

QUAKER MIGRATION TO "MIAMI COUNTRY"

1798 - 1861

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.

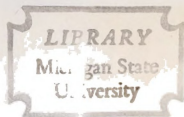
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# ABSTRACT

## QUAKER MIGRATION TO "MIAMI COUNTRY,"

1798-1861

By

E. Leonard Brown

This thesis concerns the migration of Quakers from southern slave holding states to the Northwest Territory, from the start of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of the Civil War. The central hypothesis is that they moved for different reasons than did other pioneers. Quaker migration was in response to an ideological commitment, "total opposition to slavery," while that of most of their contemporaries was in response to economic factors. One of the objectives of the thesis is to place the Quakers within the frontier movement in American history and in so doing to provide some insight into one element of the social geography of the frontier.

To provide a basis for understanding the emergence of a large migration of southern Quakers to the Northwest frontier, an historical account of the formation of their group and its arrival in the colonies is developed. Certain characteristics of Quakers deemed critical to an understanding of later developments, are also included. Quaker orientation toward group solidarity, combined with their ideological commitment to the concept of "brotherhood of all men," served to formulate and strengthen their opposition to slavery. This position



ultimately played a significant role both in their decision making process concerning migration and their choice of settlement area.

Consideration is given to the question of Quakers and migration and the establishment of Quakers in the South. For many Quakers migration became a way of life as they moved into the south from Pennsylvania and New England and then on to the Northwest Territory. However, slavery which acted as a stress agent, plus the concept of removal as an acceptable coping mechanism were the primary factors leading to migration.

The general establishment of Quakerism within the Northwest Territory is presented within the context of the Quaker Meetings established in southwestern Ohio. This technique was used because of the central role played by Quaker Meetings and because Miami Monthly Meeting, and affiliated Meetings, were so german to the opening and settling of the Northwest Territory by Quakers.

Attention is also given the modifications which occurred in church and family life as a result of Quakers' "interacting" with new groups on the frontier. These modifications were deemed critical as both church and family were basic to the Quaker sense of community. It was that sense of community which was placed under stress because of Quaker migration.

As a result of the investigation it is affirmed that Quakers did constitute a community, and that their movement through space, settlement within a new territory, and interaction with a new environment were important elements in the development of Miami Country in the nineteenth Century.



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Chapter

I.	INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
	Central Purposes . . . . .	1
	Studies of Religious Groups . . . . .	6
	Time Period of the Study . . . . .	9
	Literature Related to Quakers . . . . .	11
II.	ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE QUAKERS . .	16
	Quakers, an Established Sect . . . . .	16
	Quaker Origins . . . . .	19
	Distinguishing Characteristics . . . . .	25
	Migration to The New World . . . . .	30
	Quaker Colonization . . . . .	33
	Quaker Attitude Toward Indians and Negroes . . . . .	40
III.	QUAKERS IN THE SOUTH . . . . .	48
	Quakers and Migration . . . . .	48
	Establishment of Quakerism . . . . .	54
	The Slavery Issue . . . . .	60
	Migration as a Solution . . . . .	68
	Migration Routes . . . . .	76
IV.	SETTLEMENT IN MIAMI COUNTRY . . . . .	83
	Pre-Settlement Physical Landscape . . . . .	83
	Role of the Meeting in Quaker Organization . . . . .	89
	Establishment of Meetings . . . . .	95



V. QUAKER SOCIAL ORGANIZATION . . . . .	114
Church Life . . . . .	115
Enforcement of Rules . . . . .	121
Family Life . . . . .	123
Modification of the Social Organization . . . . .	129
Summary . . . . .	134
CONCLUDING STATEMENTS . . . . .	141
WORKS CITED . . . . .	146





## LIST OF FIGURES

1. Quaker Meetings in the South	59
2. Quaker Migration Routes	75
3. Quaker Meetings in Southwest Ohio, 1801-1820	93
4. Quaker Meetings in Southwest Ohio, 1821-1860	94
5. Quaker Meetings in Ohio	97
6. Miami and Associated Meetings	103
7. Quaker Meetings	104
8. Removal Certificates to New Garden Meeting	106



## INTRODUCTION

### Central Purposes

Since their earliest years in England, the Quakers have been a migratory group. The central hypothesis of this thesis is that Quakers moved from the South to the Northwest Territory for different reasons than did other pioneers. Their movement through space was prompted by ideological rather than economic factors. In addition, their migration was restricted as to choice of settlement area by their group's position on slavery. While other frontier territory was available, and nearer to the source area, it was unacceptable because slavery was legal. The Quaker's ideological commitment concerning slavery influenced their migration both as a stimulus to move and as a constraint concerning choice of resettlement area. The Northwest Territory was perceived as the only acceptable choice. They were also restricted as to a specific settlement situation by their religious requirement that they affiliate with a "Meeting." This restriction encouraged the development of a nucleated settlement pattern.

Understanding the reasons for Quaker migration and settlement will aid the placing of this religious group within the frontier movement in American history. In order to better comprehend the emergence of a large migration of southern Quakers to the frontier during the first half of the nineteenth century, an historical account of their group will be developed. The social environment within which



their movement took place will also be analyzed.

By the late eighteenth century, freedom of worship had become fairly common in the southern states, however, the concern over slavery was becoming a very trying issue. This was due both to the tension between Quakers and their slave-holding neighbors, who were coming under an increasingly vocal and bitter attack from the anti-slavery forces in America, and the Quakers own increased sensitivity and unanimity concerning the slave issue. Slavery became the primary motivating factor for a steady migration of Quaker farmers, merchants, and craftsmen during the next sixty-odd years. This placed them in contrast to their contemporaries who were primarily moving in response to economic factors.

The Ordinance of 1787 established the Northwest Territory as a unit. It provided for civil government and established the manner in which states could be set off and admitted to the Union. Two important freedoms were also incorporated within the Ordinance. Freedom of worship was guaranteed and slavery was restricted within the territory. This document, due to the above mentioned components, played a significant role in the decision making process of southern Quakers. Their migration to Ohio Country was an important nineteenth century folk movement. Between 1800 and 1860 it is estimated that 6,000 Quakers left Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina.<sup>1</sup>

It is the contention of this study that, while these Quaker migrants were part of a broad general frontier movement, they differed significantly from the larger society. Their reasons for migration and their skills and settlement patterns showed strong commonality. During the frontier period, due to their particular





identifying characteristics, they constituted a folk minority.<sup>2</sup> As a community they made their contribution to the nineteenth century development of this portion of Ohio Country. However, it is important to note that they did not create an identifiable "cultural landscape" as did other religious groups which have been recently studied.<sup>3</sup> Quaker perception of how to live within the larger society precluded their choosing a withdrawal and communal life-style. This perception and its ramifications are treated in detail in chapters two and four.

This thesis is within the general field of cultural geography and will focus on certain aspects of one religious group, which should be of concern to cultural geographers. As Zelinsky stated in his article concerning church membership patterns, "In spite of the clear logic of granting religion a prominent place on the geographer's agenda, a review of the literature indicates surprisingly little discussion of the subject, whether for the United States or for other parts of the world."<sup>4</sup> Sopher in his treatment of religious phenomena used a general format of four geographic themes. Here we are concerned with several aspects of his theme of "...the way religious systems spread and interact with each other."<sup>5</sup> Why and how Quakers "spread" is treated under the sections dealing with migration. Interaction is not only described in the actual settlement on the frontier but is explored as a part of their perceived need to migrate. Interaction can also be viewed as the process which led to the important social modifications which their group experienced while on the frontier.

The character of a region is at least partially a result of earlier happenings. As stated in Wagner, "Environment has larger relevance as a momentary coexistence



among varied presences, human and artifactual. Through it a person may experience vicarious exposure to people, things, and places that are distant or remote in time. Environment at any instant is participation in a multitude of histories."<sup>6</sup> Developed here is one of the "histories" which contributed to the development of southwestern Ohio. Quaker influence was still observable in this area in the mid-twentieth century. Zelinsky found that in 1952 only three significant clusters of Quakers existed outside their original settlement area and one of these incorporates the Miami Valleys.<sup>7</sup>

Likewise, historical periods were not so monolithic as they would appear to be from generalizations which deal with either the history of large physical areas, such as the frontier, or the history of large heterogeneous groups of people, in this case pioneers in the Northwest Territory.

In general it would also appear that the particular type and style of pioneer settlement which occurred in this section of the United States led to the general tone of the social environment of later periods. As Elkins and McKittrick have suggested in their articles about the Turner thesis, "An egalitarian tone was set, and ceremonial observances by which the experience was reinvented and reshaped made their way into the social habits of the people."<sup>8</sup>

The study of a small but discernable segment, the Quaker settlers, from within this larger group, the frontier settlers, will help illuminate the whole. It is hoped that the weight of former histories which the present encompasses will be lightened by the details of one group's movement and behavior. It is further anticipated that this thesis will provide useful information for those concerned



with the religious geography of the United States. Zelinsky has suggested five research approaches concerning religious geography which he felt would be of benefit to the general area of American cultural geography. This investigation closely follows his suggestion for a "...detailed study of the historical geography of individual denominations;..."<sup>9</sup> Specific hypotheses considered are:

- 1) that Quakers constituted a "community," and that they migrated to the Northwest Territory for a different reason than most migrants;
- 2) that Quakers did not develop a visible, identifiable "cultural landscape" pattern for perceptual reasons;
- 3) that the modifications to Quaker life which occurred during the study period were due to their increased "interacting" with other religious groups, a result of their new location.

The first hypothesis is covered in chapter two, where general Quaker characteristics are discussed as well as their attitude toward slavery and in chapter three, which outlines the stress which southern Quakers experienced, and establishes their move toward accepting migration as a solution. The second hypothesis is treated both in chapter four where the settlement itself is described and in chapter two where the distinguishing characteristics are presented. Chapter five is concerned with the last hypothesis and explores the reasons for the modifications which occurred in church and family life. These modifications were critical as those two elements were basic to the Quaker's sense of community.

The organizational pattern for this thesis is a series of three time periods.



Chapter two treats the early years of the Quaker movement. Their conception and general characteristics are established, specifically as these relate to migration to, and colonization in America. The next period is Quaker movement into the south which is covered in Chapter three. Chapters four and five treat social stress and the decision to migrate to the frontier as well as the migration itself. In addition those chapters are concerned with the modifications wrought by the new environment.

### Studies of Religious Groups

While the amount of available material concerning religious groups is quite large, most of the studies tend to be of a historical or sociological nature. The focus has frequently been either on the social structure or the process of the religious function. Also common is an attempt to explain the factors which caused a particular group to be disposed to internal strife and schism and to document same.

The literature concerning the harassment and persecution of specific religious groups and their response to various types of pressure was of more value than the above. Unfortunately it is not exhaustive, and as Glock has remarked, many more case studies of "major and minor religions" are needed.<sup>10</sup> However, it is a well documented fact that many of the early protestant, pacifist groups chose to move rather than change their lifestyle.

Stark, in his discussion of the decay of sects, provides a thorough treatment of sect migrations. Concerning movement to the New World he states that,





"Population pressure did much, but, religious pressure did as much or more, to bring about emigration to America."<sup>11</sup> Peters has remarked, in speaking of the Hutterites in Russia, that "Both groups decided that their survival demanded emigration, and in 1873 a group of delegates left Russia to explore the possibilities of settlement in the United States and Canada."<sup>12</sup> Investigations of other religious groups such as the Doukhobors<sup>13</sup> and Mennonites<sup>14</sup> serve to further document this phenomena. Some of these emigrants built isolated communities but the majority merged with the developing American society. The theoretical aspects as to why minority groups chose to migrate rather than to conform, at least enough to survive, has been discussed by Shuval.<sup>15</sup>

Several geographers have commented on the paucity of work done in the area of religious geography. Eric Fisher, in a paper read at the 1956 meeting of the Association of American Geographers, called especially for investigations concerning the relationships which exist between religious geography and allied fields of social geography.<sup>16</sup> Researchers from other disciplines have noted the same shortage, Gaustad states that, "A history of ecclesiastical cartography in America would, if written, be quite short, for little has been done in the way of mapping the country's religious expansion and diversity."<sup>17</sup> While we might not approve of his terminology, the research with which he is concerned is clearly geographic.

When compared with other themes studied by cultural geographers, only limited concern has been shown for documenting the movement within and/or impression on the American landscape by religious groups. The recent studies by



Petersen and Rechlin as well as studies such as Meinig's "The Mormon Culture Region" and Bjorklund's "Dutch Reformed communities in Michigan" being noted exceptions to the above. However, the limited amount of research should not suggest this is not a productive or acceptable field for geographers to investigate. Zelinsky has stated that, "...we have reasonable grounds for proposing the hypothesis that religion is a significant element in the population geography of the United States, in the geography of a number of economic, social, and cultural phenomena, and in the genesis and persistence of general cultural regions, ..."18

Some work has been done in the area of morphogenesis of cultural landscapes concerning larger and older religious groups in other world regions. Sophor provides a useful introduction to this research area in his "Religion and the Land."19 Erich Isaac also provides some valuable insights concerning religious groups and cultural landscapes. In particular, he draws some important distinctions between the types of landscapes created by the various types of religions.20

In general, the impact of religious groups settling or developing on the frontier have not been studied by cultural geographers. Likewise there has been limited concern with the role played by the social elements of the environment. Traditionally, cultural geographers studying the frontier have concentrated on aspects of tangible items, such as house types and barn styles or the settlers reaction to physical phenomena.

Two large scale mapping projects aimed at portraying the religious patterns of American society have been conducted, each presenting its findings in an atlas.21



While these are of high quality they are **restrictive** in nature with only brief comments about the various religious groups which were depicted on the maps. Gaustad's is the more valuable of these due to its more recent publication date, and its more extensive coverage. In addition to these private efforts the Census Bureau has, on occasion, collected religious data. Their first effort was with the 1850 census and their first specifically religious census was conducted in 1906. Due to the time period with which we were concerned, these proved to be of limited value.

#### Time Period of the Study

The time period of 1798 until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 was chosen because the primary motivation, the unacceptability of slavery as a social institution, seems to have remained dominant only through this time span. While there was considerable movement of southern Friends during and after the Civil War, the motivation was not the same. Where the discomfort with slavery had been paramount prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the resistance to conscription became the primary factor once the war started, "...during the civil war from 1860-65 (sic) it took the form of fleeing from conscription..."<sup>22</sup>

Quaker resistance to slavery was not restricted to the south nor was it felt only within religious circles. Quakers were regularly active in the general political arena in several states and on occasion on the national level. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1789 appointed a delegation of its members to petition Congress concerning slavery. They did so in 1790 and were joined by a



delegation from New York Yearly Meeting. Their petition for a "...remedy against the gross national iniquity of trafficking (sic) in the persons of fellow men." aroused much controversy in Congress.<sup>23</sup> The extremely bitter reaction of the southern congressmen following this petition illustrates the uncomfortable social environment for southern Friends. The appeal of a new territory with available land and where slavery was totally restricted by law was to exert a growing influence in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Miami Monthly Meeting and the associated Quaker Meetings within southwestern Ohio were selected to illustrate Quaker migration to, settlement within, and adaptation to, the Northwest Territory. These meetings are all within southwestern Ohio, chiefly in the counties of Highland, Clinton, Warren, Miami, and Ross. The primary reason for this choice was the number of meetings established here. The largest number of southern Quakers migrating to southern Ohio settled within the environs of the Miami Monthly Meeting and the Meetings which were subsequently set off from it. It was to Warren County, specifically in the vicinity of the village of Waynesville, that the earliest settlers came. Quakers Abigail O'Neill and Samuel Kelly came to this area in 1798 from Bush River, South Carolina. They purchased land and returned for their families and friends.<sup>24</sup> By 1803 the Miami Monthly Meeting was established at Waynesville in Warren County. This Meeting proved to be a veritable magnet for the Ohio bound southern immigrants. Rufus Jones states that, "Miami Monthly Meeting with the central settlement at Waynesville, Ohio, became the great mecca of the Quaker migration..."<sup>25</sup> A score of local meetings were established in the





neighborhood **within a few years**. According to Sutcliffe, eight hundred families of Friends had migrated to Ohio by 1806.<sup>26</sup>

The majority of the immigrants were farmers and usually chose land along the various streams in the basin of the Miami and Little Miami Rivers. There they established their homesteads and their "Meetings." (see Fig. 1) Active recruitment of additional immigrants was engaged in by the newly arrived settlers. It was quite common for men to return to their former homes and meetings for the express purpose of extolling the advantages of the new area. A good example of this activity is a letter from Borden Stanton, "They thought proper to propose to Friends for consideration whether it would not be agreeable to best wisdom for us unitedly to remove north-west of the Ohio river,--to a place where there were no slaves held, being a free country."<sup>27</sup>

#### Literature Related to the Quakers

To engage in work on any aspect of the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers, is to be initially overwhelmed with the amount of material available. Far more than any of their fellow pacifist brethren, they have been engaged both as a corporate body and as individuals, in the active use of the printed word. In contrast, only in recent years have extensive histories been completed on the Doukhobors and Amish. The latter's interest in their own history, and the writing of it by members of their own faith, is a new phenomena. The Doukhobors have traditionally not maintained a written record, trusting to their oral history and psalms to sustain their religious beliefs and folk customs.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, the



Quakers have usually kept records of their "Meetings" and have actively engaged in the publication of religious tracts and broadsides to clarify their position on various social issues.

The majority of their religious publications are either historical or theological in nature and only a limited amount of research of a more social nature has been done. The theological material was not a major research interest except for that section dealing with the Quakers and their distinguishing characteristics. Historical material was relied upon much more frequently and ranged from monumental general studies such as Week's Southern Quakers and Slavery, and Jones' The Later Periods of Quakerism<sup>29</sup> to the histories of specific Meetings. Critical primary sources such as the Minutes of the various Meetings were utilized.<sup>30</sup> The Quaker collections at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina and at Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio, were consulted extensively. The Quaker collection at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, was also used. Material pertaining to general pioneer and frontier conditions in nineteenth century Ohio were obtained in the Ohio Historical Society's archives.



## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 Richard P. Ratcliff, Our Special Heritage (New Castle, Indiana: Community Printing Company, 1970), 15.

2 Folk Minority is not used to suggest a "Folk Society" in the sense that Redfield applied the term to Chan Kom. Rather the term is used to denote a minority group which holds to folkways which are distinct enough to set their group off from the rest of the community. See Robert Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

3 Two recent examples are: Albert Jepmond Petersen, German-Russian Catholic Colonization in Western Kansas: a settlement geography. (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1970) and Alice Theodora Rechlin, The Utilization of Space by the Nappanee, Indiana Old Order Amish: A minority group study, (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1970).

4 Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach To The Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 51 (June, 1961), 139.

5 David E. Sopher, Geography of Religions (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), 2.

6 Philip L. Wagner, Environments and Peoples (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), 3.

7 Zelinsky, "An Approach To The Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952", 157.

8 George Rogers Taylor, ed., The Turner Thesis, Concerning the role of the Frontier in American History (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1956), 117.

9 Zelinsky, "An Approach To The Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952", 167.

10 Charles Y. Glock, "The Sociology of Religion" in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., eds., Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects (New York: Basic Books, 1959), 154.



11 See in particular his "Issues of the Conflict of sect and society--Withdrawal," in Werner Stark, The Sociology of Religion, Volume II (New York: Fordham University Press, 1967), 251-262.

12 Victor Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

13 George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

14 Charles Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites (Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1950).

15 Judith T. Shuval, "The Role of Ideology as a Predisposing Frame of Reference for Immigrants," Human Relations, 12 (February, 1959), 51-61.

16 Eric Fisher, "Some Comments on a Geography of Religion" paper read at 1956 meeting of American Association of Geographers. Abstract in Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 46 (June, 1956), 246-247. See also Jan O. M. Broek, "Progress in Human Geography" in Preston E. James, ed. New Viewpoints in Geography (Washington, D. C.: National Council For The Social Studies, 1959), 42-43.

17 Edwin Scott Gausted, Historical Atlas of Religion in America (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), 166.

18 Zelinsky, "An Approach To The Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," 166.

19 Sopher, Geography of Religions, 24-46.

20 Erich Isaac, "The Act and the Covenant: the Impact of Religion on the landscape," Landscape II (1962), 12-17, and "Religious Geography and the Geography of Religion," in Man and the Earth (Boulder, Colo.: University of Colorado Press, 1965), 1-14.

21 Gaustad, Historical Atlas of Religion in America, and Charles O. Paullin, Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States (New York: American Geographical Society, 1932).

22 Addison Coffin, Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina: Traditions and Reminiscences (Guilford, N.C.: The North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1894), 139.

23 Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 102-103.





24 John Belton O'Neill, Annals of Newberry, South Carolina  
(Charleston: S. G. Courtenay and Co., 1859), 39.

25 Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, Volume I  
(London: MacMillan & Co., 1921), 411.

26 Robert Sutcliff, Travels in some parts of North America  
(Philadelphia: B. & T. Kite, 1812), 235.

27 This letter is printed in Friends Miscellany, 12 (1840), 217.

28 Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, 211 and 217.

29 Studies such as Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, A Study in Institutional History (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896) and Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism 2 volumes (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1921) are representative of the quality of the general material available. The latter is only a portion of a larger series, the Rowntree Series which is an attempt to present the origin and development of Quakerism.

30 These were unfortunately often frustratingly brief. Many early clerks were concise to the point of obscurity.



## CHAPTER 2

### ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE QUAKERS

This chapter is concerned with the early period of Quaker history. It will address the questions of classification, origin and characteristics, migration and colonization to the American colonies, and basic attitudes toward their fellowman. All of these are seen as necessary components in the development of a proper perspective for interpreting later developments.

#### Quakers, an Established Sect

Early and seminal work in the classification of religious groups was done by Ernst Troeltsch. In his two class typology the church and sect are viewed as opposites. He viewed sects as voluntary societies whose members join of their own free will.<sup>1</sup> The concept of voluntary societies stresses the position of the individual versus the group and suggests an association rather than a community. However, many sects exhibit communal characteristics and the Quakers with their concept of a "society of friends," certainly fall within that group. Niebuhr later added to this polar dichotomy with his concept of the "denomination." This was a category for those religious groups between the church and sect.<sup>2</sup>

If a taxonomy of religions is desired, one which would allow for the application of rigid criteria to various groups, then most of the attempts to provide for classification systems have been less than successful. If they are understood



to be mental constructs and even a bit arbitrary, they can prove useful.<sup>3</sup> The system of classification found most useful is one based on religion--society relationships.<sup>4</sup> It proved beneficial because the focus was on the Quakers as a group set apart from the larger society.

Sects exhibit certain attitudes and characteristics regardless of the classification systems being utilized. Some common characteristics are: 1) separation; 2) exclusiveness; 3) voluntary joining; 4) rejection of secular authority and internal hierarchy; 5) asceticism. While the degree of any of these may vary from sect to sect, all sects do or have exhibited them at some time during their history. Regarding the first characteristic, separation, members of the Religious Society of Friends exhibited this, in personal attitudes of dress and speech as well as in their mode of worship. They did not exhibit a feeling of exclusiveness until late in the nineteenth century. During their early years they were more open in regard to membership. However, they have always accepted new members. While their quest for converts became less intense in the second century of their history, they were not opposed to receiving additional persons so long as they were willing to satisfy the Meeting regarding personal beliefs.

Quaker rejection of secular authority does not need review as it has been one of their better known characteristics. It ranged from an unwillingness to remove their hats when in the presence of superiors, to a refusal to serve in the military during times of conscription.

Asceticism and the degree to which a group exhibits it, is very relative. When compared to some of the religious groups which developed in America,



Quakers would be considered ascetic. If compared to some contemporary sects they would be judged as almost secular. These five sect characteristics are treated in detail in later chapters where they form integral parts of specific topics.

The boundaries separating the various types of sects are not sharp and groups may exhibit characteristics of more than one type at any given time. Wach has supplied valuable insights in this regard with his discussion of the church-sect problem.<sup>5</sup> In general he found that most sects are pragmatic concerning attributes not deemed crucial to their group's survival.

By definition, sects are not in accord with the larger society in which they function. For this indiscretion they usually pay the price of either being disliked or persecuted. Their tendency to either isolate themselves spatially and physically, or insulate themselves by adopting a peculiar lifestyle, will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.

Sects, due to the nature of their protest, often do not last beyond their founding generation. This has been noted both by theoretical and empirically oriented workers.<sup>6</sup> Two problems seem paramount to sect survival. First, there is often a struggle with material success; such is frequently achieved because of the frugal lifestyle adopted by the group. There is also a problem with maintaining a high level of charisma. Second and third generation members tend to be less emotionally involved with the group and perceived truth. The common pattern, for those sects which survive, is to become more church-like and to assume a denominational position.<sup>7</sup> This is true both in their internal structure and in their relations with the larger society. The normal historical pattern is not continued





withdrawal but movement back toward the norms of the larger society.

Quakers, and some other pacifist sects have managed to achieve considerable longevity without progressing to denominational status. They have learned to accomodate and in so doing have made adjustments to the society, but their basic beliefs have remained intact. Yinger has suggested a category for them, the "established sect." He sees established sects as "...less alienated, and more structured than the sect, ..." Yinger believes that Quakerism became such rather than a denomination.<sup>8</sup> There is reason to believe that their ability to avoid the more common move to a denominational model may in part be due to their having been a "withdrawing" sect.<sup>9</sup> Following the lead of Yinger we will classify the Quakers as an established sect.

### Quaker Origins

"The great 'religions of revelation' have all started as idiosyncratic religions, confined at first to a handful of faithful. No doubt many other religions, claiming revelation have never developed beyond this stage and have ultimately disappeared..."<sup>10</sup> A perusal of the histories of various religious groups suggests the need for an intermediary category. This new category would be for religious groups that neither disappear nor achieve major status. It is in such a category that the Religious Society of Friends would be placed. While they do not fit either of the extremes depicted in Sopher's statement, they definitely are a religion of revelation, or as some prefer, a spirit-centered religious community.<sup>11</sup>

The Quaker movement started with the teachings of George Fox and



spread largely due to the efforts of a small group of "convinced" fellow seekers. George Fox was the most important "public friend" and the guiding spirit behind the early growth of the Religious Society of Friends. His very influential life of street preaching and public testimony was the real catalyst in the early years of the Society.<sup>12</sup>

In the England of the mid-seventeenth century there existed a large measure of religious discussion and turmoil. Many of the concerns of the earlier Anabaptists were carried forward by Radical Puritanism. As Roberts has stated, "Among the Radical Puritans, the Quakers were especially close to the kind of restitutionism which the Anabaptists first exemplified. They claimed that the spirit and style of congregational government were recapitulations of the life and genius of the Early Church."<sup>13</sup> While the state church was both scandalized by the radical religious groups, and serious in its efforts to control or eliminate them, in actual fact, these groups flourished. "The notable impression which George Fox made on the English people was not due to lack of other interests to attract their attention; he was merely one of thousands who was preaching new ideas in his day."<sup>14</sup>

One of the larger contemporary religious groups, known as the Seekers, had, as their name suggests, departed from the established forms of worship in an attempt to find more meaningful religious experiences. Several of the local groups of Seekers had found the silent meeting to be of benefit to them. In these meetings they met and sought the spirit of God in silence. It was to such groups, having common religious interests and concerns, that the teachings of



George Fox were to prove inflammatory. "These Seekers or Waiters, who felt the insufficiency of the current doctrinal and external religion, and were not yet brought into a deeper soul-satisfying experience, afforded the most receptive soil in England for the message of Fox."<sup>15</sup> Stark sees this emphasis on the quiet respectable Seekers as self-serving, as more virulent groups such as the Ranters and Diggers were also attracted by early Quaker ministers and made some impact on the movement.<sup>16</sup> On balance, the latter groups, probably due to their orientation toward violence, had little lasting affect on the Quakers.

George Fox was born in 1624 in the village of Fenny Drayton of Leicestershire, England. His father was a skilled craftsman, a weaver. The family was considered to be devout and orthodox in that they raised their children in the Puritan Religion.<sup>17</sup> Following the custom of that time, he was apprenticed to learn a trade. Much of his youth was spent in the outdoors where he was a shepherd. He was not destined to spend his life pursuing a trade as he became involved in the "work" which excluded all other activities.

The religious experience of his childhood appears ordinary. He made the decision to cease attending church at nineteen years of age, and while this action is common for young males reaching maturity, his reason for refraining was atypical. His decision to stop attending church was not due to a lack of interest, but rather an unwillingness to accept any Orthodox church as the appropriate one for him. Already well grounded in Calvinist theology, Fox searched for something more personal. In his early search he sought out the state-appointed ministers but found them unable or unwilling to understand his



problem. As was mentioned earlier, this frustration of religious convictions was not an uncommon development at this time in England. Many religious movements rose during the seventeenth century, but most disappeared, leaving as their heritage a few lines of reference in religious histories. Others were absorbed into existing groups and ceased to function as separate entities.

George Fox spent a few years wandering about England in a personal quest for religious knowledge. He was not clear as to what he was seeking but he rejected as foolish, the standard theological responses to questions concerning worship, human misery, and the proper relationship to God. He felt they were "notions" rather than meaningful answers. He considered them as being from a church which had been established by Christ but one in which Christ could no longer speak to its members due to the nature of the church. This version of religion incorporated that of "a Spirit which once spoke inwardly but did not speak so any longer" and thus was not meaningful to him.<sup>18</sup>

In 1652 Fox had a direct, mystical experience which had a dramatic impact upon his life. It was one of those personal religious experiences which help to set the mystic apart from the rest of the population. Speaking of man's apparently innate capacity for experiencing sanctity in certain events, Huxley says, "Some have this in an overmastering degree and will be haunted all their days by their experiences of holiness and the felt need of conforming their life to them."<sup>19</sup> Fox was obviously such a person and did spend his life seeking and attempting to live by his personal experiences. So clearly and forcefully did





his encounters "speak to his condition" that sufficient strength was provided him to sustain a life filled with persecution and harassment. "We find that Fox's mysticism is in type most like that of St. Paul. Both felt the unity of their lives with God, a unity that arose from their mutual sense of their immediate personal experience of God..."<sup>20</sup> As Ullman has correctly pointed out, "Mysticism is neither a faith nor a philosophy: it is a psychological and spiritual phenomena discoverable in quite different religions, namely the possibility of, and tendency towards, direct religious or semi-religious experience."<sup>21</sup>

Apparently the basic "truths" which Fox had come to believe during his travels and early questing were now unified into a common whole. This marked the end of his wandering and seeking and the start of his preaching activity. He remained mobile but he was no longer looking for answers to his personal questions.

It was not the intent of George Fox to start a new religious group when he commenced preaching and witnessing. He merely wanted to share his mystical experience and his revelation with others. He later insisted that, "The Quakers are not a sect, but are in the power of God, which was before sects were."<sup>22</sup> However, the end result of his work was the formation of the Religious Society of Friends. To many it was merely another of the already numerous and obnoxious religious groups. "Moreover in an age familiar with such groups as the Ranters, the Fifth Monarchists, the Levellers, and the Diggers, it was easy, if inaccurate, for contemporaries to cast the Quakers into the extremist bag."<sup>23</sup>

The precise date of the formation of the Religious Society of Friends is open to question. Common to many organizations of humble beginnings,



the actual founding of the organization, in the middle of the seventeenth century, was not considered a major event at that time, and went unrecorded. Later years found much emphasis by Quakers upon the "beginning" and considerable debate as to the correct date. This discussion has been carefully reviewed by Henry Cadbury in an objective and thorough study in which he has advanced 1652 as the most acceptable date.<sup>24</sup>

Likewise there is not much agreement among historians as to the early influence of the Society. Bancroft states that, "It marks the moment when intellectual freedom was claimed unconditionally by the people as an inalienable birthright."<sup>25</sup> Macaulay saw the organization as a group of undisciplined, poorly educated common people and Fox as rude, eccentric and ignorant.<sup>26</sup> Both positions are extreme and are the result of their utilizing the Quakers as a case study to illustrate their own explanation of a larger theme. Thus, both versions fail to provide a truly objective evaluation of the influence of the Religious Society of Friends on the English scene. Whatever their impact on seventeenth century society was, they did succeed in surviving when most of the contemporary religious movements failed and they did grow rapidly during the next four decades. Trueblood has referred to their growth during those early decades as an explosion.<sup>27</sup> Accurate figures concerning members are not available as membership records were not considered important during the early years, however, they did record the numbers who were persecuted. These figures give us some idea of the dimensions of growth. "In 1661 500 were in prison in London alone; there were 4,000 in jail in all England, and the Act of Indulgence liberated 1,200



Quakers in 1673."<sup>28</sup> Whatever one thought about them, they were dynamic in their zeal for their perception of the truth, as well as in their numerical growth.

### Distinguishing Characteristics

Two problems become apparent when the distinguishing characteristics of Quakers are enumerated. First, there is the inconsistency which necessarily exists within any group which stresses the individuality of the religious experience. Secondly, there is a problem in identifying common beliefs and characteristics posed by the shifts in theological stance which took place during the time period being considered. However, even though Quakers never had a formal creed, there are some attitudes and beliefs which most Quakers held in common.

The Quaker approach to religion was that of a mystic. This was balanced by their requirement of corporate agreement. This latter tempered the potential excesses of individual members. As Huxley has pointed out, there are two rather clear dangers inherent in the mystical experience, the danger of distorted mental development and spiritual selfishness.<sup>29</sup> Quakers have avoided the latter by placing the emphasis on the corporate aspect of the Meeting thus decreasing the possibility of self-seeking mystical experiences. Their disciplined concern for others has aided them in avoiding the former danger. The necessity for corporate fellowship has been stated as, "Membership in such a fellowship therefore necessarily involves a consciously formed intention of accepting the obligation of discipleship...further, the recognition within the community of discipline and order designed to support and strengthen the individual members in



their discipleship; and these things involve historic (sic) continuity and stability of structure."<sup>30</sup>

The primary thrust of the individual's seeking a religious experience was not for mere personal salvation, but rather development of his person for the common good. All participants in the community were considered ministers, responsibilities were shared and all were involved in the search for correct decisions regarding individual as well as group action. This orientation toward community action and growth was to prove extremely beneficial during times of stress concerning social ills such as slavery. A strong sense of concern for the welfare of others was seen as a natural outgrowth of personal religious growth.

One of the clearest and most basic Quaker beliefs was that concerning the "inner light." It was held that the ultimate authority was not something 'without' the individual but 'within.'<sup>31</sup> As was stated earlier, their approach to religion was that of the mystic who occupies a position of intuition and emotion, rather than intellect. This approach to religion placed Quakers in the mystical tradition of Christianity. They were considered one of the better examples of mysticism in American religion. As Jones has said, they "...profoundly believed that they had a principle which would transform society and...would reconstruct human society..."<sup>32</sup> God was viewed as a personal, knowable God and one to which every person could go directly without professional assistance.

In their development of a common body of beliefs, they avoided one of the common vices of religious systems. It is easy to "over-exalt" the purely





rational and thus easily communicated elements at the expense of deeper intuitions and feelings which are unique and personable.<sup>33</sup> They avoided this potential problem by not developing a creed. They rejected both creed and dogma. Fox spoke clearly to this when he asked, "You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this; but what canst thou say? Art thou a child of the light, and hast thou walked in the light, and what thou speakest, Is it inwardly from God?"<sup>34</sup>

Their view on the sacraments is in keeping with their attitude toward dogma and creed. It was also an extension of the concept that a person and the Meeting should be directed by the "light" within each individual. The sacraments were seen as being "of the spirit." They did not disapprove of a physical baptism for those that needed it, rather they held that baptism must be spiritual. While the former can not hurt, it was seen as being insufficient and not synonymous with a spiritual baptism. Their attitude toward communion was similar, it should be "of the spirit," it was seen as being an "inward" experience rather than a public festivity.<sup>35</sup>

Disapproval of a paid clergy was another common belief. Basic to the Quaker view of the ministry was the concept that all are ministers and have a duty to be a priest to somebody else. Members might be "moved" to speak to the assemblage and thus were considered ministers in a special sense, but the music, scripture, sermon, and liturgy of the Orthodox Christian Churches were missing. In worship service they waited upon the Lord in silence. Later modification, particularly on the frontier in America, saw the acceptance of



"hireling ministers" and a much changed worship format. However, the concept of "every man his own priest" was, and is, one of the critical characteristics of the Quakers.<sup>36</sup>

A characteristic which incorporates several concepts is that concerning the proper attitude toward one's fellow man. If equality and personal respect are tenets of faith, then social restrictions and conventions such as special terms of address and demeaning attitudes toward certain races became, of necessity, unacceptable to Quakers. All of mankind were believed to be of equal value. Thus it followed that all mankind should be treated equally. This is covered in more detail in regard to Indians and Blacks in the last section of this chapter. Due to their desire for equal treatment, both for themselves and other minorities, Quakers have traditionally engaged in extensive social action.

This concern with equality ranged from refusal to follow social customs, such as an unwillingness to remove their hats when in the presence of social superiors; the wearing of separate "plain clothes;" and the use of "thee" and "thou" in personal address to much larger scale efforts such as their struggle against slavery as an institution. An active concern for the social ills of whatever society they lived in, has been one of their observable characteristics.

This concern has always embroiled the Quakers in controversy with the political power(s) of their homeland. In England during the early decades of the Movement, much concern was expressed regarding religious freedom, the improper treatment of the poor, the insane, and prison inmates. In his study Jorns has shown that the Quakers were leaders in most social concerns.<sup>37</sup> In the American



Colonies their first social concern was for religious freedom and proper treatment of the native population. Later the gross unacceptability of the institution of slavery and the failure to treat the slave as a person became crucial to their sense of collective rightness. Slavery was the social phenomena which, along with their attitude toward military activity, was to test them most in the New World. The role played by slavery in the decision of many Quakers to abandon their communities and Meetings in the south is discussed in chapter three.

Perhaps best known of Quaker characteristics is pacifism. Due to their belief that all of mankind were equally valuable to God, killing of other people, even at the urging of a national state, was considered immoral. Quakers believed that war was inherently evil and that they must not engage in it or support it. They were not unique in this regard as a belief in pacifism was shared by some other sects in the colonies.

Their refusal to perform military service or even to pay for a substitute, which was a common custom in the eighteenth century, aroused strong resentment and led to widespread persecution in the American Colonies. This was particularly true, during the Civil War in the South, for those Quakers who had not migrated prior to the outbreak of hostilities.



Migration to the New World

Quaker migration to the British Colonies in America was motivated by three factors. First, many came due to missionary zeal, which seems to have been most responsible for those coming in the early years prior to the establishment of Quaker colonies. Others were motivated by a desire to participate in the experiment in free government. William Penn's experiment brought many colonists who were members of the Society but who were not on a mission. The third factor, the desire to improve their outward condition became a serious factor during the latter half of the seventeenth century as Quakers who were wont to improve their financial position perceived the colonies as the most appropriate place to do so.

By the middle of the 1650's there were several missionaries active in the American colonies and the nucleus of a few meetings. The members of these meetings being mostly "convinced" Friends who were actively seeking converts. That they were successful can be seen from a letter written in 1661 by George Rofe after he had made several trips through the colonies. "Many settled meetings there are in Maryland, Virginia, New England, the islands thereabouts."<sup>38</sup> Far different in their religious behavior from later Quakers, they actively participated in street preaching and public testimonies. They were not particular as to where they held meetings, using homes, barns and even fields in an attempt to convert colonists to their beliefs. That many of these early missionaries were women underscores one of the characteristics of the Society regarding equality.





Missionary effort in the British Colonies in America was only a small part of Quaker missionary activity throughout the world. Indeed the Society was engaged in sending missionaries to many countries during the seventeenth century. They truly believed they were the appointed and must go to all the world. Speaking of this attitude on the part of Fox, Braithwaite said, "Fox would have sent Caton and Ames on still wider errands. At the end of 1660, when he was issuing epistles to Turk and Pope and even to the Emperor of China, he wrote of a seed of God to be gathered in Russia, Muscovy, Poland, Hungary, and Sweden..."<sup>39</sup> In light of their extensive missionary activities it is not unusual that so many came to New England.

The reception of the Quakers in the New World was anything but warm and friendly. The Puritans had not been favorably impressed with Quakers in England and were not changed in their attitude by their shift to a new setting.<sup>40</sup> Indeed they seem to have been less tolerant and their level of persecution higher in the colonies than in England.

Massachusetts, Plymouth and the Connecticut colonies were strongly opposed to allowing Quakers within their confines. A fairly normal action on the part of the colony's officials was to refuse them permission to disembark from ships, and when they arrived by overland means, to arrest, imprison, and ultimately expell them from the colony. Brandings, whippings and other forms of physical punishment such as the boring of their tongues were commonly meted out to arrested Quakers. An account of Quaker persecutions at the hands of colonial officers was prepared and printed in 1661 by George Bishop. His rather detailed



report was based upon first hand information from the accounts of visiting Friends, and letters from Friends in the colonies. These actions, rather than intimidating and restricting immigration, seem to have challenged the members of the Society. They apparently saw it as their duty to come and personally confront the "unjust laws."

Laws which were passed to restrict the arrival of Quakers reached a peak of severity in Massachusetts Bay with the decree that death by hanging should be administered to all professing Quakers within the Colony. Two Quakers, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, were hanged in 1659 on Boston Common. One each was hanged in the following two years, one of whom was a woman, Mary Dyer. The King of England was then persuaded by English Quakers that this was unjust and dangerous to the growth of the colonies and he intervened so Quakers were no longer hanged merely for their religious convictions.

In only a few colonies were the Quakers welcomed. Rhode Island was the most consistent and fair in its treatment.<sup>41</sup> They also received fairly decent treatment in the islands where their presence was not totally rejected. "A contrast with the Puritan antagonism of New England, however, was found in Rhode Island where the Quakers were given a fair hearing, and--in West Indies in Barbados...from these two friendly places the Quaker missionaries to America worked."<sup>42</sup> Even in some colonies where they were supported by the common settlers the leaders were opposed to allowing the "virus" to be spread.

Given their desire to function as state religions it is understandable that the established, or orthodox, churches felt a need to curtail the growth of a



sect which preached separation of church and state. Further, the Quakers preached the need to only obey God's law when there was a conflict with state law. The records are too terse and non-committal to ascertain psychological attitudes of the leadership of the colonies, but one is tempted to believe that the Quaker's unwillingness to fight or resist when arrested, may have played a role in the often brutal and seemingly sadistic treatment which they received. One of many examples recorded in their letters of sufferings and reprinted in Noble, is the treatment of William Brend, the oldest of the missionaries who "...was arrested while holding a meeting in the woods at Salem. He was taken to Boston...after lying in a bare cell with irons fixed to his neck and ankles he was given 117 strokes on his bare back with a tarred rope, so that his flesh was torn away."<sup>43</sup> Religious dissenters in the American Colonies had to pay a very high price for their unwillingness to support the Orthodox Church.

#### Quaker Colonization

As was mentioned in the last section, one of the motivating factors for Quaker migration to America was the desire to participate in an experiment in self-government. Their interest in such an endeavor has early roots. In 1660 Josiah Coale was commissioned by various Friends in England to purchase land from the Indians. He attempted, without success, to contract with the Susquehanna Indians for the purchase of a large block of land. Due to their involvement with a hostile tribe this early effort came to naught. His letter to George Fox concerning his attempt to purchase land states, "...I have spoken of



it to them, and told them what thou said concerning it, but their answer was, that there is no land that is habitable or fit for situation beyond Baltimore's liberty... and besides, these Indians are at war with another nation of Indians, who are very numerous, and it is doubted by some that in a little space they will be so destroyed that they will not be a people."<sup>44</sup> This seems to have been the only attempt to organize a discrete colony prior to the establishment of the New Jerseys. However, the interest of the English Quakers in the American Colonies and in the possibilities of large-scale settlement were certainly not hindered by George Fox's visit to the New World in 1673.

The territory of New Jersey was to be the first successful colonization project of the Quakers. While it was partially settled prior to their involvement, it had not yet received large numbers of immigrants. Part of the settlement problem was a physical one but also important was the contest for political sovereignty. The colony had twice been passed from the Netherlands to the English. In addition to these problems there was considerable resistance, on the part of the earliest settlers, to the payment of the quit-rents. So long as many settlers refused to pay them, the large land holdings were certainly not a profitable venture and thus, the desirability of attracting additional immigrants was lacking.

In 1674 because of an assignment of land rights by a principal stock holder, due to his need to satisfy creditors, a group of Friends became owners of West Jersey. William Penn was among this group. "Edward Billinge became embarrassed in his circumstances, and was obliged to make a conveyance of his property in New Jersey..."<sup>45</sup>





By 1675 there was active emigration by Quakers to the New Jersey colony with Salem, on the Varkens Kill or Salem River in western New Jersey being the first community established. William Penn was personally involved with this colony both in ownership of property and administration. He played a significant role in the preparation of the governmental procedures. Quaker concern for equality is apparent in a letter to Richard Hartshorn, co-commissioner, which promised to "...lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people,..."<sup>46</sup> Religious toleration was clearly set down in the Concession and Agreements which were established to govern the colony. They stated that, "...no man, nor number of men upon earth, hath power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters..."<sup>47</sup> That Quakers had this concern is not unusual considering the large number of English Quakers who had received punishment for their religious views.

Emigration to West New Jersey was rapid following the establishment of Salem. Burlington was established in 1677 by a group of two hundred and thirty Quakers from London and Yorkshire. Two more ships arrived the same year with seventy and one hundred and fourteen immigrants respectively. In 1678 a group of over a hundred came from Hull. By 1681 when William Penn was attempting to purchase what would become Pennsylvania approximately fourteen hundred Quakers had immigrated to New Jersey.<sup>48</sup> The success of the New Jersey colonization effort encouraged William Penn to engage in his "holy experiment."

The best known and most extensive formal colonization activity of the



Quakers was the colony of Pennsylvania. This was also their last effort to establish and administer a colony. Some of the territory incorporated within the grant had already experienced the beginnings of settlement when they received the colony. The primary Swedish settlements were incorporated, as were several areas formerly granted by the Dutch West India Company. In an effort to allay these settler's fears, William Penn sent a letter stating that they need not fear a repressive rule and that "I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person."<sup>49</sup>

It is apparent from several decisions made by Penn that this was indeed an experiment in colonization and that it was not expressly organized to produce income for the grantee. One of the clearest and earliest examples of this was his rejection of an offer to sell the Indian trading rights. Far from selling or establishing special trading rights, Penn insisted that the Indians be considered as equals and as recipients of the same rights as colonists. In this action Penn was merely behaving in a consistent manner with established Quaker tradition. Quaker-Indian relations were consistently good, and the Indians frequently asked for Quakers to be present in the formalizing of treaties with other Europeans. This attitude is partly the result of that mystical nature within Quaker belief which placed the religious emphasis on "that of God in man" rather than on a sacred book or an organizational structure. In a letter to the Indians he would later be meeting with, Penn wrote, "This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are commanded to live and help and do good to one another."<sup>50</sup> Another example of Penn's idealism was his declining a special governor's tax. In fact, tax collectors were not employed in his province and all special opportunities to



utilize his position for his own personal gain were declined.

The form of government gave almost all power to the people as both the judicial and legislative branches were elected. Penn did possess a "negative voice" but this was a common aspect of colonial government and not something insisted upon by him. Due to the proprietary nature of the colonies and the intent of the royal charters, the negative vote aspect was a necessity.

The news that a new colony had been created and that it would provide an asylum for the religiously oppressed, spread rapidly in Europe. The guarantee of religious freedom was particularly welcomed by various fundamental protestant sects. German Mennonites came, especially in the early years, who were similar in many of their ideals and beliefs to Quakers. Large numbers of colonists arrived in the first few years. "In 1683 over fifty ships arrived crowded with new Americans..."<sup>51</sup> Among those religiously oriented settlers the colony proved to be a magnet. The free and liberal social atmosphere created a fertile environment for the formation of religious groups. "Many of these came to Pennsylvania where new small religious bodies sprang up after their arrival."<sup>52</sup> Many of these; Zion's Brueder, Ronsdorfer, Tunkers, Quietists, and Brinser Brothers are a few names from the annals, lasted only a few years. As is common among splinter groups, few outlived their founder's death.

These groups are properly classified as sects and within that fairly general classification they were all concerned with the evils of society. They suffered from two serious survival problems, that of strong societal opposition and lack of a continuing leadership. They were openly anarchistic due to their opposition



to established structures and bureaucratic systems. Most of them became avoidance sects forming communities of fellow believers where "...one can devalue the significance of his life, project one's hopes into the supernatural world, and meanwhile reduce one's problems by forming into a communion of like-minded fellows."<sup>53</sup> No previous colony had provided such an attractive environment for religious experimentation as did Pennsylvania.

The rapidity of growth for the city of Philadelphia has been well documented. During its early years it grew more rapidly than any other New World city. In a three year period peace was made with the Indians and earlier settlers, the basic outline for the town surveyed, and a governmental structure established.

While Penn had particularly wanted to operate a colony which would be free of religious persecution, he had also desired one which would be an active economic entity. The economic development which he had hoped for was easily achieved, but the "holy experiment" which he had dreamed of was not to be achieved. The various factors leading to this failure are not germane to this study; suffice to say the long stay in England by William Penn and the resulting absentee land-lordism did not prove beneficial.

A clear benefit of Penn's colony was the opportunity for Quakers to migrate and be treated, at least in the beginning, as a desirable element. The appeal was to those desirous of living a sober, industrious life, free of religious and political harassment. Compared to the conditions which had prevailed in many of the colonies, Pennsylvania must have appeared as a direct answer to





prayer. This drawing together of Quakers from many parts of Europe was to provide a special flavor to the Friends Meetings of Philadelphia and the colony. Far more diversity developed here than had developed among earlier groups.

The variety of attitudes concerning the question of slavery is an example of this diversity. This became the most critical social problem for the Quaker movement in the United States. This question was to create serious internal stress within the Religious Society of Friends but stress which was ultimately resolved with a common position. It was among German emigrants in Penn's Colony that a positive statement was first made concerning the position of their Meeting regarding negro slavery. Thus as early as 1688 a Meeting from the colony issued an official protest against slavery.<sup>54</sup>

Thus Pennsylvania was from its earliest beginnings heterogeneous. Not only were many diverse groups attracted to the colony, they often maintained their cultural identity after settling. The publication of a large number of foreign language newspapers, well into the nineteenth century, illustrates the ethnic strength of these groups. It is important to remember that the colonization activities of the Quakers were never an official act of the Religious Society of Friends.

The "holy experiment" of William Penn was a success for a few decades and did demonstrate the possibility for such a form of union. That the total Quaker ideal became less often followed, and that the majority of the population became non-Quaker, does not deny the success of the early years or the influence which their ideals had on the larger population.



Quaker Attitude Toward the Indians and Negroes

The Quaker's attitude toward slaves and Indians can best be understood by examining its source. Their position was not based on intellectual arguments or purely humanitarian feelings. Rather it was due to a religious tenet and commitment. A basic aspect of Quaker belief was that all persons are equal before God.

Consistent with this concept, Quakers welcomed the Indian as an equal. Apparently they did not view Indians merely as savages needing to be converted though they did welcome them to worship if the Indians so desired. From their earliest years in America they insisted that all agreements be made directly with the Indians, and that they not be "reasoned" with by force. On several occasions they intervened on behalf of the Indians when groups of settlers were planning on avenging some real or imagined slight. They also believed that all land should be paid for by the colonists.

This attitude toward the Indians was often reciprocated. On many instances, particularly in New England, the Indians welcomed and assisted Quaker missionaries. In some cases this aid came after their fellow colonists had expelled them from the European settlement. One such case, the banishment of Nicholas Upshal, caused one of the Indian leaders to remark, "What a God have the English, who deal so with one another about their God!"<sup>55</sup> This attitude was apparently common among the Indians who were in regular contact with the New England settlers.

Later as tension increased, particularly in relation to land, between



the European settlers and the Indians, the Quaker stand on non-violence became a prominent feature in their relationship with the Indians. The colonists steadily increasing land needs seriously restricted the Indian's living space and tension over land became high. Fighting often became the accepted solution for both sides. That the Quakers did not participate in this fighting, even when the violence was inflicted on them, or their property, proved to be a positive factor in their subsequent dealings with the Indians. This, combined with regular attempts to assist Indians in matters regarding physical needs and legal aid, caused a bond to be established between the two groups which was only occasionally betrayed and which lasted through the colonization period and into the frontier era.

The Quaker position concerning slavery was more complex than their attitude toward Indians. Part of this complexity is due to the changing nature of the larger society's position on slavery and part to the changes which took place within the Religious Society of Friends. There were individual statements by sensitive Friends, in opposition to slavery prior to the nineteenth century. However, the Quakers did not have a unified position on slavery. In fact, many Quakers were slave holders during the colonial period. During his visit to America, when George Fox found this to be the situation, he admonished them to treat their slaves properly and suggested as a guide for master-slave relationships that "...their overseers might deal mildly and gently with them and not use cruelty as the manner of some is and hath been, and to make them free after thirty years servitude..."<sup>56</sup>



However, even with their internal diversity, the Quakers were the only religious group in Colonial America who openly spoke against slavery and worked toward the curtailment of the slave trade. They later enlarged their endeavor to include complete opposition to the institution of slavery itself. There were other religious groups in the colonies with similar social views but they rarely owned slaves and did not play an active role in seeking to suppress the slave trade. In reference to one such group Fries compared Quakers and Moravians thusly, "In the matter of slavery the Quakers and Moravian lives diverged sharply. Early Friends in Pennsylvania and eastern Carolina owned slaves, and apparently thought nothing of it until John Woolman began to denounce the system as unscriptural and wicked."<sup>57</sup>

These groups rarely exerted influence outside their own movement and, in general, made little effort to influence the public. Quakers were working to influence the latter even before they had achieved a complete eradication of slave ownership within their own ranks. This struggle with the institution of slavery will be developed more fully in Chapter 3. In retrospect it seems curious that the early Quakers held such differing views concerning the Indian and the slave. The doctrine of "that of God" in all of mankind was slow to develop into its full implication concerning the slavery issue. However, it did develop into a unified position earlier than in any other group as the Quakers had purged themselves of slave ownership more than a half-century before the Emancipation Proclamation.<sup>58</sup>





## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1 See Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, translated by Olive Wyon. 2 volumes (New York: Harper & Row, Cloister Library, 1960), 333-334.

2 H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1929), 17-25.

3 Some Sociology of Religion researchers would not agree, suggesting as Benton Johnson does that the conceptualizations are misleading and confusing. See Benton Johnson, "On Church and Sect." American Sociological Review 28 (August, 1963), 539-549.

4 J. Milton Yinger, "Types of Religious Organizations" in The Scientific Study of Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970), 251-281.

5 See Joachim Wach, "Church, Denomination, and Sect." in Types of Religious Experience (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 187-208.

6 Niebuhr observed in his work on denominationalism that a strict sectarian movement would of necessity be a single-generation phenomena. Pope's work documented the accuracy of this statement. See Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, 17-18, and Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

7 J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), 146-147.

8 Yinger, The Scientific Study of Religion, 266-267.

9 Bryan Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," American Sociological Review, 24 (February, 1959), 3-15.

10 Sopher, Geography of Religion, 12.



11 See William P. Roberts, The Quakers as Type of the Spirit-Centered Community, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Marquette University, 1968), V. Roberts sees them as being within the Free Church tradition or churches which focus their belief and worship practices upon the Holy Spirit. It is his contention that they are a "striking" example of such a community.

12 Russell believes that the most important trip undertaken by Fox was his 1651-1654 travels in the northern counties of Yorkshire, Westmorland, Lancashire, Durham and Northumberland. It was here that he found large groups of Seekers. See Elbert Russell, The History of Quakerism (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1942), 30-32.

13 Roberts, The Quakers as Type of the Spirit-Centered Community, 4.

14 Russell, The History of Quakerism, 17.

15 William C. Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism, Revised by Henry J. Cadbury, (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), 26.

16 Stark, The Sociology of Religion, 211.

17 Russell, The History of Quakerism, 16-18.

18 See Rufus M. Jones, A Dynamic Faith (London: Headley Brothers, 1901), 64-66, for a discussion of this belief.

19 Huxley argues that this is a normal capacity but that a few hold it in much larger measure. He further argued that a few probably do not and cannot be taught to appreciate what is sacred or holy. See Julian Huxley, Religion Without Revelation (New York: Mentor Books, 1957), 102.

20 Rachel Knight, The Founder of Quakerism, A Psychological Study of the Mysticism of George Fox (New York: George H. Doran, 1923), 23.

21 Richard K. Ullmann, Between God and History (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1959), 45.

22 See Norman Penney, ed., The Journal of George Fox, Volume I (Cambridge: University Press, 1911), 349.

23 Marc L. Schwarz, "Viscount Saye and Sele and the Quakers," Quaker History, 62 (Spring, 1973), 14.



24 Henry Cadbury, "The Antiquity of the Quakers," Friends Quarterly, 7 (1953), 112-117.

25 George Bancroft, History of the Colonization of the United States, Volume II (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1873), 330.

26 Material is from C. H. Firth, ed., The History of England from the Accession of James the Second, Volume IV (London: G. P. Putnams, 1914), 1991.

27 Trueblood argues that during the last half of the seventeenth century they were growing more rapidly than any other movement in the Western World. See D. Elton Trueblood, The People Called Quakers (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966), 2.

28 Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 5.

29 See his discussion of the mystical experience and his suggestion of the dangers involved in seeking such an experience in Huxley, Religion Without Revelation, 138-140.

30 Maurice A. Creasey, "The Nature of Religious Fellowship," in Anna Brinton, ed., Then and Now, Quaker Essays: Historical and Contemporary (Freeport, N. Y.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), 328.

31 It is clear that there was a firm belief in a dynamic presence within the individual person. In his writings Fox sometimes referred to this presence as the light and sometimes as the spirit. Most of the early Quaker leaders had similar attitudes concerning the necessity of acknowledging this presence and seeking its consul whether it was a meeting for worship or a business meeting.

32 Jones, A Dynamic Faith, 74.

33 Huxley argues that most religious groups extoll that which is easily communicated and neglect that which is not. He further argues that this led to the setting up of creeds and dogmas. While this may be a somewhat simplified scheme, an examination of the histories of various religions suggests that it is applicable to many. See Huxley, Religion Without Revelation, 94.

34 Russell, The History of Quakerism, 54.

35 Trueblood, The People Called Quakers, 132-138.

36 Ibid., 117.



37 Auguste Jorns, The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), 152-159.

38 Quoted in, Kenneth Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970), 21.

39 Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism, 415.

40 William Warren Sweet, Religion in Colonial America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), 143-144.

41 See Sweet's Religion in Colonial America, 145-146, where he quotes from the records of the Rhode Island Colony concerning "freedom of consciences."

42 Vernon Noble, The Man in Leather Breeches (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953), 199.

43 Ibid., 204.

44 James Bowden, History of the Society of Friends in America, Volume I (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850), 389-390.

45 Ibid., 392.

46 Ibid., 395.

47 This is quoted in a history of New Jersey, see Samuel Smith, The History of the Colony of Nova--Caesaria or New Jersey (Burlington: 1877), 395.

48 Rufus Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies (New York: Norton & Company, 1966), 366-368.

49 For a copy of this letter see George Bancroft, History of the Colonization of the United States, 364.

50 Rayner W. Kelsey, Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917 (Lancaster, Penn.: New Era Printing Co., 1917), 25.

51 Struthers Burt, Philadelphia, Holy Experiment (London: Rich & Cowan, n.d.), 51.

52 Sidney G. Fisher, The Quaker Colonies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 42.





53 Yinger, Religion, Society, and the Individual, 153.

54 See Allen C. Thomas and Richard Henry Thomas, A History of Friends in America (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1930), 113.

55 William Sewell, A History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers, Volume I (London: The Assigns of J. Sowle, 1795), 161.

56 Penny, The Journal of George Fox, Volume I, 599.

57 Adelaide L. Fries, Parallel Lines in Piedmont, North Carolina Quaker and Moravian History (paper read at North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1949), 12.

58 See Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, 83-84.



## CHAPTER 3

### QUAKERS IN THE SOUTH

Four themes critical to an understanding of the migration to Ohio Country will be discussed in this chapter. First, the relationship between Quakerism and migration will be explored, particularly as it differed in practice from other religious group migrations. The establishment of Quakerism in the south will be the next topic. There are fairly distinct zones of settlement which correspond, at least in general outline, with the gross physical regions of the southeast. Following these will be the theme of Quaker attitude toward, and adjustment to, the slavery issue. Integral to an understanding of this problem is a comprehension of the role played by perception in the decision to migrate and in the choice of resettlement area.

In addition to the above themes, the actual migration routes to the Northwest Territory will be traced. This material is included here to assist in establishing the stage for the next period, Quakers on the frontier.

#### Quakers and Migration

Historically, the Quakers have been a migratory people. While their migrations within the United States have rarely exemplified a total group movement, such as the Mormon's movement to Utah, neither have they been mere individual endeavors. Their migrations have usually been due to factors



other than the mere desire for economic benefits or the frustration of "close" neighbors. Quakers did indeed follow the frontier but their motivations varied both temporally and spatially from most of their fellow settlers.

Determining factors which contribute to spatial mobility can be categorized as: economic, disasters (natural and man-induced), sociocultural and forced. However, as Broek and Webb point out "...quite often these causes mingle... The complexity of factors obstructs exact measurement of each variable and limits the validity of broad generalizations on why migrations occur."<sup>1</sup> Quaker migrations, both international and internal, have seemingly been the result of such combinations of factors. It is impossible, due to the limited amount of information available, to strictly access the motivating factor(s). Only general assumptions can be drawn concerning why they migrated prior to their exodus from the South. Sociocultural and economic factors have apparently been the most important inducements to Quaker migration.

Zelinsky has recently provided some insight and direction in migration studies with his scheme of "mobility transition." This hypothesis attempts to apply the principle of diffusion of innovations to the laws of migration. In it a five phase mobility transition is outlined.<sup>2</sup> This provides a useful framework against which the general frontier movement in America can be viewed. The scale of his outline limited its applicability to the Quaker migration to Ohio Country other than to serve as a general comparative reference when attempting to fit this specific migration into the patterns developing within the larger society during the nineteenth century.



When they moved, it was often in family or friendship groups and frequently in such numbers as to deplete the meetings and communities in the source area. One of their foremost unifying features as a sect, and a major motivation for migration, has been their unwillingness to accept the existing world, either religiously or socially.

Their movement from the south to the Northwest Territory should be classified as a "relocation" type of movement. This process has been described thusly, "in many cases, an initial group of people or carrier will themselves move, so that they are diffused through time and over space to a new set of locations...The commonest example, of course, is that of migration, groups of people moving their residences from one place to another."<sup>3</sup>

In several cases their original communities were largely depopulated by the movement of former members to the 'frontier' and many former Quaker settlements and meetings never recovered their earlier numbers or positions. This type of movement was true both in Europe and the United States, however, it seems to have been more common in the United States. As Russell has said, "One result of the rapid growth of the Quaker population of western New York was the depletion or complete extinction of older meetings in western New England..."<sup>4</sup>

The specific migration with which this thesis deals was even more dramatic than that referred to by Russell. The movement of Friends from the southern states to the Northwest Territory left few strong meetings in the Carolinas, Virginia, or Georgia and in several cases it placed such a severe strain on those





few members remaining in that area, that the meetings had to be "set down" or closed. One example of this was in the Bush River Meeting in Georgia where Zachariah Dicks was quite successful in convincing members of the need to migrate. Zachariah Dicks was one of many traveling Friends laboring to convince families to move north. The migration which followed his testimony and witness was so complete it was said to have "...practically ended Quakerism in the Bush River region."<sup>5</sup> According to Zelinsky's outline, this type of migration is expected during the second phase of mobility transition. He suggests, "Significant movement of rural folk to colonizing frontiers..." as a critical identifying characteristic.

The impact of the migration on Quakers as a community is difficult to measure. However, in certain key areas it was obviously less than beneficial. The financial stresses generated by their decision to move were detrimental both to individual families and to the work of the various meetings. Members were forced to sell their farms too rapidly and, frequently at prices far below the market value. This was necessitated both by the general economic conditions and the awareness, within their communities, of their desire to sell quickly to facilitate their removal with other Friends. After migration, additional financial demands were created by the need to construct new homes, and schools, indeed, complete communities. This was, in large part, a movement of substantial farmers and merchants. While they were not large plantation owners, they were usually prosperous farmers. They were not the malcontented drifters who were constantly on the move merely looking for new locations or a free social environment. They



were acknowledged by non-members of the Society as being sober, industrious people. Quakers were desired in their new communities. An early governor of Ohio in speaking of them said "...that the general character of the people of that profession, for industry, sobriety, and good morals, was generally known and acknowledged, and was such as rendered them a valuable addition to any country..."<sup>7</sup> Thus their decision to sell and move, which was not necessitated by economic inability, did represent a distinct financial sacrifice on their part.

Local interest in, and knowledge of, accumulated traditions are lost through migration and the act of creating a new "environment." Following Wagner's thinking, "The meaning of environment for cultural geography goes much deeper than the immediate spatial surrounds, or the field of sensory perceptions, or the mere domain of mechanical contact and interaction of individual bodies, ..." then one of the losses, created by the migration from the south, was in the "cultural package" which they had developed in interaction with that particular physical environment.<sup>8</sup>

There is no universal manner or degree in which a migration changes the "culture" of a group and certainly the overall effect is not always negative. The Hutterites have obviously benefited from their many migrations in that these helped to strengthen their self-identity and indirectly their group cohesiveness. Migration, combined with selective withdrawal, has proven beneficial to their group's survival.<sup>9</sup> In general, however, movements of people result in some loss of "cultural baggage." It is not within the scope of this study to evaluate the degree of this loss. What Quakers lost was their package of learned activities



which were of value to them within, and for, the particular southern environment they left. "Landscape, like and with behavior, instructs and informs."<sup>10</sup> This loss was not unique to the Quakers, indeed it is the price most groups of people pay when they willingly or voluntarily remove themselves to a new environment.<sup>11</sup>

It is not merely the individual that interacts with his environment but also the social group to which he belongs. "Human social units, too, discover for themselves as units the limits of the physically possible...to 'learn' insofar at least as they are affected and reshaped by interaction with environments..."<sup>12</sup> That which is most important to the social group is that which was learned by interaction. This is partially lost with migration as the new environment must be interacted with and that which was satisfactory for a former environment and or time period, must be modified.<sup>13</sup>

On the positive side, migration has often provided religious groups with a more peaceful and tranquil setting in which to develop. Whatever the overall impact, migrations have been an integral part in the life-story of most religious groups classified as sects.

This general topic has not been well studied by social scientists. Sociologists have focused the bulk of their studies on the social problems resulting from migration.<sup>14</sup> Geographers have traditionally been concerned with the factors responsible for migration, description of the destination area, seasonal migration patterns and mapping the rural-urban flow patterns.<sup>15</sup>

More recently attention has been given to behavioral problems. Roseman's



study is concerned with the information-gathering and assimilation process.<sup>16</sup> He postulates a two category typology and views migration as both a temporal and spatial process. Wolpert emphasizes the role of perception and information and presents a model based on behavioral parameters rather than one focused on population pressure, economic aspects or distance.<sup>17</sup> Zelinsky's article presents a processional model based on modernization as an underlying theme for migration. These are all concerned with process and broad patterns.

Much work remains in assessing the changes wrought in religious communities by migration, which will aid us in the larger job of better utilizing our knowledge of religious characteristics to understand areal differences in cultures.<sup>18</sup>

#### Establishment of Quakerism

The earliest European settlements in the southern states were along the tidewater but by the middle of the eighteenth century the bulk of the population was in the interior. The piedmont and hill country having become far more populated due to the relative ease with which it could be cleared of its vegetation.

From a general topographical view there are three natural regions within this part of the southeast: 1) the coastal plain, 2) the piedmont, 3) the mountains. Settled first was the tidewater region of flat coastal plains. This region is intersected by numerous rivers and has large areas in marsh and swamp. It became attractive later during the cotton boom and was the site for large





plantations, however, it was of limited appeal to persons farming their own land. The piedmont, with its greater relief, better drainage and much preferred climate had more appeal for the non-slave holding farmers. The mountainous section, was also settled later and mostly by northern emigrants. The latter two areas experienced, during the middle decades of the eighteenth century, rapid settlement and received large numbers of Quakers. Many Meetings were formed in the eighteenth century and the growth of the Society in the south can be viewed as a smaller version of the larger settlement scene. These Meetings are shown on figure one.

The four southern states which attracted the largest number of Quakers and had the strongest Meetings were North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia. While some of the early emigrants came directly from Europe, the majority of the southern Friends, particularly those coming in the eighteenth century, were from New England. The benign climate and apparently productive soil of these states were as attractive to Quakers as they were to other settlers.

Apparently Virginia had a number of Quakers in the seventeenth century. They were visited by George Fox and William Edmundson in their visit of 1672.<sup>19</sup> Prior to this visit the various groups of Friends in the south lacked a formal organization. In fact, the creation of an organization was one of the purposes of George Fox's visit to North America. That the Quakers lacked a formal organization in their first few decades is not unusual as the lack of strong organizational structure is one of the key features of a sect. Structure is one of the aspects of a "church" which sects are usually in opposition to. Edmundson also preached in North Carolina in 1672 but found few Quakers there and these,



the Phillips family, were from New England.<sup>20</sup>

South Carolina and Georgia received their earliest known Quaker settlers during the latter decades of the seventeenth century. There were enough to establish a small monthly meeting by 1682 in South Carolina. In 1681 Fox, who had visited Albermarle area in 1672, suggested a formal union with those of the Society in North Carolina.<sup>21</sup> Apparently the members of these groups were not able to implement his suggestion as only limited communication developed between the early meetings. This was doubtlessly due to the rugged terrain, poor trails, and generally unsettled nature of the intervening territory.

Governor John Archdale played a key role in the establishment of a respect for and positive attitude toward Quakers in the Carolinas. He, as a Quaker and the appointed Governor (1694) was able to establish much more acceptable conditions for them than had existed in most colonies. He did this not by establishing special privileges (excepting the military exemption) but by a fair administration. Another religious group, the French Huguenots, received even more direct benefits from his administration. Also of importance, concerning early Quaker dominance, was the failure of the official state church to send ministers. Thus the Quakers were virtually alone until 1700 as regards religious activity in the colony. Governor Archdale also established better relations with the Indians, a basic concern of Quakers.<sup>22</sup>

During the eighteenth century many more settlers came and the early Meetings "mothered" and set-aside several additional Meetings. Much of this growth was due to the arrival of a second wave of emigrants. The earliest



movement was into Virginia followed by successive flows into North Carolina, South Carolina, and by the time of the Revolution, into Georgia.

Some families were from New England but the bulk of the movement was from Pennsylvania. The two interior regions were settled by members of the same religious group as those members of eastern coastal plains meetings but these new emigrants were of different ethnic and social backgrounds. Weeks calls them "Germans or Welshmen by birth or descent" and feels that they were far more important to the continuation of the Society than the older Friends who had settled the plains region.<sup>23</sup> As an example of this dominance, fourteen of the twenty-four family certificates received at New Garden Monthly Meeting between 1754-1770, were from Pennsylvania.<sup>24</sup> They were Pennsylvania Germans for the most part, and were motivated to migrate by economic factors.<sup>25</sup> Economic factors were responsible for the movement of Quakers from other areas as well. Elijah Coffin relates the situation in Nantucket, "The population of the island still increasing, many of the citizens turned their attention to other parts, and were induced to remove and settle elsewhere, with a view to better their condition as to provide for their children..."<sup>26</sup>

The early years of respect and leadership which were experienced in the coastal areas of the Carolinas did not continue into this new period and area. With the growth of the Society, both in numbers and new meetings, there was also growing tension and increasing hostility concerning the issues of slavery and military service. Certain areas, particularly the central portion of the Carolinas along with a few outlying meetings were to assume leadership both in regard to



establishing new meetings and in the question of the Society's stand concerning slavery. Garden City Meeting provided leadership for settlement, and later for resisting the intense pressure to which southern Quakers were subjected concerning their peace commitment during the Civil War.

Leadership for continued settlement in North Carolina, and southern Quakerism in general came to be focused on the central, interior area of North Carolina around New Garden, Cane Creek, and Holly Spring Meetings. Two factors seem most important in the development of this area into the stronghold of southern Quakerism. First, most of the interior population came from northern states and were of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds than were those of the coastal plain. Location was also a factor, as the area was somewhat remote from the plantation and commercial economy. This factor was to play a significant role in the position which western Meetings developed concerning slavery.

In addition to the Eastern Quarterly Meeting which had been established in 1680 and was composed of Meetings on the coastal plain, new Quarterly Meetings were established in 1759, New Garden in 1787 and Contentnea in 1788. (see Fig. 1) While growth was experienced after the Revolutionary War the emigration from northern colonies had virtually ceased. McKiever sees the war as the primary factor in the cessation of migration.<sup>27</sup>





# QUAKER MEETINGS IN THE SOUTH



Figure 1

• Quaker Meetings

0 40 80 MILES

SOURCE: WEEK: SOUTHERN QUAKERS AND SLAVERY, (1898)

T.R.



### The Slavery Issue

During the colonial period in America nearly everyone condoned slavery as an economic necessity. The only significant group to speak out against the practice was the Religious Society of Friends. Their unified stand, in opposition to slavery, created a divisive feature between Southern Friends and their neighbors. Not only did this lead to social tension, it also caused political barriers to be erected. These were an attempt, on the part of southern states, to block the emancipation of slaves and to avoid the possibility that "free" negroes would become numerous. There was a rather common belief that slaves would be less manageable if large numbers of former slaves were allowed to reside in the southern states. Both Virginia and North Carolina had colonial laws which made removal a part of emancipation. These laws placed a heavy financial burden on Quakers inclined to free their slaves. Virginia dropped this requirement in 1782 but North Carolina did not. Friends living there were forced to make a corporate move regarding slave ownership to protect the individual members.

In North Carolina negro or mulatto slaves could not be freed unless the owners received county permission, and if freed they must leave the province. As their political petitions to the state legislature asking for a legal redress concerning this issue were not effective, the Yearly Meeting felt forced to take a unique position. "The Institution itself became a slave holder. This movement began in 1808. The Yearly Meeting of that year appointed a committee of seven to have under care all suffering cases of people of color."<sup>28</sup> Thus the corporate body became the slaveholder, a custom repeated no where else in America. They



continued this practice until the Civil War. In addition to the legal and governmental barriers, the Quakers were under considerable social pressure to adopt the more common pattern of the larger society. Some Quakers who owned slaves persisted in this position, usually urging economic need. Even for a group with their highly developed social consciousness, the witness against slavery was hard for some members to accept. This struggle within the Society lasted over a hundred years. Some refused all urging and were disowned by their respective meetings.

This internal struggle, over the proper attitude toward slavery, combined with external harassment because of their position on the slavery issue probably strengthened the group. However, in time it also led to the migration of many of the members of southern meetings. Slavery thus became a crucible for the Religious Society of Friends.

Universal among sects is their need to provide some separation from the world. This is usually done by either isolating or insulating techniques. It seems clear that during the first half of the nineteenth century the need to so separate themselves was critical to the Friends. Their refusal to use slaves and their non-ownership of slaves were not truly insulating techniques, as most southern whites did not own slaves. Rather their position, that it was a moral question, proved to be the separating feature. By their public testimony and corporate behavior, the Friends made the ownership of slaves a critical religious and moral issue. As Bryan Wilson notes in his writings on sects, "Insulation consists of behavioral rules calculated to protect sect value by reducing the influence of the



external world when contact necessarily occurs.<sup>29</sup> Thus the ban on slave ownership became an important "behavioral rule" and served to establish the position of the Quakers as a group. Thus within the general area of commerce, an area where considerable contact with the external society occurred, their position regarding slavery clearly established them as different from the larger society.

Some of the social pressure, experienced by Quakers living in the south, was due to the fear which southern whites had of slave uprisings. The Quaker's constant petitioning of governmental bodies concerning the emancipation of slaves created strong animosity. In actuality, slave insurrections were relatively few and ineffective prior to the nineteenth century, but rumors of such plots were usually sufficient to keep the white populace agitated.<sup>30</sup> They were particularly afraid of actions such as affected the West Indies where a concerted action by large numbers of slaves took place. Quakers had been restricted as early as 1676 in Barbados by special laws which forbade "...the people called Quakers from bringing Negroes to their meetings..." and also from providing education for slaves.<sup>31</sup> It is difficult to access the psychological condition of whites in the South regarding this issue but if the harsh punishments which were meted out to runaway slaves is indicative of their owners mental state, then it was not healthy. The evidence of such brutality, brutality which was the normal reaction to even the possibility of slave insurrection, suggests a degree of irrationality. To destroy physically that which has high monetary value in an effort to control it clearly highlights the fear which many southern whites harbored.

Whites were apparently not so worried about isolated or individual slave





problems. Their fear was of a general uprising. As mentioned earlier, there was a rather common belief that this would be encouraged by allowing the numbers of free negroes to increase. Freed slaves were seen as a serious threat to the docility of the remaining slaves and any attempt on the part of anyone to increase their numbers was viewed with alarm. If slaves were to be freed it was considered necessary that they also be removed.

Quakers in the south were not as early or as frequently involved in the campaign to change the law concerning slavery as their northern brethren. However, they were more bitterly resented for such action as they did engage in, due to their location. Various monthly and local meetings in the South were active in the sending of memorials and petitions, within the Society, concerning their respective position on slavery. On a few occasions they also petitioned the legislatures of their respective states.

This latter action was often resented and led to adverse reactions. This can be clearly seen in the responses made by various governmental representatives to Quaker petitions. George Washington complained about their work in the Abolition Society and their actions in providing assistance to slaves in Philadelphia and suggested they should not tamper with slaves who are happy with their masters.<sup>32</sup> A common attitude toward Quakers was that expressed in Congress when "Jackson of Georgia declared that the abolition of the slave trade would point toward complete emancipation...why should the Quakers set themselves up as a superior authority?"<sup>33</sup> As recorded in the Annals of Congress, the debate concerning the Quaker memorial of 1790 to the first Congress, saw much



unfavorable comment about the Quakers both as a group and as individuals. They were accused of sexual laxity, of disloyalty during the American Revolution and of serving as British spies. In all probability the most serious charge was that any Congressional action regarding their petition would create economic problems in the South.<sup>34</sup>

While the motion concerning their petition was soundly defeated and slavery was certainly not seriously threatened by their action, it was a clear statement of their belief. The debate which followed did not dwell on the petition as much as it did on the petitioners and provided the Quakers with a good deal of unwanted publicity. It also created strong resentment against them in southern states where they had meetings.

This act of petitioning illustrates a particular type of response which certain sects make. Sects which hold that the larger society is evil and yet capable of being changed must, of necessity, involve themselves in social action or attempted social change. Their only other alternatives are to either modify their position to become more like the larger society and thus become less sect-like or to insulate themselves and live with even less contact with the larger society. Either choice necessitates a basic change in attitude toward the larger society. The latter choice would be a decision to forego attempts to change the society in which they lived, accepting the position that it was incapable of change. This change in philosophy would of necessity require a different life-style. While it is a common response pattern for many sects, it has not been utilized by the Friends.



Some of the other religious sects opposed to slavery chose to isolate themselves. Mennonites had protested slavery in the early colonial period but were not to play an active part in the social action of the anti-slavery program. They were not concerned with improving the larger society. Never having been slave-owners they were spared the agony of achieving group solidarity on this issue. Moravians at Salem in North Carolina had shared much of the same cultural experience as a persecuted sect but differed radically from the Quakers regarding slavery. They had been quite concerned about the Indian and operated missions for them but were not, as a group, anti-slavery. And while some began to manumit their slaves as early as 1778, as a group they remained slave-owners until the Civil War. "In the matter of slavery the Quaker and Moravian lives diverged sharply."<sup>35</sup>

Quakers were apparently never seriously close to becoming compromised with the larger society concerning slavery. This type of compromise would have moved them toward a denominational religious structure. Meaning in this case, a group which is basically non-alienated and one which accepts society as it exists. Quakers had by now lost most of the revolutionary zeal of their commitment regarding certain social conditions. However, the Religious Society of Friends had not made its peace with the social ills of the larger society and it still held that social reform and justice were important tenets of faith. Following the thinking of Yinger it is most accurate to consider them as an "established sect." That type of religious group is less alienated than most sects and has created more structure without losing all their alienation. They tend to adopt some professional



leadership and acquire an aura of permanence which separates them from the majority of sects.<sup>36</sup> Quakers had met these general criteria by the nineteenth century but were not open to further change if it incorporated the approval of social conditions such as slavery which they considered unacceptable.

It is important to recognize that the Quaker's concern for the slave was broader than mere emancipation. Apparently Quakers were the only group that asked the slaveholder to reimburse the slave for his bondage. They believed this to be the only just thing to do, to be reimbursed as the West Indies planters were by England required no moral or economic commitment on the part of the slaveholder. It is not known how many actually paid their slaves or how much was paid although it was suggested they used the yearly wage for a standard. A Mr. Burton states that it cost Friends in North Carolina 50,000 pounds.<sup>37</sup>

There was also interest in protecting legal rights of slaves and frequent court cases attempting to secure a slave or a former slave's rights were conducted. There was individual involvement in the Abolition and Colonization movements but this activity did not play a serious role in the decision of Quakers to migrate to the Northwest Territory.

Quakers also extended their concern for the slaves to the matter of education. As early as 1816 the Quakers of Guilford County, North Carolina attempted to establish a school for Negroes. Even though it was only a part-time venture with modest goals as to student achievement, it was bitterly resented by their slave-holding neighbors. A typical reaction was that which occurred in 1821 to Vestal Coffin when he organized a reading school within the New Garden,





North Carolina Sunday School. This so disturbed the neighboring slave owners they refused to allow their slaves to attend church.<sup>38</sup>

Quaker persistence in matters relating to education, legal rights, and religious instruction for slaves illustrates their broad gauged interest in the well-being of slaves and freedmen. This interest and concern was a direct reflection of their belief in the universal brotherhood of man. As tension concerning slavery and emancipation grew, the Quaker position became more unacceptable to many southern residents. In some cases that resentment was directed, not at the Quakers philosophical position but at Quakers as individuals. Their neighbors were unable to accept their attitude concerning slavery as a moral commitment, rather they tended to personalize the issue.

In a manner consistent with their attitude toward, and recording of, other unpleasanties, few direct complaints concerning their treatment by their neighbors were recorded. Rather there is reference to the advantage of living where slavery is not an issue. The benefits of living in a "free" territory and the quality of the new lands available in the former Northwest Territory are extolled. Migration as a solution to the slavery issue became an abiding issue among southern Quakers. They had decided, to use Wolperts concept of "place utility," that Ohio Country promised a higher level of utility than did their southern setting.<sup>39</sup> This decision was based on a low utility value being assessed to areas where slavery was legal. It caused them to entertain the idea of removal and to seek information about alternative living places.



### Migration as a Solution

When visitors first spoke in favor of Quakers moving to the Northwest Territory, the response was not very favorable. The official position of the various meetings was that permission would not be granted to those applying to migrate to areas lacking meetings and an effort would be made to dissuade those who were so decided. An illustration was when Abijah O'Neill and Samuel Kelly, Jr. purchased military land in 1897 in what is now Warren County and then asked for permission to remove to their new land. "When about starting he (Abijah O'Neill) applied to Friends for his regular certificate of membership. This they refused him, on the ground that his removal was itself a thing as did not meet their approbation."<sup>40</sup> He went to Ohio and was later joined by many members of the meeting who had initially refused him approval.

One of the fears which led them to take such a position was that those leaving would remove to communities without Quakers and would not remain in contact with the established Meetings. In addition, they were fearful that these new communities might not establish a lifestyle considered acceptable by Friends.<sup>41</sup> This concern with order and appearance is an illustration of one of the changes which had occurred in the Religious Society of Friends. They had moved far away from the structureless charismatic sect which marked their beginning decades in England. They were now well on the road to becoming an establishment. Their concern for order and rigid application of regulations will be discussed again in the next chapter as it related to marriage restrictions during the nineteenth century. The growth of structure and solidification of institutional mores which they experienced was not unique to Quakers.<sup>42</sup>



Even with the above mentioned barriers to migration, the possibility of "removing" to a free area acquired credibility as tension developed concerning the role Quakers were playing or were imagined to be playing in freeing and assisting runaway slaves. In addition to the social tension they were experiencing, their own growing concern with, and sensitivity to, the problem of living in a slave society caused large numbers to view migration to a slave-free area as the only acceptable solution to their problems. Lee, in writing about discrimination, notes that it is often varied in degree and also that while it creates ghettos it also encourages the movement of large numbers of people.<sup>43</sup>

Emphasis on the role played by slavery is not to suggest that the phenomena of migration is not complex. While other factors may have played minor roles, the primary cause was clearly the slavery issue. Concerning Lynchburg, Virginia, and the abandonment of that Meeting, Brown notes that, "The war and loss of members would be among these influences, but the slavery question was most potent."<sup>44</sup>

Motivation for migration is hard to fully comprehend. Frequently the migrants do not know even if the study is such that they can be asked. Having only historical documents to work with poses an additional problem as the recorded reasons are open to misinterpretation. One general hypothesis, the "push-pull" idea, has had some benefit.<sup>45</sup> There seems to be value in using this as a framework for assessing the motivation of southern Quakers. The "push" was the social tension with their neighbors and their desire to live in a non-slave setting. They were "pulled" by the two features mentioned earlier, the guarantees of no slavery, and religious freedom found in the Ordinance of 1787.



The diversity of migrations as to cause, scale, duration, rate, and organization have proven a serious problem for researchers attempting an inclusive classification system. This problem, the diversity of the phenomena, is intensified by the lack of uniformity in the terminology among the respective disciplines. Too often the theoretical framework has been built on the restricted data of only one study.<sup>46</sup> An especially useful typology, developed by Petersen, was used to analyze the Quakers migration to the Northwest Territory.<sup>47</sup>

Petersen presents five general classes of migration, "...designated as primitive, forced, impelled, free, and mass, ..." which he suggests covers all migrations both internal and international.<sup>48</sup> Quaker migration to the Northwest Territory seems clearly to belong to the "free" class. In this class the will of the migrant is the critical factor. That is not the case in the primitive, forced, or impelled classes.<sup>49</sup> The primary difference between "free" and "mass" migrations is that in the latter, emigration has become a social pattern and the will of the individual is not a critical factor. It is an outgrowth of the free class. Petersen does not clearly distinguish between these two classes as to quantity of emigrants, which is unfortunate, as he suggests that numbers emigrating is an important criteria for distinguishing between these two classes.<sup>50</sup>

Petersen states that free migrations will have at least two stages.<sup>51</sup> Quakers definitely experienced the first stage, a "pioneer movement," when small numbers of Friends traveled north and then either returned or wrote to their friends and families in the South urging them to move. The previously mentioned Samuel Kelly and Abijah O'Neill are examples of this phenomena.





Two concepts from recent theoretical work by geographers apply to this stage of migration. Zelinsky has assumed that there will be less change in life-style by moving to a more distant but similar site than a near but different site. "Assuming that some adventurous migrants had established firm beachheads in a foreign land or along a frontier and started a flow of information back to the source region, the transfer to a comparably rudimentary economy in a far locality might mean less dislocation in social space than transfer to a nearby city."<sup>52</sup> Any conjecture as to the validity of this concerning the southern Quakers is somewhat speculative as there were no splinter groups with which the mainstream could be compared. Two aspects of southern Quaker life encourage agreement with Zelinsky. First, the agrarian orientation of most Quakers. They were a rural society, even the craftsmen and tradesmen living in villages were oriented toward the farm. Secondly, their concept of community, which expressed itself in the Meeting for Worship and close friendship ties, would have been harder to facilitate in an urban environment.

Roseman's idea of dividing the information-gathering processes into two categories is the second concept. He states that "Total displacements...are extended to an indirect space that is not generally within or near the directly searchable activity space..."<sup>53</sup> This clearly is the type of migration in which southern Quakers engaged. He also suggests this will necessitate relying on others or some form of media for information. Quakers did not have access to much media generated information about the Northwest Territory other than generalities concerning laws of governance. As important as these were, the personal



knowledge of returning visitors clearly influenced many Quakers to migrate.

Roseman's comment that, "The role of friends and relatives as suppliers of information about places is important for migration at all scales..." is certainly supported by this migration.<sup>54</sup>

This important stage of migration was a natural development in a religious society, such as the Quakers, where a traditional role of traveling lay ministers was already established. These "visiting Friends" and their position within the Society are covered later in this section. The importance of this pioneer stage is not restricted to the numbers involved, rather it is measured by the example they set. Lindberg in his study of Swedish emigration to the United States, makes this point and suggests that the quality of the first immigrants is critical.<sup>55</sup> That was apparently true in the Swedish case, as the latter emigrants were not of the same social class. With the Quakers there was no real social class difference but the example set by the early emigrants was important in that it proved the possibility of accomplishing the venture. Also, in the context of the sectarian community which was desired, it meant that there would be neighbors of a common heritage and that meetings for worship could be established soon after moving.

Petersen sees the second stage as a period of group migration. This was not a universal stage within southern Quakerism but it did occur at various times. A specific example is documented in a letter from Borden Stanton, who writes of the Trent River Meeting in Jones County, North Carolina, where the entire Meeting emigrated. Describing their last meeting before moving, Stanton writes, "...such certificates for each other mutually signed in their last monthly meeting held at



Trent aforesaid, in the first month, 1800; which was then solemnly and finally adjourned or concluded;..."<sup>56</sup> Their arrival in this area was also rapid. Jones, in speaking of Miami Meeting between the years 1803 and 1807 writes that, "No less than eighteen hundred and twenty-six removal certificates of Friends were received..."<sup>57</sup> It should be remembered that many of those were for families so the total number of people was considerably larger.

Emigration, during the second stage outlined by Petersen, usually became a social pattern. Thus members of communities decided to emigrate even when they did not feel pressured to move. Due to the two social variables then at work among the southern Quakers, migration became an established norm, an example of collective behavior which was no longer challenged.<sup>58</sup> The two specific variables, discussed earlier in the study, are the communal aspect of the Quaker Meetings of that period and the general concern over the slavery issue.

The original idea of migration was spread by traveling Friends. Some of these were "visiting" Friends and some were former neighbors who returned to persuade remaining family and friends to move. This stage is classified as "pioneer movement" by Petersen. This role was not new to Quakers as they had utilized this technique to circulate and disseminate ideas since the earliest years of their movement.

Religious groups lacking a hired clergy and a professional administration rely heavily on the lay ministers.<sup>59</sup> The Quaker practice of an itinerant ministry, and the high value placed on the visitation of other Meetings, fit well the information diffusion needs of the earliest stage of migration. As Jones has pointed



out, people did not enter into their missions lightly nor did they venture forth without the blessing of their local Meeting. "The recipient of the commission must first of all be inwardly convinced that he was sent, and then he must have the unity of his group..."<sup>60</sup> They usually sought the approval of their Quarterly Meeting also. They went, and were received as representatives of their Meetings not as mere individuals with a personal conviction. Seemingly these safeguards satisfactorily controlled the potential personal excesses and misuse such a system could encourage.

Not as clear, as the fit between the suggested stages in Petersen's "free" class and the southern Quakers migration, is whether their movement evolved into a "mass" migration. More important is an understanding of the nature of migration. Once migration has become an accepted pattern of behavior, "...the principal cause of emigration is prior emigration."<sup>61</sup> Inertia is negated by migration allowing for openness to future moves. "A person who has once migrated and who has once broken the bonds which tie him to the place in which he has spent his childhood is more likely to migrate again than is the person who has never previously migrated."<sup>62</sup> Many southern Quaker families had members who had migrated to the south thus they were open to removal. Lee sees this as an important factor in increasing the volume of migration. Due to the nature of the information available on Quaker migrants, analysis of the importance of this factor must be descriptive. However, the possibility of its having been influential is supported by the short time periods which most Quaker Meetings in the interior had been established.





# Quaker Migration Routes

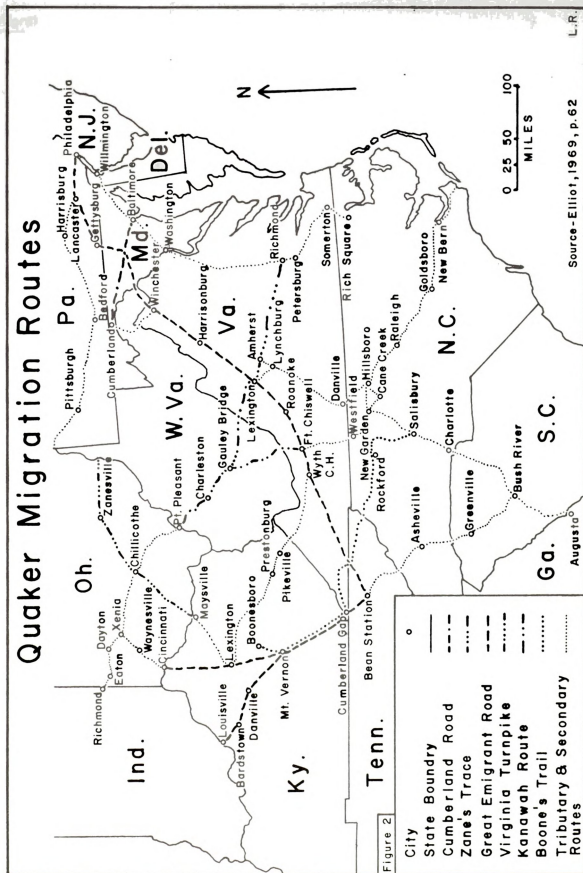


Figure 2

Source - Elliot, 1969, p. 62

L.R.



### Migration Routes

The Quakers who migrated to the Northwest frontier were not explorers. They were not concerned with establishing new trails for the large-scale migration which later flowed into the Northwest Territory. They were farmers in search of new homes who usually brought their families and on occasion their livestock with them. In general they utilized existing trails and roads. These are shown on figure two.

There were three primary routes by which Quakers moved to Ohio Country. According to one migrant, the Magadee Road (Virginia Pike) was traveled by more settlers than all the others combined. Unfortunately Addison Coffin provided no data to support his claim. This route ran from Richmond, Virginia to the Ohio River and followed the Virginia Turnpike and the Kanawha Trail. North Carolina Quakers had several choices as to where they joined the pike but most apparently used it for at least part of their journey north.

The Kanawha Road passed over Clinch Mountain and then followed the Kanawha River to the Ohio. The Kentucky road used Cumberland gap and crossed what is now Kentucky to the Ohio River at Cincinnati. This was a continuation of the Great Emigrant Road which many Quakers had followed from Pennsylvania when they migrated to the south.

Cumberland Road, also shown on figure two, was apparently not used by Quakers from the Carolinas or Georgia and Tennessee. It was built, or opened, during the time many Quakers were migrating and was probably used by some Quakers from Virginia and Maryland. It was extended westward from Cumberland as the



### National Road.

Boone's Trail which ran from Salisbury, North Carolina to Boonesboro, Kentucky paralleled and in some places duplicated the Great Emigrant Road. Most of these were not fixed as to exact route and they were also known by different names in different sections and during different times.

There were apparently far more tributary roads and trails than would be deduced by examining contemporary maps. Migrants mention trails which are not found on existing maps. The options available to the migrant were limited by his information. As the preceeding section states, this was primarily obtained from persons who had scouted out the country and returned to lead groups of migrants.

The first emigrants came by horseback, usually with pack horses. They followed the trails, most of which were established by Indians. Most of the Quakers who came after 1800 used wagons or two-wheeled carts. The condition of the trails varied from poor to impassible. Rain frequently forced them to lay-over, waiting for the roads to dry out, camping where they were, as the wagons could not be moved. One group, traveling in 1805, recorded in their diary that they could only accomplish about eight miles per day in their wagon and they were using a four horse team. They also had to wait for streams to go down, travel "hub-deep" in mud, and travel with all their possessions soaked from the rain, even the bedding.<sup>63</sup> One-horse carts were also popular during the first decades of the nineteenth century as they were more manuverable on the rough trails than were four-wheel wagons. They were constructed with wooden axles, extra large wheel hubs, and iron rims. One distinct advantage was that they



were repairable by the emigrant in case of a traveling accident.<sup>64</sup>

Facilities along the routes were almost totally lacking for early migrants. In the main, a family brought everything with them or else made it as needed. Game was quite plentiful both along the route and in the settlement area which alleviated the need for extensive food supplies. Farm animals and equipment were brought when feasible and by 1815 the technique of migrating had become well established and group movements more common. Addison Coffin describes the situation: "...emigration had become a science and was so well understood that failures were almost unknown, the kind of wagon needed, the kind and strength of harness...the quantity and preparation of provision, the lines of travel were well defined and generally known."<sup>65</sup> Supplies and various services became available at the primary junction points after this time.





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## CHAPTER 4

### SETTLEMENT IN MIAMI COUNTRY

#### Pre-Settlement Physical Landscape

Miami Country, a very general region in southwestern Ohio drained by the Miami Rivers, is basically composed of undulating plains drained by three rivers and numerous streams. The characteristic topography of this region, and most of the central and western parts of Ohio, is that of glaciated plain with limited local relief. According to a study conducted by G. W. Smith, the local relief is less than 400 feet for all but the extreme eastern portion of this area.<sup>1</sup> This till plain was created by glacial activity which also formed some of the river patterns leaving many good sized valleys which today are lacking streams of importance. Most of the Quaker meetings were within the drainage of the Little Miami River with some meetings to the east lying within the Scioto River basin. There were also meetings in the area drained by the Miami River (see figure three).

The term "Miami Country" was often used by early settlers in reference to this general area. There are really two Miami Valleys as the Miami and Little Miami Rivers have roughly parallel northeast-southwest courses draining into the Ohio River.<sup>2</sup> During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the city of Cincinnati developed between them on the Ohio River and was the main urban center and the focal point for settlers coming into south central and southwestern Ohio from the south.



There are three physiographic regions within this section of Ohio. All of Warren, Clinton and Green counties lie within a region classified as till plain. While most of Highland County is also classified as till plain, the southeastern corner of the county is beyond the glaciation line, and is part of the unglaciated plateau. This small southeastern corner of Highland county, along with the tops of some of the hills farther south were not affected by any of the glaciation. Ross County is almost equally divided between three regions which cut it in a northeast-southwest manner. The till plain, glaciated plateau and unglaciated plateau share almost equal parts.<sup>4</sup> The basic physiographic regions within this area did not influence the location of Quaker Meetings. This was anticipated by the author as the physiographic regions do not exhibit extreme differences.

The natural vegetation of this area was primarily forest. The forest complex found by the European settlers was influenced by glacial activity. The degree and extent of this influence has been described in an article by Translean.<sup>5</sup> A study of the pollen preserved in peat deposits was found useful in determining the pre-historic vegetation. This information, combined with the knowledge of changes in drainage and physiography caused by the pre-glacial and glacial periods helped develop a general idea of the processes involved in developing the various vegetation communities of Ohio. While it is not possible to reconstruct the original vegetation pattern, records left by early settlers and land surveyors have been utilized to develop an adequate general scheme. Sears has utilized both field data and early accounts to provide such an overview.<sup>6</sup> A problem does exist concerning the validity of early accounts, as few pioneers were sufficiently



acquainted with the taxonomy to provide proper listings.

Peters in a study of a "high plain" in Michigan has illustrated another problem encountered when researchers must rely on such data, namely, that of perception of the environment. He found in his study that a non-existent "high plain" was not an attempt to manipulate reality, but reality as the early visitors perceived it. In actuality there was no "high plain" but a change in vegetation which caused them to perceive a change in landform where none existed.<sup>8</sup> Tuan in his "visitor and the native" illustrates how differently people perceive the same environment. This variance in perception is compounded by time, when the only material we have to work with, is fragments found in writings concerned with other matters.<sup>9</sup>

Oak trees, of various varieties, were apparently the most common tree in the study area. They were frequently associated with Hickory trees and in the case of Burr oaks, with the prairies referred to below. Oak-sugar maple forests were common, and one good example of this complex and varied vegetation association exists today in Glen Helen Reserve at Yellow Springs.<sup>10</sup> As it existed in the natural state, heterogeneity was probably the most single important feature of the forest.

The forest not only represented a barrier to travel and settlement, it also represented a major resource for the initial settlers. Forced by their limited transportation facilities to be highly self-sufficient, the pioneers made good use of the various types of wood encountered in clearing the land.

How the pioneer settlers perceived the physical landscape that they settled in and were later to dominate, is open to question. Regarding their



attitude toward the forest, there are apparently two fairly different schools of thought. One is exemplified by Sauer who refers to the settlers as having little concern for the forest and as seeing it primarily as an "encumbrance." This supports the view that the forest was a barrier to be removed. They saw it as detrimental to their primary interest and economic activity which was agricultural. Utter has a rather different opinion of the settler's perception of the forest. He believes they were desirous of removing the forest for agricultural activities, but in a very selective manner and that they operated with a high degree of awareness during the removal. He suggests that the settler's practice of associating various types of trees with particular types of soil desired for agricultural use illustrates this awareness. He also suggests that they valued the various trees for the different kinds of wood and ultimately, objects that one could produce from them. In all probability both of these attitudes were held by different settlers.<sup>11</sup>

An early history by Howe (1869) speaks of prairie land within Clinton County. Other settler's accounts suggest there were either no prairies or only very small grassland "openings" in the forest in Clinton County.<sup>12</sup> The term has obviously been used very imprecisely, creating considerable confusion. As to the prairies within Southwestern Ohio, there were apparently many "openings" or grassy areas as they were often referred to, particularly in the Scioto River valley. In places they were said to have contained hundreds of acres and to have been only lightly timbered with a few scrub oaks. In all cases they were said to have been rather wet and poorly drained regions.





Several theories have been advanced for the causes of prairies or glasslands. There has been considerable interest in and willingness to accept the theory that grasslands are a result of fire, either natural or man induced. Another theory which some advance is, that grasslands or prairies are created by certain soil types or climatic conditions. However, the soils found in oak barrens were found capable of supporting a forest vegetation.<sup>13</sup> Grasslands have been formed fairly late in the chronology of vegetation types and they may have been formed in the new world during the period of human occupancy. Sauer has suggested "...that they may have been formed primarily by fire, and that the cause of the firest may have been man. Plant ecology has taken too little account of the directional modification of vegetation of which man is capable."<sup>14</sup>

Most of the soils within the study area are classified as grey brown podzols and were developed beneath mature forests. Glaciation was a major feature in the soil formation process in southwestern Ohio. Most soils in this region were formed from medium to moderately fine textured limey till.<sup>15</sup> They were, if properly drained, considered very productive by the early settlers. Where the land was in some slope, drainage was usually adequate but level areas were imperfectly drained and were not highly productive until the settlers possessed the ability to tile them.

As stated earlier in this section, the general drainage pattern in north to south, toward and into the Ohio River. Drainage is accomplished by means of three river systems. The Little Miami River is the most important system as the streams flowing into it drain the largest portion of the area which had meetings



connected with Miami Monthly Meeting.

Most Meeting Houses were sited near streams, in fact, several carry the name of the stream they are located near. These stream valleys not only served as routes for early travelers, but were seen as potential power sources by the pioneers. During the earliest years of settlement, water power for milling was usually available. Continued removal of the forest cover mitigated against this in later years as stream flow became less dependable as the land was cleared and farmed.<sup>16</sup>

An important aspect of the pre-settlement landscape of southwestern Ohio was the series of Indian trails that crossed the Miami area. The imprint of the Indian trails is no longer clear as they have been obliterated by the road system. However, they provided the first communication routes and in most cases they served as the routes for the first wagon trails and the roads which developed later.

One of the main north-south Indian trails was the Pickawillany Trail which extended from the mouth of the Scioto River to the upper reaches of the Miami. Major portions of this trail coincide with the moraines left by the Wisconsin glacier, thus it followed the high ground in a general northwest direction between the Scioto River and the Little Miami River joining several other trails at the Indian village of Pickawillany. Another trail which was important in what is now Warren County, was the Miami Trail. It started at the Ohio River where Cincinnati developed, and swung north in a gentle arc which brought it also to the Indian village of Pickawillany. The Scioto Trail started in Ohio near the present town of Portsmouth and roughly followed the high land to the east of the Scioto River.



It provided a north-south route to Maguck which was the primary village of the Shawnee. Many trails connected at Maguck, which was near the present town of Circleville.<sup>17</sup>

It is important to keep in mind the nature of the Indian culture which established and maintained, by use, these trails. Knowing the non-permanent nature of their lifestyle, it follows that these trails were not constant as regards use, or exact position. From the reports of early users, they were in the nature of general paths with several optional routes, depending on the season and usage, and were not always adaptable to European style transport needs. This was especially true when the need for wagon roads became critical. It was sometimes easier to build wagon roads without taking earlier trails and footpaths into consideration.

Another human feature in the landscape was the series of earthen monuments commonly known as "mounds" which had been constructed by early American Indians. They are believed to have been started as early as one thousand B.C. in Ohio. Some of these, such as Serpent Mound which was built by the Adena People, are quite large. It is assumed they served a ritualistic function. There are hundreds of these mounds in Ohio, many of which were used for burial sites.<sup>18</sup>

#### Role of the Meeting in Quaker Organization

As stated earlier, the Quakers renounced a professional ministry. For the Quakers there was no hierarchy or ecclesiastical establishment. Comfort has said, "The ministry is a lay ministry, unpaid, and may be exercised



by any member, man or woman."<sup>19</sup> This position was consistent with their concept of the "Spirit of God" in all mankind. Their belief that the spirit worked within each individual and that every follower of Christ was a minister, is not too dissimilar from Luther's doctrine of universal priesthood. However, as Sweet has pointed out, a critical difference did exist in reality. What the Lutherans held in theory, the Quakers actually practiced.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to this general or fundamental ministry which all members were considered a part of, Quakers recognized and practiced a specialized ministry. It was composed of men and women who were acknowledged by their peers as having received special insights.<sup>21</sup> It is important to note that even from the earliest years of the movement, both sexes were involved in this special ministry.<sup>22</sup> That Fox expected this activity is clear from his statement concerning women and prophesy. "...daughters shall prophesy as well as sons. So they are to be obedient, that have the spirit poured upon them. Women are to prophesy; and prophesy is not to be quenched."<sup>23</sup> These persons did not receive symbolic status as regards title, garb, or special privilege within the community. This striving to be egalitarian even with their ministers was another aspect of the Quaker attitude toward authority and hierarchy. However, their testimony against "hireling ministers" was not unique.<sup>24</sup>

The fundamental institution in the Quaker organization was the "Meeting." It served as the framework for all activities. The explicit purpose of a Meeting was to provide for worship and to conduct business.<sup>25</sup> As is true of the church in many rural, agrarian societies, the "Meeting" served





as the focal point for individuals and families. During the time period of this study, Quaker families on the frontier lived their life within a communication and social network based largely on the Meetings. These were, in many ways, similar to the intra-village social inter-action networks developed in "folk" societies. The "Meetings" also served other social-cultural functions which will be discussed more fully in chapter five.

First day Meetings were worship meetings conducted on Sunday and usually for and by a local congregation. Their counterpart, the Monthly Meeting conducted the business affairs for one or more local congregations. Monthly Meetings were responsible for the corporate activities of the congregation(s), such as membership, missions and discipline.

On the next organizational level, Monthly Meetings were coordinated as Quarterly Meetings. These combined the business and to a lesser degree the worship functions for a group of local congregations. This unit covered a much larger geographical area, but did not have a prescribed number of Monthly Meetings. Neither did it have established requirements as to amount of area. Due to travel restrictions these areas tended to be rather small during the frontier period. Representatives of the Monthly Meetings met four times a year at the Quarterly Meeting, and heard appeals both from individuals and Meetings.

Yearly Meetings at the top of the organizational structure were composed of both Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. It became the primary legislative and administrative institution among the Quakers.<sup>26</sup> Yearly Meetings had no common geographical or numerical size. In fact, they varied from some having



thousands of members, but only covering a few states, to others having a smaller membership but having Monthly Meetings based in other counties.<sup>27</sup> Others were both, highly localized as to area and small in numbers.

As noted by Russell this hierarchy which the Quakers developed to administer their movement is similar to the Presbyterian system.<sup>28</sup> One important difference is that in the Presbyterian model, the various bodies are representative, while in the Quaker system they are meetings of the whole. In practice, representatives were sent to Quarterly and Yearly Meetings but all members of the Society who were in good standing were eligible to attend.

Meetings for business were presided over by clerks and all decisions were based on consensus. All persons attending, and in good standing, might speak and the clerk attempted to ascertain the "sense of the Meeting" which he put into writing as a series of "minutes". Disagreement with his minute(s) concerning specific issues meant either call for continued discussion or the tabling of the topic. In keeping with their egalitarian beliefs and concern for the minority, they did not vote. This concern for consensus and sensitivity toward minority view caused some decisions to take years.<sup>29</sup>

Business Meetings were traditionally preceded by a Meeting for worship. Various social activities were also associated with Meetings. This was especially true of Quarterly and Yearly Meetings which often lasted several days and to which most representatives brought their entire families. In the remaining sections of this chapter the Monthly Meeting will be utilized as a framework to develop the morphology of Quaker settlement in Miami Country.



# QUAKER MEETINGS IN SOUTHWEST OHIO 1801 - 1820

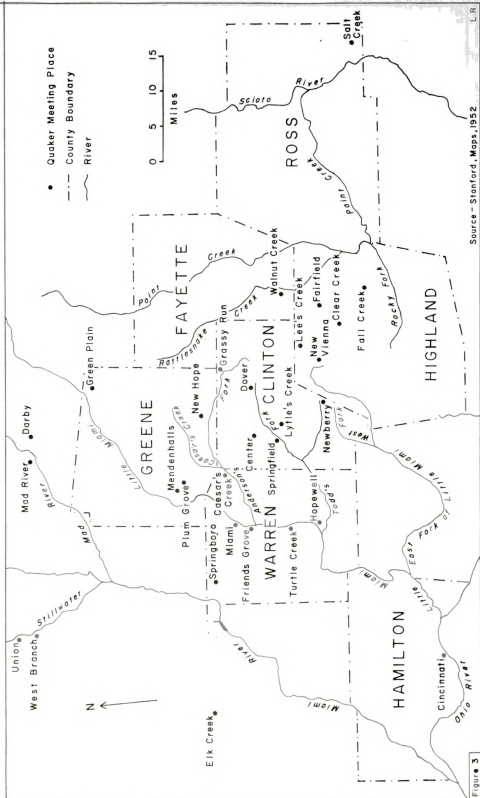


Figure 3



# QUAKER MEETINGS IN SOUTHWEST OHIO 1821 - 1861

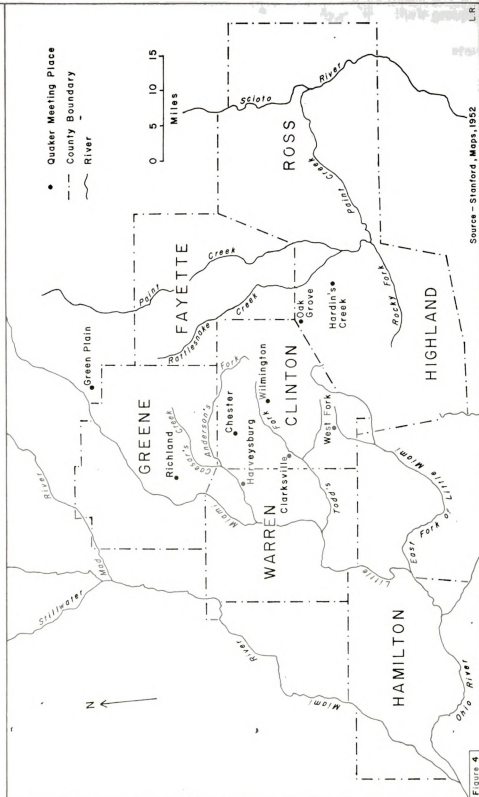


Figure 4





### Establishment of Meetings

In two recent studies, Reichlin and Petersen found that their groups utilized specific settlement patterns. The German-Russian Catholics studied by Petersen retained their traditional nucleated pattern when they established farming villages in western Kansas.<sup>30</sup> The Old-Order Amish consciously settled so as to form a unified holding. Contiguous farm holdings conform to their group's perception of proper order.<sup>31</sup>

As was stated in the introduction to this study, Quakers did not develop such a visible "cultural landscape." They lacked a cultural settlement pattern to maintain and did not develop one on the frontier. They did not develop such because of their diverse ethnic background and because of their perception of how they were to live in the world. As a movement they rejected the isolation model adopted by other sects, such as the Hutterites, Doukhobors, Amish, and Shakers. Their belief that they must be concerned with living in and changing the world precluded such a choice. This was based on their understanding that, "The early church was centrifugal, sending men into the world."<sup>32</sup> They saw the Religious Society of Friends as an effort to re-establish the early church. Meetings, while functioning as a center for their social and religious life, were not viewed as retreats. Quakers, however did attempt to form communities and where possible they purchased land near other Quakers. In writing about Warren County, William Smith mentions that, "...many went to a military tract of land in Warren County which Friends Abijah O'Neil and Samuel Kelley, Jr., of the Bush River Meeting (South Carolina) had bought in 1798."<sup>33</sup> Rebecca Harvey, Caleb Harvey, and Joshua Harvey, brothers, all moved with their families from North Carolina and



settled where Springfield Meeting House now stands."<sup>34</sup> This refers to the Springfield Meeting in Clinton County.

Failure to settle within a preconceived pattern thus did not forestall the development of community. Following the thinking of Wagner, we believe that communities develop along, and concomitant with, lines of communication and social contact.<sup>35</sup> The interaction network established by Quakers was built around the local Meeting and within the framework of their religious system. A general description of that framework was provided in the last section. The local Meeting served as the focus for their communities and can be used to illustrate the settlement pattern of the group. As was preciously mentioned, the need to affiliate with, or establish a new Meeting, served as a socio-cultural constraint on possible migrant destinations. Thus there was a two stage restriction process as their general choice was limited to an area where slavery was barred.

Figure five documents the lineage of those southwestern Ohio Meetings descended from Miami Meeting. Three trends are rather clear regarding their settlement history. First, Miami obviously dominated as a "mothering" institution setting off over half the total number established between 1801-1861. The importance of the first generation Meetings is also clear as they were much more active than those established after 1806. The importance of the first two decades in establishing Meetings is clear, this can also be seen when figures three and four are compared. Figure six adds another dimension to this, that growth in Meetings after 1830 must have been due to natural increase, conversion, or Quaker migrants from other areas.



Quaker Meetings in Ohio

	<u>Meeting Set-off From</u>	<u>Year established</u>
Fairfield	Miami	1804
West Branch	Miami	1805
Elk Creek	Miami	1805
Caesar's Creek	Miami	1805
Center	Miami	1805
Dover	Miami	1805
Turtle Creek	Miami	1806
Union	Miami	1806
Clear Creek	Miami	1806
Fall Creek	Miami	1806
Darby	Miami	1811
Mad River	Miami	1811
Friends Grove	Miami	1812
Cincinnati	Miami	1815
Hopewell	Miami	1817
Springboro	Miami	1818
Harveysburg	Miami	1831
Mendenhall's	Caesar's Creek	1808
Plum Grove	Caesar's Creek	1808
Richland	Caesar's Creek	1822
New Vienna	Clear Creek	1808
Newberry	Clear Creek	1812
Salt Creek	Fall Creek	1808
Lee's Creek	Fall Creek	1817
Walnut Creek	Fairfield	1809
Hardin's Creek	Fairfield	1848
Oak Grove	Fairfield	1861
Springfield	Center	1809
New Hope	Center	1817
Lytle's Creek	Center	1817
Chester	Center	1824
Wilmington	Center	1826
Grassy Run	Dover	1820
West Fork	Newberry	1827
Clarksville	Springfield	1836

Source: David Stanfield, Unpublished document  
Figure 5.



As an aid to understanding the broad settlement history, a brief individual history of the establishment of the more important Meetings will be given. Three Quarterly Meetings evolved in this area during the early years as well as several Monthly Meetings. The choice of which Meetings to utilize for illustration was dictated by the availability of records. Unfortunately the records of some Meetings are not complete and the historical accounts of several are yet to be written. The final portion of this section will treat the general establishment of Quakerism in Miami Country.

The first Meeting for worship in this section of Ohio, around what became Waynesville, began during 1800. Quakers of this area held their earliest meetings in their homes. While there was an emphasis on the construction of a Meeting House, it was not a requirement for worship.

The key Monthly Meeting was the Miami Monthly Meeting, established in 1803. It was set off by permission of Redstone Quarterly Meeting. However, it was not the first Monthly Meeting in Ohio as Concord Monthly Meeting was established in 1802 but it is not considered here as it was not connected with Miami Monthly Meeting. The primary source of information for the early years of Miami Monthly Meeting is an account by Clarkson Butterworth. This account was written by a member of one of the earliest and most influential Quaker families in southwestern Ohio.

The earliest known Quaker residing in this area were the aforementioned Samuel Kelly and Abijah O'Neil of Bush River Meeting in South Carolina. They came in 1799 and were joined in 1800 by David Faulkner and David Painter of





Hopewell Meeting in Virginia. Other families must have arrived in these early years as a Meeting for Worship was held in 1800 at the home of Rowland and Lydia Richards when twelve families gathered.<sup>37</sup> They were all living within one mile of the Richards. This informal worship meeting was maintained until they were permitted a regular Meeting in 1803. The parent Monthly Meeting was Westland near Brownsville, Pennsylvania which was nearly 300 miles distance. The Quaker's failure to adapt their administrative structure to the realities of frontier life is illustrated by the following. "Friends bringing their Certificates with them were under the necessity of sending them to Westland for record."<sup>38</sup> This was one example of their inability or unwillingness to adjust to the realities of their physical situation. Butterfield at the time of the Miami Centennial attempted to establish a record of early members by interviewing early settlers as well as utilizing written records. He estimated that, "...the total number of members, ...was not less than 75, making a total of fully 160." This figure is for 1803 when they received permission to establish a Monthly Meeting.<sup>39</sup>

This meeting became the primary recipient of certificates for southwestern Ohio and experienced rapid growth. Hinshaw states that, "In the first five years Miami Monthly Meeting received about 550 certificates of membership from other Monthly Meetings."<sup>40</sup> Most of these were from southern states with the Carolinas leading with a total of 320. While a few of these families settled outside the study area, most did not. Butterfield notes that by 1807, "...82 men had accepted appointments on committees,..." In 1811 they built a large brick Meeting House in Waynesville, which is still in use, "on the West side of Fourth



street, between High and Miami."<sup>41</sup>

Most of the other Monthly Meetings in the area trace their establishment back to Miami Monthly Meeting or to Meetings set off from it. This lineage will be noted as each individual Meeting is treated and is illustrated in Figure 5.

Fairfield was the first Meeting established in Highland County. It was located next to the village of Leesburg. Meeting for worship started in 1802. It became a Monthly Meeting in 1807. One of the instrumental members in the establishment of this Meeting was Sarah Beals whose husband died when they were moving their family to Ohio. They followed the Pickawillany trail which was mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter. Before her death in 1813 she also assisted in the establishment of Hardin's Creek, Clear Creek and Lee's Creek Meetings.<sup>42</sup> Fairfield Quarterly Meeting was established in 1815. It established thirty Meetings for worship, many of which were set up near navigable streams. When speaking of the establishment of one of these, Terrell states that, "of the four meetings that would supply persons who would become members of Fairview, all of them were located close to streams...The Indian had two roadways of travel--one, the trail through the woods and the other, the waterway in a canoe. The early settlers used the same means of travel."<sup>43</sup>

Springfield Monthly Meeting in Clinton County provides a good example of the process of meeting establishment. The first group of Quaker families settling in this area were the aforementioned four Harvey brothers in 1806. They joined two other families and for a few years the name "Friends of Harvey" was used to denote this settlement.<sup>44</sup> They formed a meeting for worship, held



in a schoolhouse which they had built earlier, in 1809. By 1812 they had erected a small meeting house and received permission to hold a Preparative Meeting. With the addition of other Quaker families in the next five years they decided they needed a Monthly Meeting. "...so our Preparative sent up a request to Center Monthly Meeting,."<sup>45</sup> This was rejected as being premature and so they resubmitted in 1818 with Lytle's Creek as a partner and were accepted.

Newberry Monthly Meeting grew out of worship meetings held in the home of John Wright who settled in Martinsville in 1806. He started holding meetings in his home as early as 1810. This was done under the direction of Clear Creek Monthly Meeting.<sup>46</sup> By 1816 they had grown sufficiently to ask for and receive permission to establish a monthly meeting. Several meetings, responsible to Newberry, were established during the 1820's.

In 1802 a group of Quakers arrived about 12 miles northwest of Dayton on the west branch of the "Miami" River. There they joined John Hoover who had also arrived that year. They started meeting in Caleb Mendenhall's cabin, but by 1804 they had a cabin erected for worship. This early group of settlers came mainly from North Carolina and they, "...composed the early membership of Rocky Springs, Mill Creek and West Branch Quaker Meetings."<sup>47</sup>

The Meeting for worship at West Branch was established in 1805 and in 1807 they became a Monthly Meeting. By 1808 their original structure was too small and they added a new section. In 1818 they erected a brick Meeting House which was built by Isaac Haskett, "...who had built Bush River Meeting house in Newberry, County, South Carolina..."<sup>48</sup> In addition to the large number of



members from North Carolina there were several families from the Bush River meeting.

This Meeting illustrates the magnitude of the migration's impact on southern Meetings. There were 100 removal certificates granted to Bush River Monthly Meeting members between 1803 and 1807. These were all to Ohio, with 39 to Miami in 1805 and 42 to the Miamis in 1806. Eighty six of those were for families.<sup>49</sup>

Quakers living on Fall Creek in Highland County were given permission to hold a Meeting for Worship in 1806. Two years later they helped neighbors establish the Salt Creek Meeting in Ross County. In 1811 they received permission to establish a Monthly Meeting. They were set off from Fairfield Monthly Meeting where they had been associated with Clear Creek Meeting of Clinton County. Clear Creek Monthly Meeting was set-off one year later. Six years later in 1817, they set off Lees Creek Monthly Meeting.<sup>50</sup>

All the Quaker Meetings established in southwestern Ohio prior to 1813 were established by permission of, and attached to, Redstone Quarterly Meeting of Pennsylvania. They were in turn part of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. In 1813 Ohio Yearly Meeting was formed and maintained jurisdiction over all Meetings in Ohio until 1821 when Indiana Yearly Meeting was formed, at which time the western Ohio Meetings were placed under its jurisdiction. Later divisions such as the Hicksite separation of 1827-28 and the Indiana Yearly Meeting separation over abolition, changed this general structure. The nature of the change depended on whether the Meeting in question suffered a division or if it affiliated with one side as a complete Meeting.

The brief histories of the establishment of selected Meetings illustrates





the rapid growth which Quakerism had in southwestern Ohio. The impact which this migration had on the spatial pattern of Quaker Meetings in the United States is shown on Figure 7. The movement away from the eastern shore into the central states is clear. This pattern, of following the general flow of settlers, was not continued as Quakers did not create new zones of influence after the frontier period in the mid-west. A combination of factors were at work which decreased their strength and effectiveness as a group.

Good data does not exist for measuring the dimensions of the migration to Ohio. Records were sparse, not very precise as to numbers or location, and have been poorly protected. However, Figure 6, which has been compiled from the report of the most thorough search available does provide some concept of the numbers of certificates granted.

#### MIAMI AND ASSOCIATED MEETINGS

	1801-10	1811-20	1821-30	1831-40	1841-50	1851-60
Certificates From:						
Georgia	7	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia	42	50	14	1	1	-
N. Carolina	148	54	1	-	-	-
S. Carolina	86	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, 270.

Figure 6.



## QUAKER MEETINGS

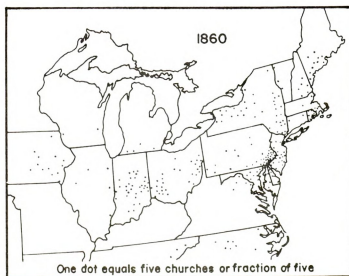
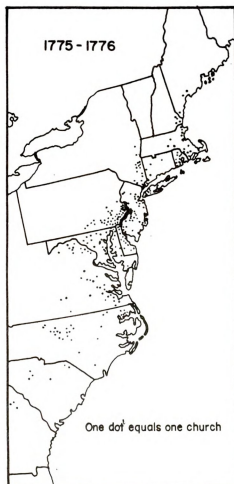


Fig. 7

Source: Paullin, 1932.



The tendency to form communities which was discussed in an earlier chapter is also supported by the accounts of these meetings. Friends and relatives from the same Meetings tended to choose land close to earlier migrants from their old Meeting. Many families came together, often two or three generations in the group. "The removal certificates of Francis Jones and his son Samuel, wife and ten of his eleven children to Miami Monthly Meeting, Ohio was dated in 1805." Another large family was the David and Dorcas Motes and sons Jeremiah and William and their families, a total of twenty-six persons.<sup>51</sup>

Another facet of the Quaker migration, highlighted in the accounts of the establishment of Monthly Meetings, is that Ohio received the largest portion of its Quaker influx in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The following is illustrative of the rapid rate of growth during the early years of the century. "When West Branch Monthly Meeting was established a Meeting for Worship, Preparative and Monthly Meetings called Centre (sic) in Clinton County, Ohio, . . . a Meeting for Worship and a Preparative called Cesar's (sic) Creek in Warren County, Ohio; and a Meeting for Worship and a Preparative called Elk Creek in Preble County, Ohio."<sup>52</sup> Several Quarterly Meetings were likewise busy with the petitions and committee reports concerning new Meetings.

There was a distinct decrease in migrants coming to southwestern Ohio after the 1820's. The data compiled by Weeks illustrates the growing importance of Indiana as a settlement area.<sup>53</sup>



Removal Certificates to New Garden Meeting

	Ohio		Indiana	
	<u>Families</u>	<u>Single Persons</u>	<u>Families</u>	<u>Single Persons</u>
1801-11	37	22	4	1
1812-19	15	5	21	4
1820-26		1	36	16
1827-46			29	19
1847-66			20	15

Source: Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, 263.

Figure 8.

This table illustrates the distribution of certificates granted to New Garden Monthly Meeting in North Carolina. Indiana became increasingly attractive to settlers and many who came into "Miami Country" went on to Indiana.<sup>54</sup>

Another factor contributing to the decrease in growth of Quakerism was the rigid enforcement of social restrictions against marrying out of the faith. Many members who choose spouses from other religious groups were removed from their Meetings.

The strong evangelistic stance of most of the frontier sects also made inroads on the Meetings. This evangelistic influence from the larger society was shown in two ways. The one is external in that, as previously mentioned, Quakers were converted to other groups. The other way was internal in that a degree of evangelicalism came to exist within the Society. Most of it came from new converts to Quakerism. "They brought an increasing emphasis on the





sinfulness of human nature, on future rewards and punishments as a motive of religious faith..."<sup>55</sup> They came in at a time when the Society was undergoing serious internal struggles. "Liberal fears increased when the Society of Friends became the subject of evangelical attacks from outside, but they were even more upset when those attacks began to come from sources inside the Society."<sup>56</sup> One result of this internal tension was the schism of 1827-28, a separation which remained permanent and decreased the effectiveness of the Society. While this was the first separation for Quakers it was a part of the American pattern for religious organizations. As Yinger points out, a combination of competition between religious groups and individual opposition to ecclesiastical authority creates a social environment open to schisms and new group formation.<sup>57</sup> A specific result of this situation in America society was an excessive multiplication of churches. Most of the villages on the frontier were served by so many religious groups that all remained small.<sup>57</sup>

There is no record of a specific "Quaker cultural landscape." Critical ingredients such as a common house type, barn style, or field pattern seemingly were not present even during the study time period. Certainly no remnants exist today which would suggest such a landscape. In this Quakers were more like the various denominations than their fellow sectarians. It seems there are three reasons why they did not develop comparable, identifiable patterns as did the Amish, Hutterites, and Mennonites.

First was the matter of diversity of cultural and ethnic backgrounds. That diversity combined with their high degree of mobility, which has been outlined in



an earlier chapter, restricted the development of unity in cultural phenomena. Also important was their attitude toward the world, while they remained aloof in many ways, they believed the world was capable of being improved. They believed, not in a select, chosen few, but in the brotherhood of all mankind. Quakers were not an isolationist sect even during their most severe withdrawal periods. Their active role in assisting slaves certainly supports this position. When all these are considered it is not surprising that they did not establish a landscape pattern as did most of the sectarian brethren.

This chapter presented the pre-settlement landscape of one general area within the Northwest Territory. The structure and role of the various types of Meetings was outlined as an aid in understanding the settlement of Quakers in nineteenth century Ohio. The history of selected Meetings was sketched to illustrate the linkage which existed within the Society. That linkage provided a communication network between friends and kin which aided their sense of community. It was also an integral part of their social organization. Modifications which followed their migration to a new environment will be discussed in the next chapter.



#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1 This was a map prepared by conducting a detailed study of the local relief of Ohio. The study utilized a grid composed of rectangles of approximately twenty-five square miles. See G. Harold Smith, "The Local Relief of Ohio" Geographical Review, 25 (April, 1935), 272-284.

2 In an earlier geological period the valleys of the Miami and Little Miami were apparently connected by a channel now occupied by too small creeks, Muddy and Dick's. See Edward Orton Geology of Warren County, Report of the Geological Survey of Ohio Volume 3 (Columbus, Ohio: Nevins and Myers, 1878), 381.

3 James K. Rogers, Geology of Highland County, Bulletin 38 (Columbus, Ohio: Geological Survey of Ohio, 1936), 22.

4 Roderick Peattie, Geography of Ohio, Fourth Series, Bulletin 27 (Columbus, Ohio: Geological Survey of Ohio, 1923), 3-5.

5 Edgar Nelson Transeau, "Prehistoric Factors in the Development of the Vegetation of Ohio," Ohio Journal of Science, 41 (May, 1941), 207-211.

6 A good series of articles describing the natural vegetation of Ohio were written by P. B. Sears, "The Natural Vegetation of Ohio, I," Ohio Journal of Science, 25 (1925), 139-149; "The Natural Vegetation of Ohio II," Ohio Journal of Science, 26 (1926), 128-146; and "The Natural Vegetation of Ohio, III," Ohio Journal of Science, 26 (1926), 213-231.

7 See Robert B. Gordon, Natural Vegetation of Ohio in Pioneer Days, Bulletin of the Ohio Biological Survey (New Series) Volume 3, Number 2 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 6, for a discussion of this problem.

8 Bernard C. Peters, "Early Perception of a High Plain in Michigan", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 62 (March, 1972), 57-60.

9 Yi-Fu Tuan, Topophilia (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974) 63-66.

10 Gordon, Natural Vegetation of Ohio in Pioneer Days, 42.



11 Carl O. Sauer, "Homestead and Community on the Middle Border," in Paul Ward English and Robert C. Mayfield (eds.), Man, Space, and Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 15-28 and William T. Utter, The Frontier State, 1803-1825 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1942).

12 Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1869), 100-144.

13 Gordon, Natural Vegetation of Ohio in Pioneer Days, 63.

14 Carl O. Sauer, "A Geographical Sketch of Early Man in America," Geographical Review, 34 (October, 1944), 550-551.

15 T. R. Smith, Our Ohio Soils (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Department of Natural Resources, 1964), 37.

16 John Hussey, Geology of Clinton and Fayette Counties, Geological Survey Report, Volume 3 (Columbus, Ohio: Nevins and Myers, 1878), 432-433.

17 The material on Indian Trails is from a map by W. C. Mills (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio Historical Society) and Frank N. Wilcox, Ohio Indian Trails (Cleveland: The Gates Press, 1933).

18 Emerson F. Greenman, Serpent Mound (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio Historical Society, 1967), 16-17.

19 William Wistar Comfort, The Quaker Way of Life (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1959), 9-10.

20 William Warren Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, 163.

21 They were said to be "weighty friends" and clerks of meetings were occasionally thought to be overly sensitive to their opinion when seeking the "sense of the meeting" on an emotional issue.

22 This is apparently due to the strong support which Fox gave to women who played a leading role in the movement. He frequently encouraged them to participate in all aspects of the work.

23 Quoted in William P. Roberts, The Quakers as Type of The Spirit-Centered Community: A Roman Catholic View, 51.





24 See "The Nature and Variety of Sects" in Stark, The Sociology of Religion, 117-120. As he points out several groups found the practice of paying ministers distasteful. While anti-clericalism has been strong among Quakers, groups such as the Baptist, Church of God and Nazarene also retained vestiges of this attitude until the twentieth century.

25 During their formative years the need for structure was not felt and there was limited organization. When Fox visited the colonies only meetings for worship were regularly held. With their maturation as an established sect they formalized a set of procedures for handling business, such as membership, and a common organization. This was basically a process of systematizing existing meetings. See "Organization" in Russell, The History of Quakerism, 126-139.

26 Material concerning the various meetings follows, Trueblood, "Quaker Organization," in The People Called Quakers, 285-288.

27 London Yearly Meeting included Monthly Meetings from Australia and New Zealand.

28 He suggests they did not consciously copy the Presbyterian model. See Russell, The History of Quakerism, 134-135.

29 Some meetings were unable to arrive at a consensus concerning the slavery issue and the disowning of members for slave ownership for decades. See Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, 203-205.

30 Petersen, German-Russian Catholic Colonization in Western Kansas: a settlement geography.

31 Rechlin, The Utilization of Space by the Nappanee, Indiana Old Order Amish; A minority group study.

32 Trueblood, The People Called Quakers, 247.

33 William E. Smith, "Quakers in Miami Country" (unpublished manuscript, Covington Collection, Miami University, n.d.), 14.

34 Material is quoted in Lucile Hadley and Ruth Hadley, Quaker Historical Collections (Wilmington, Ohio: Ames Print Shop, 1959), 11.

35 Wagner, Environments and Peoples, 81-89.



36 Clarkson Butterworth, "History of Miami Monthly Meeting From 1803 To 1828." (unpublished manuscript, Centennial Anniversary, 1907).

37 Ibid., p. 11.

38 Achilles Pugh, "Early History of Miami Monthly Meeting" (unpublished manuscript, Quaker Collection, Wilmington College, 1863), 2.

39 Butterfield, "History of the Miami Monthly Meeting From 1803 To 1828", 15.

40 William Wade Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy Volume V (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1946), 18.

41 Butterfield, "History of the Miami Monthly Meeting From 1803 To 1828", 19.

42 Terrell C. Clayton, "One Hundred Years of Fairview Friends Meeting" (Unpublished manuscript, 1969), 5.

43 Ibid., 5-6.

44 Hadley, "Early Reminiscences", 15.

45 Ibid., 16.

46 Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, Volume V. 396.

47 History of West Branch Quarterly Meeting (Unpublished manuscript, Quaker Collection, Wilmington College, 1957), 11.

48 Ibid., 12.

49 Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, 267.

50 Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, Volume V, 249.

51 For a thorough treatment of leading families who moved during the early years see Eli Jay, "Prehistoric West Branch" (unpublished manuscript, Centennial Anniversary, 1907), 27-29.

52 Ibid., 6.



53 Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, 263.

54 Russell, The History of Quakerism, 276-277. Among the earliest Friends at Whitewater, which became Richmond, were Friends from meetings in southwestern Ohio.

55 Ibid., 289.

56 Robert Doherty, The Hicksite Separation (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1967), 85.

57 For a concise statement see, "Religious Changes in the United States" in Yinger, The Scientific Study of Religion, 485-488. A much fuller account is presented in Winfred E. Garrison "Social and Cultural Factors in Our Divisions," Ecumenical Review, 5 (October, 1952), 43-51.

58 Typical examples are in J. F. Cady, The Baptist Church in Indiana (Berne, Ind.: Berne Witness Co., 1942), 176-177.



## CHAPTER 5

### QUAKER SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

An understanding of Quaker religious and family life is basic to any understanding of the lifestyle of nineteenth century frontier Quakers. The role each of the above played in the creation of their social environment will be discussed in this chapter. In addition, special cognizance will be made of modifications which occurred during this time period. While it will not be possible to ascertain specific reasons, and causal linkages will not be sought, the degree of change and general factors relating to same will be presented.

The study period was a time of great stress in American history and the Quakers like other religious groups had to make major adjustments. They can be considered as having passed through an acculturation period. As a result of this, they became more like the larger society. They accomplished this without suffering a critical loss of essentials, as their basic cultural beliefs remained intact. Some of the stress which they experienced was not due to the external economic-social factors, the elements of American society which were changing rapidly for everyone; rather it was the result of their religious movement's maturation. These internal aspects will also be identified.





### Church Life

Meetings have been discussed in an earlier chapter as they related to the framework of the movement and they were also used as the format for the settlement morphology. In this section we will look at another aspect of the Meeting. We are here concerned with the role, played by the Meeting, in the social and educational life of Quakers.

Quakers, like many other sects have placed more importance on the religious aspects of life than has the larger society. Much of this is no doubt due to the need to develop an alternative support system to meet the needs of the group that cannot be met by society in general. Sects are not merely subcultures, rather they are contracultures. They hold standards, goals, and ideals, which are not only different but often opposed to those of the larger society. As Yinger has stated, "The values of most subcultures probably conflict in some measure with the larger culture. In a contraculture, however, the conflict element is central, many of the values, indeed, are specifically contradictions of the values of the dominant culture."<sup>1</sup> Sects are by their nature conflict societies and as such it is expected that they would function as, or create, contracultures. The tendency is for the members of sects to place more importance on the role of the "church" than is true of members of denominations who are rarely in conflict situations.

The sense of community provided by their religious structure and lifestyle provided Quakers with many of the advantages which are commonly associated with subsocieties or ethnic groups. As Gordon has stated, there is a psychological



advantage from group self-identification which in the case of the Quakers, was heightened by special clothing styles and speech patterns. There was also a network of institutions and groups of people to which one had access which allowed a satisfactory communication/social net without leaving the group's ranks. Also there was a common view, measured against their common heritage, of the larger society and how one was to respond in terms of acceptable behavior patterns.<sup>2</sup>

If we accept Yinger's definition of a contraculture as applicable, it is important to note that there is a positive cultural element to the term. The definition implies a set of beliefs, a value system and possibly viable alternatives.<sup>3</sup> Most of these alternatives were found by Quakers within their local Meetings. On a larger scale they would be provided by the next higher levels within the organization; the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings.<sup>4</sup>

The local Meeting served as a closely knit social interaction group. It served not only a spiritual role but a social and fellowship role as well. Quakers were expected to develop their family friendships from among the members of their Meetings. Participation in the group activities of the Meeting also provided educational advantages for the younger members. The Meetings, as they existed in the nineteenth century, were concerned with all aspects of the members' life and this concern was reflected in the close-knit communities which developed.

Membership in the Religious Society of Friends resides with the Monthly Meeting. Membership had progressed, by the nineteenth century, from a loosely



structured group associated with a particular Meeting, to the concept of birthright membership. This concept, which changed the nature of the organization from a volunteer group of believers to an association, wrought major changes in the nature of membership.<sup>5</sup> The idea of birthright membership was established during an attempt to ascertain responsibility for specific needy Friends. The new attitude toward membership reflected a changing attitude toward evangelistic activities. Children of members were granted membership even though they failed to exercise it. Anyone not born into a Quaker family, but wishing to acquire membership was required to apply and satisfy the Meeting as to sincerity of purpose. With this growing interest in structure was an increase in the desire for a codification of requirements. This was satisfied by the sets of Discipline which were adopted during the mid-decades of the eighteenth century. Once that step was taken the Quakers were in reality an "established sect" according to Yinger's definition. They had structured their organization, its membership, and possessed a set of rules for governing same.

The various Meetings from which southern Friends moved and which they established in southwestern Ohio were communities of people who attempted to restrict their contact with the world. "Friends regarded themselves as a people apart; their ideal was to be a 'quiet' and 'peculiar' people...living in the world but not of the world."<sup>6</sup>

One aspect of this community spirit and commitment is reflected in their concern for the economic needs of their fellow members. Joseph Pemberton speaking of this custom said, "I remember of my father taking in a poor member, and he



stayed at our house six months." Also when speaking of the sick he stressed that they went to care for them regardless of whether they were relatives.<sup>7</sup> This type of concern led to a form of economic interdependence which aided the development of a Meeting community.

Because the Meeting assumed the responsibility for maintaining the poor they were alert to avert poverty. The Discipline cautioned that business relations were not to be engaged in if one was not able to meet his obligations and that they were not to be used to take advantage of others. They were strongly urged to avoid the possibility of business failure.<sup>8</sup> Their community orientation is clear in the opening statement of the Discipline which encouraged them to meet for worship and "...also for the exercise of a Christian care over each other, for the preservation of all in unity of faith and practice."<sup>9</sup>

Friends on the frontier continued their interest in education. They had always stressed the need for basic education, and their attempts to provide it even for their slaves, had caused strong resentment. Their early concern for education is illustrated by George Fox who advised that schools be built for children of Friends. This was in 1668 only a few years after he had begun to preach. The focus of these schools and also those started later was upon a practical, basic education. London Yearly Meeting advised, as early as 1690, that Monthly Meetings should look to the establishing of schools. This concern seems somewhat at odds with their disapproval of professional clergy or of special education for lay-clergy. There was also a strong distrust of certain types of education among the early Quaker leaders. They were opposed to musical training and to the





writing and reading of fiction and did not encourage artistic endeavors. They did encourage the study of history and the natural sciences.

Education of their children was the concern of every Monthly Meeting. Most of the pioneer Meetings established elementary schools soon after the Meetings were established. Opal Thornburg, after studying the cultural resources of the Quaker pioneers, has stated that, "The level of education in any of the early Quaker communities was well above the average." They were concerned with providing a "guarded education" for all the children as well as some advanced or post-elementary education.<sup>10</sup> The style of school had to be adjusted to the agrarian nature of the community. One modification was that the younger children attended school in the summer while the older children worked at home and in the fields and they then attended school during the fall and winter while the younger children remained at home. Another modification was the abbreviated sessions which allowed for farm work. The school sessions thus reflected the natural seasons. In the early years of settlement many of the Meeting Houses were used for schools. In a speech at the centennial of West Branch it was recalled that their school was held "for several years" in the Meeting House.<sup>11</sup> This willingness to utilize the Meeting House for what many would consider a secular use, did not pose a conflict for Quakers. Their belief that the church was the people and not a building resolved what was for many sects and churches a serious dilemma.

The operating of schools not only served the function of proving practical knowledge for their children, it also inculcated a sense of belonging to a specific



community. The attitude toward teachers was quite different from that commonly held on the frontier. Quakers with their strong traditional respect for education placed a high social value on the position of teacher. As Miyakawa has noted, "...the Society regarded the profession as honorable and the search for and the development of dedicated teachers was a major Quaker interest."<sup>12</sup> This respect for the teacher and the benefit of education combined with their respect for the rights of others created frontier schools which were not only of higher quality but of markedly different style. "As a result of close supervision and the home training of Friends' children, the moral standard of these schools was very high and they were largely freed from the roughness and rowdiness which brought many a school-master in the early half of the nineteenth century to grief and failure."<sup>13</sup>

In keeping with their views regarding equality between the sexes, Quakers not only sent their children to school, they frequently operated the schools as coeducational ventures. This was not common in the nineteenth century and was considered folly by many residents of the frontier. Boone, in his study of education in Indiana recounts the objection of parents to the teaching of arithmetic to their daughters.<sup>14</sup> Girls, if they were taught at all, were not supposed to be taught subjects irrelevant to homemaking.

Most of the communities maintained, under the direction and supervision of the Monthly Meeting, a subscription school. The common method of operation was for the teacher to set forth the subjects he was able to teach and the amount of tuition expected per pupil. Tuition for the children of members unable to pay was the concern of the local Meeting. Tuition was often paid in "goods" or



produce rather than money.

Of necessity there was only limited continuity and systematic structure in such schooling. The periods of instruction were short and reflected the economic activities of the families. There were few books and limited material for the pupils use but they did provide a basic education for most of the Quaker children. The Indiana Yearly Meeting report of 1840 concerning education within the meeting reported that, "of the seven thousand six hundred and fifty-one children of school age...only three hundred and nineteen, or about one in twenty-four were not in school."<sup>15</sup>

The concept of local control of education and the necessity of providing for it in every community was one of the positive aspects of the Meeting.

#### Enforcement of Rules

A religious society which stresses the equality of members, the individualistic aspect of religious worship and growth, and also develops an ordered administrative structure, is obviously concerned with enforcement of behavior. The methods of enforcing desired group behavior will be considered in this section.

Quakers relied on social pressure exerted by the various members of the local Meeting to obtain desired behavior. They did not utilize the country's legal structure except as a last resort. Their practice was one of "reasoning." The Minutes are filled with the appointment of committees to go and speak with members and attempt to dissuade them. If such action failed the committee



reported their failure and it was usually the decision of the Meeting to disown the wayward member.

The Yearly Meetings made decisions concerning the basic "issues" of where new Meetings might be held, who would be permitted to travel and preach with the Meeting's approval, and what the Society's position should be on basic issues such as slavery and military service. The Monthly and Quarterly Meetings enforced regulations concerning personal behavior and approval of Preparatory and Indulged Meetings. In all these, the same general methods were employed. Errant members were reasoned with and wayward Meetings received delegations to "explain" the Minutes. While theirs was a very structured administrative system it was also a completely democratic one. At the local level every member was able to speak concerning his concept of the issue. While the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings did have delegates, any member in good standing could attend.

Obviously the strongest control instrument the Quakers had was "disowning." Compared to sects who practice a communal lifestyle this was not a very serious threat. In some sects, such as the Hutterites or Amish, being excommunicated from the church carries a much higher social cost.<sup>16</sup> The Quaker communities did not possess the degree of isolation necessary to make operable the techniques, such as "shunning," which worked for groups having stronger communal patterns. Apparently the personal reasoning with members was, with the exception of slave-ownership and marrying non-Friends, an effective technique. The desire to belong to the community possessed by

between



members of religious groups is the strongest factor in their ability to maintain the desired behavior patterns. However, when faced with serious crises their failure to develop institutional techniques for enforcing the Society's regulations was to prove costly. This will be treated in the section on "Modification of the Social Organization."

### Family Life

The nineteenth century frontier Quaker family complemented the church in creating and maintaining a socio-cultural solidarity. The roots for their family style are those possessed by many rural, agrarian people but their particular concept of uniqueness and community set them apart from most other frontier families.

All societies expect the family to provide leadership in the socialization of children, the new members of the society. The degree to which this socialization is left to the family varies from society to society and within the various sub-groups in large complex societies.<sup>17</sup>

Sects tend to expect their families to play more of a socialization role. They are less willing to allow outside institutions, other than the church, to aid their children in learning the society's culture. They are quite restrictive in their structure of relationships with institutions other than their own church and family group. Whereas the common desire is for children to be easily assimilated into the society, sectarians desire to remain aloof from what they perceive as an evil or unacceptable world. Stark sees as one of the basic concepts of all



sectarianism, "...the negative attitude to the out-group, the positive estimation of the in-group."<sup>18</sup> This attitude tended to increase the importance of the family beyond the level required by their isolated physical situation.

Traditionally the families were large, this being both an aspect of their agrarian heritage and the inability to easily control family size. There was no particular Quaker-sized family, they, like other rural families desired numerous children. Children were economically useful while young, and after maturation there was a sufficient amount of land remaining to be cleared so they could establish their own family farm. The Butterworth family of Warren County provide a good example of this in that, "...he purchased an additional 500 acres at the mouth of the Obannon, and also a tract in Qayne township, and thus was able to leave a large farm to each of the ten children who survived out of the thirteen born to him and his wife."<sup>19</sup>

The father functioned as head of the family and was also responsible for managing the family as an economic unit. Boys were expected to remain on the farm and assist with its operation until they were married or in a few cases left to attend boarding school.<sup>20</sup> The family was an economic unit as well as a social unit, and due to the extreme isolation there was a keen interest in self-sufficiency. Families prided themselves on producing all the family's needs, both clothing and food. This semi-subsistence farming was necessary due to the limited transportation facilities and shortage of labor necessary for clearing and working the land. They planted a mixed variety of crops featuring corn, wheat, oats, and potatoes. Most families also raised several animals, particularly



sheep, cows and hogs. The former were needed for the wool they produced which was used in the production of clothing.<sup>21</sup> Quakers usually did not produce the one exportable commodity, whiskey, which would bear the transportation cost. Thus in the early years they often had no exportable commodity. Even after farm exports were possible, the goal of the family was to be as self-sufficient as possible.

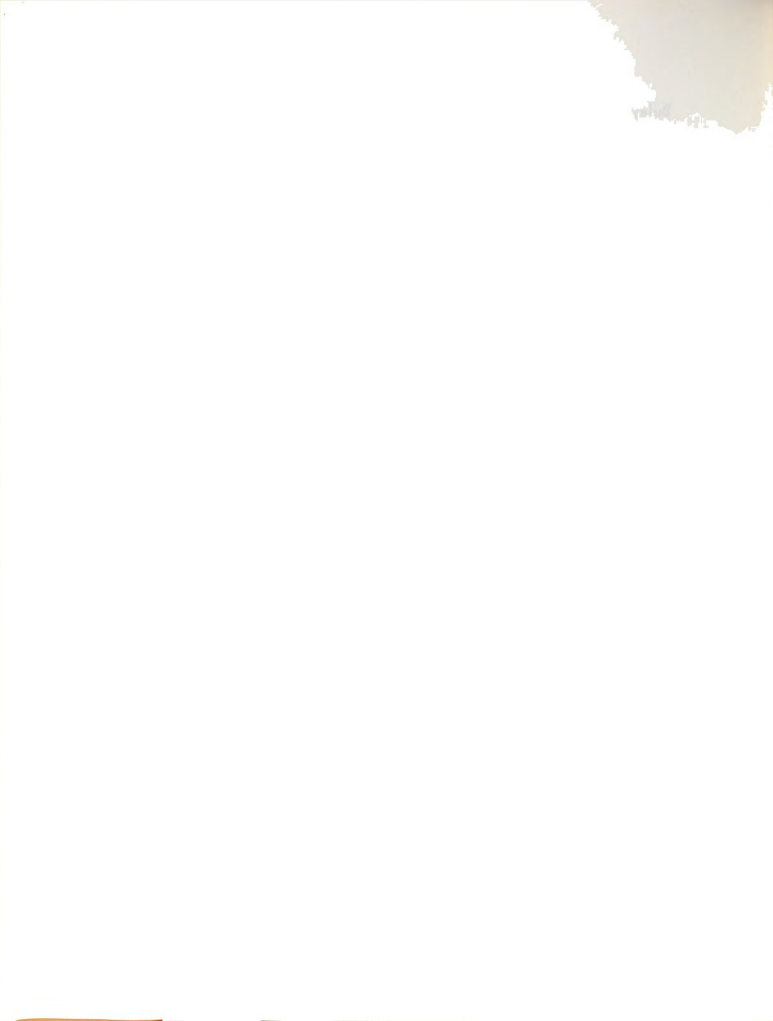
This orientation of the family toward a model of a functioning self-sufficient economic unit provided incentives for cooperative behavior. This was an example of family actions complementing religious goals. The expected cooperative behavior was exemplified in certain community social phenomena. Perhaps the most common of these was the "house raising" or "barn raising" which few pioneers refused to participate in. The environment which the Quaker pioneers found themselves in was physically rough, and socially disorganized. In contrast, their world within their communities and Meetings was orderly. "Through its meeting each Quaker community maintained regular and close contact with other Quaker communities within the Quarterly Meeting and the Yearly Meeting."<sup>22</sup> Their organizational structure combined with this regular communication network gave them a much better world view than was possessed by the average pioneer. This communication network which pioneer Quakers were tied into was not restricted to their region or even to America. Following Wagner's reasoning that, "Communication makes all mankind one and every man unique.," and that everyone both is modified by and modifies the communication system in which he functions, the importance of this system is clear.<sup>23</sup> Carlyle



Buley has suggested that the general level of education was higher than the popular accounts have suggested. He states that, "...the pioneers knowledge of geography, history, economics, and mathematics was no more hazy than that of the average citizen of today."<sup>24</sup> This is conjecture on his part as it is impossible to find material which would permit a strict comparative study between the two time periods. However, his general contention that the educational level of the pioneer was not as low as was commonly believed, seems substantiated by his research.

The position of women in the pioneer Quaker family was complex. While the general family pattern was a patriarchal one, with the father heading an agrarian economic unit, the special freedom accorded women in the Society did create some variations. The clearest example of this was the role played by women ministers. Women had been ministers from the earliest years of the movement's existence and the Quakers had often been forced to defend their position on women ministers.<sup>25</sup> Their position was supported by their belief that the ministry was a holy calling and thus open to all persons. If the ministry had been conceived of as a trade then it would follow that specific restrictions might be enacted, but so long as it was viewed as a "condition", which was not of man's making, they felt women were fully eligible.<sup>26</sup>

Many outstanding women ministers made their mark on the Movement. While the majority of the women never ventured far from the traditional pattern, there was always the possibility of doing so. In a time when women were almost totally restricted to the home, activity such as the travels of Sarah Harrison was





considered shocking by the larger society. "In 1792 she went overseas on an extensive religious mission which lasted to the end of the century..."<sup>27</sup> This eight year ministerial trip was not her first journey away from her family though it was the longest. For those content to stay at home there were many opportunities within the various Meetings to not only worship but to assume positions of leadership. This was decidedly not the case for other religious groups on the frontier during the nineteenth century.

Social class is a complex issue in Quaker studies. Certain families did possess more material wealth than others and some followed more prestigious vocations, but their strong belief in equality mitigated against the development of a class structure. This is, in part, a function of all sects as they rarely develop social classes.

Quakers like most other sects, originally attracted most of their members from the socially and economically disadvantaged of society. Cole found that, "...the early Friends were mainly drawn from the urban and rural petite bourgeoisie." While a few were attracted from the middle class, and a very few from the elite, the majority were originally from the hard pressed trades and crafts. By the time period of this study they were heavily rural oriented. Those not practicing farming were usually engaged in supportive trades such as tanning, milling, and transportation.

A show of wealth was not acceptable to Quakers and most of the characteristics of socially oriented people would have been considered worldly and not proper for "plain" people. They were agrarian, conservative people

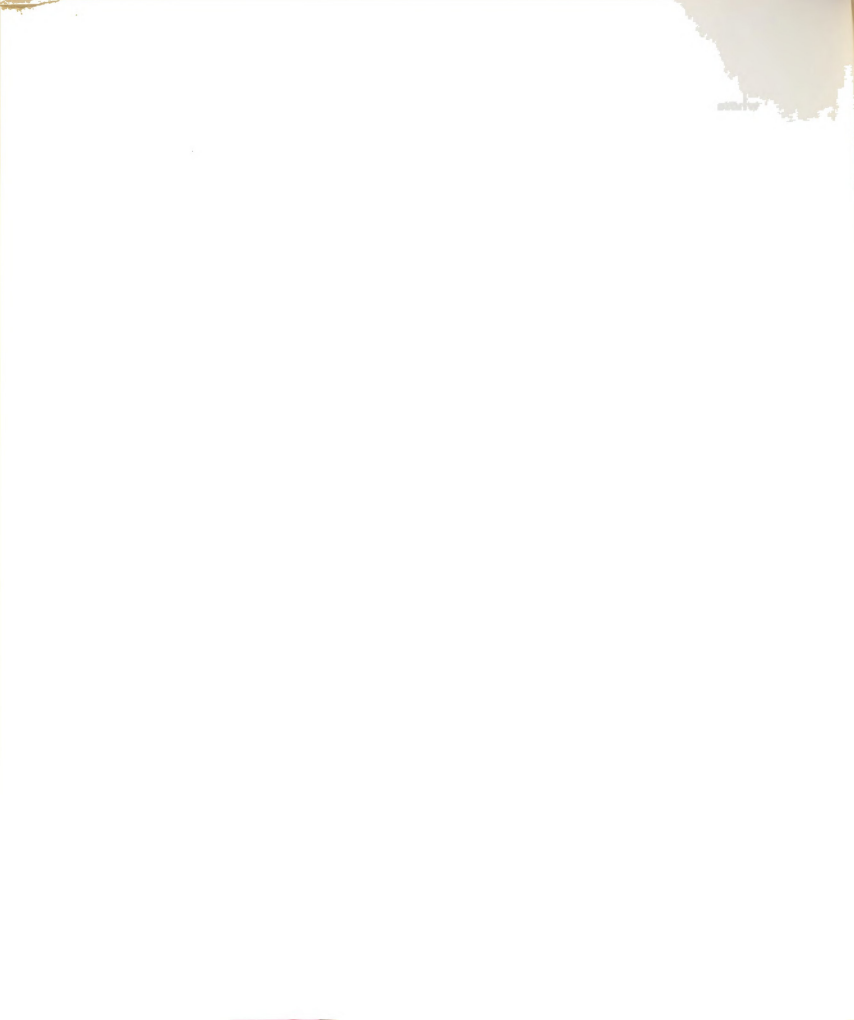


whose religious belief stressed equality, hence an outward manifestation of wealth was simply not considered.

Failure to seek social distinction in the larger society does not mean that some families were not held in more esteem within the group. Every Meeting had some members considered more productive than others. As contradictory as it may now seem, the utilization of the "facing" benches and the prestige accorded those asked to sit there, which was an obvious form of social distinction, was not viewed as such. While Quaker teachings stressed that all members of the Meeting had equal opportunity to receive "openings" and minister to the Meeting, in actuality some obviously did so more successfully than others. They were accorded a privileged position for being so judged.

For the Quakers of our study period, marriage was as much a part of their religion as it was a family event. Many of the marriage characteristics were traditions, some of which apparently had been established during the formative years of the Society. Others were necessitated by their religious beliefs. One example was the ban on a professional clergy which led to a marriage ceremony where the participants married themselves before the members of the Meeting.

The local Meeting for Worship played a key role in marriages. Prior to marriage, both parties had to seek and receive the approval of the Meetings which provided the group a control over marriage. During the time period studied, Quakers became very rigid on the issue of marrying out of the faith. While this was an old requirement, their failure to modify it in keeping with the realities of the frontier was very costly. "To 'marry out' became a serious



offence, especially if the parties were married by a hireling minister' and not in meeting."<sup>29</sup> This attitude failed to take the restricted world of the frontier into account. Jones found that one Monthly Meeting, in an eighteen year period disowned one hundred and four persons for marrying a non-Friend. As he states, "Few religious bodies could long live and flourish with such a radical surgical method of dealing with its membership."<sup>30</sup>

Marriage, if conducted according to the Society's restrictions, reinforced the family and community ties. It added to the sense of community which sectarian groups and movements try to develop. The pressure which the new social environment of the frontier placed on the institution of marriage did not cause them to modify their pattern. That was not so true of other aspects of their religion.

#### Modification of the Social Organization

The frontier was a scene of great cultural diversity as the immigrants came from various sections of the United States and Europe. They came for a variety of reasons and few were content to stay in the first place they settled. The continually increasing opportunities for westward movement encouraged the development of a mobile, impermanent situation. As Wagner said, "...the livelihood patterns that involve mobility portend cultural dissemination." further, "The continuing apartness of the peoples concerned, culturally and otherwise, does not vitiate their influence on neighbors."<sup>31</sup> During the study period there were major changes wrought in the cultural



life of the Quakers which not only changed some aspects of the Movement but also weakened it through schisms. These responses were due to ideas from the larger society. Sects utilizing a withdrawal or isolation mechanism were not faced with this problem as they rejected all thinking of the outside world and usually attempted to restrict information concerning same.<sup>32</sup> The two response-change phenomena which will be considered in this study are: 1) response to revivalism and changed worship style, and 2) the abolition-slavery issue. These two are used to illustrate the socio-cultural modification processes at work among the Quakers on the Northwest frontier in the nineteenth century.

The format for Quaker Meeting for worship was a gathering of the members in a silent communal seeking after the spirit. There was no prepared "program" of music, scripture, or sermon. Speakers, if any, were understood to be directed by the spirit and were ideally considered not so much "speaking about" but "spoken through." The contrast between this introspective form of worship and the rampant emotionalism of the revival was extreme.

The phenomena of revivalism was common during the nineteenth century "A wave of religious enthusiasm also swept across early nineteenth century America. Revival after revival stirred souls and emotions of the 'sinful multitude'."<sup>33</sup> This stirring was particularly strong on the frontier which lacked strong centers of orthodoxy. Chaddox, speaking of this in relation to southern Ohio said that, "The revival epidemic and emotionalism ran riot..."<sup>34</sup> Large campmeetings were held which lasted several days with attendance





running into the thousands. New sects and splinter groups from established churches and sects were organized in great numbers.

The impact of this revival phenomena not only led to the creation of a great number of different and usually competing sects in the small frontier villages but also to a more evangelical orientation by the traditional religious groups. Quakers were influenced in both cases. In the former they simply lost members which was partially associated with disowning for "marrying-out." In the latter case they became more inclined toward an evangelistic orientation and ultimately a programmed service. As Jones phrased it, "There was coming to be in all the Yearly Meetings in America a large number of Friends who were evangelical in spirit, ..." <sup>35</sup>

This acculturation process was not unique to Quakers as far larger and older religious institutions went through a similar process. Herburg has studied the modifications which various religious groups have made to American society. These reflect the pervasive social forces of American life. An institution as substantial as the Roman Catholic church has made many modifications which suggest a substantial amount of acculturation. <sup>36</sup>

As we have outlined in this study, nineteenth century Quakerism represented, particularly on the rural frontier, a close-knit community. Family and religious bonds were critical to such a social environment and it was impossible to change one factor without influencing the whole. The details of the internal theological and doctrinal changes which Quakers went through during this period are not germane to our study. What is critical is an



understanding of the interconnectedness of these changes. The "Hicksite Separation" and the development of "Evangelical Friends" is intimately connected with a social environment conducive to religious controversy and change. Complicating the aforementioned pressures, Quakers "...had certain internal weaknesses which pushed them toward schism, ..." <sup>37</sup> Perhaps most critical was their limited institutional means for resolving conflicts. Their emphasis on equality concerning leadership roles within the movement, failure to accept or develop professional leadership, retention of only lay ministers, orientation toward mysticism, all combined, when placed in a rapidly changing world, to make them vulnerable to societal pressures. <sup>38</sup>

The Society's position on slavery had basically been established by the start of the nineteenth century. In some cases differences of opinion had been solved by the radical surgery of disowning members unwilling to sell their slaves. However, a question which raised far greater problems on the frontier concerned the role which Quakers should take in relation to the various abolition societies. Prior to the internal dissention which has been outlined in an earlier portion of this section, Quakers had maintained a fairly unified position on slavery. Their's was a testimony against slavery but, a peaceable one. After the separation of 1827 the old form of unity was gone and the possibility of using division to settle differences of opinion was clearcut. The lack of an ultimate authority to decide on questions facing the Society led to much discussion. "The 1830's witnessed the rise of the new and militant American Anti-Slavery Society," and the Quakers were not able to maintain a unified



position as to abolition.<sup>39</sup> With all the diversity which existed both from turmoil in the American society and from theological quarrels within Quakerism, they did maintain unity against the institution of slavery.

Portions of the Society wanted to move Quakers as a group into the struggle against abolition while others held for maintaining their traditional "quietest" position. Their problem was in arriving at a decision concerning the proper method by which slavery could be eliminated. Structural weaknesses which were discussed earlier in relation to schism within the Society also compounded this problem. Conservative Quakers supported the idea of colonization while more radical members saw that scheme as merely a means of removing freed slaves. Colonization was viewed by radical Quakers as an anti-slavery and anti-Negro concept.<sup>40</sup> Conservative Quakers most feared the compromise of other religious testimonies. A series of articles appeared in the Friend, starting in 1835, which stated the concerns which most conservative Quakers felt. They urged a continuation of anti-slavery work but warned against joining other organizations to engage in such activity.<sup>41</sup> The history of Quaker activity regarding slavery was published in 1843 by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) to explain the Society's development of a peaceful testimony against slavery.<sup>42</sup>

This tension created an important division in the Indiana Yearly Meeting to which the Meetings in this area belonged. In 1843-43 there was a separation with much bitterness and ill-feeling. Those members purged for their radical anti-slavery convictions formed the Indiana Yearly Meeting of



Anti-Slavery Friends, and several Quarterly and Monthly Meetings joined with them. No other Yearly Meeting supported them even though they issued various petitions and statements concerning their position.<sup>44</sup>

Other smaller separations and rebellions followed the Indiana move but these were usually the action of individual groups or members of Hicksite Meetings. The majority of those withdrawing from Indiana Yearly Meeting had returned by 1857 when the separated Yearly Meeting closed.<sup>45</sup> Ironically, the Quakers who had been the first group to achieve unity concerning slavery and who had been the first group to take a unified stand against it, had by the close of our study period been passed by the larger society. They were now occupying a conservative position even though it was basically the same one deemed radical a century before.

### Summary

This chapter dealt with the process of modification and adaptation resulting from migration and new environmental conditions, with a focus on specific social elements. These elements, namely family and church life, were treated in this thesis because they were considered critical to the Quaker sense of community. Both family and church life served to reinforce Quaker feelings of unity and commonality and as is the case with other sects, helped satisfy certain social needs which were not fulfilled in the larger society. The changes which occurred in family and church behavior patterns resulted in modifications to the common Quaker lifestyle. Most apparent, of these





modifications, was their inability to achieve a unified stand on: 1) how slavery was to be confronted, emancipation or colonization; 2) competition with new evangelical sects; 3) form of worship, utilizing paid clergy.

The cultural landscape is often studied to provide insight into cultural modifications which occur as a result of migration. Most groups make an effort to recreate at least a portion of their former cultural landscape. This often entails the continuation of particular architectural styles, patterns of land use or agricultural practices. The study of the cultural landscape is perhaps the most common feature in geographic studies concerned with migration and acculturation of religious groups. As was stated earlier, Quakers did not create a visible cultural landscape as did other religious sects. Their failure to do so is apparently the result of a set of related factors.

The multiplicity of Quaker backgrounds apparently was an important element in their failure to develop a common set of physical, cultural attributes. Other religious sects, Amish and Doukhobors for example, had long histories of shared lifestyles. Their composition was very homogeneous, the Quakers in contrast were quite heterogeneous. Quakers were also much closer to their charismatic formation period and had not become closed as regards new members. Their high degree of diversity decreased the possibilities of a unique landscape pattern.

Closely related was the high degree of mobility which characterized Quaker history prior to the nineteenth century. Quakers were not identified with one particular country or area. Topophilia, that affective bond between



person and place, requires time to develop and mature.<sup>46</sup> Most Quaker groups did not experience the long term occupancy needed to identify cultural features with place. The copying of certain familiar building styles, field patterns, etc., even when these are not ideally suited to a new environment, illustrates attempts to recapture a sense of topophilia. Groups who engage in such activities have normally occupied specific areas for long periods of time during which they have developed a high level of homogeneity of lifestyle. They are utilizing old familiar models, at least in part, to cope with stress induced by their having moved to a new environment.

Perception, was the third factor ascertained as having some bearing on the issue of a visible cultural landscape. Quakers held a very particular set of beliefs concerning the larger society. They believed it was one of their responsibilities to be concerned about the ills of the society in which they lived and to not condemn and withdraw, but to actively seek positive change. The effect of this belief on their position concerning slavery has already been discussed.

In relation to the issue of cultural identity and the development of a closed society, this attitude precluded Quakers developing any isolationist, rural communal pattern for their members. There was not a closed society where shared traditions were perpetuated and where a highly homogeneous cultural pattern developed and was cherished while the larger society was closed out.

Missionary activity, which was engaged in partially in response to this world view perception also negated the development of a stable isolated religious



group. Such activity also served to encourage group movement which has been discussed above.

Quakers maintained their sense of community by emphasizing the Meeting as a focal point for their life. Heavy stress was also placed on the family and the role which it played in religious affairs. Their communities underwent a great deal of stress on the frontier in the nineteenth century. Thus, the emphasis on the aforementioned social factors rather than cultural landscape features was due to the nature of the group in question and the type of response which they made to their new environment. The Quaker sense of community was formulated around ideological commitments rather than on a shared ethnic lifestyle emphasizing material items.



## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1 J. Milton Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture" American Sociological Review 25 (October, 1960), 629.

2 See Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 38. He presents a thorough evaluation of the role played by ethnic subsocieties. Notwithstanding some rather obvious differences in structure and size, most of the characteristics he has outlined apply to the Quakers as they existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

3 These alternatives may be a purely emotional response to some prevalent custom of the society of which the group disapproves. The response then becomes a value and may be retained long after the initial custom has passed from the scene. Stark discusses this in relation to grooming and hair length. See Stark, The Sociology of Religion Volume II, 141.

4 The decision to reject slave-holding is one example. While individual Monthly Meetings could and did agree on and petition for the disownment of members who owned slaves, it was the Yearly Meetings that made the definitive statement for the group.

5 Russell, The History of Quakerism, 215-216.

6 Ibid., 225.

7 Joseph Pemberton, "Historical Reminiscences of West Branch" in Centennial Anniversary of West Branch Monthly Meeting (1907), 38.

8 T. Scott Miyakawa, Protestants and Pioneers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 60.

9 Ibid., 73. This material, quoted in Miyakawa was found in similar form in most of the Disciplines used in the nineteenth century.

10 Opal Thornburg, "Cultural Resources of Quaker Pioneers in Ohio," Bulletin of Friends Historical Association 44 (1955), 94-99.





11 Arena Kersey, "First Fifty Years of West Branch" (unpublished manuscript, Centennial Anniversary, 1907), 59.

12 Miyakawa, Protestants and Pioneers, 117.

13 Harlow Lindley, "The Quakers in the Old Northwest," Proceedings of Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 5 (1911-1912), 60-72.

14 Richard Gause Boone, A History of Education in Indiana (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1892), 69.

15 Lindley, "The Quakers in the Old Northwest," 12-13.

16 Good examples of this feature are provided in Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life, 157-159 and Rechlin, The Utilization of Space by the Nappanee, Indiana Old Order Amish, 36-37.

17 Gerald R. Leslie, The Family in Social Context (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 9-10.

18 Stark, The Sociology of Religion, Volume II, 112.

19 Willard Wright, "The Story of Warren County" in Charlotte Reeve Conover, ed., Memoirs of the Miami Valley (Chicago: Robert O. Law Co., 1919), 324.

20 Utter, The Frontier State, 1803-1825, Volume II, 171.

21 Ibid., 151-154 and 164-165.

22 Thornburg, "Cultural Resources of Quaker Pioneers in Ohio," 97.

23 Wagner, Environments and Peoples, 99.

24 Carlyle R. Buley, The Old Northwest, Pioneer Period 1815-1840 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1950), 328.

25 Brinton, Friends For 300 Years, 90.

26 Trueblood, The People Called Quakers, 31.

27 Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, Volume II, 216.

28 Alan Cole, "The Social Origins of the Early Friends" Journal of the Friends Historical Society 48 (Spring) 1957, 117.



29 Anscombe, I Have Called You Friends, 72.

30 Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, Volume II, 396.

31 Wagner, Environments and Peoples, 87.

32 See the discussion of this regarding Hutterites, in Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life, 162-164.

33 Doherty, The Hicksite Separation, 24.

34 Chaddox, Ohio Before 1850, 304.

35 Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, Volume I, 459.

36 Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955), 168-170.

37 Doherty, The Hicksite Separation, 25.

38 As Doherty notes the societal changes of the nineteenth century caused splits in several other religious bodies, particularly those most active on the frontier. Methodist and Baptist churches both suffered schism during this time period. See Ibid., 23.

39 Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, 133.

40 Walter Edgerton, History of the Anti-Slavery Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting (Cincinnati: A. Pugh, 1856), 34-36.

41 Friend (Philadelphia, 1835), 258 and continued.

42 Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, 152.

43 See Seth E. Furnas, Sr., A History of Indiana Yearly Meeting (Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1968), 43-35.

44 For a complete treatment of this see Edgerton, History of the Anti-Slavery Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting.

45 Ibid., 46.



## CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Quakers, as a religious body, have been very mobile, their history being replete with migrations, colonization efforts, and changing centers of concentration. This mobility was partially the result of the beliefs and attitudes of early Quaker leaders concerning the need for mission work.<sup>1</sup> An active concern for correcting social ills, combined with their belief that a sincere christian must confront these "wrongs" personally also encouraged mobility during their formative years.<sup>2</sup>

Migration from England to the New England Colonies, New Jersey and Pennsylvania was followed by expansion into the southeast. That area proved less than fully acceptable and for reasons already discussed, many then migrated to the Northwest Territory. Quakerism, while not completely eliminated in the southeast was severely restricted. The move to, and subsequent settlement in southwestern Ohio was described in an attempt to place the Quakers within the general frontier movement in American history. An understanding of their role within, and interaction with, that larger movement will facilitate the comprehension of the complex areal patterns and cultural regions in America.

Migration was an important theme throughout this study, both as to the general movement of people through space, and as a behavioralistic response mechanism to accomodate stress. An important part of the stress they were under was due to their ideology. Quakers living in the south were encouraged to accept



the beliefs of the Society concerning slavery. Their adoption of this position created a tense social situation which they attempted to resolve by migration. Quaker ideology concerning the equality of man also influenced their choice of a resettlement area.

Community, or the idea of community was an important ingredient in ascertaining how Quaker "spread" and how they interacted with other people and various religious groups.<sup>3</sup> The nineteenth century, particularly on the frontier, was a time of rapid change, economically, socially, and politically. It was a time of sectarian growth and competitive interaction. Quakers were not able to function as effectively in this setting as they had in earlier periods in American history.

The idea of community consensus which Quakers had previously found beneficial was not a completely positive feature in the turbulent frontier scene. Unable to withdraw into an isolationist sectarian position because of their ideology, they were also poorly equipped to adjust to the new social and cultural pressures. Growing internal stresses, some of which were indigenous to all sects, further strained the Movement's solidarity. The scisms which developed during the nineteenth century further weakened the Religious Society of Friends.

The first hypothesis concerning community and reason for migration was clearly true. They, like other religious groups constituted a community set apart from the larger society. They exhibited several common characteristics, however, as a unifying feature their commitment to the idea of a brotherhood of all mankind was far more important than external symbols such as a special mode of dress or speech. Even with their strong orientation to community consensus they were





unable to avoid the divisiveness which plagued most sects.

Quaker belief that slavery was wrong, both for themselves as a religious body and for the country, led them to question the acceptability of living in a slave society. They perceived that merely living in such a society provided it with support and tacitly approved its basic tenants. A growing awareness of the basic conflict was followed by a commitment to migrate and further to choose an area where slavery was illegal. In the main they rejected close areas which already had some Quaker settlement, a strong motivating factor for choice of resettlement, and migrated to "free" areas. While many factors may have influenced the decision to emigrate all seem to be secondary to, or extend from the basic cause, slavery.

The second hypothesis has two closely related parts. The former is obviously true as no references to such a landscape or the common features associated with such landscapes were found. Certainly no remnants remain today. Why Quakers reacted differently than did other religious groups, such as Mormons, Hutterites, and Amish was partially the result of their conception of an acceptable mode of living. Their inability, due to their concept of societal role, to withdraw and form an isolationist religious community was outlined. A basic concept held by all Quakers was that society was wrong on certain issues and that they must, both as a corporate body and as individuals, be concerned with changing society. However, in addition to the above factors, the importance of cultural heritage must be considered. Most groups which established identifiable landscapes on the frontier brought the key elements with them as part of their cultural baggage.<sup>4</sup> The Quakers



had no ikonography, thus the latter part concerning perception was considered to be only partially true.

The last hypothesis must also be considered as only partially accurate.

Many of their cultural traditions were challenged on the frontier, and the modifications which they made within their family and religious life were extensive. Their sect, which played an important role in the development of the "middle border" lifestyle, was in turn much altered by its new environment. However, not all the changes were the result of pressure from the larger society. Some were due to internal problems which were the result of the nature of their sect.<sup>5</sup> Others were created by the maturation process common to all religious groups.<sup>6</sup>

What has been attempted in this thesis is an illumination of a small segment of a broad scene. The underlying hypothesis was that Quakers who migrated to the frontier during the nineteenth century, while moving with the general populace, did so for a different reason. It follows that a clear understanding of their migration and subsequent adaptations would assist in comprehending an important period in American History. This paper has not attempted to achieve a definitive statement on either Quaker migration or the social geography of the frontier. What it did provide was some information and insight concerning a portion of the historical geography of one religious group.<sup>7</sup> Hopefully, it will,

- 1) be of some aid to future students in their attempts to either understand the complexity of the frontier or the role played by migration in relation to religious sects who attempt to maintain a sense of community in a transforming society, and
- 2) encourage others to engage in research on the geography of religion.



## FOOTNOTES TO CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

1 Russell, The History of Quakerism, 37. and Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism, second edition, p. 413-417.

2 Rufus M. Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies, 71, 74-76, 79.

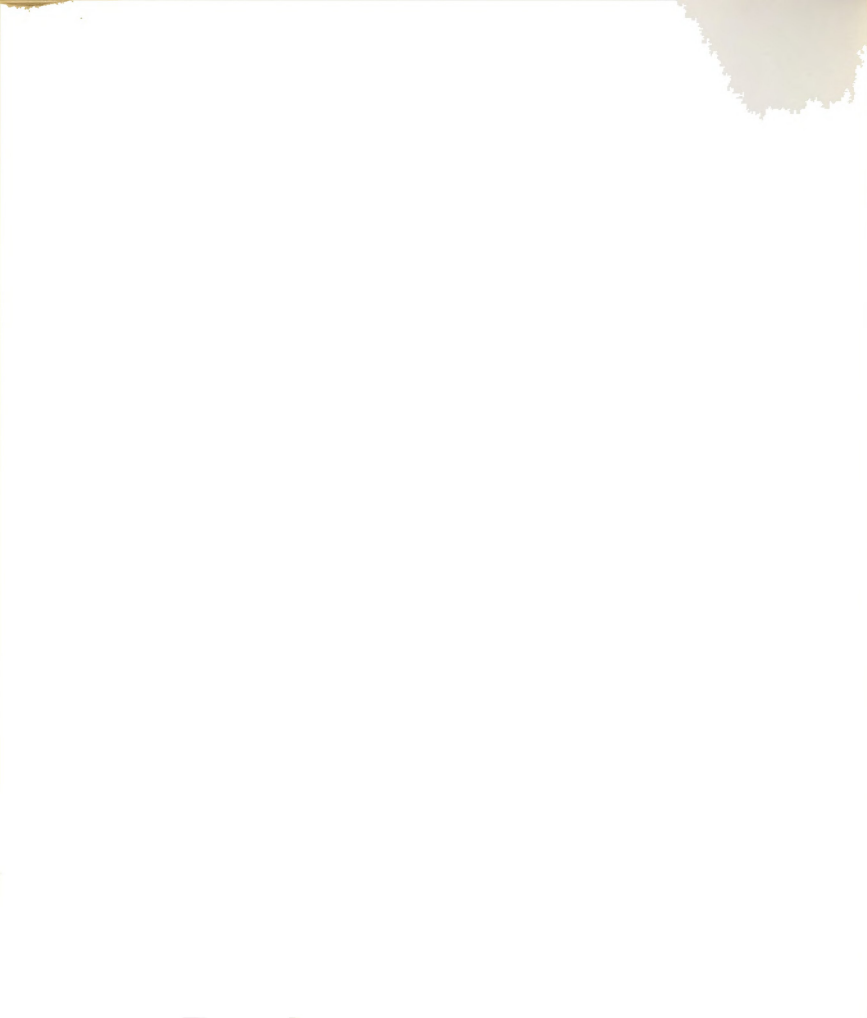
3 Wagner, Environments and Peoples, 53.

4 The major exception being the Mormons.

5 Doherty, The Hicksite Separation, 22.

6 The Old Believers are a good example of the splitting of sects. This action seems inherent from their beginning. See John Shelton Curtiss, Church and State in Russia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 321-322.

7 Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," 167.



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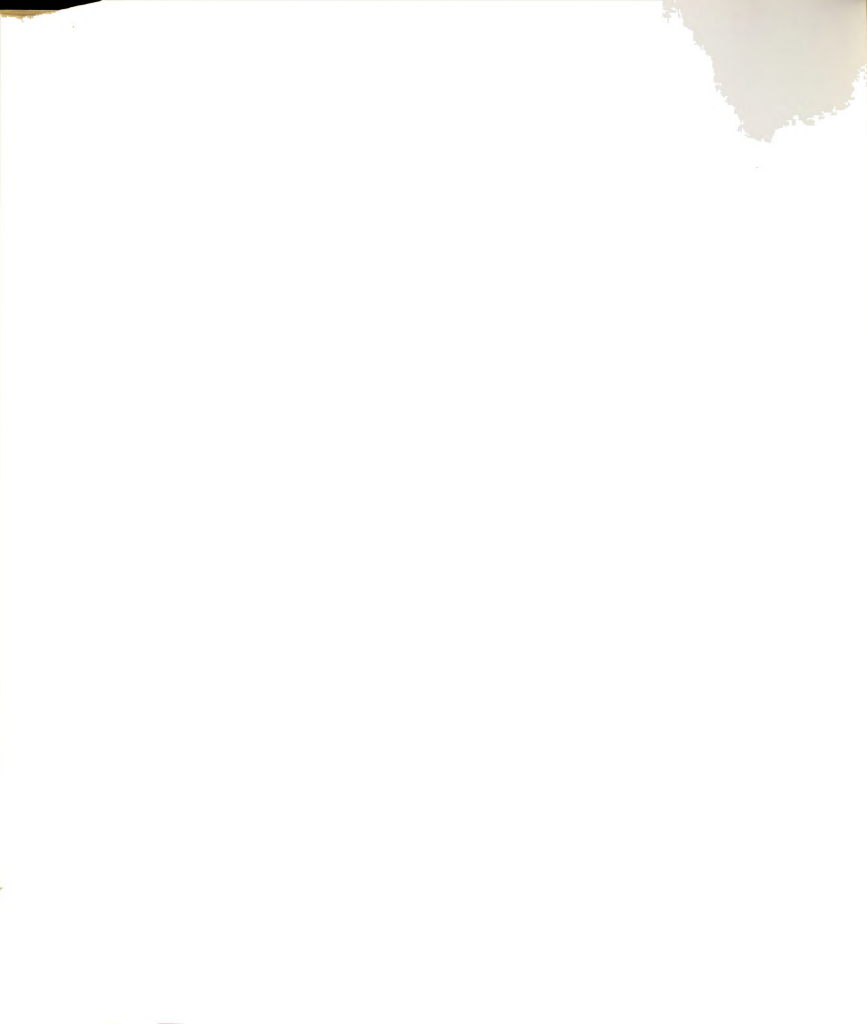
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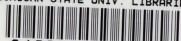








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