

A HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS
IN DUTCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK
1728-1828

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I

Dutchess County, New York, was an important Quaker region in the period 1728 to 1828. Southeastern Dutchess was essentially a wilderness when Nathan Birdsall, the first Quaker settler in the county, arrived from Danbury, Connecticut, in 1728. As such, it fostered the type of outlook which was becoming predominant in the Society of Friends during that period--an attitude of exclusive, self-contained religious community. Friends of the period desired, and maintained, little social, economic, or even governmental, intercourse with outsiders. The meeting supervised religious worship, social relations, economic welfare, and even legal difficulties among its members. The wilds of Dutchess County were congenial to this anchoritic spirit, and as a result the county came to be the home of more meetings than any other county in New York State.¹

Besides being important for its numerous meetings, Dutchess County merits consideration for another reason.
The location of Dutchess County at the southernmost limit of the control of the New York revolutionary government throughout most of the Revolution, and its consequent use as a camp and supply base for the Continental Army, offer an excellent opportunity to study the severe test to which that struggle put Friends' principles of peace and non-resistance to estab-

lished authority.

Some consideration of the choice of time period is necessary.

No 7 The date 1728 was chosen as the beginning of the study because, most obviously, it is the year the first Quaker came to Dutchess County.

The year 1728 was an important one for Quakerism as a whole, too. The years from the inception of the Society in the late 1640's to about 1725 were marked by an aggressive confrontation with the non-Quaker world. In a vigorous effort to attract converts, Quaker preachers of both sexes shocked their contemporaries by scathing denunciations of formal religious worship, of the sacraments, and of professional clergy, or hireling priests, as they were called by these early Quakers. "Publishers of Truth" they styled themselves, and they were persecuted for their troubles, but persecution only led them to more strenuous, and often more startling, efforts to disseminate their message, to the point that several New England Friends followed the lead of Lydia Wardel, of Hampton, Massachusetts, who was moved to appear in church "'as a naked sign'" to the Puritans of the congregation at Newbury.² Others were imprisoned, fined, and even hanged for their faith.

By 1728, this persecution had ended, however. Connecticut enacted religious toleration in 1729,³ and the last religious restrictions on Friends fell, although persecution was still fresh in the minds of Friends, one of whom advised

in a testimony in 1728 that

if it should so happen that you come to be Sufferers, and to be had before the Rulers, and to be found falsely [sic] accused in divers aspects . . . yet dare not deny that you are the Worshippers of God. 43

With the ebb of persecution came a corresponding ebb of proselytizing, as Quaker ministers began restricting the expression of their gift to other Quakers. It is only rarely in the records of the 18th century that one comes across a minute permitting a minister to appoint meetings among non-members.

The withdrawal from religious interchange was accompanied by a simultaneous withdrawal from secular life, especially political affairs. Whereas such 17th century Friends as Governor Nicholas Easton, of Rhode Island, and his Quaker successors had attempted to grapple with the conflict between their responsibilities as commanders-in-chief of the colonial militia and their Friendly principles,⁵ the ruling Quaker party of Pennsylvania solved its dilemma in 1756 by withdrawing from politics. The situation progressed to the point where, by the end of the 18th century, meetings were required to inform their superior meetings whether "any friends have accepted posts of profit or honour in government."⁵

Thus, quietism became the order of the day in the Society. Even as he recalled the old days, the same Friend quoted above foreshadowed the trends and conflicts of the future, when he declared that

of ourselves we can do nothing, unless we are abilitated by the Spirit of God; that we may keep to it and wait for it I desire none to take up Religion from Education . . .--may you keep the teachings out of it, you need no teaching but the holy anointing in you 6

This was the essence of 18th century Quakerism--to "wait for it", both religiously and secularly. Friends later was the question^{ed} whether it ought to remain the essence of 19th century Quakerism, and whether one really ought to "keep the teachings out of it." Around this^{canterad} the controversies which precipitated the Hicksite Separation of 1827-1828.

The years 1728-1828 were the years of greatest activity for Dutchess Friends. During this era, all the meetings were established, and, at its close, some were "laid down." At the end of the era, Quakerism in Dutchess County began to decline, until now there are only two full-fledged Friends Meetings in the county, and one other meeting which has, since 1926, been joined in a Community Church with Methodists and Dutch Reformed at Millbrook.

The termination of this study has been set at approximately 1828 because that is the year in which the so-called Hicksite Separation occurred in the New York Yearly Meeting. Begun the year before at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the schism was the culmination of growing pressures within and without the Society. It was at this time that the downfall of the Society of Friends^{in Dutchess County} began, marked by fifty years, from 1830-1880, of religious stagnation and institutional decline.

Thus, the period forms a convenient unit for study-- one of relatively little change in the Society until the very end, on the one hand (if one were given undated minute books from 1728 and 1828, they would be virtually undistinguishable, from the point of view of concerns expressed therein), and on the other hand changes and upheavals in society which tried Friends' principles, and eventually rent their religious Society.

This study is divided into three parts. In the first, I shall discuss the settlement of Dutchess County by Quakers, and the establishment of their meetings.

The second part will be a discussion of day-to-day Quaker life, both in the community and in the meeting.

The third part will contain an examination of various topics which relate to particular attitudes and events among the Quakers, and the problems which arose from them.

Before beginning, however, it would perhaps be helpful to sketch the history of Quakerism before Friends first came to Dutchess County.

II

Before the Society of Friends came into being, there were forming in England small groups of individuals who desired a more inward, less formal religion than any existing at that time. They met together, and waited for a religion which would meet their needs. These groups represented

an extraordinary revival of faith in man's power to discover the inward way of God, and mystical sects, some of them wise and sane, some of them foolish and fanatical, swarmed almost faster than they could be named. ¶

Within the former category lay the Seekers; within the latter were the Ranters, men given to violent ravings in the name of religion, and who were often called Ranting Quakers, either from ignorant confusion of the two groups, or in an effort to defame that more serene body. ¶

Seekers existed in the New World, too. Many of the individuals involved with Anne Hutchison in the antinomian controversy were Seekers of one type or another, and some of them later became Quakers. Governor Winthrop, in 1641, described her party, and the description fits most Seekers:

Divers of them turned professed Anabaptist [a term used indiscriminately among the Puritans for left-wing dissenters of almost any type], and would not wear any arms, and denied all magistracy among Christians, and maintained that there were no churches since those founded by the apostles and evangelists, nor could any be, nor any pastors ordained, nor seals administered, but by such, and that the church was to want these all the time she continued in the wilderness, as yet she was. 8

The task of coalescing these groups into a single body fell to an Englishman, George Fox (1624-1691), a shoemaker's

apprentice and the son of a weaver.⁹ Fox, too, was a Seeker, and he suffered from periods of religious depression, until, after many years, he began to have "openings," or religious insights.

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 I tell what to do, then, O! then I heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." ¹⁰

In a later opening, he saw

That every man was enlightened by the Divine Light of Christ . . . and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation and came to the Light of Life, and became children of it. ¹¹

Fox began spreading his message in Britain in 1647. As early as 1653, he began organizing his followers more tightly, setting up the first Monthly Meetings in that year. Quarterly Meetings were begun in 1656, and London Yearly Meeting began regular sittings in 1671. ¹²

In July, 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin landed in Boston from the Barbadoes, and these first two Quakers in America began spreading their message to the people of Massachusetts Bay Colony. ¹³ Persecution of Friends began immediately, and in the years 1660-1662, four Quakers were hung in Massachusetts under the authority of law. These were the only official religious executions ever to occur in America. ¹⁴ Despite these afflictions, though, the early converts set about organizing meetings, and the New England Yearly Meeting, the first Yearly Meeting in America, was first held in 1661. ¹⁵

The year after the first two young ladies arrived in Boston, five Quakers travelled to Nieuw Amsterdam, where, in the Dutch holdings on Long Island, they found an eager audience, for in 1642, forty families of Anabaptists had emigrated from Lynn, Massachusetts, to escape persecution, and had settled on Dutch Long Island. They were followed in 1645 by the most important of their group, Lady Deborah Moody, who settled at Gravesend. By the end of approximately ten years of emigration, ex-Lynn residents occupied large areas of Flushing, Gravesend, Jamaica, Hempstead, and Oyster Bay.¹⁶ The Friends' work was made easier by the fact that the Anabaptists had already established quasi-meetings there,

independent of ordained ministers, which regarded the sacraments as unnecessary, and which welcomed the common man with a direct commission [from God].¹⁷

The five missionaries of 1657--Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Mary Wetherhead, Dorothy Waugh, and Sarah Gibbons--were quickly seized, and two of the women (Mary Wetherhead and Dorothy Waugh) were jailed for preaching in the streets, and later sent, with their hands tied behind their backs, to Rhode Island.¹⁸ The other three made their way out to Long Island, and began preaching.

¶ Stuyvesant's persecution was swift and unrelenting.

The activity of the Quakers among the Long Island towns stirred him to new energy. Not only visiting missionaries, but quiet dwellers at home, were subjected to severe and ignominious punishments.¹⁹

Friends were whipped and imprisoned. A law was passed imposing a fine of £50 upon anyone found entertaining a Quaker

even for one night. Any ship importing a Friend could be confiscated. An old law prohibiting the holding of conventicles was revived.²⁰

So abominable was the heresy regarded, and so dangerous, that Stuyvesant and his council proclaimed a fast day to check its progress. ~~21~~

In protest against the Governor's conduct, twenty-six freeholders of the town of Flushing,²² including the sheriff and the town clerk, drafted the Flushing Remonstrance of 1657, protesting Stuyvesant's denial of their rights, guaranteed in the 1645 Flushing Charter, of "liberty of Conscience, according to the custome and manner of Holland." Stuyvesant replied to the plea by cancelling Flushing's right to hold town meetings.²³

Finally, after being fined and imprisoned in 1661 for holding a Quaker meeting at his house, John Bowne of Flushing went to Amsterdam and extracted from the Dutch West India Company a letter instructing Peter Stuyvesant that

The consciences of men ought to remain free and unshackled. Let everyone remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, and his political conduct irreproachable.

Stuyvesant complied.²⁴

With the capture of Nieuw Netherlands, now New York, by the English in 1664, the new rulers recognized the requisites of maintaining order in a colony in which dissenters outnumbered episcopalianism fifteen to one.²⁵ The surrender, dated August 27, 1664 O.S., stipulates in Article VIII that "The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences

in divine worship and church discipline."²⁶

Nevertheless, for the Quakers, persecution resumed. Throughout the early part of English rule, ministers were in constant peril of arbitrary arrest.²⁷ This was in spite of the issuance of the famous Duke's Laws of February 28, 1665, which stipulated

That no congregation shall be disturbed in their private meetings in the time of prayer, preaching, or other divine service; nor shall any person be molested, fined, or imprisoned, for differing in judgement in matters of religion, who professes Christianity. ²⁸

Under the administration of Governor Thomas Dongan (1683-1688), the Quakers suffered their worst trials. For refusing to take oaths, they were denied voting priveleges. Because they would not bear arms, they were heavily fined.²⁹ On February 24, 1687, the Society presented to the governor's council an address claiming that freedom of conscience was guaranteed to all Christians under the Duke's Laws, and that, under those conditions, the confiscations imposed upon Friends for refusal to bear arms were an abridgement of those rights. The council

unanimously gave it for their opinion that no man can be exempted from that obligation, and that such as make failure therein, let their pretents be what they will, must submit to the undergoing such penalties as by the said Act is provided. ³⁰

Civil disabilities continued for many years. In 1691, Quaker representatives from Queens were denied their seats in the assembly for refusing to take oaths. However, in 1732, during the course of a struggle between the governor,

William Cosby (1732-1736), and his opponents in the legislature, as each attempted to capture popular support, the legislature granted the Friends' long-standing request regarding oaths. The sheriff of Westchester County, at an election for representatives, had refused the Quakers their votes, since they would not take the required oath. They appealed to the governor and council, whereupon the legislature considered the affair, and passed an act granting to "the people called quakers" the same rights Quakers enjoyed in England. Friends were thus allowed to affirm, rather than swear, in any case where an oath was required, and thereby regained their vote.³¹

Confiscation and fines for refusing to bear arms or to perform what Friends of the time called "military service," i.e., non-combatant service, persisted into the 20th century.

In spite of these factors, the Quakers grew quickly. Of the first five Quakers to come to Nieuw Amsterdam, the three who were not deported found many willing converts among the Long Island Seekers and Anabaptists. Many joined in reaction against Stuyvesant's harassment. Lady Deborah Moody joined "almost at once."³²

Convincements (the Friends' term for conversions) were greatly stimulated by a visit to Long Island and Shelter Island by George Fox, during his American journey of 1672. As he did elsewhere in the colonies, Fox gained many converts for the Society. In addition, he helped local meetings to organ-

ize themselves more effectively, to keep reliable records, and to unite with other meetings into Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings. ³³

As we have seen, meetings were held on Long Island from the very introduction of Quakerism in 1657. The first known meeting on Manhattan was held in 1671 at the house of John Burnyeat. By the turn of the century, the Society had grown considerably. It was reported that 2000 people attended the Flushing Half-Year's Meeting in 1702. ³⁴

Throughout most of the Society's early existence in Nieuw Netherlands/New York, Friends here had been affiliated with the New England Yearly Meeting. By the close of the 17th century, however, it became clear that the size of the New York group, and the distance Friends from there had to travel to reach the Yearly Meeting, made it desirable to divide the meeting. A decision was reached at the Yearly Meeting of 1695;

ye 14th daye of ye 4th month 1695 . . . It is agreed yt ye Meeting at Long Island Shall Bee from this time a Yearly Meeting and yt John Bowne and John Rodman shall take care to receive such papers as shall come to ye Yearly Meeting in Long Island and Corespond with Friends Appoynted in London ³⁵

The first New York Yearly Meeting sat in 1696. ³⁶

Westbury Quarterly Meeting and its subordinate Monthly Meetings remained the only meetings of those ranks in the colony until 1725. In that year the Friends at Harrison's Purchase (Rye) read a minute directing them to establish a Monthly Meeting there, and the first Monthly Meeting "on the

main" was thus opened on the 9th of 4th month 1725.³⁷

The first Quarterly Meeting on the main was also established at Purchase. This was set off from Westbury Quarterly Meeting in 1745. It consisted of the Monthly Meetings of Purchase and the Oblong and first sat on 4 month 13 1745.³⁸

By the time Purchase Monthly Meeting was settled, then, Quakerism had begun to flourish on the main, and in three years Nathan Birdsall would move into that ribbon of land in eastern Dutchess County known as the Oblong.

PART I

CHAPTER I

QUAKER SETTLEMENT IN DUTCHESS COUNTY AND THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MEETINGS, PART 1: 1728-1779

I

The years of Quaker settlement in Dutchess County were years of great expansion for the American contingent of the Society of Friends. They outnumbered their English counterparts by 1750, primarily as a result of sizeable migrations to Pennsylvania, and by 1760 there were 30,000 in the colonies. In the next fifteen years, they grew by two-thirds, so that by the Revolution, they were the fifth largest religious group in the colonies, with 50,000 members.¹

It is in this ^{environment} that the settlement of Dutchess County by the Quakers occurred. As may be seen from these chapters, the Quaker settlement of the county may be divided roughly into two parts. The first involves the migration to Dutchess County from other regions, and the establishment of the Quaker region of Dutchess. During this period, which lasted approximately through 1779, the emphasis upon separation was most strenuously maintained. The second period, which began in about 1780, consists in the defining of the outer limits of the Quaker area, as evidenced in the establishment of the fringe meetings. This period is distinguished

first by a notable dropping off of immigration, and second by a tendency to settle closer to lines of trade, without necessarily relinquishing the omnipotency of the meeting over its members' affairs.

II

Dutchess County in 1697 was a wilderness. The thickly forested region was held primarily in speculation by large patentees. Most of the river patents had been granted in the late 1680's, and the year 1697 saw the granting of the first inland patent--the enormous Great Nine Partners Patent--as well as Henry Beekman's riverside Rhinebeck Patent, to which holding he added an inland patent in what is now the southern portion of the county in 1703.² (See map 1)

The population of the county in 1697 totaled four or five men who lived solitary lives along the banks of the Hudson River. Slowly, however, as the patentees began to seek tenants, the county grew. By 1714, there were 416 whites and 29 slaves residing within the county. Nine years later, the population of Dutchess had jumped to 1040 whites and 43 slaves, out of a total of 34,393 whites and 6171 slaves residing in the province of New York. The period of Quaker influx saw the county as a whole increase in population to 22,404 by 1771, an increase which raised the county's population from the lowest of the upriver counties to the highest of those counties, over the period 1714-1771.³

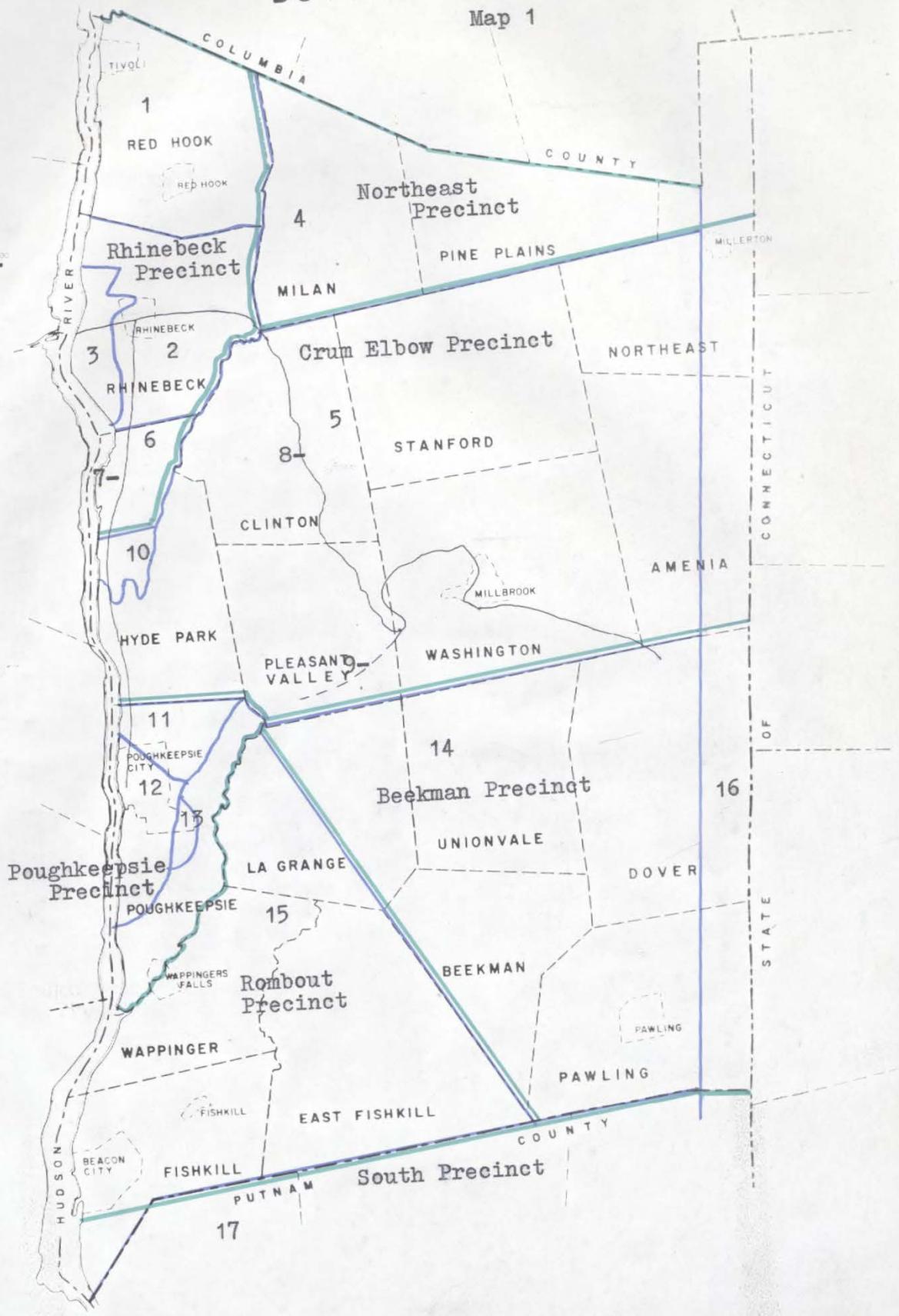
(Continued on page 19)

KEY TO MAP 1

- - Patent boundaries
- - Precinct boundaries
- 1- Schuyler Patent 1686
- 2- Rhinebeck Patent 1697
- 3- Aertson-Roosa-Elton Patent 1686
- 4- Little Nine Partners Patent 1706
- 5- Great Nine Partners Patent 1697
- 6- Pawling Patent 1686
- 7- Rhinebeck-Poughkeepsie Trail
- 8- Dover-Rhinebeck Trail
- 9- Pleasant Valley-Washington Hollow Path
- 10- Fouconnier Patent 1705
- 11- Sanders and Harmanse Patent 1686
- 12- Schuyler Patent 1686
- 13- Cuyler Patent 1696
- 14- Beekman Patent 1703
- 15- Rombout Patent 1685
- 16- Oblong Patent 1731
- 17- Philipse Patent 1702

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N.Y.

Map 1



Conditions in early Dutchess County were fully as primitive as the statistics quoted above would lead one to believe. The woods were full of wolves and panthers. There were enough Mohican Indians living in the county to warrant a Moravian mission through the 1740's in the northern part of the county, near the future site of the Northeast Preparative Meeting. There were regulations regarding the width of one's wagon wheels, so as not to ruin the ruts which served as roads. If one allowed his pigs to stray into the roads, they could legally be shot by any passerby.⁴

Settlement in the interior of the county was retarded, for reasons which will be discussed later. There were a few pioneers in Dover before 1725, but otherwise settlement was restricted to the river banks. Roads were non-existent. Three early trails served overland travellers. One

ran from Dover over Plymouth Hill; . . . to (the present) monument at South Millbrook; turned north past the site of (the present) village of Millbrook to what is now the road to Sharon; turned west and ran around Canoe Hill to (the present) Washington Hollow; from Washington Hollow it wound in a generally northwestward way through (the present) Clinton Corners and Schultzville, past Long Pond to the headwaters of Crum Elbow Creek, where it crossed over the boundary of the patent and continued to the river over the land of Henry Beekman. (See map 1)

This trail was established as early as 1718. In 1722, a blazed trail connected the present villages of Rhinebeck and Poughkeepsie. Finally, after about 1733, there existed a trail between the present villages of Pleasant Valley and Washington Hollow "which consisted in part of a footpath and

in part of a line of marked trees."⁵

This was Dutchess County when the Friends arrived in 1728,

III

Nathan Birdsall, Sr. (1705-1790), the first Quaker settler in Dutchess County, arrived on the Oblong in 1728, having followed deer paths and Indian trails from his former home in Danbury, Connecticut. Birdsall, who was born in Matinecock, Long Island, settled with his wife Jane Langdon on Quaker Hill near what was later to be the site of the meeting houses. (see map 5) He was a prominent member of Oblong Meeting, as attested to by the fact that he was one of the first Overseers of the allowed meeting before it was settled in 1742. He was, however, of a salty, independent character such as one might expect of a man who would deposit himself and his family alone in the middle of a wilderness. In 1761, he became embroiled in a controversy over a land title with Jonathan Hoag. Unsatisfied with the arbitration of the meeting, Birdsall solved the dispute to his own satisfaction by occupying his neighbor's house. He was disowned, or expelled, by the meeting, and later repented, offering to it a statement "Seeming to aim at an Acknowledgement for his Entering into Jonathan Hoag's Possession," which was "not Tho't a sufficient condemnation." He finally achieved reinstatement, only to be disowned and reinstated again for repeating the same offense, in 1766.. In 1769, he ran afoul

of the meeting once more. This time, the offense was not quite so humorous. He and his son were accused of selling a free man into slavery. It was later ascertained by a committee of the meeting that the man they sold had been given by the purchaser to another individual, in whose possession the unfortunate slave had drowned. Both father and son were, of course, disowned, but Nathan, Jr., was later shown to be the principal culprit, and Nathan, Sr., was reinstated, after he had made suitable amends. At this point, he drops out of the records, and presumably lived the rest of his life quietly on Quaker Hill.⁶

The second settler to arrive on the Hill was Benjamin Ferriss, Sr., a Quaker minister who came in 1730, and settled near Birdsall, in a "long two-story house sloping back," the two of them occupying the highest lots on the Hill. Ferriss and his family were somewhat more stable than the Birdsalls, ^{Ferriss'} his sons Reed and Zebulon ~~were~~ equally prominent in the meeting with their father. Zebulon was an early Clerk of long tenure in Oblong Meeting, serving from 1761 till about the time of the Revolution. Ferriss served on the committee which designed and built the first meeting house in 1742. He achieved some measure of skill as a minister, as attested to by the fact that he was allowed to undertake two religious visits to New England Friends "as far as New Hampshire," one in 1758 and another in 1762. The last mention of him is in a letter from Dr. James Fallon to George Clinton,

written in 1778, mentioning Ferriss and his son Reed as two of only four Friends to render any assistance to the Continental Army during its occupation of Quaker Hill in that year. This represents a departure from the official Quaker policy of "freezing out" the occupying army, but does not seem to have provoked any disciplinary action by the meeting. One other story which serves to illuminate his character is related by P. H. Smith, who tells us that

. . . on Quaker Hill, lived ~~on~~ Peter Fields, a silver-smith, doing a small business. The robbers [the so-called "Tories" or "Cowboys", a group of apolitical outlaws who preyed upon the residents of the area, particularly upon the non-violent Quakers, during the Revolution] made an entry into his shop one day. A number of men of the neighborhood were in there at the time, but not one of them made an effort at resistance, except Benjamin Ferriss, Sen., the Quaker preacher. Benjamin, though a man of peace, insisted upon an attack upon the villains, but was not seconded. He was silenced by having a blunderbuss pointed at his head. . . . 7

No mass settlement occurred until 1731, however. In that year, a group of Friends established the first "considerable" settlement on Quaker Hill. The settlers followed the Byram and Croton rivers up to the Oblong area from Purchase, on the Long Island Sound, and began a tide of heavy immigration to the area from Purchase and from Rhode Island and the Dartmouth area of Massachusetts which lasted over ten years.⁸

It has been asserted that meetings were held on Quaker Hill as early as 1728, although they obviously would have been so small that to call them meetings is misleading. It is

highly likely, though, that some sort of unofficial gatherings began soon after the Purchase contingent arrived in 1731, and that they were recognized and "allowed" by Purchase Monthly Meeting a few years later, although no mention is made of the fact in the minutes of that meeting.

In 1742, a Preparative Meeting was settled at Quaker Hill, on the Oblong, under the name of Oblong Preparative Meeting. (see map 2) This requires some explanation of the structure of the Society of Friends, which can, for purposes of explanation, be divided organizationally into two branches.

The primary branch is, of course, that directly connected with religious observances, and is composed of individual congregations, often called particular meetings. This is always the first step in the growth of any meeting. The Monthly Meeting "allows" a meeting at a certain location on probation, to which meeting it sends representatives to see that the gatherings "are conducted in an orderly fashion to the honor of Truth." After repeated extensions of permission to meet for short periods of one or two months, if the allowed meetings are conducted and attended to the satisfaction of the committee, the Monthly Meeting may decide to "settle" the meeting, that is to establish it permanently. At the time under consideration, meetings were held twice a week in most instances--on First-day, i.e., Sunday, and on Fourth- or Fifth-day.

In the business and disciplinary branch of the Society,

(continued on page 26)

Key to Map 2

The Quaker Meetings of Dutchess County

STANFORD--Quarterly, Monthly and Preparative Meeting

OSWEGO--Monthly and Preparative Meeting

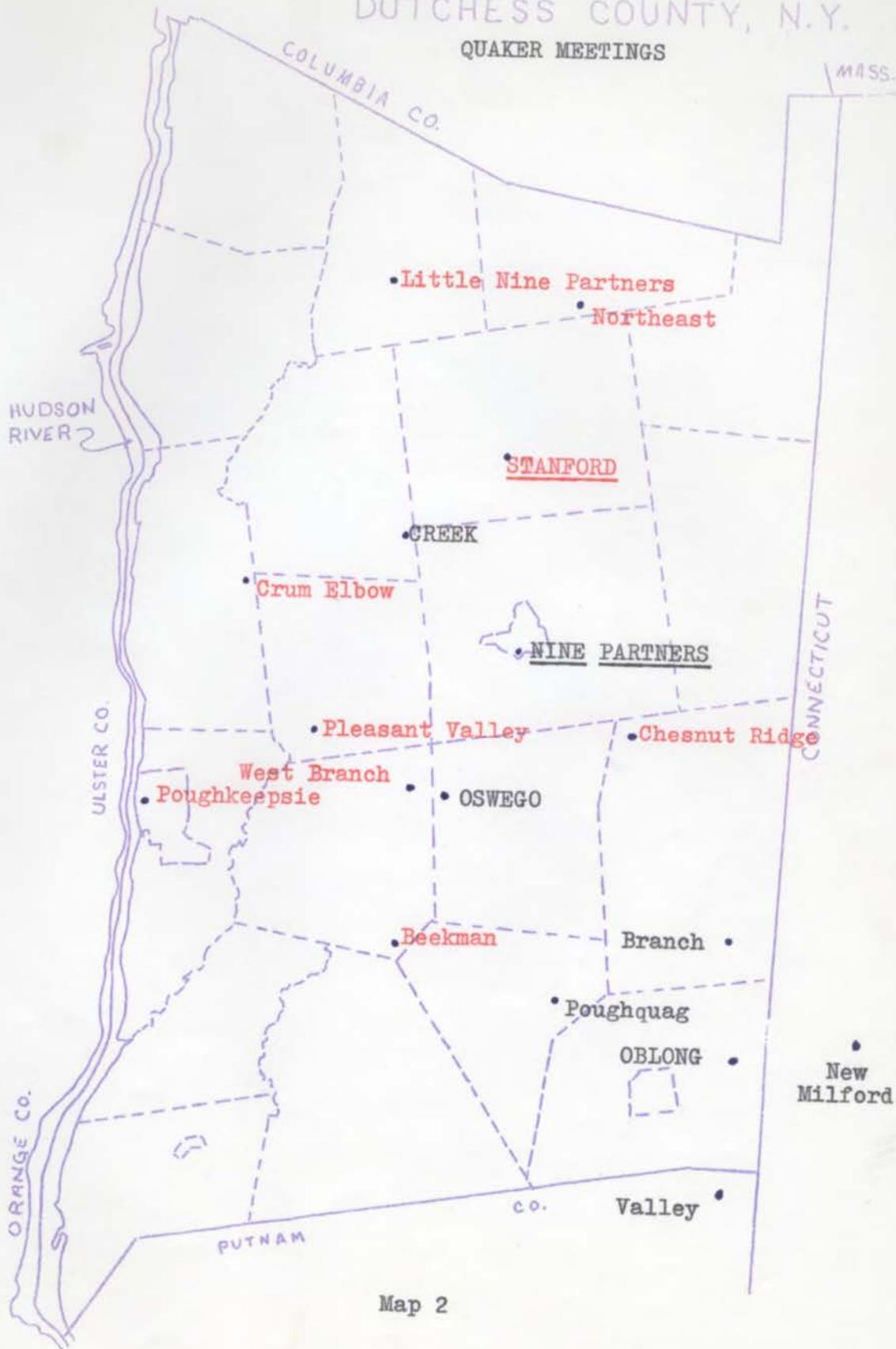
Branch--Preparative Meeting

OBLONG--Begun 1728-1779

STANFORD--Begun 1780-1828

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N.Y.

QUAKER MEETINGS



Map 2

the lowest unit is the Preparative Meeting, which convenes once a month to prepare business for the Monthly Meeting. If the meeting for worship grows to a reasonable size, it may have a Preparative Meeting settled on it. The relationship is usually one-to-one, every particular meeting being a Preparative Meeting, but if the meetings are small, two or more meetings for worship may constitute one Preparative Meeting. Often the meeting for worship and the Preparative Meeting are settled simultaneously, but there is always at least an allowed meeting in existence before the Preparative Meeting is settled. It is for this reason that I can estimate with reasonable certainty that there was an allowed meeting at the Oblong by 1735 or 1736, even though there is no mention of one in the records.

One or more Preparative Meetings form a Monthly Meeting. This is the basic administrative unit of the Society. It meets, as its name implies, once a month, and decides upon individual disciplinary cases, sets up and "lays down" meetings, grants permission to marry and supervises weddings, admits, transfers and disowns members, and collects money. Any matters of high importance are referred up to the Quarterly Meeting, although not always. The jurisdiction of meetings during this period was unclear, and was often a cause of confusion, and sometimes friction in the vertical structure of the Society, as we shall see.

The Quarterly Meeting is composed of several Monthly Meetings, and decides matters of importance to the whole

group. It is generally consulted by the Monthly Meeting before it undertakes any major project, such as the construction or extensive repair of a meeting house. Any individual disciplined or disowned by a Monthly Meeting can appeal to the Quarterly Meeting, and on to the Yearly Meeting, if he is still dissatisfied. The Quarterly Meeting convenes four times a year. In the case of Purchase, Stanford, and Nine Partners Quarterly Meetings, the "settings" during the years 1728-1828 were in February, May, August, and November.

The Yearly Meeting is the largest unit of the Society. Theoretically, this is purely an advisory body, without the power to compel obedience, but in actuality, its subordinates rarely disregard its advice. It acts on matters concerning the whole body of Quarterly Meetings, and it considers broad matters of doctrine and disciplinary policy, e.g., whether Friends ought to hold slaves, or whether it is consistent with Friends' principles to buy lands confiscated in war time. The Dutchess County meetings belonged to the New York Yearly Meeting, which sat, before the split in 1828, in late May, and had jurisdiction over all the meetings in New York State, as well as those of the Province of Ontario (called Upper Canada at that time).

All meetings for worship and for business were divided both figuratively and literally into men's and women's meetings. The groups met separately, isolated by a wooden curtain which could be raised in the center of the meeting house. Women's meetings were theoretically equal to men's

meetings, but in practice, the women transacted very little business of import, and when they did, it had to be approved by the men.

Thus, working within this framework, on 6 month 12 1742, Purchase Monthly Meeting indicated that it desired

the Approbation of the [Westbury] Quarterly Meeting to have A preparative meeting Settled at the Oblong for themselves and the meetings Adjacent.

The Quarterly Meeting agreed, and Oblong Preparative Meeting was settled on the 9th of 7th month 1742, with Nathan Burcham and David Eckins as its first Overseers (officers who kept order in meeting, and attempted to deal with undesirable conduct both in meeting and out), replacing the Overseers of the allowed meeting, Birdsall and William Russell. Russell deserves mention, for he was evidently a figure of some personal power, having attained the post of Overseer less than a year after coming to the Oblong from Dartmouth, Massachusetts, on 6 month 13 1741. He also served on the committee to build the first Oblong Meeting House. Aside from this, very little is known about him. Burcham and Eckins are equally mysterious, for no other mention is made of them in meeting minutes.¹⁰

By the time the meeting was established, settlement on Quaker Hill was fairly well advanced, and the first meeting house was built there even before the settlement of the meeting. The Quarterly Meeting appointed a committee "to Conclude about the dementions of a meeting house to be built on the Oblong," and later in the same meeting

appointed Benjamin Ferriss, William Russell, James Clement, and Thomas Franklin to build it.¹¹

The advanced state of the settlement of Quaker Hill in the early 1740's is further attested to by the fact that only two years after the settlement of the Preparative Meeting,

James Clement and Josiah Hunt Acquainted this meeting [Purchase Monthly Meeting] that the Yearly meeting Approved of Setling a monthly Meeting at the Oblong and the Ninepartners to be held each place by turns on the third fifth day in every Month.

The next year Oblong Monthly Meeting was joined with Purchase Monthly Meeting to form Purchase Quarterly Meeting, set off from Westbury Quarterly Meeting in 4th month 1745, as the first Quarterly Meeting on the Main. Its first sitting was 6 month 3 1745.¹²

IV

Several things brought the Friends to Dutchess County. It was, for one thing, in the natural path of northward expansion from Westchester County, and of westward expansion from New England. The real question is, in what areas did they choose to settle, and why?

The primary consideration in Quaker settlement was, as I have hinted before, their desire for separation from non-Quaker society. This attitude on the part of Friends, and the reasoning behind it, were accurately perceived by their neighbors. In the village of Pawling, non-Quakers named the hill between Quaker Hill and the village in the valley "Purgatory Hill" "because it lays halfway between

Quaker Hill and the world." It is the same outlook which caused the Puritans to think of themselves as a "Citty on a hill," or which caused the Shakers to refer to outsiders as "the world's people."

The extreme passion with which Friends maintained this separation may be glimpsed in Staughton Lynd's Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York. Lynd charts the connections of family and business among Dutchess Anti-Federalists, among whom was Jonathan Akin, a Friend from Quaker Hill. Despite the fact that he was a judge, the son of a judge, and a powerful landlord, the equal or superior of any of his fellow Anti-Federalists, Akin is alone among them in having no ties whatsoever to any of the others.¹³

Natural and economic conditions combined to make southeastern Dutchess County ideal for anyone with a propensity to aloofness like that of the Quakers. The primitive condition of the roads at the beginning of the period has already been mentioned. It should be pointed out that there was no major east-west road in Dutchess until 1802, and no major Poughkeepsie-Quaker Hill road until the Pawling and Beekmans Turnpike was built in 1824. Additional isolation was afforded by the Taghkanick Mountains, which run from central to southern Dutchess County in a south-westerly direction, effectively cutting off the southeastern corner of the county from the remainder. They are an extension of the Berkshires, and continue across Putnam County to become the east shore portion of the Hudson

Highlands.¹⁴

Population was concentrated on the banks of the Hudson. This was partly a result of the insecurity of landholding due to the presence of the Indians in the west and to the hostility of neighboring colonies to the east. The Hudson River, furthermore, was the main thoroughfare of the province, and it was thus advantageous for anyone interested in commercial activities to reside close to it. The land policy of at least one large patentee, Caterina Brett (1688-1764) of Rombout Patent, was liberal. In contrast to many of her fellow landlords, she was willing to sell, rather than lease, her holdings, and to retain less of the water and timber rights than most of the others. Thus, prospective tenants were likely to wish to confine their settlement to the lands she owned.¹⁵

Friends' religious aversion to promiscuous social intercourse was undoubtedly reinforced by their cultural differences with other county residents. The populated section of Dutchess County was like a foreign country--specifically, Holland. At all the early enumerations of families, at least 90 per cent were found to be from the Low Countries or their immediate neighbors. Even among the English stock, Dutch culture was a powerful factor. For instance, McCracken quotes a letter from Henry Beekman, Jr., son of the patentee, which, he says, is written in a style "which strongly suggests translation from the Dutch." The letter was written in 1743! Francis Filkin, a store keeper

in Crum Elbow Precinct, kept his records partly in English, partly in Dutch, late in the 1730's. Some idea of the extent and pattern of Dutch culture in Dutchess County may be had from map 3, which shows pre-Revolutionary Dutch houses still existing, or known to have existed, in 1929, as well as pre-Revolutionary Dutch Reformed churches in the county.¹⁶

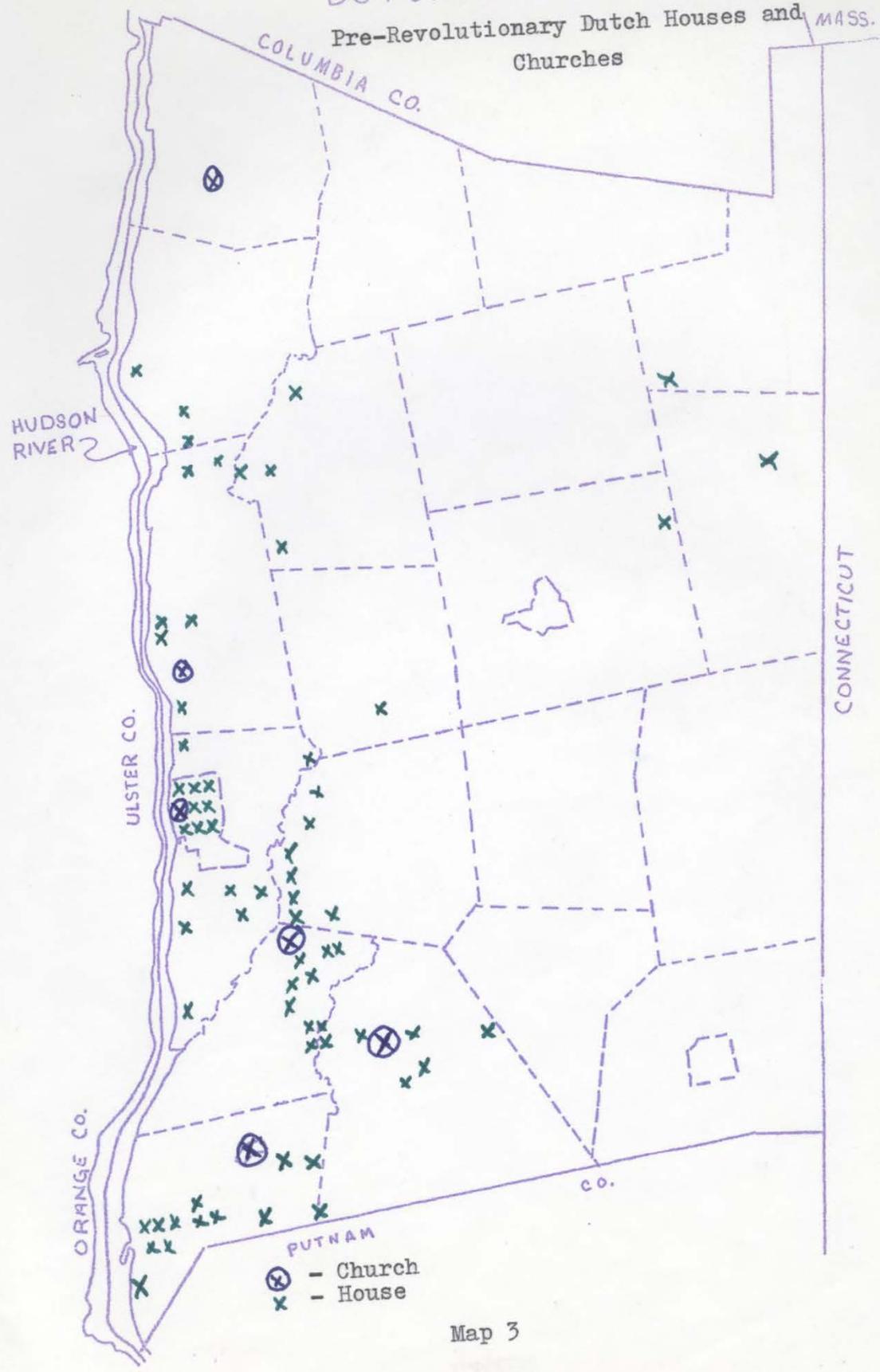
In addition to the Dutch, there was heavy German and Palatine settlement on Beekman's Rhinebeck Patent. The Palatines had fled to England in the late 1600's to escape Catholic persecution, and had subsequently been sent to the shores of Columbia, Greene and Ulster counties to manufacture naval stores for the Royal Navy. When the project failed, Beekman and his neighbors the Livingstons, gladly accepted those who wished to become their tenants under semi-feudal arrangements designed by the landlords. German churches thus abounded in that region. Rhinebeck can stand as a symbol of the syncretistic culture of the river shore. In 1797, it had three Dutch Reformed, two Lutheran and one German Reformed congregation within its bounds, as well as one Methodist church.¹⁷

However, this must not be construed to mean that Quaker avoidance of settled areas was merely a result of cultural differences, for they avoided English areas, too. A general picture of the patterns of Quaker and non-Quaker settlement in the first period of Quakerism in Dutchess County may be obtained from map 4, which shows the location

(continued on page 34)

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N.Y.

Pre-Revolutionary Dutch Houses and Churches



Map 3

of pre-1780 Friends meetings and other [Protestant] congregations.

There were, of course, other reasons than a desire for separation which encouraged the Quakers to settle where they did. The policies of various land holders affected their choice. Because Caterina Brett had been so liberal, her land was mostly taken. Map 3 offers a suggestion of the relatively dense population of her patent, as compared with others in the county. The Great Nine Partners Patent was not opened for settlement until 1737. Henry Beekman was eager for tenants, but on his Rhinebeck Patent, both the German and the medieval character of society did not suit Friends' temperament. But his Back Lots wanted tenants. Thus, Friends were generally welcomed in that area.¹⁸

When Birdsall came to Quaker Hill, it was still a disputed area, but soon after it was patented. Beekman and the Oblong patentees wanted tenants, and the Quakers liked what they had to offer. They came in "response to the stimulus of valuable, fertile lands offered for occupation" ¹⁹

In the case of the Oblong area, another consideration is evident, and may apply to some or all of the early settlers. Certainly Birdsall, and possibly Ferriss and the first Purchase Friends, came in anticipation of obtaining something for nothing, in the confusion over the title to the Oblong. Since 1639, Connecticut and New York had disputed their boundary, and each had made several surveys, each un-

(continued on page 37)

Key to Map 4

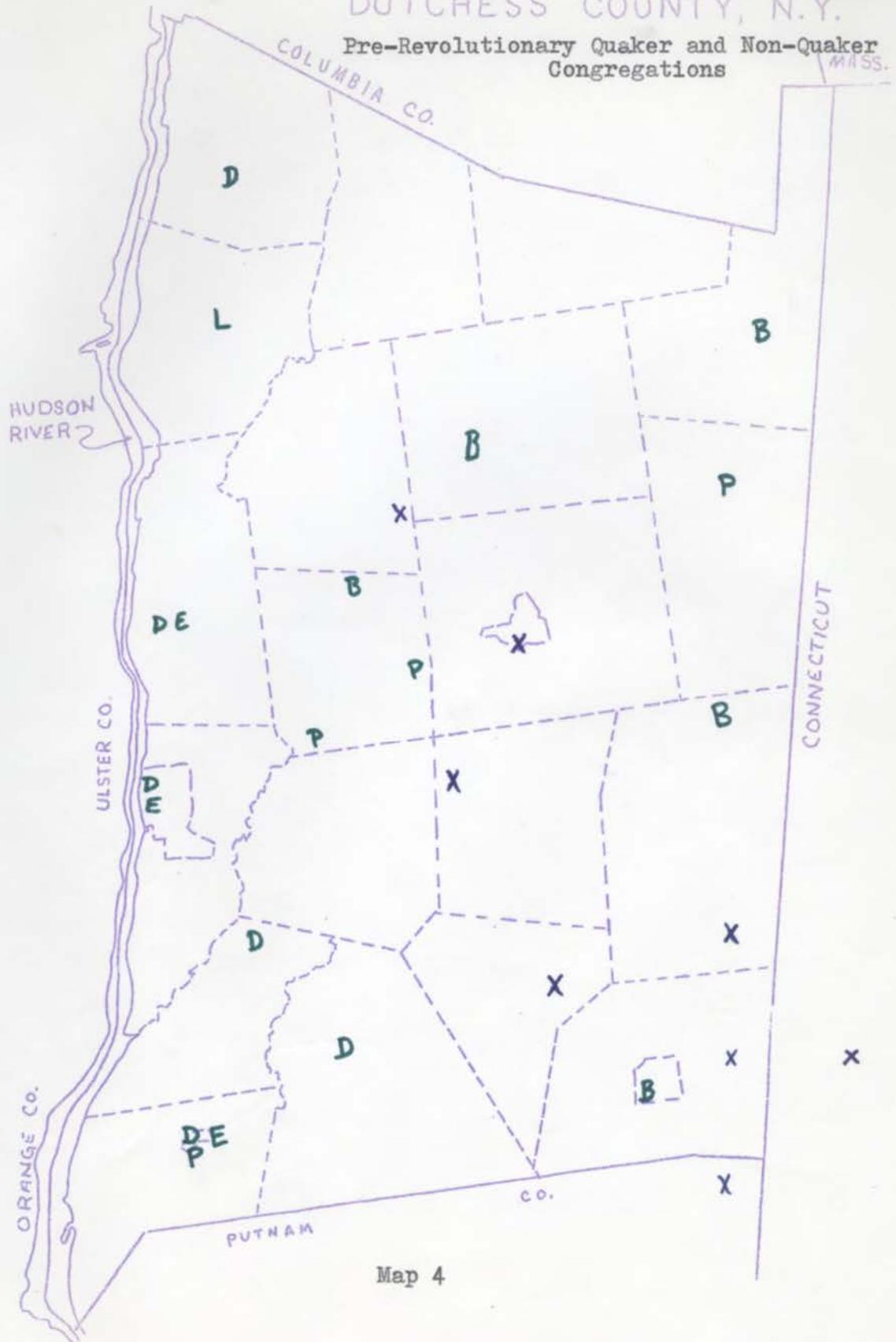
Pre-Revolutionary Quaker and Non-Quaker Congregations

- X--Quaker
- D--Dutch Reformed
- L--Lutheran
- * E--Episcopal (Anglican)
- P--Presbyterian
- B--Baptist

N.B.--There was, in addition, a Dutch Reformed church begun at Dover in 1776, but this was left off the map since it was dropped soon after, and not completed until the 1790's. It would therefore misrepresent the situation to include it.

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N.Y.

Pre-Revolutionary Quaker and Non-Quaker
Congregations



Map 4

satisfactory to one or the other of the parties. During the ensuing confusion, especially in its later stages, great animosity grew between those concerned. Connecticut residents of the border area wanted to be New Englanders, and occupy their land in freehold. New York landlords, of course, were anxious to add the land to their holdings, and sent their own tenants to squat on it. New Yorkers and New Englanders engaged in what was in many cases but one step below a blood feud. Farmers burned their neighbors' barns; agents of the opposing interests were attacked. In the chaos, some individuals conceived that if they squatted on the lands in question, when the smoke cleared, they would be left with the land. It didn't work, and those who came down on the New York side of the line usually had to take a leasehold from the royal patentees. Birdsall was surely one of these squatters, for it is clearly consistent with his style, as demonstrated above. On May 14, 1731, the dispute was settled by the Treaty of Dover (Dutchess County). Connecticut received the Horse's Neck Equivalent Lands on the Long Island Sound, and New York was given the Oblong Equivalent Lands, which it quickly granted in patent to a group of speculators.

Sixty miles long and a mile and four-fifths wide, the Oblong, or the Equivalent Land as it was called, runs north-northwest from Norwalk to Ridgefield, then almost due north to the Massachusetts line. Approximately fifty miles of this lay in Old Dutchess--the Dutchess before she trimmed her Putnam flounce off her skirt. 20

There were special reasons why particular groups came

to the county, but these will be treated in a later section.

V

The Quaker Hill settlement was a thriving one. By 1763, a larger meeting house was needed, and the Preparative Meeting proposed the construction of one, to be built of brick, forty feet by thirty-five feet, one story high, "to be set The North Side of the Road opposite to where the Old one now Stands." The request was referred all the way up to the Yearly Meeting, which granted it, but altered the specifications, and the house built was forty five by fifty feet, with fifteen foot posts, and built of wood. Two deeds were taken for the land, on the 16th and 17th of 4th month 1764, from William Russell and Zebulon Ferriss, respectively, "To Benjamin Ferriss, David Akin, Ebenezer Peaslee, David Hoag, Joseph Irish, Nehemiah Merritt, and Abram Wing, all of Beekman's Precinct," and the house built at a total cost of £679 9s. 6d. In 1782, a proposal was granted "for building Two Small out Houses," and a door "by the Women's Stares," at a cost of £2 15s. 6d. Galleries were installed about 1800. The house still stands, in excellent condition, on Quaker Hill. It retains its original clapboards on the north (back) side, and its interior is unchanged. Its frame is of solid oak. Its oak flooring is said to bear the marks of soldiers' crutches, souvenirs of its use as a hospital by the Continental Army, in 1778. According to local legend, there are rifle ports in the



Fig. 1--Oblong Meeting House (1764), Quaker Hill

attic, and blood stains on the timbers up there, as a result of its use as a hideout by Waite Vaughn's Cowboys. This story is supported by a minute of the Monthly Meeting directing that Samuel Hoag

Is appointed to take Care of this Meeting House and to Keep the Door lock't and windows fastened & to Nail up the hole that go^s up to the Garrett.

At any rate, the house was completed and occupied on the 18th of 10th month 1764.²¹

When the new house was completed, the old one was sold, torn down, and removed to the farm of its purchaser, who put it back up and used it as a barn, for which purpose it served until 1884, when it was razed, and some of its timbers re-used in building another barn, which still stands. The meeting used the money to construct a stable and the site

of the old house became a pasture for Friends' horses. It was fortunate that the old house was preserved, for it served again as a meeting house while the new one was occupied as a hospital.²²

This marks the end of the growth of the Quaker Hill community. By 1769, the Preparative Meeting was too large even for the new house, and two first-day meetings had to be allowed there, one at noon and one at 4 P.M. An idea of Oblong Preparative Meeting's size relative to the other members of the Monthly Meeting can be gained from the quotas, which were the proportion each Preparative Meeting was assigned of all monies to be raised by the Monthly Meeting. Oblong Preparative Meeting's quota was £35 of every £50 which Oblong Monthly Meeting had to raise, or seventy per cent of the total. Settlement of Quaker Hill was virtually complete by 1770. There was simply no more land to be had. With one minor exception, the roads on Quaker Hill today are exactly what they were in 1778, with no additions or deletions, except for the abandonment of one small stretch and the extension of another. In many ways, Quaker Hill can serve as a model of the early Quaker communities of the county. It consisted of a group of families centered around the meeting house. Oblong meeting at its height in the 18th century had about 250 members. It is noteworthy that only a minority of these early residents of Quaker Hill were farmers. In part, this may be explainable by the fact that Quaker Hill was com-

(continued on page 43)

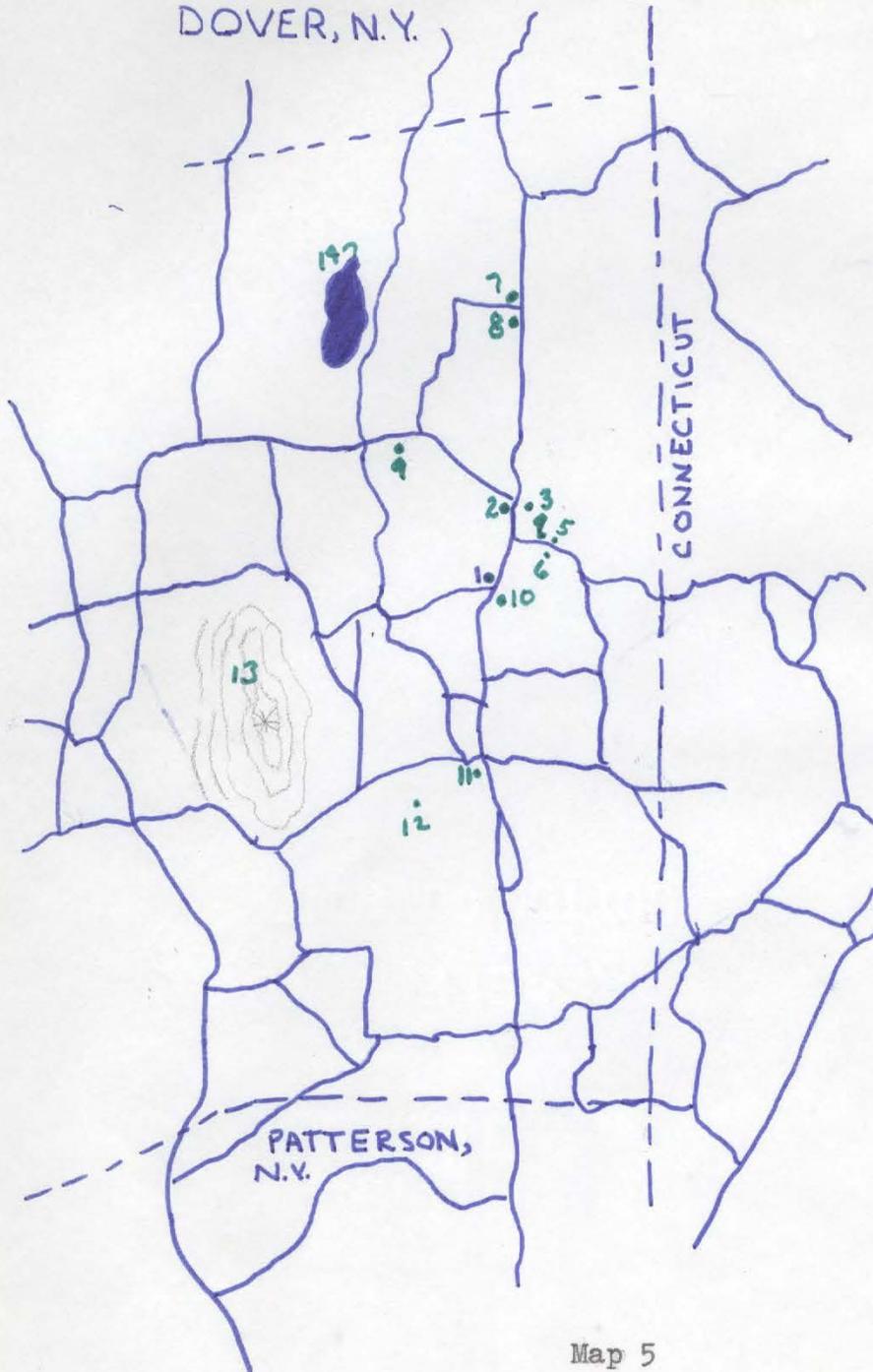
Key to Map 5
Quaker Hill and Vicinity--
Early Settlers

- 1- Nathan Birdsall, Sr.
- 2- Benjamin Ferriss, Sr.
- 3- William Russell
- 4- Daniel Merritt Store
- 5- Second Meeting House (1764)
- 6- First Meeting House (1742)
- 7- Abram Thomas
- 8- Nathaniel Seelye
- 9- Jeremiah Sabin, Sr.
- 10- John Marsh
- 11- John Toffey
- 12- Reed Ferriss
- 13- Purgatory Hill
- 14- Hammersley Lake

N.B.--Map traced from Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 102. It should be pointed out that this does not, of course, represent all the settlers, but is a listing of those of the men Wilson identifies as living on the Hill in the 18th century who can be verified as living on the Hill before 1771 by the use of Daniel Merritt's account book of that year, reprinted in Wilson, pp. 158-166.

Quaker Hill and Vicinity

DOVER, N.Y.



Map 5

paratively small, and the farms large, but it is evident that a surprising number of the non-farmers were skilled artisans of one sort or another. This will be considered in greater detail in a later chapter.²³

As the Hill began to fill, Friends pushed out in three directions from it. To the east there had been Quakers in New Milford and New Fairfield since the late 1720's, with a meeting at New Milford possibly as early as 1729, though no Preparative Meeting was settled there until Oblong Monthly Meeting did so in 1777. This limited expansion to the other three directions, and the first expansion was made to the west. Thus, Friends settled at Oswego, in what is now the Town of Union Vale, in the late 1740's, with meetings allowed there almost immediately. The meeting for worship at "Swago" was settled in 1750, and increased to two times a week in 1753. Five years later, Friends were allowed a Preparative Meeting, but only in the months preceding Quarterly Meetings. Oblong Preparative Meeting, from which most of the Friends at Oswego had originated, transferred the meeting at Oswego to Nine Partners Preparative Meeting (see below) in 1763, for convenience's sake, since they were closer to that meeting, and easier to reach, since it is probable that the present Route 82, which runs past both meeting houses, was at least beginning to be travelled at about that time, in view of the fact that it is certain that it was used in the Revolution.^(see Map 2) Oswego did not become a permanent Preparative Meeting until 1774, when it was designated as such by

the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting (see below).²⁴

Oswego was evidently a very restless, self-sufficient meeting. As early as 1783, Oswego proposed to the Poughquag Preparative Meeting of Oblong Monthly Meeting that the two meetings form their own Monthly Meeting. Oblong Monthly Meeting turned down the proposal immediately. Probably Oswego was not really big enough to warrant the higher status, but it was obviously a growing community, and there may be undertones here of resentment by the smaller meetings of the power of Oblong Preparative Meeting in the Monthly Meeting. Oswego renewed its request in 1797, and again the Monthly Meeting decided that the "Time is not yet fully come." Two years later, though, Oswego finally succeeded. The first Oswego Monthly Meeting sat on the 18th of 12th month 1799, with Philip Hoag as Clerk. Oswego's quota was £14 of every £100 to be raised by Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting, and Oswego Preparative Meeting was assigned a quota of £ 57 2s. 10d of every £100 to be raised in Oswego Monthly Meeting.²⁵

Jesse Irish, Nathaniel Yeomans, and Allen Moore purchased two acres of land for Friends' use at Oswego in 1751, and presumably a meeting house was erected there soon after. We find no notice of any house, though, until 8 month 18 1757, when a minute of the Oblong Monthly Meeting informs that Allen Moore was appointed to take into his oversight the building of a meeting house at Oswego, one story high, thirty feet square, "near the spot where the other was burnt."

A chimney was added to the new house, and repairs effected in 1776.²⁶ (see Fig 15, p 112)

It is generally supposed that this is the house which now stands at Oswego. However, it is probable that the present house is a third one, built in the early 1790's. The minutes of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting for 10 month 20 1790 observe that "It appears the money is not all raised toward the expence of Oswego Meeting house," and in 1792, record the fact that it took £316 to complete the Oswego house. Although secondary sources profess uncertainty, this would indeed seem to be the most accurate estimation of the age of the house.²⁷

Next, Friends seem to have established an intermediary settlement between Quaker Hill and Oswego. This was on the western side of the Taghkanick Mountains (which are actually only high hills) in the town of Beekman, at what is now called Gardner's Hollow. The meeting was named Poughquag (spelled variously Appoquague, Appoughquaque, Perquake, Pough Quaick, and dozens of other ways), although it was not in the present day hamlet of that name. The first allowed meeting was held there in 1762.

Whereas there was a request from Some Friends Living at Paquiak, Desiering to have a Meeting appointed Once in four Weeks which is Referred . . . ;

the request was granted the next month, and meetings set up at Joshua Shearman's house. Eventually the meetings were allowed to convene weekly, and Fourth-day meetings were added in 1772. The meeting for worship was settled the next

year, and the Preparative Meeting in 1778. Its "Coto" (quota) of the expenses of Oblong Monthly Meeting was £2 10s. of every £50. Early in its career, Poughquag Preparative Meeting constructed a meeting house, the site of which is still marked by a cemetery. It was apparently built in 1774, when a deed was taken of Elnathan Sweet

for two acres of Land in Poughquage for the Use of Friends to accomodate a Meeting House as the Same is Granted to S^d Sweet by Henry Beekman Esq^r for that purpose.

Eight years later, Poughquag was again granted permission to build a one-story meeting house, thirty by twenty-five feet, "Upon their own Expence," which house was built, at a site about two miles west of the first. A deed was taken for it, again of Elnathan Sweet, in 1785. The structure was sold to a mission society in 1876.²⁸

The next direction of expansion was north, along the ridge of which Quaker Hill is a part. It was a logical move, and resulted merely from the natural overflow of the main settlement. A meeting began to the north over the town line in Dover. It was first allowed as Fifth-day meeting at John Wing's in 1774, with Friends there still attending the double First-day meeting at the Oblong. A regular meeting for worship was settled at Wing's in 1782, and a Preparative Meeting in 1783. It was known at first as the Upper Meeting, but soon assumed the name Branch Preparative Meeting, by which it was known for the duration of its existence.²⁹

The year 1783 also saw a request from the Branch for

their own meeting house, which a committee of the Monthly Meeting considered and approved. They advised the construction of a building thirty feet by thirty-six feet, with ten foot posts, on one and one-half acres of land lying between John and Daniel Wing's, to be built at an estimated cost of £185, including land. The Yearly Meeting changed the dimensions to twenty-six by thirty-two feet, with sixteen foot posts, and a committee was appointed by the Quarterly Meeting to



Fig. 2--Branch Meeting House
Now destroyed. From P. H. Smith,
p. 168.

design a house of those specifications. This is the house which is shown in Figure 2, and it was erected on forty-five rods of land bought from Daniel Wing for £5, with an additional one and one-half acres of pasture obtained from Isaiah Hoag for £10.³⁰

Shortly thereafter, Quaker Hill began spilling over to the south, too. A meeting was allowed at Elijah Doty's in the hollow to the south of the Hill (in the Town of Patterson, Putnam County--Putnam was the South Precinct of Dutchess County until 1812) in 1776. It was later removed to Daniel Haviland's home, and settled in 1781. At first, the meeting was associated with Peach Ponds Preparative Meeting of Westchester County (a meeting set up by Oblong Monthly Meeting in 1760), but in 1785, it was settled as a Preparative Meeting in its own right. A meeting house was built there in

1782, an independent undertaking of Oblong Monthly Meeting. The twenty-eight by thirty foot^{house,} built on land given by Daniel and Roger Haviland (see appendix 1) soon cost more than the Monthly Meeting could afford, and £65 8s. had to be granted by the peeved Quarterly Meeting. This is one of the areas of jurisdictional confusion mentioned above.³¹

It was usual to ask permission and/or assistance from the Quarterly Meeting before the Monthly Meeting undertook a house, but no one was sure whether it was required. In many cases, the Monthly Meetings did not do this, and were able to complete it entirely on their own. In some cases even local congregations financed and built the houses without consulting the Monthly Meeting. However, problems like those of the Valley Meeting House became so prevalent that in 1785 the Yearly Meeting specifically directed that all subordinate meetings consult it before building meeting houses, and that the local meeting was expected to furnish wood and carting without charge, to as great an extent as possible.³²

VI

Almost as early a meeting as the Oblong, the Nine Partners began to be settled as soon as that patent was divided into great lots and offered for occupation in 1734. Nine Partners was on the fringe of the Quaker area, and was unusual in that it was located extremely near two non-Quaker villages, Four Corners, one-half mile west, and the slightly younger Hart's Village, about a mile north on the Sharon

road. The village around Nine Partners Meeting was known as Mechanic. The three formed a triangle within which the present village of Millbrook now stands.³³(see map 1)

Meetings were probably begun there in the late 1730's, and a meeting for worship was settled there at the same meeting which established Oblong Preparative Meeting, in 1742. Its first sitting was 6 month 23 1742. A Preparative Meeting was begun there on 12 month 1 1745.³⁴

A log hut, constructed soon after the meeting was settled, served as the first Nine Partners meeting house, and a deed for six acres of land was given by Isaac Thorne and William Palmer to the meeting in the name of Aaron Haight, trustee, on the 17th of 3 month 1745. A second house was apparently built in 1751, for in 1750, Nine Partners Preparative Meeting refused to subscribe to the New York Meeting House, saying that they might soon want one of their own. They requested one in 1751, forty feet by thirty, at an estimated cost of £98 (meetings had an incredible talent for underestimating the cost of prospective meeting houses by at least half). In 1755, they reported that they still lacked £55. The house was repaired and a stable built in 1769, as befits a new Monthly Meeting, which status Nine Partners had just obtained, having just been set off from Oblong Monthly Meeting in that year, the Quarterly Meeting having inspected the circumstances and found that "friends there are generally unanimous therein." Nine Partners Monthly Meeting was given jurisdiction over Nine Partners Preparative Meeting, Oswego Preparative Meeting, and

Salisbury (Washington County) Preparative Meeting. It was held on probation until 1775.³⁵

Eight years later, the Yearly Meeting set off Nine Partners as the second Quarterly Meeting on the main, composed of the Monthly Meetings of Nine Partners, Creek, Saratoga (New York), and East Hoosack (Adams, Massachusetts), ~~No. 9~~ Oblong, ^{Monthly Meeting} was transferred, ^{to it} in 1793, and Adolphus Town, Upper Canada, added in 1801. An indication of the relative size of Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting in the Yearly Meeting may be had from the quotas. In New York Yearly Meeting, in 1796, when £100 was to be raised, Nine Partners Quarter raised £24 of it.³⁶

Calamity struck in 1778. The meeting house burned down. The Purchase Quarter extracts to the Yearly Meeting of 1779 record the event in an amusingly detached tone, characteristic of Quaker minute books.

It appears by a minnet from the m^o [monthly] meeting of the Ninepartners that their meeting House is Consumed by fire and their proposal is to Build a meeting House with Brick and to be forty feet high, their Estimation of the Cost is £600, and the friends of that meeting subscribes Towards the Building £368 11s.

Costs, as usual, overshot the estimate, and by 1781 they had reached £1151 5s. 6d, "with no inside work done." Elias Hicks, the famous preacher, was enlisted to help raise the money, and it took him four years to do it. He drove from farm to farm ~~cajoling~~ Friends to contribute, or he button-holed them on the meeting house porch after business sessions. But finally the building was paid for, and it was worth every

shilling.³⁷

The beautiful new building (see figs. 3 and 4) had a seating capacity of 1000. It was constructed almost entirely of local materials. The bricks were made southeast of the house. The woodwork,

including the foot-thick rafters, was rough-sawn and hand-hewn. The trim members are made of cypress wood. The walls themselves are two feet thick, and on a brick near the rear, the date of erection, 1780, is chiseled. All



Fig. 3--Nine Partners Meeting House (1780)

the ironwork, including the hand-wrought nails in the yellow pine floor boards, was made by a local smith. On the interior, the original benches survive, as do the unpainted columns which support the gallery, and the stairs which wind up to the gallery. Even the stoves, one old wood burner for each side, were cast locally. Jacob Willets, the famous Quaker school-master, calculated ^(i.e., designed) the sundial, which was cast by John H. Wing, and which still serves it function faithfully in front of the house. Still present also are the two old horse blocks, one

of which was worn out in 1876. The house stands in immaculate condition, cared for by the corporation which administers its still-used graveyard, and is intact, complete even ~~with~~ its stoves and the cast iron shutter ties on its outside walls.³⁸

For most of the first period, Nine Partners remained the northeastern extremity of Quaker settlement in Dutchess County. At the very end of the period, however, the meeting at Clinton was established, foreshadowing the northward thrust of expansion in the second period. (see map 6)

The Clinton, or Creek, Meeting is one of major importance, but unfortunately, no records exist for it until 1828 (Orthodox) and 1835 (Hicksite), respectively. A meeting was allowed in that area, at Jonathan Hoag's, as early as 1762, but it was discontinued the next spring. It is probable that there were only a tiny handful of Friends in that area at that early date. In 1770, it was allowed again, at Hoag's, and kept up this time. It was shifted to Paul



Upton's when Hoag's house burned down. A Preparative Meeting (continued on page 55)

Key to Map 6

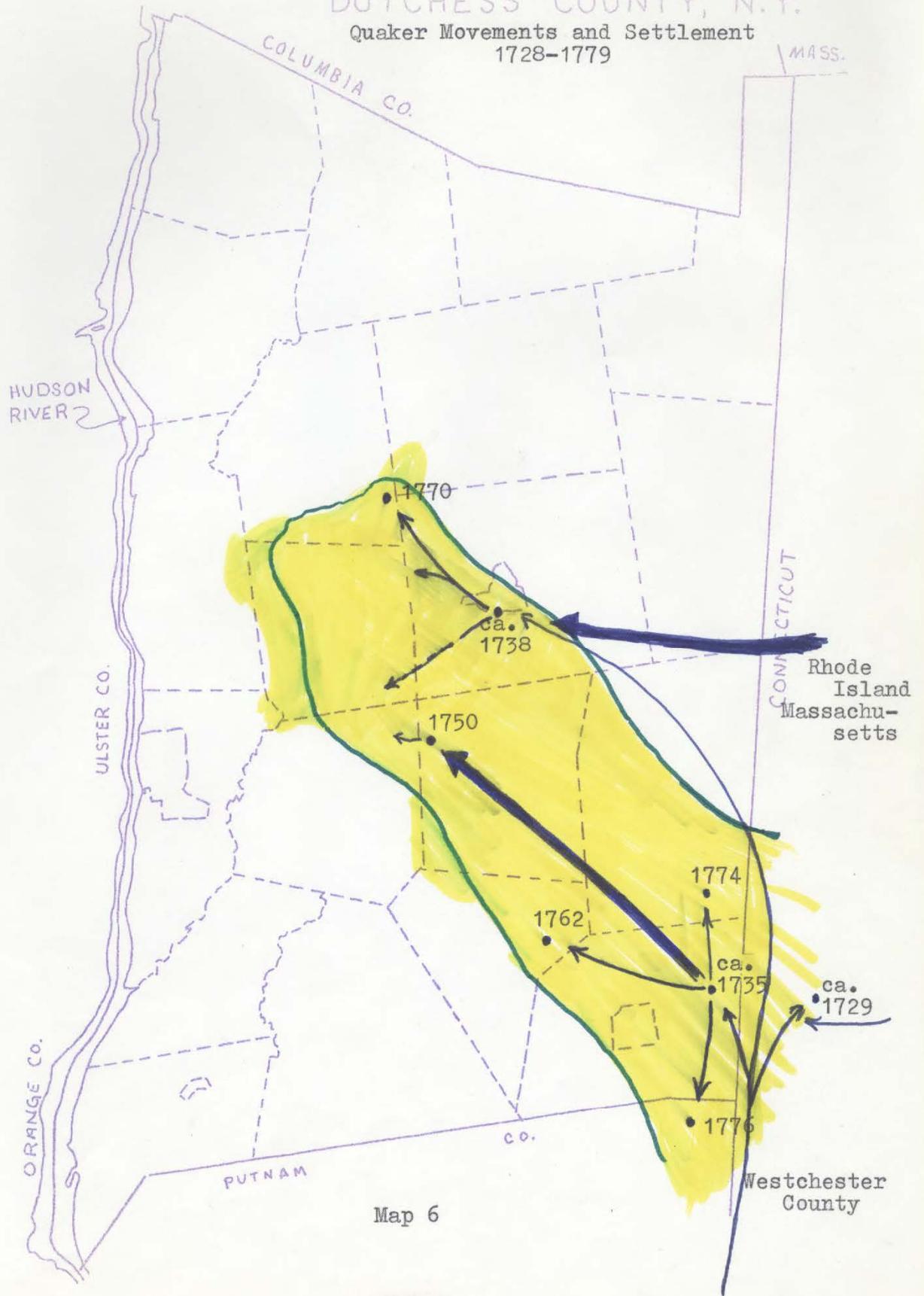
Quaker Movements and Settlement, 1728-1779

-  --Bounds of principal Quaker region
-  --Quaker settlement, showing tendencies of the second stage
-  --Directions of movement

Dates given are those of the first regular meetings, not necessarily of settlement of the meetings.

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N.Y.

Quaker Movements and Settlement
1728-1779



Map 6

ing was settled there in 1776.⁽³⁹⁾

Paul Upton is a major figure in Dutchess County Quakerism. A native of Lynn, Massachusetts, he served as a founding member of Creek Monthly Meeting, and later of Stanford Preparative and Quarterly Meetings. During the Revolution, he made every effort to carry on a normal life, which for him involved the frequent crossing of British and American lines on meeting business. One such trip, to the Yearly Meeting at Flushing in 1777, cost him a short stay in the American fleet prison in Esopus Creek, Ulster County. At another time during the Revolution, Upton had a son, whom he named Asa.

Paul had a son born to him about the time the British ship "Asia" left New York and anchored in the lower Hudson. This vessel was regarded with dread by the inhabitants of the river country, and was the object of a bitter hatred. Paul christened the child Asa; which sounded so much like the name of the hated vessel, that many Whigs living in the vicinity, who were generally unlettered, but who were excessively jealous of any semblance of loyalty to the King, thought the boy was named in honor of the vessel. . . . a committee was forthwith appointed to enquire into the matter. The good old [an anachronism on Smith's part] Quaker had little difficulty explaining to them that Asa and Asia were two distinct appellatives, and they departed satisfied.

Paul Upton was a tanner by trade. Later in his life, he served on the committee which organized the historic Nine Partners Boarding School. (see below) His name is commemorated in the name of Upton Lake, near which his house stood until recently (see fig. 5).⁴⁰

A Monthly Meeting was requested by the Creek in 1779,

and finally granted in 1782. At its inception, it consisted of the Preparative Meetings of Creek, New Marlborough, and New Cornwall (both Orange County). Crum Elbow was transferred to it in 1797, after New Marlborough and New Cornwall had been set off as separate Monthly Meetings.⁴¹



Fig. 5--Paul Upton's House
(from P. H. Smith, p. 412)

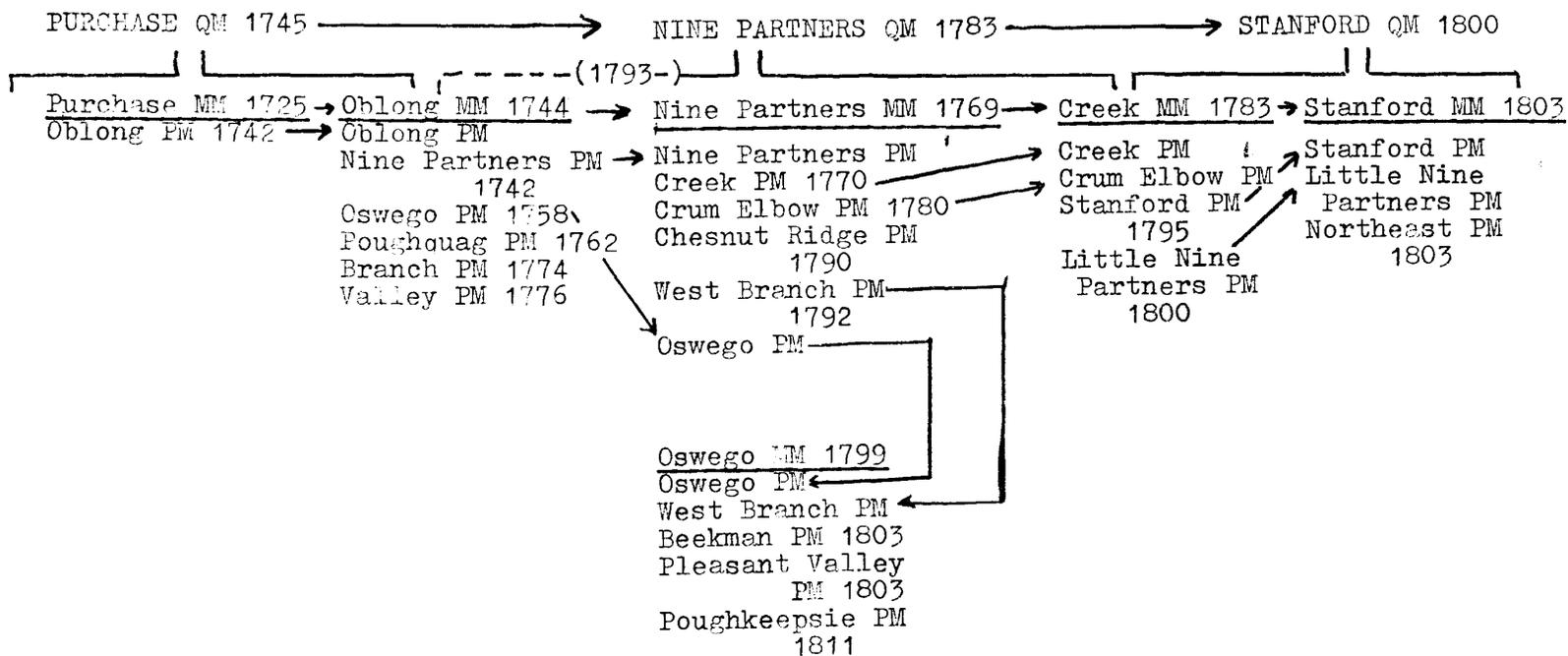
Creek members asked for and received permission to build a [cobble]stone meeting house even before the meeting was settled. Work was begun in 1776 or 1777, but was interrupted frequently as the builders hid from military press gangs. The house, built on two acres of land acquired from Abel Peters for £10 Os. 1d, was long in the building, as a result. As late as 7th month 1778 meetings were still sitting at Elijah Hoag's.⁴² (see Figs. 16 & 17, pp. 112-113)

VII

The meeting "over the Creek" was the last one settled in what I have chosen to call the first period. In a way, it is a transitional meeting. The first period, as I defined it above, was marked by heavy immigration from other areas of the colonies, and by a strict separatism. When the Creek meeting was settled, heavy immigration was in its final years, but it was nevertheless still occurring. On the

Fig. 6

GENEALOGY OF THE DUTCHESS COUNTY MEETINGS



other hand, most of the settlers at the Creek itself were not out-of-county people, but had moved there from other parts of the county. In this way, its settlement was more like that of the second stage. Furthermore, the settlement of the Creek meeting was a precursor of the strong northward swing Quakers would make during the second period, especially around 1800.

At this juncture, at the end of the period of influx, the natural question to ask is, where did Dutchess County Friends come from, and for what reasons?

Perhaps the first thing which should be said in this connection is a negative one. Friends in Dutchess County had no connection to speak of with Pennsylvania Quakerdom. Despite a curiously cryptic reference of 1758 to a suggestion originating in Oblong Monthly Meeting that affiliation be made with Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (with no reference to whether it was the Monthly, Quarterly or Yearly Meeting which was to do the affiliating), almost no contact was ever made between Pennsylvania and Dutchess County Friends. Few religious visits were paid to these parts (indeed to any areas south of Long Island), a negligible percentage of immigrants came from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (about six per cent between 1757 and 1781), and intercourse was generally non-existent.⁴³

Nathan Birdsall, the first settler, is an apt symbol for Friendly pioneers in Dutchess County. Born in Matinecock, he was ultimately, like many of his successors, a Long Is-

lander. But he came immediately from New England, and this is the single largest source of Quakers in Dutchess County.⁴⁴

The earliest important source of Quaker settlers was Dartmouth, Massachusetts, near New Bedford, on the Rhode Island border. The earliest removal certificates recorded for Dutchess men were those for William Russell, Richard Smith, and George Soul (whom the usually accurate John Cox, Jr., designates as the first), all of whom arrived in 1741 and 1742. David Akin, who also arrived in 1742, is another early settler from Dartmouth. Akin founded a family which became one of the richest and most prominent on the Hill. A nephew and grand-nephew were judges, the latter being the Jonathan Akin mentioned above as a Dutchess Anti-Federalist delegate to the ratifying convention of 1788. Friends came in such heavy concentration from the Dartmouth area, including such nearby towns as Coakset and Swansy, that there was a legend extant on Quaker Hill in 1907 that every resident of that community made a traditional return to "Rhode Island," and that the first pair of boots worn by the first Dartmouth man was borrowed by each pilgrim for his journey.⁴⁵

No complete records of removals exist for the earliest years of the Dutchess County meetings. The early Clerk of Oblong Monthly Meeting kept all his records on loose papers, and when Zebulon Ferriss was appointed to that post in 1761, and directed to collect all the past records and record them in a bound book, he found that they had all been lost up to 1757. However, a detailed count of all recorded certificates

of removal accepted by the Monthly Meeting(s) between 1757 and 1780, when immigration drastically slowed down, and almost ceased a few years later, reveals that of 676 removals recorded in that time, 140, or 20.7 per cent, came from Dartmouth. (see fig. 7) There were no years of real concentration, and the probable reason for their migration was a natural movement westward, a presaging of the mass Yankee migrations to New York which occurred after the Revolution. In addition, family ties probably helped. Once an individual became settled here, he could invite his relatives and friends to come, and the trip would be a relatively convenient one to make, in consideration of the benefits to be gained. This probably accounts for the steady, though never overwhelming tide of immigrants from Dartmouth which took place during these years. This hypothesis is supported by fact that there is some basis for the "return to 'Rhode Island'" tradition, for Friends did make frequent business, religious and personal trips to that area during these years.

A later source of great Massachusetts migrations was Nantucket Island. Here, there is a specific reason for their arrival. Nantucket was, from its early days, a whaling port. As the Revolution approached, there was great apprehension regarding the fate of the island and its industry.

It was always evident to the people that the town could not be defended against the enemy The American government could not protect the island, and there was a large class of people, composed of Friends and others of similar religious tenets respecting war, who did not

(continued on page 63)

Fig. 7

CONTRIBUTIONS TO DUTCHESS COUNTY QUAKERDOM 1757-1780

<u>Origin</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>State Totals</u>
Nantucket, Mass.	230	34.0%	
Dartmouth, Mass.	140	20.7	
Amesbury, Mass.	6	0.8	
Swansy, Mass.	4	0.6	
Coakset, Mass.	24	3.6	
Long Plains (Bos- ton), Mass.	3	0.4	
Sandwich, Mass.	10	1.5	
East Hoosack, Mass.	3	0.4	
Lynn, Mass.	1	0.1%	
Massachusetts	421		62.1%
Smithfield, R.I.	29	4.3%	
Portsmouth, R.I.	6	0.8	
Hampton, R.I.	5	0.7	
Cranston, R.I.	2	0.3	
South Kingston, R.I.	5	0.7	
Richmond, R.I.	7	1.0	
Newport, R.I.	4	0.6	
East Granwick, R.I.	3	0.4%	
Rhode Island	61		8.8%
Mamaroneck, N.Y.	5	0.7%	
Westbury, N.Y.	17	2.5	
Purchase, N.Y.	58	8.5	
Flushing, N.Y.	8	1.2	
New York, N.Y.	1	0.1	
Chappaqua, N.Y.	1	0.1	
Saratoga, N.Y.	5	0.7	
White Creek, N.Y.	5	0.7%	
New York (non-Dutchess County)	100		14.5%
Little Egg Harbor, N.J.	9	1.4%	
Salem, N.J.	2	0.3%	
New Jersey	11		1.7%
Newtown, Pa.	24	3.6%	
Pennsylvania	24		3.6%

Fig. 7--Continued

<u>Origin</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>State Totals</u>	
Wilmington, Del.	2	0.3%		
Delaware			2	0.7%
Dover, N.H.	1	0.1%		
New Hampshire			1	0.1%
Oblong, Dutchess	46	6.8%		
Creek, Dutchess	1	0.1%		
Dutchess County			47	6.9%
Carlisle, England	1	0.1%		
Unknown	8	1.2%		
Miscellaneous9	<u>1.3%</u>
TOTAL			676	100.0%

crave its protection, relying rather in that Power
which can never fail

Some people didn't rely so heavily on that Power, for they left Nantucket in the mid-seventies. Thus, before about 1775, fifty families left the island and settled in New Garden (a Quaker stronghold in North Carolina) and the Hudson Valley. Why they came to the Quaker Hill area is not really clear. One factor may be that during the early stages of Nantucket emigration, an itinerant minister from Dutchess County visited the island, as did Aaron Lancaster of the county in 1777, and these two visits may have had some effect in persuading the Nantucketers of the merits of Dutchess County. At any rate, when the war began, they began to come.⁴⁶

The Revolution saw the fulfillment of all their worst fears. Their island was prey to raiding parties of both sides, and neither of the adversaries passed up the easy pickings. A single British raid on 4th month 6 1779 cost Nantucket £10,666 13s. 6d in booty.

In 1775 the tonnage owned at Nantucket, as nearly as we can ascertain, was 14,867 tons. During the war fifteen vessels were lost at sea, and 134 were captured; total loss in tonnage, 12,467 tons

The winter of 1780 was a fierce one. Food and fuel were extremely scarce, since the harbor had been closed since 12 month 20 1779. Only clothing was plentiful, since there were 12-16,000 sheep on the island. As a result of these conditions, many left, and the population of Nantucket dropped from 4545 in 1774, to 4269 in 1784.⁴⁷

Many Nantucketers went to Hudson, Columbia County, and renewed their whaling business there, but that was extremely difficult, in view of the fact that the British held the lower Hudson Valley after 1776. Most just became farmers, at least for the duration of the war. Thus it was that Dutchess County became the home of branches of such Nantucket families as the Coffins, the Gardners, the Macys and the Starbucks. Of the 300-odd people who left the island in the Revolutionary years, about 230 came to Dutchess County. These account for 34 per cent of all the immigrants of the period 1757-1780, and all of them came after 1774, save nine. By 1781, the flow had decreased from a peak of ninety-one in 1779, and some few were returning. But a significant number stayed, and Nantucketers constitute the largest single local body to contribute to Dutchess Quakerdom over this period.

Overall, Massachusetts meetings contributed 62.1 per cent of settlers over this period, and New England as a whole totalled 71 per cent. A noteworthy feature of this statistic is that almost all of them came from Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and that none came from the adjacent state of Connecticut, aside from unnoted routine shifting back and forth across the border in the immediate vicinity of Quaker Hill and New Fairfield, Connecticut.

Purchase, and Westchester County in general, supplied the county with its next largest contingent. What is surprising is that there were not more settlers from this area.

Yet, on reflection, it is not so surprising. Probably, Dutchess County and Purchase did not at this time constitute significantly different social and economic situations, and therefore there was little reason for excessive moving from one to the other.

Finally, the shifts from Oblong to the Nine Partners (which included the Creek until the end of this era) hint at the movement to northcentral Dutchess which marked the opening of the second period.

CHAPTER II

QUAKER SETTLEMENT IN DUTCHESS COUNTY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MEETINGS, PART 2: 1780-1828

I

By 1780, Dutchess County had ceased to be the frontier which the first Friends knew. The population of the county had jumped from about 1000 in 1723 to nearly 25,000 in 1780, partially as a result of the natural growth of the colony, but, in addition, as a result of the stimulus which Revolutionary activity in the county provided to immigration, bringing in scores of people who saw in Dutchess the opportunity to make their fortunes.

The very factors which attracted some types of people to the county repelled Quakers. The presence of the army and of the state government, and the confusion and general disorder which accompanied them, would naturally tend to discourage the immigration of a people who prized a sedate, peaceful existence, and who were mostly loyalists as well. And so it was that around 1780 or 1781, as the Revolutionary forces began to encamp in the area, especially in the southern part of the county, Quaker immigration dried up. A new era began in Dutchess County Quakerism--one which saw much intra-

county movement, but very little influx of Friendly outsiders. Quakers extended the boundaries of their old area of settlement somewhat, and they extended significantly in two directions--northward through the center of the county, and westward along the Dutchess Turnpike into Poughkeepsie. (see map 7)

II

Chronologically, the first of these movements was the extension of old Quaker boundaries. At the periphery of the old settlement, new meetings sprang up which marked the extremes of Quaker movement in those directions. Most of these meetings were small, and their membership confined to a number of families grouped around the meeting house, in the fashion of earlier meetings.

They pushed west from Nine Partners, and settled around Crum Elbow Creek. This settlement appears to have been composed originally of Westchester Friends, who came first to other areas of Dutchess County, usually the Oblong, and later drifted northward toward Nine Partners, finally stopping at Crum Elbow. In 1778, Nine Partners Monthly Meeting allowed a meeting at the house of John Underhill (formerly of Westchester County), in order that Friends in the Crum Elbow neighborhood would not have to travel all the way to Nine Partners during the winter. It was dropped in the spring, and allowed again for the winters of 1780-81 and 1781-82, these years' meetings being held at the house of Mordacai

(continued on page 70)

Key to Map 7

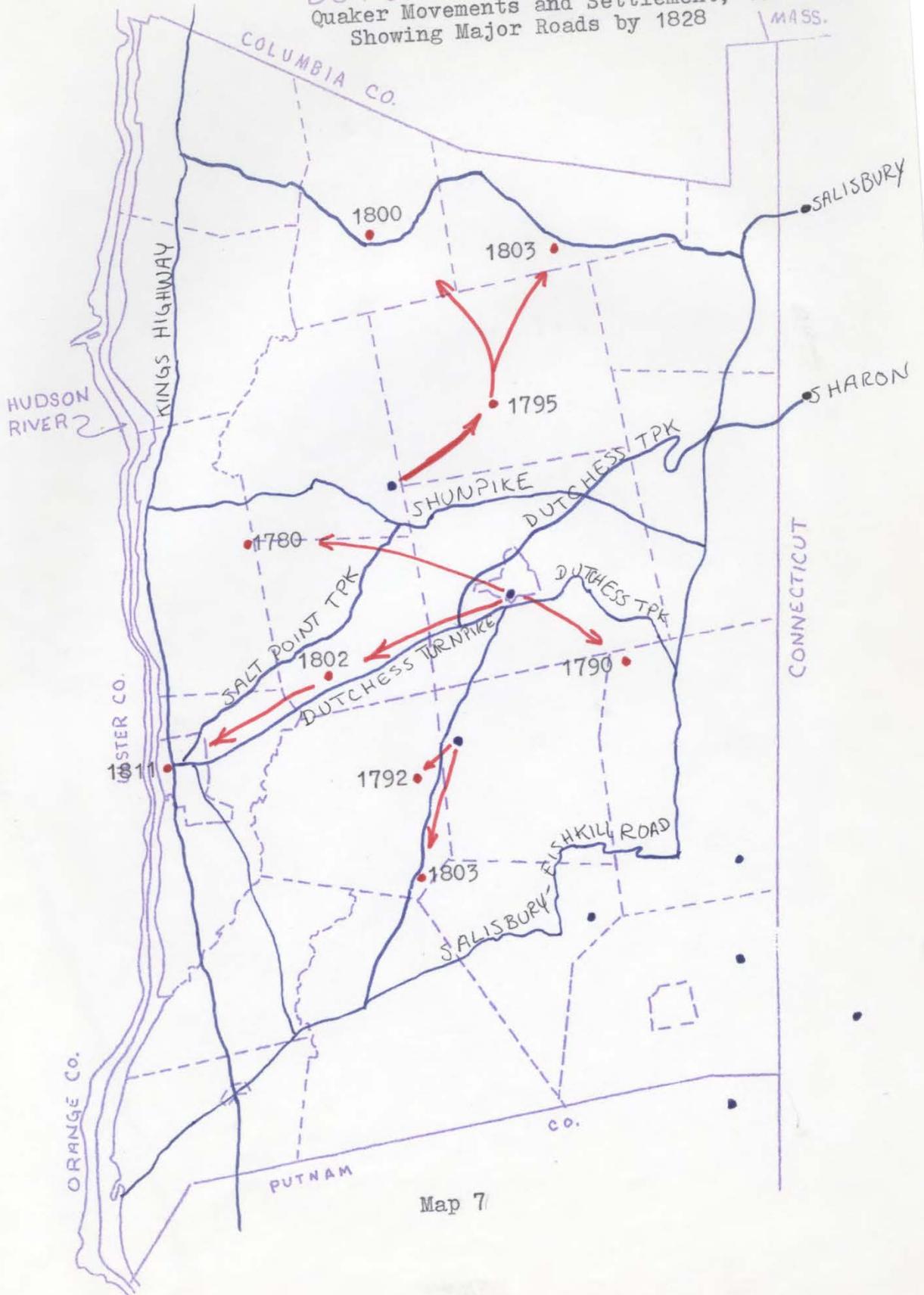
Quaker Movements and Settlement 1780-1828

- --Meeting established before 1780
- --Meeting established after 1780
-  --Movements
-  --Major roads extant by 1815

Dates refer to the first official mention of a meeting at a given location.

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N.Y.

Quaker Movements and Settlement, 1780-1828
Showing Major Roads by 1828



Map 7

Frost, another ex-resident of Westchester. A Preparative Meeting was settled there by Creek Monthly Meeting in 1797. (see map 2) Crum Elbow Friends had been transferred to that Monthly Meeting when it was founded in 1782. It is the generally accepted tradition that the eastern portion of the meeting house, which still stands in good repair, was erected around 1780, and the western half soon after. However, a plaque in the graveyard there inscribed from "Nellie Marshall Haviland 1863-1920 To My Ancestors" lists Zacheus Marshall as a "Member and Cobuilder of the church edifice," which it claims was built in 1785 and 1810, respectively. In view of the fact that the meeting at Crum Elbow was only a seasonal one in 1780 and 1781, the later dates seem to be the most likely ones.¹ (see Fig. 18, p. 113)

Next, Friends went in the opposite direction from Nine Partners, and founded a little village east of it atop Chesnut Ridge. (see map 2) A meeting was allowed at the house of Rachel Hustis in 1790, and settled in 1799. A few months later, a Preparative Meeting was set up there.²

It has been commonly supposed by many county historians that the meeting and meeting house on Chesnut Ridge both date from before the Revolution. This assumption is based upon information supplied by James H. Smith, who stated that Benson J. Lossing, an historian and resident of Chesnut Ridge, possessed the box stove from the then-demolished meeting house. The stove was dated 1767, which, Smith decided, was probably the date of the meeting house. However, this

conclusion is no more accurate for the house than for the meeting. A deed of uses was taken for a tract of land in 1795, and house constructed upon it a few months later.³

From Oswego, Friends went westward. They travelled down the hill on which Oswego stood, and followed a branch of the Sprout Creek for a few miles. There they settled a small village they called West Branch (i.e., the west branch of Oswego Meeting). It was completely Quaker, like "Quaker City" (Oswego) from which they came--so much so that when the Quakers departed those two villages, they disappeared. Today, only a few illegible gravestones, and some foundations, mark the site of West Branch. Even the road is gone. A meeting was allowed there for winters by the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, beginning in 1792. It was held at the home of Stephen Dean, and eventually was allowed year-round. The Monthly Meeting settled it in 1797. West Branch became a part of Oswego Monthly Meeting at the establishment of the latter meeting in 1799, and was made a Preparative Meeting in 2 month 1800. Friends built themselves a meeting house at West Branch in 1796. It stood in the village, west of the present-day Taconic Parkway, off what is now Mountain Road, on the farm currently owned by Clifford Porter.⁴

The West Branch Meeting was the first organized religious congregation in the Town of LaGrange. The second was another Quaker meeting, again an offshoot of Oswego Meeting. This one was at the hamlet of Arthursburg, in the southeast corner of the town. Meetings began to be held there some-

time in the 1790's. In 1803, at Oswego Monthly Meeting, "A prospect was Spread before this meeting Relative to the holding of a few meetings at Samuel Dorland's . . . ,"
and meetings were officially allowed there. In 1809, it was settled, and named Beekman Meeting.⁵ (see map 2)

The original meeting house at Arthursburg was "a plain, square building with no porch," and was probably built late in the 1790's. Guesses of 1761 and 1790 made by some writers are inaccurate. It is almost certain that it was built before 1800, however, for in 1809, Beekman proposed erecting a "new" meeting house, thirty-three by twenty-five feet, with eleven foot posts, at an estimated cost of £250, including land. The project was approved, but the superior meeting reduced the post height to ten feet! The house still stands in a somewhat dilapidated condition, and was used until recently as the Arthursburg Grange Hall.⁶ (see figs. 8 and 9)

Fig. 8--Beekman Meeting House (1809) as it stands today



Thus it was that the limits of the original Quaker region were established, and the second movement began.

III

The 1790's saw the real beginning of the movement

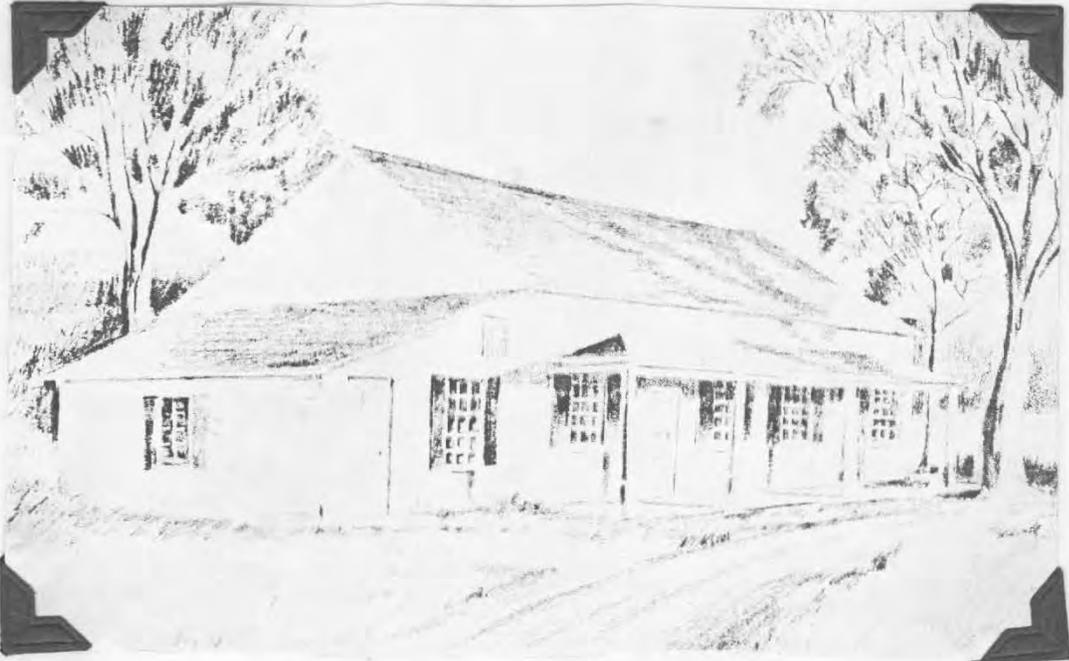


Fig. 9--Beekman Meeting House (1809)
(from LaGrange, n. p.)

which the settlement of Creek Meeting in 1776 foreshadowed. In the years 1781-1784, Friends began moving in large numbers to the Creek area. Since most of these came from the Oblong Monthly Meeting, it is probable that the explanation lies in the upheaval taking place in the southern part of the county. As the war drew to a close, the Continental Army, which had visited the area in 1778, began returning. The bulk of the army encamped across the river from southern Dutchess, at

New Windsor, near Newburgh. Dutchess County became the supply base for this camp, as the troops settled down to wait for the end of the war. Friends, who had seen their lives disrupted in 1778, began moving north to avoid a recurrence of that unhappy occasion. After these years, the northward shift dropped off for about ten years, then began occurring with renewed vitality.⁷

The beginning of this movement was marked by the settlement of the last of the major meetings--that at Stanford--in 1795. In a rare reversal of the usual progression, a Quarterly Meeting was settled there in 1800, although there was no Monthly Meeting there until 1803. This probably indicates that although the Stanford Meeting was not very large itself, it was situated at a point central to the Quarterly Meeting's members. A meeting house was constructed at Stanford in 1800, which had, by 1876, been converted to a public hall and "tenement," i.e., apartment, house.⁸ (see Fig. 19, ~~20~~ 114)

The establishment of two small meetings completed the northward march of Quakerism in Dutchess County. The first of these was Little Nine Partners Preparative Meeting, in the Town of Milan. (see map 2) Meetings began there in the 1790's, and the Preparative Meeting was settled in 1800. It was transferred three years later to the newly-formed Stanford Monthly Meeting. It was almost equal in size to the Preparative Meeting at Stanford, as the quotas show (Little

Nine Partners raised \$21 of every \$50 collected by Stanford Monthly Meeting). A meeting house was built there, having "high posts in front with a long roof in the rear, extending nearly to the ground." This salt-box type structure was an oddity among Friends meeting houses, which were almost invariably built in a symmetrical style, with either one or two stories, and a porch on the front, as can be seen in the illustrations in chapters I and II.⁹

Finally, a meeting sprang up at Bethel, in the Town of Pine Plains. Known officially as North East Preparative Meeting, it was first allowed at Charles Hoag's in 1803, under the jurisdiction of Creek Monthly Meeting.¹⁰

Charles Hoag (1771-1840) is another major figure of Dutchess County Quakerism, and was the predominant member of the Bethel meeting, as well as an influential personage in his Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. The son of John and Mercy Hoag of Connecticut, Hoag was born in the Town of Washington, Dutchess County, on Christmas Day. A surveyor by trade, as well as an occasional drafter of legal papers, he was described as being "not stout in physique nor tall;" he had "dark hair and a black eye that looked yes or no without equivocation. His temperament was bilious" Hoag came to the Town of Pine Plains (then a part of the Town of Northeast) in 1799, helped to organize the meeting there, and was an early Clerk of Stanford Monthly Meeting.¹¹

Among early Quakers, Hoag was unusual in that he took an active part in community affairs. This was especially

rare among rural Friends. He is an example of the drift away from the quietistic strictures of the 18th century which helped to cause the Hicksite Separation of 1828. (see chapter VIII) He became town clerk for Northeast in 1800, and a year later was appointed to the local Board of Excise. Actively interested in education, he was a school district trustee for over thirty years. He even organized a boarding school in his home.¹²

Hoag was a man of imposing character.

His moral courage was quite phenomenal compared with the average man. He knew no personal fear and cared little for public opinion where right and duty called. . . . He had no peer in prompt decision and action. Indeed for him to decide was to act He waited not for opportunities but created them. Other men might come to the same mental result by a waiting deliberation, but while they deliberated Charles Hoag had the thing accomplished he was deemed by the drones and cowards cross, crabbed, overbearing and tyrannical

It is thus easy to understand why he dominated his meeting to the degree that he did, and it is equally comprehensible that when he went Orthodox at the Separation in 1828, he took so many members of his meeting with him that the Hicksites laid down their North East Meeting. Given his character as sketched above, one can imagine the formidable effect his presence had upon the Hicksites of his Monthly Meeting, for he was appointed by the Orthodox Monthly Meeting to a committee whose duty it was to treat with the "delinquent" members (i.e., Hicksites) and attempt to persuade them to come over to the Orthodox position. An anecdote about him illustrates his attitude toward the split, and simultaneously

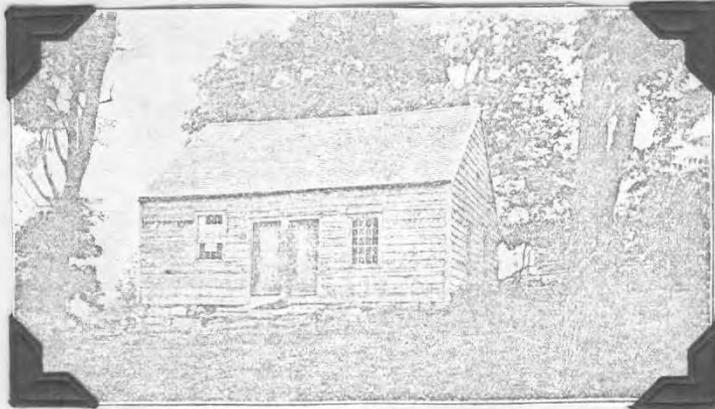


Fig. 10--Bethel Meeting House, Pine Plains, as it appeared in 1896 (from Huntting)

reveals the quintessential Charles Hoag. According to Huntting, during a dispute over the ownership of the Nine Partners Meeting House, when a Hicksite placed his hand upon the door and was about to enter, Hoag threatened to chop it off. It settled the matter for the time being, but the Hicksites got the building anyway.¹³

Under his leadership, then, a meeting began at Bethel, and was settled in 1810. The years 1807 to 1830 were flourishing ones for this society; after that it went into a swift decline. Its quota during these halcyon years was \$5 of every \$50 to be raised by the Stanford Monthly Meeting.¹⁴

A meeting house was begun in 1806, on land given by Hoag. It was built by Ezra Bryan, an early member, and finished by 6 month 20 1807. It was a typical Quaker meeting house, with two doors, one for "mankind" and one for "woman-kind," long benches with backrests, and a wooden dividing curtain. From its picture, it appears to be one of the smallest

of the Dutchess County meeting houses.¹⁵ (see fig. 10)

IV

The final movement, west along Dutchess Turnpike, began after 1800. It has symbolic significance, in that it represents a drawing of Friends into the mainstreams of Dutchess County social and economic life. Friends had long hung back, had held themselves aloof, but with the increasing population of the county, and with the development of an east-west system of roads, they finally began to give in. The character of this movement along the turnpike was an economic one. An indication of this lies in the fact that the major industry of early Pleasant Valley, a textile dyeing mill, was Quaker-owned. Furthermore, among the early members of the Poughkeepsie Meeting were a prominent merchant and the postmaster of Poughkeepsie.

Quakers were among the first settlers in the Town of Pleasant Valley, having arrived around 1740. This was clearly a peripheral settlement, however, and didn't grow quickly. Despite the fact that their co-settlers the Presbyterians organized in the 1750's, the Quaker settlement remained small. By the turn of the 19th century, a transportation system had begun to develop to link Poughkeepsie with the eastern portions of the county. It was largely the work of Poughkeepsians who watched with dismay as goods and travellers from western Connecticut and eastern Dutchess County made their way to the river at Fishkill Landing, by-passing

the businessmen of Poughkeepsie. The Dutchess Turnpike (now U. S. Route 44), running from Poughkeepsie through the present villages of Pleasant Valley, Millbrook, Amenia and Millerton to Sharon and Salisbury, Connecticut, was chartered in 1802, and was completed by 1805. Shortly thereafter, a branch (the present N. Y. S. Route 343) was completed to Dover Plains. The completion of the turnpike prompted irate farmers and enterprising travellers to create a more direct shunpike across the Nine Partners to the river at Hyde Park. Other early roads soon followed.¹⁶ (see map 7)

More Quakers began to come into Pleasant Valley. In 1802, a meeting was allowed at the home of Jonathan Dean. It was settled, and made a Preparative Meeting, in 1806. The meeting was already a powerful one at the time of its settlement, for it contained the growing body of Poughkeepsie Friends. Its size is evident in the fact that Pleasant Valley's quota was double that of any other meeting in

Fig. 11--Pleasant Valley
Meeting House, ca. 1810
(near portion only)



Oswego Monthly Meeting, to which it belonged. A meeting house was erected there about 1810. (see fig. 11) It is said that when the house was built, the interior columns had a small bead turned around the top of each of them;

this, modest John Bright thought to be a vanity, and to show his repugnance to such things whittled them off with his jack-knife. 17

At last, the Quakers reached Poughkeepsie. They first started coming about 1800, arriving in that village, which was incorporated in 1801, at a time of booming growth. A town of 2981 in 1810, by 1840 it had grown to 8000. Friends were but one group of many who were attracted to the thriving town, aflutter with its plans for turnpikes and canals, for banks, churches and academies, so taken up with itself that it even formed an "Improvement Party," a group not unlike the "Booster" groups of the 1920's, but with more accomplishments to its credit.¹⁸

A meeting was allowed in Poughkeepsie in 1811. The next year it was increased to two sessions per week, and a Preparative Meeting settled in 1819, the last meeting to be founded in Dutchess County. Meetings were held in private homes until the arrival of Zadock Southwick, who built a meeting house with a school room over it on South Clover Street in 1813 or 1814. This served until 1820 when a new house was built on Washington Street on land bought by John Green and Caleb Barker from Samuel Pine. This house was used by the Hicksites after the schism. The Orthodox

faction built their own in 1829, on Mill Street.¹⁹ (see fig. 12)

Zadock Southwick, one of the principal members of the Poughkeepsie Meeting, is perhaps representative of the Friends who went to Poughkeepsie, in orientation toward the world, if not in wealth. Little is known about him, but what is known will serve to cast some light upon him.

He moved to Poughkeepsie around 1807, at which time he purchased a house on South Water Street (which was still standing in 1937). A tanner and merchant, he also built the first Hudson River iceboat, and was thus responsible for inaugurating that famous Hudson Valley pastime. The far-flung character of his business, and the esteem in which he was held by his meeting, can be inferred from that fact that when he was appointed overseer of the Poughkeepsie Meeting, he could not be present at the Monthly Meeting to receive the appointment in person, as was the custom, for several months. Yet, not only did the meeting not discipline him as was the usual case (lesser members who did not appear at the request of the Monthly Meeting were reprimanded or even disowned for "not showing a proper respect for the authority of this meeting"), but, in



Fig. 12--Orthodox Meeting House (1829), Poughkeepsie (from P. H. Smith, p. 353)

addition, was perfectly willing to appoint him when he finally did show up. This occurred several times.²⁰

Southwick and his co-founders of the Poughkeepsie Meeting, like Levi McKeen (postmaster, water trustee, politician) and Benjamin Arnold represent an extreme ^{departure} from their predecessors like Nathan Birdsall and Benjamin Ferriss. From separatists like the latter two men, pioneers in a wilderness, Quakers, or at least a part of them, had become citizens and participants in a growing 19th century society. But the transition was not complete. In fact, at the end of the century covered by this paper, Quakers ran the gamut from members of isolated communities such as had existed from the very beginning, to citizens of a mixed society, one religious group among many.²¹

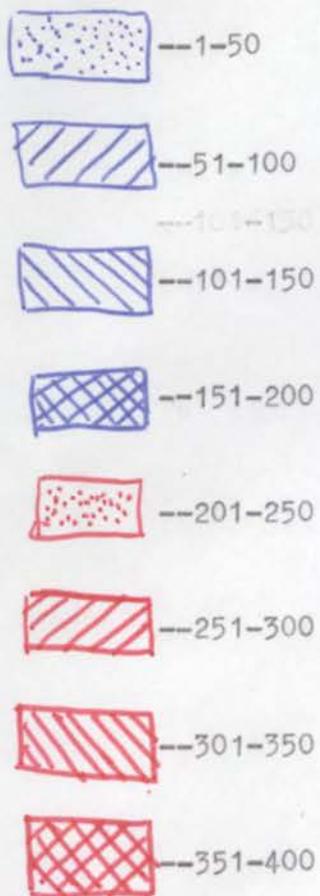
V

What, then, did all this amount to by 1828? Quakers had certainly grown in numbers over the years 1728-1828, but not by any means had they equalled the growth rate of the rest of the county. In 1828, a census of the Yearly Meeting revealed that there were 1954 Friends in a county which numbered 50,926 in the U. S. Census of 1830. ^(see map 8) Quakers were proportionately strongest in the towns of Washington, Clinton and Stanford, the locations of the Nine Partners, Creek and Stanford meetings, respectively. In each place they comprised between 12 and 15 per cent of the population of the town. In contrast, they were proportionately weakest in

(continued on page 85)

This may be compared to a total Quaker population of 1826 in New York City (pop.) in 1830.

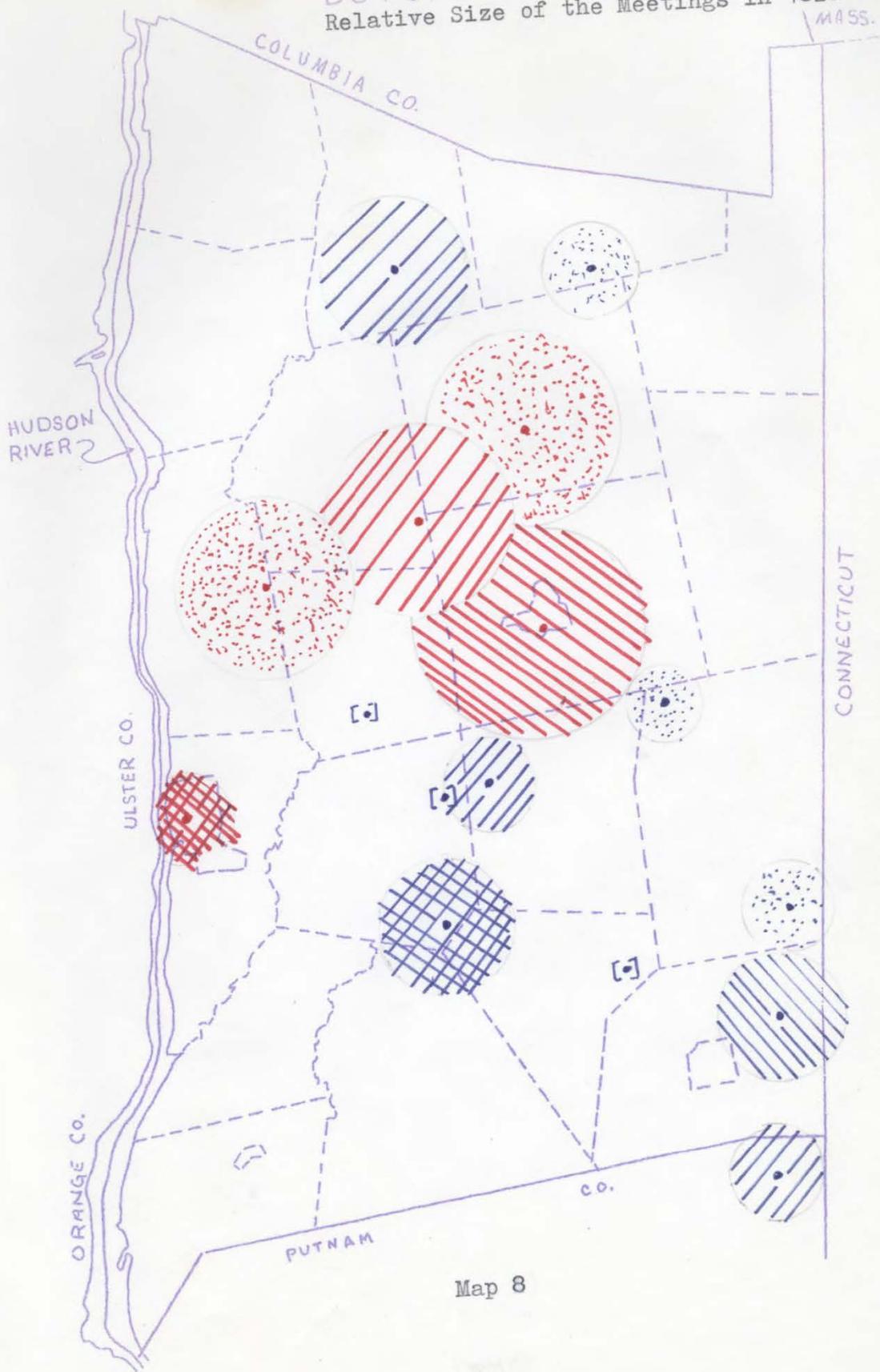
Key to Map 8
Relative Size of the Meetings in 1828



(from figures given by Cox, p. 658. West Branch and Pleasant Valley are probably included in Oswego and Poughkeepsie, respectively. No mention is made of Poughquag.)

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N.Y.

Relative Size of the Meetings in 1828



Map 8

Poughkeepsie, with about 4 per cent, although that meeting was one of the largest in the county at that time.²² (see fig. 13)

Nevertheless, their influence should not be discounted merely because they were not powerful numerically. While Dutch stock remained strong in the western part of the county, the 1800 census revealed that 98 per cent of the inhabitants of the Hudson Highlands, which include the southeast corner of Dutchess County (the Quaker Hill area), were Anglo-American New Englanders. More of these than one might think were probably of Quaker stock. Friends in this period were given to disowning otherwise loyal members for trivial offenses, and it is highly likely that many of the later denominations picked up many converts in this way. The Baptists appear to ^{have been} likely recipients of ex-Quakers. Many of the attitudes which William Warren Sweet lists as attracting converts to the Baptists were also typical of Quakers. ~~and~~ it is likely that many expelled Friends were attracted by ~~them~~. For instance, he says the Baptists grew because people were attracted by simple doctrine, democratic organization, and "its ability to propagate itself without overhead machinery." All these are descriptive of Friends, too. In addition, the Baptists clung to the notion of an untrained clergy, and the farmer-preacher was as much a figure in early Baptistry as he was in Quakerism. The attraction is obvious, and the possibility is made the more intriguing by Staughton Lynd's report of a division in the Baptist

Fig. 13

Comparative Populations of Towns and Meetings

<u>Town</u>	<u>Pop.</u> <u>(1840)</u>	<u>Meeting</u>	<u>Pop.</u> <u>(1828)</u>
Beekman	1400	Poughquag	Not Available
Clinton	1830	Creek	256
Dover	2000	Branch	50
		Chesnut Ridge	51
Hyde Park	2364	Crum Elbow	204
LaGrange	1851	West Branch	Not Available
		Beekman	157
Milan	1725	Little Nine Partners	85
Pawling	1571	Oblong	120
Pine Plains	1334	North East	49
Pleasant Valley	2219	Pleasant Valley	Not Available
Poughkeepsie (village)	8000	Poughkeepsie	352
Stanford	2278	Stanford	249
Washington	2833	Nine Partners	306
Union Vale	1498	Oswego	85

Although the town population figures are those for 1840, I feel that their use is justified for the purposes of making a rough comparison, in view of the fact that the county population increased by only 2000 over 1830, and this was principally in the river towns. In fact, as McCracken points out (Blithe Dutchess, p. 161), the interior towns were losing population from this period right on up to the present.

congregation at Patterson (the site of Valley Preparative Meeting) in 1796. The separation occurred, he says, "on account of the superfluous dress, and the holding of posts of civil and military honor in earthly states, by certain members." Both of these topics were matters of great concern to Friends of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and it would seem to be quite probable that the Baptists, in Patterson at least, were made up of a great many former Quakers.²³

This chapter has traced the development of Quakerism in Dutchess County to its peak. From the Separation on, its path was a downhill one. In the next part of this paper, we shall examine what it was like to be a Quaker in Dutchess County during the years 1728-1828.

PART II

CHAPTER III

QUAKERS AND THE COMMUNITY

I

The very structure of Quaker life renders any distinction between spiritual and secular life difficult. As Rufus Jones pointed out, "The Quakers' supreme passion was the cultivation of inward religion and an outward life consistent with the vision of their souls." The meeting attempted to help Friends achieve this by holding sway over every facet of their lives. Thus, the question arises, where ought one to include such concerns as those against slavery, or for the relief of the poor? My solution has been to include in this chapter all those topics which are obviously of a secular nature (e.g., economic life), as well as those social concerns which affected Friends' relationship to outsiders, for example, their efforts for the relief of non-Quaker poor. All else will be considered in Chapter IV.¹

II

Of primary concern when one discusses the Quaker's secular community is, of course, his means of livelihood. As one might expect of a predominantly rural population,

*for Quakers and
non-Quakers
alike.*

farming was a universal occupation. Every household, whether or not its head practiced a trade, did some farming. Cattle, sheep, wheat, rye, oats, corn, flax, potatoes, and apples were all popular crops among these rural Friends. In addition, everyone raised hogs. Among the artisans and the smaller farmers, only enough for family use was generally raised.²

There were, of course, large farmers. Among these, sheep, pigs (and peas to feed them), butter cheese, and geese were favorites as cash crops. David Irish, Daniel and David Merritt, and Jonathan A. and George P. Taber were all large sheep raisers. In addition, fattening cattle and wheat raising were common among Quaker commercial farmers, for they were primary products of Hudson Valley agriculture as a whole.³

At the end of this period, the revolution in transportation was beginning to change the agricultural situation. Gradually, the emphasis moved from flax, wheat and beef, to dairy products, as ^{after 1830,} the New York and Harlem Railroad shifted the market from Poughkeepsie to New York, and made the shipment of dairy products to that city feasible. Cheese and butter came to head the list of cash products, with fattened cattle second, and milk, third. Later, the cattle industry died out with the opening of the western range. An indication of this late (for this study) trend may be found in the fact that dairy products (cheese) constituted only 25 per cent of the payments in kind recorded in the ledger of Daniel Merritt's Quaker Hill store for the year 1772. By 1890, dairy products (milk) had come to account for 90 per

cent of the agricultural production of Quaker Hill.⁴

III

Important in the early economic history of the Friends were the landholding policies and controversies of the Hudson Valley. It is a well-known fact that extensive use of the leasehold system was a peculiar feature of New York State history, and one which influenced that history in many ways. For instance, in many areas, during the Revolution, the sympathies of the lord of the manor decided those of his tenants. Usually, they took the opposite side in the conflict. After the war was over, those landlords who had chosen the right side retained their holdings unimpaired, and, in addition, retained extensive political power by controlling the votes of their tenants.

Map 1 has shown that Dutchess County, like its Hudson River neighbors, was completely taken up by large patentees by 1731. While the Poughkeepsie area and the Rombout patent began to be broken up before 1750, the Beekmans and some others of the large landlords held on. On his river patent, Henry Beekman, Sr., lived the life of a feudal baron, and maintained absentee control of his back lots. When he died, his holdings were divided among his heirs, who maintained the same policies. (see Map 9) In 1740, there were no landowners on Quaker Hill. There were only a few fifteen years later.⁵

Rising tenant discontent led the leasees on the Living-

Map 9

Henry Beekman's Patent--The Back Lots

"Originally granted in 1697, the terms of the patent were 'improved' in 1703 [i.e., the Back Lots were added]. At Beekman's death in 1737, the lots were divided among his three children, Henry Beekman, Jr., Cornelia Livingston, and Catherine Rutsen Pawling."¹

The dotted line marks the boundary of the present day town of LaGrange. (See Map 1)

¹Map and statement from La Grange Historical Society, Along Highways & Byways of La Grange (Lagrangeville, 1969), n. p.

ston lands in Columbia County to rise against their lords, unsuccessfully, in the 1750's. In southern Dutchess, they tried a legal assault. A dispute between the Beekmans and the Philipse over the boundary between the Beekman Back Lots and the Philipse Highland Patent led by mutual agreement to a test suit over the lands of Moses Northrup, a Quaker tenant of the disputed area. "Beekman won the suit, and Northrup was evicted, for no purpose except to fix the bounds." The angry tenants' faction enlisted the support of Chief Daniel Nimham of the local Wappinger Indians, and, in 1762, brought suit against the landowners, claiming that they had never purchased their lands from the Indians. The owners won handily.⁶

The next step was armed rebellion. Led by ^{a non-Quaker,} William Prendergast, of (the present) Pawling, 1000 "Westchestermen" marched on New York City in April, 1766, in an attempt to obtain relief from leases they considered unjust. The landlords and city dwellers were frantic. However, frightened off by the presence in the city of the army, Prendergast and his men retreated to Dutchess County. His movement disintegrated, and he was captured in Quaker Hill, where he was hiding, in June. Feeling still ran high for him among the yeomanry, and attempts were made to free him. Because the landlords controlled the courts and the military, however, he was secured and tried at Poughkeepsie. When he was sentenced to be hung, drawn and quartered for high treason, "the

prisoner fell like a slaughtered ox, the commissioners hung down their heads, and sighs and groans arose from every corner of the house." In a dramatic post script, Prendergast's wife, Mehitabel Wing, a Friend from Quaker Hill, made a desperate ride to New York City, where she obtained the Governor's reprieve for her husband, arriving back in Poughkeepsie just as a mob was about to assault the jail and free him. Later, a royal pardon came from England, and the Prendergast affair was at an end.⁷

Not so tenant unrest, however. During the Revolution, it flared up again. During 1778, in southern Dutchess County, many tenants were withholding their rents, much to the dismay of the Quaker meetings, who restrained their members from doing so only with the greatest difficulty. Many of the defections from Quaker ranks during the war were made by men who enlisted in the Royal Army, induced by promises of an end to tenantry, which the British had been told would be an effective lure to recruits.⁸

The situation climaxed with the confiscation and re-sale of the lands of loyalist landlords, among whom were the owners of the Philipse Highland Patent, which comprised the entire South Precinct (now Putnam County) of Dutchess. The Revolution had made most of central and southern Dutchess freehold, therefore, except the Pawling area, owned by the Patriotic Beekman clan. In 1786, the New York State Legislature passed a law allowing tenants who were in arrears to settle by "paying 14 years of back rents,

less 8 years for the war period, and by paying for 14 years in advance." The Society stubbornly refused to allow its members to take the confiscated lands (see Chapter V) or to purchase other leased lands on the terms of the 1786 act. Instead, they were required to pay in full. It was only under these restrictions that Quakers freed themselves from the tenantry system which the rest of the county had delivered itself of under the more lenient terms.⁹

IV

Partly as a result of these restrictive land policies, and partly as a result of the Quakers' self-enforced isolation and self-sufficiency, commercial (used here in the sense of non-agricultural) activities played an important part in Quaker life. As early as 1755, eighteen out of forty-six Quaker men enrolled by the "Act for Regulating the Militia of the Colony of New-York" were listed as pursuing occupations other than farming. Specifically, there were eight "Labourers," five blacksmiths, two cobblers, one weaver, one "House Carpenter," and one "Taylor."¹⁰

More trades were present in later stages of Dutchess County Quaker development. Among early artisans on Quaker Hill there were hatters, wagonmakers, harnessmakers, tanners and a potter.¹¹ (see Map 10)

Tanning was apparently a profitable occupation, for in addition to those on Quaker Hill, it will be remembered that two important Dutchess County Friends from other meetings,

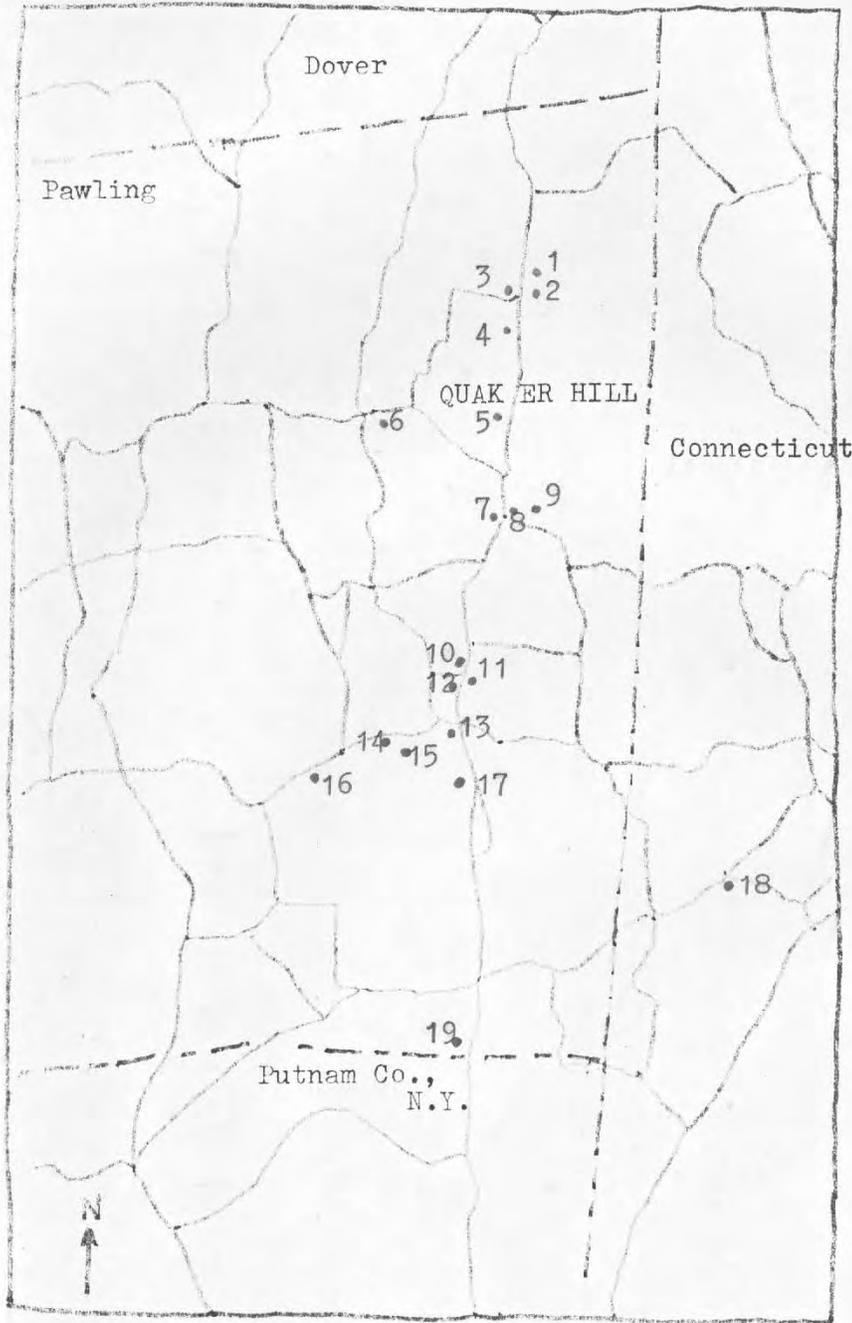
(continued on page 99)

Map 10

Some Quaker Hill Tradesmen, 1728-1828

- 1--the Arnolds, hatters
- 2--Ransom Aldrich, tanner
- 3--Abram Thomas, blacksmith
- 4--Joseph Seeley, hatter
- 5--Amos Asborn, tanner
- 6--Jeptha Sabin, harness maker
- 7--J. and D. Merritt Store
- 8--Daniel Merritt Store
- 9--Second Meeting House
- 10--Hiram Sherman, wagon maker
- 11, 12--Daniel and Albro Akin stores
- 13--John Toffey, hatter and storekeeper
- 14--George Kirby, blacksmith
- 15--Reed Ferriss, shoemaker
- 16--smithy
- 17--iron forge
- 18--Isaac Ingersoll, potter
- 19--Joel Winter Church, blacksmith

SOME QUAKER HILL TRADESMEN, 1728-1828



Map 10

Paul Upton of the Creek and Zadock Southwick of Poughkeepsie, were also tanners. One cannot help but imagine that a large proportion of their business in the early days must have been the tanning of beaver skins, from which the famous Quaker hats were made.

Another important means of livelihood in this period was store keeping. In what Warren Wilson calls "the Quaker century" (1728-1828), there were four ^{general} stores on Quaker Hill. The earliest (and historically the most important, for its account books furnish us with much information on Quaker Hill) was that kept first by Daniel Merritt, then by his sons. It stood opposite the meeting house:

A square, two story house, on a side hill, with a high roof front and sloping back, oak plank outside, leaving the frame to be exposed and cased on the inside. A central hall with the living rooms on the south side and store on the north, a small uncovered porch on the front, with stone steps leading down to the gate. [sic] It was painted the Colonial yellow, with a red roof.

Merritt maintained the store until his death in 1805, when it was taken over by his son David, who chose to merge with another son, John, whose home and store stood on the opposite corner from the father's building. The brothers conducted business as J. and D. Merritt for twenty years, when they sold out to Daniel Peckham. The original Daniel Merritt house and store was razed in 1847.¹²

Second, there was a store in Deuell Hollow kept by Benjamin and Silas Deuell. It was known to be in operation about 1785.¹³

Daniel and Albro Akin kept stores on Quaker Hill in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The second, in Albro Akin's house, which was built in 1801, did extremely well, and in the War of 1812, he found it necessary to erect a warehouse nearby.¹⁴

The fourth store was that kept by John Toffey and his son, John 2d. This was, in its early stages, a side line for the elder Toffey, who had a hat business. After his death, John 2d erected a more substantial store building and entered wholeheartedly into storekeeping.¹⁵

Two ^{general} stores not on Quaker Hill deserve mention. Both stood near the Nine Partners Meeting House. The first was the Mabbett store. Samuel Mabbett and his son Joseph came from Westbury, Long Island, in about 1760, and opened an inn and store in the Nine Partners. They were later disowned by Westbury Monthly Meeting for having failed to obtain the necessary permission to remove. In 1762, Samuel bought some land east of the Nine Partners Meeting House from Isaac Thorne, and built a forty by fifty foot inn and store. In the cellar he reportedly had an "excavation," in which he hid whenever he was in danger of being arrested for his extreme Tory sentiments during the Revolution. After the war, he gave the business to Joseph and moved to Lansingburgh, New York. Joseph Mabbett maintained it until May 1, 1795, when he sold the building and ten acres of land to the New York Yearly Meeting, which used it for the Nine Partners Boarding School.¹⁶ (see Chapter VI)

The second of these was that kept by the Thorne brothers, Isaac and William. The sons of Isaac and Hannah Thorne, who had come from Long Island in the early days of Quaker settlement, they opened their store at Mechanic (near Nine Partners Meeting) in the late part of the 18th century, and "as early as 1795, it was under the firm name of 'William and Isaac Thorne.'" Isaac was the oldest, a "straight firm meeting-man." He lived in the family's gambrel roof home on the hill to the east of the meeting house. William (1745-1815) founded what is now "Thorndale," an estate west of the meeting house. His son Samuel inherited the store, made it quite profitable ("In 1809, it is said that he had 1500 open accounts on his books, and that he purchased and packed 880 barrels of pork in one autumn."), and turned it into an import business, which continued until he gave it up before his death in 1849.¹⁷

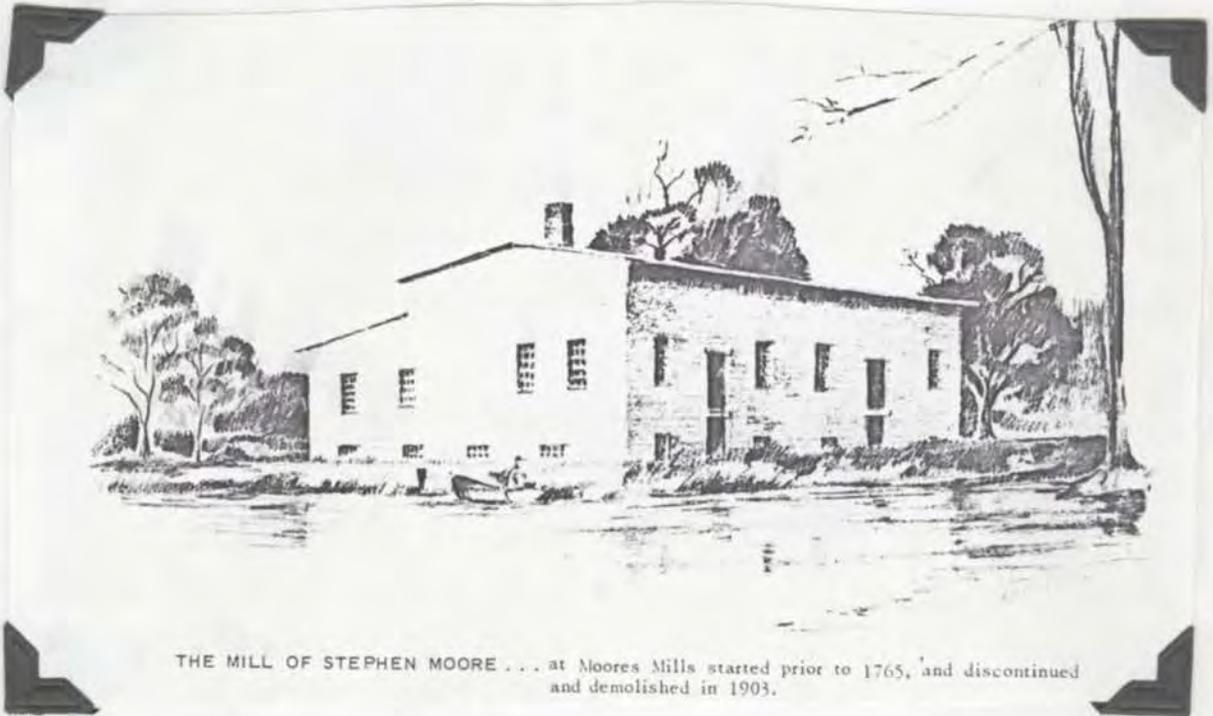
At the time of the Revolution, there was an iron forge on Quaker Hill. Iron mining and smelting was once a thriving industry in eastern Dutchess County, especially in Dover, but the industry was displaced by the higher quality of the ore found in the Midwest, and had died by 1876.¹⁸
(see fig. 21, p. 115)

A few Friends were the owners of mills of various sorts. The Pleasant Valley mill has already been mentioned. It was opened about 1810 by Daniel Dean, who "commenced printing calico . . . in a small way."

The ground work of the cloth was blue and by a device of his own, he varied the color by putting on white spots, of paste, which when dampened would disappear. Being a Quaker and partial to fair dealing, he would invariably say to his customers, "I will warrant the blue to be a fast color but the white may wash out."

The mill is still in operation, as the Pleasant Valley Finishing Company, and the building of 1815 is incorporated into the plant.¹⁹ (see fig. 22-3, pp. 115-16)

At Oswego, down the hill from the meeting house, Stephen Moore opened a grist and saw mill. It gave its name to the present hamlet of Moores Mills. The business lasted until 1903, when the mill was sold and torn down.²⁰



THE MILL OF STEPHEN MOORE . . . at Moores Mills started prior to 1765, and discontinued and demolished in 1903.

Fig. 14

(From LaGrange, n. p.)

The mill was built by Stephen Moore in 1765 and was the first mill in the area. It was used for grinding grain and sawing lumber. The mill was sold in 1903 and demolished in 1903.

As the 19th century transportation revolution began to get underway, a few wealthy Friends became involved in it. Albert J. Akin, who had been in the state legislature, obtained the franchise for the first mail route from Poughkeepsie to Quaker Hill in 1820.²¹

Earlier, a group of Quaker Hill Friends had determined to do something about the lack of a direct road from Poughkeepsie to Pawling. On April 3, 1818, the ^{mostly Quaker} Pawlings and Beekmans Turnpike Company was chartered

That Albro Akin, John Merritt, Gideon Slocum, Job Crawford, Charles Hurd, William Taber, Joseph Arnold, Egbert Cary, Gabriel L. Vanderburgh, Newel Dodge, Jurs. [sic], and such other persons as shall associate for the purpose of making a good and sufficient [sic] turnpike road in Dutchess Co.

could do so. Nothing was done until 1824, however, when the act was revived, and Joseph C. Seeley, Benoni Pearce, Samuel Allen, Benjamin Barr, and George W. Slocum were added to the corporation. The company maintained its road as a private turnpike until 1905, when it gave up the rights. For most of its route, the road followed what is now New York State Route 55.²²

^{After 1828,}
Other Quakers invested in railroads. Albert Akin made his fortune in that manner. Other railroad promoters of this era were Jonathan Akin, Daniel D. Akin, J. Akin Taber, John Akin, and Albert J. Akin.²³

The rise of many of these entrepreneurs was an essential factor both in the schism of 1828, and in the general drift away from the Society of Friends which occurred in the later

years of the 19th century. These topics will be treated in a later chapter.

V

As in any frontier area, there was no surplus of currency among Dutchess County Quakers in the early years of the Quaker century. Because of this, much of the early commercial transactions took the form of barter. Farm products were in essence the currency of the era, as previous statements about Daniel Merritt's store have intimated.²⁴

As the county grew less wild, however, monetary dealings became more common. Evidence that Friends, even in their religious activities, were as conscious as their neighbors of the fiscal vacillations of their day may be found throughout their minute books. For example, Nine Partners Monthly Meeting recorded in 1782 a collection from members of £6 13s. 6d, carefully noting that it was paid "In old paper Currancy."²⁵ A curious fact gleaned from other records is that pound-shilling-pence usage was retained well into the 19th century. Stanford Monthly Meeting, for example, noted a collection at one meeting of "Thirty six shillings."²⁵

VI

Quaker community life was like that of many small communities of the era. The day was long, and the work was hard, but there was always time to stop and go to meet the 3 p.m. mail stage when it arrived at the post office (also known as Toffey's store). It was here that a Friend could

relax a moment, and perhaps exchange a few words with his neighbor, although he had to be careful not to be caught wasting too much time in "vain speech" or "Idle plays," lest he be summoned to pass the meeting (i.e., answer for his misdeed).²⁶

Like any small village, Quaker Hill, or Nine Partners, or "Crom Elbo," had its gossips. One disciplinary action informs us that

Whereas there is of late a Scandalous report Spread abroad of Jonathan Holmes as that he was the Father of that Bastard Child lately brought forth by Phebe Haight & as Several Friends & some by appointment of the Preparative Meeting have treated with him & he neither denying nor owning the Fact,

he was disowned.²⁷

Each hamlet had its rakes, too, to keep the gossips supplied with grist for their mills. A complaint came up from Oblong Preparative Meeting to Oblong Monthly Meeting that

wilber wood, Preserved Dakin & Woster Dakin, with Some others, Some months past ago Entered into a written agreement that if either of them had a Child laid to him he Should Pay £6:0:0 the rest of them the remainder

Stephen Howard and Abraham Thomas Wing confessed to being partners to the compact and were pardoned, but the unregenerate trio were expelled.²⁸

There were a goodly number of neighborly disputes. The Birdsall-Hoag imbroglios have been recounted in Chapter I. In 1773, we find that Enoch Hoag was in trouble with the meeting for suing John Peaslee "before a Magistrate" for

"taking some Watermillions out of the field of Enoch Hoags." Over in the Nine Partners, David Arnold apparently had some trouble with a neighbor. A committee was appointed and reported,

Dear Friends according to appointment we have had David arnold and his accusers face to face and we find by his accusers that he Did use Ruff and threatening Language to William Dehorty saying Damn thy Soul Ill be the Death of thee and he pursued the Sd Dehorty With Stones and wounded him in Several places by flinging the Stones at him and he Did Not appear to us to be anyways Sorry for what he had done [I'll]

Zebulon Hoxsie
Gershom Butt
Isaac Vail

He was disowned.²⁹

One of the problems was that no amusements were officially recognized by the meeting. The more frivolous of Friends were almost forced into these scandalous activities for something to do.³⁰

Meetings themselves were a social occasion. Everyone looked forward to First- and Fourth-day meetings as a break in the week's work, as a way to meet his neighbors, and to conduct a little business with his acquaintances. Quarterly meetings were even greater occasions, for one met Friends from more distant locales. Lasting two or three days, they were opportunities for a variety of sports, such as wrestling, horse and foot races, and children's games (even though all of these were frowned upon by the Meeting), and for travel, which one rarely undertook otherwise. The owner of the lot across from the Oblong meeting house always exhibited his prize stallion at monthly and quarterly sessions. Horse

racing got to be a source of great trouble to the meetings, and is one of the most frequently mentioned in the minute books of Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary days. It diminished after the war, although it never died out entirely.³¹

There are pranksters and high livers in every community. An example of the latter is Peleg Bunker 2d, who in 1780 acknowledged to the meeting, and condemned himself for, drunkenness (usually called being "disguised with drink") and "Singing when att Publick Places." Of the former class, young Moses Gardner will serve as an admirable example. It was discovered by Nine Partners Meeting that Moses "hath Rapped himself in a Blanket and Blacked his face and went into a house Singing and Dancing" ³²

Aside from incidents such as these, everyday life in a Quaker village was mostly uneventful drudgery, as it was in rural areas throughout the country.

VII

Because of the nature of the Quaker commitment during this period, that is, because they were restricted to minimal contacts with the world, their relations with it were primarily of a charitable sort. Even this was minimal. The Quakers, like many other denominations, did not become involved in widespread reform until the evangelical spirit stirred the nation to such efforts in the second quarter of the 19th century. For the most part, they were unaffected by the more extreme religious manifestations of

that period, they were caught up in its social aspects. Until then, the Society's concerns were with itself, as it attempted to purify its members, and to ameliorate the condition of the poorer ones among them. Even its anti-slavery efforts were confined mainly to purging that institution from among its ranks.

The most direct form of charity toward outsiders exercised in these early years was an open-handed hospitality. Quakers were always eager to receive the ministry of itinerant Quaker preachers, and to receive from them news of other meetings. Because these wanderers were such an important part of the Society of Friends, Monthly Meetings set up committees to host travelling Friends, and to provide them with supplies and companionship until they passed into the jurisdiction of the next meeting. This was an essential service, of course, in the early days when inns were scarce, and roads almost as rare. Committees of this type existed at both the Oblong and Nine Partners. The practice was not unique to the Quakers. Ministers of other denominations did as much. Ola Winslow notes that Jonathan Edwards' household was reknowned for its hospitality, and that Edwards used to ride out with departing visitors as far as the next parish. We may account for the emphasis upon it among Quakers, however, by the fact that they lacked pastors who would normally assume many of these duties, so the responsibilities were rotated among members, as was the customary disposition

of most meeting business, and hospitality became a habit more widespread among rank and file Friends than among other denominations.³³

It was only natural that the custom should extend to non-Friends. Quakers looked forward to their visits as opportunities to do some of the little proselytizing they undertook, and to receive news of far places. Eventually, Quakers began taking boarders. As the 19th century progressed, many of the large houses on Quaker Hill took in roomers. One of the most popular houses in Dutchess County was "Floral Hill," run by Susan B. Moore in her family home at Moore's Mills (Oswego).³⁴

This was really the only direct form of assistance Dutchess County Quakers rendered to outsiders. The rest was accomplished through the Yearly Meeting's Meeting for Sufferings, at infrequent intervals.

The Meetings for Sufferings, founded during the Revolution in each Yearly Meeting, were the first organized relief efforts of the Society of Friends. Eventually, they assumed direction of the affairs of the Yearly Meeting between sittings of that body.³⁵

The first mention in the records of Dutchess County meetings of charitable activity occurs in 1777, when Oblong Monthly Meeting relayed to its delegates a note from the Meeting for Sufferings at Flushing, who "Requested of this meeting to Raise money toward the Release of the Distressed of other Denomination [sic] in this Season of Calamity"³⁶

Not until the end of the century was another relief effort undertaken. At that time the Monthly Meeting at Nine Partners acted upon a request by the Meeting for Sufferings of 10 month 21 1795 that Friends help poor non-Friends through the winter "with a liberality equal to the occasion."³⁷

Two efforts on behalf of the citizens of New York City comprise the balance of Friendly charitable activities in this period. In 1803, New York suffered "an appalling visitation of yellow fever." "The first case was announced on the 20th [of July], and by the 1st of August the public alarm was so great and universal that all who could leave the city had fled to places of safety." The meetings responded to this plight.

The subject of some of the Citizens in New York who are in straitened circumstances, by reason of the Calamity, and mortality that as attended that City was opened, and friends feeling a sympathy towards them, are united in affording them some relief

Accordingly, a committee was appointed to receive "whatever friends may be disposed to contribute."³⁸

The second instance occurred in 1814. A fear of British invasion caused general consternation, and, through a complex series of occurrences, financial distress in the city. Stanford Monthly Meeting noted that

A Minute is received from the Monthly Meeting held in New-York stating that many of the indigent inhabitants of that City not members of our Society in consequence of the peculiar changes in outward affairs are brought to a suffering situation, do reccommend opening Subscriptions amongst Friends for the benevolent purpose

of contributing to their relief³⁹

This, then, was the extent of secular life in the Quaker communities, as far as can be gathered from existing sources. It was, for the most devout Quakers, only a secondary part of their existence, and distinctly subordinate to the life of the meeting.



Fig. 15--Oswego Meeting House (ca. 1790--porch 19th century), Oswego Rd., Union Vale



Fig. 16--Creek Meeting House (1777), Clinton Corners

Fig. 17--Creek Meeting
House



Fig. 18--Crum Elbow
Meeting House (ca.
1785), North Quaker
Lane, Hyde Park



Fig. 19--Second Stanford Meeting House (after 1828), now Town Clerk's house, Stanfordville

Fig. 20--Second Stanford Meeting House





Fig. 21--Beekman Iron
Furnace, Furnace Rd.,
Beekman



Fig. 22--Pleasant
Valley Finishing
Co., earliest por-
tion (ca. 1815),
Main Street,
Pleasant Valley



Fig. 23--Pleasant Valley Fin-
ishing Co., second portion,
Main Street, Pleasant Valley

CHAPTER IV

THE LIFE OF THE MEETING

I

The distinguishing feature of Quakerism, that which sets it apart from other sects and denominations, is the doctrine of the Inner Light. For the Friends, "there is that of God in every man," and it will speak, if it is given the opportunity. The phrase "that of God" is crucial. They do not say "that the light within them is God, Christ and the holy Spirit; so that every Quaker has whole God, Christ and holy Spirit in him . . . , But that God . . . hath enlightened mankind with a measure of saving light" ¹ From this basic statement can be derived the principle beliefs and customs of the Society of Friends. ¹

A corollary of this principle is the concern for truth. "That of God in every man" demands that truth be spoken, and it will lead the listener to the truth. Thus, oaths are forbidden, since Quakers believe that a man should have but one standard of truth for every occasion. "Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay." ²

War falls under proscription by the Society for the reason that to attack another man is to assault that of God in him. From the beginning, therefore, Friends have declared

that "We utterly deny all wars and strife and fighting with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever,"²

Likewise, there is that of God in every man, black as well as white, and slavery came to be viewed as an offense against God, as conscientious Friends like John Woolman began to show the Quakers the logical implications of their beliefs. As a result, almost one hundred years before the Civil War, official action was taken to rid the Society of Friends of slavery.

An overweening concern for the spiritual world produced a coincident reaction against the worldly. Thus, came the reknowned Quaker emphasis upon plainness of dress, speech, and life style.

Finally, a respect for the worth of every man caused Friends to view poverty as a disgrace to their Society, in that it was evidence of a neglect by society of the worth of the individual.

In the practices of Quakerism, the centrality of this "belief in the indwelling of God" again shows itself. Worship was "unprogrammed," i.e., there was no organized "service;" Friends sat silent in an attitude of waiting upon the Spirit. Ministers were untrained and unordained. Anyone, man or woman, could be a minister, since all had the Spirit within them. A minister was merely a person who had been gifted with the ability to articulate the promptings of the Light Within more clearly than his fellow "professors," as Friends called believers. Meetings for business were organized in a demo-

cratic manner. Business was conducted by committees, made up of rank and file members, and so on throughout the fabric of the Society.⁴

With this organizing principle in mind, we shall examine the life of the Quaker meeting. While it is neither the purpose nor the duty of this chapter to examine in detail the beliefs of the Society of Friends, they will be considered to the extent that they are reflected in the history of the Society in Dutchess County. This chapter will deal with Quaker life in three principle subdivisions. First, it will treat with the beliefs of the Friends, then with the functioning of the Society, and finally with the mores of the Quaker community as they were governed by the meeting.

II

As Warren Wilson has pointed out, the Friends were moral, not theological, people (understanding moral in the broadest sense of the word). The Inner Light doctrine did in reality comprise the whole of "Quaker theology." Everything depended upon it. At a meeting at West Branch in 1806, Elias Hicks, the celebrated Quaker minister, delivered a message illustrative of this emphasis upon the Light.

On sixth day we were at West Branch meeting, which was pretty full, wherein I had to go down into deep baptism with the dead [i.e., with the spiritually dead members of the meeting], being plunged into the feeling of a state of great ignorance and unbelief; but as I patiently sat under this burden, light sprang up, and life came into dominion; as I was led, in a clear manner, to show the ground from whence all this darkness and unbelief proceeded; that it was from a want of due attention to, and right belief in, the inward manifestation of divine

Light [italics his], which reveals itself in the heart of man against sin and uncleanness; and at the same time shows what is right, and justifies right doing.⁵

The doctrine of the Inner Light produced some strange consequences among unsophisticated country Friends. Take, for instance, the case of Robert Dingee. In 1759, it was reported in Oblong Monthly Meeting that

At this meeting there came a complaint against Robert Dingee for Saying Something by way of Prophecy which is not come to pass accordingly 6

. . . it appeared that Robert dingee [sic] about y^e 18 of y^e 8 m [month] 1758 Spake Thus in a Prophetic manner to Samuel Dorland Viz "Thou Shalt die very Soon not to exceed Nine days and the Door of Mercy is Shut against Thee" and also Signified the Same to Richard Smith & his Wife a few days after

Dingee "Expected to be Disowned," and he was. The point is that these adherents of the Light Within were offended not by Dingee's prophecy, which was possible for them, but by the fact that it did "not come to pass accordingly."⁷

The belief in the indwelling of God led to the conclusion that there was "unity of truth; there can be no contradiction between right reason and previous revelation, between just tradition and an enlightened conscience." Because of this, the Quaker easily accepted most traditional Christian theology. However, Friends usually considered the matter only when they were under attack as infidels or heretics, and then only to affirm that they believed what everyone else did. While most of them probably did, ^{accept or follow} they did not like to be pressed for specifics. Take for example, the issue of salvation, one which obsessed most of the other Protestant denominations during this

era. Friends used the term, but it was more from habit, than for any other reason. They maintained that the Inner Light was the only means to salvation, or that salvation was the end of all good Christians, but there was no attempt to define the term. Indeed, in most of the cases where they used ^{the word} one can only assume that salvation was conceived of as something achieved after death. Terms like heaven and hell were never used, and salvation only slightly more~~so~~. This aversion to specifics led to cases like that of Caleb Haight who, in 1757, was disowned by Oblong Monthly Meeting for "Speaking Determinatively of y^e [Second] Coming of Christ in y^e Flesh & of y^e Scriptures."⁸

III

As I have mentioned before, Friends were opposed to the taking of oaths. They opposed them on the grounds that they were superfluous to a people devoted to telling the truth all the time, and upon Biblical grounds, quoting the injunction, "Swear not at all." On this testimony (the Quaker term for the various parts of their peculiar standard of conduct, such as plainness, pacifism, etc.), they had very little problem with their members. Most Friends adhered to it faithfully, and after the 1730's, the government cooperated by allowing Quakers to substitute an affirmation for any required oath. Most of the instances of violation occurred during the Revolution, when the New York State Committee for Detecting Conspiracies required an oath of allegiance from anyone they

suspected of Tory sympathies (which included virtually every Quaker). (see Chapter V) Aside from that, the only violation recorded in the minutes for Dutchess County Quakers occurred in 1832, when the Stanford Monthly Meeting (Hicksite) disowned Humphry Mosher for administering oaths in his new post of justice of the peace.⁹

Closely allied to resistance to the government on the matter of oaths, was the whole question of the Friendly relationship to government in general. The attitude was a defensive one. The official Quaker policy was that Friends should accept the government in power as the legitimate one, in every way which did not conflict with their consciences. The right of revolution was denied. However, the very nature and operation of governments made it inevitable that there would be many clashes, and the effective policy of the Society was one of resistance to governmental authority by avoidance of contact with it.

The reasons for this were two. First, Quakers had withdrawn from active politics by the middle of the 18th century, believing that it was injurious to their principles. In the case of some conscientious Friends, the withdrawal was carried to the extreme. David Irish (b. 1792), a resident of Quaker Hill, for example, "never voted for any government or even town officers," for "the ultimate resort for the enforcement of law as governments were now formed, was force" By the end of the 18th century, the policy was official. In 1792, Nine Partners Monthly Meeting told its members that

The meeting for sufferings inform; that an exercising consideration hath taken place in that meeting respecting members of our religious society accepting publick Posts of profit & honour & resulted in a prospect of propriety on the subject being proposal [sic] to this meetings Consideration [.] A weighty Deliberation took place thereon & Led to a united Conclusion to hand to our subordinate meetings & friends at Large the advice that resulted on the occasion; That friends do not accept of Posts of profit & honour in government; and that if any member Should so far Disregard the Unity of the body as not to attend to the advice & Counsel that may be extended to them that such should not be employed in any service of the church or their Collection received [.]

There was a great deal of laxity as regards this advice, right from the beginning. Purchase Quarterly Meeting reported in 1793, in answer to one of the Yearly Queries (see below), that it had "no friends who have accepted posts of profit and honour in Government save . . . some in 2 monthly Meetings that have been apointed to office in their Respective Towns . . . ," but professed to be unclear on the sentiments of the Yearly Meeting in these cases. The disobedience was more flagrant in later years. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting (Hicksite) reported that "One friend has accepted a seat in the united States Legislator [sic] the year past."¹⁰

The second reason for the Quakers' aversion to government lay in the desire of the meeting to control its members absolutely. On Quaker Hill, from 1728 to 1828, there was virtually no government but the meeting, except for the brief periods when the Revolutionary Army occupied the region. "In every act of the discipline of the Quaker Community," says Warren Wilson, "appears the purpose of the Meeting, namely, to keep its members to itself and away from all other

moral and spiritual control." The meeting acted as a court of law for its members, forbidding them to sue each other in official courts. Again, they had Biblical backing for their sentiments, and the appropriate text is almost epigrammatic in the concise manner it sums up all the attitudes involved. "When one of you has a grievance against a brother, does he dare go to law before the unrighteous instead of the saints?" (I Cor. 6:1) Where there were disputes between members, arbitration committees were set up. An example of the broad jurisdiction assumed for itself by the Monthly Meeting lies in the case of William Wing. In 1776, he was called to answer to the Meeting for "making & passing certain fictitious Notes with a Design to Defraud the Publick."¹¹

In addition to these areas of conflict, there were several minor areas of friction with the government. Friends refused to recognize honorific titles, and when called into court, they were often punished for refusing to say "Your Honor." Furthermore, they objected to supporting the Church of England. Apparently, some Friends were content to pay and be left alone, however, for Oblong Monthly Meeting notes in its minutes for 1772 "an Epistle from our Last Yearly meeting At flushing Exhorting F^{ds} to Faithfulness in Supporting the Testimony against Paying Preasts wagers [sic]."¹²

Finally, of course, there was the perennial resistance to the military. This will be discussed in Chapter V.

IV

After the issue of war, the greatest social concern to occupy the Society of Friends in the period under consideration was that of slavery. In the earliest years of Quakerism, Friends thought little of the problem, but as early as 1688, some uneasiness began to stir the sect. In that year, in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, a question about the justice of slavery was expressed in the form of a concern (the Quaker term for "a deep interest in some spiritual or social matter, an interest so deep and vigorous that it moves to action"). In 1711, the Chester (Pennsylvania) Quarterly Meeting passed a minute to discourage the further enslavement of blacks by Quakers.¹³

There the matter rested until John Woolman began agitating the question. By 1755, the meetings in America had taken a stand prohibiting slave trading by Quakers. This is made clear by the fact that the meetings felt free to deal with those who did so. Woolman's contribution to the development of anti-slavery feeling was to show Friends that it was no less evil to hold slaves than to buy and sell them. As a result of his efforts, a few Quakers of tender conscience began in the early 1760's to send apologies to the New York Yearly Meeting for holding slaves, although the meeting had as yet taken no stand on the issue.¹⁴

The next important step was taken in Dutchess County. In 1767, Oblong Monthly Meeting adopted a minute expressing its feelings on the issue, and sent it to the Quarterly Meeting

for consideration. The minutes of Purchase Quarterly Meeting report that

In this meeting the practice of trading in Negroes, or other slaves and its inconsistency with our religious principles was revived, and the inconsiderable difference, between buying slaves, or keeping those in slavery we are already possess of, was briefly hinted at in a short query from one of our monthly meetings, which is recommended to the consideration of our next yearly meeting; Viz If it is not consistant with Christianity to buy and sell our fellow-men for slaves during their lives, and their posterity after them, whether it is consistant with a Christian Spirit to keep these in Slavery that we already have in possession, by purchase, gift, or other ways.

The action by Oblong Monthly Meeting was "the first action of a legislative body in New York State upon the freeing of slaves."¹⁵

At the Yearly Meeting in Flushing, May, 1767, it was concluded, perhaps reasonably, to consider the issue for a year, to allow Friends to wrestle with their consciences. The next year, however, they dodged the issue again. It is to the discredit of the Society that, while they were so uncompromising in their concern over lesser moral issues, to the extent that they alienated or expelled many well-intentioned members and repulsed prospective ones, they should, on this one great issue, back down, and avoid making a definite statement, in order not to alienate slaveholders among them. It is not a question of indecision, for the statement indicates that they saw their duty, but one of a clear lack of resolve.

We are [the minute reads] of the mind that it is not convenient (considering the circumstances of things amongst us) to give an Answer to this Querie, at least

at this time, as the answering of it in direct terms manifestly tends to cause division and may introduce heart burnings and Strife amongst us, which ought to be Avoided, and Charity exercised, and persuasive methods pursued and that which makes for peace. We are however fully of the mind that Negroes as Rational Creatures are by nature born free, & where the way opens liberty ought to be extended to them, and they not held in Bondage for Self ends. But to turn them out at large Indiscriminately--which seems to be the tendency of this Querie, will, we Apprehend, be attended with great Inconveniency, as some are too young, and some too old to obtain a livelyhood for themselves.

By 1770, the Yearly Meeting saw its way clear to make official the policy forbidding the selling of slaves, except under stringent control of the Monthly Meeting.¹⁶

In 1769, Oblong and Nine Partners Monthly Meetings became the first meetings^{in the U.S.} to free slaves as an action of the body. Emancipations grew in number until, by 1773, they were appearing regularly in the minutes and record books of the Dutchess County Monthly Meetings. The manumissions were supervised by the Meetings which saw to it that the documents were fully legal, and then preserved a copy in their record books.¹⁷ (see Appendix II)

The Nine Partners Monthly Meeting formed a committee in 1774 which was charged with attempting to persuade slave-owners to free their servants. Oblong followed suit a year later.¹⁸

Finally, in 1775, the New York Yearly Meeting capitulated to its duty, declaring "our solid judgment that all in profession with us who hold Negroes ought to restore them to their natural right to liberty as soon as they arrive at a suitable age for freedom." After this, it was made clear that

anyone who failed to comply promptly would be disowned.¹⁹

Emancipation followed quickly in Dutchess County. Under the dual pressures of the slaveholders visitation committees and the Yearly Meeting advice, Nine Partners declared a total manumission of 17 slaves, with three children still enslaved until their majority. These three were freed much earlier, however, and by 1780, no slaves were held by members of the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting.²⁰

By 1776, there was but one slave left in the Oblong Monthly Meeting. He was Philips, the servant of Samuel Field. Additional visits were made by the committee, and in 1777, Philips was freed.²¹

To their credit, Friends recognized that they had a duty to the freedmen beyond mere emancipation. All the monthly meetings formed committees to visit former slaves and masters to determine whether anything was lacking.

Purchase Quarterly Meeting reported that

We are informed by four of our Monthly Meetings that a visit hath been performed to most of the friends who have set Negroes free, and also to the Negroes set free, and Inspection has been made into their circumstances, many of whom Appeared Satisfied with what their masters have done for them, tho Some of them Think there is considerable due to them for their past labour which it is apprehended is the case, and some friends appeared willing to Submit to the Judgement of the committee thereto appointed with respect to a Settlement between them but there are others who object to submit to Settlement of the committee appointed to that Service [.] 22

Other Friends undertook personal action to alleviate the condition of slaves. In 1765,

Stephen Haight Delivered to this meeting an acknowledgment for Buying a Negro man With a proposal of keeping him a

Slave 10 Years from the time he Bought him Which is the
3^{mo} 1764 and then to Let him Free After haveing obligated
Sd Negro to Lay Up £2== a Year During his Life and the
Money to Be at the Negros own Disposal at his Decase [sic]
Unless it is Wanted by him in time of an Extraordinary
Exigency thro poverty Sickness or other Necessity and the
Sd acknowledgment & proposal is By this Meeting thought
Well of [.]

Haight later infuriated the Meeting by selling the man, and
was summarily excommunicated. Roulof White surprised Nine
Partners Meeting in 1782 by submitting a manumission of a
black man, causing the Meeting to reply that it "thinks it
Necessary to make Inspection how the Said friend Came by the
Said Negroe and the Circumstances of his being thus discharged."
It was discovered that he "Bought Said Negroe in Charity to
him in order to obtain his freedom without any Sinister
View." It was nervously accepted, with the stipulation that
Friends should not undertake even these concessions to slave-
trading in the future without the advice of the meeting.²³

Later in the period, the Quaker attitude developed
even further. In the anticipation of some modern movements,
such as the one to resist war taxes, some Friends conceived
that it was unfitting for Quakers to partake of any of the
products of slave labor, insofar as they could avoid doing
so. John Woolman was among the first to articulate this
sentiment. Later it was taken up by such diverse Quaker
leaders as the conservative David Sands and his opposite
number, Elias Hicks. At Stanford Quarterly Meeting, in
11 month 1818, he

was led to call Friends' attention to the fundamental
principle of our profession and to show the drift and

design of those precious testimonies, as good fruit naturally emanated from a good tree; especially those two, the most noble and dignified, viz: against war and slavery. . . . with regard to slavery . . . although we had freed our own hands from holding by active force, any of this oppressed people, the Africans and their descendants, in unconditional slavery; yet, whether so long as we voluntarily and of choice, are engaged in a commerce in, and the free use of the fruits of their labour, wrested from them by the iron hand of oppression, through the medium of their cruel and unjust masters, we are not accessory [sic] thereto, and are partakers in the unrighteous traffic of dealing in our fellow creatures, and in a great measure lay waste our testimony against slavery and oppression. These subjects were largely opened [i.e., expounded], and the inconsistency of such conduct placed before the minds of Friends; accompanied with strong desires, that they might have their proper effect, in convincing them of the unrighteousness of such conduct.

Dutchess County reaction to this position was generally favorable. For instance, William Dean wrote Hicks a letter thanking him for his stand on slave products. Many Quakers followed Hicks' example. David Irish, for instance, abstained from slave produced goods believing that "Whoso gives the motive makes his brother's sin his own." The sentiment was not unanimous, however. Hicks visited the Quarterly Meeting of the Nine Partners in 11 month 1815, and found that it "was in the main an instructive favoured season, although considerably interrupted by the imprudence of a Friend, in his unwarrantable opposition to a concern, which was opened to draw Friends off from the too free and unnecessary use of articles, which were the produce of the labour of the poor enslaved black people"24

Quaker concern for the slave passed on beyond this period to better known activities, such as those of Lucretia Mott and the Grimké sisters. The building which later came to be Susan Moore's Floral Hill boarding house, and which is now the Floral Hill apartments, was, when it was the Moore

family home, an Underground Railway station maintained by the Friends of Oswego Meeting. These more glamorous activities have achieved greater notoriety, but they are no more important than the earlier anti-slavery efforts of the Society.

V

Charity to the poorer members of the meeting was ever a vital part of the Quaker meeting's social obligations. On the grounds mentioned above, poverty was regarded as something which should and could be eliminated, and the meeting felt that it was its responsibility to care for its own poor, rather than to leave it to any other public or private agency. Efforts in this area of concern came in several forms and by several means.

Often, a member simply could not support himself, and the meeting undertook to help him in an immediate way. One of the most common methods was that used to aid William Parks. Oblong Monthly Meeting bought a cow and loaned it to Parks to help him feed his children. Even this was not enough, and the Meeting received a report that "William Park Stood in need of Some Relief on account of his Children" A committee was formed and

The most of the Friends appointed to Search into William Parks Necessities Reported That they had found Places for his Children to be Put out to & This meeting allows William Gifford (who takes the Twins) to have the Cow formerly Sent to S^d Parks for the better maintenance of the Twins[.]

The same solution was reached for the Irish family's troubles. At times, direct grants of money were made, and a standing

fund was kept for that purpose. At times, though, Friends were somewhat negligent in their contributions, and Nine Partners Monthly Meeting was forced to remind them at one point that there was "Considerable money wanting for the Support of the Poore."²⁶

At times, aid was given to a group in need. In a manner similar to that in which Dutchess County Quakers helped non-Quakers of New York City, as mentioned in Chapter III, they raised a fund in 1776 to assist Westchester County Quakers, "Necessitated by Reason of the Calamity Late hapened among them"²⁷

Another form of Quaker charity was ~~care for~~ *care for Friends'* ~~orphans~~ *orphan* children were provided for by the meeting until they attained their majority. One Oliver Tryon, for example, was taken by the meeting when he was orphaned, and placed in successive Quaker homes until he was old enough to learn a trade, then apprenticed to Thomas Dakin, a Quaker tanner. When he became ill, the meeting collected a fund to "Defray the Expençe of Oliver Tryon in his Journey to the Bath Spring for the recovery of his Health"²⁸

It was quite usual for Friends to finance medical expenses. Oblong Meeting furnished a considerable sum of money to Patience Hoag "to go to Some Skilful Physician to be Cured of a Cancer," "under Standing that She has not at present where with to Defray the Expençe of Such a Cure"²⁹

To the aged, the meeting offered its services to help them with their wills and "with their temporal affairs." If

necessary, places were found for them in Quaker homes. For poor scholars, it raised a scholarship fund for use at the Yearly Meeting's Nine Partners Boarding School.³⁰ (see Chapter VI)

VI

No chapter of this nature would be complete without a discussion of the Quaker testimony of plainness. First, there was plainness of garment. The famous Quaker garb of black collarless coat, and broad-brimmed beaver hat for the men, and plain black, brown or grey dress, shawl and bonnet for the women, needs little exposition here. The philosophy of these garments was first that they would free the mind of the Friend from the world, and second, that since these were the raiments of the poor man, as such they would preserve the Friend from vanity by making him inconspicuous. Some word about the nature of this custom and its requirements would perhaps be appropriate. In a time when clothes were elaborate, and more a sign of social distinction than they are today Friends were asked to don a visible sign of their rejection of social pretensions. David Sands, when he was going through the internal struggles which eventually led to his conviction, found this one of his greatest obstacles.

. . . the idea of being a Quaker seemed then impossible for him to reconcile. The plain humble appearance seemed to him to be more than was necessary for any man in order to assist him to be a Christian. . . . 31

. . . there appeared to his view two men plainly dressed

in light clothes, as if walking from him. He was struck with the sight, and in thought exclaimed, "It is impossible for me to be a Quaker--I would rather die."

The burden was, needless to say, greatest on young Friends, and it is among them that most violations occurred. Throughout the minutes, especially during the turmoil of the Revolution, one may find complaints like that against Samuel Dorland, Jr., for "Following the Vain Fashions of the World," or apologies like that of David Ferris for his "Superfluity In Dress."³²

But transgressions were not confined to youth. In its epistle of 1781, the Yearly Meeting saw fit to include a general warning to the membership against "Babylonish garments." A year earlier, Nine Partners Monthly Meeting had found the situation serious enough to warrant the appointment of a committee "to visit those that are Short in Comeing up in plainness in apparil Speech & behaviour [sic]. . . ." ³³

Also in 1781, the Yearly Meeting introduced a warning to its members to take care in their furnishings, and added furniture to the list of items which Friends were expected to keep simple. Ample example was furnished by the meeting houses themselves, models of simplicity in their lack of architectural ornament, and their long, stark wooden benches. ³⁴

Plainness of dress lasted throughout the nineteenth century, with increasing strain. The split diminished the authority of the meeting, and thus diminished the power of the meetings to control their members on this account. Fur-



Fig. 25--A Quaker grave-
stone, Creek meeting
house cemetery, Clinton
Corners. The epitath is

M F
1805

the gentry. Quakers felt that it would be inconsistent to use anything but "thee" in that case, since "you" had the import of an honorific title. As the usage gradually shifted to the exclusive use of "you," Friends clung to "thee" as preserving their peculiarity. In fact, as it became more archaic, their attachment to it became the more tenacious. Even this, however, died out. Some Quakers began to question the attention paid to so trivial a custom when one could better spend his time thinking about concerns of greater impact. As one young Friend asked, "Are we defended from the world's array/By this environment of garb and speech?" Their scorn for it was only heightened by the fact that the universal usage of "thee," rather than "thee" and "thou," was ungrammatical.

(continued on page 138)

thermore, the increasing wealth of a segment of the Quaker community led to distinctions in the elegance of one's plainness. As Warren Wilson pointed out, by the time he was writing (1905-1906), plainness was a very expensive proposition, indeed. Wealthy Friends insisted that their "simple costume" be made only of the finest materials, and a proper Quaker hat cost three times what an ordinary poor man's hat cost. In addition, the original purpose of the plain costume was fast becoming obsolete, as styles changed. The clothes which rendered a man inconspicuous in 1700, made him visible in 1800, and most noteworthy in 1900. Thus, the habit of Quaker dress slowly expired.³⁵

Quaker speech likewise disappeared. The habit of using "thee" arose in the 17th century, when the form was used for the common man, and "you" was reserved for addressing



Fig. 24--A Quaker gravestone, Creek meeting house cemetery, Clinton Corners. The epitath is

E+D
D1806

Fig. 26--A Quaker
gravestone, Crum
Elbow cemetery,
Hyde Park. The
epitath is

R+H



Fig. 27--A Quaker
gravestone, Crum
Elbow cemetery,
Hyde Park. The
epitath is

TS

For instance, Friends would say "thee is" rather than the correct "thou art." Another aspect of the custom of plain speech was the Quaker insistence upon the use of the "proper" names of the months and days, such as First-month for January, and First-day for Sunday, rather than their "pagan" names. While this custom was somewhat more logical than the other, nevertheless Quakers held to it with a fanatic devotion, even to the point of stipulating that no teachers be hired for Friends' schools who did not "call the days and months by their rightful names."³⁶

Another interesting aspect of the testimony of plainness is that of burial customs. Quakers were from the first opposed to gravestones. The man who was gone, they reasoned, would be vain to wish to be remembered in this world. All the meetings appointed overseers for their burial grounds to "take Care that the Hour [of the funeral] is Observed--no Grave Stones Erected Nor Any Conduct thereat Inconsistent with our Religious Principles."³⁸

One can trace the evolution of a Quaker graveyard in this way. The area wherein no stones exist is the oldest. Toward the end of the 18th century, small gravestones were permitted. These were made of random shaped pieces of slate, with no lettering, four or six inches high. At the beginning of the 19th century, stones were still of slate, but a little bigger, with initials, and sometimes a date, crudely carved upon them. Next, names were permitted. Toward the middle of the century, small, uniformly shaped, plain

(continued on page 140)

Fig. 28

Some Dutchess County Quaker Epitaphs
Crum Elbow Cemetery, Hyde Park

A x M
1442
(1842)

S. C
1815

STEPHEN. L W
DIED APRIL the 18. 184
AGE 89 8 months
1840

marble stones were used, usually with the name, date of death, and exact age of the individual upon it. (see figs. 24-28)

VII

In discussing the meetings themselves, it is necessary first to consider the manner in which meetings were conducted. Logically, the meeting for worship, as it is officially known, should be our initial concern. Every First- and Fourth- or Fifth-day, the members of the meeting would file to the meeting house for a meeting for worship. In addition, such meetings were held at the end of all Quarterly and Yearly Meetings. If a visiting minister were passing through a certain vicinity on a day when no meeting was scheduled, he could appoint a meeting for that day. Meetings for worship constituted the Quaker funeral and, with the addition of the vows, the Quaker marriage.

The meeting house itself, as we have seen, was a plain building of one or two stories. Invariably, it had two doors, one for men and one for women, for separate religious and business meetings were maintained until the 1870's. Upon entering, the worshipper found himself in the rear of a room full of long, narrow wooden benches with high backs. These occupied most of the floor area, with the exception of the aisles, and an area at the front, which was occupied by two or three rows of the same type of wooden benches, raised on tiers facing the main body of seats, and separated from them by a plain wooden railing. Known as the facing benches, they

were reserved for those individuals who had been designated ministers, elders and overseers by the Monthly Meeting. It was from the ministers and elders that most of the testimony was expected, so they were placed in advantageous seating. The overseers had the obvious advantage of a full view of the congregation from this section. Depending upon the size of the meeting, there may or may not have been a gallery, filled with the same sort of wooden benches. The house was divided longitudinally by some manner of partition. Often, this consisted of a waist-height double wooden wall, from the interior of which a wooden curtain could be raised to ceiling height by means of pulleys, thus dividing the house into two. The entire interior was either left unpainted, or, at best, white-washed.

Friends filed in silently and took seats, then waited upon the Spirit. Anyone who felt the promptings of the Spirit was entitled to speak. When he felt so moved, he rose, removed his hat, and delivered his message, being careful not to "run over his call," that is, not to speak longer than he is actually moved. Then he takes his seat again. At the end of the appointed time, one of the individuals in the facing benches shakes hands with his neighbor. This signals the end of the meeting, and, after a general shaking of hands, Friends leave.

There could be meetings when no one spoke. At other times, several might feel the call. On such occasions, many Quakers might feel, as did Elias Hicks, after a pair of meetings

at Little Nine Partners and North East, that "The Lord's power was felt eminently to preside in those solemn assemblies, to the praise of his great excellent name, who so over all [is] worthy forever; and I parted with them in true peace of mind, the sure result of faithfulness."³⁸

Few Quakers recorded exactly what occurred in religious meetings, so it is fortunate that Henry D. B. Bailey did so. He visited the Hicksite meeting at Nine Partners in the 1870's. Except for the size of the congregation, however, time had not altered the meeting from what it was during the period 1728-1828.

The congregation is so small that they have abandoned one-half of the first story, and what few worshippers now assemble, sit on the women's side. . . . Presently the congregation commenced to gather, and our guide conducted us to a seat, and when we were all seated we had only nineteen. The services then commenced, and the stillness of death pervaded the whole house. . . . Some twenty minutes or more had passed, when a mother of Israel arose and doffed her straight bonnet and commenced speaking. The theme that she presented to us was the narrative of the Saviour with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well; when He was wearied with His journey and sat on the well, when she came to draw water, and He said to Her: "Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again, but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst, but the water that I shall give him shall be in a well of water springing up into everlasting life." How she went into the city and said, "Come and see a man which told me all things that ever I did; is not this the Christ?" So it is with us; the Saviour knows the hearts of all present, and like the woman of Samaria He tells us all, and knows the wants of all, and he is ready and willing to give to the uttermost, and if we seek we shall surely find Him. We listened with intense interest to her pathetic appeals as they fell from her lips, until she finished her narrative. The same stillness again pervaded our little assembly, and the writer thought that this was none other than the house of God, the very gate of Heaven. The same stillness again pervaded the meeting, when about 12 o'clock one of the grave members commenced the shaking of hands, which was the signal that the services were ended. We then left

this hallowed spot and returned to our home.

Others, like the German Phillip Schaff, took a less sympathetic view of the proceedings.

. . . eight women and only one man were moved by the Spirit of God, and addressed prayers to God and exhortations to the assembly in that peculiarly tremulous prophetic tone, from which they are supposed to have received the name of Quakers, or tremblers. 39

At appointed meetings, it was often only the visiting dignitary who spoke. Bailey once again has the story.

. . . I made a second visit to the Brick Meeting House, it having been announced by posters put up in conspicuous places through the village, that a distinguished speaker was to hold forth there at 4 o'clock on the afternoon of that day. . . . The two entrances in the Meeting House were thrown open, the inner doors were hoisted, and the two sexes were assigned to their separate floors. . . . Presently it was announced that he had come, and soon he made his appearance. Passing through the aisle, he took a higher seat, where he had a commanding view of the two separate floors. . . . He sat for some minutes in silence, when taking off his hat, he arose, and casting his eye over the congregation he stood motionless. . . . He commenced first by alluding to this venerable Meeting House; the changes that had taken place there since his remembrance; the fathers and mothers of Israel that had fallen, and then, pointing to the graveyard where their ashes lie, he said that he had witnessed the death bed scene of many lying there. What bright evidences they had given of their faith in God; how calm; no doubts, no fears; they were joyful, even in the immediate prospect of death. What a vacuum, he said, death had made here. "Who is to fill the places of the fathers and mothers that have fallen?" he asked, as he looked around upon the assembly. The speaker at last came squarely on his own platform. He held up to us his own colors. He said he loved every Christian, of whatever name or sect; he could clasp them all in his arms, but the Christian that draws his sword to spill his brother's blood he held no fellowship with. That was the spirit of Anti-Christ; that no man can be a Christian and at the same time have malice and envy rankling in the heart. The Saviour used no sword; the doctrine he taught while here on earth was love, boundless love, and he exhorted all to imitate his example, to love our neighbor as ourselves and to love our enemies; that, he said, was the spirit of Christ; this the temper of Heaven. The speaker

occupied the floor three-quarters of an hour, and then resuming his seat, a stillness pervaded the house for some minutes, when the shaking of hands commenced and the services were ended. 40

There was often disciplinary trouble in the meeting. One problem, of course, was that of members who just didn't attend. Then there were those restless individuals who made frequent, extended and noisy visits to the outhouse.⁴¹

Another problem, one that one might expect in a Quaker meeting, was sleeping in meetings. At one point it was so bad that Oblong Monthly Meeting found it necessary to appoint special assistants to the overseers to combat this. The ultimate affront, though, was "the practice of Some more advanced in Years who come sit down in a careless unconcerned manner & by too much Indulging themselves in a Spirit of Sluggishness frequently spend a considerable part of the time of Silence in Sleeping & even Sometimes in the very moments when Public Testimonies have been born [sic] against it. A very painfull & Shocking thing indeed!"⁴²

At the other extreme from the sluggish lay those who objected to what was said in meeting, and said so. John Prindle and his wife were an example of this class. It was brought to the attention of Purchase Monthly Meeting in 1739 that there was "a matter of Difference between J^{no} Prindle His wife & some others with the Friends of New Millford first in making opposition in meetings & since in keeping Seperate Meeting" They were finally disowned for "having frequently oposed Ministering ffriends^[sic] in their Publick testimonyes in Meetings & also Setting up a Seperate Metting [sic]. . . .

Elias Hicks mentioned similar cases.⁴³

At the end of the meeting, apologies, disownments, and general announcements were read as directed by the Monthly Meeting. In at least one case, the time was taken to express the discontent of some Friends with the actions of the Monthly Meeting. In 1767,

the following Questions were Recommended from last preparative meeting at oblong for Consideration here viz

1ly whether one Friend or more Desiring a Congregation of People to Stop & not withdraw after a Meeting of Worship is over & then and there in a public manner Exhibit grievous Charges against the m^o Meeting in general or against any one Friend in particular in order to Undervalue the Conduct of the meeting or the particular Friend & offering to Read [a] paper to Shew that the Meeting [s] act[s] have been inconsistant with truth & Justice

2ly whether it hath not a Tendency to a Separate meeting & a breach of the peace of the brotherhood--

3ly whether it ought not to be publicly Condemned to the Satisfaction of the monthly meeting the Friends belong to-- 44

VIII

Business meetings, unlike meetings for worship, were closed to non-Quakers, as the Monthly Meetings frequently reminded their members. This was quite often a problem. Oblong Monthly Meeting complained to its Quarterly Meeting in 1781 that it was having trouble with "Persons Not of our Society Comeing in to See Friends pass the Meeting when published" Because of objections to the use of force, the Quarterly Meeting could only advise that the practice should "be discouraged as much as may be." (It should be explained that Oblong's problem was that non-Quakers were coming to the Monthly Meeting to hear Quakers "pass the

meeting," i.e., to be examined by it, with respect to receiving permission to marry.)⁴⁵

Business meetings were conducted in a democratic manner. Anyone could introduce a piece of business, and anyone could give his opinion on it. Discussion of business did not take the form of debate. Each individual was expected to speak but once on an issue, presenting his view concisely, and not to argue the point. Once everyone who wished to speak had done so, no vote was taken. Rather, the clerk, (chairman), the only officer of the meeting, "took the sense of the meeting." That is, he formulated what he believed to be an accurate statement of the sentiment of the body on the issue. In theory, after all points of view had been presented, the sense of the meeting was unanimous, for dissenters were expected to relinquish their objections upon realizing the will of the majority. The concept turned upon the belief in the Inner Light. It was believed that that entity would guide the majority to truth, and that minority opinion was thereby shown to be fallacious. Once this occurred, the meeting was in "unity," and could proceed on the proper course. The clerk formulated a minute expressing the sense of the meeting, and it was recorded.

As is plainly evident, the office of clerk, ostensibly neutral, had a tremendous potential power, for the individual who wanted to use it. The clerk, depending upon his feeling upon the subject under consideration, could, if he desired, take the sense of the meeting quickly, before either opposition

or support developed, or he could prolong consideration until opinion turned in his direction. When he composed the minute, he could phrase it in such a manner as to mitigate or augment the sense of the meeting, depending upon his position. Friends were discouraged from opposing the sense of the meeting once it was stated, for the reasons mentioned above, and thus there was little outlet for grievance, for no Quaker was willing to break the decorum of the Quaker method of doing business either by debating or by dissenting from the sense of the meeting, without serious provocation. When the provocation came, as in the case of the Hicksite Separation, schism was necessary because there was no machinery for compromise.⁴⁶ (see Chapter VIII)

Once a course of action was determined, a committee was appointed to undertake the necessary measures. Again, any member of the meeting could participate, although in practice, certain members were acknowledged as leaders and did most of this work. Committees performed virtually every function of the Society, from investigating and writing disownments, to supervising the construction of meeting houses.

Every meeting from the Monthly Meeting up kept records. As the years went by, record keeping improved. At first, they were scribbled on random sheets of paper. By this method, Oblong Monthly Meeting, which did not record minutes in a book until 1761, lost all its records for the years 1744-1757. Some books were makeshift. The minute book of

Nine Partners Monthly Meeting for 1779-1783 is bound in a cover made of the 1779 edition of Poor Will's Almanack. From about this time on, however, records were kept in sturdy ledgers.

It is evident that Friends intended that the volumes be used by posterity. One ambitious clerk, probably Zebulon Ferriss, began an index in the first Oblong minute book, directing that, "The Friendly reader may observe that it is Divided into Four Columns: the first Shewing the Minute (by No.) the Second the Contents of the Minute, & Year it was made in; the third the two first letters of the Persons Name, who was the cause of y^e Minute (if any Particular,) & the fourth the Moⁿ it was made in." In 1781, the Yearly Meeting sent a committee to inspect the records of all its subordinate meetings. One of their most frequent recommendations was "That minutes be made Plane and Explicit in order that they may be understood in a future Day & the reason of Cases being defered & Expressed therein."⁴⁷

In addition to its minute books, each meeting kept ledgers in which it recorded all births, deaths, marriages, disownments, acknowledgements, deeds, manumissions, certificates of removal to and from the meeting, and other miscellaneous items. They were recorded with little ado. A sample entry might read, "the 16 of 12 m^o 1778 Zebulon Ferriss Son of Benj^a Ferriss & Phebe his wife Departed this Life aged 49 Years & Near 9 m^{ths} [.]"⁴⁸

Frequently, meetings undertook censuses. One recording

all the heads of families in Oblong Monthly Meeting was made in 1761. Another was undertaken by both sides of the Hicksite controversy in 1828 to determine who stood where on the matter.⁴⁹

Regulation and communication up and down the scale of meetings was done in several ways. First, there was a minute. If a lower meeting wished to ask a question or communicate a concern to its superior, it sent that meeting a copy of the minute related to it. Among meetings of equal rank, minutes and generally circulating epistles were used for any necessary communication of business or opinion.

Superior meetings had more ways of regulating their inferiors. For general statements of policy, they sent epistles to all the meetings, relating changes in doctrine or discipline. When asked for aid on specific issues, they sent advices, in the form of minutes, which, with a few exceptions, had the force of orders.

To check on the conduct of their meetings, Quakers established the system of queries. Queries were a series of questions, varying in number over this period from nine to twenty, embodying the principle Quaker doctrines and disciplines. They were designed to find out how well Friends had lived up to their obligations since last they answered. Queries covered the range from general inquiries into whether meetings were well attended, had been conducted in "love and unity," and so forth, through questions relating to specific doctrines (for example, whether Friends were clear of doing

military service), to practical matters, such as whether Friends had made their wills. The queries were reduced to a basic five, which were answered monthly. The individual Quaker would answer them in Preparative Meeting. The clerk consolidated these answers into a collective answer for the meeting. At the Monthly Meeting, the answers were similarly condensed, and recorded. At the meetings preceeding the Quarterly Meeting, all the queries, not merely the basic five, were answered at each level. In addition, at the session immediately before Yearly Meeting, the Quarterly Meeting answered four annual queries, concerning administrative matters, such as the reporting of any new meetings settled or meeting houses built.

Queries were, however, of questionable utility as controls in many cases. Thoughtful Friends often expressed the opinion that they were mere formalities. Committed to the truth, Friends could not openly lie in their answers, but they developed an evasive technique whereby they could give unfavorable answers in a favorable way. They answered the queries affirmatively, but proceeded to load their answers with qualifying adjectives. In addition, the answers were often declarative forms of the queries. Query answers are rife with "pretty clears," generally clears," "mostly clears," and so forth. A typical query might read, "Are Friends all clear of taking oaths, bearing arms, or being otherwise being concerned in military service, and of defrauding the King of his dues?" The meeting would reply, squirming in

its collective seat, "not altogether clear of taking Oaths, bearing arms. Of being otherways concerned in Military Services, or Defrauding the king of his dues, And some Care said to be taken." (italics mine)⁵⁰

Friends at times openly admitted that this was the case. In 1770, Oblong Meeting courageously decided to voice a question regarding the queries.

At this meeting Divers Friends appeared not Easie to answer the Queries as Usual as Conceiving of their Real Use to [the] Society, In Some abated; Divers Friends Sol[i]dly Gave their Sentiments Inclivable that way & it appeared most Satisfying not to Send an Answer.

This unprecedented action was referred up to the Yearly Meeting for advice. That body appointed an investigating committee to see what was wrong. It concluded merely to order the Oblong Meeting to answer. Years later, Elias Hicks felt that it was

my place to remind Friends of the danger and bad effects of covering or hiding, and of the advantage of laying ourselves open to the just witness . . . when answering the queries 51

Finances were handled by levying at the Monthly Meeting level whenever a sum of money was needed at any level from the particular meeting all the way up to the Yearly Meeting. As mentioned earlier, the share for each unit was carefully worked out in quotas, which were periodically adjusted to compensate for the varying sizes of the meetings. Monthly collection was instituted at the Oblong in 1760, to provide a standing fund. In most other meetings, however, monies were collected as specific occasions arose. Collection of money

from the meetings in Dutchess County was always difficult. The committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting in 1781, charged with inspecting the minutes of the subordinate meetings, was forced to suggest to Purchase Quarterly Meeting

That in directions to Monthly Meetings respecting Subscriptions for raising money towards Building Meeting Houses & other purposes, Friends be excited to liberality and dispatched therein, the great want whereof we apprehend, hath been an Occasion of the frequent and unprofitable repetition of Minutes on this head, and which we believe to be very hurtful to that solemnity which ought to Attend our Meetings

Oblong and Nine Partners responded to this advice by producing the required sums at the next meeting, then at the following meeting lapsed into non-payment.⁵²

IX

It was in the Monthly Meetings that most of the business of the Society was transacted. One of the prime functions of the Monthly Meeting was to control membership. The procedure for becoming a member of the Society of Friends was to apply to the Monthly Meeting one wished to join. That group appointed a committee to visit the prospective Quaker "to Enquire into his Principles respecting his Religious Sentiments & into his Conversation [general conduct] & make report" If satisfied, the committee so reported, and the individual was received. If the visit was unsatisfactory, the committee could be continued until it received satisfaction, or until it decided to drop the request.⁵³

One of the thorniest problems facing the Quakers was that of birthright membership. Like the Puritans before

them, Friends had to decide whether to restrict the "right of membership amongst us" to professed believers or to allow the children of members to be admitted upon application by their parents. The Quaker equivalent of the Half-Way Covenant was the minute adopted by the London Yearly Meeting in 1737, establishing the basis for birth-right membership. Because the Society was a decentralized organization, the London Yearly Meeting had no power to bind other Yearly Meetings to its decision. Yet, the veneration accorded to this original meeting made it inevitable that the others would follow its example. It was, however, a matter in which each Yearly Meeting had to make its own decisions. In fact, no decision was made in New York Yearly Meeting for many years, and whether or not a given family was admitted depended largely upon the mood of the Monthly Meeting at the time the request was made. The Yearly Meeting in 1772 made a vague statement about "the one-half hereditary Rights of Friends Children," but not much more was said. Throughout the records of the Dutchess County meetings, one finds many instances where a parental request was made, and the meeting, after a cursory investigation of the children's behavior, readily granted it. In 1781, Nine Partners Monthly Meeting asked Purchase Quarterly Meeting what to do about the problem, and was told to admit the children on request. Yet, the next year, Abisha Coffin requested that his children be accepted, and Nine Partners refused, "many friends being Straightened [sic] in their minds

(continued on page 156)

Fig. 29
Changes in Membership, 1769-1780
Oblong Monthly Meeting

Year	Dis- owned	Re- moved	Rein- stated	Joined	Immi- grate	Total
1769	7	1	0	4	5	+1
1770	10	7	0	7	2	-8
1771	0	1	1	1	2	+3
1772	8	0	0	0	6	-2
1773	9	0	0	0	3	-6
1774	2	6	0	2	5	-1
1775	6	12	0	4	9	-5
1776	4	10	0	16	18	+20
1777	1	11	0	7	24	+19
1778	3	1	0	16	8	+20
1779	4	1	0	1	36	+32
1780	3	15	3	5	8	-2

Fig. 30.

Changes in Membership, 1769-1782
 Nine Partners Monthly Meeting

Year	Dis- owned	Re- moved	Rein- stated	Joined	Immi- grate	Total
1769*	2	0	0	3	7	+8
1770	11	0	0	1	15	+5
1771	6	4	0	5	3	-2
1772	5	0	0	3	6	+4
1773	5	0	0	3	6	+4
1774	7	1	0	2	22	+16
1775	7	0	0	3	34	+30
1776	6	0	2	4	109	+109
1777	9	2	0	5	39	+33
1778	11	5	0	9	27	+20
1779	15	3	1	0	89	+72
1780	10	11	0	2	34	+15
1781	15	11	0	10	43	+27
1782	23	9	2	11	10	-9

*Excludes the month of January. The first meeting of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting as such was held 2 mo. 1769.

with Regard to Excepting [sic] Children by the Request of their parents thinking that the mind of the Yearly meeting is not fully explained on that subject." Eventually, however, the practice was accepted.⁵⁴

The effects of birthright membership on the Society of Friends were far-reaching. In the first place, it made the recruitment of new members less crucial, and caused Friends to make even less effort at proselytizing, thus reinforcing the effects of Quietism. A ready supply of birthright members allowed Friends to escape considering whether the extreme withdrawal from the world which they practiced tended to the eventual extinction of the Society.⁵⁵

In the second place, it certainly detracted from the zeal of the Society. In this respect, it had much the same effect as the Half-Way Covenant did upon the Puritans. The Society was no longer a band of the regenerate. For many, Quakerism was more a custom than a religion.⁵⁶

On the other hand, it probably saved the Society of Friends from an earlier and more precipitate decline. Figures 29 and 30 present comparisons of members added to the Society in Oblong and Nine Partners Meetings versus members lost, for the years 1769-1780 and 1769-1782, respectively. An examination of these figures shows that any large scale growth indicated in them is due to outside immigration. In other years, growth was small, and in many cases a decline was recorded. Yet, from the growth of new meetings in this era, we know that the sect was growing at a

greater rate than these charts indicate. It is most logical to assume that this growth was due to birthright membership.

X

A second important function of the Monthly Meeting was that of regulating marriages and funerals. Marriage was accomplished in the following fashion: The prospective bride and groom attended Monthly Meeting and announced their desire to marry. A committee was appointed to inquire into the situation, making sure that the consent of both sets of parents had been obtained, and that each party was free ("clear") of other engagements. If these conditions were met, permission was granted at the next Monthly Meeting and a date was set for the wedding.

Quaker marriages were essentially meetings for worship, with the emphasis in the testimony upon advice to the couple. At some point during the meeting, the bride and groom would rise and make their vows, unaided by any officiant. When the meeting ended, all present would sign the certificate as witnesses, and the marriage would be accomplished.

There were two grave offenses which Friends could commit with regard to marriage. Either rendered the individual liable to disownment. The first was to suffer oneself "to be married by a priest," or even to attend such a marriage. The second was even more serious, and consisted in "marrying out," i.e., marrying one not a member of the Society of Friends.

If one had been warned beforehand, immediate expulsion was the consequence. If not, he was given a chance to apologize. The logic behind this stricture is readily apparent, given what has been said before about Quaker isolationism. At one point, some zealous members in Oblong Monthly Meeting proposed that the rule be altered to stipulate immediate disownment for marrying out whether or not one had been previously warned. The idea was rejected by a superior meeting, however. A typical offense is that of Eccabod Bordman of Oblong Monthly Meeting, who, in 1759,

Produced an Acknowledgement for his outgoings in Marriage & for his Using unlawful Familiarity with his Late House keeper (now his Wife) which is left under Consideration. But for the Speedy Clearing [of] Friends & the Truth of the Scandal of his Misconduct: Josias Bull & Richard Smith are Desired to read it at the Close of a first day meeting at Oswegoe Where as a Testimony of his Penitence & Sincerity in acknowledging his Crimes he is desired to be Present & The S^d Fds are Desired to report to next monthly meeting whether he was Present or not. 57

Quaker funerals, like Quaker weddings, were meetings of worship. Friends gathered, held the meeting, and buried the body with as little ceremony as possible.

XI

Of course, the most important function of the Monthly Meeting was to guide the spiritual and moral life of its membership. There were several means which they used to do so.

For spiritual guidance, they relied upon letters of counseling and advice. Many of these were aimed at youth. Friends were especially sensitive to the need for instruction beginning at an early age. One of the queries related to this.

Before the Revolution, some Quarterly Meetings maintained, more or less regularly, special youth Quarterly Meetings. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting appointed youth overseers in 1779. And, to help parents do their task, epistles were circulated. An excellent example of this genre is the Oblong letter, "An Epistle of Counsel and Advice from our Monthly Meeting of Friends . . . ," written in 1760. (see Appendix III) It will be noticed that while this letter purports to pertain specifically to the duties of parents, it is in reality a general lecture on conduct. In this respect, it typifies its class. Most of the epistles of this type, no matter what their purpose, were in the final analysis recapitulations of the basic rules of the Society, intended to remind a spiritually lagging congregation of its duties. Others, usually written by higher level meetings, were generally sermons of a sort, urging the people to maintain their principles despite whatever might be the current situation. Many of these, for example, were sent to American Friends by the London Yearly Meeting during the Revolutionary War, urging Friends not to compromise their testimony for the sake of partisanship (especially not for the American cause). This more "theological" type of epistle was generally printed by the Yearly Meeting and sent to the Monthly Meeting in large quantities for mass distribution.⁵⁸

Closely allied with the latter type of epistles was the printed tract. Tract distribution is generally identified with the 19th century, but they were popular among New York

State Friends before that. The differences from the 19th century examples were two. First, the tracts distributed by 18th century Friends tended to be ridiculously outmoded. They were topical pamphlets written for the controversies of an earlier day. One popular item, for example, was Robert Barclay's Anarchy of the Ranters, written in the mid-17th century against that group. (see Introduction) Nine Partners distributed several copies of "a Narkey of the Ranters" to its members in 1773. Another was a 17th century pamphlet called Defence of Women's Preaching, by Josiah Martin and John Locke.⁵⁹

The second unique feature of 18th century tract distribution among Dutchess County Quakers was that they were given out not to outsiders for missionary purposes, but to indigent Quakers for educational purposes.⁶⁰

Finally, it is interesting to note that conspicuously absent, with one exception, from the literature distributed by Friends in Dutchess County between 1728 and 1828, was the Bible.^(see Chapter VIII) In 1790, Oblong Monthly Meeting subscribed to twenty-one Bibles for its members. After that, no other mention of it in this connection occurs until 1829, when Nine Partners Monthly Meeting (Orthodox) formed a committee to see that each family had a copy.⁶¹ (see Fig. 31)

XII

One of the most effective means for keeping control of the wider membership of the Society was the system of certificates of travel and removal. Before any Friend left

(see page 163)

Fig. 31

Tracts Distributed in Dutchess County Meetings, 1728-1828^A

Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1761 (present from Samuel Nottingham)

"Wm Laws Collection of Devotional Tracts" (8)

William Dell, The Doctrine of Baptisms, etc. Philadelphia, 1759. (21)

-----, The Trial of Spirits, Both in Teachers and Hearers. London, 1656. Philadelphia, 1760. (17)

"40 Epistles from Pennsylvania and Jerseys"

Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1773

Robert Barclay, The Anarchy of the Ranters, and other Libertines. Philadelphia, 1757. (6)

Ambrose Rigge, A brief and Serious warning to such as are concerned in commerce and trading, etc. Stanford, N.Y., reprinted and sold by Daniel Lawrence, 1805. (13)

Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1786

Mary Brotherton Brook, Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting, in Order to the Solemn Worship of God. Philadelphia, 1780.

Joseph Phipps, The Original and Present State of Man, Briefly Considered, etc. Philadelphia, 1783.

Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1787

William Penn, A Key for Every Capacity, etc. Philadelphia, 1870. (24)

Robert Barclay, A Catechism and Confession of Faith, etc. Newport, 1752. (12)

Dell, Baptism. (24)

"Penn's call to Christendom" (18)

"the Defence of Women's Preaching by Josiah Martin and J. Locke" (12)

Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1790

"John Gough's History of the People Called Quakers" (16)

Bible (21)

Fig. 31, continued

Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1797
Job Scott, Journal of the Life, Travels and Gospel Labours,
of that Faithful Servant and Minister of Christ, Job
Scott. New York, 1797. (102)

¹Where bibliographical material is given, it is from Evans' American Bibliography, except Penn's Key for Every Capacity, which is from my personal library. The places and dates are for reference only. It is not my suggestion that these are necessarily the editions distributed. Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of copies distributed. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 3/19/1761. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 5/21/1773. Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meetings of 6/2/1786, 1/15/1787. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meetings of 2/1/1787, 11/4/1790. Nine Partners MM, 1790-1797, Meeting of 7/19/1797.

the vicinity of his Monthly Meeting, he was expected to consult it for advice and to receive a certificate of removal. This was especially insisted upon in the case of permanent removal or extended visits, no matter how short the distance the individual was going. Oswego Monthly Meeting issued them to students going less than five miles up the road to the Nine Partners Boarding School.⁶²

The certificates served several purposes. They prevented a person's moving into an area and claiming membership, and all the advantages thereof, without having gone through the usual procedure for joining. It was an administrative convenience, for it allowed accurate enumeration and location of all members in good standing. Most important, it was an effective instrument of discipline. It allowed the meeting to maintain its grip over all its members, even those who were leaving, for if a Friend's conduct had been unsatisfactory, or if he were leaving with his affairs unsettled, he could be denied a certificate. This had the advantage, too, of protecting those who were left behind.

To have a certificate was to the advantage of the departing Quaker. It verified his claim to membership in the Society, and thereby entitled him to the advantages of membership, such as financial aid if it were needed, and so forth. Moreover, there were social advantages which cannot be underestimated. During this period, most Friends who removed went to less settled areas. A certificate of removal caused him to be accepted immediately into Quaker society. It further es-

tablished for him an immediate good reputation.

When a certificate was requested, the Monthly Meeting sent a committee to visit the Friend and enquire into his reasons for leaving, and into the state of his "outward affairs." A certificate was then drawn up and signed. It generally followed pretty closely the following form:

To Creek Monthly Meeting

Dear Friends, Charles Cock a member of this Meeting having some time since removed and settled within the Verge of Yours, requested our certificate and on inquiry it appears that his outward affairs are Settled to satisfaction, and clear of Marriage engagements amongst us, we therefore recommend him to your christian care & remain your friends Signed in and by Order of Shappaqua Monthly Meeting held at Shappaqua the 12th of 8th mo. 1808
by

Samuel Millis Clerk

If the individual changed his mind and returned soon after, his original certificate was often sent back, endorsed to the effect that "the within named Jonathan Deuel being about to Return to You Desired an Indorsement on this minute [.] These may therefore certify that he has been of an orderly life and Conversation & a Steady attender of meetings Since amongst us Such as we Recommend him with his Son Abraham to Your Christian Care---"63

Meetings were unanimous in their emphasis upon the indispensability of receiving "removals" from everyone who came claiming membership, and that they all follow the accepted form closely. On the first point, we find John Coleman disowned in 1781 for withholding his family's certificate because it did not contain the name of his oldest son. At another time, Oblong Monthly Meeting discovered an oversight

and resumed work on a certificate after receiving a report from "The friends appointed five years and eleven months agoe to Visit John Gurney" From the opposite end of the exchange, Nine Partners Monthly Meeting in 1781 recorded disapprovingly the receipt of a certificate from Timothy Bull, formerly of Westerly Monthly Meeting, "which appears by the date he hath Long with held." The date on it was 8 month 27 1746! On the second point, the certificate of "Antient Benjamin Hoag" was accepted by Oblong Monthly Meeting in 1760, but

as no mention is made therein of his Setling his outward Affairs in them Parts this meeting appoints Benja^m & Zebulon Ferriss to write to that meeting & acquaint Friends that we look upon it not Well to omit so necessary a Thing in Certificates for removing. 64

XIII

Discipline was maintained by an elaborate machinery, and the amount of time such activities took in the Monthly Meeting is in some measure indicated by the fact that business meetings were often referred to as meetings for discipline.

Quakers were constantly reminded of the strict standards of conduct demanded of them. In 1770, Oblong Monthly Meeting established "Visitors" to speak to Friends with regard to neglect of meetings and negligence "in Keeping up many Branches of our Christian Dicipline [sic]." Four years later, Nine Partners Meeting decided to adopt a practice of reading the Discipline to meetings.⁶⁵

Friends were also continually reminded of the power the

Monthly Meeting claimed to have over them. In 1782, Benjamin Moore requested and received membership in Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, and was asked to appear in person to be received. He did not come for several months, because, the meeting noted, "the Family wherein he Resides would not consent thereto but condessed that he should attend next Meeting Therefore this Meeting under a Consideration thereof thinks that he doth not pay aproper [sic] Regard to the Authority of a Monthly Meeting"66

When a misdeed was reported, a committee was formed to visit the offender and "treat" with him. The sessions were serious ones, but Friends' attempts often had a humorous quality to them. Miss Mary G. Cook reports that an ancestor of hers, a member of the Orthodox Nine Partners Meeting, married a Hicksite. At that time, this was considered at least as serious an offense as marrying a member of an entirely different denomination, if not worse. The committee paid him a visit to ask, "Are thee sorry thee married her?" "No," was the reply. The Friends withdrew to consider what their next approach should be. Finally, they returned. "Could thee say thee is sorry things are as they are?" "Yes." They left satisfied.⁶⁷

If the Friend repented, he "produced" an acknowledgement, a paper of condemnation of his conduct, at the Monthly Meeting. A typical example is Bevilly Chase's paper.

Dear Friends whereas for want of adhearing to the Dictates of Truth I have Run myselfe into undue libertys Such as going to frolicks and other places of Divertion and also in keeping company & Marrying with one Not of the Society of Friends & Suffering myselfe to be married

by a priest all which practices I Do Condemn Desireing
Friends to pass by these mine offeines [sic] and contin-
ue me under your Care hoping that for future to live more
Circumspect that I may Better adorn our profession Bevilly
Chase 68

The importance of the acknowledgement was repeatedly emphasized. In one case, a Quaker cut down his neighbor's apple tree, then later realized his error and made restitution. However, he neglected to present an apology to the meeting, and was disowned. Furthermore, the apology was not deemed sufficient unless it condemned the offender ~~proportionately~~ ately to the magnitude of his crime, and unless it was felt to be sincere. Many apologies were rejected for one or the other of the reasons. A few inexplicably slipped past. Joseph Smith, who was being labored with for keeping a Tavern without permission, was reluctant to condemn his "outgoings." The committee had to report that "they have treated with Joseph Smith . . . but got no Satisfaction of him nor no Likelihoods" Then, "One of the Friends appointed Two months ago to treat with Jospheh Smith report that Soon after that M^o Meeting his House & Most of his goods were Consumed by Fire & that he was willing to Condemn his keeping a Tavern Contrary to the advice of his Friends" ⁶⁹

Meetings were not hesitant to ask their counterparts for help.

To the Monthly Meeting at Westbury on Long Island

Dear friends after our Salutation of Love to You we hereby Inform that Aaron Hoag Hath for Some Considerable time Left us without acquainting our Meeting thereof or taking the advice of friends therein where he has a right of membership and hath Left his outward affairs unsettled on account of which we Request Your assistance in Visiting

and Dealing with him apprehending that he Resides within the Verge of Your Meeting after which Brotherly assistance and Labour bestowed for his Recovery are Desirous of hearing from You we are Your friends and Brethren. 70

When all else failed, the offender was disowned. In solemn tones, the meeting declared

From our monthly meeting held at Nine Partners 20th of 1st M^o 1796 Whereas Zachariah Barton by disregarding the Divine Monitor in his own breast has fell into disorders; such as not keeping to plainness, and has been to places of diversion; also guilty of Quarreling and fighting: And friends having used repeated endeavours for his restoration, but not having the desired effect; Therefore for the Clearing of Truth and our society of the reproach we do testify against his said misconduct & disown him to be any longer a member with us until by repentance and amendment of life he shall make satisfaction to this meeting which that he may be favoured is our desire; Signed in & on behalf of Sd meeting by Philip Hoag Clk

All disownments, as well as acknowledgements, were read at the end of meetings for worship, until 1799, when the Yearly Meeting directed that offenses "against the Church only" did not warrant the reading of the disownment publicly, although moral offenses continued to be published.⁷¹

The process of disownment was inexorable. Oblong Monthly Meeting discovered in 1765 that Abraham Palmer, "in 1750 or theirabouts [sic]" had committed several infractions, and disowned him at that late date.⁷²

The effects of disownment were severe. It carried general social opprobrium.

. . . to be condemned by the church was to be condemned by the whole community, and, therefore, to maintain his position among his neighbors, whether church-members or not, he needed the approval of the church.

In addition, it meant, in Quaker communities, a diminution of business opportunities and of social life, and the pro-

hibition of marriage to a Quaker. For these reasons, it is all the more surprising that some Friends, feeling that they could no longer support the Society, requested disownment. It is perhaps a tribute to the Society that it had instilled in them such a concern for honesty that they chose the fate outlined above, rather than electing merely to remain as nominal members.⁷³

XIV

The Friendly emphasis upon a strict moral code is not surprising if one examines their condition. When Friends first came to Dutchess County, they were pioneers. As William Warren Sweet pointed out, "Out of the general laxness in morals and the letting down of standards, more or less inherent in pioneering, there came an increased emphasis upon discipline on the part of the churches." The evils he described as common to the frontier situation were all present, according to the minutes of the Dutchess County meetings. "Members were disciplined for fighting, lying, harmful gossip, stealing [less common among Friends], adultery, horse racing, dishonest business dealings, . . . for quarrels over boundaries, but the most common cause was drunkenness." An excellent example of most of these faults was William Mosher, who was expelled by Oblong Monthly Meeting in 1757 for "Lying, Equivocating, keeping People out of their Just dues, Quarreling with his Wife, from time to time, and neglecting Meetings."⁷⁴

As Sweet says, the problem of alcohol was a vexatious one, for "whiskey was considered as one of the necessities, and drinking drams in family and social circles was universally thought of as harmless" Quakers were against intoxicants as defilers of the body wherein dwelt the Inner Light, but it must be pointed out that, in the 18th century, this did not mean they required total abstinence. They recognized the use of some alcohol as a staple of one's diet, and complaints against members were for drunkenness ("being disguised with drink") rather than for drinking. To avoid responsibility for someone else's overindulgence, the Oblong Meeting early raised a question in Quarterly Meeting "whether it is Lawdable for any friend that stands as a Member amongst friends to set up a tavern, or selling strong drink without the consent of friends, which this meeting concluded in the Negative, that it was not" Permission to operate taverns was granted, but only to Friends whose character was known to be high.⁷⁵

Horse racing was another problem, one that fills the record books of the meetings before the Revolution. It was a pursuit particularly attractive to young men, and one which was only cured by its own fading popularity.⁷⁶

By far the most persistent problem for Friends in the early years was that of sex, in all its forms. The meetings had to deal with many cases of this nature in the years 1728-1828, and it handled them frankly. Fornication was of course the most frequent charge. It was often expressed in the form

of a complaint against a man for being "unlawfully familiar" with his wife before marriage, "as made manifest by her having a child soon after marriage." At other times, a bastard child was the evidence. In these cases, the mother was asked to name the father. If he did not confess, a meeting was arranged where his guilt was judged by his reaction to her personal accusation. Divorce was an issue rarely encountered, but it was considered illegal by Friends, and anyone consorting with a divorced person was considered to have committed adultery. The lone case in Dutchess County records involves Elias Palmer who was accused of "keeping Company with Samuel Isaac's Wife, who is said to have a Connecticut Bill of Divoursment" An interesting exception to the usually strict code Friends kept on this matters is the case of Philena Ireland. She was complained against for marrying her first cousin, but the meeting felt that "Discipline Doth Not Injaoin us to Draw a publick Testimony against first Cousins marrying."⁷⁷

A final class of moral offenses for Quakers was that of offenses against the church. These ranged from the ridiculous to the reasonable. An example of the first is the controversy with James Mott, wherein the meeting conceived that "he hath appeared Something disorderly in his Sitting in Meeting with his hatt on in times of prayar" He was treated with for an extended period of time to no avail. Since he was an important man in his meeting, the matter was quietly dropped. On the other hand, there were cases of more import. The matter of disturbing meetings was already

discussed. One Friend was disowned for being a Mason. Another was expelled for the rather obvious offense of "frequenting the Meeting of the Church of England So Called and Reading Service with them."⁷⁸

There were, of course, many other offenses dealt with by the Monthly Meetings which do not fall into any of these categories, but these were the main problems. Then, too, one must mention the Yearly Meeting's general injunction against "reading of pernicious Books, and the corrupt conversation of the World. . . ." ⁷⁹

Yet, the frontier came to end in Dutchess County, but the role of the meeting as ~~moral~~ court did not diminish. It was not until the schism, in fact, that there was any diminution in the meetings' force as moral arbiter. The answer lies in the very nature of Quakerism. The Friends, in Ernst Troeltsch's terms, were a sect (as opposed to a church).

[sects]
. . . they^Aaspire after personal inward perfection, and they aim at a direct personal fellowship between the members of each group. From the very beginning, therefore, they are forced to organize themselves in small groups, and to renounce the idea of dominating the world. Their attitude towards the world, the State, and Society may be indifferent, tolerant or hostile, since they have no desire to control and incorporate these forms of social life; on the contrary, they tend to avoid them; their aim is usually either to tolerate their presence alongside their own body, or even to replace these social institutions by their own society.

Each of these statements is, I believe, borne out by the evidence presented in this chapter. And the reason this is the nature of the Friends, as I pointed out at the beginning of the chapter, is the doctrine of the Inner Light. Given

the belief that there is that of God in every man, perfectionism is implied, for one is led to believe that if God is in him, he can be perfect. Thus, the high emphasis upon personal morality and outward evidence of it. This, plus the traditional Christian belief that the end of man is to glorify God, leads to the conception of the church as a virgin body. If man is capable of perfection, then no one who is not perfect, at least visibly, belongs in God's church. Further the assumption that man's end is to glorify God, and the Quakers' view that they of all sects or churches best glorify God because they express that of God in them most fully, one can easily understand the seeking of "direct personal fellowship" as a seeking after the most godly. The State and Society are officially tolerated as unimportant to the godly, and opposed in practice as an expression of hostility at the attempts those two entities make to infringe upon the perfection of the Society. The only logical conclusion, then, was to withdraw from the world, thereby freeing Friends from its corrupt influences, and to set up one's own social institutions, to be governed by the uncorrupt.⁸⁰

PART III

CHAPTER V
THE PEACE TESTIMONY

I

We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fighting with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world. The Spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move into it; and we do certainly know, and so testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.

With these words, written to Charles II in 1661, the Society of Friends made clear at the very beginning of its existence its position on this vital issue. It is this peaceful stand which is to many people the identifying feature of Quakerism. To them, this is the Society of Friends. In addition, this is the testimony which of all the Quaker testimonies, has caused them the most trouble. In the *years* 1728 to 1828, three separate periods of conflict emerged to try Friends' faith. They were the colonial wars (especially the last-- the French and Indian War), the Revolution, and the War of 1812. The effect of these clashes upon Dutchess County Quakers is the principal topic of this chapter. In addition, the operation of the peace testimony in times of peace will be explored, for it will be found that challenges to the

consciences of Friends did not cease with the shooting.¹

II

The French and Indian War was one of great suffering for Friends. The right of conscientious objection was not yet fully recognized, and the situation in New York was aggravated by the threat of invasion from Canada. It was this war which caused the crisis of conscience leading to the withdrawal of the Quaker party from Pennsylvania politics, thus ending the last major effort at Quaker political participation in colonial America.

As the situation between French Canada and British America worsened, the colonies prepared for invasion. Out of the emergency came the famed Albany Plan of Union of 1754, although it was never implemented. The colony of New York saw itself as a particularly vulnerable point, and began arming. An example of the fear felt in New York during the latter half of the 1750's is the stone barn in Pleasant Valley, Dutchess County, which was built during that era. The building was constructed with loopholes, probably in anticipation of French attack.^{1a}

The New York Legislature passed in February, 1754, an "Act for Regulating the Militia." It was in some respects a concession to the pacifist groups, for it provided a system of substitution and exemption fees for conscientious objectors to war, whereas the earlier colonial wars had occasioned the use of various stringent measures designed to force objectors to bear arms. The act of 1754 provided that

Quakers and Moravians, could, when called for peacetime militia duty, send in their place a "sufficient well Armed Man," if they previously paid an exemption fee of twenty shillings. Failure to send the man resulted in an additional fine of ten shillings. In time of "Alarm or Invasion" objectors were required to present themselves to the military in person, provided with "one good spade, Iron shod shovel, and pick," to serve as "Pioneers or Labourers," or in any other non-combatant capacity, on penalty of £100 for failure to comply. The act was written to last one year, but was extended each year for many years after that.² (see Appendix IV)

Unfortunately for all concerned, the Friendly conscience not only forbade service in the army, but also proscribed the supplying of a "sufficient well Armed Man," the performance of non-combatant service (called by Quakers "military service," as opposed to bearing arms), and the voluntary payment of fines and fees, since each of these acts, they felt, could be construed as supporting in some way the military establishment of the colony. There were, in the meetings, a few cases of individuals' "appearing at Trainings," usually in the capacity of clerks, and fewer of individuals who were actually pressured into bearing arms. The majority of violations, however, involved paying fines voluntarily.

Most Friends complied with the registration requirement. It is thus that we have obtained one of the most valuable sources for early Dutchess County Quaker history, namely, the list of the 1755 enrollment. That document provides the names, residences,

and occupations of most of the male Quakers above sixteen years of age then living in Dutchess County. (see Appendix V) Beyond that minimum of cooperation, few Friends went. The authorities were forced to capture the required fines from them by distress. The records of the Dutchess County courts show warrants by Justice Lourens Van Cleeck ordering the sheriff to collect by distraint £3 and 21 shillings costs from each violator.³

Further evidence of the refusal of Friends to cooperate is contained in the lengthy accounts of "sufferings" inscribed in the record books of the Monthly Meetings. These lists were minute compilations of everything taken from Friends by the government in lieu of fines or service. Their function was partially for use in attempting to obtain redress from the government, partially for use in determining who was especially hard hit, to compensate them as much as possible, and partially for self-pity. The lists show an increase in sufferings in 1757, rising till 1759, then dropping off sharply. Thus, £32 was distrained from Friends' property in 1756, and £169 in 1757, with the amount increasing to a peak of £198 3s. 6d in 1759, then plunging to £77 4s. in 1760.⁴ (see Appendix VI)

III

The area which is now southern Dutchess and Putnam Counties was the southernmost limit of control of the Revolutionary government throughout most of that war. The area was one of bustling activity and incredible chaos. The village of Fishkill served as capital of the state for a time, and was through-

out the war a center of administrative activity. It was a military supply depot, and the site to which "the corpses were brought back to be stacked like cordwood in the streets" after the battle of White Plains. Patriotic newspapers of New York City moved to Poughkeepsie and Fishkill for the duration. John Jay lived in exile near Fishkill, his family home falling behind British lines. The Continental Army paid a visit to this area of the Hudson Valley during 1778 and 1779, and returned as the fighting ended to wait for peace.⁵ (see Map 11)

Needless to say, activity of this sort placed a severe strain upon Quaker life during the Revolution. It was not lessened by the fact that the majority Dutch Reformed population was intensely Patriotic, and was suspicious in the extreme of anyone who did not share in its enthusiasms.⁶

Quaker Hill was perhaps the area in which Revolutionary turmoil made its greatest impact. Cut off as it was by the Taconic Hills, and lacking good roads to connect it with the more populous western regions of the county, Quaker Hill became a sort of no man's land in which Friends were at the mercy of both sides.

Of continuing concern were Waite Vaughn's "Cowboys," a band of outlaws who took advantage of the uncertain situation between the lines of the opposing armies, and of the Friendly persuasion of Quaker Hill residents, to plunder the local citizenry. They robbed homes and stores and committed an occasional murder. They were also called "Tories," and ap-

(Continued on page 182)

Key to Map 11

Revolutionary Activity in Southern Dutchess County, --
Some Significant Sites

Sites of 1782-1783

- 1- Temple Hill, New Windsor, Orange County, the camp of the bulk of the army
- 2- John Ellison House, Vail's Gate, Orange County, General Knox Headquarters
- 3- Hasbrouck House, Newburgh, Orange County, Washington's Headquarters
- 4- "Mt. Gulian," Gulian Verplanck House, Steuben Headquarters; Site of founding of the Order of Cincinnati
- 5- Wharton House, General Putnam Headquarters

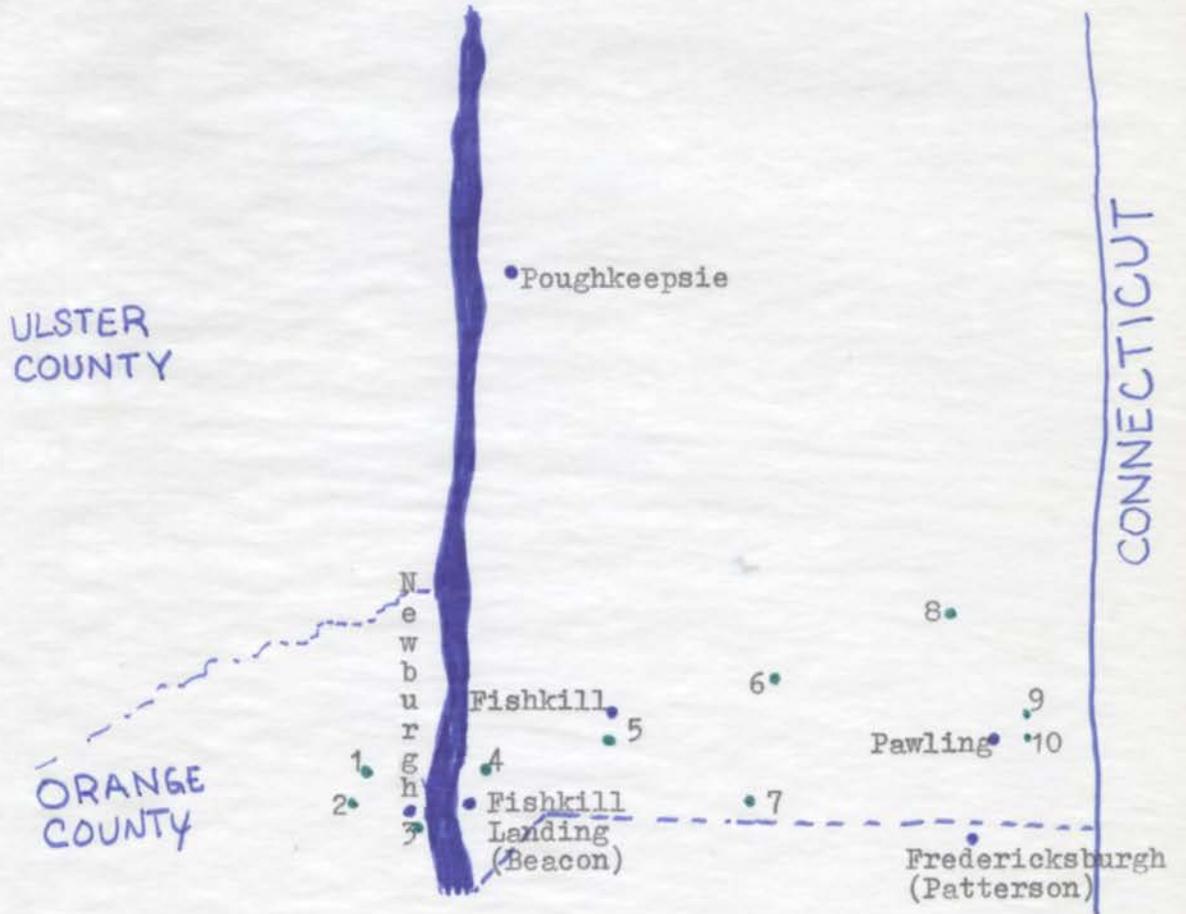
Miscellaneous Sites

- 6- Col. John Brinkerhoff House, Washington's Headquarters, 1778-79
- 7- John Jay Home
- 8- Phillip Hoag House, Washington visited here
- 9- Russell House, Lafayette Headquarters, 1778
- 10- Reed Ferriss House, Washington's Headquarters, 1778; Site of Gen. Schuyler Trial

Map 11

Revolutionary Activity in Southern Dutchess County --

Some Significant Sites



parently did some foraging for the British, when it suited their fancy, but the name is undoubtedly more an attempt of later generations to vilify the English than it is accurate. The following is typical of their exploits.

One night they made a forcible entry into his [Nathan Pearce, Jr., a non-Quaker] house, and before he could take means to defend himself, was knocked down and beaten until he was insensible. After satisfying their vengeance in this manner, they suspended him by the thumbs to the ceiling; in which position he was whipped until his back was cut into shreds, and the blood ran in a stream upon the floor. This done, they searched the house for plunder, took his money and clothing, and whatever articles could be converted into cash, destroying what they could not carry away, and decamped, leaving their victim more dead than alive. He was taken down and resuscitated by his family; but he never afterward recovered, and died in a few weeks from the effects of his injuries. He was the third victim that the limits of Pawling had furnished to . . . Vaughn and his robber clan.

Vaughn was later cornered on Quaker Hill in 1781, killed by his captors, and buried on the land of Quaker John Toffey. It was in this climate that Quakers attempted to maintain their loving philosophy throughout the Revolutionary War.⁷ (see pages 22 and 39)

Their situation was further aggravated by the presence of the Continental Army, which camped across southern Dutchess County and western Connecticut during the fall and winter of 1778 and 1779. In August, 1778, that body ousted the Friends from their meeting house on Quaker Hill, and used it for a hospital. The story is that the soldiers came during a First-day's meeting, and sat in the back of the meeting, leaving their guns at the door, quietly waiting till the end of meeting. As Friends left, they took it over. The building was used as a

(continued on page 184)

hospital for three to five months, during which time meetings were held either in the old meeting house, which had been re-erected as a barn after it was sold in 1764, or in Paul Osborn's house. Wilson gives both locations as the site of the displaced meeting. No clue is to be had from the minutes, which do not contain a single mention of the presence of the soldiers. Many soldiers died while being treated at Quaker Hill, and were buried across the road in a field adjacent to the Quaker graveyard. It is said that there are rifle ports in the garrett of the house, cut by soldiers in the process of fortifying the building (although some say they were made by the Cowboys when they used the meeting house attic as a hideout), and that the marks of the crutches may still be seen on the floors. The records of the army are almost as silent as those of the meeting concerning the hospital, the only mention being Washington's order of October 16, 1778, that "No more sick [are] to be sent to the hospital at Quaker Hill without first enquiring of the Chief surgeon there, whether they can be received, as the house is already full."⁸

In the fall of 1778, the commander-in-chief himself arrived. He stopped first at the house of Quaker Reed Ferriss, staying for six days beginning on September 19, then moved down into the village of Pawling for the remainder of his stay. Other officers were quartered on the Hill, including Lafayette, who stayed at William Russell's house.⁹ (see Map 5)

Relations between Friends and Patriots were never cordial. The hospital was resented, and Quakers "froze out" the staff there, forcing them to shift for themselves for food and supplies. In a letter to his superiors, Dr. James Fallon described the situation there, denouncing Friends as being entirely Tory, save four. An incident illustrative of the Quaker attitude is described by Warren Wilson. Dr. Fallon was in need of some wagons to take fourteen men to hospitals at Fishkill and Danbury. None were volunteered, and he had to impress them. He took his first vehicles at the house of Wing Kelley, where he met no resistance. By the time he reached the widow Irish's, however, a mob, led by Abraham Wing and Benjamin Akin, had assembled to resist as best it could, and the doctor had to rely upon armed support to take the additional wagons.¹⁰ (see Map 12)

No activity of so dramatic a nature occurred in any of the other Quaker areas of the county, but Friends in those areas nevertheless found life difficult, being in constant contact with militant neighbors, and being witness to occasional minor military events.

IV

The question of Quaker loyalties during the war is a tricky one. It is almost universally the sentiment of writers of the past that Dutchess County Quakers, and Friends generally, were Loyalists. The statement is a misleading one, however, for it implies that they were active in a non-violent way in

support of the Crown. Their official position, however, was one of rigorous condemnation of Friends who aided either side, and an attitude of aloofness toward the conflict was maintained insofar as possible. In fact, the meetings urged their members not to pay any attention to the "commotions," and to carry on their lives as usual, as far as possible.¹¹

The thrust of Quaker doctrine, both in its belief in non-involvement in "outward wars and strife" and in its belief in a passive acceptance of the regime in power, was to lead Quakers away from the American cause. Friends did not recognize grounds for revolution. Unlike the Moravians, who worked in American hospitals, the Quakers chose to heed George Fox's advice: "Whatsoever bustlings or troubles or tumults or outrages should rise in the world keep out of them." Furthermore, the constant advice contained in the Epistles from the prestigious London Yearly Meeting was that Friends remain neutral, but, of course, loyally so.¹²

Both sides wanted assurances of Quaker neutrality and cooperation. The New York State Committee of Safety requested in 1775 that the Yearly Meeting furnish it with a list of all male Quakers over sixteen years of age. After serious consideration, the Yearly Meeting decided that it could not in good conscience comply. The next year the state asked that Friends give a bond that they would do everything possible to keep their cattle from falling into British hands. In 1777, the English governor Tryon asked that the Yearly Meeting show its loyalty by raising a fund to clothe His Majesty's

troops. Like the first, these latter two requests were respectfully denied.¹³

The actual situation, of course, was revealed to be one of confusion. Some Quakers were able to maintain their neutrality, and could say with Job Scott that

I had no desire to promote the opposition to Great Britain; neither had I any desire on the other hand to promote the measures or successes of Great Britain. I believed but to let the potsherds of the earth alone in their smiting one against another; I wished to be clear in the sight of God, and do all he might require of me 14

Others expressed their sentiments in favor of Britain openly. Samuel Mabbett, as was mentioned before (p. 100), was a Tory. Two spies for the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies reported in 1777 the "intelligence which those deponents had received of a number of Tories having purchased fire Arms of the Mabbits" ¹⁵

Quaker Hill was widely considered a hotbed of Loyalism. The Conspiracies Committee minutes contain the following report:

Fish-Kills, Connor's Tavern, Jan. 10, 1777: Nath^{iel} Sackett Esq reported to this Comm: that during his late absence he had in further prosecution of the business Committed to his Charge sent Enoch Crosby to the several persons mentioned in his last examination . . . that the said Crosby obtain'd very useful intelligence from them . . . and so disposed of & stationed Cap^t Gassbeek's men as that they may have the best opportunity of apprehending the Company who Crosby in his said Affidavit says intends shortly to Join the Enemy And that he had further directed them after apprehending the said Company to take Dr Prosser and his Brothers, roger Cutler, Daniel Chace, Such of the Havilands at the Oblong and Quaker-hill as were fit for Service, Jonathan Akins & Elisha Akins all of whom he had great reason to believe as well from the affidavit aforesaid . . . are deeply concern'd in promoting the designs of the Enemy and their

principal agents in inlisting men in their service and directing them on their way to the Enemy. And M^r Sackett further reports that he met with two persons . . . Members of the com: of Pawlings Precinct who gave him an anonymous Letter found at the said Shearman's Door and which he now delivers to the Com: informing that a design was in agitation to take or put to death members of the said Com:

While most of the plots and intrigues reported in these reports are probably mere rumors, at least insofar as the Quakers were concerned, the account gives one an idea of the conditions on Quaker Hill which produced the report. The impression is substantiated by William Smith's report of April 21, 1777, written from Livingston manor.

One Haviland of Wollomscot who came to purchase Lands there was with me on Saturday Night and came from a Visit to his Father at Quaker Hill in Dutchess, where the late Drafts for the Mountains were so averse from the Service as to abscond--He says that Neighbourhood are 40 to 1 against Independency, and that in the Northern Parts of the Country the Whig inhabitants have been greatly divided

And, as mentioned above, the Chief Surgeon at Quaker Hill hospital concurred in denouncing Friends as Tories. Given an allowance for some degree of feeling that "he who is not with us is against us," these accounts do indicate a degree of bias among Friends.¹⁶

Of course, some Friends supported the American cause, too. The meeting, quick to condemn partisanship, seemed to be extraordinarily speedy in squelching pro-American sentiment. It caused Lott Tripp in 1776 to condemn himself for "talking too much of the Times [and] to Much favouring the Parties against the King," and Josiah Bull had to apologize for "using harsh and unbecoming language against the King." In addition to these cases, there is a story recorded in the

Ferriss family memorials which maintains that Molly Ferriss Akin "while in the camp of the British soldiers, evading (or during the absence of) the officer on guard, loaded and fired a gun for the purpose, and with the effect, of warning the American Army and informing them of the location of the enemy." The story is, of course, possible, but is probably the invention of a patriotic descendant.¹⁷

V

The meetings made every effort to maintain the usual standards of discipline, and encouraged their members to conduct their life in disregard of the war. To help them do this, committees were appointed "to assist the overseers in advice & Council on account of the Commotions Now pervailing to Such friends that may Joine or Take an active part in these Times of Dificulty" In addition, financial help was tendered to Friends afflicted by the war. (see Chapter IV)¹⁸

That Friends were not entirely successful in ignoring the war is attested to by many incidents. Work on Creek meeting house had to be halted frequently while Friends hid from press gangs. The Purchase Quarterly Meeting minutes attribute absentees to the difficulty in travelling from Purchase to the Oblong where meetings were frequently held. This is not to say that they did not try to carry on as usual. The following incident is reported by the Conspiracies Committee. That group was informed in 1777 that "Joshua Haight, Tripp Mosier, Zophar Green, Paul Upton, Jonathan Dean, Martha, the Widow of

Aaron Vieil, and Martha, the Wife of Parsall Brown, all of the Nine Partners, . . . Aaron Lancaster, Edward Shove, Daniel Haviland & his Brother from Quaker Hill & the Oblong, and Lott Tripp & his Wife, from New Milford . . . were down at the General Meeting at Flushing." The Committee had to ask the Provincial Congress for advice, reporting that the Quakers "have lately been to Long island without permission, to attend their annual meeting . . . ," and that they "aver that they attended the meeting solely for religious purposes, and that they have not in the least intermeddled in political matters; we are not possessed of any evidence either that they have or have not." The Congress advised them to imprison the Friends at their [the Friends'] own expence, in the Fleet Prison at Esopus Creek, "until further order." Small wonder that at the hands of such men the Quakers should incline toward the British, who allowed them free and unmolested passage across their lines at all times. The Friends remained in Esopus Prison until the Committee saw fit to parole them. This did not discourage further trips to Yearly Meeting, though; for the minutes of Oblong Monthly Meeting record in 1782 the number of saddles and bridles lost in going to the Yearly Meeting in 1781.¹⁹

Neither were fines and exemptions paid any more willingly than in the French and Indian War. Each meeting produced yearly itemized accounts of sufferings for "conscientious scruples against the support of war."²⁰

It has been said that the war upset the normal ecclesi-

astical functioning of the Society of Friends to a greater degree than it did that of other denominations. However, in this one way Quaker life was less affected than that of other religious groups. A cursory examination of the structure of the Society will reveal its decentralized nature, for the Yearly Meeting was the largest unit recognized in Quakerdom. There was no central organization binding them all together, as there was for groups like the Anglicans, nor was there any central figure, like John Wesley was to the Methodists, to hold them. Instead, their lack of centralization allowed Friends meetings to function in a relatively independent manner, and thus to maintain their structures intact. After the war, there was no question of leaving the relationship of American meetings to the London Yearly Meeting intact. It remained as it had before, one of advice and friendship, nothing more.²¹

As might be expected, there were certain disciplinary problems arising directly from the warfare. One Friend was expelled for carrying a pistol to defend himself. Others were disciplined for paying fines, and still others for hiring substitutes.²²

There were also moral problems arising from the conflict. William Wing's counterfeiting has already been mentioned. Another Friend was accused, and later acquitted, of carrying a secret document for the British. The Meeting for Sufferings even felt it necessary in 1781 to issue a general warning to Friends to refrain from smuggling.²³

The general moral decline present in situations such as

that in Dutchess County during the Revolution had its effect upon the Quakers. The number of cases of general immorality, such as frequenting "places of diversion," "going out from plainness," disobedience to parents, fornication, and so forth, increased markedly during the Revolutionary War. This especially affected the young. The temptations were too many for some Friends, and several cases are recorded in the minutes of Dutchess County meetings wherein an individual simply informs the meeting that he "would as lives be disowned."

A story representative of the Friends disciplinary problems, and of their dilemma during the Revolution in general, is that regarding the clause in the 14th Query regarding defrauding the King of his dues. The Oblong Meeting, lying in the heart of the American camp during 1778, sent in that year a concern to the Yearly Meeting inquiring whether it would not be better to drop or suspend the clause in question until the situation is a little clearer. The Yearly Meeting, safe behind British lines, informed them that the Oblong "testamony is too nearly concerned to admit of any alteration in the 14th Query as proposed" The clause was retained to the bitter end, for it was not until 1783 that the Yearly Meeting saw fit to drop it.²⁴

VI

After the war, there was still one problem. Friends had always been forbidden to partake of prizes or spoils of war. The Yearly Meeting decided in 1784 that confiscated lands

fell into this category.

October, 1779, saw the introduction of a bill into the Provincial Congress providing for the confiscation and sale of Loyalist lands which the state had previously been leasing to Patriotic tenants. The bill was delayed, but obtained passage on March 11, 1780. As passed, it provided for immediate sale of confiscated lands. This presented a particular temptation to the Quaker tenants of southern Dutchess, for almost the entire area which is now Putnam County belonged to the Loyalist Philipse family. All around them, Friends saw their neighbors taking advantage of the bonanza.²⁵

However, in 1784, the Yearly Meeting declared the purchase of confiscated lands inconsistent with Quaker belief. The move was not surprising, for there was much sentiment to ^{that} effect previous to that date. Even in Dutchess County, as early as 1781, there were actions taken which pointed in this direction. Seth Gardner, for example, was complained against for purchasing "Produce of Such Land as the right owner was kept out of."²⁶

The declaration was nevertheless a continuing sore spot for Oblong tenants. In 1790, they asked the Yearly Meeting to reconsider its decision, and they were told to reconsider their request.²⁷

VII

Unlike the other two wars, the War of 1812 involved neither the imminent threat of invasion nor a challenge to one's basic loyalties. ~~Not~~ ^{It was not} a war whose effects pervaded

the population. In fact, it was an extremely unpopular war in some sections of the nation. For this reason the war, as Rufus Jones said, "did not bring Friends into very serious straits."²⁸

In fact, the war put so little pressure upon the Quakers of Dutchess County that it is hardly mentioned by them. There was, of course, the obligatory exhortation from the Yearly Meeting, telling Friends that

The present day is a time of great commotion; the nations of the earth are rending and desolating each other; how necessary it is then for all who make this profession to attend so carefully to the Divine principle as to be kept from mixing in political controversies

The rending and desolating did not cause a single Friend from any Dutchess County meeting to violate any portion of the peace testimony in the period 1812-1815. It did not even cost Friends a rise in monetary sufferings. The one effect of the War of 1812 on Dutchess County Quakers recorded in any source, printed or manuscript, is that Albro Akin's Quaker Hill general store prospered as a result of the increase in trade during the war.²⁹ (see Chapter III)

VIII

The records reveal that sufferings for conscience did not disappear with the signing of peace treaties. In the era before the Revolution, Friends regularly requested certificates of membership from their Monthly Meetings in order to gain exemption from the military. After independence, fines and distrains continued to occur in the peace time

records of Friends' meetings as a result of military service. As late as 1829, Friends were jailed for refusal to serve. One Friend reported spending eighty days in jail during that year for that reason. The first relief for Quakers came in 1830, when, after being importuned by Friendly petitions, the commander-in-chief decreed that Quakers were to be excused from military activity upon presentation of a certain form to the local Captain of Infantry before 4th month of each year.³⁰

Quakers remained true to their principles throughout the hundred years between 1728 and 1828. The spirit of their conscientious endeavours, scrupulous to the last detail, is perhaps most happily expressed in a summary Elias Hicks made of a testimony at Stanford, wherein he was led

to show the drift and design of those precious testimonies, as good fruit naturally emanated from a good tree; especially those two, the most noble and dignified, viz: against war and slavery. And whether while we were actively paying taxes to civil government for the purpose of promoting war or warlike purposes in any degree, we were not blacking our testimony in that respect; and pulling down with one hand, what we are pretending to build with the other. 31

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATION AND THE NINE PARTNERS BOARDING SCHOOL

I

Quakers have, from the beginning of their history, shown an interest in the education of their membership. George Fox himself encouraged the organization of a Quaker school in England during the early days of the Society. The earliest Friends, the "First Publishers of Truth," displayed an exceptionally high degree of education for their times. Ernest Taylor, in a study of these men and women, found that over half of them possessed what he called "superior" educational backgrounds, and were "former rectors, Independent pastors, justices of the peace, and schoolmasters." On the other hand, there were some illiterates in the group who had to be aided to obtain some rudimentary education by the Society. On the whole, however, the first Friends were a middle class, educated body.¹

Their interest in education was a broad one. The school Fox wished to have William Tomlinson establish, for instance, was "to teach languages, together with the nature of herbs, roots, plants and trees." Elias Hookes, an early English Friend, summed it up, saying that

We deny nothing for children's learning that may be honest and useful for them to know, whether relating to diving principles or that may be outwardly serviceable for them

in regard to the outward creation.²

The coming of Quietism had a deleterious effect on Friends' educational concern, however. It

tended to make Friends timid and cautious in reference to learning. Their quietist temper and their limitless faith in the immediate assistance of inward Light made education appear more or less as a 'creaturely' achievement and an unnecessary effort. While Quietism maintained its sway, that general attitude toward education prevailed"

The attitude was only strengthened by the fundamental Quaker contempt for the learned "hireling priests" of other denominations, whose training Robert Barclay denounced as "heathenish philosophy Christianized, or rather the literal, external knowledge of Christ heathenized."³

On the whole, an erratic concern for education resulted. Interest in education grew, at least in the form of passive assent to the concept that education was valuable, but active efforts lagged considerably behind. Thus, in the late 18th century, many ambitious plans were laid for meeting schools, but few were ever built. Of those few, only a very small number were able to operate with any regularity. While it is true that other conditions of the era conspired against any systematic acquisition of an education, it is also true that Friends generally did not try very strenuously to overcome these conditions. As a result, then, of the inability of many families to pay the fees, of the need for children's labor at home, and of this apathy to education, most meeting schools operated only three or four months of every year. The few successful, sustained schools of these years were

those operated by private individuals as Friends' "academies."

Antagonism to education lingered into the 19th century.

James Mott, Sr., remarked to Joseph Tallcot in 1812 that

. . . it must be a work of time to wear away the too prevalent, though mistaken idea, that school learning, however guardedly obtained, tends to obstruct religious improvement.

Nevertheless, attitudes had begun to change somewhat, as the enthusiastic reception of the Nine Partners Boarding School demonstrated.⁴ (see below)

But Quietism had had its effect upon the Quaker concept of education. No longer could Friends accept the eclectic enthusiasms of George Fox or Elias Hookes. The Quaker ideal became a "guarded education," that is, instruction "in such a guarded manner as that correct ideas may be formed before incorrect ones are embraced" The Yearly Meeting expressed its sentiments in its Extracts of 1825, exhorting Friends to establish schools in the Monthly and Preparative Meetings, because

Strong and affectionate desires have been felt, that Friends may not be induced by the prospect of a small saving of expense, to send their offspring to those schools where, in obtaining literary instruction, they are in various respects so exposed, as that even a faint hope can scarcely be entertained, that they will grow up in the love of, and conformity to, the profession of the Society, either as relates to our doctrines and principles, or to its peculiar views, in relation to plainness and simplicity of attire, of language and manners. 5

Quaker schools became concerned primarily with the formation of character, rather than with the acquisition of academic skills. Overall,

The ideal of these schools always included religious

teaching of the Bible and of Quaker principles, and the practice of worship 'after the manner of Friends.' In addition, the educational ideal . . . [was] that of a 'religiously guarded education,' which meant guarding the young people from early knowledge of or contact with the evils of the world. . . . The system proved fairly effective as a means of transmitting the Quaker ideal of life. It fell short of teaching men and women to do original thinking and in developing freely chosen virtue. 6

II

Due to popular Quaker apathy or antipathy to education, by the middle of the 18th century, Quaker schools, especially in England, had become institutions for the well-to-do. During the ^{American} Revolution, however, the general awakening of concern for others, which manifested itself primarily in refugee work, also stirred meetings on both sides of the Atlantic to consider the educational needs of their members. New York Yearly Meeting acted in 1780, and Oblong Monthly Meeting responded by appointing a committee "to put in Practice the Minute of the Concern of Our Last Yearly Meeting for the Establishment of proper Schools for the Rite Education of our Youth" Other meetings appointed committees, too, but effective action was lacking to such an extent that Purchase Quarterly Meeting noted in 1787 that "the prospect concerning schools for the Education of the youth amongst us is truly Discouraging, as there is now but one school in this Quarter under the Direction of [the] Society."⁷

In Dutchess County, the efforts made were somewhat greater than in other areas. As early as 4th month, 1782, Oblong Monthly Meeting reported that although it had no school house, it did have one school being taught in the meeting.

This was even before the educational committee made its report. When it did respond, it recommended an elaborate system of schools for the Monthly Meeting. Six schools were proposed, one each at Poughquag, "at or Near John Wings" (at the Branch Meeting House), on Quaker Hill near Oblong Meeting House, "Near John Toffeys (also on Quaker Hill), "in the Hallow" (near the Valley Meeting House), and at Peach Ponds. In the end, it appears that only the school house at the Oblong Meeting House was built. That was not begun until 1784, and it was completed in 1786. It was a small frame building, sixteen by eighteen feet, with eight foot posts, and cost £30. While it was being built, there was no school in the meeting. After it was built, its use was sporadic. For the next few years after construction of the house, Oblong's reports at Purchase Quarterly Meeting^{of} the existence or non-existence of the school alternated with almost perfect regularity. At one Quarterly Meeting, there would be a school, at the next, none, at the third, a school would be in operation.⁸

A similar process occurred in the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting. A committee appointed to investigate the matter reported that there was "no way as yet" for them to establish schools. A few months later, they came back to relay the following report:

We the committee appointed on account of Establishing Schools have meet [sic] and Considered that Case and are of the mind that it is Necessary that four School Houses be Built with in the Preparative meeting at Nine partners Two within the Creek Preparative meeting and one over the river [at Cornwall] and those of the Ninepartners

to be set up one Near Benjamin Jackse one Near William Mitchel one Near Jacob Thorns the other Between the Roads where Moses Vail and John Hoag 3^d Lives and those of the Creek one to be Near their Meeting House and the other Near obadiah Frosts and that over the river to be Near Nehemiah Smiths which we submit to the Monthly Meeting in the 11th ^o _m [month] 1781 .

"Some progress" was reported the next month, but no further mention is made of the schools in the Nine Partners until 1792, when there were two schools in the Monthly Meeting, a plans for the construction of a schoolhouse.⁹

These schools were maintained for the use of both sexes, an unusual circumstance for the era, but a "natural outcome of the equality of the sexes." For the most part, they resembled most one-room schools, with the exception that Friends were emphatic in their desire that only Friends be employed as teachers, or, if that were impossible, that only those outsiders be hired who conformed to the rules, that is, that

all teachers for us Strictly observe not to teach them under their Care what is Calld Complimens but Let Every best Indeavour be used to Keep those under their Care to plainness of Speech, and also in Calling the Days of the week & the months by their proper names 10

Apathy toward meeting schools continued throughout the period. Of the other schools of which some mention is made in Dutchess County Quaker records, all had similarly checkered careers to those mentioned above. The school at Stanford, "under existing circumstances," was forced to close its doors permanently in 1814, and its house and lot were sold for £100, with the proceeds used "in making some suitable accomodations around this [meeting] house as a horse shed &c."¹¹

Besides the schools in Stanford, Nine Partners and the Oblong, there were two other known meeting schools. One was in Creek Meeting. In 1786, Oblong Monthly Meeting gave Mathew Steel a certificate of removal to that meeting for the purposes of starting a school there. Second, there was a school, or a series of schools in Oswego Meeting almost from its inception. The last of these probably started at about the time of the Separation. It was held in a school house which was quite large for its time. It was a two-story structure, with two rooms downstairs for the younger pupils, and one upstairs for the older children. The school stood west of the Meeting House, and was operated by the Hicksites until about 1880, when it closed.¹²

The most successful schools, aside from the Nine Partners Boarding School, were the private academies. Two of these were kept by Friends on Quaker Hill. One, run by Lydia Halloway, stood on the main road a short distance south of the Oblong Meeting House. It was "a small, square, unpainted building, with . . . a huge open stove within" ¹³

Hiram B. Jones often attended the commencements and other exercises of Lydia Halloway's school. He ran the more important Academy, which stood first at Wing's Corners, on Quaker Hill, three miles south of the meeting house. Jones later moved his school one-half mile east of its original site. It was partially a day school, and partially a boarding school, with the boarding scholars lodging at "Aunt" Ruth Wing's house at the Corners. Jones announced his school

by means of advertising cards, one of which read

BOARDING SCHOOL

BY H. B. JONES

In which are taught the rudiments of Language, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, History, English Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Book Keeping, Surveying, Navigation, Algebra, geometry.

His fees were \$18 per quarter; \$2 extra if one took any of the last five subjects. Among his pupils was the architect Richard Morris Hunt. Hiram died on 10 month 29 1834 at the age of 38. His brother Cyrenus attempted to carry on his work, but finally closed the school in the spring of 1842.¹⁴

Finally, there was a small school kept at the Skidmore home, Skidmore Road, in the Town of LaGrange. It began at the very close of our period, and lasted about ten years.¹⁵

III

The awakening of interest in education in the 1780's started some Friends thinking in terms of schools to serve entire Yearly Meetings. The first effort made to this end was the establishment of the New England Yearly Meeting School at Providence by Moses Brown in 1784. The school failed in 1788.¹⁶

In the 1790's, interest reawakened. Early in that decade, Joseph Tallcot of the Nine Partners began thinking about the possibility of a school in Nine Partners Preparative Meeting. Tallcot, born in New Milford, Connecticut, in 1768, moved to the Town of Washington, Dutchess County, and Nine Partners Meeting, in 1791, when for reasons of health he found it necessary to retire from the apothecary shop he

operated in Hudson with his father-in-law, the ubiquitous Dr. Lott Tripp. Tallcot was interested in education throughout his life, and wherever he went he worked on one or another of his educational projects. Even before he began promoting meeting schools, he kept a school of his own during the winter. By 1793, he had formed a committee to investigate the possibility of a school for Nine Partners Preparative Meeting. Soon, however, his interests expanded, and he was attracted to the idea that Elias Hicks broached on the floor of the New York Yearly Meeting in 1793, namely, that a Yearly Meeting school be established. Tallcot turned his efforts toward the realization of that dream, and was appointed head of the fifty-four man committee which laid plans for what became the Nine Partners Boarding School, when, in 1795, the Yearly Meeting decided to undertake an institution of that kind. Tallcot moved to Auburn around 1800, where he continued his educational efforts until his death in 1853.¹⁷ (see fig. 32)

Due primarily to Tallcot's efforts, the work on the Boarding School proceeded rapidly. Nine Partners was selected as the location, and the Mabbets' store, east of the meeting house, together with the ten acres of land on which the store stood, was purchased for £1000 in New England money. To improve the building, £5000 more was invested, much of this money coming from England. The store was enlarged, until it was finally ninety-nine feet long, and three stories high. Thus, with an endowment of \$10,000, the "old Quaker

(continued on page 206)



Fig. 32--Joseph Tallcot
(from The Memoirs of Joseph Tallcot, frontispiece)

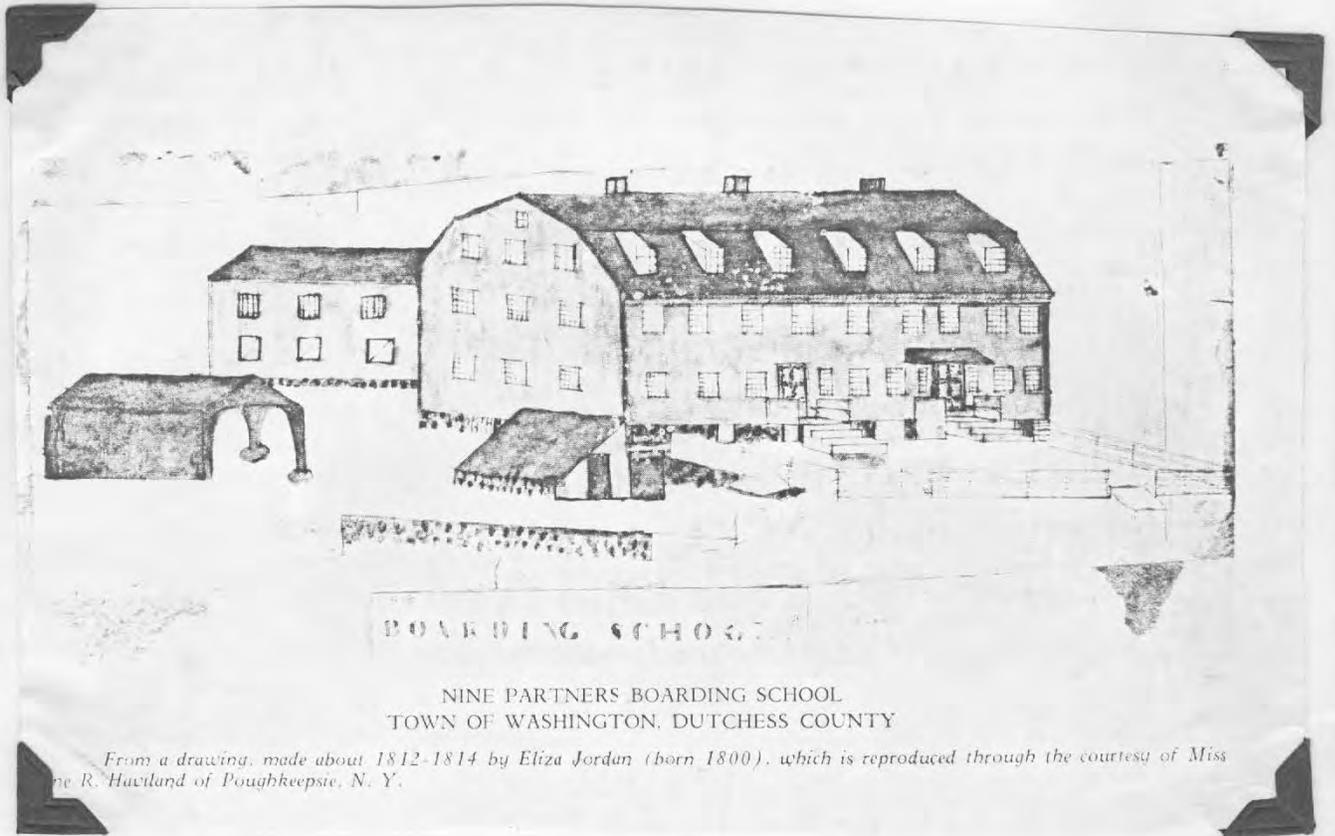
Gaol" was opened in the fall of 1796. In opening at that time, it narrowly defeated the boarding school of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting at Westtown, Pennsylvania, for the honor of being the first successful Yearly Meeting School in America.¹⁸ (see fig. 33)

The first year saw the enrollment of one hundred students from New York Yearly Meeting, "with a few from places more remote." The seventy boys and thirty girls were under the superintendence of Joseph and Sarah Tallcot. Friends responded to the school with great enthusiasm. By May, 1797, the building was filled to capacity, and soon thereafter, scholars overflowed into the nearby home of Isaac and Anne Thorne. The popularity of the school was so great that Nine Partners Monthly Meeting reminded its members that the school was not sufficient to accomodate everyone, and that they must not lag in their support of the Monthly Meeting schools as they had been.¹⁹

IV

The experience of Nine Partners Boarding School was quite unlike that of any comparable institution of the present. It was run as a family, with a married couple at its head. It was their responsibility not only to administer the school and teach in it, but also to act as surrogate parents, for the school operated year-round, with no breaks. When a scholar arrived, he was prepared to stay for a long time. Parents

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BOARDING SCHOOL

NINE PARTNERS BOARDING SCHOOL
TOWN OF WASHINGTON, DUTCHESS COUNTY

From a drawing, made about 1812-1814 by Eliza Jordan (born 1800), which is reproduced through the courtesy of Miss R. Haviland of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Fig. 33--Nine Partners Boarding School
(from Dutchess County Historical Society Yearbook, 1935)

enrolled and removed their students at their convenience. Besides the superintendents, there were usually two or three teachers and assistant teachers of either sex. In 1808, the superintendent received £150 per year, the assistant principal, £100, the woman teacher, £20, and the assistant woman teacher, Lucretia Coffin (Mott), nothing.²⁰

Boys and girls were strictly separated. The building was divided into two parts, with separate quarters and classrooms, to the extent that it was almost a case of two schools under one roof. The Boarding School committee intended that

boys and girls would be boarded at a proper distance from one another, the school room of the boys to be at a convenient distance from the girls to prevent familiarity; yet not so far separated but that an innocent and cheerful intercourse would be allowed and encouraged under suitable inspection at proper seasons.

The quarters, though separated, were nevertheless healthful, to a degree exceptional for the era, for Spafford's 1813 Gazetteer remarked that "There has not been a single death in the school since its establishment."²¹

Unlike the earlier English schools mentioned above, one of the express purposes of the Nine Partners Boarding School was the education of lower classes. As a result, a fund was established for the education of poor scholars. In addition, a letter from Isaac Thorne, Jr., to Joseph Tallcot in 1807 noted that John Dean was bringing several Indians to be taught at the school.²²

Because of the varying social situations of the scholars, Nine Partners School stressed plainness to an

extreme. Female students, for example, were told to bring one or two plain bonnets, one cloak ("not silk"), two or three plain short nightgowns, three night caps, three or four pair of yarn stockings, three gingham dark neck handkerchiefs, four shifts, a pair of scissors and a paper of pins, comb and brush, pen knife, and pieces of cloth, thread and yarn for mending. From the beginning of its existence, the school advised scholars' parents to supply them with clothes which were "becomingly plain" in color and style, and "of a Quality strong rather than fine," in order to "strengthen the Hand" of the superintendence committee and to eliminate conflicts. This was not enough for some Friends. Joseph Tallcot expressed his disappointment, for, he told Elias Hicks in 1806, he "expected the committee would have gone a little further into the subject of plainness."²³

The Yearly Meeting set seven as the age of admission, and fourteen for the girls and fifteen for the boys as the age of "dismission" from the school. In 1806, the tuition was £26 per year for "reading, writing, and arithmetic, . . . and with grammar added is £28."²⁴

Though academic training was ostensibly the purpose of the school, "moral training was made primary, and intellectual training secondary." The reader used in the classes was Mental Improvement or the Beauties and Wonders of Instructive Conversation. Only two pictures hung on the wall--a drawing of Penn's treaty with the Indians, and a print of a slave ship. Lucretia Mott remembered the effect these had upon her thought.

My sympathy was early enlisted for the poor slave by the class books read in our school. The unequal condition of woman with man also early impressed my mind. 25

When visitors came to the school, they made extended visits. Martha Routh, an English Friend, noted this in remarking that "it is pleasant to understand that our valued friends, Isaac Thorne and his wife, are willing to admit such boarders under their roof as wish to make some stay near the school" Elias Hicks frequently left his wife to help at the school for long periods while he was on his religious journeys. He himself made several visits to help with the school. One wonders what else but moral exhortation his discourses to the scholars could have consisted of, for he was noted for such statements as "A great deal of learning is rather a hindrance than a help," or "All these human sciences are mere nonsense," or again, "Now what vast toil and labour there is to give children human science, when the money thus expended might be better thrown into the sea."²⁶

Where exhortation, or the promise of a new Bible as a reward for virtue did not work, there were rules to keep young Friends in line. As Rufus M. Jones pointed out,

All these Quaker schools in their formative period laid excessive stress on 'rules.' There were rules to secure cleanliness, punctuality, decorum, integrity, and kindness. There were rules to ensure truth-telling, propriety of language, honesty, and becoming behaviour in religious assemblies. All offences and deviations were met with artificial penalties

Though no corporal punishment was permitted, the superintendent noted that "some place of seclusion for refractory boys" was established "where they could not have much light, but

plenty of air, and where they could be kept comfortably warm in pretty cold weather." That place was a closet, and the "refractory boys" were placed in it to subsist for the day on bread and water.²⁷

James Mott's letter to Joseph Tallcot gives an excellent summary of day-to-day life at the Nine Partners School.

The number of scholars in this institution during the past summer was from ninety to one hundred; but since Tenth-month they have been increasing, and now number about one hundred and forty; a nearly equal number of each sex. Thou wilt conclude all parts of the house are occupied, which is indeed the case; but we make out very comfortably in every respect, having a very orderly parcel of scholars; our girls are, principally, nearly grown. We have increased our room and lessened the labor by making some improvements in the arrangement of the house.

Our teachers are Jacob Willets and Goold Brown, the latter a connection of Moses Brown, Providence, each of whom have a qualified assistant, and I attend to the boys' reading, two schools each day. Deborah Rogers and Mary Mott teach the girls, having assistants also, and Sarah Mott devotes her time to their reading. Our teachers are all young, but not lacking in their literary qualifications for the branches they attend to, and I trust some of them not wholly devoid of a religious sensibility, which qualifies for the moral instruction of children. 28

V

During its history, many noteworthy individuals were tutored at the Nine Partners School. Elias Hicks placed his daughters Elizabeth and Sarah in the institution for a year. Goold Brown the grammarian, and Daniel Anthony, the father of Susan B. Anthony, both received their early education there.²⁹

Another pair of noteworthy alumni were Jacob and Deborah Rogers Willetts. Jacob, born in Fishkill in 1785, was sent to the school when it opened in 1796. He was a pupil until

until he was grown; then he took over as superintendent, and shortly thereafter married Deborah Rogers, the girls' English grammar teacher. They moved to Pine Plains in about 1813, where they taught for two years in Charles Hoag's school, then moved on to Nantucket.³⁰

In ~~1825~~ ^{About} 1825, they returned to Nine Partners Boarding School, at which time they acquired the house shown in fig. 34. Willetts was known as an easy disciplinarian, and preferred to turn his head rather than to take notice of a scholar's unruliness. Among his accomplishments were the authorship of several popular grammar and geography texts (see fig. 35),

and of the modern version of the perennial "Thirty days hath September" rhyme.³¹

The most notable of the school's pupils, however, were James and Lucretia

Mott. Lucretia

Coffin (1793-1880) came to the Nine Partners School in 1806, at the age of 13. After two years, she was made assistant to Deborah Rogers at no salary. Then, as she told Elizabeth Cady Stanton,



Fig. 34--Jacob Willetts' House

(continued on page 214)

Fig. 35

Some Books By Jacob Willetts¹

The Scholar's Arithmetic various editions, 1817-1832

Mental and Practical Arithmetic various editions,

1844-1857

Bookkeeping by Single Entry

Key to Willetts' Arithmetic

Key to Mental and Practical Arithmetic

Easy Grammar of Geography various editions 1815-1828

Willetts' Geography various editions 1826-1831

Willetts' New and Improved School Geography various

editions 1848-1853

Atlas to accompany Easy Grammar of Geography

¹Reynolds, "Nine Partners," p. 35.

Pleased with the promotion, I strove hard to give satisfaction, and was gratified, on leaving the school, to have an offer of a situation as a teacher if I was disposed to remain; and informed that my services should entitle another sister to her education, without charge. My father was at that time, in successful business in Boston, but with his views of the importance of training a woman to usefulness, he and my mother gave their consent to another year being devoted to that institution

It was at Nine Partners, too, that she met the young assistant principal, James Mott, Sr. (1789-1868), whom she married in 1811, after which the couple moved out of Dutchess County history to Philadelphia.³²

VI

After the Hicksite Separation, most of the committee of the school were Hicksite, but the superintendent was Orthodox. When the committee came to take possession, the master barred the doors and windows to them, and thus the Orthodox captured the school, although the Hicksites got the meeting house and eighty-six of the ninety-six acres of land the Friends at Nine Partners owned. The Hicksites established their own boarding school at Nine Partners under the tutorship of the Willetts, and it had as many as fifty pupils at one time. But neither this school nor the original Nine Partners Boarding School flourished after the schisms. By the 1840's, the Orthodox Yearly Meeting was begging its members to send their children to the Nine Partners School. It was finally sold in 1853, though the purchasers were "somewhat restricted as to the religious views to be inculcated." It finally failed and was torn down in 1863.³³

CHAPTER VII

THE MINISTRY;

DAVID SANDS AND ELIAS HICKS

I

The ministry is the guiding hand of any church. In the Society of Friends, the ministry is not constituted like that of other denominations, but we will see that its functions were essentially the same as those of other denominations, with some notable exceptions. They were "a church within a church," working tirelessly to direct the development of the church, whether they confined their activities to their home meetings, visited neighboring meetings, or, as some did, travelled the nation and the world to fulfill their calls.¹

In examining the ministry, we will consider something of the life and labors of two important ministers, in whose contrasting viewpoints we will find a preview of the conflict which rent the Society in 1827-1828. The first of these is David Sands, a member by conviction of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, friend of many of the most important Quakers of his era, and himself a minister renowned among Quakers in the United States, Great Britain, and Ireland. Sands was a vehement defender of "orthodoxy" and one of the men responsible

for introducing into Quakerism the evangelical notions which were to be a source of dissension during the Separation. The second is Elias Hicks, a carpenter from Long Island, the man whose radical quietism directly precipitated the schism, and after whom one of the factions--the Hicksites--were named. While Hicks was not a Dutchess County Quaker, he is important to our history both for his ideas and for his many and varied ties with the county, ranging from his religious visitations, through his work on behalf of the Nine Partners Meeting House and the Nine Partners Boarding School, down to the fact that he was related to Isaac and Anne Thorne of Nine Partners, and a friend of many Dutchess County Quakers.

II

Just as the early Christian church crystallized its structure as the Apostles died, and the church grew beyond the power of the various itinerant charismatic figures to control it personally, so the Quaker structure became formalized only as the "First Publishers of Truth" aged, and the Society spread over an area too wide for their personal supervision. George Fox, realizing his mortality, recognized the need for a tighter structure, and wisely began to organize the Society into Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, and to promote the keeping of complete, accurate records.²

The ministry, like the rest of the church, was an amorphous institution through the early stages of its existence, and, in fact, became a formal order only in the 1770's. Ministers in England were not chosen in any systematic manner until

1773. Prior to that time, anyone who came to the Monday morning ministers' meetings, and signed his name in the ministers' book without being challenged, was accepted as one. When challenges became frequent, the London Yearly Meeting was forced to establish a more regular means of designating, or "recognizing," its ministers, and concluded that no one should be allowed to sign the ministers' book without first obtaining a certificate from his Monthly Meeting testifying to its acceptance of his ministry.³

It was not, then, that, ^{then,} to be a minister, an individual had to be recognized as such and "recorded a minister" by his Monthly Meeting. The procedure was still a highly decentralized one, as is shown in the case of a Dutchess County man who was disowned for moral misconduct, then moved to Rhode Island, after which his former meeting found to its horror that he had been recorded a minister in his new location.

If a member believed himself to be called, he usually passed through a period of intense self-examination before he declared his call to his fellow Quakers. Most ministers referred to this as "inward crucifixion," or "the baptism of the cross," an effort toward self-annihilation in preparation for service.

Sometimes it appears in the form of a physical affliction, sometimes in the form of a hard and bitter loss, sometimes as a call to a service involving tremendous sacrifice, sometimes as an intimation to adopt the peculiar Quaker costume, or to take up a course of life which will bring a thorough break with the line of life previously pursued. ⁴

Two consequences followed from this type of experience. First, of course, it altered the life of the minister ever afterward. Though ~~he~~ continued to pursue ~~this~~ worldly occupation, ~~the~~ ministry became the center of ~~his~~ life. [ministers] "All life was profoundly altered henceforth. They ~~were~~ to be voices and mouthpieces for the infinite God."⁵

This brings us to the second effect. It became accepted "that every word which the Minister, thus called and prepared, spoke in meeting was a divinely given word." It is only logical that this should be the case, in a religion which believes that there is that of God in every man, that ministers are men more finely attuned to God's presence in the first place, and that they have, in addition, "annihilated" their egos.⁶

Once appointed, the minister was accorded a place of especial honor wherever he went. His conduct, unless it was obviously improper, was usually unquestioned. Whereas other Friends had to undergo rigid scrutiny of their affairs before they were permitted to travel, a minister received treatment like that of Ephraim Baker, who felt "drawings" to visit Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and was given a certificate with no deliberation whatsoever, "he being of an orderly Conduct, & Conversation, & in Unity with us, as a Minister." Meetings greeted itinerant ministers with enthusiasm, and committees were set up "to provide Company & other Necessraies [sic] for traveling friends or Such as Visits us in truths Servis" ⁷

This is not to say that there were no bad ministers, or

that ministers were free from all controls. On the first point, Elias Hicks attended a meeting in the Nine Partners where

The quiet and comfort of this meeting seemed much interrupted by the forwardness and inexperience of some of the ministry, which was the cause of much affliction to my mind. Oh what great need is there for those, who apprehend themselves called to that great and solemn office, to know self wholly reduced [inward crucifixion]; for, otherwise, there is danger of their endeavouring to clothe themselves with the Lord's jewels, which, nevertheless, will turn to their own shame and confusion.

All ministers were required to obtain certificates of "unity" from the meetings they visited, testifying to the satisfaction of those meetings with the services performed. A further check upon ministers was that it was not necessarily a life post, but was held only as long as the meeting felt "easy" with the member's actions. It was possible for the Meeting of Ministers and Elders [the successor of the Morning Meeting] to declare, as they did in the case of Martha Irish of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, that a given minister or elder (see below) "has become useless to that meeting & after deliberating thereon, unites that she should be dropt . . .," with which the Monthly Meeting would usually concur.⁸

III

It must not be assumed that this form of ministry was unique to the Society of Friends. It was characteristic of 16th and 17th century left-wing Protestant sects in general, and carried over to America in several forms. Take, for instance, the Anabaptist sects. . . The Anabaptists, unlike the

Quakers, were a distinctly lower class movement. They emphasized the priesthood of all believers to an exceptional degree, as a reaction to social forces in Europe, where the movement sprang up. "The disinherited were ruled out of Protestantism and discovered their last estate to be worse than the former, for the dualism of Catholic social ethics had been in favor of a spiritual, not primarily of a political and economic, aristocracy, while the new faith proclaimed that 'the ass will have blows and the people will be ruled by force.'" The early Anabaptists held many of the tenets of their spiritual descendants, the Quakers. They emphasized the foundation of a "holy community."

In practice this "holiness" was expressed in the following ways: in detachment from the State, from all official positions, from law, force, and the oath, and from war, violence and capital punishment; the quiet endurance of suffering and injustice as their share in the Cross of Christ, the intimate social relationship of the members with each other through care for the poor and the provision of relief funds, so that within these groups no one was allowed to beg or starve; strict control over the Church members through the exercise of excommunication and congregational discipline. 9

The Quakers, as H. R. Niebuhr correctly notes, were a parallel phenomenon to the Anabaptist movement of the 16th and 17th centuries. They were a predominantly middle-class group, with sprinklings of the upper and lower classes. They may be viewed as the most extreme of the surviving left-wing sects. Quakerism was a reaction to the quasi-Catholic formalism of the Anglican church. Like the Puritans, they were unable to accept the established church as it was, but, unlike them, they chose to discard all religious cere-

mony. ~~They~~ emphasized, with the Anabaptists, the idea of a priesthood of all believers. During the early years of their existence, literally every Quaker was a Publisher of Truth, liable at any moment to persecution for the exercise of his opinions. As persecution died down, there developed a distinction between ministers and other members, but it never became a distinction which could not be easily crossed by a member who desired to do so. There was never any formal training or lengthy initiation process proclaimed as a qualification for the ministry. It was sufficient to have the call, and to be able to demonstrate it.¹⁰

Meanwhile, as time passed, the Anabaptists developed in several directions--toward pietistic sects such as the Mennonites, and toward a larger body, those known today as the Baptists. The former maintained in America a variation of the Quaker system of ministry wherein each church had only a single minister, but he was an untrained individual chosen by his fellow communicants from among them. Equality of all members was asserted. More important to this discussion were the Baptists. In the 17th century, the English Baptists, in contact with, and in competition with the Calvinistic dissenters, modified the original Anabaptist beliefs to permit members to take oaths, to fight and to hold political office. In addition, they accepted some aspects of Calvinism, although they rejected the doctrine of predestination. By the 19th century, in competing with the Arminian Methodists, they changed from Arminianism to Calvinism of a wholehearted variety, causing a schismatic

body known as the Freewill Baptists to form in protest against predestination. Yet, in spite of these theological changes, and in spite of the general trend toward conservatism, Baptism in America retained its appeal to the lower classes, and, in so doing retained an aggressive democratic spirit and an inbred prejudice against the upper classes in general, and a trained clergy in particular. Sweet notes that "Among no other religious body was the prejudice against an educated clergy so strong as among the Baptists. . . ."11

As a result, there developed in the Baptist church the "farmer-preacher," a counterpart of the Quaker minister. Like the Friend, he felt the call, and struggled with it within himself. Like the Quaker, his only training was experience, and he merely needed to be recognized and, in the case of the Baptist, ordained by his church to gain official status. In the mean time, he carried on his former occupation, supporting himself throughout his life in that manner, as he performed his ecclesiastical duties without pay.¹²

It is not hard, then, to understand the attraction of the Baptists for disowned Quakers (see pp. 85-87), when one considers Baptist democracy, and the institution of the farmer-preacher, despite some fundamental theological differences which had arisen in the Baptist movement since the 16th century.

IV

As quietism set in, the functions and aims of the ministry changed. The First Publishers of Truth had been sure that Quakerism was destined to dominate the religious world, and their prime function had been the gathering in of converts. With quietism, the ministry shifted its aims to "a much more humble mission--the perfecting of a select and chosen body, or Society, composed of persons who would be faithful to their inner Light, who would be sensitive to divine requirings of duty, who would take up the cross, separate themselves from the world and become 'peculiar'" In essence, they shifted their plan for Quakerism from a church to a sectarian design.¹³

This is not to say that missionary work was discontinued. Although it became a distinctly secondary consideration, preaching to outsiders was never dropped altogether. Many of Elias Hicks' appointed meetings were attended by outsiders. Sometimes they outnumbered the Quakers. Hannah Whelar, of the Oblong Meeting, made a specifically missionary journey, when, in 1781, she "Laid before us a Concern She had on her mind to pay a Religious Visit to Some people In Connecticutt Not of our Society" ¹⁴

But the minister's overriding concern was with the members of the Society. He was given charge of the moral and theological development of Friends, and, in addition, he was sometimes responsible for important administrative tasks of the Yearly Meeting. Hicks mentions occasions when the Yearly

Meeting, having composed an epistle to its subordinate meetings, decided that it was of especial importance, and sent a committee of ministers to each meeting to read it in the meeting and to expound upon it, in order that the message might have the maximum effect.¹⁵

The most obvious means by which a minister performed his pastoral duties was by preaching in meetings. It could be done in his own meeting, or in a meeting he visited, in a regular meeting, or in one appointed by him. It is important to remember that a minister was under no more obligation to speak in meeting than was a non-minister. He might speak at length, or he might remain completely silent. His was not the exclusive right to speak. Any member of the congregation could do so, if he felt so moved. Finally, it should be noted that there could be as many ministers belonging to a particular meeting as there were Friends who felt the call.

In sum, the minister held no privilege in the meeting for worship, nor was he under any other obligation to it other than that of faithfully discharging his call. In this sense, to be a minister was to be recognized for one's "talent," rather than to be appointed to an office. Friends recognized that the minister was, or should be, an alert individual, skillful in articulating his call, and adept at "speaking to the issue." At times, he spoke as he felt an inward call. At other times, the proper course was to pick up and elaborate on a theme begun by a less articulate Friend. This method is described by Elias Hicks as one he found appropriate at

an 1803 meeting in Dutchess County.

On first day we went to Crum-elbow meeting, which was very much crowded, and the house not sufficient to hold the people. The season appeared somewhat to represent the time, when the miracle of the loaves and fishes was performed. For the people's attention appeared to be generally outward, many having come together out of curiosity, to see and hear with their outward senses; which makes hard work for travellers, who are faithfully engaged in Zion's cause. I sat long in silence in great poverty and want, for the people appeared to be void of any spiritual food, and no offering prepared; but as I abode in patience, and in the faith, the query ran through my mind, is there not a lad present, who may have a few barley loaves and fishes. A young man soon after stood up, who, I believed, had for some time, something on his mind to offer; and by a short but pertinent communication opened my way. Soon after he sat down I stood up, and the Lord made way among the people, while I was led to open, in a very enlarged manner, what the young Friend had dropped; and the Lord's power was extended in a marvellous manner over the whole assembly 16

A more important means for the local minister to guide Friends, however, was family visiting. It is here that he did his most effective counseling, altering his exhortations to fit individual cases. In these functions he was assisted by the elders, individuals who were "for the most part 'dumb' as to public ministry," but who assisted in individual matters, and were considered to be "'weighty and sensible Friends of unblameable conversation.'" This visitation was carried on to different degrees by different ministers. There seem to have been several degrees to which a minister could engage in public ministry. Some ministers confined their activities to their home meetings or to the meetings immediately adjacent to their home meetings. Others travelled, but within a limited area, such as their Yearly Meetings and those surrounding them. Still others ranged their native countries and a few traversed

the Western world. The wider his travels, of course, the more the minister relied upon public preaching, and the less he practiced individual visitation. It is thus easy to forget the important role played by the humbler species of minister, in concentrating on the career of an Elias Hicks or of a David Sands.¹⁷

V

Dutchess County ministers served at all levels of the ministerial scale. Lott Tripp, father-in-law of Joseph Tallcot, travelled to Rhode Island several times, as did Mary Moore of the Oblong. Thomas Ellison, a minister at North East Meeting, made frequent trips to Vermont and Pennsylvania. Perhaps the most active of the group who confined themselves to the northeast was Aaron Lancaster. A member of Oblong Meeting and an influence on the religious development of David Sands, Lancaster made many trips of several months' duration into New England, ^{A typical} one ~~was~~ ^{was} that of 1777-1778, when he visited Newport Monthly Meeting, Dartmouth Quarterly Meeting (twice), Providence Meeting for Sufferings, Dartmouth Monthly Meeting (thrice), Nantucket Monthly Meeting (twice), Salem Quarterly Meeting, Salem Monthly Meeting, Falmouth Monthly Meeting, Dover Quarterly Meeting, Dover Monthly Meeting, Hampton Monthly Meeting, Smithfield (Rhode Island) Yearly Meeting, Sandwich Monthly Meeting, and Pembroke Monthly Meeting. All of this travelling was accomplished in the midst of the Revolution.¹⁸

Among travellers of wider scope, Dutchess County may claim Paul Osborn, an important member of Oblong Preparative Meeting in his own right, who accompanied the famous English itinerant Thomas Gawthrop to the South in 1766, stopping in Southampton County, Virginia, and Little River Quarterly Meeting, Perquimon County, North Carolina, and Daniel Titus, who went with Elias Hicks to Canada in 1803.¹⁹

Finally, there were a few international travellers among Dutchess County Quakers. Henry Hull of Stanford, in addition to travelling several times in Pennsylvania, made a religious visit to Ireland and Great Britain in the years 1810 to 1812. And Benjamin Ferriss, who usually confined his journeys to New Hampshire, appeared at the Monthly Meeting in 1766 and "Signified he has had for Some Time Drawings on his mind to make a Religious Visit to Urope . . . ," for which he was granted permission. Foremost among Dutchess County travellers, however, was David Sands.²⁰

VI

David Sands was born into a Presbyterian family at Cowneck, Long Island, on 11 mo. 4 1745. When he was fourteen, his family moved to Cornwall, Orange County, where the sickly youth spent much of his time in contemplation of religious matters. In doing so, he was "given to see and understand the necessity of being a true Christian, and not merely a nominal professor . . . ; he was not entirely satisfied with many points of his [Presbyterian] profession of religion

His inward exercise increased, and for several years he suffered a great anxiety of mind"21

The story of his conversion as related in his journal, and of his subsequent life as a Quaker, are an excellent illustration of the "inward crucifixion" described by Rufus Jones, and of the intense, "prophetic" personality he ascribes to Quaker ministers. Sands became a merchant. Still under the burden of religious doubt, he attended an appointed meeting held by the English Quaker Samuel Nottingham. While he was impressed by Nottingham's message, "the idea of being a Quaker seemed then impossible for him to reconcile. The plain humble appearance seemed to him to be more than was necessary for any man in order to assist him to be a Christian." His religious agony aggravated his lifelong ill health, and he was forced to abandon commerce for school teaching. He spent many days alone, pondering his condition.

After one of his lonely supplications to his Divine Master, . . . upon raising his eyes, after this solemn dedication of body, soul, and spirit, there appeared to his view two men plainly dressed in light clothes, as if walking from him. He was struck with the sight, and in thought exclaimed, "It is impossible for me to be a Quaker--I would rather die."

He began attending Nine Partners meeting, where he became friends with such Quakers as Aaron Lancaster, Aaron Vail, Paul Upton, and Paul Osborn. His health somewhat restored by his new religious confidence, he reentered mercantile life, and requested membership in Nine Partners Monthly Meeting. And though his journal records that he "was received with much satisfaction to himself and generally so

to the Society," his doubts must have been detected by the members of the investigating committee, who delayed acceptance of his request for eleven months. Once he joined, Sands became a staunch conservative, actively defending what he considered to be orthodox against the "speculative and unsound opinions" of his day. His intensity even affected his ^{plans for} marriage. He applied to the meeting for clearance, but failed to show up to receive his answer. An inquiry revealed that he was laboring "under a Cloud of Discouragements," which a committee of the meeting cleared off.²²

Sands' inward crucifixion occurred during his conversion, so it was consequently an easy step for him to take up the ministry shortly after becoming a Quaker. He delivered his first testimony in 1772, and was recorded a minister in 1775, four years after joining the Society. That same year, he accompanied Aaron Vail on his (Sands') first religious visit, a journey to sixteen New England meetings, including the one at Providence, where he became a friend of Moses Brown. Sands went on to a career as one of the great ministers of the Society, becoming acquainted with many of the most important Quakers of his era, and travelling extensively in Pennsylvania, New England, the South, Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, France and Germany.²³

He was one of the most controversial figures of his day. His opinions caused dissent wherever he went, in some cases to the extent that he was asked to shorten his visits to some meetings. Although his death on 6 month 4 1818 pre-

ceeded the Hicksite schism by ten years, he was responsible for introducing into Quakerism the evangelical strain which became known as "orthodox" thought. His view of morality, of dedication to God, and of salvation was very much like that of the revivalists who followed him. The following, delivered to a group of startled revelers, is typical of his approach.

My friends, for what purpose is this gay company assembled? Is it to worship Almighty God; him from whom all your favours and blessings flow; who, in his love and compassion, gave the dear son of his bosom as a ransom, that through him you might have eternal life? Or have you rather suffered yourselves to be led captive by the enemy of your soul's peace, who, for a season, may hold out bright and pleasing allurements to tempt your unwary feet to stray from the true fold of peace, revealed in and through Christ Jesus, your Saviour and Redeemer; he who suffered his precious blood to flow to wash away your sins. 24

In defense of his position, Sands "appeared to be much exercised on account of many speculative and unsound opinions that are circulating in the present day" His exercise led him to oppose the two great bugbears of his followers--Elias Hicks and Thomas Paine. Hicks had always preached a form of his doctrine of the Inner Light's sufficiency for all religious purposes, but when he began to formulate *his views* more concisely after 1815 (see below), Sands, repelled by ^{them} ~~it~~, ^{Hicks} opposed ^{[Sands'] Hicks} vigorously for the remaining three years of his life. ~~It~~ represented all that evangelism opposed, in deemphasizing ~~the~~ the Bible, the church, and the soteriological functions of Jesus. Thomas Paine, and deism in general, quite naturally frightened those who believed in a personal

relationship to divinity Elias Hicks included . Sands took the opportunity to upbraid Paine in person, accosting him in Paris in 1797, and delivering himself of his opinion of the religion of reason in a heated debate.²⁵

VII

Sands'^{chief} theological opponent was Elias Hicks. Born in Hempstead, Long Island, on 3 month 19 1748, Hicks led the quiet life of a carpenter through his early years. When he became a minister on his thirtieth birthday, he embarked upon a career of travelling which did not end until his death fifty-two years later, on 2 month 27 1830. His odyssey began in 1779 with a trip to the Hudson Valley Meetings. Thereafter, he came to Dutchess County again in 1781, 1783, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1795, 1803, 1807, 1808, 1818, 1819, 1823 and 1828, the frequency of his visits decreasing as his fame increased.²⁶

His connections with Dutchess County were many. He helped to raise the funds for Nine Partners Meeting House. He was one of the principal promoters of the Nine Partners Boarding School scheme, and after it was opened, supported it with his time, his money and his daughters. He had relatives, Isaac and Anne Thorne, in the county, and many friends as well.²⁷

Hicks was a "tall, spare man, and a powerful speaker," as one Dutchess County Friend remembered him to Philip Smith. Walt Whitman, whose Quaker father took him to hear Hicks, described him as a "tall, straight figure, neither stout nor

very thin, dressed in drab cloth, clean-shaven face, forehead of great expanse, large clear black eyes, long or middling long white hair." ^(see fig. 36) More than ~~Hicks~~ ^{Hicks}' appearance made an impression on the boy Walt. D. Elton Trueblood, in his essay on Hicks, shows marked similarities between certain passages in Hicks' writings and several in Whitman's poetry.²⁸ (see fig. 35)

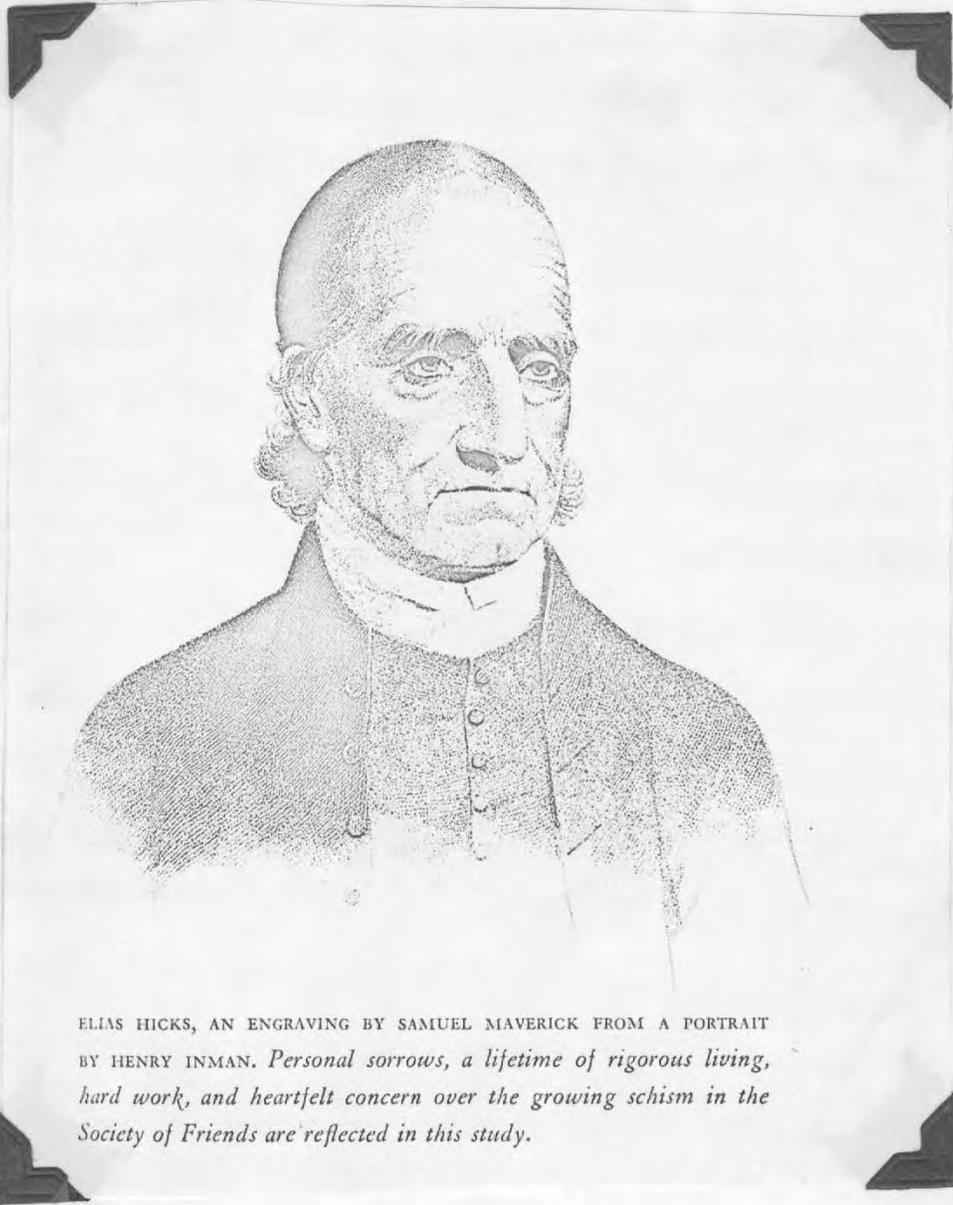
A dedicated preacher, he often travelled while in pain, and his new doctrines, along with his speaking ability, combined to draw crowds wherever he went. Several times he mentions this in connection with his Dutchess County ministry. At the Nine Partners in 1803, "notice having been previously given of our intention of being there, the meeting was very large." He also attracted enemies. At one meeting in Poughkeepsie he tells us that

we have reason to believe there were some present watching for evil, as carpers and oppressors [sic], if we may judge from the conduct of the hireling priests, since I was there a few weeks before, as I was informed at this time, that they had joined together to calumniate me, and endeavour to lay waste the testimony I then had to bear. 29

He found Dutchess County meetings generally responsive to his message. The notable exception was that of Nine Partners in 1795, when he attended the Quarterly Meeting there,

which proved to be a heart searching season, it being too manifest that many professors had suffered their minds to be captivated by a worldly spirit, which had introduced great death and darkness into our meetings, to the grief and trouble of the honest-hearted. 30

(continued on page 234)



ELIAS HICKS, AN ENGRAVING BY SAMUEL MAVERICK FROM A PORTRAIT BY HENRY INMAN. *Personal sorrows, a lifetime of rigorous living, hard work, and heartfelt concern over the growing schism in the Society of Friends are reflected in this study.*

Fig. 36--Elias Hicks
(from Forbush, p. 258)

VIII

In 1815, Hicks, sixty-seven years old, and semi-retired at the time, began to read extensively. One of the books he encountered was Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History of the Fifth Century.

The book opened Hicks' eyes to the speed with which abuses entered the Christian church after its founding, and it seemed to him that the simple teaching of Christ had been wholly perverted.

The reading of it enabled Hicks to think through the ideas he had been preaching for many years, and to render them into a cohesive, coherent body of doctrine.³¹

The thrust of the theology Hicks propounded was radically reductive. At North East Meeting in 1819, he delivered a message which aptly expressed that tendency. The doctrine of the entire sufficiency of the Inner Light was taught, he said,

and the fallacy and emptiness of all formal and ceremonial religion exposed, and the people pressingly invited to gather inward, to the immutable principle of light and truth in their own souls, as the sure rock of ages, and the only means whereby we can be enabled to work our own salvation.

The inward light is the only means. By listening to that of God within him, man can work his own salvation. Nothing else is necessary.³²

For Hicks, it is important to note, the mind of man, and that of God in every man, are two distinct entities. He had little trust in "creatures" and urged withdrawal from the world of creatures as the only means for heeding the Inner Light, for surrendering oneself to it. Sin for him was a matter

of will. There was no such thing as original sin. Each man fell for himself. He sinned by acting according to his own initiative, rather than according to the promptings of the inward voice.³³

The implications of this doctrine are important. It renders outward helps unnecessary. "For all that the best outward instrumental help, either from reading the scriptures, or hearing the gospels preached in the clear demonstration of the spirit, can do for any man, is only to point to, and lead the minds of the children of men home to this divine inward principle, manifested in their own hearts and minds." This, it will be noticed, is not what most 19th century and many 20th century commentators put forth as his message. Joseph Belcher, for instance, says that Hicks "warmly advocated a denial of the Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures" In truth, Hicks supported that authority, but he said that the Inner Light testified to the authority of the Bible, not the Bible to the authority of the Inner Light. At West Branch, he

was . . . largely opened to communicate, how we all might, by faithful attention to the aforesaid divine principle, the light within, come to know and believe the certainty of those excellent scripture doctrines; of the coming, life, righteous works, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, our blessed pattern: and that it is by obedience to this inward light only, that we are prepared for an admittance into the heavenly kingdom.

The scriptures are divine but superfluous.³⁴

And just as the Scriptures are of no help to our salvation, neither is the life of the historical Jesus, considered

as a divine or supernatural event. This was the second point upon which he was attacked by the evangelicals, both within the Society and without it. He denied, they said, "the miraculous conception, deity, and atonement of Jesus Christ." They were right. For him, Jesus was "our blessed pattern."

Jesus Christ, as a separate historical personality, is put by Elias Hicks in the subordinate list of outer helps. Being external to our own souls, He cannot be, Hicks thought, a direct source of revelation for us, nor can He be a primary authority in religious matters, for it was his fundamental view that all direct religious revelation and all primary authority must come from within.³⁵

His difficulty, then, was that he had no room for these externals, that he discarded the wheat with the chaff. In attempting to rid Christianity of formality, he rid it of much of its historical form.³⁶

Yet, in spite of this, Hicks had tremendous appeal for the lower classes, both Quaker and non-Quaker. Part of this was a result of the fact that he was a farmer speaking to farmers, and most of his opponents were city dwellers. But part of it was due to the fact that he struck upon a feeling of perfectionism awakening in America, a feeling augmented for Quakers by a form of perfectionism less extreme than Hicks' which had grown in the Society since the advent of quietism. Perfectionism was a theme in which he heartily believed. He told his listeners that

while men disregard this inward divine principle, of grace and truth, and do not believe in it, as essential and sufficient to salvation; they are in danger of becoming either Atheists, or Deists--these are also in danger of becoming so blinded as not to believe in that necessary and very essential doctrine of perfection, as contained in that clear, rational, and pos-

itive injunction of our dear Lord: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." 37

IX

Thus, the ministry, which was charged with tending to the welfare of the Society, and with guiding its theological development along uniform lines, were leading Friends in two opposing directions during the first quarter of the 19th century. The stage was set. A lever was provided which could be used by opposing interests groups in the sect to express their varied grievances in a religious manner, and the way was open to the Hicksite Separation.

CHAPTER VIII
THE HICKSITE SEPARATION

I

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, two parties were forming in the Society of Friends. Each of these represented a somewhat exaggerated version of one aspect of the sect as it had existed before the controversy. As Robert Doherty has said, "In many ways the history of the post-seventeenth century Friends can be written in terms of [a] . . . struggle between Quaker ideals and worldly practice." Whereas an equilibrium had previously been maintained between these two forces, circumstances in the early 1800's combined to make this balance no longer possible.¹

II

In the cities, Friends, especially upper class Friends, were exposed to new pressures. All around them were temptations to exercise the influence their new wealth gave them. Yet, in their meetings, Quaker democracy prevailed. These Friends felt that their wealth was a sign of heavenly favor, and that they should accordingly receive priveleges from the meeting. But many Quakers said, no, your wealth shows that you are too little concerned with religious affairs, and too much concerned with this world. You shall remain on an equal footing with us.

In defense, the city Friends began to follow the train of thought initiated by David Sands. More and more evangelicalism seemed to suit their ends very well. By the time they had formulated their position, the one which became known as "Orthodox" Quakerism after the schism, they were full fledged evangelicals. They affiliated with other evangelical groups; they adopted Sunday Schools; they instituted hymn singing. But this came after the schism. Before it, they confined themselves to affirming such evangelical doctrines as the Trinity, the divinity of Jesus, the atoning power of his death, the infallibility of the Bible, and original sin and the depravity of man. In short, they adopted a theology which, in its belief in objective standards of holiness and in its emphasis upon salvation, admitted of their contention that success in the world measured spiritual progress. It was a position which would allow them to carry on their worldly activities with no misgivings.²

Their opponents became known as the Hicksites, not so much because they accepted the theology of Elias Hicks, but because they accepted its emphases, and its advocacy of an open acceptance of many points of view. His doctrine of the complete sufficiency of the Inner Light galled the elitists, for in allowing room for every man's conscience, it nullified the possibility that there could be any objective measure of holiness, and it implied that each man's conscience was of equal worth in the church. In addition, Hicks' doctrines appealed in an exaggerated way to the grievances which the

predominantly rural, lower-class Hicksites held against their Orthodox brethren. Hicks rejected the world, and thus the worldly success of the Orthodox; modernity (he was against science, railroads, the Erie Canal), and thus the means by which the Orthodox had attained their success; the city, and thus the general life style of the Orthodox. He was a farmer, one of their kind, who spoke out forcefully against those arrogant upper class Friends. The social nature of the conflict should not be overemphasized, for there were many upper class Hicksites (especially among the professions), and many lower class Orthodox. But it is a significant factor. Even Elias Hicks recognized this, and he came to see himself as a representative of the democratic American spirit, battling the aristocracy, conveniently personified in the group of English Quakers who came to America in 1826 to oppose him for the cause of Orthodoxy.³

One might ask why this controversy did not occur earlier. Before about 1800, it was easy for Friends to isolate themselves, as we have seen. However, the increasing difficulty of maintaining separation from the world, brought on by the transportation revolution, aggravated submerged grievances, which had been controllable in a small, exclusive community, by exposing Friends to the possibilities and enticements of the outside world. Furthermore, the changing nature of American society presented opportunities to some Friends which they wanted to be free to take advantage of, while others were exposed to new hardships, and resented the social and economic

ascendency of their coreligionists. The parties of Elias Hicks and David Sands provided the dissatisfied of both sides with a religious framework in which to express their unhappiness.⁴

A series of issues began to crystallize around the questions of who should be a member, how the Society should be organized, how a Quaker seeks salvation, and to what extent Friends should accept the world. The Orthodox answers were that membership should be based upon assent to a group of doctrines, that the Society should be organized around the leadership of the holy (i.e., the wealthy), that a Quaker seeks salvation through assent to the authority of the Bible, and hence that one is free to participate in the world, since purity is not required. For them the membership was to be passive, "and let the problems of belief, membership, and salvation be resolved by those on whom God had granted his blessing in the form of material wealth." What they wanted, at least in part, then, was an official recognition of a condition which had long existed in the Society, especially at the higher levels. A large part of the Society was already passive, and the wealthier members of many meetings already had de facto control of the decision making processes. Many important decisions were made in the elite Ministers and Elders Meetings, regardless of what transpired in open business meetings. The Orthodox Friends wanted to have other Quakers recognize this situation as a proper one.⁵

The Hicksites, on the other hand, felt that membership should, as it had in the past, be contingent upon righteous

behavior, that the Society should remain an openly controlled institution in theory, and, ^{that it} should return to being so in fact. ^{Finally, they maintained} ~~say~~ that a Quaker seeks salvation by following the dictates of the Inner Light, which can only be done by withdrawing from worldly corruption.⁶

Much of the discussion of the two latter questions became centered on an argument over the place of the Bible in Quakerism. The nature of the theology of the Inner Light, and the institution of the unprogrammed ("silent") meeting, quite naturally tended to relegate the Bible to secondary status in Quaker life. Many families did not even own a copy. Yet it was never altogether eliminated, and most Quaker preachers and writers had recourse to it to support various statements they made. The Hicksite controversy polarized Friends on this issue. For the Hicksites, the Bible became even less important, although they explicitly denied that they had discarded it entirely. The Orthodox went in the opposite direction, asserting the infallibility of Scripture, and, to a greater or lesser degree, its superiority as a religious authority over the Inner Light. One Isaac Crewdson, for example, wrote a pamphlet in 1835 in which he denounced the doctrine of the Inner Light as "delusive," and advocated recognition of the Bible as the sole authority for Christians. The Orthodox Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders declared in 1878 that "We repudiate the so-called doctrine of the inner light" These were the extremes of a tendency which expressed itself in Dutchess County meetings

in the establishment of committees to see that every family owned a Bible.⁷

These were the conditions of the schism. The Orthodox somehow contracted the notion that they were the defenders of true Quakerism. The Hicksites, they believed, were animated by a "Spirit of unbelief in some of the fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion as contained in the Scriptures of Truth and held to by our Society" A letter from the Orthodox Meeting for Sufferings to its subordinate meetings vividly depicts their image of themselves as defenders of the faith.

Assembled to discharge the duties which the Discipline of the Society had confided to us; and having from the nature of the concerns which have claimed our attention been led to survey the waste places of Jerusalem to view the breaches in her walls and the gates which are burned with fire, in this day of awful revolt, when great numbers like the Children of Israel formerly have estranged themselves from the law and the testimony and have set up a separate alter [sic] which their fathers knew not; and well knowing that great as the afflictions of those who feel bound to manifest their love to their holy Redeemer; and that many are the privations and painful the bereavements of those who keenly feel the wounds inflicted on the tender ties of nature & the diminution of the sweetness of domestic life--we have fervently desired that these may be supported by the remembrance that they suffer for the sake of Him

The Hicksites replied by charging the Orthodox party with "lack of love and forbearance, . . . oppressive denial of freedom of conscience, and . . . theological speculation." It remains only to tell the story of the schism.⁸

III

Opposition to Elias Hicks first surfaced in 1819, when he made his anti-slavery Pine Street address in Philadelphia. His advocacy of abolition and of abstention from slave products did not please the conservative Quaker merchants of that city. But nothing really came of it, and things were quiet until 1822, when another appearance in Philadelphia brought out his friends and his enemies in force. Some elders attempted to deal with him, but he dismissed their criticisms rather haughtily. The next year, the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia included in its minutes a statement which was strongly evangelical in its thrust. There was not enough support to have it passed by the Meeting, but a way was found to have it included without endorsement. Many liberal Friends felt that they had been forced by chicanery to accept what they had rejected in open meeting.⁹

English Friends began to intervene in the conservative cause. Anna Braithwaite arrived in 1824 and attempted to correct Elias, but, again, he refused to yield. Then, in 1826, a group of British Quakers, led by Thomas Shillitoe and including Anna Braithwaite, Elizabeth Robson, Richard Jordan and George and Ann Jones, arrived in America for a three years' stay which was the direct cause of the schism. Both sides of the controversy had been growing increasingly virulent. The English Quakers, however, initiated a policy of systematic repression of dissent which the predominantly evangelical London Yearly Meeting had found useful in dealing

with its liberal members. It was not an unknown tactic in America, for as early as 1801, David Sands had led a crusade to disown Hannah Barnard for saying that certain passages in the Bible, such as that in which God commanded Israel to kill its opponents, offended her conscience. But these English Quakers introduced the vilification, harassment, and expulsion of dissenters as a systematic method for dealing with discontent. They followed Hicks around the country, rising to attack him in every meeting in which he spoke. Ann Jones was the most vitriolic. She called Hicks an "openly avowed" infidel, whose teachings were "diabolical and luciferian and damnable." At one meeting she was so violent that the elders felt constrained to ask her to leave since her actions were "inconsistent with gospel order . . . calculated to sow discord among brethren, and produce disorder in the church."¹⁰

The situation finally became intolerable to the liberals. They attempted to effect reforms, and were thwarted at every turn. Finally, at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1827, John Comly led the liberal forces in a withdrawal from the meeting. He had attempted to work within the meeting but, although it was later found that the Hicksites, as the liberals came to be called, outnumbered the Orthodox in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting by 18,000 to 8000, the conservatives controlled all the key committees, and nothing could be done. The Orthodox Meeting sent representatives to force a confrontation in all the subordinate meetings, and the Hicksite Separation had begun. Splits occurred in four other Yearly Meetings;

three remained undivided and identified themselves with the Orthodox Philadelphia Meeting. It is significant that although the Orthodox were most numerous in terms of overall membership of Orthodox-affiliated meetings, they were vastly outnumbered in every Yearly Meeting which divided. Sykes believes that were a count taken in the unseparated Yearly Meetings, the Orthodox would again be outnumbered, but that they maintained their control by expelling challengers to their leadership.¹¹

This hard line toward dissenters was maintained after the division. The Orthodox New York Yearly Meeting urged speedy disownment of Hicksites, and refused to accept the offer of the Hicksite Yearly Meeting to divide all property evenly, preferring instead to take court action to win it all. The Hicksite New York Yearly Meeting, on the other hand, attempted to follow a conciliatory policy, directing that its subordinate meetings "carefully maintain our Christian Character, in the strict observance of Justice and Equity." It directed that Orthodox Friends should be disowned if obstinate, but that arduous efforts should be made to reclaim them, and that any disowned members who desired to be readmitted could do so without apologizing for their conduct.¹²

The four other Yearly Meetings divided in 1828. It is important to note that in the case of New York Yearly Meeting, the term "Hicksite Separation" is erroneous, for it was the Orthodox who, in all cases, provoked a confrontation, ^{and} then withdrew. The New York Yearly Meeting separated

in Fifth month 1828. Thomas Shillitoe set the stage by pointing out the presence of certain Philadelphia Hicksites and demanding that they be excluded, since they had been "dis-owned" by the "true" Friends. The split occurred in a dispute over the record books. This set the pattern for the schisms in the lower meetings, as we shall see, for they usually took the form of a dispute over the possession of the record books, followed by the withdrawal of the Orthodox after they were refused permission to read their extracts. The following is the account of the schism presented in an epistle from the Hicksite Yearly Meetings.

The Friend who acted as Clerk the last year, contrary to our usual custom, did not bring with him the book of minutes, and the papers belonging to the yearly meeting. Having, under these circumstances, taken his seat at the table, after some previous communications from brethren in attendance, he read an opening minute, and called over the names of the representatives from a strip of paper; (83 of whom answered to their names, of whose number about 20 have absented themselves from our sittings.) . . .

The Clerk was repeatedly requested to proceed in regular order with the business of the meeting; and it was not till after much time had been allowed him, and he manifested a fixed determination not to proceed in conformity with the mind of the meeting; that another Friend was appointed Clerk, and called to officiate. On his coming to the table the former Clerk, together with about 245 individuals being a small minority, which included many persons not members of this yearly meeting, withdrew from us, and have since we understand, set up a separate meeting under the character of a yearly meeting, retaining in their possession our books and papers. At the second sitting of the Women's Meeting, a number also withdrew from that body 13

IV

The divided representatives went home to their June monthly meetings filled with what they had seen, somewhat

bewildered, but determined to uphold the party they had joined at the Yearly Meeting. For the Hicksites, the monthly meetings would be attempts to prevent a schism. The Orthodox were determined to dominate or leave. To this end, they had ministers of their party attend all the monthly and quarterly meetings to force a showdown. The accounts of the Hicksites present the story many times. At Oswego, the meeting attempted to proceed as usual, but "was repeatedly interrupted in a disorderly manner by some of the Separatists who were not members of our Mo^y Meet.g." At Stanford, there were "divers members of the Society from neighbouring Monthly Meetings: who attended purposely, as it appeared, to abett and encourage such schismatick procedure: left the Meeting in a body" Their presence is recognized in the Orthodox minutes as a committee which attended "to read the extracts as directed."¹⁴

It happened in Dutchess County the 18th to 21st of Sixth month 1828. The sessions were stormy, tumultuous ones, a disgrace to the dignity of all concerned. One can imagine the feeling of anticipation of Friends on both sides, as each meeting in turn went through the ordeal, then waited to hear news of the others. In Oblong Meeting, the clerk, John Wing, was a Hicksite. The Orthodox faction rose and attempted to read their extracts. Suddenly, an unprecedented scene occurred, as normally sedate Friends shouted each other down. The Orthodox withdrew to Paul Osborn's house, where they met until they constructed their own meeting house a year and one-

half later. At Oswego, on the 18th,

The Clerk took his seat at the table, & read a minute opening the meet.g, then rose & informed the meet.g that the Books were not present, & offered for a reason, that he had understood there was a division of the Mo^y Meetg anticipated; & that in order to give both parties an equal chance, the Books were placed where they would be produced, provided the meetg would come under certain restrictions, that is, to reject all extracts, & attend to the regular business that concerns the monthly meet^s.

He was informed by Friends, they knew of no division of the Mo^y Meet^s to take place & that it was improper for him to proceed, unless he produced the books & papers. This being expressed by the united voice of the meetg, after a time of consideration, they manifesting no disposition to produce the books & papers, agreeable to the mind of the meetg, Friends proceeded to appoint a Clerk for the day. Caleb Barker being named, was united with, & requested to sit by the table, which he did, & attempted to proceed to business, but was repeatedly interrupted in a disorderly manner by some of the Separatists who were not members of our Mo^y Meet.g. After considerable altercation, they endeavouring to press their extracts upon this meet.g, & being firmly rejected, they with a few separatists belonging to this mo,^y meet,^s, arose, & in violation of the discipline & established order of the Society, withdrew from the body: after which Friends proceeded to transact the business of the meet,^s in a degree of brotherly love and condescension. [!] 15

At Nine Partners, we have the advantage that both the Hicksite and the Orthodox records were preserved. That split occurred on the 19th. Said the Hicksites,

In consequence [sic] of a Separation which took place at our last Yearly Meeting when a number of friends withdrew, and contrary to our established order, Set up a meeting, and presumed to call it the Yearly Meeting of friends held in New York, and amongst those who seperated [sic] and left at that time were a few that are Members of this Monthly Meeting, who have again soon after the opening of the present meeting, gone off and left us, together with a few others who did not attend the Yearly Meeting, assigning as a reason for so doing that other friends who did not go with them, had derogated from the fundamental principles and doctrines held forth and acknowledged by our Society from the first rise of it--a charge we consider highly presumptuous [sic]

and inadmissable--therefore this meeting concludes to record a statement thereof to shew its disapprobation of such misconduct

According to the Orthodox,

After our Meeting of friends at Nine partners was opened on the 19th of 6th M^o by Elias DeGarmo who was Clerk to the meeting and after a time of deliberation and expression of sentiments, it was refused to be accepted as directed . . . which appeared to be a manifest determination on the part of many friends not to continue any longer in subordination to our said Yearly Meeting the propriety and necessity of which was held forth and urged by some of said Committee [of the Yearly Meeting of the Orthodox] . . . the Clerk also gave it as his decision that it was the Judgment of the meeting that the aforesaid minute of extracts should not [be] read, and friends by reason of the opposition which was so prevalent being deprived of proceeding in their business . . . it was therefore (after stating that friends by their so doing did not relinquish any right to their property as related to the meeting house &c) concluded to move to the house where the Boarding school [was kept] to transact the business and the Clerk not going . . . but staying back and by so doing having identified himself with those who have departed from our principles and doctrine . . . and by thus so doing has caused a separation between us we therefore release the Clerk . . . and Philip Hoag was appointed for the day the extracts as heretofore stated was read and their contents was satisfactory to us

Throughout the county, this pattern was repeated. Emissaries of the Orthodox Yearly Meeting tried to read their extracts, were raucously prevented from doing so, and withdrew, taking with them whatever property of the meeting (books and funds) their supporters possessed.¹⁶

After these four stormy days, the meetings realized what happened, and began to set themselves in order. The first step was to attempt to recover the marks of the "official" meeting. Each side approached the officers who had supported the others, and demanded that they turn over the meeting property to its "rightful" owners, knowing that it would never

happen. Real property, which remained almost exclusively in Hicksite hands, was sued for by the Orthodox, who lost in all cases. They were, however, able to retain possession of the Nine Partners Boarding School and of ten acres of land immediately surrounding it.¹⁷

Both Yearly Meetings made provisions for disowning adherents of the other faction. The Hicksite Monthly Meetings of Dutchess County uniformly ignored disownment, noting usually that "this meeting unites in dismissing the Subject for the present." As a result, the Hicksites of the county never disowned a single Orthodox Friend. The Orthodox party, on the other hand, entered into disownment with a vengeance, at every meeting expelling more Hicksites. This continued until well into 1831.¹⁸

Each Yearly Meeting then ordered a census of all its Monthly Meetings, to determine the number of "Friends and Separatists," or "Friends and Hicksites," respectively. The final tally revealed that, in New York Yearly Meeting, Hicksites outnumbered the Orthodox 12,000 to 6000. In Dutchess County, the proportion was even greater, with 1455 Hicksites to 558 Orthodox.¹⁹ (see fig. 37)

Having assessed their situations, each faction found it necessary to "lay down," or discontinue, some meetings in which the other party had captured most of the membership. The Hicksites lost North East, where Charles Hoag held sway, and Beekman. The Orthodox found it necessary to terminate their interests in Poughquag, Chesnut Ridge, West Branch,

(continued on page 253)

Fig. 37
The Census of 1829¹

	Orthodox	Hicksite	Total
Oblong	25	95	120
Branch	15	35	50
Valley	1	58	59
Nine Partners	105	201	306
Ridge	9	42	51
Oswego	26	59	85
Beekman	68	89	157
Poughkeepsie	84	258	352
Creek	88	168	256
Little Nine Partners	40	45	85
Crum Elbow	0	204	204
Stanford	63	186	249
North East	<u>34</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>49</u>
Totals	558	1455	2013

NB: West Branch and Pleasant Valley are probably considered in Beekman and Poughkeepsie, respectively.

¹Cox, p. 658.

Pleasant Valley, Valley and Crum Elbow Meetings. Within the following twenty years, many others of the smaller meetings fell.²⁰

Slowly, Friends recognized that the situation was a permanent one, and gave up hopes of swaying large numbers of the opposing parties to defection. Some of the Orthodox English Friends appeared in Dutchess County to solidify the schism. Thomas Shillitoe and George and Ann Jones all appeared at the Creek, as did the American conservative Stephen Grellet. Elias Hicks made one last appearance in the county, and drew the largest crowds ever. The Hicksites set up a new Nine Partners Boarding School and the Orthodox built their own meeting houses. Dutchess County Friends picked up the pieces of their Society and settled into a period of decline which lasted the rest of the 19th century.²¹

IV

^{the division}
the schism. To some, ~~it~~ has seemed a tragedy. It destroyed ^{the} authority of the meeting and sent Quaker membership into a decline which was not broken until after World War I. It exposed to public ridicule the peacemakers who could not keep the peace among themselves. But John Sykes has presented a new view. It is his opinion, and one which I tend to accept, that the schism freed the liberal elements of the Society to carry on in the paths of social expression to which many Quaker doctrines naturally pointed, but which previously could not be followed for fear of angering the conservative elements in the Society. That they could not

in the future have had any better hope of freedom of action is pointed to by the fact that the Orthodox faction experienced two more major schisms, and a few minor ones, during the course of the 19th century. Groups who did not conform found themselves unchurched. Their Monthly Meetings were abolished, with the "loyal" members attached to more reliable Monthly Meetings, and suddenly the dissenters' support literally dissolved from under them. In England, moreover, no separation occurred. Rather, liberals were purged from the Society, and consequently the sect almost died. Even today it can claim a membership only one-sixth the size of American Quakerism. Thus, although the actions of Quakers on both sides of the controversy were disgraceful during the split and though they displayed a notable lack of brotherly love for many years, it is hard not to think that the Hicksite Separation was, in the long run, beneficial to the development of the Society of Friends as an effective religious organization.²²

P



CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

We have seen the Society of Friends in Dutchess County begin as a small group of pioneers who, in the midst of the wilderness, built up a closely knit community which provided the discipline necessary to ensure the success of their enterprise. As the wilderness receded, as Friends grew more prosperous, and as their interests diverged, tensions developed. A sense of community was lost, many were mere professors, and the exclusive community was too rigid to cope with new situations. A schism resulted.

During the 19th century, as we have said, the Society declined. For many in both parties, Quakerism was a mere denominational affiliation, no longer a way of life. The upper class Orthodox deserted the Society for more respectable denominations, like the Episcopal Church, as befitted their social station. Others who were Orthodox because they were genuinely attracted to evangelical thought found the more flamboyant types of 19th century religion enticing. As the author of Quaker Quiddities acutely observed, "Quakerism is declining because it is Quakerism, and not Episcopalianism, Methodism, or Mormonism."¹

Yet, it seems to me that the Hicksite Separation was the best thing that could have happened to Dutchess County Friends. By 1880, almost all the meetings in Dutchess County

were dead. Yet, paradoxically, Quakerism was just beginning to be reborn. As birthright members died or quit, Quakerism became once more a community of the convinced. In the early years of the 20th century, it began to grow again, and has continued to do so ever since. In the fall of 1969, the Oswego meeting house was reopened after a lapse of nearly a century. The Society of Friends in Dutchess County is today hardier than at any time since the Hicksite schism.

NOTES--INTRODUCTION

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⁴A Friends Discourse Delivered at an Yearly Meeting of the Quakers . . . (Boston, 1728), p. 4.

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⁶A Friends Discourse . . ., pp. 5, 9.

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⁸John Winthrop, History of New England from 1630 to 1649, ii, 46, quoted in Jones, pp. 23-24.

⁹William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York, 1950), p. 24.

¹⁰Quoted in Society of Friends, Faith and Practice (New York, 1968), p. 9.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., pp. 10-11. For an explanation of the organization of the Society, see Chapter I.

¹³Jones, p. 28.

¹⁴Willard L. Sperry, Religion in America (Cambridge, 1946), p. 34.

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¹⁶Jones, pp. 216-217.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 219.

- ¹⁸Ibid., pp. 219-220.
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- ²⁰Jones, p. 223.
- ²¹Ellis H. Roberts, New York: The Planting and Growth of the Empire State (Boston, 1893), II, 79.
- ²²Jones says 31.
- ²³David M. Ellis, James A. Frost, et. al., A History of New York State (Ithaca, 1967), p. 27.
- ²⁴Jones, pp. 227-28.
- ²⁵William Smith, History of New-York, From the First Discovery to the Year M.DCC.XXXII (Albany, 1814), p. 334.
- ²⁶Quoted in Smith, p. 45.
- ²⁷Jones, p. 228.
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- ²⁹Roberts, p. 196.
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- ³¹Roberts, p. 263. Smith, pp. 401-402.
- ³²Jones, pp. 221-22.
- ³³James Sullivan, History of New York State, 1523-1927 (New York, 1927), V, 2182. Faith and Practice, p. 12.
- ³⁴Faith and Practice, pp. 11-12.
- ³⁵Quoted in Jones, p. 246.
- ³⁶Faith and Practice, p. 12.
- ³⁷Purchase (Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 4 mo. 9 1725 to 12 mo. 11 1747, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meeting of 4 mo. 9 1725. It should be noted that the Quaker system of naming months and days numerically, rather than by what Friends

called the "pagan" system, will be followed throughout this paper, In addition, all dates before 1752 are old style.

³⁸Purchase (Men's) Quarterly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 6 mo. 3 1745 to 7 mo. 31 1793, ~~Haviland~~ Records Room, New York City, Entry inside cover.

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⁶P. H. Smith, General History of Dutchess County (Pawling, N.Y., 1877), p. 258. George A. Birdsall, The Birdsall Family (Annandale, Va., 1964), p. 12. Warren H. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study (New York, 1907), p. 17. Mary Hoag, "A Paper Read by Miss Mary Hoag at the Oblong Meeting House, Quaker Hill, September 20, 1920," Dutchess County Historical Society Year Book, VI(1921), 13. Purchase (Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 4 mo. 9 1725 to 12 mo. 11 1747, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meeting of 4 mo. 10 1742. Oblong (Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 8 mo. 18 1757 to 1 mo. 17 1781, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meetings of 3 mo. 19 1761, 6 mo. 18 1761, 5 mo. 18 1763. Purchase (Men's) Quarterly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 6 mo. 3 1745 to 7 mo. 31 1793, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meeting of 2 mo. 1 1766. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-81, Meetings of 10 mo. 18 1769, 6 mo. 21 1770, 8 mo. 16 1770, 5 mo. 16 1771.

⁷P. H. Smith, p. 258. Wilson, Quaker Hill in the Eighteenth Century, p. 8. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological

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¹⁰Purchase Monthly Meeting, 1725-1747, Meetings of 6 mo. 12 1742, 7 mo. 9 1742, 4 mo. 10 1742, 6 mo. 13 1741, 1 mo. 11 1742. John Cox, Jr., "Friends Meetings in Dutchess County," in Hasbrouck, Dutchess County, II, 654.

¹¹Purchase Monthly Meeting, 1725-1747, Meeting of 1 mo. 11 1742.

¹²Ibid., Meetings 3 mo. 10 1744, 4 mo. 14 1744. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meeting of 6 mo. 3 1745. Cox, p. 654.

¹³Staughton Lynd, Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York (Chicago, 1962), pp. 28-29.

¹⁴Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 64-65. P. H. Smith, p. 26.

¹⁵McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 113, Ibid., pp. 65-73.

¹⁶McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 115. Ibid., p. 63. [Francis Filkin], Account Book of a Country Store Keeper (Poughkeepsie, 1911), passim. Helen [Wilkinson] Reynolds, Dutch Houses of the Hudson Valley Before 1776 (New York, 1965), P. H. Smith, pp. 167, 195, 207, 222, 382, 400. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess.

¹⁷Lynd, p. 23. Walter Allen Knittle, Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration (Philadelphia, 1936), passim. P. H. Smith, p. 400.

¹⁸McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, pp. 65-73. Reynolds, "Nine Partners," p. 27. Staughton Lynd, "Who Should Rule at Home?," William and Mary Quarterly, ser. 3, XVIII(July, 1961), 334. Lynd, Anti-Federalism, p. 24.

McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 184.

¹⁹Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 16. Wilson adds, ". . . and ownership," but I disagree. Even he says that as late as 1750, less than five people on Quaker Hill owned their land. The Hill is still some of the richest farm land in the county and has acquired a certain fashionability. Among its gentleman farmers past and present are Thomas Dewey, Norman Vincent Peale, Edward R. Murrow and Lowell Thomas.

²⁰McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 132. Ibid., p. 130. Ibid., p. 132.

²¹Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meetings of 4 mo. 21 1763, 5 mo. 18 1763. Wilson, Quaker Hill in the Eighteenth Century, p. 12. Hoag, "Paper," p. 13. Oblong Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 2 mo. 14 1781 to 5 mo. 12 1788, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meeting of 5 mo. 13 1782. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 30. Federal Writers' Project, New York: A Guide to the Empire State (New York, 1940), p. 546. P. H. Smith, p. 283. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 13. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meeting of 8 mo. 9 1781. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 10 mo. 18 1764.

²²Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meetings of 10 mo. 18 1764, 11 mo. 15 1764. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 59-60, 28.

²³Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 5 mo. 10 1761. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meeting of 9 mo. 16 1782. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 18. Wilson, Quaker Hill in the Eighteenth Century, p. 17.

²⁴Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 16. Two Centuries of New Milford, Connecticut (New York, 1907), pp. 12, 101. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 8 mo. 20 1777. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meetings of 9 mo. 3 1750, 8 mo. 4 1753. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 6 mo. 15 1758. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 7 mo. 21 1763. Nine Partners (Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 2 mo. 23 1769 to 1 mo. 22 1779, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meeting of 12 mo. 16 1774.

²⁵Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meeting of 9 mo. 15 1783. Nine Partners (Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 10 mo. 20 1790 to 10 mo. 18 1797, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meetings of 8 mo. 16 1797, 9 mo. 20 1797. Nine Partners (Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 11 mo. 15 1797 to 10 mo. 17 1805, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meetings of 5 mo. 15 1799, 11 mo. 6 1799. Oswego

(Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 12 mo. 18 1799 to 11 mo. 14 1804, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Entry in cover, Meeting of 12 mo. 18 1799.

²⁶Lyman B. Taylor, "The Quakers Came Early," LaGrange--An Historical Review, 1959 [LaGrangeville, 1959], n. pp. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 8 mo. 18 1757. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1769-1779, Meeting of 7 month 19 1776.

²⁷See Taylor. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1790-1797, Meetings of 10 mo. 20 1790, 2 mo. 23 1792.

²⁸Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meetings of 9/16/1762, 10/21/1762, 7/16/1772. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meeting of 7/13/1773. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 1/14/1778. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meeting of 9/16/1782. P. H. Smith, p. 136. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meetings of 7/21/1774, 1/17/1781. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meeting of 4/15/1782, 7/18/1785, 9/19/1785. P. H. Smith, p. 136.

²⁹Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 2/17/74. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meeting of 4/14/1783, 7/14/1783.

³⁰Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meetings of 12/15/1783, 3/15/1784. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meetings of 4/29/1784, 7/29/1784. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meeting of 9/13/1784. Deeds from Daniel Wing, 9/18/1786, and Isaiah Hoag, 7/30/1786, copied in Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, pp. 289-292.

³¹Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 1/17/1776. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meetings of 4/15/1782, 11/10/1782. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meetings of 8/2/1760, 11/1/1760. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meetings of 1/10/1785, 6/13/1785, 8/12/1782. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meeting of 5/2/1783.

³²Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, Meeting of 9/13/1785.

³³Reynolds, "Nine Partners," p. 27. Ibid., p. 34.

³⁴Purchase Monthly Meeting, 1725-1747, Meetings of 6/12/1742, 7/9/1742. Stephen H. Merritt, "The Brick Meeting House at Nine Partners," Dutchess County Historical Society Year Book, VII(1922), 17. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meeting of 12/1/1745.

³⁵Reynolds, "Nine Partners," p. 29. Merritt, p. 16. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meetings of 3/5/1750, 3/4/1751, 5/3/1755. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1769-1779, Meetings of 8/24/1769, 9/20/1769. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meeting of 2/4/1769. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1769-1779, Meeting of 2/23/1769. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meeting of 2/4/1775.

³⁶Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meeting of 7/31/1783. Cox, p. 656. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1790-1797, Meeting of 8/17/1796.

³⁷Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meetings of 5/1/1779, 5/1781. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 269. Bliss Forbush, Elias Hicks, Quaker Liberal (New York, 1956), pp. 25-26.

³⁸Merritt, pp. 16-17. WPA Guide, p. 400. P. H. Smith, pp. 430-31.

³⁹Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meetings of 12/16/62, 4/21/63. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1769-1779, Meetings of 12/17/1770, 5/22/1772, 6/21/1776.

⁴⁰James H. Smith, The History of Dutchess County, New York (Syracuse, 1882), pp. 291, 285, 295. P. H. Smith, pp. 413-14. Memoirs of Joseph Tallcot (Auburn, 1855), p. 15. Paul Upton is no relation to the author.

⁴¹Nine Partners (Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 12 mo. 17 1779 to 9 mo. 18 1783, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meetings of 12/17/1779, 2/22/1782.

⁴²Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meetings of 11/4/1775, 8/3/1776. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1769-1779, Meetings of 10/27/1775, 7/17/1778. P. H. Smith, p. 146.

⁴³Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 4/20/1758.

⁴⁴Birdsall, p. 13.

⁴⁵Purchase Monthly Meeting, 1725-1747, Meetings of 6/13/41, 10/10/1741, 1/11/1742. Cox, p. 653. Purchase Monthly Meeting, 1725-1747, Meeting of 6/12/1742. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 17.

⁴⁶Obed Macy, The History of Nantucket (Boston, 1835), pp. 50, 80-81, 103. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, Nantucket--A History (New York, 1914), p. 99. Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1757-1781, Meeting of 2/17/1779.

⁴⁷Douglas-Lithgow, p. 55. Macy, pp. 91, 118,
107, 109-10, 75.

NOTES--CHAPTER II

¹Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1769-1779, Meeting of 11/20/1778. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1779-1783, Meetings of 12/22/1780; 12/21/1781. Cox, p. 657. WPA Guide, p. 611. P. H. Smith, p. 221. Plaque in Crum Elbow graveyard.

²Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1790-1797, Meeting of 12/15/1790. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1797-1805, Meetings of 1/16/1799, 2/20/1799, 3/20/1799, 7/17/1799, 8/14/1799.

³Richard Francis Maher, Historic Dover (Dover Plains, N.Y., 1908), p. 44. J. H. Smith, p. 489. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1790-1797, Meetings of 11/18/1795, 4/20/1796.

⁴LaGrange, n. p. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1790-1797, Meetings of 11/22/1792, 12/19/1792, 6/14/1797. Oswego Monthly Meeting, 1799-1804, Meetings of 1/15/1800, 2/19/1800. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1790-1797, Meeting of 9/14/1796. LaGrange, n. p.

⁵P. H. Smith, p. 229. Oswego Monthly Meeting, 1799-1804, Meeting of 9/14/1803. Oswego Monthly Meeting, 1809-1815, Meeting of 3/15/1809.

⁶P. H. Smith, p. 229. LaGrange, n. p. J. H. Smith, p. 468. Oswego Monthly Meeting, 1809-1815, Meetings of 3/15/1809, 4/19/1809.

⁷Oblong Monthly Meeting, 1781-1788, passim.

⁸Cox, p. 657. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1797-1805, Meeting of 8/21/1800. Stanford (Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 4 mo. 23 1803 to 8 mo. 17 1816, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meeting of 4/23/1803. P. H. Smith, p. 295.

⁹Cox, p. 657. Stanford Monthly Meeting, 1803-1816, Meeting of 4/23/1803, cover entry. P. H. Smith, p. 239.

¹⁰Stanford Monthly Meeting, 1803-1816, Meeting of 4/23/1803.

¹¹J. H. Smith, p. 226. Isaac Huntting, History of Little Nine Partners of Northeast Precinct, and Pine Plains, New York, Dutchess County (Amenia, N.Y., 1897), i, 161, 163.

Stanford Monthly Meeting, 1803-1816, Meeting of 12/18/1813.

¹²Huntting, i, 162.

¹³Huntting, i, 163-64. Creek (Men's) Monthly Meeting (Orthodox), MS. Minutes, 6 mo. 20 1828 to 12 mo. 17 1841, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meeting of 8/22/1828
Huntting, i, 163.

¹⁴Stanford Monthly Meeting, 1803-1816, Meetings of 4/18/1810, 5/16/1810. Huntting, i, 161. Stanford Monthly Meeting, 1803-1816, Entry in cover.

¹⁵Huntting, i, 151.

¹⁶J. H. Smith, p. 313. McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, pp. 469, 462. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 161.

¹⁷Oswego Monthly Meeting, 1799-1804, Meeting of 9/15/1802. Oswego Monthly Meeting, 1804-1809, Meeting of 11/19/1806. Oswego Monthly Meeting, 1809-1815, Meeting of 4/18/1810. J. H. Smith, pp. 313-314.

¹⁸Edmund Platt, The Eagle's History of Poughkeepsie, etc. (Poughkeepsie, 1905), p. 90. O. L. Holley, The New-York State Register for 1843 (Albany, 1843), p. 49. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, pp. 122-132.

¹⁹Oswego Monthly Meeting, 1809-1815, Meetings of 1/16/1811, 2/19/1812. Cox, p. 657. J. H. Smith, p. 422. Platt, pp. 90, 122.

²⁰WPA Federal Writers Project, Dutchess County, (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 45. Oswego Monthly Meeting, 1809-1815, Meeting of 9/15/1813.

²¹McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, pp. 139, 325. Platt, p. 90.

²²Cox, p. 658. Holley, pp. 36-43, Jones, PAC, p. 262.

²³McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 160. William Warren Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture 1765-1840 (Gloucester, Mass., 1963), pp. 110-111. Lynd, Anti-Federalism, p. 32.

NOTES--CHAPTER III

¹Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies, p. xvi. I am including the slavery question in Chapter IV because it was primarily a question of slaveholding among Quakers themselves, rather than among others, which concerned Friends in the years 1728-1828.

²Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 20, 24.

³Ibid., p. 24.

⁴Ibid., pp. 67-71.

⁵Ibid., p. 52.

⁶McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 273, passim.

⁷Carl Carmer, The Hudson (New York, 1939), pp. 81-99. David M. Ellis, Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region (Ithaca, 1946), p. 12. McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, pp. 300-315. William Smith, Historical Memoirs from 12 July 1776 to 25 July 1778, etc., William H. W. Sabine, ed. (New York, 1958), p. 30. Lynd, Anti-Federalism, pp. 50-53.

⁸Lynd, "Who Should Rule," p. 349.

⁹Lynd, Anti-Federalism, p. 39. McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, pp. 198-99.

¹⁰E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., "Papers Relating to the Quakers and Moravians," The Documentary History of the State of New York (Albany, 1850), III, 622.

¹¹Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 23.

¹²Ibid., p. 23. P. H. Smith, p. 149.

¹²Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 20. Stearns, p. 8.

¹³Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 20.

¹⁴Stearns, p. 25.

¹⁵Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 20. Stearns, p. 32.

¹⁶Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 3/21/1765, 8/15/1765. Merritt, p. 18. J. H. Smith, p. 326. Charles D. King, Jr., History of Education in Dutchess County (Cape May, N.J., 1959), p. 45.

¹⁷Louise Tompkins, "Thorndale, A Place of Beauty," Dutchess County Historical Society Yearbook, LIII(1968), 35. J. H. Smith, p. 326. Tompkins, p. 36.

¹⁹J. H. Smith, p. 313.

²⁰LaGrange, n. p.

²¹Stearns, p. 28.

²²Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 64-65. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 462.

²³Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 66.

²⁴Ibid., p. 22.

²⁵Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 3/20/1782. Stanford MM, 1803-1816, Meeting of 8/20/1803.

²⁶Stearns, p. 36.

²⁷Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 5/19/1763.

²⁸Ibid., Meetings of 12/17/1772, 4/15/1773.

²⁹Ibid., Meeting of 1/21/1773. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 8/21/1772.

³⁰Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 28.

³¹Ibid., pp. 28-30. For an example of horse racing complaints, see Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 10/26/1779.

³²Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 7/19/1780. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 5/15/1782.

³³Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 41-42. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 8/17/1769, 2/17/1774. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 1/24/1782. Ola E. Winslow, Jonathan Edwards 1703-1758 (New York, 1961), pp. 176-77.

- ³⁴Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study,
pp. 41-43. LaGrange, n. p.
- ³⁵Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies, p. 151.
- ³⁶Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 4/16/1777.
- ³⁷Nine Partners MM, 1790-1797, Meeting of 11/18/1795.
- ³⁸Martha J. Lamb and Mrs. Burton Harrison, History
of the City of New York (New York, 1896), III, 486. Stanford
MM, 1803-1816, Meeting of 11/19/1803.
- ³⁹Lamb and Harrison, III, 647-50. Stanford MM,
1803-1816, Meeting of 10/22/1814.

NOTES--CHAPTER IV

¹William Penn, A Key, Opening the Way to Every Capacity . . . (Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 6-7.

²"And then one of them said would he [George Fox] not swear for due det he said noe he would not swear but he would speak the truth as it is in Jesus and then they cried reed the oath to him.

"He tould them that it was to litle purpose for his yea was yea and his nay nay acording to christs doctrin and there fore in obedience to christ doctrin we cannot swear." George Fox, Journal, Norman Penney, ed. (Cambridge, England, 1911), II, 47.

³quoted in Faith and Practice, p. 43.

⁴Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 39-40.

⁵Ibid., p. 39. Elias Hicks, Journal (New York, 1832), p. 122.

⁶Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 6/21/1759.

⁷Ibid., Meetings of 9/20/1759, 10/18/1759.

⁸George Bancroft, History of the United States (Boston, 1860), II, 347. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 8/18/1757,

⁹Stanford (Men's) Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), MS. Minutes, 6 mo. 21 1828 to 6 mo. 22 1867, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meetings of 4/21/1832, 8/18/1832.

¹⁰Sperry, p. 53. Phoebe T. Wanzer, David Irish--A Memoir (Quaker Hill, 1902), p. 13. Nine Partners MM, 1790-1797, Meeting of 8/4/1792. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 5/1/1793. Nine Partners (Men's) Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), MS. Minutes, 2 mo. 17 1820 to 5 mo. 15 1851, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meeting of 4/19/1832.

¹¹Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 38. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1769-1779, Meeting of 10/18/1776.

¹²Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 8/20/1772.

¹³Henry Kalloch Rowe, The History of Religion in the United States (New York, 1924), p. 98. Faith and Practice, p. 95. Sweet, Story, p. 416.

¹⁴See, for example, Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 7/19/1759, 7/21/1763, 12/15/1763. Jones, p. 256.

¹⁵Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 4/15/1767. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 5/2/1767. Jones, p. 257. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 25. McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, pp. 197-98. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 26.

¹⁶Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 25-26.

¹⁷Merritt, p. 17.

¹⁸Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 7/22/1774. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 9/20/1775.

¹⁹Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 26. McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 198.

²⁰Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 4/14/1776.

²¹Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meetings of 4/17/1776, 8/14/1776. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 8/20/1777.

²²Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 8/17/1781.

²³Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 6/20/1765. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meetings of 8/14/1782, 11/20/1782.

²⁴John Woolman, Journal, Janet Whitney, ed. (Chicago, 1950), p. 20, passim. David Sands, Journal (London, 1848), p. 18. Hicks, p. 348. Forbush, p. 205. Wanzer, p. 10. Hicks, p. 244.

²⁵McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 53.

²⁶Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 1/18/1759, 4/19/1759, 12/20/1764. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meetings of 11/19/1773, 10/27/1775.

²⁷Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 12/18/1776.

²⁸Ibid., Meeting of 6/16/1774.

²⁹Ibid., Meeting of 7/17/1766.

³⁰Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 1/16/1786.

- ³¹Sands, p. 14.
- ³²Ibid., p. 15. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 3/17/1780. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 10/18/1780.
- ³³Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 10/31/1781. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 12/20/1780.
- ³⁴Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 8/17/1781.
- ³⁵Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 35-36.
- ³⁶Quaker Quiddities (Boston, 1860), p. 13.
- ³⁷Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism (London, 1921), I, 144. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 10/21/1762. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 7/21/1775. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 9/17/1779.
- ³⁸Hicks, p. 350.
- ³⁹Henry D. B. Bailey, Local Tales and Historical Sketches (Fishkill Landing [Beacon], N.Y., 1874) pp. 388-89. Phillip Schaff, America; a Sketch of the Political, Social, and Religious Character of the United States of North America (New York, 1855), p. 215. The "peculiarly tremulous prophetic tone" was criticised by Quakers, too. The author of Quaker Quiddities says, "It is astonishing that persons of fair intellectual attainments, who everywhere else, and at all times beside, speak with a natural tone, and in a simple and unaffected manner, should, the moment they open their lips on the rising-seat, ignore all the laws of elocution and common sense." Quaker Quiddities, p. 41.
- ⁴⁰Bailey, pp. 391-92.
- ⁴¹Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 10/25/1770.
- ⁴²Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 8/20/1777. Oblong MM, "Oblong First Register," MSS. Marriage Records, etc., 1744-1783, Haviland Records Room, New York City, p. 237.
- ⁴³Purchase Monthly Meeting, 1725-1747, Meetings of 7/13/1739, 8/11/1739, 9/8/1739, 10/13/1739. Hicks, p. 244.
- ⁴⁴Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 4/16/1767.
- ⁴⁵Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 7/19/1776. Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 4/18/1781. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 5/?/1781.
- ⁴⁶Robert W. Doherty, The Hicksite Separation (New

Brunswick, N. J., 1967), p. 22.

⁴⁷Oblong MM, 1757-1781, pp. 483-84. Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 10/17/1781.

⁴⁸"Oblong First Register," p. 153. Another: "our well esteemed Friend and Minister Joshua Sherman of Pogh Quiack departed this Life at his own House y^e 8: 9 m^o 1770 in good esteem amongst friends aged 40 Years." "Oblong First," p. 206.

⁴⁹Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 2/19/1761.

⁵⁰Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 1/21/1778.

⁵¹Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 3/15/1770, 7/18/1771. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meetings of 5/5/1770, 11/3/1770, 8/3/1771. Hicks, p. 348.

⁵²Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 12/18/1760. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meetings of 11/2/1781, 1/31/1782.

⁵³Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 5/21/1761.

⁵⁴Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism (hereafter abbreviated LPQ), I, 108-109. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 8/20/1772. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 5/?/1781. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 6/19/1782.

⁵⁵Sweet, Religion, pp. 126-27.

⁵⁶Sweet, Story, p. 147. Jones, LPQ, I, 108-10.

⁵⁷Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meetings of 11/4/1769, 2/3/1770. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 11/15/1759.

⁵⁸Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 8/20/1779. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 3/20/1760.

⁵⁹Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 5/21/1773. Robert Barclay, The Anarchy of the Ranters, and Other Libertines, etc. (Philadelphia, 1757). Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 2/1/1781.

⁶⁰Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 8/3/1786.

⁶¹Ibid., Meeting of 2/1/1781. Nine Partners (Men's) Monthly Meeting (Orthodox), MS. Minutes, 6 mo. 19 1828 to 10 mo. 17 1850, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meeting of 8/20/ 1829.

⁶²Oswego MM, 1804-1809, Meeting of 2/19/1806.

⁶³Oswego Monthly Meeting, MSS. Marriage and Removal Certificates, 1799-1809, Haviland Records Room, New York City, n. p. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 7/16/1783.

⁶⁴Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 1/19/1781. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 5/7/1775. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 3/16/1781. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 6/19/1760.

⁶⁵Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 7/26/1770. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 10/21/1774.

⁶⁶Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 2/22/1782.

⁶⁷Conversation with Miss Mary G. Cook, Haviland Records Room, New York City, January 9, 1970.

⁶⁸Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 3/18/1782.

⁶⁹Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 6/21/1770, 4/15/1773, 4/17/1766, 5/19/1766, 7/17/1766.

⁷⁰Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 3/20/1782.

⁷¹Nine Partners MM, 1790-1797, Meeting of 1/20/1796. Nine Partners MM, 1797-1805, Meeting of 8/14/1799.

⁷²Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 7/18/1765.

⁷³Sweet, Religion, p. 145. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 44. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 10/16/1760.

⁷⁴Sweet, Religion, pp. 137-38, 141-42. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 8/18/1757.

⁷⁵Sweet, Religion, p. 138. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 40. Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meeting of 3/2/1747. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 5/15/1760.

⁷⁶See, for example, Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 10/26/1769.

⁷⁷Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 44. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 2/20/66, 3/21/1765. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 1/22/1773.

⁷⁸Purchase MM, 1725-1747, Meetings of 7/9/1736, 8/14/1736, 9/11/1736, 10/9/1736, 11/13/1736. 1-10-1736/7/ Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 5/17/1775. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 4/26/1770.

⁷⁹Purchase QM, 174501793, Meeting of 7/4/1789.

⁸⁰Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 38.
Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches,
Olive Wyon, trans. (New York, 1931), I, 331.

NOTES--CHAPTER V

¹ quoted in Faith and Practice, p. 43.

via WPA guide, p. 401

² Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies [hereafter cited as QAC], p. 150. New York State, An Act for Regulating the Militia, The Colonial Laws of New York (Albany, 1894), III, 1051-1071. McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, pp. 247-48.

³ Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 7/19/1759, 12/20/1759. McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 198.

⁴ "Oblong First," pp. 208, 211-14, 216-26,

⁵ Lynd, Anti-Federalism, pp. 64-65.

⁶ Sweet, Religion, p. 39.

⁷ P. H. Smith, p. 271. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 57-58.

⁸ McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 367. P. H. Smith, p. 284. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, pp. 59-60, 12, 61, 13. Hoag, p. 14. A similar story is told of Saratoga Meeting, Washington County, then under the jurisdiction of Nine Partners MM. Friends there "refused to leave their settlement as war approached, . . ." Indians of Burgoyne's scouting party entered the meeting, which was headed by Zebulon Hoxsie of Dutchess County, but "finding Friends unarmed stacked arms and attended peaceably." The incident occurred in 1777. A. Day Bradley, "An Historical Commission," letter in Friends Journal, XV (February 1, 1969), 83-84.

⁹ McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 367. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 59. "Well-authenticated tradition says that he sometimes occupied the Ferriss house [Washington, that is] This house was further made notable by the trial there, in the fall of 1778, of Gen. Philip Schuyler, (the victim of Gen. Gates' intrigues,) by court-martial, on the charge of neglect of duty while in command of the Northern Department in 1777, especially for his absence at the capture of Ticonderoga July 6th, of that year. General Lincoln, whose headquarters were at the Ferris house, was President of the court. Gen. Schuyler was honorably acquitted. J. H. Smith, p. 140. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 59.

- ¹⁰Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 60. McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever!, p. 367. Hasbrouck, p. 174.
- ¹¹Hoag, p. 13. Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 55. Hudson, p. 95.
- ¹²Sweet, Religion, p. 43. Sweet, Story, p. 186.
- ¹³Jones, QAC, pp. 259-60.
- ¹⁴Job Scott, Journal, pp. 53-54, quoted in Sweet, Religion, p. 42.
- ¹⁵Merritt, p. 18. Minutes of the Committee and of the First Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, December 11, 1776 to September 23, 1778, New-York Historical Society, ed. (New York, 1925), I, 94.
- ¹⁶Conspiracies, I, 93-94. Wm. Smith, Memoirs, p. 118. Hasbrouck, p. 174.
- ¹⁷Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meetings of 12/20/1776, 3/21/1777. Stearns, p. 23.
- ¹⁸Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 6/14/1775. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 9/22/1775.
- ¹⁹Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 11/2/1776. Conspiracies, I, 315. New York State, Journals of the Provincial Congress . . . 1775-1777 (Albany, 1842), I, 972. Conspiracies, II, 441. Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 4/15/1782.
- ²⁰Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 4/28/1785.
- ²¹Hudson, p. 111. Sweet, Story, p. 293.
- ²²Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 4/16/1779. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 5/4/1776. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meetings of 5/21/1779, 2/22/1782.
- ²³Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 10/18/1776. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meetings of 6/22/1781, 7/20/1781. Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 11/16/1781.
- ²⁴Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 4/15/1778. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meetings of 5/2/1778, 8/1/1778.
- ²⁵Lynd, Anti-Federalism, pp. 70-72.
- ²⁶Purchase Quarterly Meeting, 1745-1793, Meeting of 11/4/1784. Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 9/13/1785. Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meeting of 9/21/1781.

27 Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 4/29/1790.

28 Jones, LPQ, II, 721.

29 New York Yearly Meeting, Extracts from the Minutes
(New York, 1812), n. p. Stearns, p. 25.

30 Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meeting of 2/19/1773.
Stanford MM, 1803-1816, Meetings of 4/18/1807, 4/18/1810.
Platt, p. 123. Oswego (Men's) Monthly Meeting (Hicksite),
MS. Minutes, 5 mo. 14 1828 to 11 mo. 15 1843, Haviland Records
Room, New York City, Meeting of 4/15/1829. Nine Partners
MM(O), 1828-1850, Meeting of 3/18/1830. No indication is given of what
the commander-in-chief commanded. It was probably the state militia.

31 Hicks, p. 348.

NOTES--CHAPTER VI

¹Jones, LPQ, II, 666. Elbert Russell, The History of Quakerism (New York, 1942), p. 155. Summarized in Luella Wright, Literature and Education in Early Quakerism (Iowa City, 1933), p. 10.

²Russell, p. 155. Jones, LPQ, II, 666.

³Jones, LPQ, II, 669. Wright, p. 54.

⁴James Mott to Joseph Tallcot, Nine Partners Boarding-School, letter, 1 mo. 17 1812, in Memoirs of Joseph Tallcot (Auburn, N.Y., 1855), p. 79.

⁵Ibid. New York Yearly Meeting, Extracts of the Minutes of the Yearly-Meeting, 1825 (New York, 1825).

⁶Jones, LPQ, II, 711. Russell, p. 405.

⁷Russell, p. 258. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 9/20/1780. Purchase QM, 1745-1793, Meeting of 5/3/1787.

⁸Oblong, 1781-1788, Meetings of 4/15/1782, 12/16/1782, 4/12/1784, 4/17/1786.

⁹Nine Partners MM, 1779-1783, Meetings of 1/20/1781, 4/20/1781, 11/16/1781. The report is signed by Abishai Coffin, Obadiah Frost, Jacob Thorn, Quimby Cornel, Benjamin Jacakse, John Young, Israel Titus, James Sowl, Paul Upton, John Hoag, and Moses Vail. It is interesting to note that five of the seven men who were to have schools established near their homes were on the school committee. Nine Partners MM, 1790-1797, Meetings of 4/19/1792, 6/20/1792.

¹⁰Howard H. Brinton, Friends for 300 Years (New York, 1952), p. 150. Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 12/16/1782.

¹¹Stanford MM, 1803-1816, Meetings of 12/17/1814, 1/21/1815.

¹²Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 11/13/1786. LaGrange, n. p.

¹³Stearns, p. 17.

¹⁴Ibid. Edward L. Chichester, Hiram B. Jones and His School (Quaker Hill, 1902), pp. 5-8, 14-15.

¹⁵LaGrange Historical Society, ed. Along Highways and Byways of Lagrange [Lagrangeville, 1969], n. pp.

¹⁶Jones, LPQ, II, 680.

¹⁷Reynolds, "Nine Partners," p. 30. Tallcot, pp. 13-14. Forbush, p. 278. Nine Partners MM, 1790-1797, Meeting of 8/19/1795. Tallcot, p. 350.

¹⁸Reynolds, "Nine Partners," p. 30. Merritt, p. 18. Forbush, p. 93. Merritt, p. 18. Jones, LPQ, II, 682. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania, &c. on the Establishment of A Boarding School (Philadelphia, 1794). Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, At a Meeting of the Boarding-School Committee (Philadelphia, 1796).

¹⁹Tallcot, p. 18. Forbush, p. 93. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 278. Tallcot, p. 16. Nine Partners MM, 1790-1797, Meeting of 5/17/1797. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 278. Nine Partners MM, 1790-1797, Meeting of 8/16/1797.

²⁰Forbush, p. 94. Brinton, p. 150. Jones, LPQ, II, 682. Otelia Cromwell, Lucretia Mott (Cambridge, 1958), p. 18.

²¹Jones, LPQ, II, 682. Quoted in Forbush, p. 93. Horatio Gates Spafford, A Gazetteer of the State of New York (Albany, 1813), p. 321.

²²Yearly Meeting Extracts, 1813. Isaac Thorne, Jr. to Joseph Tallcot, letter, 10/10/1807, in Tallcot, p. 52.

²³Forbush, p. 94. Dorothy Sterling, Lucretia Mott, Gentle Warrior (Garden City, N.Y., 1964), p. 43. Nine Partners MM, 1797-1805, Meeting of 8/21/1800. Joseph Tallcot to Elias Hicks, Nine Partners, letter, 8/9/1806, in Tallcot, p. 42.

²⁴Nine Partners MM, 1790-1797, Meeting of 8/17/1796. James Mott to Joseph Tallcot, Nine Partners Boarding School, letter, 1/17/1812, in Tallcot, p. 81.

²⁵B. B. Tyler, A History of the Disciples of Christ, the Society of Friends, the United Brethren in Christ, and the Evangelical Association (New York, 1894), p. 294. Sterling, pp. 48-49.

²⁶Martha Routh to Sarah Tallcot, New Bedford, Mass.,

letter, 3 mo. 10, 1801, in Tallcot, p. 21. Forbush, p. 94. Hicks, passim. Quoted in Jones, LPQ, I, 446,

²⁷Jones, LPQ, II, 683. Forbush, p. 94. Sterling, p. 45.

²⁸James Mott to Joseph Tallcot, Nine Partners Boarding School, letter, 1 mo. 17 1812, in Tallcot, pp. 80-81.

²⁹Forbush, p. 132. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 281. Reynolds, "Nine Partners," p. 33.

³⁰Reynolds, "Nine Partners," p. 32. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 279. Huntting, I, 163.

³¹WPA Guide, p. 400. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 277.

³²Jones, LPQ, II, 570. Forbush, p. 313. William Still, The Underground Railroad (Philadelphia, 1878), pp. 650-51. Cromwell, p. 18. Forbush, p. 133. Russell, p. 371.

³³Forbush, p. 335. WPA Guide, p. 400. Thomas F. Gordon, Gazetteer of the State of New York (Philadelphia, 1836), p. 435. J. H. Smith, p. 327. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 281.

NOTES--CHAPTER VII

- ¹Jones, LPQ, I, 195.
- ²Ibid., I, 120.
- ³Ibid., I, 121.
- ⁴Ibid., I, 77.
- ⁵Ibid., I, 200.
- ⁶Ibid., I, 209.
- ⁷Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 8/15/1771, 8/17/1769.
- ⁸Hicks, p. 37. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, 1790-1797, Meeting of 4/18/1792.
- ⁹H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism. (New York, 1929), p. 36. Troeltsch, II, 695.
- ¹⁰Niebuhr, p. 39. Wright, p. 11.
- ¹¹Troeltsch, II, 705-707. Niebuhr, p. 230. Sweet, Religion, pp. 110-111.
- ¹²Sweet, Religion, pp. 110-114.
- ¹³Jones, LPQ, I, 101.
- ¹⁴Ibid., I, 234. Oblong MM, 1781-1788, Meeting of 9/19/1781.
- ¹⁵Hicks, p. 126.
- ¹⁶Ibid., pp. 113-114.
- ¹⁷Jones, LPQ, I, 230, 122.
- ¹⁸Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 2/18/1762, 7/16/1761. Stanford MM, 1803-1816, Meetings of 9/18/1813, 4/23/1814. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meeting of 1/15/1779.
- ¹⁹Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 8/21/1766, 3/19/1767,

8/20/ 1767.

²⁰Stanford MM, 1803-1816, Meetings of 12/18/1813, 4/18/1810, 9/19/1812. Oblong MM, 1757-1781, Meetings of 7/20/1758, 4/15/1762, 8/21/1766.

²¹Sands, pp. 13, 9. Russell, p. 290. Sands, pp. 10, 13-14. *Material on Sands is skimpy, being confined to his Journal and passing references in some other works.*

²²Sands, pp. 13, 17. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meetings of 2/22/1770, 1/24/1771. Sands, p. 10. Nine Partners MM, 1769-1779, Meetings of 7/27/1771, 9/26/1771. Sands, p. 18.

²³Sands, pp. 20, 25, 61. Jones, QAC, p. 254. Sands, p. 10.

²⁴Jones, LPQ, I, 283. Sands, p. 11. Jones, LPQ, I, 292, 282-283. Sands, pp. 218-219.

²⁵"A Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Cornwall Concerning David Sands," Sands, p. 10. Russell, p. 290. Jones, LPQ, I, 280.

²⁶D. Elton Trueblood, "The Career of Elias Hicks," in Brinton, Byways, pp. 78-79, 89. Hicks, p. 19. Forbush, p. 42. Hicks, pp. 25, 31, 33. McCracken, Blithe Dutchess, p. 269. Forbush, pp. 130-131. Hunting, I, 158.

²⁷Forbush, pp. 268, 94, 132. Hicks, p. 124.

²⁸P. H. Smith, p. 222. Jones, LPQ, I, 441. Trueblood, pp. 89-93.

²⁹Hicks, pp. 114, 243, 357-358.

³⁰Ibid., p. 52. It is notable that John Griffith observed the same thing at the Oblong at about the same time. The people appeared plain and sincere, but "alas! when they came to be viewed in the true light they appeared dry and formal" [quoted in Jones, QAC, p. 240.]

³¹Trueblood, p. 81.

³²Hicks, p. 350.

³³Jones, LPQ, I, 446, 442, 452-453.

³⁴Hicks, p. 315. Jones, LPQ, I, 449. Joseph Belcher, The Religious Denominations in the United States (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 837. Hicks, pp. 122-123.

³⁵Belcher, p. 837. Jones, LPQ, I, 450-451.

³⁶Jones, LPQ, I, 450.

³⁷Russell, p. 287. Hicks, p. 122.

NOTES--CHAPTER VIII

- ¹Doherty, p. 22.
- ²Ibid., p. 31. Sweet, Religion, p. 231. Russell, p. 327. Belcher, pp. 826-827. Doherty, p. 31.
- ³Doherty, p. 32. Russell, pp. 229-230, 324. John Sykes, The Quakers (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 222. Doherty, p. 28. Trueblood, p. 85.
- ⁴Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 76. Doherty, p. 23.
- ⁵Doherty, pp. 30-31. Sykes, p. 218.
- ⁶Doherty, p. 31.
- ⁷Sweet, Religion, p. 230. New York Yearly Meeting (H), Epistle from the Yearly Meeting, 1829 (New York, 1829). Sykes, pp. 226, 228.
- ⁸Creek (Men's) Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 6 mo. 20 1828 to 12 mo. 17 1841, Haviland Records Room, New York City, Meetings of 6/20/1828, 11/21/1828. Doherty, p. 19.
- ⁹Doherty, p. 28. Trueblood, pp. 83-84. Sweet, Religion, pp. 231-232.
- ¹⁰Trueblood, p. 85. Forbush, p. 225. Sykes, pp. 222-223.
- ¹¹Doherty, p. 3. Sykes, pp. 224-226.
- ¹²New York Yearly Meeting (O), Extracts from the Yearly Meeting, 1828 (New York, 1828). New York Yearly Meeting (H), Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting, 1828 (New York, 1828).
- ¹³Sykes, pp. 224-225. New York Yearly Meeting (H), Epistle from the Yearly Meeting, 1828 (New York, 1828).
- ¹⁴Doherty, p. 51. Oswego MM (H), 1828-1843, Meeting of 6/18/1828. Stanford MM (H), 1828-1867, Meeting of 6/21/1828.
- ¹⁵Wilson, Quaker Hill in the Nineteenth Century, p. 26. Oswego MM (H), 1828-1843, Meeting of 6/18/1828.
- ¹⁶Nine Partners MM (H), 1820-1851, Meeting of 6/19/1828.

Nine Partners MM (O), 1828-1850, Meeting of 6/19/1828. *

¹⁷Nine Partners MM (H), 1820-1851, Meeting of 7/17/1828. Nine Partners MM (O), 1828-1850, Meeting of 7/17/1828. Merritt, p. 17. Russell, p. 403.

¹⁸Oswego MM (H), 1828-1843, Meeting of 8/19/1829.

¹⁹Nine Partners MM (O), 1828-1850, Meeting of 11/19/1829. Sykes, p. 225. "Oswego Monthly Meeting," typed sheet, Haviland Records Room, New York City. Stanford MM (H), 1828-1867, Meeting of 4/18/1829. Oswego MM (H), 1828-1843, Meetings of 2/18/1829, 3/18/1829, 4/15/1829. Nine Partners MM (H), 1820-1851, Meeting of 4/16/1829. Cox, p. 658.

²⁰Stanford MM (H), 1828-1867, Meetings of 3/21/1829, 10/17/1829. Cox, p. 657. Oswego MM (H), 1828-1843, Meetings of 7/16/1828, 10/15/1828, 11/19/1828. Cox, pp. 655-657. Creek MM (O), 1828-1841, Meeting of 11/7/1828.

²¹Creek MM (O), 1828-1841, Meetings of 5/20/1829, 6/18/1830, 6/21/1829. Hicks, p. 428.

²²Wilson, Quaker Hill--A Sociological Study, p. 38. Sykes, pp. 218-219. Doherty, p. 19. Sykes, pp. 226, 220. Hebe Bulley, "To Capture a Vision," Friends Journal, XIV (November 15, 1968), 591.

NOTES--CONCLUSION

¹Quaker Quiddities, p. 6.

* The significance of these events was obvious to Quakers immediately. The separation incidents were recorded in the minutes in much greater detail than any occurrence before or since the event. Minutes are ordinarily very cryptic, and contain only a brief, objective statement of the outcome of any discussion. If the separation had been recorded in the normal style, the minutes might have read, "Some friends having left our meeting, the meeting continued as usual."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

DEED

To all Christian People to whom these Presents Shall
Come Greeting Know ye that I Daniel Haviland of Southeast
Precint [sic] in Dutches County & Province of New York for
& in Consideration of the Love & affection I Bear to my
Friends the Society of the People Called Quakers To Joseph
Irish Edward Shove Reed Ferriss Wing Kelley of Pawldings
Precint Elnathan Sweet & Joseph Lancaster of Beekmans Pre-
cint all in Dutches County & Province of New york & Benja-
min Ferriss of New fairfield in Connecticut & for the better
Conveniency and advantage of the Said Society have Given
Granted aliened Infeofed & Confirmed & By these Presents Do
Give Grant Aliene Infeoff Convey & Confirm unto them the
Said Joseph Irish Edward Shove Reed Ferriss Wing Kelley
Elnathan Sweet Joseph Lancaster Benjamin Ferriss and to
their Heirs Survivours & Survivour forever a Certain Tract
or Parcel of Land Situate lying and being in the Southeast
Precint in Dutches County and Province Aforesaid being Part
of Lot N^o 16 on the Oblong Buting and Bounding as follows
Begining [sic] at a Place by the west Side of the House
Nathaniel Covell now lives in & in Roger Haviland^s Line

thence Runing Westerly five Chains & Seventy two links in
Roger Havilands Line thence Runing South twenty nine Degrees
East Six Chains & forty five links to A Stake & heap of Stones
thence Runing North twenty six Degrees east five Chains &
twenty five links to the Place Began at Containing by Esti-
mation one Acre and Seventy rods of Land Be the Same more or
Less==To be held & Enjoyed By the Said Joseph Irish Edward
Shove Reed Ferriss Wing Kelley Elnathan Sweet Joseph Lancaster
Benjamin Ferriss & to their heirs Survivours & Survivour
forever to be applyed to the Use & only Service by the afore-
said Society of the People Called Quakers for burial ground
& to Build & Erect A Meeting House or Meeting Houses on &
other Conveniencys & advantages accomodating the Same of which
Land no Partision or Division Shall ever hereafter or at any
time be made But Shall Continue an absolute and intire Undivided
Estate in Common Unto them the Sd Joseph Irish Edward Shove
Reed Ferriss Wing Kelley Elnathan Sweet Joseph Lancaster
Benjamin Ferriss and to their Heirs Survivours and Survivour
for the only Use and Servise of the Said Society as aforesaid
To have & to hold the ^{abov}granted Premises With the appurten-
ances thereof to the Society Aforesd to Joseph Irish Edward
Shove Reed Ferriss Wing Kelley Elnathan Sweet Joseph Lancaster
Benjamin Ferriss and to their Heirs for the Use as afore
Said forever So that Neither I the Said Daniel Haviland my
heirs nor assigns nor any Person or Persons Claiming from by
or Under me Shall ever have any Claim interest or Demand therein
by Virtue of any act or acts already had Done or Sufferd

whatsoever In witness whereof I have here unto Set my hand and
Seal this twelfth Day of the Eighth month in the Year of
our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and Eighty two

Signd Seald and Deliverd

Daniel Haviland

in the Presence of

Daniel Merritt

Roger Haviland

the foregoing instrument is A true Cobby of the original Deed

Recorded this 30th day of the 11th mo. *D* 1782 By Me--

Benjamin Ferris Ju^r ¹

¹Oblong Monthly Meeting, MS. Minutes, 2 mo. 14
1781 to 5 mo. 12 1788, Entry on pp. 101-2, Haviland Records
Room, New York City.

APPENDIX II

A MANUMISSION

Know all men by these presents that whereas I Jacob Thorn of Charlotte Precinct in Dutchess County and Province of New York being Intitled by Inheritance to a Negro man Named Primas as also a Negro woman Vilote and being Convinced in my Judgment of the Iniquity of Keeping Slaves Do out of tenderness of Conscience and to Render to them their Just Right of freedom do by these Presents manumit free and fully Discharge them the s^d Negro man and woman Named as Aforesaid as far as my Right to them Doth Extend and this manumition is Intended that Neither me my heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns Shall have any Right of Claim or Demand of Property to them the s^d Negro man Named Primas and Negro woman Named Vilote after the date hereof in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the Twenty third day of the Third month one thousand seven hundred and seventy six

Zopher Green

Jacob Thorn

Tripp Mosher

Dorothy Thorn

APPENDIX III

AN

Epistle of Counsel & Advice

From our Monthly Meeting of Friends held at the
Nine-Partners y^e 20th of y^e 3^m [month] 1760

To the Several particular Meetings there unto belonging

Dear Friends

This meeting having taken into Serious consideration the present Declining State of affairs in the several branches of our Monthly Meeting as they have been represented unto us by the Overseers & Answers to the Queries have thought it our Incumbent business & Necessary Duty to publish a few transient remarks on the miscarriages of Some particulars with a few words of Advice & Counsel annexed thereto which we tenderly desire may be received & considered in that pure Love & Christian freedom in which they are written

And in the first place it is with a degree of Sorrow that we observe so great a neglect in some of our members in attending meetings for the Worship of Almighty God Especially when we call to mind our high & Holy Profession & the many Singular advantages vouchsafed unto us in these days of Gods Merciful visitation & Heavenly regard to the Children of men.

We also think it our duty to remind the Youth and such

who frequent our religious Assemblies of that Indecent custom of frequently going out & in of our meetings in time of public worship and in some places Inlarging their Discourse when out to the Disturbance of that Solemn reverence & awful solemnity with which our meetings might otherwise be covered. And to this we may add the wanton & Airy Countenances appearing in the Faces of particulars even to Laughter & a Seeming contempt of the Worship of God. Which things we can but look upon as highly Indecent in themselves & very unbecoming in any Christian Society whatsoever convened for Spiritual exercises & paying Adoration & Worship to that God who is Jealous of his Honour & will not be mocked nor Dalied with by empty Formality nor mere Shadows of Devotion but will have all the Vessels of his House to be pure & Holy

Wherefore we intreat all such to be more careful of their conduct herein at this time especially when the present awakening Calamities are abroad in the Earth & call aloud for an amendment of life & a Reformation of our ways

And as you who are parents of Children have at times Ardent Desires in Your Hearts that your tender Offspring may not only be found walking in the paths of Life & Purity while here but be made partakers with you of the good word of Life & the Glorious Hope of a Blessed Immortality; It is therefore tenderly advised that you would keep a watchful eye over them in all their ways & bring them up 'in the practice' of a Diligent attendance of 'Religient Meetings Instructing them to wait' upon God when there for the help &

guidance 'of his Holy Spirit' and watch their deportment in the forementioned respects in order that you may be able to Impart unto them Such advice & counsel as may to you appear necessary towards forming their tender minds according to the plain & simple Truths of the Gospel contained in the Holy Scriptures & Endeavour to Impress in them a Sense & remembrance of the Gracious dealings of the Lord our God to the upright in Heart from one generation [to] another & the knowledge of the most Important Truths or Principles of the Christian Religion with the exceeding great reward reserved for those who thro patient continuance in well doing seek for Glory & Honour & Immortality: Remembering what God required of Parents in days of Old Deuteroⁿ 6.7. that they should Teach his Statutes Diligently unto their Children & Should talk of them when they Sate in the Houses & when they walked by the way & when they lay down & when they rose up: And Surely Parents under the present Dispensation of Gospel Light have not received a Discharge from their Duties towards their Children but are laid under Closer Obligations to fulfill the trust reposed in them in order that they might not only have peace in their own bosoms while here but lay down their Heads in peace hereafter & that their Offspring might be made Sharers of that Glory which will be revealed to the Righteous through Jesus Christ our Lord when time to them will [be] no more.

And Dear Friends as a concern has rested on this meet-

ing that all of us who Profess the Truth might be found walking answerable to the Principles of our Profession & Effectually demonstrate to the World that we are in good measure actuated by the Spirit of Truth & are Really concerned for the Honour & Glory of our God: there has yet another thing been brot to our Remembrance which has often times Sensible Effected our Hearts with Grief and that is the practice of Some [of] more advanced Years who come sit down in a careless unconcerned manner & by too much Indulging themselves in a Spirit of Sluggishness frequently spend a considerable part of the time of Silence in Sleeping & even Sometimes in the very moments when Public Testimonies have been born against it. A very painfull & Shocking thing indeed! occasioned we fear by a Disregard to that great & necessary Duty of public Worship & a departure from the Life of God and pure Religion; & by means of which our Solemn Assemblies for Gods Honour are covered with a Cloud of Heaviness at times that may Sensible be felt by the true Travelers in Zion and often proves a hurt & a hinderance to their Spiritual consolation by beholding those who make Profession with them Thus violate their Holy Offerings by Sacrificing their whole Body Soul & Spirit to the corruptions of Sensual Fleshly & Natural wase at the very time when they Profess to sit in an humble Frame & Awful reverence before God. Wherefore we beseech you in the Bowels of Love and by the tender Mercies of our God that you would let the time past Suffice & Solidly [consider] the weight & importance of our High Calling as well as the many valuable

Blessings bestowed upon us in this day & age of the world
by him whose Throne is filled with Majesty & whose penetrating
Eye Pervades the very Secrets of all Hearts with a Jealous
Design and by the mouth of the Prophet has most Surely
Denounced his Judgments against those who are at ease

in Zion & trust in the Mountain of Samaria who lie

Amos:

6 on beds of Ivory & Stretch themselves on their Couches

but are not Grieved for the Afflictions of Joseph

AND Now we address our Selves to the Youth in par-
ticular Some of which number we have reason to believe are
made partakers of the Precious Faith in Christ Jesus our
Lord and to these our Hearts are a little Enlarged in the
Fellowship of the Gospel of peace with longing Desires that
ye may abide Faithful in Your places and learn Obedience yet
more & more to the Divine & Sanctifying word [of] Life in
the Tender recesses of your own H... [Hearts--washed out]
whereby ye shall be able to Stand in the ... [time?--washed
out] of Tryal; and to press forward in the beauty of Holiness
toward the mark of the Prize of our High calling in Christ
Jesus and become Experimentally [i.e., by experience]
acquainted with the mighty Power of the Divine work of God
in the Soule and Witness a good Degree of Sanctification &
Redemption with the true Children of Israel and a feeding at
the Table of the Lord upon Living Manna & Bread of Life which
comes down from Heaven & is laid up in Store & reserved only
for the Faithful followers of the Lamb

THUS, as ye are Subjectly given up to Serve the Lord in the morning of your days & Pilgrimage through this vail of Tears you will know a being qualified to fulfil the Task or measure of your Christian Labours and Services in the Church of Christ to the Honour and the Glory of him who hath called us unto Vertue & to Holiness & be made Valient Watchmen upon the walls of Zion and Citizen of the New Jerusalem, the place of the Saints Solemnity. A blessed State indeed: to which we are called in this Glorious Gospel day wherein all the Living are made to Participate [in] the Joyful tenders of a Redeemers Love with Hearts sensibly Emerged in the fulness of his Favour & Rejoicing with the Saints under the banner & Safeguard of his Holy Arm with Joy unspeakable.

But alas! while we are comforted with a feeling sense of the Happy State & Lovely Situation of these our Hearts are Pained with grief & covered with a veil of mourning under an effecting Remembrance of the unhappy State of another class of the Young People who we fear have either forgot or refused to Remember their Creator in the days of their Youth or to lend an ear of attention to the Awakening voice of the Son of God in the Secret Chambers of their own Hearts whereby we fear they have practically Crucified the Lord of Glory & put him to open Shame & what shall we say to these, [sic] Surely their danger is great indeed! for as the old world brought a Deluge of Water upon themselves by their Disobedience & the House of Israel by Bringing forth wild

Grapes under the Cultivation of the Divine Hand was
threatened that they as a Vine-Yard should not be pruned
or dyed but there Saith ... [washed out] shall come up Briers
and Thorns & I will also command the Clouds that the Rain no
more rain upon it. And if after all the Immediate & Instru-
mental Advantages under the Gospel Dispensation & more Plen-
tiful Effusion of the Holy Spirit upon Sons & Daughters for
their redemption from Sin & Impurity with the early warnings
given by the Prophets & Messengers of the Lord of Hosts:
Ah! and the Heart tendering Pleadings of the Grace & good
Spirit of y^e Son of God if after all these Gracious &
Heavenly advantages you turn the Grace of God into Wantonness
& Persist in your Rebellion against the Mighty God of Jacob
then we have a great deal of Reason to fear that your Candle
will be put out & you left in a State of Obscure Darkness &
Alienation from the Life of God. Wherefore Dear Young people
let your forgetfulness be turned into Mourning & your back-
slidings into Lamentation for your Disobedience to the Law
of the Spirit of Life and enter into Covenant with the God
of our Fathers who is the Healer of Breeches & the restorer
of Paths to walk in so Shall ye have peace in your own bosoms
& witness the Reward of the Righteous to be Your Portion
when time to you will be no more

FINALLY Dear Friends live near to the blessed seed of
Life in the Tender recesses of your own Hearts & be in good
earnest in waiting upon the Lord in deep Humiliation & Awful
Reverence before his Throne. So shall our Offerings be an

acceptable Sacrifice and Shall Ascend as Sweet Incense from the Altar of the Lord our God to whom for the Miltitude [sic] of his mercies & manifold Favours Vouchsafed to this Church & People thro Jesus Christ our Lord we have abundant Cause Reverently to return his Praises & Honour & Glory & Thanks-giving both now henceforth & forevermore. Amen.

Signed in & on behalf of our S^d Meeting by

Lot Tripp

Joshua Haight

Samuel Dorland

Henry Chase

George Soule

Aaron Vail

Zebulon Ferriss

Timothy Dakin¹

¹Oblong Monthly Meeting, "Oblong First Register," MSS. Marriage Records, etc., 1744-1783, Haviland Records Room, New York City, pp. 233-243.

APPENDIX IV

An act for regulating the militia

Whereas a due and proper Regulation of the Militia of this Colony tends not only to the security and Defence thereof, but likewise to the Honour and Service of his Majesty

. . . BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid that in Lieu of the personal Military service of the people of the said Church or Congregation, called Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, who reside in this Colony, every of them claiming such Exemption, shall pay the Sum of 20 shillings to be levied in three Months after the publication of this Act. And every of them who being duly warned to serve on such Military Watch as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse to do so, or to send a sufficient well Armed Man in his stead, shall forfeit for every such neglect or Refusal, the Sum of ten Shillings. And the people of the said Church or Congregation; and also those who are of the people called Quakers; who refuse to bear Arms: shall in time of Alarm or Invasion severally appear provided with one good spade, Iron shod shovel, and pick to contain two Bushells, and shall serve as Pioneers or Labourers, or upon any other than Military service in such manner as shall be directed by the Governor or Commander in chief for the time being, or the Commanding

officer in the place where such Alarm or Invasion may happen, under penalty of 100 pounds.

. . . AND BE IT ENACTED that the several Rates, Penalties, Fines, and Forfeitures, which shall accrue and grow due from . . . the people called Quakers, shall be paid to the respective City or County Treasurers, where the same shall arise. And on nonpayment thereof, such Treasurers respectively, shall forthwith make Application to one Justice of the Peace, for a Warrant to Levy the same by distress and Sale of the offenders Goods, who is hereby directed to grant such a Warrant, and if no Goods be found on which to levy such Rate, Fine, or Forfeiture, then to commit the offender to the County goal [sic], there to remain until such Rate Fine or Forfeiture and the Fees of such Warrant are paid

BE IT FURTHER ENACTED that by the same Authority that no person Pretending or claiming . . . to be of the People called Quakers, shall be entitled to exemption from Military service by Virtue of this Act, until he shall have entered his Name, place of abode, and occupation, with the Clerk of the City or County in which he dwells or resides, who is hereby directed and required upon the application of every such Person, . . . to Enroll the same; and to give him a Certificate thereof under his hand, and seal of Office; for which the said Clerk shall receive one Shilling and six pence and no more¹

[The act was to remain in force one year but was renewed several times.]

¹New York State, An Act For Regulating the Militia, The Colonial Laws of New York (Albany, 1894), III, 1051, 1068-71.

APPENDIX V

ENROLLMENT OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS

Pursuant [to] an act of Generall Assembly of this province
 passed the 19th of february 1755, Entituled an Act for
 Regulating the militia of the Colony of New York. Those
 for Dutchess County are as follows vizt

1755. Aprill 22.

Joshua Shearman of Beekmans precinct	Shoemaker
Moses Shearman of the Same place	Labourer
Daniel Shearman of the Same place	Labourer
Joseph Doty of the same place	Blacksmith
John Wing of the same place	ffarmer
Zebulon Ferris of the oblong in Beekmans precinct	ffarmer
Joseph Smith Son of Richard Smith of the same place	Labourer
Robert Whitely of the Oblong	ffarmer
Elijah Doty of the Oblong	House Carpenter
Philip Allen of the Oblong	Weaver
Richard Smith of the Oblong	ffarmer
James Aiken of the Oblong	Blacksmith
Abraham Chase Son of Henry Chase of the Oblong . .	ffarmer
David Hoeg of the Oblong	
John Hoeg of the Oblong	ffarmer
Jonathan Hoeg of the Oblong	Blacksmith
Amos Hoeg Son of John Hoeg of the Oblong	Labourer
William Hoeg Son of David Hoeg of Oblong	Farmer
John Hoeg Son of John Hoeg of Oblong	
Ezekiel Hoeg of the Oblong	Labourer
Judah Smith of Oblong	Taylor
Mathew Wing of Oblong	
Timothy Dakin of Oblong	ffarmer
Jonathan Akin of Oblong	Labourer
Samuell Russell of Oblong	Labourer
John Fish of Oblong	Farmer
Reed fferris of Oblong	Shoemaker
Benjamin Ferris Junr of Oblong	Labourer
Josiah Akin of Oblong	Blacksmith
Israel Howland of Oblong	ffarmer
Elisha Akin of Oblong	ffarmer
Isaac Haviland of Oblong	Blacksmith
Nathan Soule Son of George Soule of Oblong	ffarmer
James Birdsall of Oblong	ffarmer

Daniel Chase of Oblong ffarmer
 Silas Mossher of Oswego in Beekmans precinct . . . ffarmer
 William Mosher of the Same place ffarmer
 Silvester Richmond of the Same place ffarmer
 Jesse Irish of the same place ffarmer
 David Irish of the Same place ffarmer
 William Irish of the Same place ffarmer

23d

Josiah Bull of the Same place ffarmer
 Josiah Bull Junr of the Same place ffarmer
 Allen Moore of the Same place ffarmer
 Andrew Moore of the Same place ffarmer
 William Gifford of the Same place ffarmer

25th

Nathaniel Yeomans of the Same place ffarmer
 Eliab Yeomans of the Same place ffarmer

26th

William Parks of Oswego in Beekmans precinct . . . farmer

DUTCHESS COUNTY ss: The foregoing are all the Quakers
 Enroled in my office to this first day of July 1755

Per HENRY LIVINGSTON Clerk¹

¹E. B. O'Callaghan,^{ed,} "Papers Relating to Quakers and
 Moravians," in The Documentary History of the State of New
 York (Albany, 1850), III, 622.

APPENDIX VI

Some account

Of the sufferings of Friends in the Verge of their
 Monthly Meeting held on the Oblong & in the Nine Partners
 Circularly being Chiefly for refusing to bear Arms or be active
 in the Malitia in 1759

Taken from Timothy Dakin by a Warrant from James G. Livingstone for Five pounds Demanded a Steer & Heifer worth	9 00 00
From Josiah Akin by Thomas Corban with a warrant from James G. Livingstone for Five pounds Demanded Two Cows worth £10	10 00 00
From Ebenezer Peaslee by Thomas Dickerson with a Warrant from James G. Livingstone for five pounds Demanded four Cattle worth £9	9 00 00
From Jedediah Wing by Thomas Corban with a Warrant from James G. Livingstone for five pounds Demanded one Cow & Great Coat worth	7 10 00
From Edward Wing by Thomas Corban with a Warrant from James G. Livingstone for five pounds Demanded One Cow one Tea Pot & 4 pounds in Cash	5 12 00
From Zebulon Ferriss by Thomas Corban with a War- rant from James G. Livingstone one Cow & one Saddle worth	6 5 00
From William Russell by Thomas Corban by a War- rant from James G. Livingstone for five pounds demanded two Cows worth	10 00 00
From John Hoag the 2 nd by Ephriam Pray with a Warrant from Zebulon Ross one Cow & Calf worth £5=0=0	5 00 00
From John Hoag Jun ^r Son to Sd Jn ^e Hoag y ^e 2 nd by Jacob Herrington & Ephriam Pray by vertue of a Warrant from Zebulon Ross one Cow one pair of Leather Breeches & one Pair of Silver Buckles all worth	6 10 00

From Abner Hoag by Jacob Herrington with a Warrant from Zebulon Ross for not keeping Arms one Pair of Breeches	0 15 00
and by Ephraim Pray one Cow by virtue of a Warrant from Z ^b Ross one Cow	5 00 00
From Robertly Whitely by a Warrant from Zebulon Ross one Cow worth	5 00 00
From Nehemiah Merritt by Tho ^s Sheldon with a Warrant from Zebul ⁿ Ross Sundry goods to the value of	2 3 00
From Henry Chase by a Warrant from Zebulon Ross on [sic] Cow Worth £4=4	4 4 00
From John Wing by Jacob Herrington with a Warrant from Zebulon Ross for not appearing at a muster one Cow to the Value of £4=10	4 10 00
From Jonathan Hoag one Cow one Heifer & a Saddle & Bridle all worth	8 10 00
From Jonathan Holmes one Hat & one pair of Shoes	2 5 00
From Peter Palmer Six Bushels of Wheat @ 5/6	1 13 00
From Joshua Haight by William Doughty Jun ^r with a Warrant from Samuel Jackson Twenty Bushels of Wheat @ 5/3	5 5 00
From Aaron Haight by William Doughty with a Warrant from Samuel Jackson one Cow worth £ S D 4=10=0	4 10 00
From Aaron Vail by Ephraim Palmer with a Warrant from Samuel Jackson one Heifer & Calf worth	3 10 00
From David Arnold by Ephraim Palmer w ^t a Warrant from Samuel Jackson Cash £2=4	4 4 00 [sic]
From Nathaniel Brown by Ephraim Palmer one Heifer & calf worth	3 10 00
From Nehemiah Reynolds by Ephraim Palmer with a Warrant from Samuel Jackson Cash £ S 4=4=	4 4
From Richard Smith by a Warrant from Abraham Lacy one Mare worth	5 00 0
One Saddle & Coverlid worth	3 00 0
One Tea Kettle	1 5 0

From Joseph Smith by Ephraim Forgeson with a Warrant from Abraham Lacy one Mare & Saddle Worth	8 10 0
From Allen & Andrew Moore by James Kinyon Michael Overrocker & Born Fieldy Fourteen Deer Skins	14 00 0
From Jesse Irish & his two sons by James Kinyon Michael Overrocker & Born Fieldy with a Warrant from Minder Fieldy One mare & 1 Cow and one other Mare worth	12 10 0 5 00 0
From John Thomas by S ^d Kinyon Overrocker & tFieldy by warrant from S ^d Fieldy Sundry things w	1 18 6
From Josiah Bull by a Warrant from Abraham Lacy one Mare & Steer	7 00 0
From Wing Kelley by Jacob Herrington with a Warrant from Zebulon Ross One Cow worth £3=10	3 10 0
From Samuel Dorland by James Kinyon Michael Overrocker & Born Fieldy for not appearing at a Must ^r with a Warrant from Minder Fieldy Two Cows worth 8=10=	8 10 0 ¹

¹Oblong First Register, (MS. Marriage and Miscellaneous Records), 1744-1783, Haviland Records Room, New York City, pp. 219-223.

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