive body of Friends," "Church Friends," and "the mixture."

At this time he was active in Mariposa, Sydenham, St. Vincent and Collingwood Meetings of Yonge Street Quarterly Meeting which was often held at Pickering. After the Separation, he travelled further afield to meetings of West Lake Quarter (Bloomfield) and Pelham Quarter (Norwich). He not only attended meetings, but he also looked up many families, always with a religious purpose. In his entries, he often describes how Biblical words lead to short sermons on his visits to groups of Friends, families or neighbours. Mid-week meetings for worship were regular events. Called visits were arranged. He visited meetings and Friends' families in Rochester, New York, several times.

Jeremiah used the word "minister." The expression "travelling in the ministry" does not appear. In his Journal, he speaks rather of "religious service to small meetings or 'sittings'." He describes the prayerful atmosphere of such gatherings. He does not deliver a prepared sermon but trusts God, on the giving side, as he waits in dependence upon God for "the life to arise" and then "a precious covering spread over the Meeting." When he presided on special occasions, the preparation for it came from prayer as a gift of God; even when he used Biblical citations, he accepted them as given by God, not as mere memorized quotations. He is a minister indeed who gives pastoral care; care to the sick, the old, to Friends living remote from a meeting, and he speaks to the afflicted ones whom he meets in many places.

A fine sensitivity enabled him to judge spiritual states in both small and large meetings. "I was made sensible there was a danger of imbibing false doctrines." He observes people around him, always discerning their relationship to God. In his

The "Faith History" of Jeremiah Lapp

work, he was his own severest critic. "If we live in the Spirit, we will be very careful how we engage in conversation which is vain and unprofitable... it leads often to the withdrawing of the Divine Presence." He is frequently "lead to supplicate the throne of grace for strength" but he often felt reason to give thanks. "I do ascribe all praise to His great and holy name for ever." Jeremiah often felt spiritually low. "The burden of my soul, no tongue can tell. The enemy will surely prevail except the Lord arise for my deliverance."

Jeremiah has sad words when he sees the changes taking place in meetings after the Separation of 1881. The strong faith of Friends had weakened and had acquired a new form and voice. Listen to his words in 1908: "visiting Benjamin Moor at Collingwood, being one of those who went out from Friends. Moor spoke of the low condition of the "church Friends" to whom he belonged... and he said he did not feel the same peace and satisfaction as he did before the Separation. I think many Friends will see the great mistake that was made. I do not attribute all the blame to that side... yet I believe they were the cause. Many did not know what they were doing and just followed their leaders who caused them to err... they neither dress plain nor use the plain scripture language. This is sad indeed, so it shows a great departure from ancient Quakerism and the leading of the Holy Spirit." Jeremiah responds to Moor: "How true it is that a house divided against itself cannot stand."

On another occasion, Jeremiah describes a conversation with a young Catholic woman who had shown interest in the small "sitting" worship which she had attended for the first time. We may learn something of his faith through his words to her. He told her "the Light was not a natural light but was the Holy Ghost promised by Christ and sent by the Father in His name after His crucifixion and ascension. I told her that this, that convinced her of sin, was the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, which God sent into the world to convince men and women of sin and righteousness and of a judgement to come; and when anyone committed sin, it made them feel guilty and

judged them for their sins; and when anyone did what was right and just, it came in their hearts as a comforter and gave them peace the world knew nothing of... as we are led by the Spirit and obeyed it, we were brought out of all sin... this Spirit was the Word of God... a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Christ alone had power to forgive sins."

Here are some examples of his ministry which he gave during worship or on pastoral visits:

Sweet peace . . . made sensible of His
goodness and tender mercy:
How pleasant it is to mingle with
kindred spirits;
I endeavoured to walk by faith and
not by sight;
God is good to those who seek Him:
I felt the life to spring forth;
Many hearts were tendered;
Real travail of spirit;
Without faith, it is impossible to
please God;
We were enabled to draw largely
from the fountain of life;
Follow the pointings of the finger of
truth.

Jeremiah Lapp was a true servant of God who lived in expectation of daily guidance which he hoped to hear and to understand, to act upon and to live accordingly. In order to understand the task which he received from God, he sought first those of kindred spirit but he did not shy away from anybody even though he realized that human beings often lack the awareness of God's Presence. For Jeremiah, the proof of God's acceptance of his service in God's name, was the inner joy which he experienced. His spiritual life was not based on theology or on philosophy. He was a human being who felt and acted upon a hard-won sense of God's direct guidance. There was no one-time salvation for him. He combined the awareness of weakness in his own heart with the experience of the ever-available saving love and guidance of God. He knew that he needed to receive afresh each day that which he had found with certainty in his life.

In September 1907, Jeremiah undertook his last extensive visit to Ohio Yearly Meeting at Barnesville. He had struggled with God for guidance and assurance that it was "in right ordering" for him to go. His own meeting had given him full approval with a minute.

This visit is of particular significance because it reveals the extent of the deeply religious leading which Jeremiah was prepared to follow, if God so willed, and in spite of an extraordinary physical impediment which had befallen him. He was injured in an accident which broke his hip when his horse and buggy went out of control. He was confined to bed for about ten weeks. As the time of Yearly Meeting came closer, travel to Ohio seemed impossible. During the time of recovery, he had moments of despair and temptation, but he says: "I never experienced so much of the love and goodness of God." A Friend who visited him said: "I believe thou wilt be raised up to attend Ohio Yearly Meeting. Don't let thy bodily condition prevent thee." However, the question for Jeremiah was, how could he manage to go? No companion had been appointed to accompany him.

He was on crutches and needed help for dressing and undressing, a situation which appeared practically impossible. Nevertheless, he had come to realize that he was in God's hands, above all that the accident was a dispensation of Providence "sent me for some wise purpose."

His son wrote him (adding a human touch), "If you should go walking with a stick, no one will help you, but if you have to go on crutches, everyone will help you!"

In the end, a young Friend, Joseph Pollard undertook the difficult service of accompanying him to Barnesville. This offer of service was accepted by Jeremiah as a gift of God. Though Friends were involved in giving him practical help, God was the comforting power.

It was a very positive and fruitful Yearly Meeting for him. He exclaims: "Oh that all our Meetings were held in the power of the Lord. Many were tendered and we were made to rejoice together."

In June 1909, a year before he died, Jeremiah was appointed by Yearly Meeting

held at Pickering, to be part of a delegation of Friends to call upon Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada. The delegation was to present Friends' concern regarding the teaching and training for military service of students in public schools and colleges. Jeremiah was appointed to read the petition for Friends. The petition expressed the religious basis of the concern and quoted part of the Query: "Are Friends clear of complying with military requisition or the paying of any fine or tax instead thereof?" "Christ has commanded men to love their enemies and to do good to those who hate them."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier replied that he was one with Friends on war. He also gave them assurance that Friends would be protected from all military requisition or from paying any fine or tax for it. The delegation gave him a book entitled, A Concise Account of the Religious Society of Friends.

Sir Wilfrid assured them that the religious interests of Friends in Canada would be respected and that there would be no law made or enacted that would in any way conflict with the religious scruples of Friends.

In spite of the comforting words of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Jeremiah had a deeper concern for the religious life of the Society of Friends, and indeed, expresses anxiety that "our Society would not be like a withered branch ready to die." He wished there were more Friends strong in their Quaker faith.

Yet Jeremiah was encouraged by the spiritual depth and response of the few Friends who gather in small "sittings." The experience of his pastoral care in small gatherings were "precious seasons... as wells by the wayside for the thirsty traveller."

This Journal gives us new and revealing insights into the effects of the 1881 Separation and the suffering and loss caused by those historical events. As Jeremiah continued his faithful visitation in the ministry, he often experienced being the only Friend, or one of a few Friends present in what had been quite large and flourishing meetings. He was unwavering in his trust in God as the ever-present comforter.

Written shortly before his death,

The "Faith History" of Jeremiah Lapp

Jeremiah's words sound prophetic:

I feel to leave on record for those who shall come after me and who may read these lines, that there will be a remnant left of Friends after they have passed through the fire, and have been sifted as from sieve to sieve. These will come forth as gold tried in the fire, and will be faithful to maintain the ancient doctrines and testimonies of our forefathers in the truth and who will not shun the cross.

He died on May 12th, 1910, aged 72 years. One of the last entries in his Journal reads:

I feel resigned to abide by all my dear Master in his infinite Wisdom sees best for me, knowing that it will be to the honour of his Holy Name if I bear it with patience.

The Sociology of Separation in the Historical Experience of the Society of Friends

by David E. W. Holden

Examining the history of the Society of Friends makes it obvious that there have been a number of occasions when it has gone through considerable trauma. The trauma has been at the origin of its various branchings. The times of conflict are fundamentally important to the creative development of new ways of perceiving God and His relationship to people. Much of our thinking today is bound up with this historical experience. The very concepts fundamentally affect the way we think. This paper is not about conceptual development but about the processes by which conflict has been generated, the conflict that has been so creative.

For a Friend, the idea of conflict is anathema. Friends have a long and distinguished history in attempting to find ways of avoiding and overcoming it. Efforts in peace-making, consultation and mediation have shown Friends willingness to work hard at overcoming conflict. To this one should add Friends willingness to suffer for the sake of peace, and their refusal to serve in armed forces - even when the refusal to do so has led to great privation. It is strange, therefore, to find times when these same peace-loving people would become so provoked with each other that they would split into warring factions and come to blows over theological and ideological issues. Yet, such is precisely what has happened. It has happened in many places and at many times in the nearly 350 years of existence of the Society of Friends.

The history of conflict goes back to the earliest days. Records report the "defection" of James Nayler and the disownment of John Perrot and all those who "ran out from the Truth" with them. Reference to the Keithian schism and the disownment of George Keith by London Yearly Meeting in 1693 is sometimes made. Similar mention is made of large scale loss of membership in

England and America in the 18th century. The defection of some Friends during the American Revolution and the formation of the "Free Quakers" by those disowned for revolutionary activities is seldom more than a footnote. The "Great Separation" involving the "Hicksite" problems, followed by the controversy between John Wilbur and Joseph John Gurney are sometimes mentioned. Occasionally we learn about the "Beaconite" controversy and Fritchley Friends in England. After that matters become obscure for most Friends but the list goes on at great length, involving almost every yearly meeting in one way or another. Some events are surprisingly obscure to some Friends but not others. Some lead to changes that later affect them in interesting ways and they separate them even further. Others are overcome and bodies grow back together more or less comfortably.

My intent, when I began this project a number of years ago, was to try to understand the dynamics of conflict in the Society of Friends. I wanted to see if it was possible to avoid conflict and the trauma that comes from it. I have achieved some insight into the problems but have not reached the point where I can comfortably assert that it is avoidable. I have even decided that it would be undesirable to overcome all conflict as it has been in many ways a creative and adaptive process. Without the conflict we would not have the tremendous variety of Friends, nor the number that are there. As many Friends today come from the activities of Friends who did things that were met with deep disapproval by other Friends at the time. However, from the examination of history, the following notes sum the variables that are associated with divisions and provide a typology of divisions.

VARIABLES

1. Levels at which splits occur:
 - a. single people withdraw or are disowned.
 - b. two or more separate or meetings divide.
 - c. yearly meeting divisions.
 - d. Yearly meetings withdrawals from larger bodies, eg. from Friends United Meeting.
2. Reasons for divisions or disownments are based on issues to do with:
 - a. faith, eg., theology, interpretation or source of inspiration.
 - b. Friends Testimonies, eg. sins of a non-faith nature, such as adultery, divorce, unfaithfulness, child neglect. Crimes of violence, especially against the person are important here, as are any actions that are seen as crimes by society. Important testimonies are those considered important by the meeting and have included: testimonies on participation in the military, swearing of oaths, paying tithes and marrying without the approval of the meeting.
 - c. personal behavior sins that do not seem to attack the social fabric, such as gambling, alcohol, over indulgence, violations of dress codes. These can almost be regarded as crimes where the chief victim is the sinner himself.
3. Four variables on size and three on type would appear to create a twelve fold typology of potential possibilities. Several of the possibilities, however, are not viable. The viable possibilities are related to another variable. This is the distinction based on the fundamental nature of the belief system. Friends, or all who claim to be Friends, do not share the same basis for their beliefs. The continuum of belief is much finer than the three fold typology that follows. Probably all would agree on the need to reconcile inspiration given with the Holy Scripture but they would vary on the priority given the inspiration.
 - a. Friends who see the Inward Light (Light Within, Holy Spirit or whatever it is they call it) as sufficient. For them the Bible is sometimes seen as a good book, sometimes as the best piece of religious literature. However, few at this extreme would limit themselves to the Bible for spiritual inspiration, and many would go to non-Christian spiritual sources as well. Some might even refuse to read the Bible. If the inspiration given appears to disagree with the Scripture, then the Scripture would most likely be discounted. For some at this end of the continuum, the Bible has been seen as superseded by newer religious inspiration and is, therefore, no longer relevant. If asked about the nature of God, they are more likely to see Him as immanent than as transcendent.
 - b. Friends who regard the Inner Light as important that is paralleled by the importance of the Bible for religious inspiration. The Bible is taken in an open sense in that they use other data to aid in their interpretation and understanding of Scripture. Archaeological evidence, higher literary criticism, modern philosophy and science do not interfere if they appear to contradict scriptural accounts. Here Friends would attempt a reconciliation between knowledge, inspiration and Scripture. It would be a serious and concerted effort if the lack of agreement appeared to be great. Some then might lean one way, while others in the other way. God for these is both immanent and transcendent.
 - c. Friends who are Bible literalists, who regard the scriptural account as inherent and can accept the Inward Light only if it is taken as evidence of the Holy Spirit and in no way disagrees with Scripture. Science and philosophy are regarded as either dangerous or potentially dangerous because they lead people away from Scripture. God is almost exclusively transcendent for these

Friends.

4. Variables of size and growth. Perception of size and growth are more important than actual size or growth. If Friends are sufficiently comfortable with the size of their meeting or feel that they are growing, the reality of the size and growth have little meaning. Further, when the members of a meeting see it as always having existed and can not see it dying, they then act as if it were large and growing when by any objective criteria it may really be both small and shrinking.
 - a. Large vs. medium vs. small vs. very small memberships.
 - b. growing vs. stable vs. shrinking membership numbers.
5. Variables that are potential "social fault lines". These are the social, ideological, political, racial, economic and other such that divide the body politic that surrounds the meetings. Meetings and their members are all part of the social matrix and are affected in many way by what goes on around them. Any single issue that becomes socially important is a potential source of divisiveness for a meeting. Such issues can be imbedded in the social history of the body, or can be new introductions. If they are considered important, they are important in their consequences. The numbers of divisive issues can become important when they begin to coalesce in coherent ways that allow people to take sides on a number of them at the same time. Therefore the following may be of importance:
 - a. The existence of socially important issues.
 - b. The number of such issues.
 - c. Coordination or coalescing of issues.
6. Perceived degree of separation from the world. Friends have seen themselves as separate from the world, ie. as a "peculiar people", while others have seen themselves as a part of the world.

TYPOLOGY

1. Withdrawal or disownment of a single person:
 - a. At certain periods Friends have disowned large numbers of people. These disownments have been limited to periods when Friends regarded themselves as separate from the world. They are also times when the size of the Society was not a concern, when membership was perceived as large or growing. Friends could be quite rigid in their willingness to impose standards of behavior and belief. Therefore, when considerations of size and growth are not important and when Friends have seen themselves as separate from the world, rather than a part of it, disownments of people are made on the grounds of faith, violations of testimonies or bad behaviour.
 - b. When Friends perceive themselves as large or growing but not separate and "peculiar" they are not as quick to disown for behavioral sins. Instead they are likely to labor with those who violate the current norms and if the sinner persists in the crime, the person will be disciplined with sanctions that do not go so far as disownment unless they become violations of what meaningful non-Friends would see as outrageous. Eg., a "drinking problem" will be worked with until it becomes outrageous public drunkenness. This may lead to disownment.
 - c. If the meeting becomes small or is seen as shrinking in size, then sins against the testimonies begin being treated as those of personal behavior. This is particularly hard as the latter are sins that attack the people most closely tied to the sinner. The problem becomes one of weighing the damage done by the sinner to the damage done by the loss of a member. It is not an easy decision to make, nor is it one that the membership can agree on easily. Sometimes there is conflict over

which step to take. The more serious the sin, the easier it will be to disown the person. The smaller and more endangered the meeting, the harder this will become. Family ties complicate matters as disownment of a family member hits other members particularly hard. The hurt of such can last for generations. The same is true when someone is injured by a sin. All people closely linked to that person suffer by the injury.

- d. At this point the perception of the importance of the Inward Light relative to Scripture comes in. For Friends who accept the sufficiency of the Inward Light, the concept of sin and the concept of Judgment are not accepted universally. Many of these Friends see much of sinning as a form of deviant or aberrant behavior that has social or systemic causes which may be totally unrelated to ideas of responsibility and accountability. For those who are satisfied with the sufficiency of the Inward Light it becomes easier to accept people who violated Testimonies or behaved badly. They will work with the "sinner" longer as they do not have to deal with biblical injunctions against certain sins. For the ones at the other extreme, the ones who accept biblical inerrancy, the question become moot as well. For them there are certain sins that are utterly proscribed and those who commit such are simply anathema. The people who have the greatest difficulties here are those who feel the Scripture is important but who do not go so far as the previous. They have to make a decision, quite frequently the decision is unique for each sinner. One sinner may be rejected, while another merely disciplined for the same sin. Further, they are more troubled by mitigating circumstances and by the publicity given to the sin.

- e. Faith sins are in some ways the most

problematic. For Friends at the biblical inerrancy end, any such sin is simply used to define the sinner as a non-member. One can not get membership if one does not accept their view, and if one should change, one simply withdraws or is treated as a non member.

For Friends at the other extreme, the Inward Light can lead members to interpret faith in a multiplicity of ways, any of which can be acceptable if the Grace given others is also accepted. At this end over-reliance on any inspirational literature, including the Bible, can be looked on with disfavour as evidence of credal attachment.

For Friends in between the problem is, again, a difficult one. Deviation and disagreement on faith issues up to a point is acceptable. That point is nowhere near as far as the previous, but far beyond that of the biblical inerrancy group. They can discuss issues that would upset them, yet the limits are fairly strict. There is a great deal of variation from meeting to meeting and from time to time within the same meetings, if a Friend becomes clearly attached to an aberrant belief, that Friend is quietly "dealt with" and probably withdraws voluntarily.

2. When two or more withdraw or are disowned and when meetings split.

For this kind of split perceived growth and size become less important. Most often these events do not have single variable explanations and to suggest such merely distorts the data. Quite often the larger the proportion of people splitting, the larger will be the number of issues on which disagreement is found. Most frequently faith issues are at the core of the disagreement although often items of behavior will be salient. The divisions that seem to fit into this category would include among them the following:

The Wilkinson-Story controversies;

The Wilsonites;
The Beaconite controversy;
Fritchley Friends;
Primitive Friends in Baltimore and Philadelphia;
Most of the Antislavery splits among Hicksite Friends;
The Universalists in New York and Wisconsin;
Hinckle Creek Meeting.

In almost all of these there was a disagreement between the parties on the nature of the Inward Light, the freedom allowed by the Inward Light or the place of the Scripture in the belief system. In the larger of these, and in the more lasting ones, other elements entered. These were most frequently those elements that were seen as necessary for the preservation of the "real" nature of Friends beliefs and testimonies. Quite often the form taken for demonstrating this reality was superficial even though great meaning was given the superficiality. It was as if the essence of Quakerism became the way in which people dressed and spoke. Further, there was often some other unstated thing that separated the small body withdrawing from the larger body. Economic, political and social variables underlie them and they are of such a form that the social ties are not strong enough to handle the strain of both the disagreement on a faith issue and the other seemingly superficial issue.

Another aspect of many of these splits is that they become the surrogates for the larger splits in places where the larger ones fail for one reason or another. It is as if these are the results of the after shock of large scale conflict. Further, many separations occurred when Friends separating have forgotten, or have never known, what the historic testimonies of Friends were. They have begun to introduce forms that are not part of the historic Friends material and this has separated them from the wealth that is there. Sometimes the loss is in terms of an understanding of the meaning of the Inward Light while,

sometimes it is a loss in the understanding of the importance of biblical knowledge. Whenever either of these are lost, new forms creep in that distort the whole and lead to some form of conflict.

3. Yearly Meeting splits are the most spectacular of the events covered in this exercise. They are always far more complicated that they seem at first examination. They take longer to happen that the description of them in most histories. They all involve a number of closely interwoven variables and all have a seemingly simple faith controversy that serves as the immediate explanation. While controversy and disagreement on matters of faith are fairly constant, yearly meeting splits are relatively unusual. Here we are not describing the reasons for the setting off of one yearly meeting by another, but the formation of two yearly meetings that result from a basic disagreement)*. What is required is the following:
 - a. A number of coinciding issues that separate contending parties into clearly defined camps;
 - b. A social division between the contending parties that makes the formation of social bonds relatively difficult. This division will be an aspect of the coinciding issues that separate the two parties.
 - c. A faith issue that can serve to focus Friends attention and/or be a surrogate for a. and b. above.
 - d. A deep dislike between the people involved in the split; or their not knowing each other. This can take the form of personal dislike or a dislike of the manner, behavior or ideals of the other principals. Frequently this personal dislike seems to develop after the differences have been discovered.
 - e. In the absence of any one of these aspects, the split that takes place usually takes the form of those in b. above.

4. Withdrawals from larger bodies (such as from F.U.M.) are in many ways both less spectacular and less painful than are the splits within yearly meetings. They take on less of the "sad family quarrel" and become more dispassionate. Most frequently they are recognition of irreconcilable disagreement on faith issues. The pain that occurs is usually to the people who are involved in the administration of the larger body and the leadership of the yearly meeting. It appears to them that the break has personal meaning far beyond the meaning felt by the larger body of Friends.

To conclude, there are some amusing ironies in all this that come from the very humanity of the people involved. In one story reported to me about the break that led to the creation of Nebraska Yearly Meeting, the closing hymn chosen at the suggestion of the visiting speaker was no less than: "Blessed be the Tie That Binds."

*Note: The most recent yearly meeting to be set off is the Honduras Yearly Meeting that was set off from Guatemala Yearly Meeting on April 1, 1983.

The Politics of Schism: The Separation of the Children of Peace, 1812

by Albert Schrauwers

In 1800, Timothy Rogers, a Vermont Quaker, responded to a "great trial in [his] mind" by setting out for Upper Canada (Ontario). His express purpose was to encourage a new settlement midway between the established Quaker communities at West Lake and Pelham and, by so doing, to "be helpful to get Friends in Upper Canada united". Leading some forty families to a land grant along Yonge Street, he was soon joined by Samuel Lundy and Isaac Phillips, two Pennsylvanian Quakers who had obtained grants for a further twenty families in neighbouring Whitchurch Township. Over the next six years, these original sixty families were joined by a further forty who purchased land in the area, making the Yonge Street settlement the fastest-growing Quaker community in Upper Canada. The Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, a nearly autonomous body of the Religious Society of Friends, was established in 1806; and four years later a superior association of meetings, the Canada Half Yearly Meeting, was created, in large part satisfying Rogers' concern to unite Friends in Upper Canada.¹ The new meeting was not long established when a series of crises disrupted the expected harmony among "Friends":

Great troubles arose between both in state and society for the [United] States some time in the sixth month declared war. And a number of Yonge Street Friends became so good and zealous in their own opinions that after telling their thoughts left our Meeting, and met at one David Willson's.²

Rogers' brief reference to these "good and zealous" Friends hides the complex story of the first schism in the Society of Friends in Canada, which led to the creation of the Children of Peace in

1812. Known principally for the flamboyant temple they built in the village of Sharon (which still stands today as the sole monument to the sect's existence), the Children of Peace are one of the first indigenous Canadian religious bodies. The schism within the Yonge Street Meeting was nominally a theological dispute:

They [the Children of Peace] held forth in doctrine that the person of Jesus Christ was a man; that his spirit was, and is God with us. But the Offended [the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting] that he was God, and that the spirit was made flesh, and was Lord over all, whereas the offenders held his person to be a subordinate being to the spirit that was in him, and is God with US.³

Religious disputes can only be explained in relation to the "political" arenas within which they take place, a fact blurred by the later institutional separation of church and state. Willson's religious discourse had secular implications with little apparent connection to his theological assertions. To understand these wider implications, we must recognize that theology is not isolated from the world around it; we should consider it one of several idioms in which to discuss experience. The Yonge Street Quakers, involved in a war not of their own making, discovered a common voice for their experience in the ministry of David Willson. To understand how Willson's beliefs came to represent that experience, we must carefully examine the organization of the Quaker polity, its relations with the state, and the role of its ministers.

The Society of Friends - "Quakers"

The Yonge Street Quakers were the heirs of a religious tradition that had long

emphasized the "experimental" nature of religion. George Fox, leader of the "valiant sixty" who established Quakerism in seventeenth-century England, related how the empty and meaningless ritual of the churches of his day left him feeling lost and alone, a Christian without Christ. Yet,

when all my hopes in them [the clergy] and in all men were gone so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell me what to do, then, Oh then, I heard a voice which said "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition" and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord did let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition... that Jesus Christ might have the preeminence, who enlightens and gives grace and faith and power. Thus when God doth work who shall prevent it? *And this I know experimentally.*⁴

It is this emphasis on the "experimental" knowledge of Christ, the "Inner Light" of the soul, that so sharply distinguishes the Quakers from the established (Anglican) church. The Quakers rejected the notion that the age of revelation was over and believed in the continuing presence and action of the spirit of God within them. They rejected empty outward "rituals" and a "hireling ministry" out of hand, choosing instead to meet in silence, awaiting the moment when some Friend, inspired by the Inner Light, would unburden him- or her- self to the meeting. The experimental apprehension of God, the Inner Light, was available to all who would attend to its leadings: to men or women, to rich or poor, to the educated or the illiterate, giving Quakerism, and the Quaker ministry, a decidedly egalitarian bias.⁵

This egalitarian ideology was but partly reflected in practice. Although the *universality* of the Inner Light was necessary to justify ideologically a non-ordained ministry, at no time in its history did the Quaker movement fail to "recognize" that some of its members had been granted

greater insight into the workings of the Inner Light than others: although they affirmed the universality of the priesthood of all believers, the Quakers retained the institutionalized role of minister.⁶

Thus, while Quaker ideology called for silent meetings interrupted only by the spontaneous ministry of those led by the Inner Light, in practice the silence tended to be punctuated at frequent intervals by those who were "recognized" in the role of minister. This tendency to institutionalize the role of the minister was further reinforced by the later introduction of the "minister's box", a row of benches at the front of the meeting house facing the congregation, which was reserved for recognized ministers and elders.

The basic functional unit of Quaker organization was the Meeting for Worship. These Meetings for Worship also met once a month, as a "Preparative Meeting" to the Monthly Business Meeting, to discuss the "business" of the local congregation. In the Preparative Meeting, nine "queries" were read, inquiring into the degree of adherence to Quaker practice as outlined in the Society's Discipline. These queries have traditionally emphasized a refusal to bear arms or swear oaths, and adherence to the standards of the "plain style" of speech and dress.⁷ The "sense of the meeting" was then recorded by the clerk, and at least two representatives delegated to attend the Monthly Meeting with this "minute".

The Monthly Business Meeting dealt with all the Society's business that so arose: the "recognition" of ministers, complaints of individual non-compliance with the Discipline, applications for membership or marriage, the supervision of meetings for worship, and the delegation of members to oversee the Society's financial dealings. Although at least two members from each Preparative Meeting were assigned to attend, the Monthly Meeting was a plenary session, and all members were urged to be present. Ideally, the Monthly Meeting was the gathered body of the Society, met together to seek the will of God for those assembled. Furthermore, to ensure the full participation of women, a parallel Women's Meeting was established, with similar juris-

diction over the female members of the congregation.

The political process of a Quaker Business Meeting demanded unanimity; the making of decisions was a process of slow reconciliation of often opposing opinions. A delegated clerk sought to establish the groundwork for compromise, to acquire some "sense of the meeting", some minimal common ground to which all agreed. The recognition of a minister was one such issue, requiring the assent of all members in both men's and women's meetings.

Decision making amongst the Quakers had two essential properties; first, it was not democratic in the strict sense of the word, and secondly, decisions tended towards a conservative minimal agreement.⁸ Quaker ideology was inherently intolerant of factionalism. The process of making decisions was directed towards the production of a "minute", a written record of the discussions held and their resolution, binding on the meeting as a whole. The production of a minute was controlled from first to last by the clerk, an appointed functionary who set the agenda, co-ordinated discussion, and most important, framed the draft minute embodying the consensus reached. Should no consensus arise from the discussion, the matter was deferred to the next meeting for further reflection and discussion. Minutes thus tended to express only minimal areas of agreement, and in controversial cases decisions were often deferred for lengthy periods.

The clerk and the plenary meeting formed one arena of authority within the Monthly Meeting, a "community-in-council" with "a wide sphere of competence the total field of public or community activity". A second focus of authority lay within a Preparative Meeting of a different sort, the "Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders", an "elite council".⁹ Ministers and elders were appointed by plenary sessions of the Society. Elders served for the rest of their lives. They were chosen from among those weighty Friends who were known to adhere closely to the Discipline but who had not yet been recognized as ministers. They were enjoined to take "suitable opportunities" with those who disturbed the meeting with

"improper communications", "to extend advice and counsel as [might] appear necessary".¹⁰ The Select Meeting was the seat of traditional authority, which was vested primarily in the elders, backed by the Discipline. During the early nineteenth century, the elders' power became a major subject of dispute.¹¹ A minister's authority remained balanced between his traditionally recognized role and the charismatic authority that he or she derived from the Inner Light.

Conflict within the Monthly Meeting thus had two principal political arenas, the plenary Business Meeting and the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders. Conflict within the Business Meeting was mediated by the clerk and tempered by the meeting's desire for unity. However, conflict between members and elders was an entirely individual matter. Should the elders be disturbed by an "improper communication" from one who aspired to the ministry, they were to "speak to the individual privately" after the meeting for worship. Disagreements with elders were usually one-sided, for traditional authority was vested in the elder. Budding ministers could rarely appeal to prophetic authority since their ministry had not yet been "recognized" by the meeting. In this way, the elder functioned as a "gatekeeper", as one who controlled access to an institutional role. There was no method of appealing an elder's decision, since, unlike other religious groups, the Quakers had no creed or dogma by which the ministry could be judged. The sole doctrinal standard of the meeting was its ministers and elders. If a member persisted in the ministry after the censure, the elder was enjoined to lay the case "before the monthly meeting for discipline, which should proceed to treat with, and disown him, if it appear[ed] necessary".¹² Once a complaint was made to the Monthly Meeting, the fledgling minister was barred from all further business meetings and thus could not directly argue his own case.

Quakerism and the State

In characterizing the Society of Friends as a dissenting church, historians

are not usually referring to political dissent, although the two are not unrelated. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Friends' Monthly Meetings provided an alternative political system that challenged many of the prerogatives of the state. Quaker "testimonies" on oaths and suing, for example, prevented Friends from suing in state courts (except in exceptional cases) and set up an alternative process of mediation for the settling of disputes.¹³ The Monthly Meeting can thus be best described as an "encapsulated political system", a political structure partly independent of, and partly regulated by, a larger encapsulating state.¹⁴

The Quaker polity is best considered as a "part culture". That is, although these subsistence farmers were English-speaking dependents of the Crown, they adhered to distinctive patterns of speech and dress and maintained a clear cultural identity as a "peculiar people". Although they participated in the broader culture of the British North American colonies and shared their interest in roads, taxes, and markets, they nonetheless sought autonomy from the values of that larger culture in much the same manner as many traditional peasant cultures.

The most radical assault on the legitimacy of the larger political system was mounted by the Quaker peace testimony, which prevented them from bearing arms. As governments drew increasingly on their citizens for their troops, the peace testimony became a major point of irritation between those governments and the Quakers: in fact, the Quakers had immigrated to Upper Canada because Governor Simcoe had promised them an exemption from bearing arms.¹⁵ An early Yonge Street Quaker, Clayton Webb, relates how the Quaker's refusal to fight was often misinterpreted:

In the early part of the Revolution of 1776 father's troubles began. The new Government called for all the militiamen they could raise. His principles opposing all war he refused to go. [After three months of hiding in the bush, he turned himself in.] The court did not prove anything against them, so they were dismissed

and given liberty to go home, but their enemies who sought their lives heard of their freedom. They were so enraged that they raised a mob of men and came to the Court at Sudbury.... Their leader struck down on each side of him with a sword, uttering violent threats that he would have them "--- Tories" and hang or shoot them.¹⁶

The distinctive aspects of Quaker culture, such as the wearing of plain dress, the use of plain speech, and the testimony against taking oaths, served to mark the Quakers as a "peculiar people", separate from the world. These examples of Quaker dissent can best be explained through an examination of the conflicting ideologies of the "religion of order" and a "religion of experience".

The established church, a "religion of order", was characterized by a cosmology now known as "the great chain of being", which interpreted the universe as a well ordered system, a mechanism whose very perfection "demonstrates the existence of a divine watchmaker, a higher intelligence who has ordered the universe"¹⁷ This rationalist theology was the product of a university-trained elite with a vested interest in maintaining the well-oiled equilibrium of the social watchwork. By discouraging change and reinforcing the place of each "link" in the great chain, the established church proved the "best security that Government can have in its own internal preservation".¹⁸ The mutual benefits derived from such a symbiotic relationship was most crudely expressed by the creation of the Clergy Reserves, in which the revenues from one-seventh of all the land of Upper Canada were held for the sole use of a "Protestant Clergy", but were usurped by the Anglicans.

In contrast to the state-supported established church, Quakerism had traditionally been a "religion of experience": it was "personal and passionate; it was immediate; it could be felt. At the very centre of this pattern was an encounter with the very spirit of God".¹⁹ In keeping with this spontaneous rising of the spirit, Quakerism had always

remained non-creedal, placing emphasis on the felt presence of God rather than on theological orthodoxy. Instead of a theology, Friends shared a common vocabulary of religious experience, using terms such as the "Inner Light", "impressions", "trials", and "concerns".

Although the "religion of experience" is best exemplified by the Methodist camp meeting, it is essential to distinguish the ideology of "experimental" religion from the emotionalism invoked. The Quakers, with their silent meetings, lay at the opposite emotional pole from the Methodists, yet had in common the central experience of a felt gift of grace. As dissenting religions, they also shared a common political goal, the maintenance of alternative value systems and social organizations. By bringing God from the apex of the great chain of being into people's hearts, the Methodists and Quakers sought to redefine the social compact between the government and the established church.

The political implications of denominational membership should thus be readily apparent. The emergent picture of the Quaker polity is of a "part culture", that is, a semi-autonomous body with an alternative value system that it seeks to protect through the political organization of the church. In its relations with the state, the meeting as a whole could only set standards and define its "discipline", which individual members of the meeting had then to adhere to voluntarily. It is for this reason that unanimity was essential to Quaker decision making.

Defections from the Quaker fold were frequent. As the social and economic incentives offered by the larger society increased, many Quakers were torn between these divergent value systems; some attempted to lead the Quakers towards a more conventional "orthodoxy" and a less antithetical attitude towards the state and its values.²⁰ Other Quakers sought to maintain their traditional status as a "peculiar people", separate from the evils of governments over which they had little control. This *individual* problem of deciding to whom primary allegiance should be granted, was brought to a head in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting by the circumstances sur-

rounding the War of 1812. The conflict of values polarized the Yonge Street Quakers, from whom there emerged a minister, David Willson, who, hearkening to the militancy of the founder of Quakerism, proclaimed "he had taken up the Principle where George Fox left it and was going on to Perfection."²¹

The Schism

David Willson was born in 1778 of "poor but pious presbyterian parents",²² recent immigrants from Northern Ireland who settled in the Nine Partners tract of New York State, about twelve miles east of Poughkeepsie, on the Connecticut border. Willson's education was "bounded by one year, and a considerable part of that time almost in [his] infancy". Following the death of his father when he was about fourteen, Willson was apprenticed to a carpenter until 1798, when his elder brother moved the family to New York City and purchased a share in the sloop the Farmer, which made several runs to the West Indies.²³ At about the same time Willson married Phebe Titus, a Quaker who was then disowned by the Society (which at that time was strictly endogamous).

It was no doubt in the West Indies that the Willson family heard of the newly created British province of Upper Canada and of the free land grants of two hundred acres being given to all bona fide settlers. In 1800, the eldest brother, Hugh, sold off his share in the Farmer and moved to Wolfe Island near Kingston. In 1801 David and his mother and his younger brother and two sisters and their extended families obtained a land grant in East Gwillimbury, near the point where Yonge Street reaches Lake Simcoe. Hugh rejoined the rest of the family in East Gwillimbury in 1810.

Around 1806, Willson "gained admittance, according to [his] choice, into the society of people called Quakers, after many years of tribulation and a rising and falling of the mind. [He] served them according to their laws and discipline for seven years in all good faith and open communion with them concerning the faith and practice of the society, still retaining

[his] secret impressions as sacred from the ears of all flesh."²⁴ In late 1811, Willson opened his ministry to others, beginning in earnest in June of 1812, following a vision that can only be interpreted as a call to lead, to "bow [his] shoulders and wash her [the church's] feet; set her feet upon [his] shoulders, or bear her sorrows, and bear her away, and set her feet upon the waters or the wind, that the inhabitants of the earth may behold her beauty, and she may bring forth her children in peace".²⁵

Although we have no record of Willson's extempore message in meeting, we do have his theologically obtuse pamphlet *The Rights of Christ*²⁶ and a number of unpublished manuscripts of the period, which elaborate on his religious beliefs. Willson's essential message was that heaven and hell were states of mind. The Devil was no more than the nature of man, opposed to the spirit of God. Since man had sinned and had followed his own nature rather than the will of God, he required a mediator, Jesus Christ, to help him achieve the "first state of Adam": Christ the mediator was experienced as the Inner Light. Thus, Willson interpreted the second coming of Christ as a personal apocalypse in which man discovers the spirit of God within himself, rather than as some future millennial event.

Willson repeatedly emphasized that "the person of Jesus Christ was a man; his spirit was, and is, God with us." None in the Yonge Street Meeting would have questioned the veracity of Willson's reformulation of the standard Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light. His insistence however, that Christ was a man and not God incarnate, was too unorthodox for some.

In July of 1812, an elder, Isaac Phillips,²⁷ cautioned Willson to "remain silent", and official proceedings were launched against one of Willson's core followers, his cousin by marriage, William Reid, who had "denied the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by declaring his belief that he was no more than the apostle Paul or any other inspired man".²⁸ It is not difficult to follow the reasoning behind this dual assault by orthodox opponents. Because Phillips was "treating" with Willson, he could not begin proceedings in

the Business Meeting to disown him. Furthermore, as Willson was an aspiring minister with a small established following, any direct move against him in the plenary Business Meeting was likely to meet great opposition. By silencing Willson and keeping his case out of the Business Meeting, and concentrating their attack on William Reid, the orthodox forces had a better chance of establishing the unorthodoxy of Willson's ministry, which precedent could then be used against Willson himself if his case needed to be brought to meeting.

The Monthly Meeting, as in all such cases, established a committee to investigate the charges against Reid. The committee was composed primarily of members from Whitchurch Indulged Meeting, the only meeting for worship with no defections to Willson. It was also the home of Isaac Phillips and the only other minister, Martha Widdifield. The committee could not come to any clear conclusion before David Willson chose to forge ahead on his own. His possible political responses within the meeting were few. Willson needed to discredit the unnamed elder's authority, which he attempted to do in the Queen Street Meeting for worship, when he and his followers refused "to rise from [their] seat[s] when a Friend appeared in supplication [that is, offered a vocal prayer]".²⁹ Quaker practice required members to stand and remove their hats during a prayer as a sign of respect to God. By refusing to stand, Willson impugned the validity of that Friend's prayer, in effect denying the Inner Light as its source. He then withdrew from the meeting, "refused controversy, fled from argument",³⁰ and opened his own house for worship, setting up a parallel meeting to the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. This new Meeting, the "Youth's Meeting of the Children of Peace"³¹ (in opposition to the "Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders" of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting) "recognized" Willson's ministry, granting him the divine sanction denied him by Phillips. In this way, Willson circumvented the "gate-keeping" role of this Orthodox Elder, whose continued objection to his ministry had been sufficient to block the usual path by which a Quaker's ministry was "recognized".

Willson did not set out to create a new sect; his intent was to rejoin the Quakers. He, with Reid, appealed to the Canada Half Yearly Meeting, a superior body capable of overturning the decisions of Monthly Meetings.³² The appeal was not heard for a full year and was then finally rejected. An appeal to the New York Yearly Meeting, the highest authority in this branch of the Society, was not resolved until 1815.

Willson was immediately joined by a following of six members who chose to withdraw with him. Had it remained at that and had the appeal not taken so long owing to the war, the separation would have remained an insignificant event in a pioneer settlement. In those three years, however, the stresses of the War of 1812 took their toll, and Willson's group swelled until it contained one-quarter to one third of the members of the Yonge Street Meeting. The reasons for the widening split within the meeting can be found through an examination of the "meaning" of holding a particular theological belief. We must interpret the widening schism within at least three contexts: within Quaker organizational patterns, within the context of New England revivalism, and within the context of state/Quaker relations.

As has already been noted, Quakerism had traditionally been non-creedal and had emphasized a shared experience of divine grace. The emphasis on theology at the beginning of the nineteenth century was an innovation imported from Britain by an evangelical minority influenced by the rise in Methodism.³³ The immediate receptive audience in America had been those urban Friends most tightly integrated into post-revolutionary economic life, those "weighty Friends" most likely to be named elders.³⁴ The shift in emphasis was also indicative of a shift in organization, away from sectarian patterns of autonomous plenary monthly meetings, to an increasingly denominational structure, in which greater authority was vested in superior meetings and in ministers and elders.³⁵

The first sign of this rising tide of "orthodoxy" had been an attempt in 1805 by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the Philadelphia Meeting of Sufferings, and

English Friends to impose a "uniform discipline" on all the American Yearly Meetings.³⁶ The uniform discipline was a clear formulation of fundamental doctrine that all Friends would have been required to profess, and included a statement of belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ. It was hotly opposed by many, who were led by a Long Island minister, Elias Hicks, and was finally shelved by the Eastern Yearly Meetings. The rejection of the uniform discipline was simply a pause in the Orthodox crusade, the "deferment" of a controversial issue on which there was no consensus. The gathering Orthodox forces continued to press for adherence to a body of fundamental beliefs until the Society of Friends, in 1828, suffered a schism of the Orthodox from the more traditionally minded Hicksites in most American Yearly Meetings.

At the same time as American Quakers were moving to a more denominational pattern of organization and a more conventional orthodoxy, much of the hinterland of the New England states was being transformed in the aftermath of the revivals of the "New Light Stir". At the same time as American Friends were becoming more orthodox, the "religion of experience" was making inroads in new New England, that is, in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and upstate New York. The product of the New Light Stir was a new heterodoxy, a profusion of new sects - Shakers, Free Will Baptists, and Universalists - who introduced a broad range of new theological concepts.³⁷

The New Light Stir "introduced revivalism as a permanent element in the religious culture of the Northern frontier. It also provided a participatory mode of expression for Radical Evangelical dissent from dominant Revolutionary politics and ideology... [They] utilized revival to articulate political neutrality and solidarity with sacred rather than secular reality".³⁸ Revivalism in this context was an alternative to political involvement and the crisis at hand, and a means of distancing oneself from rapid and threatening change.

The influence of the New Lights on Willson can easily be traced. Willson was born and raised in the Nine Partners Tract of

upstate New York, a scant sixty miles from the first Shaker colony at New Lebanon. Shaker influence is betrayed through numerous theological similarities, such as Mother Ann's assertion that "The resurrection... was not a day of reckoning coming with catastrophic suddenness to all mankind. When one confessed his sins, then he was personally saved and resurrected; when he entered into the life of the spirit, then for him the "world" was at an end".³⁹ The greatest influence of the revivalistic tradition on Willson was not so much in specific theological content, as in its very form, as would be expected with the religion of experience's emphasis on felt grace rather than theology. This style of preaching emphasized the "history of redemption" and hymnody.

This form of radical revival theology drew its roots from the oral tradition pioneered by the great itinerant, George Whitefield, whose "history of redemption" emphasized the more dramatic episodes of the gospel, the fall from grace, and the atonement. Made popular by Jonathan Edwards' A History of the Work of Redemption (1782), the history of redemption organized the gospels into three periods or dispensations of grace: "from the Fall to the Incarnation, from the Incarnation to the Resurrection, and from the Resurrection to the end of the world. Each dispensation carried with it a corresponding roster of doctrinal considerations. The first dispensation taught creation, fall and the Law; the second treated Christ's nature and atonement; the third dealt with regeneration, ecclesiology and eschatology".⁴⁰ Willson's first published work, The Rights of Christ (1815), contained three sections, the third of which, "The Pattern of Peace or Babylon Overthrown", was an explication of his theology cast in the form of the history of redemption.

Of equal importance in shaping Willson's ministry was the revivalistic emphasis on the singing of hymns, "the inevitable burst of praise from redeemed intelligent creatures to their Creator".⁴¹ Willson was an atypical Quaker minister, and the measure of his difference was his desire to introduce music into the silent

Quaker worship service. Although neither Willson nor the Quakers mention music as a point of contention, Samuel Hughes, one of the first converts to Willson, wrote that Willson advocated the use of music in worship.⁴² There are manuscript hymns dating from as early as 1817, and the sect is known to have built, in 1819, the first organ ever made in Ontario. Willson's use of music remained "Quaker" in that he used a sort of "spontaneous" hymnody in which hymns were written for a single occasion as a sign of the continuing grace of God.⁴³

These two traditions, the traditional non-creedal Quaker and the New England revivalist, merged in the ministry of David Willson, who was the unique product of the historical forces that gave rise to the province of Upper Canada. Like new New England, Upper Canada had grown out of the social dislocations of the American Revolution. Unlike the new New England, Upper Canada was a British reply to the Revolutionary War, a statement of British colonial policy, and a resounding affirmation of aristocratic privilege. Willson's theology was, in part, a reply to the renewed moral vigour of the colonial government and the established church.

Attempting to learn from their mistakes, the British sought to create in Upper Canada an answer to the "great American experiment". The new province was moulded in the image of British parliamentarianism, with a strengthened aristocratic element to offset the free licence given to the earlier popular assemblies of New England. Of paramount importance was the fear of governmental dependence on colonial taxes and thus on colonial legislatures. To guard against this insecurity, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada was to be given financial independence through the creation of a system of rent-bearing "Crown Reserve Lands". Of equal importance to the immigrating Quakers was the relative downgrading of the Township Meeting and the increased power then granted to the governmentally appointed magistrate. These two measures were an attempt to stem the rising tide of democratic idealism with an independent royal bureaucracy under the direct control of the Lieutenant-Governor.

When we speak of the Quaker polity as being encapsulated by a larger political structure, we are thus referring to the interaction of the Monthly Meeting and the resident magistrate. In the Yonge Street settlement, that magistrate was Elisha Beman, an ambitious New Yorker, who sought to obtain a monopoly over one of the bottlenecks through which the fur trade flowed south: the Quaker settlement on Yonge Street.⁴⁴

Beman's appointment as magistrate in 1806 was perhaps the only thing that saved him from bankruptcy, and it proved a positive boon, giving him and his stepsons, the Robinson brothers, new control over the local market. Of paramount importance to his plans was Yonge Street, which was his sole link to the markets at York, and thence to Montreal and New York. The commercial importance of Yonge Street to Beman, the nearly desperate businessman, could at last find expression through Beman the magistrate, whose task it was to enforce the statutory labour requirements along that military road.

"Experimental" Religion and the New Orthodoxy

Any explanation of the separation of the Children of Peace must interpret those events within three "political" contexts: the local situation, the competing traditions of Quakerism, and the context of the New Light Stir.

The drive for orthodoxy among the Quakers involved a shift in values and organization more in line with those of the established church, that is, the religion of order, of which Elisha Beman was an adherent. The Yonge Street Quaker Robert Srigley, who named his son "Elisha Beman Srigley", may be taken as indicative of the process. These Quakers sought the patronage of the state and were willing to adapt Quakerism's "testimonies" to the theological demands of the established church's orthodoxy. By accepting the tenets of the established church, they accepted the legitimacy of the government.

Less orthodox (but more traditional) Quakers placed increased emphasis on the

dissenting elements of their faith: the primacy of the Inner Light and their isolation from worldly values; they relied on a religion of experience with a shared vocabulary of religious experience rather than a shared theology. The revivalist tradition imported from the new New England, "utilized revival to articulate political neutrality and solidarity with a sacred rather than a secular reality".⁴⁵ By heightening the emotional commitment to a sacred reality, the adherents of the religion of experience sought to offer an alternative to the secular conflict within which they were enveloped, the War of 1812. The conflicting values of the orthodox and "experimental" Quakers can be seen in the sides they took in the religious dispute over Willson's ministry.

The Quaker response to Willson's ministry was shaped by the differential expropriations of their government, whose demands for goods and services violated the Quaker peace testimony, thus highlighting the conflict between the values of the state and those of the Quaker polity. The lack of uniformity in military expropriations, which was due to geography, exacerbated the factional divisions within the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. The faction to which an individual belonged depended mainly on kinship and proximity to Yonge Street.⁴⁶

Figures 1 and 2 show the family ties and geographic distribution of Willson's followers. With the exception of Willson's core group in East Gwillimbury and four members in Uxbridge (all of whom were closely related to those on Yonge Street), all of Willson's followers came from lower Yonge Street, the area which is now the town of Newmarket. Furthermore, most of Willson's followers, including some of his core group, came from two extended families, the Doans and the Hughes, though not all members of those extended families joined him. Those who chose to follow Willson appear to have been relatives living close to Yonge Street.

The Children of Peace were distinctive in another way. Those who joined Willson were by no means fringe members of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Willson's following included two former clerks of the meeting, one of whom, Amos

Figure 1: Kinship Ties linking the Children of Peace

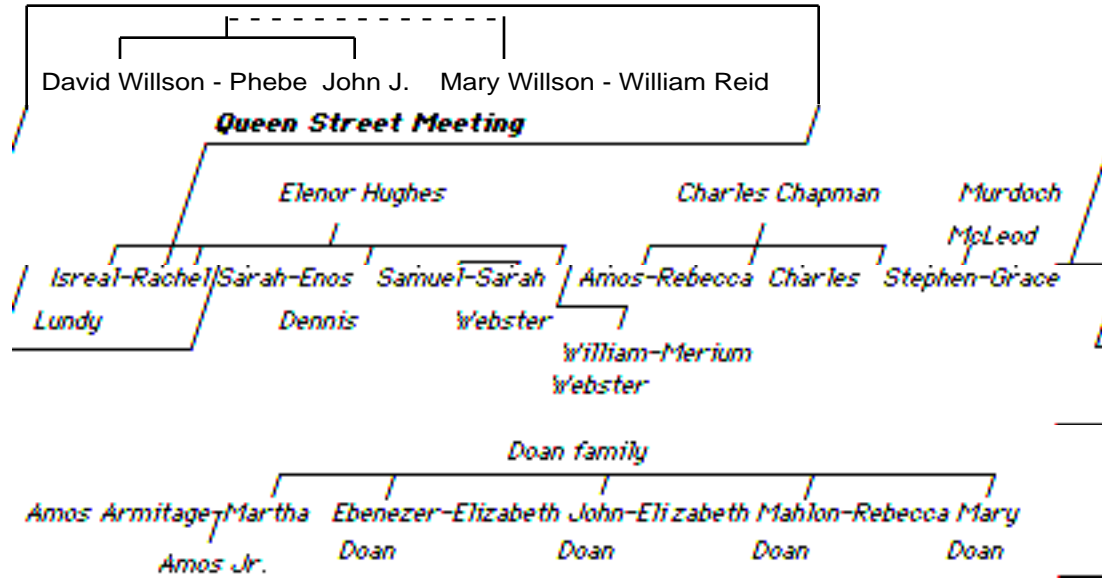
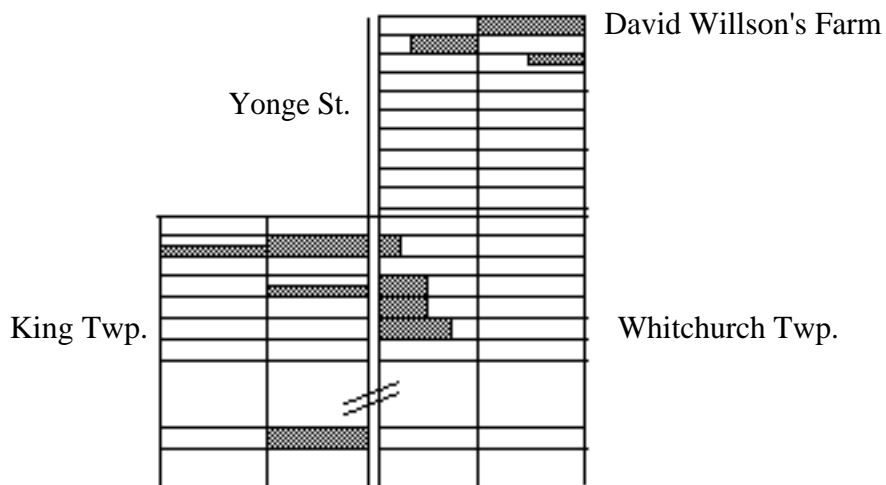


Figure 2: Geographic Distribution of the Children of Peace



Armitage, had also been the clerk of the Canada Half Yearly Meeting. Amos Armitage, his wife Martha, and Elenor Hughes, the widow of a minister, were all elders. Most of those who chose to follow Willson had equally impressive backgrounds. The majority of them, like Amos Armitage and Elenor Hughes, were among the most active Quakers in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting.

The Yonge Street Monthly Meeting can more realistically be described as a series of settlements that were separated from each other by various government reserves. Each of these settlements was a tightly knit economic and kinship unit that worshipped together in a meeting under the loose jurisdiction of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Rather than speak of the Yonge Street settlement, we had best refer to the Lower and Upper Yonge Street settlements, the Queen Street settlement, the Whitchurch settlement, the Uxbridge settlement, and the Pickering settlement. One of these settlements, that on lower Yonge Street, seceded from the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting to join Willson, whose revivalistic ministry reaffirmed the primacy of the sacred over the secular. These Friends on lower Yonge Street were among the most prominent in the Society, and by choosing Willson they reaffirmed Quakerism's roots in the religion of experience rather than in its new orthodoxy.

The reason that members of the Yonge Street Preparative Meeting, but not of the other associated meetings, should choose to join Willson is, in part, a geographic accident. Yonge Street had originally been laid out as a military road. As such, it provided a number of difficulties for the pacifist Quakers. The Quaker peace testimony prevented Friends from any activity in support of war: hence, in 1810, Friends had declared they could not "consistently with their views on war and free gospel ministry receive lands from the Government which were given for actual service in war or for assisting therein".⁴⁷ Although they had originally been promised an exemption from bearing arms, later legislation imposed a fine in lieu of military service. Since this fine was in support of the military, Friends

refused to pay, and often had their goods taken by distraint.

Father was exempt by age, but brothers William and John were both drafted in the Militia. William, neither willing to fight nor to go to jail, took refuge, with some others, in the woods. There were often parties in search of him, but never caught him. The officers took Thomas prisoner, and took him before Colonel Graham, who sent him to jail, where he lay for about six weeks, and by father interceding for him with Col. Graham, he at length gave an order for his release, and I think was not troubled any more... In the year 1814 my brother-in-law Peter Wisner, having his team pressed to Fort George with Government stores. He chose to go himself, rather than to trust his horses to strangers. He was about two weeks in winter, the roads bad and poor accommodations. He came home sick and died in about a week, leaving my sister (Phebe) a widow with one child to mourn her loss. While Thomas lay in jail, a young man, a Friend, Joseph Roberts died there, rather than violate his conscience.⁴⁸

Friends in the Yonge Street Meeting did not keep accurate records of all "cases of sufferings" but made only the occasional note such as "the property taken from forty eight Friends from the first of the second month 1808 to the 17th of the first mo 1810 amounts to £ 243=11=6 1/2 New York currency for a Military Demand of four dollars pr annum and that eight Friends have suffered each one months imprisonment on the same account."⁴⁹ The War of 1812 simply exacerbated this problem.

Those who lived along Yonge Street were especially prone to this abuse. With roads few and settlements scattered, passing troops simply requisitioned what they wanted: their most convenient source was the farmers along Yonge Street.

In the latter part of November of that year [1813] two boats were brought up Yonge St. for the purpose of taking a large quantity of flour in bags and some clothing for the troops and others about the Sault Ste. Marie at the foot of Lake Superior... The flour etc., after being taken to where Barrie now stands, was taken on the backs of horses, to the head of Willow Creek, the eastern branch of the Nottawasaga River, from whence it was to have been at once taken in large canoes to its place of destination... The horses that carried over the flour, etc., were taken from about Yonge St., some 20 or more.⁵⁰

We may thus conclude that the stresses of the War of 1812 on the Quaker community were concentrated on those who lived closest to Yonge Street.

The stresses of living along Yonge Street would have been compounded by the presence of Elisha Beman, the magistrate, whose function it was to enforce settlement duties along the road. These settlement duties required individual farmers to open and maintain local roads, "to cut down all timber in front of and the whole width of the lot, 33 feet of which must be cleared smooth and left for half the public road".⁵¹ Thus despite the advantages of living along Yonge Street, the settlement duties proved a major trial, quickly recognized by the incoming settlers. For example, in Vaughan Township, only 13 of 35 lots on Yonge Street had been patented by 1802; yet 20 of 25 available lots on the second concession had been granted. Beman's own dependence as a businessman on Yonge Street would only have made him more stringent in the performance of his duties. Any existing antagonism would be worsened by the power wielded by this local representative of the "religion of order".

Conditions like this have always been at the root of Quaker experimental religion. Highlighting as they do the contrasting value systems of the Quakers and the "world", these "trials of the Lord" drove traditional Quakers inwards, to seek the

experience of God's grace within their souls. These Friends on lower Yonge Street, subjected to constant depredations of Beman and the military, would have reacted with a stronger emphasis on Quaker values and Quaker "experimental" religion. Other Quakers, who lived at greater distances from Yonge Street, could afford a more conciliatory attitude to the state and could always seek to lessen, rather than exacerbate the value conflicts between them. While not necessarily orthodox, they found little in Willson's radical rejection of state values that appealed to them. With few kinship ties between the meetings, there was little to bind them together except their desire to reach some consensual "sense of the meeting".

Willson, with his new New England revivalist rhetoric and his own emphasis on the religion of experience, naturally attracted the Yonge Street group, which lacked any other strong leader. Willson's rhetoric handily summarized their religious experience in a traditional "experimental" idiom and provided a legitimation for their increasingly vehement rejection of worldly values.

Willson's ministry demonstrates convincingly that we cannot rigorously separate religious from political discourse, nor religious institutions from political ones. Although we cannot directly account for the individual "religious" or psychological functions of particular beliefs, we must acknowledge that once those beliefs enter the public sphere, they have political implications, whether recognized by the participants or not. Rather than treating theological discourse as a self-contained system of thought rigidly insulated from social change by moribund tradition, we should view theology as yet another means of speaking about experience. Among the Quakers, who have no set creed, theology emerges from the discourse engendered by conflicts between values and experience: between the peace testimony and the War of 1812. As those who share similar beliefs undergo similar "trials of the Lord", their discussion of common problems and their preliminary attempts at explanation are cast in theological language. Once the "secret impressions"

of God on Willson's mind were made public, those beliefs assumed a political, as well as religious, significance.

Willson's rhetoric can be interpreted in at least three contexts, which we have discussed at length: within the patterns of Quaker organization, within the local political situation, and within the broader context of New England revivalism. Each context has different referents, different political arenas, and different foci of power and authority. The *meaning* of a belief, and its political implications, will depend upon the context within which it is discussed. The possible meanings of a belief in its various contexts may be relative and often contradictory; the attempt to reconcile these contradictory meanings forms the primary subject matter of much religious and political debate.

It is fairly rare for all the political implications of a religious belief to point in a single direction. One belief that did, however, was David Willson's insistence on the humanity of Christ. In this case, the complex process of reconciling often contradictory political meanings was reduced to simple black and white. The polar opposition of values within the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting eliminated the middle ground and left the meeting prone to schism along its social fracture lines. Hence, as the War of 1812 progressed and the Yonge Street Quakers hardened in their traditional beliefs, they discovered a common voice for their experience in the ministry of David Willson. When that voice was silenced by Isaac Phillips, an orthodox elder, these Friends seceded to form a new institution, the Children of Peace, which embodied and legitimated their discontent.

Footnotes:

1. Ethel Willson Trehwella, History of the Town of Newmarket (Newmarket, n.d.), pp. 14-23.
2. Archives of the Canadian Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Pickering College, Newmarket (hereafter CYMA), typescript journal of Timothy Rogers, p. 103.
3. Sharon Temple Museum Archives (hereafter OSHT), Acc. no. 986.3.2, p. 1. (Microfilm copy available at Archives of Ontario).
4. George Fox, "The Journal of George Fox", in

Douglas Steele, ed., Quaker Spirituality: Selected Writings (Toronto: Paulist Press, 1984), p. 65.

5. Arthur G. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada: a History (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), pp. 1-29.

6. Dorland, History, pp. 17-21.

7. Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in New York (New York: Collins & Perkins, 1810), p. 33.

8. Dorland, History, p. 4.

9. Adam Kuper, "Council Structure and Decision Making" in Adam and Audrey Kuper, eds., Councils in Action (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 14.

10. Discipline, p. 24.

11. See, for example, H. Larry Ingle, Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986).

12. Discipline, p. 24.

13. Discipline, p. 90.

14. F.G. Bailey, Stratagems and Spoils (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), pp. 144-85.

15. Dorland, History, pp. 27-29.

16. Clayton Webb, "Reflections on the Pioneer Settlement of Newmarket by Two Yonge St. Quakers", Newmarket Historical Society Occasional Papers, 1 (no. 2, 1986), p. 6.

17. William Westfall, "Order and Experience: Patterns of Religious Metaphor in Early Nineteenth Century Upper Canada", Journal of Canadian Studies (Spring 1985), p. 10.

18. Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, quoted in Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: the Formative Years 1784-1841 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), p. 21

19. Westfall, "Order and Experience", p. 15.

20. Ingle, Quakers, pp. 68, 69.

21. Pat M. Ryan, "Mathias Hutchinson's Notes of a Journey (1819-20)", Quaker History 69 (1980), p. 41

22. David Willson, The Practical Life of the Author from theyear 1801 to 1860 (Newmarket: E. Jackson, 1860), p. 14.

23. Richard Titus Willson, "Reminiscences of Richard Titus Willson 1793-1878", Newmarket Historical Society Occasional Papers, 1 (no. 1, 1986), p. 9.

24. Willson, Practical Life, p. 8.

25. OSHT, Acc. no. 985.5.1, p. 105.

26. David Willson, The Rights of Christ (Philadelphia, 1815).

27. The identity of this elder had remained a mystery until October 1987, when the minute book of the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting was rediscovered. Phillips was the only surviving elder who did not join the

The Politics of Schism

Children of Peace. (CYMA uncatalogued.)

28. CYMA, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Minutes (hereafter O-11-6 minutes), 6/7/ 1812.

29. CYMA, O-11-6 minutes, 13/8/ 1812.

30. Willson, Practical Life, p. 9.

31. OSHT, Acc. no. X975.441.1, p. 182.

32. Samuel Hughes (attributed), A Vision Concerning the Desolation of Zion (Toronto: Lawrence, 1835), preface.

33. Dorland, History, p. 116.

34. Robert W. Doherty, The Hicksite Separation (Rahway, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967), pp. 33-50.

35. Doherty, Hicksite, pp. 3-15.

36. Dorland, History, p. 122.

37. Stephen A. Marini, Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 40-58.

38. Marini, Sects, p. 48.

39. Edward Deming Andrews, The People Called Shakers (New York: Dover, 1963), p. 18.

40. Marini, Sects, p. 139.

41. Marini, Sects, p. 157.

42. Ethel Willson Trehwella, "The Story of Sharon", Newmarket Era and Express, June 14, 1951- Mar. 27, 1952.

43. David Willson, Impressions of the Mind (Toronto: J.H. Lawrence, 1835), p. 254.

44. Trehwella, History, pp. 28-36.

45. Marini, Sects, p. 48.

46. A clearer explanation of factional divisions within the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting can be found in Albert Schrauwers, "Settlement Patterns of the Yonge Street Quakers", Canadian Quaker History Newsletter, no. 41 (Summer 1987), 4-9.

47. CYMA, O-11-6 minutes, 14/ 6/1810.

48. Webb, Reflections, p p. 13-14.

49. CYMA, O-11-6 minutes, 17 /1 /1810.

50. R.T. Willson, Reminiscences, p. 13.

51. Leo A. Johnson, "Simcoe's Yonge Street and the Laying out of the York County Reserve Lands", York Pioneer, 1974, pp. 34-36.

Consensus Seeking, Factionalization and Schism in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting

By Albert Schrauwers

In Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends,¹ David Holden notes that conflicts are not the same as divisions. The concern of the Society of Friends to establish consensus does not preclude disagreements; consensus, rather, emerges out of the free exchange of often diverging opinions. Seeking consensus is a means of resolving these conflicts. However, a number of conflicts, usually theological in nature, have not been amenable to easy resolution and have given birth to schisms. The insight conveyed by Holden's book is that such intractable conflicts simply reveal previously existing social divisions among Friends. That is, the intractable nature of these conflicts has less to do with the theological disagreement itself than with the existence of a socially divided meeting. Factors like class and status divide meeting members into groups with divergent interests which frequently bring them into conflict with each other, resulting in the development of factions. One issue then comes to stand for all these differences, with separation the inevitable product.

Schism is the process by which an intractable conflict results in the formal division of these two factions. The process of schism reveals a great deal about leadership within a monthly meeting as well as the process of consensus seeking itself. While Friends have traditionally emphasized the equal availability of the Inward Light to all members, in practice, some Friends appear "more equal" than others. These "weighty Friends" are the meeting's defacto leaders. They are assigned to the majority of committees, and fill most of the meeting's official posts, such as clerk, overseer, elder and minister. In an analysis of committee membership in the men's meeting of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting between its foundation and 1812, it was found that only 42 out of at least 100 men served on com-

mittees. Of these 42 men, 10 men filled 55% of all committee positions. A similar situation existed in the women's meeting.² Consensus seeking and factionalization are processes orchestrated by this smaller elite within the meeting. Formal division occurs when this elite ceases their attempts to bridge the gap between them and each side chooses to go its own way. These leaders then make a concerted effort to justify themselves and to entice the broader membership to follow their example.³

The Yonge Street Monthly Meeting provides an ideal example of the two processes of elite consensus seeking and factionalization. Between 1812 and 1828 the meeting experienced two formal divisions: the first, in 1812 was the separation of the Children of Peace. The second, wider schism was the Orthodox-Hicksite separation of 1828. Both schisms ostensibly occurred for the same doctrinal reason, revealing a deep, long-standing division within the meeting. What is surprising, however, is that both schisms were led by the same men, Amos Armitage and Thomas Linville. For most of the meeting's history, these two men sought to work together, despite vast differences in outlook. However, in exceptional circumstances such as the War of 1812 and the division of the New York Yearly Meeting, these men decided that their differences could not be resolved, and actively recruited members to their factions, flaming the fires of division rather than calming them. This, despite the fact that both men had already weathered one destructive separation on the issue, and hence knew the human toll such a division would take. In the rest of this paper, I would like to concentrate on the actions of the the leadership of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, principally during the 1828 separation.

The Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Elite

Four elders, two couples, dominated the Select Meeting of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting for a quarter of a century. Amos and Martha Armitage, and Thomas and Martha Linville had all emigrated from Catawissa Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Both Amos Armitage and Thomas Linville had served as Clerks of the Monthly Meeting. Amos had also served as Clerk of the Canada Half Years Meeting. Both men were birthright Friends with long experience with the Society's mechanisms for conflict resolution. Yet, despite common origins and a demonstrated commitment to the Society, these two couples were frequently at loggerheads. When they choose to emphasize their differences, the process of formal division ensued.

Amos Armitage and his wife Martha Doan had immigrated to Yonge Street in 1804, where they quickly assumed roles of importance. They lived near the Monthly Meetinghouse which Armitage, as a carpenter, had helped construct in 1810. The couple were appointed overseers in 1805, and elders shortly thereafter. Like Thomas Linville, they were part of that small minority which served on many of the meeting's committees. Armitage had always taken what would later be identified as the Hicksite position. David Willson, the minister at the centre of the separation of the Children of Peace, recorded this telling exchange during the Select Meeting of April 1812.⁴ Armitage called on Willson to explain himself, which Willson initially would not do. Another Friend stood to defend Willson, but "Isaac Wiggins (another elder) grew very surly and condemned him for standing up and justifying such a cause." Willson then retorted, "By waiting we see what a little does - then how would it be if we should say much." He added that the debate about historical (ie Biblical) events was "not worthy to contend about". Wiggins, who "by then appeared cross" seemed to agree, hence he "told [Willson] it was his mind that [he] should not speak any more in the public meeting untill this was settled (sic)." Armitage,

wishing to emphasize the primacy of the spirit over the decisions of men, then interrupted, saying "he could have no hand in stopping [Willson] from speaking, but requested that [he] might be faithful to the witness of God within." The meeting then broke up in disorder.

The Armitages joined the Children of Peace, the new body Willson created, after two elders acting without the consensus of the select meeting forbade Willson to preach. Their association was brief, however; the Armitages rejoined the Society of Friends in 1816. This facet of Armitage's personality deserves emphasis. Without the participation of the Armitages, the growth of the Children of Peace would have been much slower. Armitage not only contributed his wood-shop on Yonge Street as a meetinghouse, but also his authority as an elder and former clerk. He actively recruited new members for the sect. In return, Armitage expected to assume a leadership position in the new group. When the Children of Peace abolished the role of elder, Armitage rejoined the Society of Friends. He was again selected as an elder in 1819. From this, one might conclude that Armitage's participation in either religious body was dependent upon the recognition of his leadership. Whenever his leadership was contested, Armitage appeared willing to abandon the group he had formerly led. Separation was more palatable to him than the diminution of his power and authority.

Less is known of Thomas Linville. The Linvilles immigrated from Catawissa in 1807. Although serving on a large number of committees, they did not become elders until after the Armitages left the Society of Friends in 1812. The Linvilles were selected to replace them.⁵ Linville's acceptability to the Orthodox camp remaining in the Yonge Street Meeting was no doubt demonstrated by his willingness, as clerk, to condone the continuing disownment of Willson's followers despite the ongoing war and a lack of direction from the Yearly Meeting. Linville soon became the bulwark of the Orthodox faction after the death in 1813 of Isaac Wiggins and Isaac Phillips, the two Orthodox elders who had forbidden Willson to preach. With the War of 1812 raging

around them, Linville informed the local magistrates that the Children of Peace were no longer Quakers, and hence not eligible for exemption from military service. Despite the deaths of the original contestants in the theological dispute, Linville continued to refuse the appeals of the Children of Peace for readmission to the Society of Friends. Linville, like Armitage, found formal separation the more palatable solution.

Two other participants in the Separation of 1828 deserve notice. Nicholas Brown transferred his membership from Monkton Monthly Meeting, Vermont, to Pickering Preparative Meeting, under Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in 1808. He was recognized as a minister by the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in 1819, and frequently travelled in the ministry. He married his second wife, Margaret Judge, also a recognized minister, on 21 September 1827.⁶ Margaret was the daughter of Hugh Judge, also a minister and one of the leaders of the Hicksites within the New York Yearly Meeting. Nicholas Brown and his father-in-law played a prominent role in the separation in the New York Yearly Meeting in May 1828. According to Dorland, it was the Browns who proved the initial focus of dispute between the two factions in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting.⁷

The Separation of 1828

Consensus-seeking or partisanship. Separations occur within the Society only when a meeting's leaders find their authority threatened. Until that point, and only to that point, do they seek consensus. The disownments of individual members rarely sparks widespread factionalism within a meeting, primarily because these members have no pre-existing network of support. The disownment (or threat of disownment) of a leader carries with it the threat of disownment of their followers.

It is important to emphasize that theological disagreements were a common occurrence in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Such disputes, while making reference to messages delivered in meetings for worship, could only be adjudicated in two

political forums, the Monthly Business Meeting and the Select Meeting. Such conflicts were typically handled in Select Meeting. A personal interchange between elder and minister, they did not involve the membership as a whole, and thus did not serve to factionalize the meeting. Transferring this conflict to the Business Meeting introduced a whole new set of extra-theological factors to the dispute. As noted above, the Business Meeting is a political forum dominated by "weighty" friends with a broad network of support. A personal attack on a leader, and the threat of disownment, is the usual spark for a formal separation. Such was the case in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in 1828.

Dorland roots the split in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in the disownment of Nicholas Brown who had played a large role in the separation at the Yearly Meeting level.⁸ According to Dorland, during the Pickering Preparative Meeting of August 1828 Nicholas Austin, the clerk, and others refused to accept a contentious minute from the Orthodox body of the New York Yearly Meeting. Rather than defer the matter for fuller discussion and attempt a resolution, the Orthodox faction immediately appointed a new clerk amongst themselves, declaring themselves the only valid Preparative Meeting. The following month, they brought proceedings against Nicholas Brown.

However, Armitage himself roots the split in an exchange occurring a month earlier, before the contentious minute was produced.⁹ Armitage wrote that Linville, on his return from the Yearly Meeting, "brought a considerable number pamphlets, among which was the address from the orthodox Friends of Philadelphia. These writings he and his adherents have busily circulated among all classes - propagating scandal in taverns, by having them read, or caused to be read at public gatherings, raisings, &c... On account of such improper conduct, as just related, our Monthly Meeting of the 7th month proposed the releasement of Thomas Linville from the station of treasurer, which occasioned much clamour from him and his adherents." The official minute from the Orthodox Yearly

Meeting said to have “forced” the issue a month later found fertile ground in this attack on Linville’s authority. Armitage and Linville had already assumed partisan roles and sought to exclude each other from their positions of power. The melee which ensued was less a theological dispute than a political vendetta between the two leaders which forced the wider membership to take sides. One might argue that the separation took place within the select meeting; only months later did it affect the wider membership, forcing them to decide where to attend meeting for worship.

At the monthly meeting of 8th month, the Orthodox proposed Thomas Linville as clerk, a move resisted by the Hicksite faction. Linville then withdrew to one side of the meeting house with his supporters, and they established themselves as a separate meeting. Before withdrawing, the Hicksites appointed new trustees for the Yonge Street Meeting House and demanded the key from the now displaced Orthodox trustees, who promptly refused. An extended struggle ensued for possession of the Meeting House, an issue which probably lay behind the attempt to release Linville as treasurer a month earlier.

Armitage’s own partisan account of this struggle, despite his disclaimers, only highlights that meeting leaders no longer sought to defuse conflict, but spark it. They were all prepared that evening to establish claims on the Meeting House. The Hicksites, refused the key to the Meeting House, immediately changed the lock, handily having one at the ready. Several younger orthodox members stayed behind after the meeting, refusing to leave. They “took the casings from one of the windows and removed the sash; and after drawing a considerable number into the house, provisions were brought, and handed in... they were again requested to withdraw, otherwise they would be locked in; the reply was, as soon as you please, and the door was accordingly locked.” That night, the Orthodox changed the lock once more “on orders of a justice of the peace” who had been told by an Orthodox Friend that the Hicksites “were keeping his son and a number of others prisoners” in the Meeting

House.

These machinations proved fruitless, and both factions continued to use the Meeting House for their Select Meetings, Monthly Meetings and the Canada Half Year’s Meeting in September, 1828. Each of these meetings was marked by tension, implied threats of violence and a refusal to recognize members of the other faction as Friends. Formal separation at the institutional level was complete, and would be accompanied by a flurry of disownments in the months to come. The Orthodox Friends retained control of the Yonge Street Meeting House; the Hicksites retained the Pickering Meeting House.¹⁰

Conclusions

I would like to use this example to highlight several features of the conflict resolution mechanisms of the Society as they relate towards leadership and factionalization. In other words, I would like to address the question of how is it that the Society, which places such store in consensus seeking, can be torn apart by divisions.

The Society of Friends emerged in the seventeenth century as part of the larger movement towards Liberal Individualism.¹¹ As a voluntarist association predicated upon the individual experience of God’s grace, the Society’s conflict resolution mechanisms are directed towards individuals and issues, not groups and worldviews. Votes are not taken, since every individual’s apprehension of the divine should carry equal weight. Because votes are not taken, consensus seeking of necessity involves the resolution of individual differences, not group differences. The Society long resisted issuing creeds, and its theology was always unsystematized, its testimonies arising, ad hoc, out of the concerns of individual members. This pronounced egalitarianism appears to vest all leadership within the Society in the leadings of the Inward Light. The Discipline contains no official recognition of the existence of groups formed on the basis of family, class or status within a meeting. Yet all of these factors have obvious impact on individual perceptions and priorities, and thus on the patterns of

leadership within a meeting.

It was the lack of a formal means of recognizing and resolving group differences which resulted in these two separations within the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. The business meetings were dominated by a small elite whose opinions carried inordinant weight. Such leadership within an egalitarian body can result only from these leaders' ability to represent a group's shared interests. Armitage and Linville were prominent because they represented the views of wider groups of people of similar class and status. Members of these wider groups need not be active in meeting business, since they could see that their interests were being served by "one of their own". One individual may thus come to represent an officially unrecognized group's interests. It is these prominent individuals, not the wider membership, which seek consensus.

These elites within a meeting, however, are not recognized as representing groups; rather, they are viewed as individuals like any other. Separations occur precisely because a factionalized meeting treats an opposition leader as only an individual. The Hicksite attempt to release Linville as treasurer was not simply an attack on Linville, who's personal error had factionalized the meeting through the distribution of pamphlets, but an attack on a group. His authority attacked, Linville ceased to strive for consensus, and formally organized this group as a separate meeting. Linville's constituency was quickly mobilized because it had long existed - without any formal recognition.

Consensus seeking failed to prevent the separation of 1828 in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting because it focused upon a theological issue without looking further at the larger pre-existing social differences dividing the two groups. The emphasis on the conciliation of individuals, not groups, of issues, not worldviews, ignored the de facto means by which such consensus was arrived at; through the leaders of unofficial groups within the meeting. There was no way by which these unofficial groups could force their leaders to continue seeking consensus since the groups lacked any official status and hence had no means of control

over their leader. Thus, when Armitage and Linville ceased to strive for a common solution, there was no larger mechanism "to force them back to the bargaining table." This is an institutional failing, and the same dynamic was probably evident in other monthly meetings of the period.

Footnotes:

1. Holden, David Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends (Richmond, Indiana, Friends United Press, 1988).
2. See Schrauwers, Albert Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope 1812-1889 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993) pp. 22-25 for a fuller discussion of the position taken in this paper.
3. Holden, op cit, pg. 148.
4. Sharon Temple Archives, Accession number 990.1.7 page 25.
5. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Minutes (CYMA O-11-6, dated 17/6/1813 and 16/6/1814).
6. Hallowell, Benjamin Memoir of Margaret Brown (Philadelphia, Merrihew & Son, 1872), pg. 90.
7. Dorland, Arthur G. The Quakers in Canada: A History (Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1968), pg. 146-47.
8. *ibid.*
9. Armitage, Amos and John Watson "Letter from Upper Canada" in The Friend; or, Advocate of Truth Vol. II (1829), No. 1: 25-8.
10. This is not the meetinghouse currently referred to as the Pickering meetinghouse on the north side of Highway 2. That meetinghouse was built by the Orthodox and later used by the Conservatives.
11. See Macpherson, C.B. The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1962).

“When Zion Languisheth”: An Account of the 1881 Separation in Canada Yearly Meeting

by Kyle Jolliffe

It may be useful to start with a brief explanation of part of my title. There are high points and low points in the life of any faith community. The highest point may be when such a community believes it exemplifies Zion. That is, like the Israelites of the Old Testament and the early Christian Church, it is a community especially under God's rule. Conversely, the lowest point for a faith community may be when it goes through the pain of schism and the ideal of Zion fails or languishes.

This article is about the events in Canada Yearly Meeting over a century ago that led to a separation. These events were part of the Protestant evangelical climate of the late 19th century. Public morality was to be improved by the conversion of individuals. The rescue of sinners became all important. To reach this goal churches urged their members to attend revivals and find salvation there. The hugely popular American evangelist, Dwight Lyman Moody, epitomized this era in his most famous statement:

I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, “Moody, save all you can.”¹

The central event in this separation occurred on February 10, 1881. That day members of West Lake Monthly Meeting met for Monthly Meeting for Business at the Quaker Meeting House in Bloomfield, Ontario. These meetings had been held since 1821, but on this day a radical turn of events happened. The usual business was interrupted by the withdrawal of a small group of Friends, who regarded themselves as the true West Lake Monthly Meeting and to meet for worship and business than the other group in the same meeting House. They invited Friends from Norwich Monthly Meeting "to hold Canada Yearly

Meeting at Pickering at the appointed time" later that same year. The Norwich Friends had been disowned after a similar separation in 1877. In this way Canada Yearly Meeting (Conservative) was born.²

A number of factors led to this schism. Urbanization and the presence of Quaker revivalists along with a desire to modernize Quakerism and dismantle its authoritarian doctrinal uniformity resulted in religious reform. The various changes needed to accomplish this end had to be forced because the Conservative Friends were steadfast in their beliefs and unwilling to accept change. In their view these changes were heresies against ancient Quaker traditions. Similar schisms took place in Kansas, Indiana and Iowa in the 1870s. The separatists then became known as the Conservative branch of Friends.

The causes of the separation of 1881 in Canada Yearly Meeting have been examined by Arthur Dorland (1877-1979) and by David Holden. In his history of Canadian Quakerism Dorland emphasizes the passing of frontier conditions by 1867, the year when Canada Yearly Meeting was set off by New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox). He argues that as a result, Canadian Quakers (who were mostly rural people) were left with only the desire “to preserve the ancient landmarks and to keep up the traditions of a ‘peculiar people.’” Dorland sees the consequence of this inertia as formalism in discipline, worship and doctrine. The enforcement of the Discipline became increasingly difficult, particularly in the case of young adults who chose disownment over the rules on plain language and dress and the prohibition against marrying non-members. Meetings for worship were frequently entirely silent. A recurring problem was sleeping in Meeting. These difficulties in maintaining the traditional Quaker way of life are portrayed as being exacerbated by the emergence of revivalism in midwestern

American Quakerism, along with the increased importance since the 1830s of evangelical doctrine in Quakerism. Friends had also been exposed to decades of Methodist revivals. In Dorland's view, these factors produced fertile ground in Canada for the same transformation of Quakerism which revivalism had produced in the American midwest.³

Dorland can be challenged for undervaluing the effect revivalists had on Orthodox Quakers in Canada. In his book The Transformation of American Quakerism, Thomas Hamm tells how revivalists served as a catalyst in transforming Orthodox Quakerism from a distinctive sect to a mainstream denomination.⁴ What these revivalists shared and employed in this transformation was the teaching of an instantaneous, post-conversion sanctification which removed the desire or tendency to sin and by God's gift of the Holy Spirit made them holy. This small group of ministers had found this teaching on sanctification in the post-Civil War interdenominational holiness movement.⁵ This movement maintained that only a dramatic work of the Holy Spirit would purge the heart of sin. These revivalists held that besides a dramatic conversion experience, a "second blessing" was required in which the work of the Spirit released one from sin's power.⁶

Dorland, in contrast, portrays the revivalists as innovators who brought in such practices as Bible reading during Meeting for Worship. He disparages their enthusiastic transmission of American Quaker revivalism to Canada as something that "broke through all bounds of custom, gave serious offense of the more conservative element and was the beginning of friction in Canada."⁷ What he does not show is the tremendous support which revivalists garnered in Canada.

A more recent study of the 1881 separation in Canada is part of Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends, by David Holden and published in 1988. As a sociologist Holden seeks to understand how a religious group with a theology emphasizing continual revelation, peace and reconciliation divided into separate and permanent factions, and then

how, only a few years after schism, such revival groups would view each other as heretical. His emphasis is on how religious polarization creates charges of heresy and ends in schism.⁸

A significant gap in the work of both Dorland and Holden is an analysis of the changes in Ontario's religious culture as the economy became less dependent on agriculture and cities grew. By the mid-19th century the population of the province was flowing into the cities.⁹ This made the traditional plain way of Quaker life anachronistic. At the same time there was a profound change taking place in the loyalty of the church goers. The Canadian church historian, John Webster Grant, points out that the church traditionally had a three-fold role: as a place of authoritative teaching, a site of common worship, and a community of believers. However, at this point many Ontarians were starting to regard the church more as the centre of religious activities or as the place where subsidiary organizations gathered. Religious organizations were becoming the chief focus of the religious vigor and institutional loyalty of church goers.¹⁰

The effect of this change in church loyalty was to make Quakerism in Ontario even more open to the efforts of revivalists. Since Quakers had chosen to set themselves off from the world in the late seventeenth century, this religious body had little flexibility for adjusting to major social changes. The static form of quietistic Quaker worship, where the worshipper sat in silence and stilled his or her mind in order to wait on the voice of God, strengthened the resistance to change for some. But for many others, it was a trial they wished to be free of.

What most rocked the plain life was that the revival filled a void in the lives of many Friends. They had been told for a generation that conversion and holiness were worthy goals, and the desire for holiness was common. Yet while the old way urged a holy life, it was never obvious as to how this was to be attained. What the revivalists were now offering was a much easier victory over sin. The new way offered preaching, music and a release from

the criticisms of elders and overseers. The old course of tribulation, depression and inward examination was an austere path tens of thousands of Friends now gladly threw off.¹¹

Although the first Meetings for worship led by revivalists did not take place in Canada until 1875, Canadian Friends certainly knew about American Quaker revival meetings. In 1870 Canada Yearly Meeting advised Friends of "the weakening tendency of excursions and of those gatherings - partly or professedly religious - so common at the present day... Friends are advised not to join in them, but to keep out of their exciting influence, and to keep aloof from excitement of a military character."¹² However, at least one Friend soon ignored this advice. In 1871, William Wetherald, a recorded minister from Pelham Monthly Meeting near Niagara Falls and one of the leading revivalists, was among those who preached at a large General Meeting at Farmington in Western New York State. That same year he also held a youth revival meeting at Indiana Yearly Meeting.¹³

The first American Quaker revivalist to visit Canada appears to have been Elwood Scott of Indiana. In 1875 he was at the Yearly Meeting sessions, Pelham Quarterly Meeting and Yonge Street Quarterly Meeting. Scott held a number of meetings within the area of West Lake Quarterly Meeting and he introduced singing into worship.¹⁴ The following account by Matilda Branscombe, a West Lake Conservative Friend, shows how such meetings aroused either enthusiasm or hostility:

I attended one of these meetings at Wellington. The forepart of the meeting there was not much difference in, but he preached continually for about half the meeting and then had a prayer meeting - some 20 were down on the floor in the middle of the meeting, and one elder asked him where he would kneel. It was contrary to any order that I had ever seen in a Friends' meeting. I don't recollect that there was singing at this meeting. There was only the

difference between this and ordinary meetings of so many engaged in prayer at once. About a dozen were down on their knees at once, and I think it was the intention that they should all be considered as praying at once. This procedure in separating themselves from the rest of the meeting and kneeling down in a body in the middle of the floor was contrary to the practices of our meetings. And the minister also asked them to get up and speak. This was contrary to our custom and practice. I think some of them did get up and say they felt better. This is not in accordance with the usual order of Friends' meetings.¹⁵

It was in 1876 that the revival faction in Canada became fully energized. There was so much pent-up desire for change that all hell broke loose in the staid world of Canadian Quakerism. The trouble centred around Norwich Monthly Meeting. In 1870 or 1871 some Friends in Milldale, near Norwich, had started holding weekly Bible class meetings at various houses in the area. None of these meetings were under the oversight of the Norwich Meeting. This irked some members of that Meeting who had not been consulted about these gatherings.¹⁶ One opponent of the Meetings pointed to how the testimonies promoted there did not match established testimonies. The result was tense Meetings for worship due to these conflicting beliefs.¹⁷

The discord in Norwich Meeting was about the nature of salvation and how it could be obtained. A measure of this conflict was the success of the Bible class meetings, which reportedly often drew more than one hundred people.¹⁸ William Wetherald had the following to say about these meetings:

Many attending the class found what their souls longed for - what they had failed to find in dreary exhortations to faithfulness, and dismal expoundings of doctrine - they found JESUS an all-sufficient Saviour, whom they could trust to

pardon sin in the past, to keep from sin in the present, and to give confidence of hope even in the end. To the agency of this Bible class we must chiefly attribute the awakening which has taken place.¹⁹

The enthusiasm which grew out of the Bible Class meetings was manifest in the unauthorized construction of a "Gospel Hall." During Pelham Quarterly Meeting on June 17-18, 1876, several American Quaker revivalists were present and evangelical meetings were held in the hall. Five hundred people are said to have attended the closing meeting, of which two hundred are said to have been converted.²⁰

For holiness Friends the effectiveness of the conversion experience in the revival meeting was measured in the piety and church work of the converted.²¹ In April of 1876 one anonymous Friend from West Lake Meeting stated in the Christian Worker, the journal of the revivalists, that "many Friends and outsiders are of the opinion that such series of meetings are the most effectual way of building up the church, and bringing sinners to Christ their Saviour."²² What this meant in the case of Norwich Monthly Meeting was a flood of membership applications, as was the case in other Yearly Meetings. Some thirty or forty applied for membership in the Meeting, but only five appear to have been accepted in 1876.²³

In January 1877 Adam Spencer, a Conservative Friend and Clerk of both this Meeting the Yearly Meeting, explained in the Christian Worker that these applications were rejected because "the receiving of them would have been a sacrifice of Christian principle." One applicant was turned down because she was a music teacher; the faction of Conservative Friends in the Meeting drew the line here as to how far they would accept the introduction of new practices into Quakerism.²⁴ That they took this particular stand is not surprising. Under the 1859 New York Yearly Meeting Discipline adopted by Canadian Friends, to attend a place of music was a disownable offence (if the offender did not acknowledge the misconduct) as it was a diversion

from the Quaker way of life.²⁵

In continuing to separate music from religion the Conservative Friends were very much out of touch with the society around them. Music was an increasingly popular part of both secular and religious life in the Victorian age (1837 - 1901). Starting in the 1840s, better transportation networks and the growth of towns into cities with a thriving middle class brought noted performers to Canada. This helped resident artists develop their talents and to promote musical appreciation by teaching, performing, selling, and publishing music. After 1867 every city and town had musical societies.²⁶

The consequences of the rejection of the membership application of the music teacher and of the other ones are not surprising: the revival Friends were upset and the Meeting for Business became deadlocked by October 1876. The next month they managed to answer the Queries, with their response to the second query noting "a lack of Christian love among us, arising from a want of unity in sentiment." This state of affairs continued into 1877 with little of the regular business of the Meeting being completed. The end of this impasse finally came in July 1877 when the revival faction withdrew into their own Monthly Meeting. Each side then proceeded to disown the members of the other side, and to refuse to honour each other's minutes. A similar division also happened in Pelham Quarterly Meeting.²⁷

Once reconstituted into their own Monthly Meeting the Conservative Friends in Norwich asserted that they were the genuine Quaker body. In January or February of 1878 they published A Testimony issued by Norwich Monthly Meeting of Friends, Ontario, Canada.²⁸

This apologia rebuts the holiness belief in instantaneous, post conversion sanctification. A sinner could not obtain immediate remission of his or her sins, as the Testimony rejects the idea that the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross brought complete salvation to humanity. Sin is argued to exist in the world, since one of the requirements for conversion set out by the revival faction is belief in the atonement. The "sin

of unbelief" thus remains, together with the sin in "murders, adulteries, and all the various crimes abounding in the world." The correct course, then, is to "wait for an inward sense of pardon and acceptance with God."²⁹ This reflects the traditional Quaker doctrine of sanctification as dying each day to sin.³⁰ As the Testimony puts it, "a heart belief unto righteousness includes a godly sorrow for sin, which is, with the Lord's help, a forsaking of it and a laying hold of eternal life through repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ."³¹

In both the emphasis on personal struggle and sin and on the redemptive nature of Christ, Conservative Friends, together with the moderate party who were between them and the great number of revivalist Quakers, sought to show that sanctification was a gradual process. It began with conversion and was a struggle against personal sin. Walter Nicholson, a moderate Friend, explained in 1884, "we constantly and steadfastly overcome it, by prayer and faith and grace."³²

Another important theme of the Testimony is that to be disobedient to God is to be sinful. This emphasis on obedience undergirds both the Discipline that governed the lives of Friends and the recounting here of the events leading up to the separation in this Monthly Meeting. The revival faction is described as separatists, who unjustly condemned both publicly and privately the doctrinal writings of the early Friends and the testimonies of present day ministers. The Bible Class meetings are censured for being independent religious meetings, contrary to the Discipline. This invective was also directed at the visiting Quaker revivalist ministers, who though professing to be "ministers of the Gospel" are "strangers coming amongst us" that encouraged the actions of the separatists. All of this insubordination is portrayed as the cause of the Norwich separation, since the separatists resolutely continued to propose measures "which could not be agreed with as involving a departure from the testimonies of the society." For the Conservative faction, the only option they saw as open to them, given the consensual style of Quaker decision making, was to

adjourn until an amicable solution was possible.³³

The events in Norwich reflected a wide polarization in the Yearly Meeting. In August 1877 one strong revivalist Friend in the West Lake Quarter told the Christian Worker that the efforts of visiting Quaker revivalist ministers to his Meeting were being impeded but not halted:

The work was much hindered by a strong element of conservatism in the church, and these were backed up by Hicksites, Universalists and unbelievers generally there being many of these classes owing mainly to the separation in 1828 in this vicinity, who are of course opposed to revival work or plain gospel truths. But the Lord has overruled all for good that a more open door is now left for other laborers.³⁴

The shuffling of allegiances in Norwich Monthly Meeting and Pelham Quarterly Meeting created a serious problem for Canada Yearly Meeting. Both versions of Pelham Quarterly Meeting sent reports to the Yearly Meeting in 1878. It therefore had to decide which report was to be recognized, a decision which would implicitly endorse the disownments made by the successful party here. The Yearly Meeting responded by appointing a committee, composed of persons from the other two quarterly meetings. When this committee reported back to the Yearly Meeting it advised that the report from the revival faction be accepted. This advice was followed despite the strong protests of two Friends, and nine or ten Friends withdrew from the Yearly Meeting sessions.³⁵ The revival faction thus clearly controlled the Yearly Meeting. They were also helped by the presence of numerous revivalist ministers from other Yearly Meetings. In 1878, for example, twenty-five ministers from other yearly meetings were present.³⁶ As in 1890 American Conservative Friends numbered only 9,074 versus 76,412 Orthodox Friends, the majority of this visiting group probably were revival Friends who had been attracted to the Yearly

Meeting sessions this year by the well-publicized events in Pelham Quarterly Meeting.³⁷

The recognition by the Yearly Meeting of the revival faction in Pelham Quarterly Meeting only served to heighten the tension over new practices among Canadian Quakers. The Orthodox journal The Friend, published in Philadelphia, continued to cover the story of the Norwich separation in its columns in 1878 - 1879, giving the different factions a chance to express their views.³⁸ Another cause of tension was the decision of the Yearly Meeting in 1878 to appoint a committee "to visit meetings and families, and to appoint meetings wherever the Holy Spirit shall indicate a field of labour." Any such meeting had to be sanctioned by a least five members of the twenty-one person committee, with at least three members present at it. A number of American Yearly Meetings had similar committees.³⁹

The creation of this committee by the Yearly Meeting is not surprising, in light of the events in the Pelham Quarter in 1876. Evangelical meetings led by local Friends had also been going on in the West Lake Quarter since 1877.⁴⁰ By having support of the Yearly Meeting the holding of revival meetings could be better organized and the resistance of Conservative Friends could be countered, Monthly Meetings would not then be involved in holding these meetings.

In 1879 the name of the visiting committee appointed at Canada Yearly Meeting in 1878 was changed to the "Pastoral Committee." At the 1879 Yearly Meeting they reported that visits had been made to all the meetings. In the West Lake Quarter twenty-four special appointed meetings had been held that year, and in 1880 the committee reported the holding of forty-five such meetings.⁴¹

This evangelical thrust was supplemented by the strong emphasis revival Friends put on Bible schools. In 1880 the Bible School Committee of the Yearly Meeting reported that nineteen meetings and preparative meetings had active Bible schools, with a total enrollment of 1,453 persons. These schools had been an entrenched institution among Orthodox

Friends since the 1830s. As a result the Bible increasingly became the basis for Quaker beliefs.⁴²

With revival meetings firmly established in Canada and with revival Friends clearly in the majority of Canada Yearly Meeting, it seems that the only item left on the revivalist agenda was the revision of the Book of Discipline. Here Canadian Quakers followed the example of their Orthodox counterparts in Baltimore, Indiana, Iowa, New England, New York, North Carolina, Ohio and Western Yearly Meetings, who all revised their Disciplines in the 1870s.⁴³ In Ohio, for example, its 1876 Discipline deleted seven pages from the discussion of plainness in the 1859 edition. Plainness also now came to be called simplicity.⁴⁴ If the Society of Friends was to be brought into the modern world, then the rules which had kept them a "peculiar" people had to be scrapped.

The request for the revision of the Book of Discipline came from Pelham Quarterly Meeting in 1879. This is not surprising as Pelham Quarterly Meeting was now unquestionably under the firm control of the revival faction. There was near unanimity at the Yearly Meeting sessions that year on the need for revision of the Book of Discipline, so this task was referred to the Representative Meeting (the year round administrative body of the Yearly Meeting).⁴⁵ When they reported back to the Yearly Meeting at its sessions in 1880, they advised that the 1877 Book of Discipline of New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) be adopted. This was a logical choice as Canadian Friends had been operating under the 1859 New York Discipline since being set off from that body in 1867. It was then read, clause by clause, to the assembled Friends. After some discussion it was approved, with it to go into force on January 1, 1881.⁴⁶

The new Discipline contained sweeping changes. In the 1859 Discipline, preaching for money is a disownable offense. By contrast, the 1877 Discipline states that the Church should "make such provision [for this purpose] that it shall never be hindered for want of it."⁴⁷ This change sanctioned the introduction of the

pastoral system. Another significant change concerned dress and style of living. In the 1859 Discipline the failure to maintain "plainness and simplicity... in their dress, speech, furniture of their houses, manner of living and general deportment" is a disownable offense. The later Discipline downgrades this edict to a caution against extravagance and a call for "Christian simplicity."⁴⁸

The most radical change in the new Discipline was the diminution of the power of the elders who had been appointed for life. In the earlier Discipline they function as a check on the activities of ministers and as overseers of the quality of ministry in the church. Ministers are to trust the friendship of elders. Ministers were warned "to guard against an undue extension of their communications, and frequent repetitions both in testimony and supplication; and the necessity of avoiding all disagreeable tones and improper modes of utterance."⁴⁹ The elders thus had a degree of power that some revival Friends, in Canada at least, thought was excessive and should be reduced.⁵⁰

The 1877 Discipline lessened the power of the elders in several ways. First, they were to be appointed for three years. Second, they were now to support rather than to supervise the work of ministers. The third change was perhaps the most significant one. Upon their appointment or re-appointment elders were to answer in the affirmative nine doctrinal questions. To do so would be to acknowledge key evangelical doctrines, viz. the total depravity of man, the atonement of Christ on the Cross, the infallibility of the Bible, and the divinity of Christ.⁵¹ What has been omitted from these questions is the traditional Quaker stress on silent worship without sacraments, the primacy of the inward Spirit of Light over the Bible, and the universality of grace.⁵² Revivalist Friends certainly approved of these nine questions, for when they had first been proposed in 1876 they were printed without comment in the Christian Worker.⁵³

Once the new Discipline was passed, despite protests at the Yearly Meeting sessions that it should first be examined by the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, the

Conservative faction in the Yearly Meeting came to see schism as inevitable. While there had been thoughts before that this step might be necessary, the abrupt introduction and passage of the 1877 New York Discipline was a surprise which greatly unnerved the minority of Friends who had complete confidence in the 1859 Discipline.⁵⁴ A further affront to the Conservative faction was the decision to hold Yearly Meeting at Norwich in 1881, rather than the usual location of Pickering, Ontario which the Conservatives preferred.⁵⁵ Consequently, what had been sacrilege before the remaining Conservative faction in the Yearly Meeting was now unquestionably heresy. Eliza Varney, a Conservative Friends minister, testified in a lawsuit over the Bloomfield Meeting House that it was in 1880 when she first saw a separation as certain:

In '80 I made up my mind that there would have to be a separation, but I had never seen the time before but in that Yearly Meeting when it received the new discipline and put the Yearly Meeting some where [sic] else I thought I could feel God's hand was in it, making a way for us to hold our meetings there [at Pickering] the next year, but I never mentioned it to another Friend for months.⁵⁶

The Conservative faction in West Lake Quarterly Meeting began to meet separately after that Meeting had adopted the new Discipline in June 1880. This group proceeded to correspond with like-minded Friends in the Norwich area, with the result that they decided to form their own organization and meet at Pickering at the usual time at Canada Yearly Meeting. They then acted to separate at the Monthly and Quarterly Meeting Levels.⁵⁷

Finally, one cannot undervalue the Conservative Friends by portraying them only as steadfastly unwilling to recognize the sweeping changes in the world around them. Their response to the event of this separation, as in Kansas, Indiana, and Iowa was to see themselves as a faithful remnant,

who were witnesses to the truth of the plain life.⁵⁸ They probably found in this theological witness a way of coping with the emotional loss of many Friends who had chosen more worldly ways, as well as legitimization of their separation from the revival Friends. One can hear in the words of an anonymous Friend, written in the fall of 1879, a deep spiritual searching as that person saw the plain life dwindle away and came to terms with that cataclysm:

I could but feel that our young people are being scattered abroad by what they see and hear in our meetings, and some will be gathered into other societies, and some run to ruin and infidelity, and that many of the middle aged are wandering upon barren mountains and desolate hills, because Zion languisheth, and none are able to stay the evil that is in our borders.⁵⁹

Footnotes:

The author wishes to thank Mary Garman, David Holden and Anne Thomas for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

1. Mark A. Noel, et al. eds., Christianity in America. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983), 294.
2. Arthur Garratt Dorland, The Quakers in Canada. A History (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 70, 246-247; David E.W. Holden, Friends Divided: conflict and division in the Society of Friends (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1988), 126.
3. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 233-235.
4. Thomas D. Hamm, The Transformation of American Quakerism Orthodox Friends. 1800-1907 (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988).
5. *Ibid.* 77.
6. Rufus M. Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1921), 2:926-927.
7. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 236.
8. Holden, Friends Divided, vii, 121-126, 145-150.
9. Robert Bothwell and Norman Hillmer, "Ontario," in The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2nd ed. (Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1978), 3: 1570.
10. John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 185.
11. Hamm, The Transformation, 87-88.
12. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 234-235.
13. "Friends General Meeting," Christian Worker, 9th mo. 15, 1871; Hamm, The Transformation, 89.
14. In the Court of Appeal. Appeal from the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice. Between John T. Dorland and others. Plaintiffs (Appellants) and Gilbert Jones and others. Defendants (Respondents) (Belleville, Ont., Ontario Steam Printing, 1884), 456, [hereafter cited as Dorland vs. Jones]; Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 236; "Canada Yearly Meeting," Christian Worker, 1st mo. 15, 1876, 25.
15. Dorland vs. Jones, 456.
16. "A Testimony issued by Norwich Monthly Meeting of Friends, Ontario, Canada," The Friend, 2nd mo. 9, 1878, 207; "Canada Yearly Meeting," Christian Worker, 12th mo. 15, 1876, 390; T.W.L. [Thomas W. Ladd?], "Canada Yearly Meeting," Christian Worker, 7th mo. 1, 1876, 194.
17. Adam Spencer, "Pelham Quarterly Meeting," Christian Worker, 1st mo. 18, 1877, 37-38.
18. Ladd[?], "Canada Yearly Meeting," 194.
19. William Wetherald, "Canada Yearly Meeting" Christian Worker, 1st mo. 18, 1977, 37-38.
20. Ladd[?], "Canada Yearly Meeting," 194.
21. Hamm, The Transformation, 110.
22. "A Friend," Christian Worker, 4th mo. 1, 1876, 99.
23. Hamm, The Transformation, 92; Wetherald, "Canada Yearly Meeting," 390; Holden, Friends Divided, 122-123.
24. Spencer, "Pelham Quarterly Meeting," 38; Letter from A.S. [Adam Spencer?], The Friend, 10th mo. 5, 1878, 63; Editorial, The Friend, 9th mo. 1879, 47.
25. "Gaming, Diversions, and Tobacco," Discipline of New York Yearly Meeting (New York: S.S. & W. Wood, 1859), n.p. [83], [hereafter cited as 1859 New York Discipline].
26. Helmut Kallman, "Music History," The Canadian Encyclopedia, 3: 1416-1417.
27. Holden, Friends Divided, 122-125.
28. This document is reprinted in The Friend - see note 16.
29. "Norwich Testimony," 206-207.
30. Hamm, The Transformation, 6.
31. "Norwich Testimony," 207.
32. Hamm, The Transformation, 15.
33. "Norwich Testimony," 207.
34. Charles G. Bowerman, "Canada Yearly Meeting," Christian Worker, 9th mo. 20, 1877, 593.

“When Zion Languisheth”

35. Holden, Friends Divided, 125; “Canada Yearly Meeting,” Friends Review, 7th mo. 13, 1878, 762-763; Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 240.
36. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 237.
37. John Brady, A Short History of Conservative Friends (Richmond, Indiana, 1992), 44.
38. See, for example, the editorial on a letter from Thomas Clark, in The Friend, 2 mo. 1, 1879, 199.
39. “Canada Yearly Meeting,” Friends Review, 7th mo. 20, 1878, 778.
40. Frank Cornell, “Canada Yearly Meeting,” Christian Worker, 3rd mo. 15, 1877, 161.
41. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 244, 244n.
42. Ibid., 244; “Bible School Committee Report”, Minutes of Canada Yearly Meeting, 1880, 198 [manuscript, Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives]; Hamm, The Transformation, 26, 49.
43. Hamm, The Transformation, 236.
44. Barbour and Frost, The Quakers, 214.
45. “Canada Yearly Meeting,” Friends Review, 7th mo. 1879, 777.
46. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 214.
47. Discipline of the Society of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting [New York: Friends Book and Tract Committee, 1895], 15 [hereafter cited as 1877 New York Discipline]; “On Free Gospel Ministry,” 1859 New York Discipline, n.p.
48. 1859 New York Discipline, 74-76; 1859 New York Discipline, 95.
49. 1859 New York Discipline, 38-49.
50. Dorland vs. Jones, 378.
51. 1877 New York Discipline, 37-39, 44-57.
52. Barbour and Frost, The Quakers, 180.
53. “Proposed Additions,” Christian Worker, 2nd mo. 1, 1876, 44-45.
54. Editorial, The Friend, 9th mo. 11, 1880, 39; Dorland vs. Jones, 105.
55. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 245.
56. Dorland vs. Jones, 101.
57. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, 246.
58. Hamm, The Transformation, 102.
59. Editorial, The Friend, 3rd mo. 12, 1881, 247.

A Canadian Separation in Two Parts

by David E. W. Holden

Introduction:

Sixty years after its first appearance Arthur G. Dorland's book, The Quakers in Canada, A History¹ remains the best single history of Canadian Quakerism. Since then there have been few books on the subject and nobody has attempted to cover as much material as he did. The history produced by Arthur Dorland was in the best tradition of meticulous scholarship. We owe him a tremendous debt that I hope to begin repaying by continuing his work. This paper grew out of Dorland's work and is intended to serve as a minor addition to it.

A second purpose of this paper is to recognize the events that took place one hundred years ago in Richmond, Indiana. At Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1886, several Friends proposed that a conference be held of Orthodox Friends in America. They also included Friends in Dublin and London yearly meetings. As a result members from New England, New York, Baltimore, North Carolina, Ohio, Western, Iowa, Canada and Kansas replied they would send delegates, as did Dublin and London. Some Philadelphia Friends were also invited to attend "unofficially."²

The purpose of the conference was to "strengthen the bonds of Christian fellowship amongst us, and... to promote unity in important matters of faith and practice, in the different bodies into which Friends in America are divided."³ They had no intention of including the separated Hicksite or Wilburite bodies in this invitation. David Updegraff from Ohio objected when he learned of the invitation sent to the Philadelphia Friends.⁴

In spite of the objections, the first Richmond Conference of Friends got underway on Saturday the 23rd. of September, 1887. Perhaps the most important part of this conference was that it led to a second conference five years later and, in time, to

the creation of the Five Years Meeting. The Five Years Meeting eventually was changed to become the present body we now know as Friends United Meeting. Canadian Yearly Meeting forms part of this large group of Friends.

Canadian Yearly Meeting also participates in the Friends General Conference, which has a quite different history and composition, but not to the Evangelical Friends Alliance, another large body of Friends. Canadian Friends correspond regularly with Conservative Friends, who have chosen not to create a fourth federation of Friends yearly meetings. Each branch shares an identification with the earliest Quakers such as George Fox, Margaret Fell, and the "Valiant Sixty," yet they do so in different ways. The ways are reflections of their fundamental beliefs and their style of worship. The differences between Friends are sufficiently great that Friends in one branch may have difficulty recognizing the Quakerism of those in another branch. This difficulty is sufficiently great that I have heard some Friends deny the validity of the Quaker identity of those who differ from them. In return they would be surprised to learn that their own Quaker beliefs and identity are just as much in question.

Arthur G. Dorland was a member of the branch of Canada Yearly Meeting invited to the Richmond Conference in 1887. He wrote his history of Canadian Friends from that perspective and from the perspective of a Friend who took part in bringing three branches of Canadian Quakers back together to form Canadian Yearly Meeting in 1955. The Canadian Friends who chose not to belong to this new yearly meeting were those who are in the Evangelical Friends Alliance, the group that grew out of changes that took place after the 1887 conference.

This paper is an account of how a division into two branches took place in

Canada. It is the only division that has happened in Canada and deserves special treatment for that reason alone. The events described happened before the 1887 conference. My impression is that this division, and others like it, caused Indiana Friends to issue the invitation out of a concern for the diversity in the Society of Friends.

Background

Friends have worked hard and suffered much for the cause of peace. They have devoted themselves to eliminate the causes of conflict. Friends are more interested in this aspect of their their Religious Society than in their quarrels. Hence, the seamier side of history has been neglected. This aspect of Friends experience is painful. When I began this study, one dear Friend, Elma Starr, reproached me for dredging up the things that had caused so much pain. She told me to try to forget those nasty events. She did, however, do much to encourage the work.

To learn why Friends quarreled and divided, I went through some of the minute books found in the archives in the Arthur G. Dorland Memorial Collection at Pickering College. I worked on the minutes of Norwich Monthly Meeting, Pelham Quarterly Meeting and Pelham Monthly Meeting. They were curiously unlike other minute books as someone had numbered the pages and minutes with a purple pencil. Most of the minutes were written with pen and ink and a few in lead pencil. None were written using a purple pencil. I concluded that the numbering was added after the minutes were written, as they were consistent in both color and handwriting through several minute books.

The purple pencil marks in the minutes of the three meetings were like the ones used by my father, who was a book-keeper. He used such a pencil because it left an indelible mark. The minute book of Norwich Monthly Meeting was numbered all the way through. However, the numbering in the minute book of Pelham Quarterly Meeting stopped on page 11. When I re-read Arthur Dorland's account of what transpired at the time covered by the two minute

books, I discovered that he had written about most of the material covered in the Norwich minute book, but not that on the unnumbered pages of Pelham Quarterly Meeting's minute book. On the basis of this I assumed that Dorland stopped at page 11 in the Pelham book and went on to other things.

Whatever it was that happened when Dorland reached page 11, it was enough to make me a gift of a piece of history, giving me a marvelous sense of having discovered something new: the division in Canada happened first in Pelham in 1879 and two years later in 1881. it happened again in West Lake Monthly and Quarterly Meeting. It is the second division that created the record of division at the yearly meeting level. Dorland did not regard the withdrawal by Pelham Friends in 1879 as a division of the yearly meeting even though the clerk of the yearly meeting led the withdrawal. Dorland saw the withdrawal merely as a departure of a few dissident Friends. By 1881, when West Lake Conservative Friends withdrew, Pelham Conservative Friends were already in correspondence with other Conservative Friends. As Dorland describes the division in West Lake and in the yearly meeting very nicely, I will limit myself here to the earlier Pelham division.

Background to the Canadian Division

In Ireland, late in the seventeenth century, Friends became involved in a discussion over the question of biblical authority and the leadings of the Inward Light. On one side were the elders who had come to accept an evangelical and, therefore, a literal interpretation of the Bible. They felt this was the right perspective, one that was consistent with the views of early Friends and wanted all Friends to subscribe to it. On the other side were Friends who could not accept the literal truth of God's participation in the religious wars described in the Old Testament. Dissident Friends felt that to accept the literal truth of the Old Testament was reject their views on the evil of war. During the Irish wars, these Friends had suffered for beliefs they felt were true lead-

ings of the Inward Light, and they strongly held to them. These dissident Irish Friends were either disowned or withdrew over the issue.

Friends in North America were also exercised over the problem of biblical truth and the leadings of the Inward light. The debate was central to the disagreement that ultimately led to the biggest Friends division of them all: the Hicksite - Orthodox division in 1827 -28. Canadian Friends were among the ones who divided on the matter. They belonged to New York Yearly Meeting at the time. After the division, Hicksite Friends in time became part of Genessee Yearly Meeting. Hicksite Friends in Genessee Yearly Meeting were isolated from the Orthodox Canadian Friends, just as Hicksites everywhere were. They also had their own disputes after 1828. They were one of the three branches to become part of Canadian Yearly Meeting in 1955. However, for this account, theirs is a different history.

Canadian Friends were affected but not divided by the Wilbur - Gurney division in New England in 1846, and Ohio in 1852. These divisions were the outcome of further evangelical work led by the English Friend, Joseph John Gurney. His visit to America in 1846, provided the trigger for those two divisions and set the stage for further changes. However, after the divisions in New England and Ohio, the debate on evangelicalism was overwhelmed by a debate on how slavery might be eradicated. a debate that divided Indiana Yearly Meeting and severely strained others. Once Friends had reached unity on this matter, the American Civil War occupied everyone's thoughts.

After the Civil War, the evangelical movement grew and assumed great force all through North American Quakerism. New evangelical ideas became very important. Friends had attended Methodist revivals and had liked what they had seen -- programed worship, with music, a paid leadership, and an emphasis on the activities of young people were very attractive. Some Friends felt strongly that they should be allowed to worship in the same fashion. Older, more traditional friends were deeply offended by the practices and went to great lengths to

stop this "creeping Protestantism."

In 1867. Canada Yearly Meeting was set off from its parent New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) in recognition of the change brought about by Confederation. The process was entirely cordial and followed the pattern of setting off daughter yearly meetings on the frontier. They retained the Book of Discipline and all the practices of their parent yearly meeting. This included all the Advices and Queries. In 1870, the New York Advice against joining in revivalistic camp meetings was agreed to by Canada Yearly Meeting.

In 1877 Canada Yearly Meeting received the new version of New York Yearly Meeting's Discipline. The revisions were in keeping with the new evangelical bent of the yearly meeting. Many Canadian Friends welcomed the changes and, given the nature of the relationship between the two yearly meetings, the expectation was that the new version was to be adopted without dissent. However, Adam Spencer, from Norwich Monthly Meeting who was the clerk of Canada Yearly Meeting, objected to the revision as a violation of Friends ancient ways. Dorland wrote that Adam Spencer insisted on the outward evidence of traditional Quakerism, such as plainness of dress and address. Spencer also objected to the unsoundness of the doctrines of this new evangelism that was contrary to Orthodox Quaker faith.⁵ Dorland when writing about this objection reacted in a curious way. He wrote that "... it can be emphatically stated that doctrinally the new Discipline of 1877 remained substantially the same as that of 1859. and that both were unimpeachably Evangelical and Orthodox".⁶ Both of these words were obnoxious to the Conservatives. Dorland, however, rejected the legitimacy of the objection and dismissed their withdrawal as unimportant. This may explain why he stopped reading the quarterly meeting minute book on page 11 and devoted his time to describing the events that led to the separation of 1881 in Westlake Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. I will now try to fill this gap.

The Division in Pelham Quarterly Meeting

Pelham Quarterly Meeting, from the time of Confederation to 1877, was composed of two monthly meetings: Norwich and Pelham, about fifty miles apart. Pelham Monthly Meeting was evangelical in inclination and escaped the confusion that was to divide Norwich. In July, 1875, Pelham Monthly Meeting minuted: "Our beloved Friend William Wetherald, a minister in unity with us feels drawn to Preach the Gospel in Canada, Ohio and New York Yearly Meetings. Full unity being expressed with him in his concern he is left at liberty to pursue his prospects earnestly desiring that the Lord may be his helper."⁷ Other Friends soon followed William Wetherald in being given the same kind of liberty to preach.

Perhaps because they were able to agree on the innovation, Pelham Monthly Meeting led a peaceful life, at least on the surface. People were received into membership, a high proportion of whom were women. Nobody was disowned -- quite unlike Norwich -- and no mention was made of any troubles elsewhere. From January 1, 1879, Pelham Monthly Meeting of Men and Women Friends began holding joint sessions, returning to the form that existed before George Fox set up the women's meetings in the seventeenth century.⁸ It was probably a reflection of loss in membership that came after the conservatives withdrew from the meeting.

During the 1860's, in contrast, Norwich Monthly Meeting frequently recorded the names of people who "had so far deviated from the order and discipline of our Society" as to require having elders "appointed to visit them thereon and report" back to the Meeting. The majority in the meeting were of the old school of Quakerism and, hence, felt it necessary to discipline people for any infraction. The infractions were seldom mentioned in the minutes but seemed to include the traditional reasons for disownment, such as marrying without the approval of the meeting and gambling.

By the early 1870's the frequency of

these disciplining minutes was reduced and replaced with minutes welcoming people into membership. In 1876 Norwich Monthly Meeting was able to report and minute the statistics that during the past year "159 [were] received into membership -- no resignations. None disowned."⁹ As in Pelham, a high proportion of the new members were women.

The sense of triumph one gets from reading Norwich's minutes was lost very soon after. By October 1876 they were able to agree on nothing except to adjourn to meet the following month.¹⁰ Reading between the lines it is obvious the disagreement between evangelical and conservative ideas had reached a critical point. In November they went through the customary practice of answering the queries, so they could report to the Quarterly Meeting. Their answer to the second query reveals: "There is a lack of Christian love amongst us, arising from a want of unity of sentiment."¹¹ Not being able to do anything more, they adjourned to meet again the following week. The next week they reported:

"The meeting was so divided in sentiment as to be incapable of transacting the business claiming its attention according to our order and Discipline. Therefore it was adjourned to the usual time next month."¹²

At the December meeting for business, Norwich's representatives reported on the actions of Quarterly Meeting. Members were able to accept Mary Jane Cohoe, Elizabeth Walker, Almira Adelle Jeffry, and Elizabeth Smith into membership. They did not unite on Luisa Charlotte Nicholson's request for membership and deferred all other business.¹³

The new year brought no agreement on anything except an approval for a couple to marry. By then Pelham Quarterly Meeting, which had a group of evangelical Friends controlling it, was concerned and wrote to Norwich Monthly Meeting as follows:

"The Meeting was introduced into a

deep concern on account of there being no official account of Norwich Monthly Meeting, which resulted in appointing the following Friends as a committee of inquiry; with instructions to render such service and advice as they may deem best; and to report their judgment thereon to our next Quarterly Meeting: viz. Squire W. Hill, Andrew Hill, Elisha Taylor, Jacob Gainer Jr., John Richard Harris, Alfred R. Spencer, Samuel Hill, Job R. Moore and Wm. Spencer."¹⁴

Norwich Monthly Meeting began their discussion on the letter from Pelham Quarterly on March 14, 1877. They adjourned to the following day only to adjourn again because they were unable to reach unity on "the subject before the meeting yesterday." In April, they adjourned again after approving a marriage and a certificate of removal. A hint of "the subject before the meeting" comes in a letter received from the Quarterly Meeting which was signed by Squire W. Hill. The letter was the subject of the monthly meeting held on May 9th.:

"Dear Friends: The Committee appointed by Pelham Quarterly Meeting to visit Norwich Monthly Meeting find on examination no clause in the Book of Discipline for Indulged Meetings -- But "each Established Meeting for worship, should be a Preparative Meeting except in cases where the Quarterly Meeting should judge it inexpedient" (Book of Discipline, page 30) which to us seems imperative on the part of the Monthly Meeting to observe the Clause of Discipline on this subject."¹⁵

"Indulged meetings", similar to those being held in the American Midwest, were the evangelical prayer and revival meetings that had become so popular. In June, Norwich Monthly Meeting welcomed visitors from Michigan and Ireland. It is probably significant that the two visitors

from Indiana who had been made welcome by Pelham Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends held three days later were not present at monthly meeting.¹⁶ Normally the fifty miles between Norwich and Pelham would have been traveled by such visitors.

Friends opposed to indulged meetings were happy to receive the letter from the Quarterly meeting. Excluding Indiana Friends, who came from meetings that had held revivals, only alienated the evangelicals. Nothing more than the reading of the letter from the Quarterly meeting was done. Norwich even failed to read and answer the Queries and appoint representatives to the upcoming Quarterly meeting. The presence of visitors, who were allies of one side did not prevent unseemly behaviour.

The summer months of 1877 saw no business transacted and no agreement on the appointment of Clerks and overseers. In August, Pelham Quarterly Meeting, having received no report from Norwich, appointed a committee to go there and investigate. That committee reported back in September to the effect:

"...that the true record of the meeting of seventh month had not been made in regard to appointing a committee to bring forward names for clerks and overseers which the committee claimed should be recognized by said monthly meeting, after considerable opposition the clerk and a portion of the Friends withdrew contrary to the wishes of the larger portion of the Meeting and the Quarterly Meeting's Committee."¹⁷

They went on to report that Michael Gillam was then appointed clerk and recommended that all the documents signed by him should be considered the legal documents of Norwich Monthly Meeting. The Minutes of Norwich Monthly Meeting of the same July, 1877, meeting recorded that Michael Gillam's name was strongly objected to by several and, accordingly, was dropped.¹⁸ In August Norwich could only minute that there was "no unity in the proceedings."¹⁹

By September, 1877, the evangeli-

cals had withdrawn into their own monthly meeting, also called Norwich Monthly Meeting. After that the two sides refused to accept each other's minutes and began the process of removing each other from membership. Adam Spencer remained active in the branch now labeled Conservative. In the absence of the evangelicals, they read and answered the Queries and appointed Jesse Stover, Wm. B. Mason, John Sutton and Adam Spencer as their representatives to quarterly meeting. Their report to the quarterly meeting included: "There is such a lack of Christian love amongst us arising from differences of sentiments that we have not been able to transact the business of the meeting."²⁰

Pelham Quarterly Meeting was held three days later on the 15th. of September, 1877. It divided and the evangelical Friends retained the minute book. Conservative Friends, therefore, had to begin a new book. The first entry in the new minute records the presence of representatives from Norwich and the absence of any from Pelham because "That meeting having identified itself with those who have separated from Norwich Monthly Meeting."²¹ The now Conservative Pelham Quarterly Meeting appointed Adam Spencer for Clerk and William B. Stover for assistant. They recognized a "lack of Christian love" in answer to the second Query and the "disturbed state of Society" in answer to the 9th. Query. These phrases appeared several times that year and early in 1878. Pelham Quarterly Meeting (Conservative) kept on reporting the absence of representatives from Pelham Monthly Meeting and the concern that "tal-bearing not altogether avoided and discouraged."²²

Two weeks after the fateful meeting, Norwich Monthly Meeting (Conservative) minuted: "Friends were exercised at this time under a humbling sense of the sorrowful state of things amongst us, and of the difficulties of our present situation." So, they appointed a committee to: "take into serious consideration the propriety of our issuing a Testimony or Declaration concerning the separation from us of a portion of the members of this meeting."²³

In June, 1879, it came time to

appoint representatives to Yearly Meeting, answer the queries and write their report to the Yearly Meeting. In their report they minuted their perception of what had taken place the previous September. This the report, referred to by Dorland, was rejected by the Yearly Meeting, and led to the withdrawal of Adam Spencer from the Yearly Meeting. Adam and his conservatives were outnumbered at that meeting by twenty five visitors, the majority of whom were from the American Midwest.²⁴ Adam Spencer's withdrawal completed the division for Norwich.

News of the break spread quickly to other conservative groups in Iowa, Western, Kansas and Ohio yearly meetings that had gone through the same kind of experience. In November, 1879, Pelham Quarterly Meeting (Conservative) received a letter from Western Yearly Meeting. In June, 1880, they received a letter from Spring River Quarterly Meeting of Friends in Kansas that was in answer to the one they sent in September, 1879 that was read "to our satisfaction."²⁵ Early in 1881, the division in West Lake that Dorland describes so nicely for us, took place.²⁶ Pelham Quarterly Meeting (Conservative) Friends were, therefore, ready in 1881, for the invitation from Conservative Friends from Westlake "to hold Canada Yearly Meeting at Pickering at the appointed time."²⁷ This, was the beginning of Canada Yearly Meeting Conservative as reported by Arthur G. Dorland.²⁸

Footnotes:

1. Arthur G. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada, A History, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968).
2. Mark Minear, , Richmond 1887: A Quaker Drama Unfolds, (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1987). pp. 99-102.
3. Minear, p. 101.
4. Minear, p. 103.
5. Dorland, pp. 237-8.
6. Dorland, p. 242.
7. Pelham Monthly Meeting, minutes of 7th. month, 7th., 1875. I am here using the dates as given in the minutes and not following Dorland's page numbering as the original did not have numbered pages.
8. Pelham Monthly Meeting, minutes of 1st. month, 1st.. 1879.

9. Norwich Monthly Meeting Minutes, 6th. month 14th. 1876.
10. Norwich, 10th. month 18th.. 1876.
11. Norwich. 11th. month 8th., 1876.
12. Norwich, 11th. month 15th., 1876.
13. Norwich, 12th. month 13th., 1876.
14. Norwich, 3 rd. month 14th. 1877 and Pelham Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 2nd. month 10th., 1877.
15. Norwich, 5th. month 9th., 1877.
16. Norwich. 6th. month 13th., 1877, and Pelham Quarterly Meeting Women Friends Minutes, 6th. month 16th., 1877.
17. Pelham Quarterly, 9th. month 15th., 1877.
18. Norwich, 7th. month 11th., 1877.
19. Norwich, 8th. month 8th., 1877.
20. Norwich, 9th. month 12th., 1877.
21. Pelham Quarterly Meeting, Conservative, 9th. month 15th., 1877. This meeting was renamed "Norwich Quarterly Meeting" in September, 1889 by Canada Yearly Meeting (Conservative).
22. Pelham Quarterly (C), 2 nd. month, 9th. 1878.
23. Norwich. 9th. month 26th. 1878.
24. Dorland, p. 237.
25. Pelham Quarterly (C), 6th. month 12th. 1880.
26. Dorland, pp. 246 ff.
27. Pelham Quarterly (C). 6th. month 11th.. 1881.
28. Dorland, op. 237-8.