

The Canadian Quaker History Journal

No. 64

1999

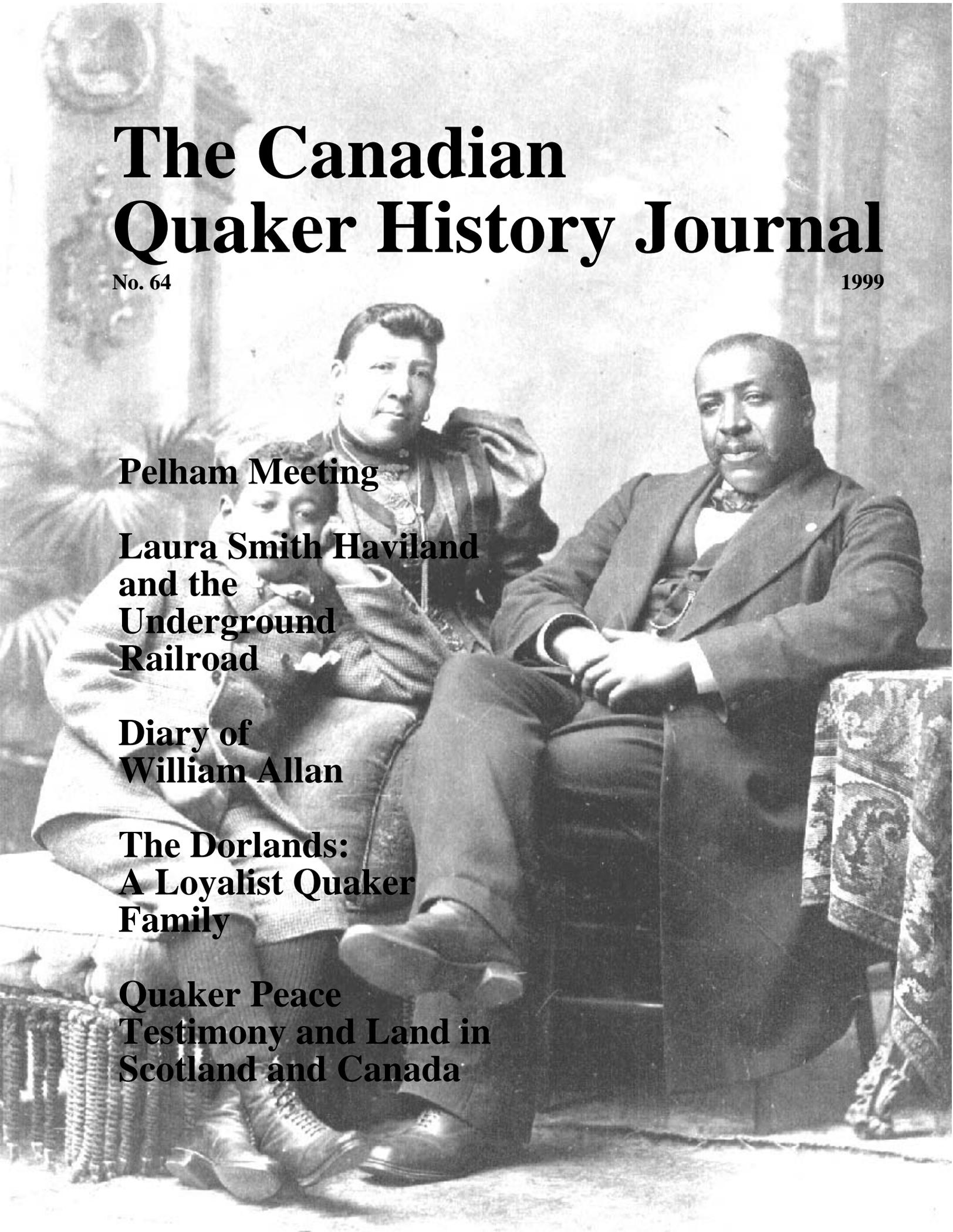
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and the
Underground
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**Diary of
William Allan**

**The Dorlands:
A Loyalist Quaker
Family**

**Quaker Peace
Testimony and Land in
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Early Quaker Visits to the Niagara Region of Canada, 1793-1804

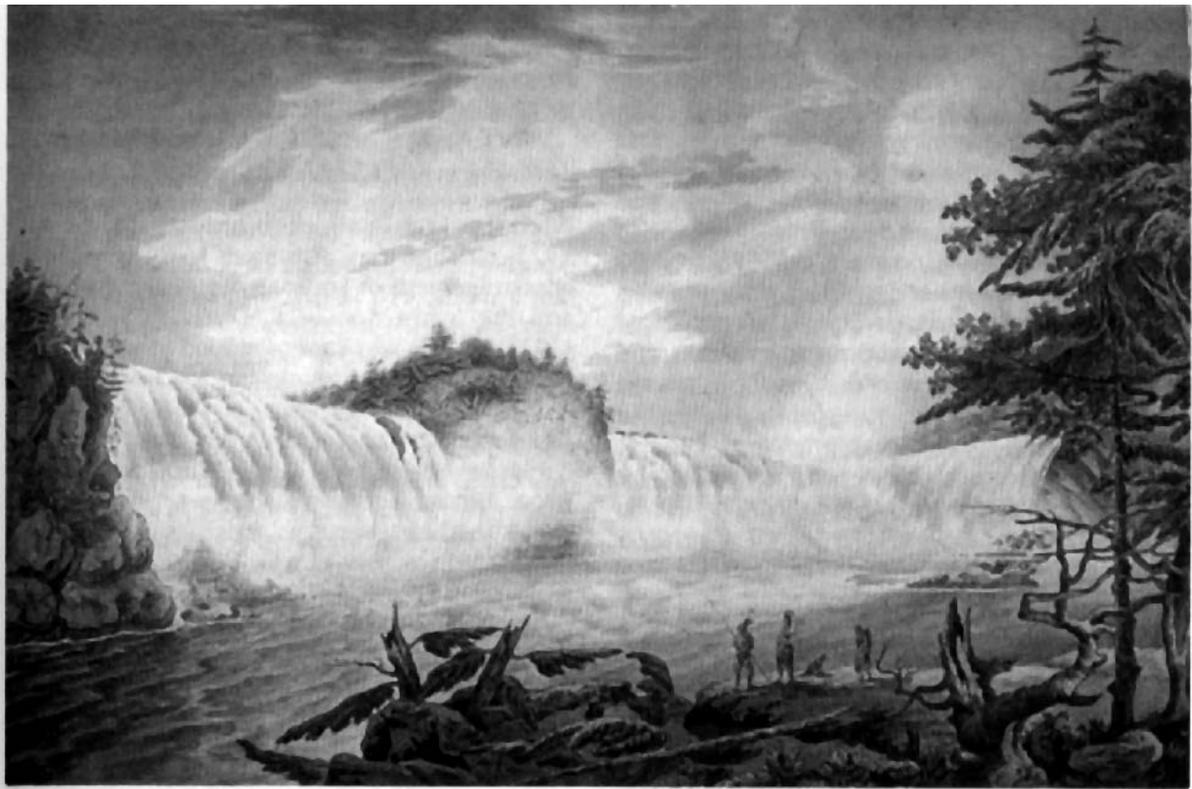
Edited by Chris Densmore

Quaker Delegation Visit of 1793

[The earliest recorded narratives of Quaker visits to the Niagara region were the accounts of members of a delegation from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting on route to a proposed treaty between the United States government and the Indian tribes of the Ohio country that was to be held near what is now Sandusky, Ohio, in 1793. The events of the summer of 1793 are unusually well documented. The journals of three members of the Quaker delegation, including Joseph Moore, Jacob Lindley and William Savery, were subsequently published, as were the journals of two of the United States Com-

missioners, and the journal of Moravian missionary John Heckweleder.

The Quaker delegation traveled from Philadelphia in two groups, one traveling overland from Philadelphia, and the other traveling by water from New York City to Albany, to Oswego and then along Lake Erie to Niagara. The Quaker delegation to the treaty went in two groups. First to arrive in Canada were Friends Joseph Moore, John Parrish and John Elliott, who traveled from Philadelphia by horseback with the United States Commissioners Timothy Pickering and John Randolph. Joseph Moore's account follows:]



16th [5th Mo. 1793] Rode about three miles to the ferry, nearly opposite Fort Erie, most of the way along the beach of Lake Erie. Here we crossed over the outlet of the lake, a large and strong current, landed in the British dominions, and rode down the banks of the river to Charles Willson's near the great falls. The whole distance to this place is four hundred and twenty seven miles. In the evening, walked to the brow of the bank to view the mighty cataract.

[17th] Next morning went again, descended a very steep hill and walked to the rock over which the water falls, which appears tremendous indeed. There are rapids above the cataract that fall, it is said, fifty feet (and it looks likely to be so) within the distance of little more than half a mile. After satisfying our curiosity here, the commissioners went on to governor Simcoe's, at Navy Hall, sixteen miles. This is nearly opposite the garrison, which stands on a point of land in the United States. John Parrish, John Elliott, and myself, went about two miles to our friend William Lundy's, where we were kindly entertained, and spent most of the day. [JM]

19th. Being first of the week, and having appointed a meeting to be held here at the eleventh hour; about the time there attended a pretty large collection of people, more than the house could contain. We thought it a favoured opportunity. After dinner we had a solid opportunity with the family and divers friends who had stayed with us. Then went about six miles to our friend John Hill's, who, with his wife, had been at the meeting. Here we were kindly entertained and lodged. [JM]

[20th?] In the morning, had a solid opportunity with the family, and set out for Navy Hall, a messenger having been sent to invited us to dine with the governor. He appears to be a plain man, and remarkably easy of access. At table we had the

company of the commissioners, colonel Butler, major Little; Hales,¹ &c. The governor, when we were walking in his garden, said our coming forward at this time, did our society great honour. Towards evening we rode up the lake about two miles to landlord Peacock's and lodged. [JM]

21st. We went up the lake twelve miles to Benjamin Paulin's and his brother Jesse's-- our friend, John Parrish, having a letter from their connections in Philadelphia.² Here we were kindly entertained. In the woods we came through, we observed the greatest quantity of pigeons, I think I ever saw; they were flying up the lake, being chiefly young ones, and very fat. The people take abundance of them with clubs, poles, &c. [JM]

22d. The weather has been warm and dry since the time of our arrival in this country. I continue very poorly, but went three miles to our friend John Taylor's,³ though hardly able to travel. Here we were kindly treated and lodged. I believe many were made glad in seeing their friends come amongst them, for whom in their wilderness situation, we often felt near sympathy. [JM]

23d. I felt much better in health, and understanding divers Friends lived at a place called the Short Hills, about twelve miles off, we concluded to go there. On the way we dined at Thomas Rice's, and thence proceeded to Joshua Gillam's.⁴ We passed through some land where we saw the effects of a hurricane that was on the 1st of the 7th month last, and truly I may say, I never saw so great destruction of timber. For about two miles in width, and said to be many miles in length, there was scarce a single tree left that was not torn up by the roots, or broken off. This tract, as far as we have passed over, appears excellent land, with a variety of good timber-- white and black oak, hickory, chestnut, poplar, white pine, walnut, cherry, &c. We finding a few

Friends settled in this neighborhood, concluded to stay amongst them over first-day, and have a meeting with them. In the interval, we visited at James Crawford's, Enoch Scrigley's, and John Dorling's, were the meeting is proposed to be held. [JM]

26th [-27th]. We had a considerable gathering of people that behaved orderly, among whom we had a satisfactory opportunity. In the afternoon, set out on our way to Navy Hall, and lodged at Jeremiah Moore's. [27th] Having heard of the arrival of the other Friends that came by way of Albany, we rose early next morning, and went to our friend Benjamin Hill's where we took breakfast-- then rode to the landing, and thence to Navy Hall. Spent a little time at the governor's, and went back to the landing, where we met with Jacob Lindley, William Savery, and William Hartshorne, who had come on by water. Our stores were landed here, and we all dined at captain Smith's, at the mess house. In the afternoon we set up our tents on the hill, and lodged all together. This seemed very pleasant, being all in health, and they having had a favourable passage from New York to this place, and very agreeable company with general Lincoln, in their covered batteaux, two of which they propose taking up to Lake Erie. [JM]

[The second party going to the treaty included Friends Jacob Lindley, William Savery and William Hartshorne, traveling with Commissioner Benjamin Lincoln, traveled by water from New York City to Albany, to Oswego and along Lake Erie to Fort Niagara, then still occupied by the British. Both Lindley and Savery kept journals.]

25th. Struck our tents, and journeyed eighteen miles to the garrison of Niagara, a strong fortification, but a dark, noisy, con-

fused, dirty place. We ferried over the river to Navy Hall, in the dominions of the king of Great Britain. [JL]

The 25th, got to Niagara fort and staid until about four o'clock; then crossed the river, which is about half a mile wide, and took possession of two rooms in an unfinished house, which the commissioners had prepared for us, having our own provisions and mattresses. [WS]

26th, and first of the week, we visited governor Simcoe, who received us in a friendly manner. It was now confirmed to us that the Indians would not assemble before the 1st of 7th month. It proved a close trial to be so long separated from the dearest connections in life, and driven into the sickly season of the year, so that I found a necessary for the exercise of faith and patience. My mind was turned to the Lord for council, in this proving season. Several things revolved in my mind-- whether to return home, or to try to seek out some of the scattered sheep in Canada. [JL]

26th. Waited on the governor at his request, and were treated respectfully; dined at our lodgings upon wild pigeons, which the Indians shot flying, with their bows and arrows. The town consists of about fifty houses, is laid out in half-acre lots, and is likely from the extensive navigation and increase in population to be a place of considerable trade in a few years. [WS]

27th. Governor Simcoe came to see us at our lodgings. He conversed with freedom and candor on the subject of the treaty,-- holding the posts of Niagara, Oswego, Detroit, &c.-- as also respecting certain laws which he wished to take place in the province, where Friends might be exempted from military requisitions. To which we replied according to the understanding given. He is a plain man, and much beloved in the government.⁵ [JL]

After breakfast, we moved out of our

lodge in Newark, embarked on board the boats, and with a fair wind stood up the river eight miles to a landing below the great falls, where is a carrying place of eleven miles to Chipaway creek, three miles above the falls. The river or outlet of lake Erie, is about half a mile wide to this place; where it is contracted to half that width. The bank from Niagara up here, is about forty feet high, and very steep to this place, where the elevation is greatly increased. On our way, we were hailed from the bank by our beloved friends, John Parrish, Joseph Moore and John Elliott, who we were glad to see. They returned to the landing, and we all dined together at captain Smith's quarters, in the mess house, with five or six of the officers of the regiment of Queen's rangers. There being no house where we could lodge, we pitched our tents in a lot of one Phelps. [JL]

27th. Packed up our bedding and proceeded with all the batteaux and stores to the landing place, seven miles up the river; pitched our tents on the bank of a green meadow, and at the invitation of captain Smith and other officers, several of us dined with them at the mess-house. Here are large barracks with three or four hundred men, in a low unhealthy spot, many of them very sickly, and a number die almost daily. [WS]

28th. Having a good night's rest in our tents, were in the morning all bravely. When we shall move forward from this place appears at present uncertain, as the commissioners sent off an express yesterday to Philadelphia on some important occasion, and expect to wait his return. Young Complanter went some days ago to his father's, about one hundred and fifty miles from this place. The Indians, we understand, are gathering from many parts to the place appointed. Some of the Mohawks are here now. We shortly expect a number of the Five Nations. Jacob Lindley being desirous

to see Jeremiah Moore, we two rode there, spent the afternoon, and lodged. The weather cool and cloudy, with easterly winds. The next day was rainy. We are now within about three miles of the great cataract-- the noise of which is much like the roaring of the sea in time of storm. The people gave us a particular account of their distressed situation, about four years ago. for want of bread, and their loss of cattle and horses; which was truly alarming; but through the goodness of kind Providence, they have now plenty of bread and other necessaries; and plenty of good sugar which they make from the maple tree. [JM]

28th Joseph Moore and myself went four miles to see Jeremiah Moore's family. They related the dreadful circumstances they were reduced to in this country, by scarcity of bread and provisions of all kinds, in the year 1789-- when they came to an allowance of one spoonful of meal per day, for one person-- eat strawberry leaves, beech leaves, flax seed dried, and ground in a coffee mill --caught the blood of a little pig-- bled the almost famished cow and oxen-- walked twelve miles for one shive of bread,⁶ paid twelve shillings for twelve pounds of meal. One of the lads who was hired out, carried his little sister two miles on his back, to let her eat his breakfast, and they gave him none till dinner. The children leaped for joy at one robin being caught, out of which a whole pot of broth was made. They eat mustard, potato tops, sassafras root, and made tea of the tops. The relation was deeply affecting. The case being general, one could not help another: which brought to my mind the many thankless meals enjoyed in the land of plenty.

This place is situated within four miles of the grand falls; the noise of which resembles the roaring of the waves of the ocean in the time of a storm. One Indian and a white man have been carried down this amazing

cataract, within two years. The white man tumbled out of his canoe just at the beginning of the rapids, and was hurled down. The poor Indian as asleep in his canoe, which was tied to the bank; it is supposed some wicked person loosed it, and it glided down into the rapids, when some person hallowed to him; on which he stood up, struck a few strokes with his paddle to no effect, then wrapped his head in his blanket, and laid down in his canoe, to meet his horrid destiny. He was found two miles below; but none of his bones were broken.

Here I saw the skin of a porcupine, an animal about as large as a well grown hog, with a bushy tail, and claws like that animal. His body was interspersed with a vast number of stiff, pointed quills; which are its defence when attacked. Here is a beautiful odoriferous little tree, called the balm of Gilead. It resembles lombardy poplar. Here also the juniper abounds. They are natives of this latitude. Gooseberries and currants of divers colors and kinds, are found here. [JL]

29th. A wet day-- which was a blessing to the earth and its inhabitants hereaway, as it has been exceeding dry. [JL]

30th. John Elliott came up from our camp at the landing, and we, with Jeremiah Moore and Benjamin Hill, went to the falls, where Jacob had not been, and viewed them in a different direction from that we had done before. In this as well as many other things, the mighty works of Providence are eminently displayed, being far beyond the power of human art to form. Some of our company descended the mighty hill, by the clefts of rocks and the help of Indian ladders, to the water below, supposed one hundred and ten feet. Here they saw divers curiosities, and brought up some memorials of stone, bones, &c. We then returned to our camp, and I lodged at Benjamin Canby's.⁷ [JM]

30th. Joseph Moore, John Elliott and

myself, went about two and a half miles, to visit that phenomenon in nature-- the great Falls of Niagara, whose thunders, for several days, had with awfulness reached mine ears. When I approached this tremendous cataract, it truly appeared amazing, and with the voice of thunder, proclaimed the majesty of its sublime Architect. When we came to the margin of the river below the falls, we descended the almost perpendicular bank by several windings from one rock to another, and with the aid of several Indian ladders, at length reached the surface of the water, I suppose at least one hundred fifty feet below the summit. The irregular position of multitudes of huge rocks, which no doubt had tumbled from their ancient seats, made out progress up toward the pitch, rough and difficult. We found logs, pieces of canoes, &c. in abundance, twelve or fifteen feet above the present level of the water-- also ducks, loons, cormorants, catfish, pickerels, and various kinds of fish and water fowl, which had been killed by the dashing of the columns of water, tumbling off a precipice not less than one hundred and twenty feet perpendicular. The rocks and stones are mostly excellent limestone, as are the stones in the banks for six or seven miles below; where, from every appearance, I think it not absurd to suppose the falls once were, but have worn up to the present barrier, where the river makes a bend, and the water is divided by an island. I think it not improbable, that the misty vapours which arise, and are exhaled to the clouds, or blown by the varying winds on the neighboring farms. Some of these are exceedingly fertile, abounding with grass and grain. After spending an hour or two, almost lost in admiration, we ascended by the way we went down, and rode eight miles to the landing, where we dined at Benjamin Canby's. [JL]

30th. Were visited by the governor,

Timothy Pickering and others. The governor offered his house at this place for our accommodations, but its low situation occasioned us to decline accepting it. [WS]

31st. We had at our little camp the company of captain Hendricks⁸ and several other Indians, that fed on our provisions-- and a white man, lately from Pittsburg, informed that the Indians from the southward were coming on. [JM]

31st. This forenoon capt. Hendricks, Little-man, and three other Oneida Indians came to our camp, who we were pleased to see; we refreshed them, and had friendly conversation, confirming the principles of peace and good will to all men.

Here we were within the sound of the martial trumpet, where I did adopt the Israelitish lamentation, "By Babel's streams we sat and wept, when we remembered Zion, and hung our harps on the willow trees."⁹

This afternoon, capt. Hendricks and myself took boat, and were rowed eight miles down to Navy Hall to see the commissioners. After some conversation on Indian affairs, we returned the same evening.[JL]

31st. Several of us went down in our boat to Navy Hall, and spent several hours with the commissioners: we got passes from governor Simcoe, to go on to Detroit by the first king's vessel from Fort Erie. [WS]

6th mo. 1st. The weather wet and little business to be done--though the article provision meets with a large consumption-- we being all in pretty good health, and for the most part a number of Indians and others at our camp. The commissioners are most of the time at Navy Hall with governor Simcoe. We expect to move forward in a day or two, toward Fort Erie, to take passage in a vessel for Detroit-- the commissioners not likely to go from this under a week or ten days. We endeavour to fill up our time in seeing our friends. This after-

noon John Parrish and John Elliott, crossed the river and went to an Indian settlement of about eighty families, who received them kindly. [JM]

1st of 6th month. Used some endeavours to get our tents and baggage removed to Chipaway creek; but could not get wagons because of the late rains. This is a place of considerable business, which is principally engrossed by Hamilton, Street, and Phelps-- the former having planted five hundred bushels of potatoes this year, to supply the troops. This morning, an Onondaga chief came to our camp and breakfasted with us. [JL]

2d, and first of the week, we held a meeting about four miles from the landing, in a large barn, of which previous notice had been given. The collection was large, and proved a solid opportunity. I hope it tended to the advancement of our religious testimony. Divers Friends came many miles to attend it. After which William Savery and William Hartshorne returned to our camp, in order to send forward our baggage tomorrow to the upper landing above the falls. John Parrish, Jacob Lindley, John Elliott, and myself, went to Jeremiah Moore's and dined-- thence to William Lundy's and lodged. Esquire Burch¹⁰ was at the meeting, and kept company with us thus far. [JM]

2nd of the month, and first of the week. A meeting being appointed about five miles distant, I set out on foot to attend it. On the way, in the woods, I looked back, and at a few perches distance were two Indians coming after me, on a trot-- one of them frightfully painted from below one eye to the middle of his forehead, with a vermilion red; the other side jet black. His cheek and chin under the black was painted red, the other side, under the red, was painted black. He had a tail of hair, and skins of beast and birds with the feathers on, which hung down below the calves of his legs, and

were blown out behind him. He had his scalping knife in his hand. His stature was middle sized; but his visage was exceedingly fierce and grim. I was quite alone. I turned sideways, and stood till he came up, I believe without visible emotion of fear, and accosted him thus: Which way in such a hurry? He said, Hooch king, Buffaloe creek! and passed along. I went on to the meeting, where my companions and divers Friends, and other settlers in this new country, came, to the number of about one hundred. The meeting was solid and satisfactory. We went to J. Moore's to dine, had a solid opportunity in his family, and went to our kind friend W. Lundy's to lodge. [JL]

First-day, 2nd of sixth month, a meeting being appointed to be held in a barn about four miles from our encampment, Friends and some people from the landing attended. It was larger than we expected, being composed of a variety of professors, among whom were eight or ten Friends, who are settled in the neighbourhood. No regular place of worship being kept up for many miles, the opportunity of assembling for that purpose appeared to be very acceptable; the meeting was solid and we hope may be useful. [WS]

3d. Went on to esquire Burch's, where we dined. Bought three barrels of flour and sent forward to Chipaway, to be carried on with the rest of our baggage, to Fort Erie. John Parrish, John Elliott and myself rode up the river about seven miles and lodged at our friend Richardson's. [JM]

3rd. Walked to squire Birch's mills, on the rapids, above the unspeakably amazing cataract; where I had a second view of this standing awful monument of the mighty power of Him who created the heavens and the earth, the seas and fountains of water. The rapids above, are about one mile square; and pleasingly grand is the prospect--the waves dashing, and tumbling from rock

to rock, and altering their appearance every moment. Here also are seen the misty vapours from the great falls, rising in curling columns to the clouds, resembling the smoke of numerous furnaces. Such are the friction of the particles of water, dashing on the rocks below, that it more resembles smoke than mist.-- Our kind friend Birch has, perhaps, one of the grandest situations for water works in the world; and I think, if he opens his front door, he need never pay the clergy for preaching. He is kind to Friends, having in early life contracted an esteem for Samuel Emlen¹¹ at sea.

Chipaway creek is about as large as Brandywine, and boatable fifty miles to the northward. I walked from Birch's to Chipaway. Here is a block house and picket, garrisoned by a number of soldiers. -- Lodged at a public house, where we paid a shilling for a floor to spread our mattresses on, and other things equivalent.

3rd. Struck our tents and packed up as many stores as we thought necessary-- a wagon being prepared to take them, and one of our large boats mounted on a carriage, we set off for Chippeway, the landing place above the falls, where we lodged at a tolerably good house. [WS]

[4th] Next morning went to Benjamin Willson's, whose wife is a near relation of mine. Benjamin went with us six miles to the fort. Here are the king's stores, and a harbour for shipping--several topsail vessels were then lying here. We went on board the Dunmore.... We left our horses in the care of Benjamin Willson--next day set sail and steered up the lake. [JM]

4th. Went on board one of our boats, and rowed eighteen miles to Fort Erie, in sight of the lake. -- Here is a store house, garrison, &c. The water from Chipaway to this place is smooth, and a good run for the boats. Here lay three schooners, waiting for a fair wind, bound for Detroit. We went on

board the Dunmore that evening. [JL]

[4th?] Next morning, near sixty Indians came on board, on their way to Sandusky; among whom were capt. Hendricks, capt. John, and a number of principal men and warriors, much painted, ears cut, &c. [JL]

4th. Proceeded early up Niagara river against a strong current which was rather unpleasant, for had we been driven down half a mile, every effort must have been unavailing to rescue us from descending the tremendous cataract. Arrived at a farmhouse, where being supplied with milk and butter, we breakfasted; dined at a tavern four miles below fort Erie, where we found a large number of farmers convened from a considerable distance, in order to render an account of their improvements and property; several of whom were Friends and Menonists from Pennsylvania. Reached fort Erie about four o'clock, and finding three British vessels, we took our passage, but the wind being unfavourable could not sail. [WS]

5th. Quite becalmed. I felt renewed occasion for the exercise of faith and patience. Expenses of boarding alone, twelve shillings per day.

The waters of Lake Erie are three hundred feet higher than those of Ontario, thirty-seven miles below, and are restrained from deluging the country by the same power which bounds "the sea by a perpetual decree." Opposite this place, on the side of the United States, comes in Buffaloe creek, where a council of several Indian nations was held a few days past, preparatory to the general treaty.

In the afternoon, a gentle breeze sprang up, we hoisted sail, and stood out into the lake. Passed Point Ebono, the Sugar Loaf, and Long Point on the north, and Presque Isle on the south. [JL]

[5th] Fourth-day, the 5th, the wind still unfavourable. The land between Niagara

and this place, is generally rich and well timbered, and is settling fast by people who are mostly from the United States, and among them a greater number of our Society than I had expected to find. While at dinner the wind becoming fair, a gun was fired to hasten the Indians and other passengers on board. We sailed pleasantly at the rate of about four miles an hour, having on board about ninety persons, forty-five of whom were Mohawks, Messasauges, Stockbridge and Cayuga Indians. [WS]

[The delegation, both Quakers and the United States Commissioners, spent the remainder of the summer encamped at the mouth of the Detroit River, waiting to be called to the negotiations at Sandusky, and meeting with Indian delegations going to or from the treaty. The British still retained Detroit, and did not permit the United States Commissioners to visit the village, though the Quakers were allowed to do so. In late August, it was evident that no treaty between the United States and the Indian nations of the Ohio country would be conducted, and both the Quaker delegation and the United States Commissioners returned by ship from the mouth of the Detroit River to Fort Erie.]

22nd. (8th mo., 1793) We anchored at Fort Erie. [JM]

22nd. The wind being high and fair, we sailed rapidly and arrived at fort Erie about twelve o'clock at night. [WS]

23rd. Rainy, no goods or baggage could be landed, as the lake was rough, which caused a great surf. [JM]

[23rd] Through the favor of Divine Providence, we came safe to anchor about one o'clock in the morning of the 23rd at Fort Erie. The surf was so high that all day we could not land our baggage. [JL]

23rd. Wind so high all day, that it

appeared imprudent to attempt landing; but in the afternoon captain Bunbury left us for Niagara, to engage a vessel going to Kingston, for our accommodation when we should arrive. [WS]

24th. Morning fair and calm-- a great stir, hoisting our casks, trunks &c. The commissioners preparing to set forward, some by water, others by land. William Savery and William Hartshore are to go with general Lincoln, by Ontario. Jacob Lindley is provided with a horse by the commissioners, and goes by land; so that we are all busily engaged fixing our baggage each in his own way, clearing off all expenses for passage, &c. And truly we may say, by this time, we became pretty much striped of the contents of our purses, and a great deal of our stock of provisions, &c. John Elliott and John Parrish went on shore in the afternoon, to get to some Friend's house. Jacob Lindley and myself went in the evening to the house of Benjamin Wilson, who had been on board with us all the afternoon. I felt myself in some measure, like one let out of prison. Here we were kindly treated and lodged; proposing to visit a number of Friends and friendly people, in and about this neighbourhood, before we set out for home; which seemed annexed to my concern in coming forth to this country, to attend the proposed treaty with the Indians. [JM]

24th. We settled our accounts with capt. Ford for our passage down Lake Erie. I agreed with the commissioners for a horse, proposing to ride home. This afternoon, Randolph, Pickering, and their servants crossed the river to the mouth of Buffalo creek, on their way home, proposing to take the route of Albany. William Savery and William Hartshorne agreed to return by water with general Lincoln. Joseph Moore and myself went five miles down the river to lodge at our kind friend, Benjamin

Wilson's. John Elliott and John Parrish went up the lake about eight miles to look out some Friends, there settled. [JL]

Col. Pickering and gen. Lincoln, through the whole of the journey, so far as I have seen, have conducted as men of religion and sobriety. [JL]

24th. In the afternoon, Jacob Lindley being furnished with a spare horse by the commissioners, and John Parrish, John Elliott and Joseph Moore having their horses sent to them, they took leave of us, intending to spend a day or two with a few Friends in the neighborhood, and wait the recovery of Parrish, the interpreter, who lay sick at a house a few miles off, as he was to be their guide through the wilderness. I felt heavy at parting with them; but seeing no alternative, wrote by Jacob Lindley, informing my wife of my intention to return by Montreal. Colonel Pickering, governor Randolph, and their servants, with all the interpreters, also left us, with intention to proceed on different routes, and to spread information of the issue of the treaty, as it was apprehended that the Indians were already dispersed and doing mischief. Five women who had been prisoners also went with general Chapin. Our company now having become small, we felt lonesome at parting with those who had been our companions of our trials. Five o'clock in the afternoon, a number of Canada Indians, accompanied by J. Launier, a Frenchman and interpreter, came on board to see us, conversed pleasantly with us and invited our company on shore to a dance; many from on board accordingly went; but I had no inclination to behold what I had already seen too much of. [WS]

[After the parties separated, William Savery and William Hartshorne with Commissioner Lincoln continued down the Niagara River. The following entries are

from Savery's account of the last portion of his 1793 Canadian visit.]

25th. Captain Pratt sent us two batheaux, one of them large, for our baggage, the other for the passengers. Taking breakfast once more on board the Dunmore, we left here about nine o'clock, the sailors and marines parting from us with many good wishes. The boats being well manned with soldiers, we got on and put in at Winternut's tavern, where Jasper Parrish the interpreter was confined, and still very weak. Here we again met with our friend John Elliott, and soon after arrived at Chippeway. Captain Hamilton being the commandant of the fort, he met us at the shore and took us to his apartment, where we were entertained with great frankness and generosity. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the general, doctor, secretary, lieutenant Gwanz and myself proceeded in a wagon for Queens-town, stopping a few miles on our way at the falls of Niagara; and got to our inn about seven o'clock in the evening. The farmers who live near the falls, would be subject to loss of their geese and ducks, by their being carried down with the rapidity of the current and dashed over the mighty cataract, were it not for an expedient which they have discovered as a preventative. They pluck the feathers entirely off their breasts, about the size of a dollar, and keep it constantly bare: The water so affects them in this part, that they stay in but a few minutes; otherwise they would continue in their favorite element and be destroyed, as many hundreds have already been. We were informed, that some years past, a sergeant and four men attempted to cross the river too near the falls, were all carried down, and perished; those on shore not being able to render them any relief. [WS]

28th. Got to Navy Hall, where we lodged. [WS]

30th. Sailed about three o'clock in the morning in a small sloop, made about one hundred and thirty miles... [WS]

[The other portion of the Quaker delegation, including journalists Joseph Moore, Jacob Lindley, spent the next week visiting Friends who would later make up the Pelham and Black Creek meetings.]

25th. First of the week. We held a public meeting, and visited a few families-- towards evening, got to Asa Schooley's, where John Parrish came to us. Here we lodged. [JM]

25th. Joseph Moore and myself visited the families of Joseph Marsh, Adam Burrell, and Joseph Havens. Went to Asa Schooley's¹² to lodge, where we were heartily welcomed and kindly entertained. [JL]

26th. John Elliott came to us this morning-- so that we are now all together again. We went to John Herrit's, son-in-law to Asa Schooley, had a sitting there and returned to Asa's-- there had a solid opportunity with his family and the family of John Cutler, together; -- after which, went to Daniel Pound's and lodged. [JM]

26th Visited the families of John Herrit, John Cutler, and Asa Schooley. Lodged at John Cutler's, who has a family of hopeful children. [JL]

27th. We held a public meeting at Joseph Haven's, which was large and favoured; at the close, we had a select opportunity with such as profess with Friends, a number of them being members, to whom some interesting matters of advice were communicated. Upon the whole, we thought it a very solid and profitable opportunity, many hearts being tendered; for whom, in their lonely situation, we were brought into near sympathy. We parted from them in much love. John Parrish and myself went to Ezekiel Dennis's, up the side

of Lake Erie about six miles, to point Ebino, were we were kindly entertained and lodged. I think when the meeting was select as above mentioned, there was in the whole, young and old, about forty-- many decent looking young people, with innocent countenances, were present; on account of whom I felt much concern for their religious and school education. [JM]

27th. Appointed a meeting at Joseph Havens. It was a solid, comfortable meeting. After which, John Elliott and myself visited Daniel Pound's children. [JL]

28th. Set out and rode up the beautiful beach on the lake shore about ten miles, to what is called the Sugar Loaf, a point of land extending out in the lake, with a remarkable round hill, at a distance resembling a sugar loaf. Here we visited seven families, and returned in the evening to our friend Asa Schooley's. [JM]

28th. Visited Joseph Havens, Adam Burrell and Joseph Marsh's families. At the latter we lodged. [JL]

29th. With divers other Friends, we went about twelve miles to esquire Powell's where we had a large public meeting of Friends and others, to much satisfaction to ourselves, and I believe it was so to the auditory. They behaved quiet, and with becoming decency. After which many Friends took leave of us in much love and tenderness, and departed to their several homes. We dined with the squire, being freely and liberally entertained. Afterwards I rode about four miles to the fort, and went on board the Dunmore on a small errand, with our friend William Lundy, who having heard of our being here, came about twenty miles to see us, and was at the meeting today. In the evening went to our friend Benjamin Wilson's-- leaving the other Friends at Powell's. John Elliott had been very poorly with ague and fever-- great trial to us, being very desirous to move towards

home. -- Having had the two public meetings above mentioned and visited most of the families and Friends in this country, to wit, Asa Schooley, Joseph Havens, Obadiah Dennis, Abraham Webster, John Cutler, John Hill, Benjamin Hill, Jeremiah Moore, (Abraham Laing and Benjamin Canby single men) John Taylor, Joshua Gillam, Joseph Marsh, Adam Burwell, Daniel Pound, William Lundy, Thomas Rice, James Crawford, Enoch Scrigley, Samuel Taylor, Ezekiel Dennis and several others. [JM]

29th. Attended an appointed meeting at major Powell's, where many people assembled. It was attended with a solemnity become the occasion. We lodged at the house of the kind and hospitable major Powell. [JL]

30th. We now began to prepare to leave this part of the country. This morning the other Friends came to me at Benjamin Willson's. Jasper Parrish we hear is very poorly at the landing, not able to return. We felt loth to leave him, but understanding general Chapin, with whom he has his home, is expected to be here in about a week, we were more easy to leave him. [JM]

30th Preparing for my journey through the wilderness. I lodged at Peter Wintheermuthes, and Friends at Benjamin Wilson's. [JL]

31st. John Elliott now bravely, though weak, seems very willing to move forward. We waited this morning for Abraham Laing, a young man who is going to the states, and is very desirous of our company. Then went to Powell's and thence to Windecker's the ferryman, where Abraham Laing came to us-- we crossed over and went three miles to Cornelius Winney's at Buffalo creek. [JM]

31st. We crossed the river at Windecker's ferry.... [JL]

Jacob Lindley's Visit, 1797

[30th 10 mo. 1797] Next day crossed the river, and rode twelve miles to Asa Schooley's in Canada. Arrived there with thankful hearts, and met a kind reception from them, their children and neighbours who came in; several of whom remembered by former visit here.

31st. Visited four families, Joseph and Anna Marsh, Daniel and Patience Pound, John and Mary Herrit, and John Cutler's. Next day, visited the remainder of professors about Black Creek, Adam and Sarah Burril, Joseph and Anna Stevens, Abram Webster's and Joseph Haven's. The day following, we attended a meeting at Asa Schooley's, to good degree of satisfaction; then went eight miles to visit Obadiah Dennis, and his parents, and returned the same evening.

3rd of 11th month. Took our journey down Niagara river. Passed the great falls,-- the day being dark, smoky, and wet, we made no stay to satisfy curiosity; but the transient view and awful voice impressed ideas of the majesty of heaven. In the evening, arrived at William Lundy's, and next day visited Jeremy Moore's family, and Benjamin Hill's. Went to our friend John Hill's, who received us kindly-- we found him and family in a tender frame of spirit.

First-day, the 5th [-7th]. A meeting was held at John Hill's, amongst a number of Friends and neighbours, to a good degree of satisfaction. It was a contriving season, through heavenly regard, mercifully extended. Next day visited four families, and the day following had an appointed meeting at John Taylor's. A number collected, and it was a favoured season.

8th. Took leave of the Short Hills settlement;-- the weather cloudy, and snow falling daily for several nights past, occasions us some awful thoughts, when, or

whether ever, we are to see our dear connections [connections] again. Here appears some hope of a meeting being opened. Rode eighteen miles, and lodged at Jeremy Moore's. Next day went to Thomas Mercer's to breakfast; after which we went to see the great whirlpool, which is about three miles below the great cataract. At this formidable vortex, the river makes a bend at a right angle, which, by the velocity of the rapids above, has washed the opposite bank into a marvelous cove of about thirty acres dimensions. The water appears immeasurably deep:-- the river below, containing all the waters of the many northern, stupendous lakes, and mighty rivers, is contracted to a space, perhaps not exceeding eighty yards in width, curbed by banks, no doubt one hundred and fifty feet perpendicular, which carry every appearance of the ravages of revolving years having gradually worn the tremendous falls, from some miles distance below, to their present station.

After viewing this marvelous display of omnipotent power, we returned to J. Moore's to dine; -- attended a meeting at two o'clock, where several Friends and friendly people gave us their company; and I took my farewell of them, in the feelings of the heavenly father's love, extending towards them; recommending them to the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the word of his grace, as the alone infallible teacher. Returned to J. Moore's and were edified together.

10th. Parted with my kind friends and relatives, amidst a conflux of tears. Rode past the great falls, which excite wonder and astonishment, as oft as viewed, and echo the voice, that the Power who made and sustains us, is almighty. The mist, resembling the smoke of many furnaces; and the sound of the cataract, awful and profound as a mighty ocean, shakes the adjacent shores to a degree so as to make windows and doors

jar and rattle. The waters on the British side have visibly altered their position within four years past; at which time I visited them before. I think they wear faster on that side of the island, than on the side of the United States; and the falls being ten feet higher on the American side, than the other.

We called to see Martha, the widow of John Birch, after which we pursued our journey; the weather being cold, and the roads frozen and icy. Arrived at Asa Schooley's, and the evening assumed the prospect of an approaching snow storm, which roused some keen emotions of mind respecting our several homes. Mud, rivers, rocks, deserts, mountains being formidable difficulties in traveling, without the addition of snow.

11th. Cloudy and some rain. Took leave of our kind friend Asa Schooley and family. His son-in-law, and John Cutler, Jr. accompanied us to Niagara ferry; where we parted with them in mutual tenderness of spirit. Crossed the great Niagara river, and went on to Buffaloe creek, where were a number of Onondago Indians, stately sized men. The sight of those poor aborigines always excites sympathy in my heart.

On first-day, the 13th, a great fall of rain occasioned our remaining stationary, which was trying, more especially as we were within twelve miles of the little meeting at Black creek, where we had designed to tarry till second-day. We have now been traversing these great woods and waters nearly two weeks; in which time, we have not enjoyed one pleasant clear day; and almost every other day there had been some fall either of snow or rain.

Rufus Hall's Account, 1798

[Rufus Hall, a Friend from New York, travelled in the ministry to Upper Canada in 1798 and again in 1804.]

25th [-27th, 7th Mo. 1798]. Set out and travelled near thirty miles thro' the uninhabited wilderness (although we met with several Indians who appeared glad to see us) till we came to a ferry at the outlet of lake Erie. In crossing this ferry, we asked the boatman if he could tell us where any of our friends lived on the west side of the lake. He directed us to Abraham Webster's. about five miles, where we arrived in good season, and felt truly thankful that we were again among our friends after three days journey through the dreary wilderness. After resting one day, we proceeded to visit a number of families in the settlement; and had a remarkably solid and satisfactory opportunity in the family of a friendly man, named Adam Burwell. The Divine presence did so evidently favour us all that tears of joy, as well as counsel flowed freely to our great encouragement and strength. Thanks be to the Lord forever, for his wonderful love and mercy. So we parted in much tenderness and with tears, and came to the house of a Friend, where we lodged; but it was a trying night to me. Before we came here, we had given out word for a public meeting at a Friend's house; but now we were informed of much uneasiness that appeared between said Friend and his neighbours, and great disunity of Friends in this settlement. This grieved me so much that I was almost ready to repent that I had appointed the meeting, lest I might be the means of strengthening them in something that was wrong; so great was my exercise that I slept but little that night.

Next morning, the 28th, we visited another Friend and his family at Point Ebano, where we heard something of the same complaint. Thence to another Friend's family, where the complaint of the other party was detailed to us in like manner.-- This still increased my exercise, and my load of grief, though I was favoured with

renewed strength to bear up under it.

29th. We attended said meeting which was large, many of the neighbours coming in; and I had a highly favoured time in gospel testimony among them. After the public meeting, I had a select opportunity with Friends, in which I had some close, trying work; returning on their own heads what they had loaded me with; and telling them that if they did not endeavour to become reconciled to one another, they would dwindle and come to nothing-- I also desired of them in future never to divulge such things to strangers, and especially to travelling public Friends. I also pressed upon them to endeavour to settle the matter, if possible, even now before they parted: which they did, and brought about an amicable settlement, and a good degree of unity was restored.-- So I had cause to be thankful for the favour, and lodged that night at Asa Schooley's where the meeting was held.

[30th] Next day we visited the families of John Cutler, John Herrit and Joel Morris. The day following, in company with our young friend Abraham Laing, we set out to visit some Friends and friendly people at a place called Short Hills. On the way, we stopped to see the wonderful hand of Providence, at the falls of Niagara. When we came within about three miles of the great falls, on looking toward the outlet of the lake, we discovered a large body of mist or fog arising therefrom, which ascended to a great height in the air. On drawing nearer, we observed the stream or current of the water to run more rapidly, and with great swiftness, till it came within half a mile of the grand pitch or ledge of rocks; and then the waters were so hurried down what seemed as a rocky hill, that they became rolled up as in large heaps, with such a roar and foam that it was like a lather of soap-suds, and so run to the top of the cliff of rocks where it fell off, about one hundred

and sixty feet perpendicular, all in one solid column of water in the form of a semicircle, as near as I could judge of the space about half a mile in length. It then met an island in the lake, perhaps twenty rods in width, beyond which another column of water gushes over the ledge in like manner as the other, only it is straight and forms no curve. We went down to the very rock over which the water falls, and stood and looked off, or down into the pit or cavern where the water fell. But Oh! the awfulness and amazement which I felt! I have no characters or language that can describe the sight to any person who has not seen it; neither is it possible, I believe, for any one to conceive one half of the great wonder, or the great body of smoke or mist it casts up, -- so thick that no eye can penetrate it; and there appears to be many acres of the river entirely of a white foam. As I was looking on this marvelous work of the Almighty hand, I thought what man in the world could behold this place, and contemplate it but a moment, and yet deny the existence of a Supreme Being? surly not one on earth.

8th mo. 1st. We went to Pelham, or Short Hills, and appointed a meeting to be held next day; which we accordingly attended; but it was to me a low time as to the feeling of that life which crowns such opportunities. I however endeavoured to ease my mind of what I felt as a duty, and got some satisfaction.

Here I think it right to give some account of a remarkable deliverance of the hand of Providence, which happened, as I was informed, about six years before. A terrible hurricane raged in this place to such a degree that it blew down and destroyed all the timber for thirty miles in length and one mile in width: insomuch that I could not discover one tree of any bigness that stood whole. It was also so violent for another mile in width that it destroyed about one

half of the timber; and at that time and in this place, there lived ten or a dozen families, whose houses were all shattered, and some of them blown down and entirely ruined; yet not one person was slain among them, although several were hurt. One man was riding the road in the most dangerous spot, where the timber was very thick, and every tree was torn down around him; yet they fell so across logs and large roots of trees, that they were kept up from the ground in such a manner that neither the man nor his horse was killed, though they were both hurt. But he was obliged to remain in his deplorable situation all night (it being in the afternoon when the storm happened) and till some time in the next day; when some of his neighbours came and helped him out. The people were so affrighted that several of them told me they were not sensible of hearing any trees fall; and after the awful storm was over and the wind had ceased, they endeavoured to go to see how it fared with one another: -- each supposing that their neighbours and friends were slain in the tempest. But when they met, it was with weeping for joy that their lives were preserved. The remains of the destruction were to be seen when I was there, and I thought it so remarkable a deliverance that it ought to be recorded, inasmuch as it evidently manifested the wonderful mercy of the great Preserver of mankind.

We visited a number of Friends and friendly people in their families, and attended a meeting appointed at Stanford, which was a large gathering, consisting of a few Friends, some Methodists, and many others who never before had been at a Friends' meeting. These not knowing the usefulness of silent waiting, were very uneasy in the time of silence, which was a trial to me; but I endeavoured to abide in the patience, and hope to the end. At length, I trust, in the Lord's time, I was raised in a good degree of

life to declare the Truth to them in such a manner that it was brought to a profound silence over the meeting. I was led to show them the usefulness and efficacy of attending to their own gifts, or the light of Christ within them. Although it was a new doctrine to many of them, yet they were willing to acknowledge it was a great truth, and too much neglected. We lodged with Jeremiah Moore, who went with us next day to see William Lippincott and Samuel Becket, who lived about eighteen miles from thence, having lately come from the Jerseys. They received us kindly, and I thought if they kept their places, they might be useful to the little flock of Friends in those countries, or the two little meetings now begun in those parts.

8th of 8th mo. In company with our friend Wm. Lippincott, we went to Queens-town, and agreed for a passage in a packet to Kingston, it being about one hundred and sixty miles by water on lake Ontario. Next day we went on board, and sailed in the afternoon...

William Blackey's Account, 1799

19th [9th Mo., 1799]. Now in Upper Canada. The bank of the river is high and dry, and the land appears fertile. Rode to one Webster's, a Friend, and thence to Schooley's, where meeting is held. Attend it; rather a low time.

20th. Visited some of the neighbours, and went to the side of the lake, but saw nothing of our brethren. Next day walked to John Cutler's, and returned a little weary at our friends not coming; but in the evening, hearing they were near at hand, our spirits were revived; and we and they were soon comforted together.

22d. At a pretty large meeting. Afterwards paid several visits to satisfaction, and felt a peaceful mind and thankful

heart.

23d. Joshua Sharpless so sore and lame, that he kept house. I, with Thomas Stewardson and Isaac Coats, visited three families to satisfaction.

24th. Set out for the Short-hill settlement-- passed the great falls. It caused awful admiration to behold these wonderful works of creation. From thence to Joshua Gillam's, near Short-hills. Went to meeting, and afterwards visited two families. Next day we visited four or five families, and had a quiet evening.

27th. Went a visiting again. Got through, and was at a conference with the committee.

On the 28th, went with Jacob Paxson, and sat awhile in the quiet with a poor woman and several children.

When at Mud creek, in the Genesee country, I was informed of a spring, a few miles from thence, called Brimstone Spring, which was surrounded with great quantities thrown around, plenty by the account to supply the country. Also, a salt spring about seventy miles distant, where they obtained their supply of that article. By the report, they could make several hundred bushels a day. Since I crossed the Niagara, had an account of an oil spring at the river Latroneh, which poured out oil, and another spring, which would burn.

29th. Attended meeting to pretty good satisfaction. With Thomas Stewardson and Joshua Sharpless, visited the family of James Crawford in the afternoon. Next day the committee met and conferred together. Paid a visit to an individual who hath appeared under strong delusions.

10th mo. 1st. Attended a meeting of conference with members of society. It was a very solid opportunity; they generally expressed a desire to have a meeting for discipline granted them. The committee, after some time by ourselves, agreed to it,

and calling them in, a meeting was agreed to be held to-morrow, and so on, time about between here and Black creek, to go by the name of Pelham meeting.

2d. Went to the monthly meeting. Divers of the Yearly Meeting's minutes were read. Thomas Stewardson stood as clerk. The Queries were read and a clerk and overseers appointed. I thought the meeting was solid. It held till near four o'clock. Preparative meetings to be held at Black creek and Pelham.

3d Now leave Short-hills, on our return. Rode to Wm. Lundy's, below the great falls. Next day, went to an appointed meeting held in a house built for the use of any or all societies, which I hope was not unprofitable. Rode to Benjamin Wilson's, on the banks of the Niagara river.

5th [-6th]. Rode to Asa Schooley's; and the day after, attended meeting at his house to a good degree of satisfaction.

7th. Took our farewell of the family, crossed the Niagara river, and went along lake Erie to Buffalo.

Isaac Coates Visit, 1799

[Isaac Coates, also part of the delegation from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to oversee the establishment of Pelham Monthly Meeting, first visited the Seneca Indians on the Allegany in what is now western New York, where they conferred with Complanter. Coates and his party then traveled to the Niagara region, reaching Lake Erie about the 19th of 9th month, 1799. By the 22nd, Coates and his companions had crossed the Niagara River.]

22nd, and first of the week. Stayed and attended their meeting, which is held in the house of our friend, Asa Schooley, where we lodged, which was to me a dull time, though some lively communications therein. After dinner I took an affectionate farewell

of Halliday Jackson, who was returned from viewing the great Falls and is now about to return though a lonesome wilderness to Genesinghta, the place of his present abode.¹³ We then classed ourselves in order to visit the families in this neighborhood, Nathan Smith, Jacob Paxson, and James Cooper going in one company, and William Blakey, Joshua Sharpless, Thomas Stewardson, and myself in another. We then proceeded to and visited the families of John Cutle [sic], a member; John Harret, and Azariah Schooly.

1st of the tenth month, 1799. We all attended a conference before appointed to be held at Friends' meeting-house in Pelham township, otherwise known as the Short Hills, with the members of said meeting and the Friends of Black Creek, which was conducted with great solemnity.

3rd. Thomas Stewardson, James Cooper, Jacob Paxon, and myself set off, intending for Newark down the Niagara River.

7th. Thomas Stewardson, and myself lodged at our kind friend, Asa Schooly's, last night, who with his valued wife, equipped us for our journey through the wilderness.

8th. On our way this day we met many people moving from Bucks county and the Jerseys to Canada. It is amazing what numbers of people emigrate from those two places over the Niagara river...

[Coates and his party traveled then visited Friends in the Genesee country of New York State, before returning to his home on the 27th of 11th Month, 1799.]

John Hunt's Account, 1800

[John Hunt, departed from Pennsylvania 10th 10 Month, 1800 to visit Friends of Pelham Monthly Meeting; traveled with

James Wilson, Richard Hartheshorne and Penrose Wiley. Returned 29th of 11th Month. Died 1824, aged about 84. Moorestown, NJ.]

[23rd, 10th Mo., 1800] ...the day following went nineteen miles to Buffalo creek at Lake Erie, where we found good entertainment for ourselves and horses; thence crossing Niagara river we went about fifteen miles to A. Schooley's, the first Friend's house in Upper Canada, where we were very kindly received; having been much favoured in getting through the dismal wilderness, for more than three hundred miles; no accident happening to us, except one of the houses getting a little lame. On our way we saw a number of Indians who behaved friendly and very civil toward us, though they could not, or would not talk English.

24th. The weather now cleared up fine and moderate, and we set out on foot to visit Friends' families in this settlement. We walked several miles up Lake Erie and through the woods and swamps, visited three families, and traveled upwards of twelve miles. In the evening, we got lost in a swamp; it became dark, and was windy and cloudy, as well as the ground wet and our guide bewildered, so that for about an hour I thought we must have to lodge under some of the large logs or trees; but at length we were mercifully favoured to find a path by which we got well to our lodgings at Asa Schooley's, where we had a refreshing comfortable sitting after supper. And though I had walked till my linen was wet with sweat, I felt no sense of weariness or drowsiness, which brought to my remembrance the encouraging words of my dear wife, "According to the day, so shall thy strength be."

26th. Proceeded on the family visit on foot, walking upwards of twelve miles over and on logs, and through the woods; had

four sittings, some of which were very tendering favoured opportunities-- Dined on bear's meat. We were told the bears and wolves are more about than is common in these parts. Next day, we attended their meeting held at A. Schooley's; it was crowded, and I thought was a good, open season, and a tendering time, particularly to some young people, who I had a hope would come forward as valiants in the cause of Truth. This afternoon we visited three families.

27th. Set out to the other settlement, and rode about thirty-eight miles to John Hill's. On the way, we passed down Niagara river till we came to the great falls, which we viewed, and it was awful to behold. We were informed that Ellicott, the great surveyor, calculated the falls to be 168 feet. In falling over the rock, the waters roar like a terrible hurricane, and a mist arises which is like a smart sprinkling of rain. When the sun shines on this mist, it forms a perfect rainbow. There is an island at the falls, which divides the river, and it is said the stream on the east side of this island is thirty feet higher than on the west side. Just above the falls, the river is said to be a mile and a half wide, which appears probable. Under the falls, or where the water pours over, the rock is caved out very hollow. When the rocks give way and fall, the earth seems to shake for several miles round, like an earthquake. The mist that rises, spreads round and keeps the farms in the neighbourhood well moistened.

[28th] This day visited four families, to satisfaction. In this day's journey, we met with as difficult a piece of road as I ever travelled; the mountain was so steep that we could not lead our horses down without sliding; in some places we had to slide and catch by the bushes and trees to save ourselves-- and at length came to a place where the steepness was such, and the bush and

logs so thick, that for a time we could go neither backward nor forward.-- At length, by clearing away the brush, &c. we got along safely; but it reminded me of an account given by George Fox in his Journal, where he travelled down a descent so steep that they were fain slide down with their horses, and let them line and breathe before they could go on.-- We also saw another vast water fall of a small stream of water over a rock into a hollow, supposed to be between two and three hundred feet. It was enough to make one's head swim to look down into the deep valley, and steep banks.

29th. We attended their preparative meeting, and in the afternoon visited three families. This day we passed by and through what they called the Hurricane; which is a tract or vein of land though the country about two miles wide, along which a whirlwind or hurricane had lately passed, and had blown down nearly all the timber, which lay crossed and piled on one another very thick, and in every direction. We were shown the place where a man who was passing along when it happened, was stopped, by the trees falling so thick around him that he could not go on; yet neither he nor his horse was hurt; but they were so penned in by the timber that they could not get out that night, nor till about noon next day, when by people's coming and cutting away the logs they were released. A remarkable preservation! "Day unto day uttereth speech," and the elements of wind and water show forth his handy, powerful work.

30th. Visited five families; and the next day continued the visit, though to me a more exercising time than the preceding; yet on looking over my labours, I feel no condemnation, but a good degree of peace and quietness in the consciousness of doing as well as I could. The next day we completed the family visit; and on first-day, the 2d of 11th month, we attended Pelham meeting.

The house being small was crowded, and it was a time of openness to labour for improvement in relation to some customs prevailing among them. On second day, we returned to Asa Schooley's, where we met with Henry Widdifield, a ministering Friend from Muncy, who with two young men had been one hundred miles further northward than we had; where he said the land was much richer than here.¹⁴

5th of the 11th month, we were at Pelham monthly meeting held at Black Creek, (Asa Schooley's) I hope the communications will be as bread cast on the waters, and found after many days. Tenderness prevailed in the meeting, and we parted under friendly and tender feelings of regard.

Next day, taking leave of Friends in Upper Canada, we crossed Niagara river near lake Erie, and in company with Henry Widdifield, Israel Lundy¹⁵ and Samuel Carpenter, being seven in number, we set forward to travel though the wilderness homeward.

Rufus Hall's Visit, 1804

3rd of 2nd month, in company with our young friend Eseck Aldrich, I set out for Upper Canada, and in three days reached our Friend, Asa Schooley's. Here I rested a little, and on the 9th attended their mid-week meeting, in which I had to sound an alarm, and to speak in close terms; which was trying to me, being a stranger among them; yet I had a word of encouragement to a few sincere hearted ones. Next day Eseck Aldrich left me, intending to return home; he had been very kind and it was a trial to part with him: so I set out in company with Abraham Laing and reached Pelham that evening, about thirty miles. After attending the funeral of a child, and visiting my old friends, Jeremiah Moore's family, I was at their meeting on first-day; in which I was

led to set forth what it was that had deprived men and women of happiness ever since the fall of Adam, to wit: unfaithfulness to known duty: and that this would continue to be the case as long as unfaithfulness was given way to. On the other hand, by faithful obedience to manifested duty, a state of happiness was obtained. The meeting was solid and ended well. Next day, visited Joshua Gillams' family, and on the 15th, attended their mid-week meeting.

On the 16th, in company with Peter Beckett, I set out for Yonge Street...

Notes

1. "Little, Hales" is an error in transcription; Edward B. Littlehales is intended.
2. Both Benjamin and Jesse Pawling, from Philadelphia, had been officers in Butler's Rangers.
3. Hannah Taylor, wife of John, was a member of Pelham on its establishment. Their daughter married Joshua Gillam in 12th Mo., 1790.
4. Overseer and original member of Pelham Monthly Meeting, from Middletown, PA; son-in-law of John and Anna Taylor.
5. Simcoe's private opinion of some the Quakers and their mission was more critical. In a letter of June 28, 1793, from Simcoe to Alexander McKee, Simcoe describes Parrish, Elliott as having been "Rebels in the late War." (Cruikshank, 5 (1931): 53)
6. "Shive of bread" = "slice of bread."
7. Benjamin Canby was a member of Pelham Preparative Meeting.
8. Heandricks was an Oneida chief, considered to be an ally of the United States.
9. Paraphrase of Psalms 137: 1-2.
10. John Birch, owner of a mill at the rapids up river from Niagara Falls; not a Friend.
11. Probably Samuel Emlen (1730-1799) of Philadelphia; see Friends Miscellany 12 (1839): 162-94.
12. Asa Schooley received a certificate from Hardwick Monthly Meeting, dated 4th Mo. 2, 1188, and was an original member of Black Creek Meeting and an Overseer in 1799.

13. Halliday Jackson was one of the Quaker teachers resident on the Seneca's Alleghany Reservation.
14. Probably Henry Widdefield, who would soon move to Whitchurch, within Yonge Street Meeting.
15. Probably Israel Lundy who was an active member of Queen Street Preparative Meeting, Yonge St. Monthly Meeting, until being disowned and joining the Children of Peace in 1812.

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“A Women’s Life Work”: Laura Smith Haviland and the Underground Railroad

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The life of Laura Smith Haviland (1808-1898) provides an intriguing example of a Midwestern, nineteenth century evangelical reformer. She adopted the phrase, “thine for the oppressed,” as the central focus of her reform impetus. Like Emma Malone (see CQHJ No. 61, 1997, *ed.*) and other nineteenth-century Quaker women, Haviland devoted her life to agitating for social change that would benefit others less fortunate than herself. In this paper, I will examine the chief reform endeavor that Haviland involved herself in, the Underground Railroad.¹

Born in Kitley Township, Ontario, Canada, Haviland was the daughter of Daniel and Sene Blancher Smith. In 1815, at the age of eight, Haviland moved with her family to Lockridge, New York. As a child, she was profoundly influenced by her parents devotion to the Society of Friends. Haviland recounts that she developed her abolitionist proclivities at an early age. At the age of six she learned to read, and soon became interested in John Woolman’s history of the slave trade and “the middle passage.” Like Abraham Lincoln, who witnessed a slave auction in New Orleans and later testified that “the iron entered my soul,” Haviland as an adolescent also observed abuse of African Americans. Once she witnessed a group of boys pelting an elderly African American male with grass and clay, while calling him a “nigger.” Another African American, who was employed by the local inn, was horribly disfigured when several boys exploded black powder in the man’s trousers and crippled him. After observing these abuses,

Haviland later recalled that she vowed to defend “that crushed and neglected race.”²

In 1825, Haviland married Charles Haviland, Jr., a fellow Quaker. In that same year her parents moved to the Michigan Territory. Four years later, Haviland and her husband followed her parents and moved to Lenawee County, Michigan, a thriving stronghold for antislavery activists. From the time of its inception, the Michigan Territory was committed to a strong anti-slavery commitment.³

In the same year that the constitutional Convention drafted the United States Constitution, the Continental Congress passed the Ordinance of 1787 to provide a government for the Northwest Territory. The Ordinance declared that slavery was to be forbidden in the Northwest Territory. The exclusion of slavery from the Territory pleased northerners who disliked the institution of slavery and also southern slaveholders who wanted to keep a monopoly on the production of tobacco, indigo, and cotton. In order to carry out the provisions of the Constitution that condoned slavery, Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 to aid in returning slaves to their masters. This federal law authorized a slave owner or his agent to seize the fugitive and return him, or her, to the rightful owner. It also provided for a \$500 fine and time in prison for anyone who hindered the arrest, harboring, or rescuing of the fugitive. Thus, giving aid to a runaway slave became a federal offense with a severe punishment to anyone so convicted.⁴

In spite of the Fugitive Slave Act many slaves continued to flee to the north. They

were often aided in their escape by members of the Society of Friends. The center of this early aid to escaping slaves centered in the Quaker community of Philadelphia. These early reformers argued for a higher law that governed men, one that superseded any of those on the nation's statute books. They appealed to the Bible to support their rationale: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee, He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him." (KJV Deut. 23: 15-16).⁵

In 1810 there were 144 African Americans living in the Michigan Territory. Following the end of the War of 1812, fugitive slaves began to flock into that area. The status of the former slaves constituted a social problem to the white settlers. In 1827, the territorial legislature passed a bill known as "An Act to regulate Blacks and Mulattoes and to punish the kidnapping of such persons." Accordingly, African Americans living in Michigan were not citizens or persons possessing civil rights. Any Blacks coming to Michigan were required to carry a legal document stating that they were free born persons and must register with the county clerk and post a \$500 bond for good behavior. Such a piece of legislation, however, proved to be unenforceable.⁶

By 1830, Lenawee County, Michigan was rapidly settled by migrants from New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Many of these settlers were members of the Society of Friends. These Quaker settlements added strong support to the growing anti-slavery sentiment in Michigan. Among these followers of George Fox were the Haviland family and Elizabeth Chandler from Philadelphia. The growing anti-slavery feeling in Lenawee County was fueled by Benjamin Lundy's *Genius of Universal*

Emancipation and William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*. After corresponding with Chandler, Lundy traveled to Michigan in 1832 to meet with the anti-slavery supporters. In October 1832, under the leadership of Laura Haviland and Elizabeth Chandler, a group of Quakers organized the first anti-slavery society in Michigan Territory at the Raisin Valley Quaker Meeting House in Adrian. Part of their agenda called for boycotting any product produced by slave labour, such as cotton.⁷

In 1837, Haviland strengthened her commitment to anti-slavery activities, and she and her husband opened the Raisin River Institute, a multi-racial academy which accepted fifty students in that first year. The school, according to Haviland, was based on the "Oberlin model," and it thrived until the onset of the Civil War.⁸

Because the Society of Friends in Lenawee County adhered to a conservative stance regarding anti-slavery, Haviland and her family decided to search for another denomination that shared their abolitionist views. In 1843, Haviland, her husband, parents, and fourteen others decided to withdraw their membership from the Society of Friends. A few months after they left the Quakers, Haviland and her husband joined the Wesleyan Methodist Church. That newly formed denomination was comprised chiefly of abolitionists who had seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church. The new church, according to Haviland, was "a branch of our [Heavenly] Father's family... nearest to our own beliefs." Haviland, however, never severed all ties to the Society of Friends. Most of her closest anti-slavery associates, including Levi Coffin and Elizabeth Comstock, were prominent Quakers. Following the Civil War, when her need for a denomination that condoned her radical abolitionist activities

ended, she rejoined the Raisin River Meeting.⁹

In 1845, tragedy struck the Haviland family. An epidemic known as inflammatory corymbia (an infectious skin disease that is treated today by antibiotics) swept through southern Michigan, claiming both of Haviland's parents, a sister, her husband, and her youngest child. Haviland also contracted the disease and suffered a prolonged painful recovery. These multiple tragedies seemingly propelled Haviland into a full-scale abolitionist career. Despite the responsibility of four children at home, she plunged into aggressive activities on the Underground Railroad.¹⁰

As the crisis that brought on the Civil War developed, abolitionists began secretly aiding runaway slaves to escape to freedom in the North, or in Canada. The Underground Railroad existed in every state north of the border slave states and had a concentrated network in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. Because of the geographical location of these states between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes the Railroad network was established in these states as early as the 1830s. Gradually the Underground Railroad developed several main routes. Often two or more alternate routes were used to guard against detection of slave catchers. One route, called the "Quaker Route," led northward from Kentucky through Ohio. It began in Cincinnati, continued to Toledo and into Michigan, where it went through Adrian and then to Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor. Another route, known as the "Illinois Line," led northward from Missouri to Chicago and Wisconsin.¹¹

In Ohio, the canal systems provided routes for the Underground Railroad. Between 1825 and 1845 the Miami and Erie Canal was completed between Toledo on Lake Erie and Cincinnati on the Ohio River.

Connecting with this ambitious project was the Wabash and Erie Canal with an outlet on the Ohio at Evansville, Indiana. Also the Ohio and Erie Canal linked Cleveland with Portsmouth on the Ohio River. Haviland once escorted five fugitives by canal from Cincinnati to Toledo, where she secured additional funds to pay for their passage to Canada.¹²

Three lines of the Railroad led through Indiana. Among Indiana's residents was Levi Coffin, the reputed "president" of the Underground Railroad. Coffin moved from his native North Carolina in 1826, and opened a small general store at Newport, Indiana, six miles from the Ohio line. His home at Newport was on the direct line between Canada and Cincinnati, where the greatest number of fugitives crossed the Ohio River. His home bore the sobriquet of the "Grand Central Station of the Underground Railroad."¹³

Haviland's career on the Railroad can be divided into two phases. In the earliest segment she took a moderate stance and offered her farm near Adrian, Michigan as a station on the Underground Railroad. In the second phase Haviland moved to an aggressive, radical stance in which she served as a traveling conductor, escorting slaves through Ohio and Michigan to freedom in Canada. One of Haviland's earliest activities on the Railroad involving a former slave, Willis Hamilton, occurred in 1846. He had been freed by his master and had smuggled his wife from the plantation where she was a slave. The two refugees traveled to Michigan hoping to find safety among the Quakers in Adrian. Once established near the Haviland farm, the Hamiltons wrote to friends in Kentucky trying to locate two children who were still slaves. Unfortunately their letter fell into the hands of Elsie's former master, who immediately dispatched slave catchers to

Michigan. Through the careful planning of Haviland, Raisin Institute's tin horn was used to raise slaver alarms, and as the Kentuckians rode into the neighbourhood, the warning sounded. Due to Haviland's cleverness, the captors missed their prey even though they stopped at the Hamilton residence to ask directions. A few months later a letter arrived from Toledo imploring the Hamiltons to visit an old friend who was desperately ill in a Toledo hotel. Suspecting a trap, Haviland advised the couple to stay in Adrian while she, her son, and a freed-man traveled to Toledo. They visited the Toledo Hotel and met the allegedly ill man, only to discover that he was an impostor. Haviland and her two companions quickly left the hotel and boarded the train for Adrian. The Southerners, not easily shaken, soon followed in a desperate hope of tracing their quarry. In a show of reckless bravado the three Southerners surrounded Haviland and her companions and produced loaded pistols. Haviland recalls that the agitated men called her a "nigger stealer and thief" and demanded that she return their property. The conductor and several passengers, however, rallied to her defense and the Southerners soon exited the train.¹⁴

Throughout 1846 and 1847 a lively correspondence between the slave catcher, Thomas Chester, and Haviland developed. One of the unkind letters arrived at Raisin Institute during one of Haviland's absences and it was opened by the principal. He was quite indignant when he read Chester's insolent tone and determined to answer the letter himself. The tone of the letter is exemplified by his use of this alleged exchange between two Congressmen:

Sir, as John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay were seated in Congress, they saw passing on the street a school of jackasses. Said Henry

Clay, "There Mr Adams, is a company of your constituents as they come from the North." "All right; they are going South to teach yours," was the quick reply. And I think that one of those long-eared animals have strayed down your way, and your ma might have sent you to his school -- I think, however, but a few weeks, or your epistolary correspondence with Mrs. Haviland would have been vastly improved.

Chester was so offended by this letter that he printed a series of handbills that denounced Laura Haviland as an abolitionist and offered \$3000 for her capture. These advertisements were circulated throughout several southern states. In spite of Chester's threat, Haviland in person penetrated the heart of the enemy's territory in the fall of 1847, and thus initiated the second and radical phase of her career on the Underground Railroad.¹⁵

John White, a former slave, escaped to Adrian, and found employment on a farm that bordered Haviland's. His impassioned plea for help in securing his wife's freedom from slavery propelled Haviland into action. She traveled to Cincinnati where she conferred with Levi Coffin and he advised her to visit Rising Sun, Indiana and consult several former slaves who had escaped from the neighbourhood of the plantation from which White had escaped. After meeting with these fugitives, Haviland returned to Cincinnati and outlined her plans to the Coffins. They escorted her to a ferry that crossed the Ohio River to Kentucky.¹⁶

Once in Kentucky, Haviland made her way to the neighbourhood where Jane White was a slave. A free mulatto named Rachel agreed to pass her off as an aunt she was expecting from Georgia. Dressed in shabby clothes, with berry pails over their

arms, "Aunt Smith" and Rachel walked boldly to the neighbouring plantation and joined slaves at their noon meal. "Aunt Smith" said little, as her Northern accent would have turned her into a doubtful Georgian. Rachel approached Mrs. Stevens, the plantation owner's wife, and asked her permission to take Jane with them to pick berries. While bending over the bushes, Haviland, in a quiet voice, gave Jane her husband's message and attempted to cover up the wild storm of weeping that engulfed the girl. After Jane had been calmed, Haviland quickly outlined the escape plan. Afterwards the three women quickly filled the berry pails and Rachel and "Aunt Smith" slipped away. Later the same day, Haviland resumed her identity as a white Northerner and returned to Michigan.

A few weeks later she returned to Kentucky to establish a contact with a slave friend of John White. Unfortunately the neighbourhood was in an uproar over the successful escape of several slaves, and thus every strange Northerner was suspiciously viewed as a possible ringleader in a slave kidnapping conspiracy. She made brief contact with White's friend who assured her that he would arrange Jane White's escape as soon as the excitement receded. Several weeks passed, however, and Jane failed to appear. Desperate for his wife's freedom, John White traveled to Kentucky alone where he escorted his wife and friend across the Ohio River to Indiana. Unfortunately, slave catchers caught them before they could reach the designated depot on the Underground Railroad that would have insured their freedom, and returned them to Kentucky. They subsequently were separated and Jane died within a few weeks of cholera. John White managed to get word to Coffin and Haviland. The Vigilance Committee of the Railroad met in Cincinnati at Coffin's home and raised three

hundred fifty dollars to help White once he escaped to Ohio. Once in Ohio, Haviland escorted him to Michigan where he purchased a farm near the Raisin Institute.¹⁷

Haviland also directed the escape of Maria, a mulatto nurse, whose husband had escaped to Canada a few years earlier. Maria's master and family were from New Orleans and decided to spend the summer months in Cincinnati. While visiting family in Louisville, Kentucky, they were warned that they might lose their children's nurse, "as that city is cursed with free Negroes and abolitionists." At this unpleasant information, Maria's master decided to stay in Covington, Kentucky, instead of Cincinnati. Maria was heartbroken with this change in plans, for she had saved over one hundred dollars to pay for her fare to Canada once she had crossed the Ohio River.¹⁸

Once settled in the hotel in Covington, Maria unpacked her trunk and to her chagrin, discovered that her money had been taken by her mistress. While her master and his wife frequently amused themselves in Cincinnati, Maria took the children to the banks of the Ohio River where they watched boats and picked up pebbles. On one of her visits to the river bank she met a member of the Underground Railroad who offered her passage across the Ohio. Late that same evening, while her master and mistress attended a lecture in Cincinnati, Maria met her contact who rowed her across the river. Unfortunately, however, Maria's absence was discovered within a few hours.¹⁹

Haviland was staying a few blocks from where Maria was hiding, and when Levi Coffin urged her to take the fugitive to a safer haven, Haviland readily agreed. In an effort to disguise Maria, Haviland took a black Quaker bonnet, a drab shawl, and a plain dress-skirt in a market basket. Maria quickly dressed herself in the Quaker cloth-

ing, and Haviland completed the costume with a thick veil over the bonnet. As they walked through the streets of Cincinnati, Haviland instructed Maria to hold her arm and to limp like an elderly person. As they passed through the city, the ladies heard a crowd of men discussing the escape of a mulatto nurse from New Orleans. Haviland noted that, "my Quaker sister, limping at my side, was trembling... as she hung on my arm, as we listened to these remarks from her pursuers." Soon after Haviland delivered Maria to her new waiting place, word came from Levi Coffin, "Laura, thou hast left thy fugitive with a good family, but in a poor place... wait until tomorrow evening, when thou hadst better give her another move."²⁰

Maria's former master doubled the reward for her capture to one thousand dollars and was raving with rage over the loss of his children's nurse. According to Haviland, he stated that he would have Maria if he had to "set one foot in hell after her." Haviland, however, moved the fugitive to yet another hiding place in the city. To ensure her safety, Haviland powdered Maria's face with flour to give her the appearance of a white person under the Quaker veil. While the fugitive waited in Cincinnati, Haviland devised a ploy to distract Maria's owner. She wrote a letter for Maria to her master informing him of her safe arrival in Canada, and that Canada was not the cold, barren land that he had always described to her -- the Canadians raised huge fields of corn, peas, potatoes, and beans. Haviland then dated the letter several days ahead from Windsor, Canada, and sent it in a letter to a friend in Ontario, who mailed the letter to Maria's former owner. The letter produced the desired effect and soon the slave catchers retreated from Cincinnati. Haviland and the Coffins then determined to help Maria reach her husband

coveted freedom in Canada.

Haviland went to Maria's hiding place to escort her on the final segment of her journey. When the time came for the women to leave, Maria picked up a bundle of clothing. Haviland, however, knew that the bundle would call undue attention to their status as travelers, and urged Maria to leave the clothing behind and it could be forwarded to her later. Maria, however, refused even when her companion asked her if she would risk her liberty for a bundle of clothing. In a stroke of ingenuity Haviland rolled the bundle into the shape of an infant, and covered the parcel with a shawl. As the two women left the hiding place, their plans were nearly ruined when the young daughter of their host followed them to the front porch and noticed the bundle Haviland carried. In an excited voice she announced to her mother that their guest had a baby and she wanted to see it. Haviland told the child that they needed to leave, but promised her that they would bring "the baby" the next time they called.²¹

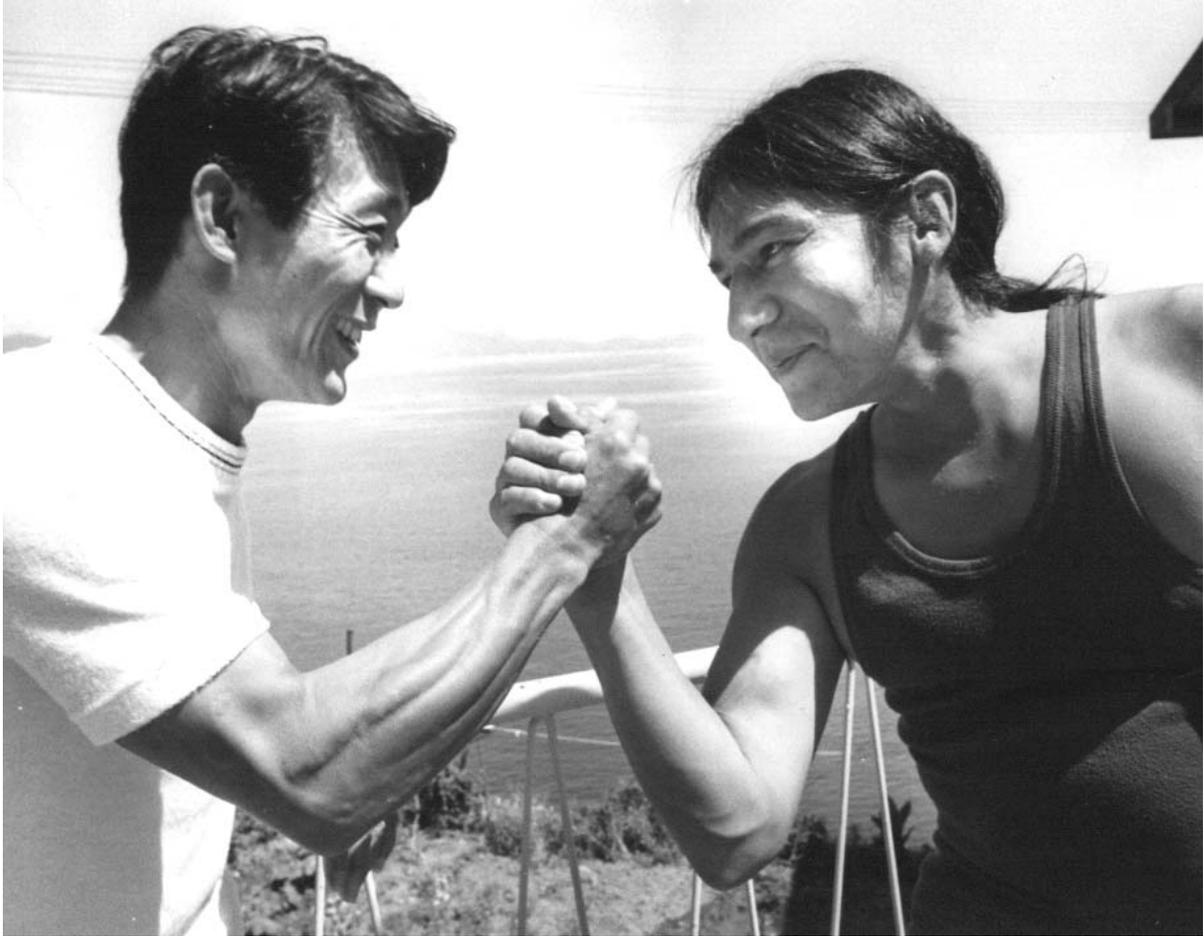
Laura Haviland's life serves as an exciting example of a nineteenth century reformer. Between 1845 and 1860 Haviland dedicated her life to the Underground Railroad. Through her efforts several hundred slaves reached freedom in northern states or in Canada. Her career as a social reformer supports the theses of several contemporary historians.²² As an antislavery activist Haviland possessed many of the characteristics of Whitney Cross' ultraists. Haviland's life also corresponds with Gilbert Barnes' and Dwight Dummond's argument that the revivals of the west served as the storm center of abolitionism. Haviland comports well with models of Nathan Hatch, Curtis Johnson, William McLoughlin and Donald M. Scott, who maintain that many activists were actually ecumenical in their approach. Haviland also mirrors Ronald Walter's cri-

teria of the evangelical Protestant wing of abolitionists after 1840. Eric Foner draws attention to a minority of Midwest abolitionists who argued for racial equality. His model also finds an example in Haviland. Clearly she lived her life's motto, "thine for the oppressed."

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Japanese visitor and Ojibwa host: a bond of struggle, August 1975. Grassy Narrows First Nation from Ontario visited Japan to discuss Minamata disease - the result of mercury poisoning.

Quaker Peace Testimony and Land: Quaker Engagement with Land Rights in Scotland and Canada

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Introduction

The last thing I expected, when I left Canada in 1996, was to find myself engaged in a major research project concerning Canadian Quakers and our relationship to the land rights struggles of First Nations in Canada. Yet I am now involved with just that. I am a PhD student at the Centre for Quaker Studies of Sunderland University. The Centre is the only one of its

kind, offering research based full and part time Masters and PhD programmes in Quaker studies. At present fourteen students are registered doing research on a broad variety of aspects of Quakerism mainly in England but also concerning Norway, and Canada/ Scotland. The Centre sponsors an annual lecture in Quaker studies and is building working relationships with Friends in Norway.

Why This Title

During the four years I lived with and worked for the Lubicon Cree Nation in Little Buffalo, northern Alberta, I was surrounded by injustice and its consequences. The Lubicon had been fighting for their land rights for more than fifty years. The community was struggling with the effects of the dramatic economic and social consequences of resource extraction undertaken over their objections. The Lubicon also were profoundly affected by government "divide and conquer" tactics undertaken to force them to settle their land rights (Goddard 1991: 203). I was present to support their struggle in whatever ways the Lubicon chose. I was also present as a witness - a witness to the effects of continuing conflict, the lack of self determination and the abuse of Lubicon land. And I was present as a student - learning by being there about the meanings of land, about relationships between different cultures - about ways of being within Creation in ways not possible in rural or urban environments.

When, in 1996, I moved to Scotland I was surprised to hear and read about Scots passionately struggling with similar issues. Crofters in the Highlands were struggling to control the lands on which they lived. Scots were exploring questions of devolution (partial transfer of political power from the national government in London to a Scottish parliament in Edinburgh)¹ and/or independence. Enquiries about ways in which Quaker peace testimony was being explored as a lens through which to understand and participate in such interesting issues suggested that nothing was being done. Thus a PhD project was born!

Research Proposal

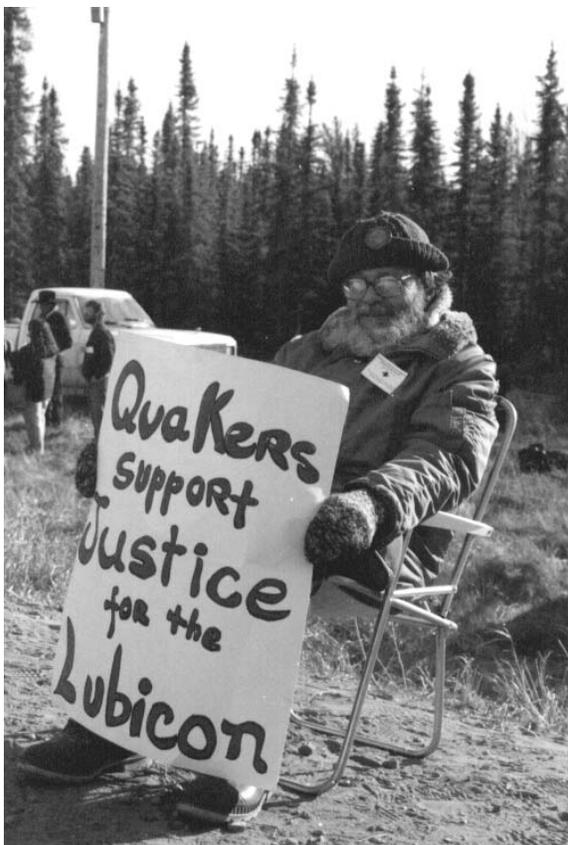
My research is planned to explore a number of questions. How has "Quaker

peace testimony" been applied in Friends' responses to conflict over land in Scotland and Canada? Is the understanding of "Quaker peace testimony" by Friends in Scotland, England and Canada the same? How does an understanding of "Quaker peace testimony" enhance understandings of issues of conflict and conflict resolution, especially with respect to processes such as nationalism, colonialism, imperialism, ethnicity, justice, democracy and human rights? What is the meaning of land in the different cultures covered by this research: Quaker and non-Quaker; First Nations; Canada and Scots? What relationship exists between land and "Quaker peace testimony" What new meanings and understandings can arise from this search about the meaning and role of "Quaker peace testimony"?

Throughout "Quaker peace testimony" is used without an article. The question about different understandings of Quaker peace testimony suggests that the article "the" is inappropriate. "The" suggests a common, shared understanding of what those three words mean. "The" is the article commonly appended to "Quaker peace testimony" when it is spoken by Friends. The article "A" suggests more than one understanding. Its use would conflict with common practice amongst Friends without resolving the question about whether a shared understanding exists. So I have chosen, for the duration of the research, not to use any article.

Research Process

This research is complex as it requires an understanding of both general and Quaker history of England, Scotland and Canada from the times of the beginnings of Quakerism to the present. Some of the research will be done using secondary sources. Original research needs to be done in the records of Canadian and Britain



Jack Ross at the Lubicon Nation Blockade, Oct. 15, 1988. Photo: Elaine Bishop.

Yearly Meetings as well as in General Meeting for Scotland and some monthly meetings. To date I have been able to spend time at the archives of Britain Yearly Meeting in London, of Canadian' Yearly Meeting in Newmarket and at the library of Woodbrooke College in Birmingham, England. Still to be started is research at the Scottish Records Office in Edinburgh.

The history of the jurisdictions covered complicate the research. For example, the status of Scotland has changed since 1652. When Quakerism began Scotland was an independent country although England and Scotland had shared the same sovereign since 1603 (Lynch 1991: 239). Initial Quaker organization in Scotland saw two yearly meetings established: Aberdeen (1697) and Edinburgh (minutes existing from 1669) (Field 1921: 2). In 1707 England and Scotland were united under the

Act of Union (Scott 1994: 207-8). Scots' Quaker structure continued in its then form until 1786 at which time both yearly meetings were included under London Yearly Meeting as "the Half Yearly Meeting of Scotland." This became the General Meeting for Scotland in 1827 (Field 1921: 2). This structure continues to exist composed of four monthly meetings that cover Scotland.

Consequently, comparisons to be made in assessing differences in understandings and practices of Quaker peace testimony need to reflect the different historical and cultural understandings of, depending on the viewer's political point of view, two (Canada, Britain) or three (Canada, Scotland and England) countries and what, at different historic times, have been six (Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Genesee, Canada Yearly Meeting Orthodox, Canada Yearly Meeting Conservative and London) but are now two Yearly Meetings (Britain and Canadian).

Quaker engagement with aboriginal justice - some preliminary findings

A major area of my research involves exploring Quaker involvement in aboriginal justice.

When I started exploring the records of Britain Yearly Meeting I discovered that in 1837 Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting established all Aborigines Committee. There had been discussion on the floor of London Yearly Meeting that year concerning the state of "Aboriginal Indians" (London Yearly Meeting Proceedings 1837: 64) with information being reported about the state of Aborigines in the British Colonies with special attention to

the oppressions which the Indians in Upper Canada experienced from the white settlers there, who had most

unjustly expelled them from their rich and cultivated lands without an adequate compensation, and in some instances without any.

A minute was approved "strongly recommending the attention of Meeting for Sufferings to the subject, with full power to act therein" (ibid, 64). The Aborigines Committee became a standing committee of Meeting for Sufferings and its scope widened to include Aborigines in Australia. In 1847 this committee was amalgamated into the Negro and Aborigines Fund with the business of two other concerns added:

expenditure of money raised for the benefit of the African race ... and that on the appropriation of the Negro and Aborigines Fund ... and that the said Committee are also desired from time to time to consider in what way the testimony of our Religious Society against Slavery and the Slave trade can be upheld. (BYM Archives correspondence 1998).

Regretfully no manuscripts, minutes or records of these committees have survived to make their way into the BYM archives. I have not yet finished exploring the Meeting for Sufferings minutes to discover why, in 1863, the Aborigines aspect of the mandate of this committee disappeared.

In evaluating the records of London Yearly Meeting in this matter it is necessary to note that the information received from Yearly Meetings in the United States and Canada is limited. London Yearly Meeting, in the matter of the splits that took place in yearly meetings in the Americas in 1827 and 1828, chose the position of the Orthodox yearly meetings (Dorland 1968: 126). Consequently its publications, including maps, omit acknowledging the existence of Hicksite yearly meetings and omit

information about the work of Hick site Friends among the Indians.

There is a great deal of information in the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives about Canadian Quaker involvement with First Nations and Inuit Peoples. Dorland (1968) makes observations about two different aspects of engagement. One is a brief mention about the continuing presence of Indians in areas in which Quakers were early settlers such as in Lobo Township. He also has a brief section under "Philanthropic Endeavours" on "The Indians" (Dorland 1968: 299-301) in which he describes some of the history of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's concern for Indians. He mentions the involvement of American Quakers in President Grant's pacification programme, which received financial support from Canadian Friends in Genesee Yearly Meeting, and the limited report presented to Representative Meeting of Canada Yearly Meeting in 1870 about the state of "the Indians in Canada." This report was based on information gathered during a personal visit by members of the committee to the Six Nations reserve at Grande River. "The report acknowledged that the Indians were considered "minors" by the government but the Friends commented on the local council of chiefs and warriors involved in local decision making. They report that "much talent and decorum (was) exhibited" in the councils. Representative Meeting proposed that this matter "was worthy of the continued attention of Friends" (Minutes of Representative Meeting held at Pickering the 22 sixth month, 1870).

Review of Canadian Yearly Meeting minutes and other documents since 1955, the year in which it became a united yearly meeting, suggests an ever present concern about aboriginal justice issues, even when there is no clearness about ways in which to respond. Small financial contributions were made over a number of years by the

Elizabeth Fry Sisterhood to the Grenfell Mission which provided medical services throughout the Labrador territory. The Elizabeth Binford Group of Wooler Meeting, in 1955, contributed to the Northland Mission in Alberta. In 1958 Canadian Young Friends Yearly Meeting suggested a work camp at the Six Nations territory in Brantford which was field in 1959. 1959 also saw the publication of "Let Us Try Then What Love Can Do", a report produced by Ruth Lor of Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC). This was reissued in 1960.

A brief. to the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Affairs in 1960 expressed concern about the situation of "the native Indians of Canada" and proposed a transformation of government policy from "being protective to being enabling, with self-determination, self respect and economic, political and cultural dignity as the goal" (Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Joint Committee on Indian Affairs 1960: 338). Friends' involvement grew slowly with individual Friends being involved in local issues building relationships with First Nations and Inuit people and organizations.

In 1966 Ralph Green, from the United States, offered his services to Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) and spent the summer visiting Friends in Canada. His report "Quakers and the Canadian Indians" described activities and interests of Friends in Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Six Nations in Ontario and Moosonee. Recommendations noted that Friends involved in this work often were involved through other organizations but suggested that Service Committee might consider getting one or two full time workers planning and directing recreational projects in Indian communities (Green 1966: 4). In 1967, CFSC reported on the floor of Yearly meeting:

In spite of leadership from staff and all exploratory visit amongst Canadian Friends and Meetings across Canada by Ralph Greene in the summer of 1966, no definite guidelines for a specific programme with Canadian Indians or Eskimos emerged (Canadian Yearly Meeting Minutes 1967: 23).

In 1969, CFSC responded to the government White Paper on Indian Affairs, described by Indian spokesmen as "representing instant cultural genocide" (CFSC 1969: 1) and advocating that "meaningful consultation" take place with Indian organizations (ibid.: 4) and that a mechanism be found to deal in "a fair and final way" with treaty and aboriginal claims (ibid.: 5). In 1971 Jadwiga Bennich, then Executive Secretary of CFSC wrote a survey of Canadian Quaker involvement with Indians. She noted the growing activism of Aboriginal Peoples on their own behalf, quoting one Friend who said "the Indian People have, so to speak, ARISEN, and want to speak and act for themselves" (Bennich 1971: 9) and suggests that Friends most effective contribution would be to support Indian organizations in their development.

In 1972 Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) was active in supporting the development of the Inuit organization, Inuit Tapirisat, and in correspondence to the government, recommended that "the Government of Canada give full and immediate recognition to land rights and claims of all aboriginal peoples north of 60" (CFSC 1972: 4) Canadian Friends Service Committee published and circulated its statement to the government in support of Inuit land claims stating:

Aboriginal title has been recognized in statutory enactments of the British



Lorna Schwartzentruber of the Aboriginal Rights Coalition (Project North) of which CYM is a member, at Akwesasne. On March 23, 1990 road blocks on NY Highway 37 were set up by Mohawks opposing gambling on their reservation. Different responses to the role of gambling in their community led to heightened tensions. CFSC was among the organizations that responded to a request for non-aligned observers to reduce the risk of violence. Photo: Phil Esmonde.

Government before Confederation and in Canada after that time. Over a period of 200 years, it was recognized in treaties with Indians in other parts of Canada. From the Proclamation of 1763 (which has never been repealed), through the British and Canadian Government dealings with the Hudson's Bay Company the concept of aboriginal title has been consistently upheld. In view of the past recognition of aboriginal title, it is surprising that the present Government of Canada denies the recognition of aboriginal rights. (ibid.: 1-2)

This material creates an impression that during the first 18 years as a united yearly meeting there was deep concern throughout

Canadian Yearly Meeting about aboriginal justice. There was less clarity about ways of responding. This resulted in a continuous search for a sense of calling that could lead to more effective ways of acting.

1974 was the watershed. In August of that year Anicinabe Park in Kenora, north-western Ontario, was occupied by armed warriors of the Ojibwa Nation. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), also armed, patrolled the area outside the park. JoLeigh Commandant brought a concern about this matter to Canadian Yearly Meeting gathered in Memramcook, NB. An ad hoc group was formed to seek ways of responding. Coming out of that concern, with the support of Yearly Meeting and funding from CFSC, a group of Friends joined by others traveled to Kenora and camped at the gates of the park. They were

able to gain the trust of both police and warriors and assist in ending the armed occupation without bloodshed.

In her unpublished article on the origins of the Quaker Committee on Native Concerns for the Quaker Aboriginal Affairs Committee of CFSC, Jo Vellacott (1993) describes the consequences of that action. Canadian Friends became deeply involved with the struggle of the Ojibwa people of White Dog and Grassy Narrows as they attempted to survive the effects of the mercury poisoning of their waters and land by a pulp mill. Friends became active in these communities and among other things, supported community development, provided medical care and consultation, helped make links and arrange exchange visits with the community of Minimata in Japan (the community after which the illness caused by mercury poisoning, Minimata disease, is called). Over several years the ad hoc committee became Quaker Committee for Native Concerns. Initially it continued as an independent committee, the Ad Hoc Committee of Concern for Indians (CYM Minutes 1975: 22) reporting regularly to Representative and Canadian Yearly Meetings. In 1977 Yearly Meeting approved the incorporation of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, then A called Quaker Committee for Native Concerns (CYM Minutes 1976: 26) into the work of Canadian Friends Service Committee (CYM Minutes 1977: 77). Thus was set in place the foundation for the continuing adventure of Canadian Quaker engagement with aboriginal justice issues.

Footnotes:

1. Devolution was established in Scotland in 1999, giving Scotland its first parliament since 1707.

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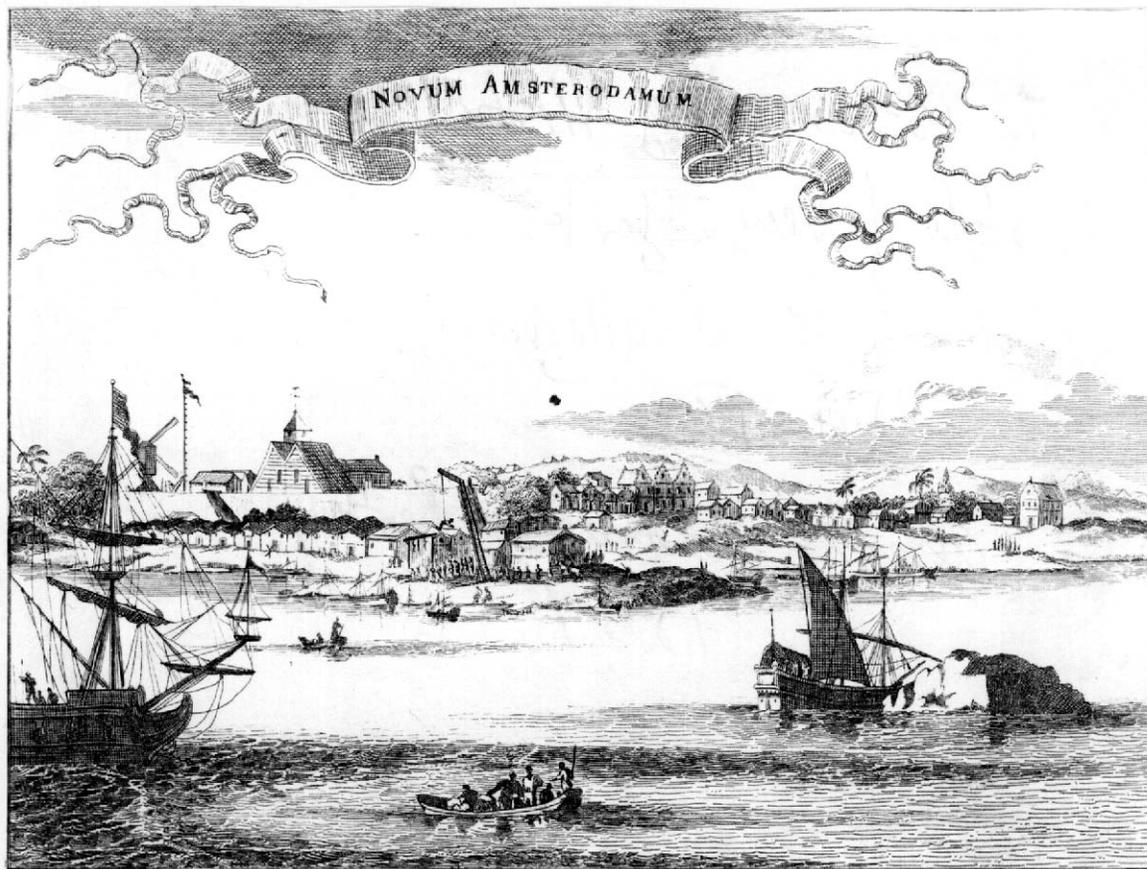
The Dorlands: A Loyalist Quaker Family

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This story is a search for some of my ancestors. It is a search for answers but it is also a claim of ownership. It is an effort to claim my past, and more importantly, it is an attempt to understand and contextualise that past. To a certain point, I am a Canadian by accident of religion and revolution. In the words of Northrop Frye: "Historically, a Canadian is an American who rejects the revolution."¹ My ancestors were people who rejected the American Revolution, and as such, this story attempts to explain how it is that I ended up a

Canadian. As an important byproduct, this story produces yet another piece of evidence contradicting the stereotypes of the United Empire Loyalists. They were not necessarily British elites dedicated to rabid anti-Americanism and the creation of a stratified hierarchical society in British North America. The reality was remarkably different. Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hope, as an administrator of the Loyalist Claims Commission found that the Loyalists consisted of "landholders, farmers and others..." Few were "persons of great prop-



New Amsterdam, from E.B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of New York*. Albany, 1851.

erty or consequence." They were also more likely to be of non-British descent and of modest means.² There were many reasons for fleeing the new American state besides the philosophical objections to republican ideals. This story explores one such reason.

The Dorlands are my mother's paternal line. The Dorlands of North America all descend from one of two men: Jan Gerretse Van Dorlandt³ and Lambert Janse Van Dorlandt. In *The Dorlands of America*, John Dorland Cremer claims that Jan, my ancestor, left Holland and settled in New Amsterdam (later New York) in approximately 1652.⁴ New Amsterdam was part of the Dutch colony of New Netherlands.⁵ William King Baker, in his biography of John T. Dorland published in the same year, claims that his name was Jansen Gerris Dorlandt and that he came to the New World on a ship called *The Spotted Cow* in 1680 or 1681.⁶ We do know that Jan Gerretse swore allegiance to the British Crown in 1687. He was 35 years old at the time.⁷ Both sources agree that he came from the village of Breuckelen, in the Netherlands. There were a number of Dorlands recorded in the records from Breuckelen between 1675 and 1707. A Hendrick Dorlandt was nominated twice, first in 1696 and again in the following year, for appointment as a Deacon in the village's Protestant community.⁸ Cremer recorded that he received "intimations" that the family had originated in France, perhaps even Orléans. He also suggests that there is a possible connection with the English name 'Darling' due to a similarity between their respective coats-of-arms.⁹ The speculation is interesting but probably unanswerable. The suggestion that the family is French is odd since the name Dorlandt translates from the Dutch as 'dry land' or 'dry ground.'¹⁰ The name is obviously Germanic in origin and certainly is not of Gallic derivation (although they could have easily changed

their name when they came to the Netherlands).

Neither source can agree on where Jan Gerretse settled. Baker claims that he settled in Hempstead, Long Island while Cremer suggests that Jan settled first near the Fulton Street Ferry, in Brooklyn and later in Bedford, Brooklyn Township where he owned 40 acres of land. It may be significant that Brooklyn turns out to be an anglicized version of Breuckelen which was the place from which Jan is supposed to have come from. The name underwent a number of changes in spelling before the current choice of 'Brooklyn' was settled upon.¹¹ The village of Brooklyn was settled as early as 1636 but by 1660 still only had a population of 134 people or 31 families.¹² This is consistent with stagnant growth rates for the colony of New Netherlands in general. This was partly due to settlement patterns that developed out of the Dutch land policy. It has been described as a "semi-feudal patroon system which hindered development." Many settlers were tenants under a patroon who held feudal-like rights over them. He held manorial courts, appointed magistrates and possessed exclusive rights of hunting, fishing and grinding. There were a variety of clauses that might be found in the patents for land but usually they required patroons to recruit tenants in order to claim the land. There were also some freemen in the colony who held as much land as they could cultivate.¹³ Was Jan Dorlandt lured to the New World by some contemporary Orpheus to be a tenant or was he a landowner? The record is not clear but the fact that his farm was assessed in 1675, that he purchased another lot in 1677¹⁴ and served in a variety of public posts suggests that he might have been a freeman of some kind.

In 1687, Jan was elected to be the town's Commissioner for the Court of Sessions. The responsibilities for the job included running property lines, dividing common

lands, laying out lots and streets, local law creation and enforcement, levying and collection of taxes and disbursement of town revenues. He lived in Brooklyn for the rest of his days, serving as Commissioner until 1701. Jan was still living after 1711 but his exact date of death is unknown. He was probably buried either on his farm or in the Dutch Reformed Church burial ground in Brooklyn of which he was a member and through which he had baptised his children.¹⁵ As time went by, the families of both Lambert Janse and Jan Gerretse moved outward from the original settlement looking for new land. Jan Gerretse's descendants settled along the Hudson river, especially in Orange and Dutchess Counties.¹⁶

Jan's second son, Elias (1656-1692)¹⁷ was probably one of these descendants who left Brooklyn. There were nine other children, in addition to Elias and a second wife who was possibly still alive. The Dutch did not practice primogeniture¹⁸ which would leave very little property when divided up amongst all of the children. By the time Elias was 20 years old, the areas of Orange and Dutchess Counties were opening up due to the British capture of New Netherlands. Dutchess County is located in South Eastern New York State between the New York-Connecticut border and the Hudson river. The county has been described as uneven and hilly with numerous streams which power mills. The soil is "generally fertile and under good cultivation, although a large portion is better adapted to grazing than grain."¹⁹ Since Elias's son John had settled in Dutchess County, it is probably safe to assume that Elias settled there as well, although one source claims that he settled in Hempstead, Long Island where he operated a mill.²⁰

Elias and his wife Mirriam (1647-?) had at least two sons, one of which was John Dorland (1686-1780). John married Mary

Bedell (1690-1749) in 1715. It is possible that at this point that John and Mary had become Quakers. Arthur Garratt Dorland stated that the Bedels were among the old Quaker families mentioned in the minutes of Adolphustown Monthly Meeting.²¹ It is important to remember that Quaker communities were very close-knit and this was reinforced by marriage that took place between Quakers only. Quakers had peculiar marriage ceremonies that did not provide for union between a Friend and a non-member. This meant that the Friend would have to be married by a minister or a justice of the peace, which was contrary to Quaker belief and was grounds for disownment. These beliefs reinforced this family connectedness within the Religious Society of Friends and strongly suggests that John was a Quaker.

We do know that Samuel Dorland (1721-1809), the son of John was a member of the Society as his children were raised as Quakers. He joined the Society of Friends on Long Island before he moved to Dutchess County. His children, including Thomas (1759-1832), John (1749-1833) and Philip Dorland (1755-1814) were born in Beekman's Patent, Dutchess County, New York. Governor Fletcher created Beekman's Patent between 1684-1697 as part of a larger grant of ten patents on the East side of the Hudson Valley.²² It is probably safe to assume that this section of the Dorland family in Dutchess County became members of the Religious Society of Friends sometime after moving here but certainly no later than 1745 (the birth of Samuel's oldest child). It could have well occurred much earlier, though. The climate of Long Island and the Dutch colony in general was that of religious toleration:

There was already in existence here a type of religion which was independent of ordained ministers, which

regarded the sacraments as unnecessary and which welcomed the common man who came with a direct commission. They were, by the bent of their minds open to the word of the preachers of the inward light.²³

Some of the Dorlands could have become Quakers at any point after Jan Gerretse (as we know he was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church). In the final analysis, it matters more to this story that they did, in fact, become Quakers, than it does knowing the exact point at which they were 'convinced' (to use the Quaker term). Their becoming Quakers is significant because this provided a moral and religious framework through which this family responded to the American Revolution.

The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) developed out of the tumultuous religious fervour of the Puritan revolution in England. The movement spread quickly across England and spread to the American colonies as early as 1671²⁴ although several Quakers were on Long Island in 1657.²⁵ Part of the distinctive practices that constitute the faith structure of Friends has been the belief in peace as an integral aspect of the 'Truth' in Christianity. They have felt from the very beginning that warfare was un-Christian and have struggled to maintain this peace testimony in the many wars that have occurred over the past 300 years. Quakers ask themselves:

We are called to live 'in the virtue of that life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars.' Do you faithfully maintain our testimony that war and the preparation for war are inconsistent with the spirit of Christ? ...Stand firm in our testimony, even when others commit or prepare to commit acts of violence

yet always remember that they too are children of God.²⁶

There are several theological reasons for this stance. Of course, there is the obvious command: "Thou shalt not kill,"²⁷ but it is more than a belief that it is wrong to take a human life. Quakers believe that there is that of God in every person. It is also an attempt to really live Christianity as an integral aspect of who Quakers are. Friends believe that they must follow Christ's injunction to love thy neighbour as thyself with no exceptions in all aspects of their daily life. The result is a recognition that war and violence of any kind is wrong. It requires passive resistance to violence in the belief that "happy are those who work for peace; God will call them his children."²⁸ Yet even with this attitude, Quakers have had to accept that non-violence may not always work against some aggressors, especially those who are immoral, or at least amoral. Friends have had to assume the consequences of their moral stance.

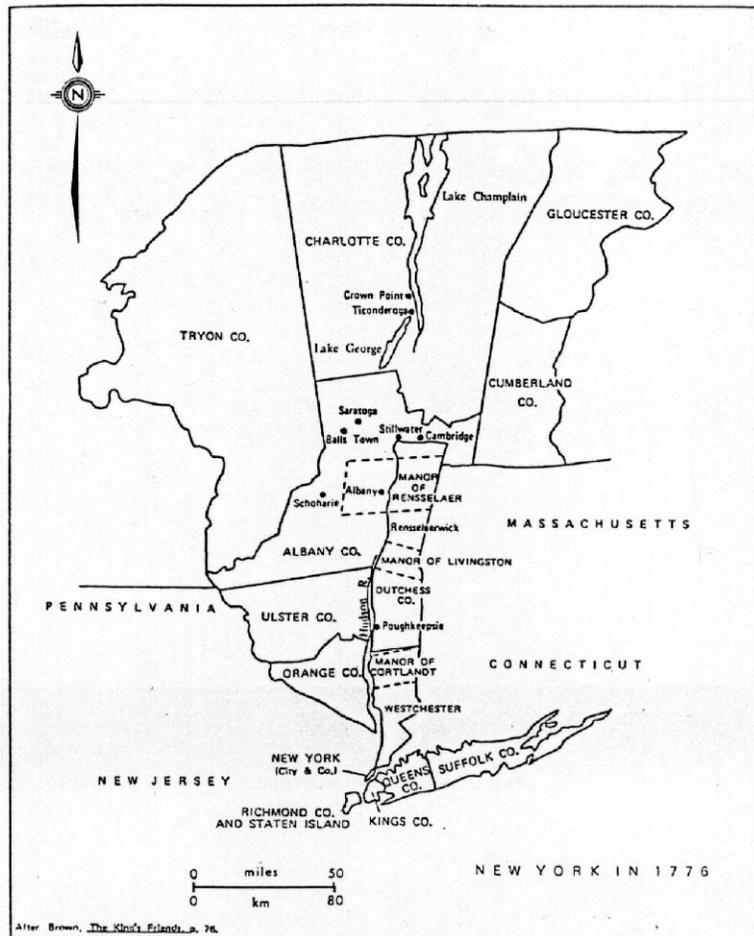
The troubles for the Dorlands, and Quakers in general, during the American Revolution began because they could not help but respond to the war through the lens provided by their belief in pacifism. This single event was divisive and scarring for American Quakers. For some Quakers, it was the first time that they had to seriously consider the consequences of that peace testimony. By 1774, patriots were no longer interested in reconciliation or negotiation and Friends were quickly trapped between the two opposing sides rushing headlong into the maelstrom of war. There is, perhaps, no clearer example of patriot thinking than in the American Declaration of Independence that declared:

...when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to

reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.²⁹

One of the problems faced by Quakers occurred over the manipulation of language in the rhetoric of debate and it seemed that the patriots had the upper hand. In the battle for the loyalty of the colonists, the patriots succeeded in defining British rule in America as arbitrary and unjust. Originally, the term 'Tory' implied British zealotry but the term was transformed. Once they achieved that, it was a simple task for the Patriots to adapt the word 'Tory' to cover anyone who supported British rule or even those who were not active patriots. Views that had been largely orthodox suddenly became treasonous. Those that continued to discuss the situation within the old discourse were automatically Tories. These so-called 'Tories' were often not necessarily opposed to change or reform and it was only the violence of the war that stopped their criticism over the "stupidity, cupidity and tyranny of their British overlords."³⁰ In the words of Pierre Berton, "most of these [Tories] were people who had refused to take the law into their own hands, who opted neither for liberty nor death and who, for a variety of reasons -- not always selfish -- preferred the status quo."³¹ This is probably an excellent summation of Quaker thought on the war. Some preferred the status quo and refused to fight for 'liberty' and die.

Quakerism, like all human creations, is not monolithic and Friends are particularly prone to behaving in an opposite manner. Friends refuse to accept creeds or codified religious beliefs. Without these stances, it is possible to have a variety of beliefs across the spiritual spectrum.³² It is not surprising then that Quakers responded differently to the American Revolution despite attempts to organise a cohesive policy. Some groups passively supported one side or the other depending on their situation. The Philadelphia Meeting, being one of the largest and most prominent Yearly Meetings (YM), began issuing statements as early as January of 1775 declaring the neutrality of Friends. The problem that the Quakers faced was twofold. Friends insisted



From Bernard Mason, *The Road to Independence*. University of Kentucky Press, 1966.

that they were neutral and would not fight on either side. They were also saddled with the belief that they were to support any existing government as God-given. It was God's sole prerogative to change a government. Philadelphia YM felt that Friends were "to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the King as supreme magistrate or to the legal authority of his government." Quakers were restrained by the "conscientious discharge of our duty to Almighty God by whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice."³³ In response to Thomas Paine (an ex-Quaker), the Philadelphia YM declared in January of 1776 an "abhorrence of all such Writing and measures" that were designed to end the "happy connection" with Great Britain.³⁴ Needless to say, the Patriots were not amused and Quakers faced this wrath in New York and elsewhere in areas that Quakers did not occupy important and strategic positions as in Philadelphia. The situation of New York Friends was not helped by a general sympathy for the old order that was held by many there.³⁵

Over and over again, Quakers refused requests made by the authorities that might draw them into the Revolution. In 1775, the New York Committee of Safety requested a list of all Quaker males aged 16-60 which was refused. Again, in 1776, a request that Quakers give security bonds to prevent Quaker owned cattle from falling into the hands of the British forces was denied. Governor Tryon of New York requested that Friends raise money to provide supplies for troops. New York Friends refused all of these requests believing that:

...[T]he proposed contribution is manifestly contrary to our religious Testimony against war & fighting which as a Religious body we have uniformly maintained every since we were first distinguished as such. We

are therefore under a necessity of declining a compliance there-with...³⁶

Despite the protestations, the patriots felt that the Quakers were only neutral when it suited them. They felt that the Quakers were really hidden loyalists.

In September of 1776, representatives from most of the American Yearly Meetings gathered in Philadelphia to consider a unified Quaker response to the American Revolution. A committee was created and this committee formulated guidelines for the conduct of Quakers during the revolution. These guidelines called on Quakers to be strictly neutral. Friends would not favour either side in the war. Friends were to withdraw from public life and refrain from voting. Taking any affirmations of fidelity became a disownable offense. The result was political disenfranchisement.³⁷ No Quaker would serve in either army even if they were drafted. Nor would they pay to hire a substitute, pay fines for not serving or pay war taxes as any of this money would help finance the war. It was recognised the Friends would suffer as a consequence of this stance. They were called to record any losses in property, etc and any imprisonment terms.³⁸

That Friends suffered because of this stance is unquestionable. It was not an easy position to be in. They were punished for not paying taxes, they refused to sell materials to either side and did not accept compensation for seized materials.³⁹ Some Quakers were hanged for passively accepting British rule when a city changed hands as happened to Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts of Philadelphia. A Quaker Meeting House in Hempstead, Long Island was torn down and the materials used for the war effort.⁴⁰ There were, besides these examples, many atrocities committed by both sides. That, sadly, is a byproduct of the brutality of war

and particularly of civil war.

Following the Declaration of Independence on 4 July, 1776, Test Laws were enacted in many colonies. These laws required all colonists to swear allegiance to the state of residence and promise not to aid or abet the enemy. If one refused, the colonist could face imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of property, and even capital punishment. Failure to swear the oath of allegiance resulted in an outlaw status. Colonists had no legal rights and any professional status was removed. They were even less protected than foreigners because they simply had no legal recourse. They were unable to protect their property and could not collect outstanding debts owed to them. By November of 1777, the Continental Congress was recommending that State legislatures begin to confiscate property of those not supportive of the Revolutionary cause.⁴¹

The New York State government felt that those claiming neutrality were "dictated by a poverty of spirit and an undue attachment to property." This opinion was laid out in An Act affecting Neutrals passed in 1778. They felt that it was "repugnant" that those professing neutrality were accepting the shelter of the rebel government that these neutrals "refused to assist in rearing, but by which some of them daily endeavor to undermine and subvert." The Act required an oath (or an affirmation for Quakers) that neutrals or "equivocal characters" must take. Failure to do so had serious consequences. Those who refused or failed to appear before commissioners (whose job it was to administer the oath) were to be "adjudged guilty of misprison of treason." The Act also provided for the confiscation of the property of any person refusing to take the oath.⁴² In 1781, the State of New York enacted a loyalty oath. The oath (or affirmation for Quakers) required that a person "renounce and abjure all allegiance

to the King of Great Britain; and that [the person] will bear true faith and allegiance to the State of New York as a free and independent State..." The act also disenfranchised any person refusing to take that oath.⁴³ What is particularly ironic is the high moral stance that the Constitution of New York took regarding religious freedom. The document declared that: "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this State to all mankind..."⁴⁴ Although Legislators made provisions for affirmations, Quakers were still trapped if they felt that their religion forbade them to make that oath against the King in the first place. There was freedom of religion so long as one supported the patriot cause.

The Quaker Dorlands of Dutchess County were trapped between their loyalties and their faith in the American Revolution. As Americans, they might have sympathised with the struggle for political rights but they would not have supported the Revolution. Cremer believed that they had "strong religious, business and cultural ties with England and were grateful for crown favours."⁴⁵ As John Ralston Saul said:

These Scots, Irish, religious minorities, blacks and others had always been close to the Crown because they felt they needed protection against the colonial majority in the thirteen colonies and its élites.⁴⁶

According to Cremer, those Dorlands that were to become Loyalists were "Quakers allied to families of English blood..." and were "mainly non-combatants and confined their manifestations chiefly to sympathy with the British." Cremer also claims that those settlers on Long Island and Dutchess County were accustomed to their

wealth and property and were instinctively drawn to more conservative views being "disinclined toward radical change and experimentation."⁴⁷

We may never know why these particular Dorlands made the decisions that they made. Whatever the reason, they were part of the Tory minority in Dutchess County. Support for and against Independence was contentious here, with primacy given to the Whigs. As an indicator of limited Tory support in Dutchess County, there were only 600 signatories to the County's Tory Association. As a comparison, according to the 1771 Census, there were 21,000 White people in the County.⁴⁸ Undoubtedly Tories did face some kind of persecution. Philip Dorland may have been forced to become a Loyalist by not wishing to fight while his brother Thomas did so willingly, metaphorically jumping from the Tarpeian Rock. It seemed that Thomas did not hold to his religious principles as strongly as Phillip. Thomas was disowned by the Society for his active participation in the Revolution and he never repented. He was certainly not alone in being disowned. Some Quakers did support the war, feeling that the fight was just and that it overrode any concerns about life. They paid their taxes, took the required affirmations/ oaths and some even took up arms. The figures on Quaker disownment for males of military age varied from state to state from a high of 33% in New Jersey to a low of 5% in New England. In New York, 6.5% were disowned.⁴⁹ Thomas would have been included in that figure as a former member of New York YM.

Once the decision was made to stand with the British and resist the breakdown in civil society, there was little chance to retreat. Even responding to violence with aid to the downtrodden might result in trouble for a neutral person. Often it was only Quakers who would help royalists who had been abused yet helping these royalists

could result in being branded a Tory as well. There were many possible reasons that could have pushed the Dorland Quakers to resist or feel disillusioned in the process of creating this new state. Those reasons are lost to us. The Loyalists, Dorlands included, left few written documents that would tell their story. While unable to correctly surmise the Dorland reaction, similar situations can be examined which serve to illustrate what might have been.

Philip Dorland would end up abandoning his pacifist principles. He served as a Lieutenant with Captain Abraham Cuyler's Corp of Associated Loyalists on Long Island. It was at this time that he probably met Major (late Captain) Peter Van Alstine who established a garrison at Smithtown, Long Island which was captured by Rebels in 1782. There are many striking similarities which may have only served to strengthen any bond that might have existed between the two. Like Phillip Dorland, Peter was neutral in 1776.⁵⁰ He was a comfortable gentleman farmer who had married well and held lands at Kinderhook in Albany County, New York. Philip was also of Dutch extraction. He consistently remained neutral early on in the revolution but that resolve was quickly destroyed as political harassment gave way to physical intimidation. In 1775 he had argued for neutrality and conciliation at the meetings of the Albany Committee of Correspondence. By 1777 he was wanted "dead or alive" and accused of being a Tory ringleader for a royalist conspiracy by that same Albany Committee of Correspondence which, ironically, Peter had served on just a year and half earlier. In the end, he was forced to abandon his principles, his family and his farm.⁵¹

As the war ground on, the tide began to turn in favour of the patriots and loyalists were streaming into New York which had always remained in the hands of the British during the conflict. It was here that Phillip,

Thomas and Peter Van Alstine escaped with some 46,424 other soldiers and other Loyalists. Once the war was over, there was still 35,000 people that had to be evacuated from New York.⁵² Probably because of his friendship with Peter, Phillip decided to join him and Michael Grass and no doubt Thomas was convinced by Phillip. They had decided to evacuate to the Cataraqui/Fort Frontenac area near the modern city of Kingston with a large number of Associated Loyalists. Michael Grass had known Cataraqui as a French prisoner when it was called Fort Frontenac during the Seven Years War.⁵³ These Associated Loyalists were made up of civilians, unattached soldiers and remnants of corps all escaping the evacuation of New York in 1783.⁵⁴ One reason for choosing this "voyage of a different kind" was offered by Captain Peter Ruttan, one of the Associated Loyalists. He felt that these Associated Loyalists:

being apprehensive of a Repetition of that [American] Cruelty, they have already experienced from their laws, are determined to place themselves with your Memorialists far out of reach.⁵⁵

Although there were constantly fluctuating numbers of Associated Loyalists who were coming to Upper Canada, in the end there were enough people to fill nine ships which left New York City (probably Staten Island) sometime between 5 July and 12 July, 1783. The settlers were organised into Companies, each under a different Captain. Thomas and Phillip were in Company Seven under Capt. Abraham Maybee⁵⁶ and each company was assigned to a ship. Philip and Thomas sailed on the Baker & Altee under Master Erasmuss Roberts.⁵⁷ The first of these ships arrived in Quebec on 12 August while the last arrived on 29 August. They proceeded directly to the seigneurie of

Sorel, near Montreal where the St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers meet. The 374 Associated Loyalists spent the winter at Sorel where they complained bitterly to the Colony administration over the lack of money, clothing, etc and relations gradually poisoned between the two parties. There was a late spring in 1784 which meant that the ice did not break up on the St. Lawrence river and so the Loyalists were unable to leave Sorel until 24th May. They travelled down the river in batteaux under the command of Canadian sailors. The folklore surrounding the arrival of the Van Alstine party of Associated Loyalists claims that they arrived on 16 June, 1784 but Larry Turner has argued in his book, *Voyage of a Different Kind*, that it is more likely that they arrived in late June or early July.⁵⁸ Michael Grass' party settled around Cataraqui while the Van Alstine group settled in the fourth township, called Adolphustown, on the Bay of Quinte.

This fertile land of the north shore of Lake Ontario and the Upper St. Lawrence drew the Dorlands. Imagine it. What is now called Southern Ontario was still densely forested and largely uninhabited. Virtually no White people lived here. There were only scattered Native encampments after the Hurons were wiped out in the mid seventeenth century. Other than a few ruined forts, this was an empty land, virtually a terra incognita. This all changed with the American Revolution. Profound changes were afoot for this region. The Loyalists were flooding into the area, quickly followed by British immigrants and Americans looking for free land. The land was cleared. Order was imposed. Fields, roads and fences delineated and scarred the landscape. Homes and barns were slowly erected followed by the spires of local churches. Villages began to grow up around some significant juncture. Human activity buzzed. Justus Sherwood, who was a surveyor, in

writing to Governor Haldimand's secretary on 14 November, 1783, described Southern Ontario in glowing terms. He felt that "The climate here is very mild & good, and I think that Loyalists may be the happiest people in America by settling this Country from Long Sou [sic] to Bay Quinty [sic]"⁶² In all 6000-10,000 Loyalists came and found themselves in scattered settlements across Southern Ontario.⁶⁰

According to a land survey completed in 1784, it appears that Thomas Dorland had lots 13, 17, and 18 on Concession Two while Philip Dorland had only lot 20 on the Third Concession of Adolphustown Township.⁶¹ Thomas Dorland received a total of 3000 acres. He had served under General Burgoyne.⁶² Most of the people in Michael Grass's and Peter Van Alstine's group were civilians and, as such, did not have the same level of status as those who had served in the provincial corps:

...[Upper Canada] remained [a] rather traditional society with a strong sense of social hierarchy. Almost everyone in Upper Canada, former military officers, who had been landlords and leaders in the Thirteen Colonies, had retained their elite status even as their tenants and soldiers became landowners beside them.⁶³

Sir Guy Carleton gave the leaders of the Associated Loyalists officers' rank, but they were not entitled to half-pay provided to retired officers in the provincial corps.⁶⁴ The British Government treated only the half-pay officers generously. Those without this privilege received barely enough to survive except for being provided plenty of land.⁶⁵ The 84th Regiment Royal Highlanders had, at this time, received more land than other Loyalists. This caused some animosity so Lord Dorchester, the Governor

of the time increased all land grants. Field officers received 5000 acres, captains, 3000 acres, subalterns, 2000 acres while the government granted the rank and file an extra 200 acres besides what they had already received. Daughters and sons were entitled to 200 acres as well.⁶⁶

These land grants were organised into townships as they were surveyed. The first townships were simply a means of organising land but were not a form of local government. The government originally intended them to be seigneuries with landholders acting as tenants. The Government in Québec City would act as the landlord on behalf of the Crown. This was changed in 1787 when Lord Dorchester named the original townships. With these townships were four districts: Hesse, Nassau, Meckleburg (in which Adolphustown was located) and Luneburg. Each of these four had courts. Under Simcoe, the boundaries were changed with the creation of nineteen counties although they were really only electoral ridings.⁶⁷

Philip and Thomas were not the only Dorlands to come to the township of Adolphustown on the Bay of Quinte. There were four other siblings that came at some time after Phillip and Thomas: John, Mary Clapp (1752-1792), Letty Bedell (b. 1761) and Anna Flagler (b. 1763). My ancestor John (1749-1833) did not qualify for UEL grants like his brothers Phillip and Thomas. Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte claims that six children of Samuel Dorland (including John, Phillip and Thomas) came to the Adolphustown area although Samuel himself remained in New York until his death in 1809.⁶⁸ Arthur Garret Dorland said that John came "about the same time" as his two brothers.⁶⁹ There is no mention of John or any of his siblings being Associated Loyalists other than Phillip and Thomas. These siblings might have been disenchant-ed with the American Revolution or they

may have simply been following their brothers in search of new land for settlement. Elizabeth Hovinen, in her geographical analysis of the Quakers of the Yonge Street area found that the decision to emigrate to Upper Canada was tied to religion, kinship and friendship based on membership in the same Meeting. She also found that there was a strong desire to settle around other Quakers. They would rather lease clergy or crown reserves rather than purchasing cheaper lands on the edges of settlement.⁷⁰

Once they arrived in Adolphustown, the Dorland settlers began to carve their farmland out of the wilderness. By October 5, 1784, Philip Dorland and his wife had cleared two acres of land. Thomas, his wife and son had only cleared one and one-half acres. Yet Philip, his wife and son (who was under the age of 10) were receiving two and one-half rations a day while Thomas and his wife were receiving two rations as late as August of 1786.⁷¹ Like all pioneers, they must have worked hard and suffered greatly just to survive. It was certainly no Shangri-la but they not only survived, they prospered.

The Dorlands quickly gained prominence. Thomas held several municipal posts including Overseer of Highways, Pathmaster, Assessor and Collector. He was appointed as a justice of the peace for Midland District in 1787 and was elected to the House of Assembly in 1804. Upon his death, John Macaulay speaking to a grand jury in Adolphustown said:

You speak of our respected old friend Thomas Dorland having left a 'gap' which will not be easily filled up -- It is literally true however, for the present times do not seem to breed such men.⁷²

His son, Samuel Dorland served in the

Lennox and Addington Militia and served on the Court of Requests. Thomas's grandson, P.V. Dorland, MD, attended several schools and universities and took a degree with the College of Physicians in Edinburgh.⁷³ Similarly, Gilbert Dorland, son of John, married Patty, the daughter of Willet Casey who was elected to the House of Assembly in 1820. Their son Willet Casey Dorland, MD, followed his grandfather in politics and was elected in 1859. He also earned a medical degree.⁷⁴

John Dorland, my ancestor, was actively involved in the Quaker community of Adolphustown serving as an Overseer of the Meeting and of the burying ground. He also served on the selection committee appointed to find a suitable lot where they could build a meetinghouse. Descendants of his continued to be active in the Society including John T. Dorland who served as the first town clerk for Wellington in Prince Edward County and whose son, John T. Dorland Jr. was a famous Quaker minister. The senior John T. was the individual named in *Dorland et al. vs. Jones et al.* This case decided who held title on Quaker property after the separation of Progressive (Orthodox) and Conservative Friends in 1881.⁷⁵

Philip Dorland has been described as "one of the dominant figures in the township."⁷⁶ He took the minutes of the first town meeting at Adolphustown on March 6, 1793 where he signed his name "Peter Dorland, T.C." as town clerk.⁷⁷ A proclamation of Governor Simcoe, dated July 16, 1792 established the nineteen counties or ridings mentioned above and called on the people to elect members to the first parliament in Upper Canada. Adolphustown township was part of Lennox and Addington County but for the purposes of the election, the township was attached to the county of Prince Edward. Philip was elected as the representative for this county. He was one of 16 members elected in the

early autumn of 1792. These members met in Newark (later Niagara) on September 18 and continued meeting until October 18. Unfortunately, Philip had returned to his Quaker roots after the Revolution and as such was bound by a religious belief that swearing oaths was wrong. Quakers believe that ". . . taking oaths implies a double standard of truth."⁷⁸ As well, there is a biblical injunction from Matthew that states, in part: "But I say unto you, Swear not at all . . . let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."⁷⁹ Since he refused to swear an oath of allegiance, the House unanimously voted him incompetent to serve. A new election was called and, ironically, Phillip's friend Peter Van Alstine was elected in his place.⁸⁰

In the end, it does not matter whether or not Phillip served a full term of office in the first Legislative Assembly. Surely the significance is that Phillip was the first to be elected in that fledgling martial community. He was respected enough to be elected despite his pacifist principles in a community consisting of many people who had so recently fought in the American Revolution with him. Again, Phillip suffered for his conscience as he had during the War and was not allowed to serve his fellow citizens. Like many people, the Dorlands were forced into responding to the Revolution but the Dorland story diverges from the norm because of the filter of religious belief. It would seem that Phillip and his wider family were dedicated to a sense of religious and civil responsibility. That responsibility had ramifications that resulted in refugee status for some Dorlands. They ended up in the wilderness and had to begin their lives again. Those early years would have been severe. The Loyalists, Dorlands included, were "refugees as we now understand the word -- political and economic at the same time." Yet despite their refugee

status, Upper Canada benefitted from their travail. They "brought with them to Canada the energy and aggressivity of the loser."⁸¹

Despite this glowing 'tribute' I do not want to appear to have been some kind of 'Dorland apologist'. This was not an attempt to portray the family in a hagiographic light. No one is, after all, perfect. There were, I am sure, a family's share of charlatans and mountebanks but no one preserves the history of such characters. Their exploits are quickly and quietly forgotten. Yet there is a lesson to be found in the experiences we do know about. The Dorlands persevered against religious intolerance. Some struggled against the violence of revolution and when forced to remain neutral no longer, took a stand and accepted the consequences of those actions. Their lives form important lessons for those of us reaching back into the past to learn. Their activities show us that despite any obstacle or difficulty, we have a responsibility outside of ourselves.

This personal exploration of the American Revolution and the UEL experience has attempted to put this family within the context of history. Often, there is little interest in genealogy beyond the collection of raw data on each person's life. There is little examination of the significance of that data despite the growing interest among academics studying family history where "trenches are as of yet only half-dug; hence they are shallow in many spots, ragged along most of their edges, and littered with loose dirt throughout."⁸² Each genealogical datum has the potential of revolutionizing our understanding of the past. Although this paper, I am sure, has not revolutionized history, it does serve to underscore the point that family history and family trees are more than the collection of data, they really are an *arbor vitae*: a tree of life. This paper has attempted to breathe life into raw data. An *arbor vitae* is a repository of wisdom,

tragedy and farce that constitutes the sweeping saga of history. Each family has a different story and that story can help us better understand our past both individually and collectively. I can only hope that this endeavor has contributed, at least in some small part, to a better understanding of the Loyalist experience and proves that this experience was anything but monolithic.

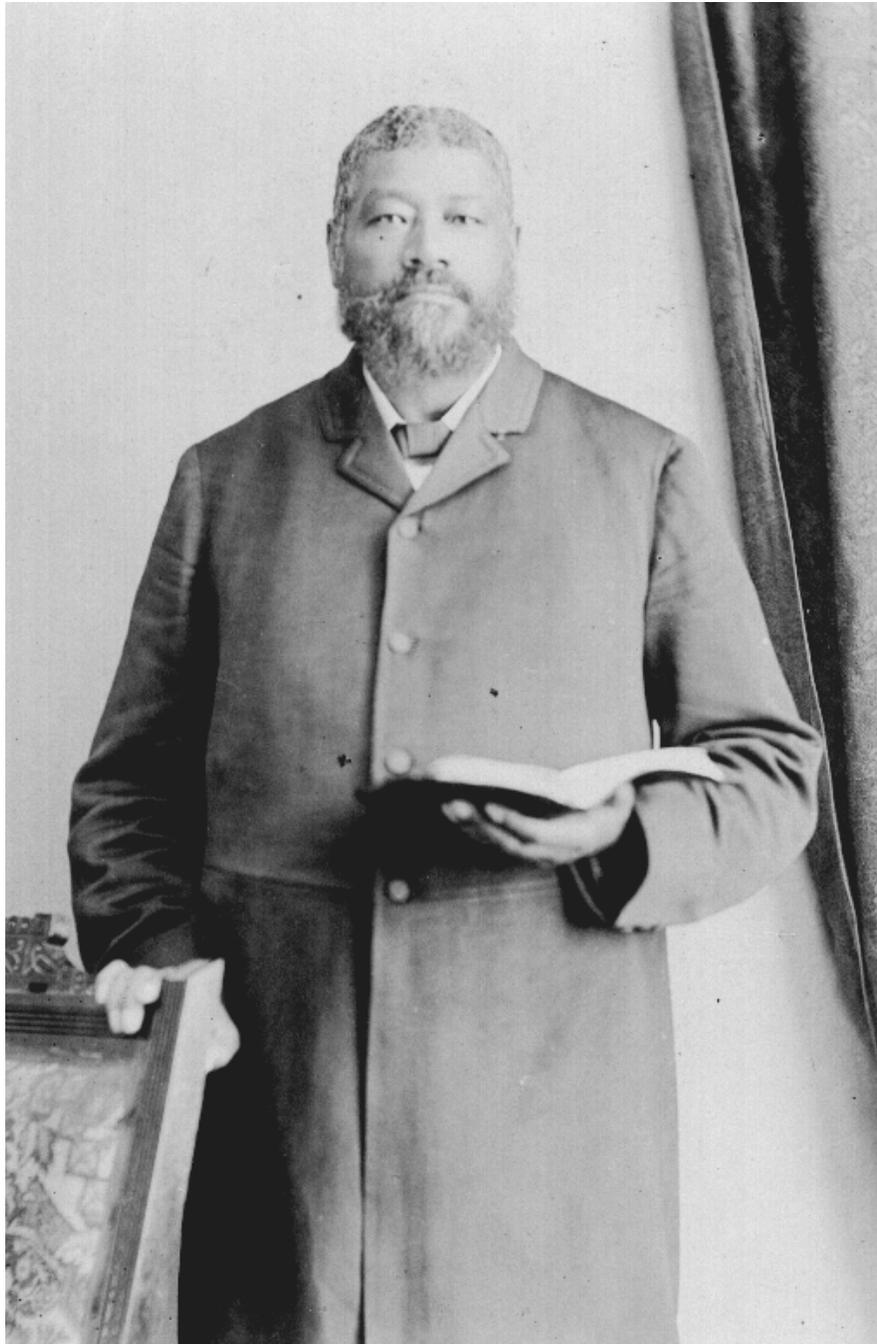
Many questions about this story remain unanswered but we can derive a greater benefit from the process of researching this narrative than in knowing all of the answers or by putting the 'flesh on the bones' of history. The greatest personal value has been in the exploration and in the journey undertaken in writing this paper. It has been about taking ownership of my past and providing a better understanding of where I came from even if many answers remain lost forever. Perhaps the final word should be left to Paul who poetically describes this exploration. He said: "For now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part..."⁸³

NOTES

1. Northrop Frye qtd in Pierre Berton, *Why We Act Like Canadians: A Personal Exploration of Our National Character*. (Markham: Penguin, 1987) 53.
2. Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition & the Creation of the Usable Past* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 14-15.
3. Jan Gerretse Dorlandt is my great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great grandfather. Put another way, there are thirteen generations between Jan and myself.
4. John Dorland Cremer, *Records of the Dorland Family in America: in the United States and Canada*. (Washington DC: Byron S. Adams, 1898) 1.
5. New Netherlands was established by the Dutch West India Company in 1624 with 30 families. The Dutch rule of the Colony came to an end in 1664. Ruth L. Higgins, *Expansion in New York With Especial Reference to the Eighteenth Century*. (1931; Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1976) 2, 10.
6. William King Baker, John T. Dorland. Ed. Anne

- W. Richardson. (London: Headley Brothers, 1898) 3.
7. Cremer, 35.
8. Baker, 3.
9. Cremer, 2.
10. *Ibid.*, 3.
11. Arnold Mulder, *Americans from Holland*. Ed. Louis Adamic, *The Peoples of America Series* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1947) 72.
12. Cremer, 8.
13. Higgins, 3.
14. Cremer, 37.
15. *Ibid.*, 36, 41-42.
16. *Ibid.*, 15.
17. All un-footnoted genealogical data mentioned hereafter about the Dorlands comes from an unpublished family tree drawn up by Doreen Frederick (nee Dorland). Some of this data can also be found in *Loyalist Lineages of Canada* ed. Dorrine Robertson Macnab, Vol. II, Pt. 1. (Toronto: Toronto Branch of the United Empire Loyalist Association of Canada, 1991) under the heading of Maybee.
18. Arthur W. Calhoun. "Family Life and Problems in New York." *A Social History of The American Family*. (1917; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1960) 177, vol. 1.
19. J. Thomas and T. Baldwin. "Dutchess." *Lippincott's Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1856).
20. *Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte*. (c.1905; Belleville: Mika Silk Screening, 1972) 966.
21. Arthur Garratt Dorland. *The Quakers in Canada, A History*. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968) 65n.
22. Higgins, 22-23.
23. Rufus Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962) 219.
24. *Organization and Procedure*. (Ottawa: Canadian Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1995) I-1, 1-5.
25. Jones, 218.
26. *Advices & Queries*. (London: The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain, 1995) 13.
27. Exodus, 20:13, A.V.
28. Matthew 5:9, TEV.
29. "The Declaration of Independence," 1998 *Canadian & World Encyclopedia*, CD-ROM, 1997
30. Walter Stewart, *True Blue: The Loyalist Legend*. (Toronto: Collins, 1985) 3.
31. Berton, 58.
32. Some modern Quakers, for instance, refuse to accept the moniker of 'Christian' despite the historic and continuing reality that the Religious Society of Friends is grounded in the Christian community.
33. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, 43.

34. Hugh Barbour and William Frost. *The Quakers*. (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1988) 141.
35. Jones, 259.
36. *Ibid.*, 260.
37. The 1777 Constitution of the State of New York provided for Quakers to affirm their allegiance rather than taking a oath but the drafters of this bill failed to realise that this did not solve the problem as Quakers could not remain neutral in the truest sense of the word if they took the affirmation required by law. Article VIII stated: "That every elector, before he is admitted to vote, shall if required by the returning officer, or either of the inspectors, take an oath, or if of the people called Quakers, an affirmation, of allegiance to the state." Source: "The Constitution of the State of New York." *The American Revolution: New York as a Case Study*. Ed. Larry R. Gerlach. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1972) 100.
38. Barbour and Frost, 143.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War and of the Leading Events in the Other Colonies at that Period*. Ed. Edward Floyd De Lancey. 2 Vols. (New York: New York Historical Society, 1879) I: 282, II: 73.
41. Angela E.M. Files, "Persecution of the Loyalists (or Tories)", *Loyalist Families of the Grand River Branch, United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada*. (Toronto: Pro Familia Publishing, 1991) 50-51.
42. "Act Affecting Neutrals, June 30, 1778" *The American Revolution...*, 114.
43. "The State Loyalty Oath, March 26, 1791." *The American Revolution...* 125-126.
44. "The Constitution of the State of New York," *The American Revolution...*, 108.
45. *Organisation and Practice*, I-6.
46. John Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the end of the Twentieth Century*, (Toronto: Viking, 1997) 128.
47. Cremer, 17.
48. Bernard Mason, *The Road to Independence: The Revolutionary Movement in New York, 1773-1777*. (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1966) 85-6.
49. Barbour and Frost, 145.
50. Larry Turner. *Voyage of a Different Kind: The Association Loyalists of Kingston and Adolphustown*. (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1984) 60, 28-29.
51. *Ibid.*, 15-19.
52. *Ibid.*, 41.
53. Christopher Moore, *The Loyalists: Revolution, Exile, Settlement* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1984) 227.
54. Turner, 103.
55. *Ibid.*, 45.
56. *Ibid.*, 60, 117. Incidentally, Capt. Abraham Maybee is my great-great-great-great-great grandfather whom I am related to through my mother (My great-great-great grandfather, Willet Casey Dorland married Abraham's great-great granddaughter, Elizabeth Ann Maybee) and my father (through his mother's maternal line). Luckily, there is significant genetic drift to prevent claims of inbreeding!
57. *Ibid.*, 41, 54, 55.
58. *Ibid.*, 58, 66, 88.
59. Justus Sherwood, qtd in. *Loyal She Remains: A Pictorial History of Ontario*. Ed. Mary Beacock Fryer and Charles J. Humber. (Toronto: The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, 1984) 277.
60. R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin, *Canada Before Confederation*. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991) 116.
61. "Plan of the North Side of Lake Ontario from Cataragui to Niagara...1784" *Loyalist Settlements, 1783-1789: The Land*. (Toronto: Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, 1984) Plate 1.
62. *Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte*, 967.
63. Moore, 240.
64. Fryer, *Loyal She Remains: A Pictorial History of Ontario*, 101.
65. *Ibid.*, 109.
66. *Ibid.*, 113.
67. *Ibid.*, 278-9.
68. *Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte*, 967.
69. Arthur Garratt Dorland, *Former Days and Quaker Ways*. (Belleville, ON: Mika Publishing, 1972) 7.
70. Elizabeth J. Hovinen. *The Quakers of Yonge Street*. Discussion Paper 17 (Toronto: Department of Geography, York University, 1978) 27.
71. *Early Ontario Settlers: A Source Book*. Norman K. Crowder, ed. (Baltimore MD: Genealogical Publishing, 1993) 79, 172.
72. Robert Lochiel Fraser, "Thomas Dorland," *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol VI. (Toronto University of Toronto Press, 1987) 216-216.
73. "P.V. Dorland," *Illustrated Historical Atlas*, ix.
74. "Dr. Willet Casey Dorland," *Illustrated Historical Atlas*, xxii.
75. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, 65, 71, 239.
76. Fraser, 215.
77. *Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte*, 967.
78. *Advices & Queries*, 15.
79. Matthew 5:33-37, A.V.
80. "Adolphustown," *Illustrated Historical Atlas*, xiv.
81. Saul, 128.
82. John Demos, *Past, Present, and Personal: The Family and the Life Course in American History*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) 4.



**William Allen
Friends Minister
1805-1898**

William Allen: Friends Minister and Evangelist

By Jane Zavitz Bond

William Allen was born about 1805 in Tennessee to a slave mother and an Irish plantation owner father. His birth year is not recorded but he wrote that “yesterday was my birthday” in his diary on April 3, 1888. He died May 21, 1898 at the farm of James Colquhoun, his “home” whenever he held a series of meetings at Hibbert. These Friends cared for him in his last illness after his retirement as pastor of Newmarket Friends Church. He is buried in the small Friends Cemetery at Hibbert. Albert Colquhoun, James’ son, shared local ministry with William Allen, and conducted the funeral service. The simple stone is inscribed: Sacred to the Memory of William Allen, A Friends Minister.

The story of his early life is sketchy, but we know he was freed at age twenty-one by his father’s will. Standing over six feet tall and weighing 250 pounds, he was a valuable chattel. In later years he spoke little of slavery, but did not forget the cruelties many suffered. When freed he went to Indiana, a free state, and settled in the vicinity of Blue River, near Wesleyan Methodists who were active abolitionists. He learned to read and write. With land of his own and plans to marry, his betrothed died and his crops failed. His faith had already led him to serve God – later. He felt he had to follow then. William began his ministry, and in 1872 was ordained as an Elder in the Wesleyan Methodist Church at the Indiana Annual Conference. His gift of ministry and service was recognized and valued.

His concern for temperance combined with his observance that some drained every

drop of communion wine led him to say he feared they missed the meaning of the sacrament. A fellow minister said Allen was a “Quaker.” He searched for Friends, found them, and subsequently became one. His spirit was that of a Friend, but he worked with Methodists and Salvation Army ministers over the years. His membership was in Ohio Yearly Meeting, already separated. He was not part of that division and even held meetings with “other” Friends when invited, including at Norwich.

During this part of his life, Sandusky City, Ohio, the Lake Erie port that once was the end of an Underground Railroad Line was his home. He lived with supportive friends named Abele, returning to their home after demanding evangelistic trips. During the last twenty-five years of his life he went to Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, New York, New England, and Canada Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) - where he spent most of his last decade. He was faithful to his calling as a minister, evangelist, and home missionary, and apprenticed, according to his count, thirty-seven young men into the service of the ministry. Several of them were important to Canada Yearly Meeting in the subsequent half century. Yet, Arthur Dorland mentions Allen only once in his book *The Quakers in Canada*, in a footnote dealing with the 1881 Orthodox separation. At that time William was listed as a visitor to Canada Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) held at Norwich, and outside the local controversy. The account of the sessions and services is covered in the *Norwich Gazette* and its report to the *Globe*. Many

visiting ministers were also named in William Allen's diary. The village was crowded with attenders that week.

He was given a minute by Canada Yearly Meeting to hold evangelistic meetings throughout its constituent meetings. His diary records five years of this type of service to Canada and its sister yearly meetings. According to Friends practice, a traveling minister should be accompanied by a companion. Among these young men were Rufus Garratt from Wellington; Albion M. Gibson and Fred L. Ryon from Michigan; Charles Sweet from New York YM.; and Harry Parry, later a minister in Canada. They found Allen a supportive, generous mentor. They were all welcomed and appreciated in the meetings and homes where they stayed. That William was black was quickly lost in the humanity shared by hosts and visitors. Supported by his genuineness and lack of presumption, his gift to speak Truth faithfully, based on his experience, biblical knowledge, and directness, held his hearers and won their trust. His thankfulness for God's care in leading them in the service gave him the strength to continue his demanding schedule; the young men shared this, but shifted as circumstances dictated. He wrote often that the meeting was blessed.

He knew human nature well. William trusted his Lord and wanted others to accept and live faithfully in God and follow in Jesus' foot steps. The young men were a traveling seminary. The return visits were important to the local meetings. Talk during and after meals built understanding and appreciation, making ties that lasted. The youth learned, matured, and the yearly meeting was well served for the next fifty years. William's care shows in his diary. His simplicity of life carried his mission forward. The vocabulary was changed as he proceeded over the years and terms like

sanctification and holiness appeared in his diary after trips west and contact with evangelists such as David Updegraff, John Henry Douglas, and Leander Hole from other yearly meetings took place.

He kept his balance; the foundation of his faith did not change. He was never out for self gain; he was not paid a salary. He never knew how much was in his purse, but it was always sufficient. A Friend had a suit tailored for him, saying he should have a second suit. Always neat, well mannered, and considerate he shared with his companions. They in turn cared for him and enjoyed good humored jokes or prayers for those suffering, even Allen himself, so that the healing came. Good will and love undergirded their service to others. When he retired as pastor of Newmarket Friends Church he gave the meeting ten dollars for a wall clock. Earlier, when the meeting acquired that church building from the Presbyterians, William wondered if it was too ornamented. A fire soon necessitated repair and redecoration. William wondered if the Lord had taken care of the matter! Was the clock to remind later ministers of the time? He was ever practical about such things. It remained until the meeting was laid down and given to the last minister, Burton Hill.

The Diary speaks for itself. Read it!

Response to the Diary:

Besides an account of faith at work, this manuscript documents the Friends who lived in several yearly meetings and continued to serve Friends over the years. They appear in the American Friends Service Committee; Clarence Pickett was also pastor of Toronto Friends Church; Murray Kenworthy (from the Kokomo, Indiana family), founder of the Friends Committee for National Legislation in Washington, DC; Alma Dale, a woman minister from

Uxbridge who served Friends at Chain Lakes and Dand south of Hartney, Manitoba; William I. Moore and Walter J. Armitage, founders of the Friends settlement at Swarthmore, Sask; Luke Woodward, also a Toronto pastor; the Mitcheners in Iowa; the Truebloods at Earlham; Alexander Purdy who taught at Hartford Theological Seminary; the connections continue.

The picture of the Orthodox Friends in Canada comes through clearly from William's Diary. The changes toward Methodism and a rural community with more homogeneity and many new members made changes predictable. Yet the Quaker testimonies and basic outlooks went with them add to the values of Canadian society in the 20th century. William was ever appreciative of women ministers. He believed in the transforming power of repentance and forgiveness and worked for it in the meeting communities he visited. He wrote of the meetings being strengthened by his visits. Fred Ryan wrote to remind Friends of this service, and the need to live and serve so faithfully. Times change, vocabulary changes, but the call to follow Truth in our time remains, and is as needed today as ever. And, this is Our Time.

Bibliography

All the materials are in the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives, located at Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario.

William Allen, Manuscript Diary (1885-1891). Deposited in 1988 by Verla Armitage Haight of Unity, Sask, a child in the Swarthmore settlement. It was given to Walter J. Armitage, her father, after William Allen's death. Walter had traveled with him as a young man in the 1890's.

Fred Lewis Ryon, *Memoirs of William Allen*, 35 page manuscript written in 1951. Parallels some of the travels in the ministry covered in the William Allen Diary. The impression gained of William Allen is supported by Fred Ryon's account of one who is faithful and caring. Since William was so modest this allows for expanded understanding of how he was received and respected and loved. Fred wrote poetry for William that is included. Photograph on cover. This manuscript was among Fred Haslam's papers, surely sent to him by Fred Ryan with the expectation of publishing. Fred was appreciative of the impact of William Allen on his life, and on others.

Jesse Walton, short pamphlet privately printed by the author, detailing the black minister as a former slave. The author has collected all the stories; some may be woven from fact, some folklore, but this tells us what people thought and told as they remembered him. They considered his life amazing and valued it.

The Minutes of Canada Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) for the period of William Allen's service to Friends in Canada. They support the visits to meetings with membership requests; the dates can be found in Monthly Meetings records, to match numbers with individual names. The CYM (O) Meeting of Minister and Elders gave William Allen minutes to travel at liberty in the various Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of CYM Cold Creek, Norwich, Rockwood, Pelham, Hibbert, Wellington, Bloomfield. Microfilm of original records.

Gertrude and Maude Nicholson, *Six Months in Canada*, Vol. I -II, 1896. Photocopy of manuscript diary, kept by two sisters from England. Written while William was active at Newmarket, it gives an account of many

places visited by him a few years before. Water colour sketches illustrate meeting-houses and homes in excellent detail. They comment on some of the same meetings and people that William Allen mentions.

The Norwich Gazette, with coverage for the Globe (Toronto) correspondent for the summer 1881 Canada Yearly Meeting (O) held at Norwich. Names visitors and comments on general arrangements that the formal business minutes do not include. Copy deposited by Vivien Abbott in 1997.

**William Allen's Memorandum Book
1887-1891**

transcribed by Jane Zavitz Bond

[Editor's note: much of the spelling has been transcribed as it is found in the diary to give a sense of Allen's style and cadence. Other parts of the diary will be published in a later issue.]

When I am done with this little book I want it sent to Rufus Garratt. If he don't except of it please give it to George Bowman when I am no more on earth.
William Allen.

Albion M. Gibson and me at Pickering Ont. Canada on the 18th of 6th month 1887 and we attended Canada Yearly Meeting. There was a number of strangers in attendance; Jeremiah Gernell and wife from California. Evi Sharpless from Jamaica. William Marshal from Deccota. Goddard and wife from New England. Charles Sweet and wife from New York Elba. Myself Wm. Allen from Ohio. This yearly meeting was one of favour and blessing from the presence of the Lord both in the meetings for business and for worship. Several souls were brought out into the liberty of the gospel. William Wetherald who was once a member of Canada yearly meeting but with-

draw himself there from some eight years ago, but has now been received into membership again with friends in Canada, and was in attendance of the yearly meeting and expressed his thankfulness that he had got home again. God bless the good brother and Canada Yearly meeting. The yearly meeting closed on the twenty ninth of sixth month 1887.

Sixth month thirtyth myself and Albion M. Gibson left Pickering and arrived at Cold Creek at Jonathan Dunn's the same day. Jonathan Dunn, Wooler P.O., Ont., Canada. After resting at Johnathan Dunn's until Sabbath (7th mo. 3-4) we attended the meeting at Coal Creek at 11 o'clock. Also appointed meeting for that evening, both of which were times of refreshing from the presents of the Lord. We visited familys during the week. One soul saved during our visit where she was staying. We also attended the meeting on fourth day which was owned and blessed of the Lord. We are stopping today, the 9th, at Arthur Terril's. We attended Coal Creek meeting on the 10th A.M. Gibson read the forepart of the 5th Chapter of 2nd Kings and spoke from the first virse. After which I followed encouraging them to be faithful in the little things as well as the larger ones. Several expressed there thankfulness to the Lord for his blessings to them. In the afternoon we had a meeting at the home of a dear lady who has suffered very much for two or three years past with a cancer on her breast. The Lord wonderfully blessed us and her. Praise the Lord. It was rather wonderful the way the Lord led me to have this meeting. The day before, as we were passing the house of this friend, I felt impressed that I would like to have meeting there. I said nothing about it, but in the morning she sent word to me requesting me to have meeting there. She said afterwards that the day before she was talking with a lady and requesting her to see

me when the lady looked out and saw us passing. This shows very plainly the leading of the Lord, all the praise be to Him be given.

July 14th we attended Coal Creek Monthly Meeting. I spoke from the first verse of the ninety first Psalm. While talking from the text about half the meeting was melted to tears. Several afterwards testified that they expected to be more faithful to the Lord.

We left Coal Creek on the 16th of July and came to Bloomfield arriving here at 3 P.M. Attended the Salvation Army meeting that evening. We also attended the regular meeting here on sabbath at 10 o'clock and appointed a meeting for that afternoon at four o'clock. The meeting Sabbath afternoon (the 17th) proved to be the largest meeting that has been held here by Friends for three years past. It was a very blessed meeting. I preached from the subject of God's love for man. After which many testimonies were given to the Lord's goodness to his children. We also attended West Lake Monthly Meeting held at Bloomfield on the 27th which was a time of refreshing from the Lord. Most of the congregation was melted to tears. Oh bless the Lord for the blessing He so bountifully powered out upon me there.

Sunday 7mo 24th we attended the 10 o'clock meeting at Bloomfield. The Lord was with me in power. Quite a number of testified that it was the same power that saved souls from our sins and now keeps and fills with His presents. In the afternoon we went to Wellington and had meeting in the Friends meeting house it was filled above and below. The Lord oned and blessed by His presents and Power. Many were on their knees before the meeting closed that the Lord might search their hearts. And it truly was a soul searching time. We attended the meeting at

Wellington on fourth day (7th mo 27th). A. M. Gibson read the first part of the second of Mesk. making a few remarks. Rufus Garratt then gave a few words of exhortation. After which I followed in connection with what he had said. We then had speech from the Salvation Army Captain which was very interesting. Followed by a number of these testimonies, then was song. Blessed be the name of the Lord and the meeting closed in the usual way. We attend the Bible class on the evening of the 27th which was lead by Rufus Garratt. The lesson was the first 11 vs. of the 4 ch. of St. Matthew. The Bible class was followed by a short prayer meeting. 7th 31. We attended the meeting at Wellington at 11 o'clock. We had a very precious time. I spoke from the 37th Psalm 16th and 17th verses. We also had a meeting in the evening which was a parting meeting and long to be remembered on account of the presence of the Lord.

8th mo. 7th 1887. Rufus took us to Bellville from there we went to Alfred Phelps about 8 miles north east of Bellville. On the evening of the fourth we had a meeting at the third consectional Methodist Church.

8-5. We came to Mariposi. We attended the meeting here on the Sabbath following. This being my old home I was received very kindly. Friends seemed glad to see me back again. 8th mo. 10th We attended the regular meeting here at Mariposi. We have been visiting families. There is an open door for service in this place.

On leaving Mariposa we came to Uxbridge arriving here on the 19th. We walked out from the station to John A. Jameses, one mile and a half, found them all well and they gave us a hearty welcome in their pleasant home. We attended their meeting on first day the 14th at eleven o'clock. There was quite a large meeting and the people seemed much pleased to

have us with them and the power of the Lord was wonderfully felt in the meeting. We had an appointed meeting the same evening at seven o'clock. The house was crowded and the(y) could not all get in. The Lord was with me in such wonderful power that many responded Amen & Praise the Lord. Before closing fifteen rose for prayer. Praise God for the work of the Holy Goast.

The evening of the 16th we had an appointed meeting at Uxbridge which was attended with interest. On the next evening we attended the meeting of the Hallelujah Band of the Methodist Church had a very pleasant time there was a goodly number in attendance. On third day 18th we also had another meeting at the friends house and the power of the Lord was much felt among us. On the evening of the 20th we attended the Salvation Army meeting. Had a good meeting in which we took part. On first day we again attended Friends meeting. It was a rainy morning but there was a good many out. Quite a number that was not Friends was in attendance and took part with us. In the afternoon we ... at the the Hallelujah Band meeting. Had a good time. They seemed glad to have us with them. In the evening we had meeting at our meeting house again. The people could not all get in the house. We had a splendid meeting. There was over 40 testimoneys given in about 5 minutes. 7 Seven rose for prayers.

Second day the 22nd we took the train to Toronto, stayed overnight with Elis Boggers and the next evening took the boat to Lewiston and the train to Elbe N.Y. We attend the regular meeting on fourth day evening had a good meeting. On sixth day evening the 26th we had an appointed meeting at Elbe meeting house which was very well attended with good interest. We had another meeting on seventh day night which we believe was a blessing to many. On first day morning the 28th although I

was feeling quite poorly yet we attended the regular meeting at eleven o'clock which a blessing from the Lord. In the afternoon I was taken very ill; sent for a dr. who said it was altogether out of the question for me to go to meeting that night. C.W. Sweet and Albion attend the meeting which the people was somewhat disappointed, yet they respected a good time.

9th mo. 4th. I have been quite sick for a week past but was able to attend the meeting this morning at 11 o'clock. We listened to an address by Mary Jane Weaver. The subject was the use of tongue after which I made a few remarks but was unable to take much part in the meeting. On the evening of the 7th we attended the regular meeting. I spoke from the text "Rejoice ever more." We had a good meeting. On the 8th we attended the preparative meeting. Although there was but a few out, we had a good meeting.

On the evening of the ninth we attended the meeting at Batava. It was somewhat rainy yet there was several there and the Lord was with us in power. 9th Mo 11th 1887 We attended the regular meeting. At 11 o'clock and at 7:30 in the evening both of which was times of favor from the Lord. There was a good attendance and very fair attention given and some shead tear(s) that had not been touched for years. Praise the Lord for his best powers went to the unsaved.

On the 12th we went back to Elbe. Attended the monthly meeting there on the 13th. The meeting was somewhat small on account of the heavy rain which we had in the morning but the Lord gave us a good meeting. The business was transacted in love and harmony. We attended the regular meeting. On fourth day evening which was a pastoral meeting. Many expressed there thanks to the Lord for our being sent among them and hoped the Lord would send us

back again to hold a series of meetings.

9th mo 15th. We left Elba for Pelham Qt. meeting. Arrived at Welland in the afternoon and was met by Elisha Taylor who brought us to his home. Sixth Day the 16th we attended the meeting of Ministers and Elders. Seventh day we attended the Qt. meeting which was a time of blessing from the Lord. The business was transacted in love and harmony. Sabbath morning the 18th we attended the regular meeting here at Pelham. The house was crowded. The Lord blessed in song and prayer after which I spoke for over one half hour. In the afternoon we attended a young peoples meeting held by two young ladys from Cleveland, Ohio at the close of which one gave her heart to the Lord. In the evening we went to Evingham to meeting. The house was full. Albion lead in song and prayer after which I spoke for some time followed by testimony and closed. We had meeting on second day night - quite a number present and fair attention given. We attended the regular meeting at Pelham on fourth day the 21st of 9th mo.

First day the 25th of 9th mo we attended the S.S.(Sunday School) at Milldal and the meeting at 11 o'clock. Had a very melting time. Commenced a series of meetings the same evening at the old brick meetinghouse at Norwich. Meetings was well attended except a few evenings when it was rainy. I never saw a better feeling in a series of meetings at Norwich. Everything seemed to work in unity and love. There has been 18 that have been converted or renewed during the meetings. Aoung(?) one soul to the meeting. The church was very much revived and come out in the work with greater liberty. The meetings closed the evening of the 9th of 19th mo. 1887. Some of those who came out in these meetings gave there names to become members of Friends.

10th mo 12th we attended the bus(iness) meeting at Norwich Ont. Albiem M. Gibson

read a few verses from Ex. 23 ch., and gave a few words of encouragement followed by Henry Sutton after which I spoke to the church encouraging them to feed the flock. After fifteen minutes such(?) the business was transacted in a spirit of love; five requests came in for membership, came in & a committee appointed to visit them after which the meeting closed with a solemn covering over the meeting.

10th mo 22nd 1887. We closed a series of 12 meeting at Haladily schoolhouse last night. We had a full house every night. Some nights it was very much crowded. This school house is some five miles east and a little north of Friends meeting house at Norwich Ont. The Lord's power was greatly manifested, believers strengthened & 26 professed to be converted & renewed some of which are looking toward joining friends. All praise belongeth unto God. On first day the 23rd we attended the S.S. and meeting at Norwich in the morning. In the eavning we went to Beaconsfield & comenced a series of meetings. We held 16 meetings all of which was times of blessing from the Lord. Three renewed, 7 the church brought to see more the responsibility that was resting upon her. Comencing on the sixth of eleventh month in the evining we held a few meetings at Best Brook which was blessed of the Lord.

11th mo 9th we attended at Norwich Monthly Meeting The meeting for worship was one of much power and blessing. Then after a few minutes (silence?) entered upon the buisness of the meeting which was transacted in love and unity. Five was received into membership according to the report of the committee. Four others requested to become members & a committee was appointed to visit them.

11th mo 17th 1887 Albion M. Gibson who has been with me in the work for the past nearly five months & who has I believe

has faithfully discharged his duty in warning the people to turn to the Lord, now leaves me for his home in Melita, Mich., on account of being unwell, & the Dr. advises him to take at least a month's rest. During our travels together we have been brought very close together in love one towards the other. May God bless the dear brother, I shall miss his prayers, songs & other labors but praise the Lord if we never meet any more in this world. We have a bright prospect of meeting in a brighter one beyond the river.

11th mo 19th. 87. Attended Quarterly Meeting today; was held in the power of the Lord. Many souls testified to a blessing. Business meeting was concluded in love and the Lord was with us. The conference in evening & missionary meetings was one of interest and profit.

11.20.87. This morn we had a grand time of waiting on the Lord. About fifty souls testified to the power of Jesus to save. In the evening was a good time though not very large on account of stormy weather. The above 2 s' was held at "The Friends Brick" at Norwich. Albion left on fifth day and Rufus Garratt joins me in the work. May the lord bless us in the work.

Nov. 26th 87. I left Milldale this day

held meetings over a week there were some 8 or 9 made a start to serve the Lord. Two girls came to make fun. One said it would take 20 such preachers to convert her. The other fell over while I was preaching, afterwards both gave their hearts to the Lord. Praise the Lord for his power.

Dec. 8, 87. After holding some meetings in different places around, I rested a day or two and then left Norwich closing up my work after 10 weeks of service within the limits of the meeting. Arrived at Hibbert on



the 2nd of 12th month Rufus Garratt and I, which was very stormy. We drove from Mitchell to Hibbert through the snow a distance of seven miles arriving at Eight P.M. at James Colquhouns.

12 mo 26, 1887. Closed a series of meetings the 25th. There was 28 that was converted and renewed here at Hibbert. And believers wonderfully strengthened and built up in the most holy faith. We spend

our Xmas at this place and in our prayer meeting the night before Xmas there was 24 texts spoken by the young converts and Christians and some comments on them. A prayer meeting long to be remembered in the morning. Reading at James Colquhouns on Xmas, the power of the Lord came down

upon us and there was eleven prayers offered around the family altar and it was a melting time. Praise the Lord!! The first text that came to my mind on Xmas morning was "the righteous shall flourish like the palm tree; he shall grow like the cedar in Lebanon." Ps. 92, 12 & 13. That was my text at the 11 a.m. meeting which nearly every soul in the house even melted into tears and a number followed in testimony and praises. God be praised for his wonderful works to the children of men.

12 mo. 30. After the series of meetings closed at Hibbert we remained a few days attended two meetings; one a Preparative. Three requests came in for membership. It has been snowing and blowing for the past two days and we have been snowbound during the time that we have been staying at James Colquhoun, having a prayer meeting every morning about 8 o'clock. 'Tis a time long to be remembered with the dear family. Rufus Garratt still remains to be my companion in this work.

Jan. 2. 1888. We are still here at Hibbert; have been delayed on account of snow storm. Spent our New Years here, the text that came to me and for New Year: Behold God is my salvation. I will trust and not be afraid, etc. Isa. 12-3. I preached from the same text at the morning meeting 11 a.m., a time of shedding tears and tears and the power of the Lord. Meeting at night was also a favored time. Though quite storm and cold quite a good congregation out. God be praised for his wonderful works to the children of men. Rufus Garratt preached at night from Gen. 41-38: Can we find such an one as this is etc., followed by Albert Colquhoun, after which I made some remarks and then a number of testimonies were given thanking God for the blessings they had received during the day.

Rockwood. 1.5.88. Came here on the eve of the 3rd. J.R. Harris met us at the

train. Attended the regular 4th day meeting though small was time of great blessing. We were also at the Bible Class on the 3rd day evening. J.R. Harris rented the Temperance hall and we fixed it up very nice and neatly. We commenced a series of meetings there on the evening of the 5th of 1mo. as the Friends Meeting House was too far out of town for the people to get to it. And as we have continued the meetings night after night, the power of the Lord was wonderfully come down in convicting the unsaved in answer to prayer. The third week the Methodist minister joined in with us in the Union Meeting. His labours were very acceptable with us. He is a man of God and filled with the Spirit. His name is Swan. Alma Dale was with us (from Uxbridge) to the edification of the people.

Feb. 2, 88. Closed our meetings in the Hall and moved them to the Methodist Church on the 29th. There was much good accomplished during the time the meetings were held in the Hall. One remarkable case of a drinking man. He came out o(ne) night on the Lord's side and a number of others werre also converted and reclaimed. Many of the Profesion came out into a brighter experience and the liberty to speak for Jesus. I was sick for three days, unable to reach the meeting. Rufus my companion was sick some of the time but the Lord blest us in sending us Alma Dale. She took hold in the work and the meetings went on, and many other workers willing to lend a helping hand, Praise the Lord! The meetings have grown in interest and power while we were unable to reach them but our prayers were constantly for the success of the work. This is the first series of meetings ever held at Rockwood by Friends.

Friday Feb. 10th 1888. Closed our series of meetings at Rockwood the evening of the 6th. Several came out during the week we held in the Methodist Church. The method-

ist minister expects to continue on with the work.

Tuesday morning we left Rockwood arriving at Thornbury about 1-15. Came out to Heathcote. We are making our home at Benjamin Moore's. Had our first meeting on the eve of the 8th of 2nd month. Very good meeting though not many out the weather being very cold below zero.

2 mo 16th 1888. Held eight meetings at Heathcote then came up here to St. Vincent on the 14th. The last first day eve we were at Heathcote the Methodist minister closed his own meeting and he and his congregation came up to ours. We attended the monthly meeting here which was well attended. Though the weather was very severe 16 degrees below zero. Feb. 23. 1888. While we were at Heathcote received a letter from Fred Ryon dated the 5th containing the sad news of his brother's death in Dakato on the 11 of first month. He Umea (?) perished in a blizzard. His remains were brought to his former home at Hanover, Michigan. He left a dear wife and children to mourn his loss. He went to a post Office eight miles away on a mild morning and wind from the south on his way home. The storm came on and 1 1/2 miles from his own door he was frozen to death. Such is life. We meet with friends but to part, never to meet in this world again, but with a hope of meeting in the better world, where there shall be no more storms and parting. There we'll meet in that Heavenly Band in that noble country on high where the Redeemed abide forever. Oh! Bring salvation nigh that every soul may be Jesus guest.

St. Vincent - Feb. 29. 1888. Closed two weeks meetings here last evening which were very well attended considering the extreme cold weather some of the time. There were some convictions and some renewals. The Church seemed to be benefited and built up in the faith of the Gospel.

What a blessed thing to know that Jesus died on Calvary Mountain long time ago and Salvation's flowing fountain now freely flows And if men will only repent, Jesus is able to save and cleanse from all unrighteousness. Some Christians was thankful that some things in the Scriptures that they could not understand was very clearly explained to them. Praise God for his wonderful power to remove obstacles out of the way and lead his children out into the liberty. This is one of the strangest arranged meeting houses. The roof is on four square runs up to a peak in the middle and chimney runs out at the peak. And part of the house is seated with a raised floor. There is a step to each row of desks of which there are three, and these steps form the seats so the seats are not very warm in cold weather as they are part of the floor. And the platform for the ministers is in the front of the house at one side of the door. Wm. Moore from Heathcote, a minister, was very acceptably with us most of the time wherein we praise the Lord for his company and service. We made our home part of the time at Hiram Bond's and the other part at James Harris's. Visited around among others. Some of the time during the day.

Monday 12. Mar. 1888. We left Bonds on the 1st in the morning arriving here about 12 a.m. at David Benedict's where we made our home during our stay here. Had meeting the same evening in a little new frame meeting House, 24 X 34, stone clad, built by Friends. The second day of the meeting there was the heaviest storm that ever was in this part of the country. Snow drifted in part of the meeting house nearly five feet deep and drifted so hard it held up a team. Though very cold our meetings continued till the 11th of Mar. One soul converted and some of the Christians come out into a better experience wherein we

praise the Lord. During the week of the meetings I received a letter (Mar. 7) from my home in Sandusky from Charlie and Michael Abele (?) giving the account of the death of his mother on the 27th of 2nd month which was very surprising to me and I realized very soon that I had lost a friend, one who many times prayed for me and encouraged me in the work, and always made me welcome when I came home to rest. I could only say God bless Michael and Charlie in their bereaved condition. When I am far away from home in my field of labour for the Lord, when this sad news came to me, we know not one day what another shall bring forth. My only plea, Christ died for me, and no doubt this dear sister is now with Jesus. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints. And thus it is we part with loved ones but we shall meet again where parting shall be o'er. We leave here this morning for Sydenham meeting.

Mar. 16. 1888. Came down to Thomas Luton's on Second day; arrived about noon, made our home there most of the time. Appointed and attended five meetings to very good satisfaction here at Sydenham meeting. Joseph Rodgers where we stayed all night brought us on our way as far as James Harris's two miles from Meaford. Monday 19th. Came to Meaford on the 17th took the train to Thornbury was met there by a team and brought out to Benj. Moore. Had meeting at Heathcote in the afternoon. A very good time also meeting in the evening. A very full house.

Mar. 24th. 1888. After resting a few days up at Benjamin Moore's up at Heathcote came down to Bradley on the train. Henry Doil (?) met us at the station arrived here at the home of Rachel Doyle at 1 p.m. Mar. 22nd 1888. Commenced meeting on the same evening at the Friends meetinghouse here at Tecumseh.

Apr. 3rd Have been here over one week. Last first day a week ago I preached in the Methodist Church in the evening the last First Day in the month. Yesterday was my birthday had a good meeting in the evening. One gave up to the Lord. April 9th Closed our series of meetings on the eveing of the 8th. Some conversions and some renewals. A number of christians came out into a brighter experience wherein we praise the Lord as Springtime is opening up and the birds begin to sing how new hearts can honor God with new notes of praises. All praise belongeth unto God my only plea Christ died for me.

April 12th Attended the Monthly Meeting here today. Several Friends were over from Younge Street. Had a very good meeting, one of blessing. Wm. Weatherall was up from Toronto. Our work has been visiting some since we closed our meetings and resting at our home Rachel Doyle's.

April 16th. Arrived here at Wm Dale's at Pickering on the 13th after leaving Tecumseh and stopping a few hours in Toronto. We attended the Friends Meeting and first day school on the 15th at Pickering in the morning. The afternoon we attended the meeting and school at Frenchman's Bay had an appointed meeting at 7 1/4 in the evening. Which were ties of refreshing from the presence of the Lord and the enemy got wonderfully stirred up in our meeting on First Day night. The wicked flee when no man pursue. Praise God for his Power and his living presence among the people.

April 24th 1888. Came here to Moscow on the 17th of this month to Sam'l Gowdy's. Attended a prayer on the night of the 20 at Old Father Gowdy's. It was a grand meeting. Attended the meeting on the 22 at Moscow in the morning at 10-30 Colebrook in the afternoon of the same day at 2-30 in the evening at Petworth 7 the same day. They were times of refreshing

from the presence of the Lord. Many eyes were bathed in tears and many spoke of their thankfulness of God's power to keep them and that they were spared to meet me again and truly I can praise the Lord that he is my Shepherd and friend my hope my joy my peace. He will keep me to my journeys end. Hallelujah! My joy He does increase. Praise God that he blesses our labors in the Salvation of Souls. Yet I am nothing but Christ is all and in all. Have been making some family visits during this time and the Lord has blest my aim in the Lord's work is to go forward.

April 27. Had two meetings at Enterprize on the 24th and 25th. Had a full house each evening. The people seemed to be glad to see us and anxious for us to stay longer. That is where we held a series of meetings a year ago. Returned back to Moscow this morning. April 30. Was at prayer meeting on Friday evening at Gowdy's. Also at meeting on First day morning the 29 and in the evening at 7. There was a goodly company out both the meetings were here at Moscow. May 7th. Attended the Preparative meeting here at Moscow on the 2nd of the 5th mo. Very few in attendance yet the Lord was with us. On the 6th attended the meetings at Moscow morning and evening. They were attended with good interest. A number spoke both morning and evening to the power of God.

May 14th 1888. Attended Kingston Mo Meeting held at Moscow the 12th. then came home with Jane Hogle (?) & attended the meeting at Petworth on First Day morning at 1 mo. A most wonderful time of the outpouring of the Spirit of the Lord upon the people. In the afternoon came out to Varonna and attended the Methodist meeting in the evening here.

May 17th 1888. Came here to Varonna the evening of the 13th on the eve. of the 14th had meeting in the methodist church

on the 15th we had a children's meeting at 4:30 P.M. There was 40 in attendance and many of their little hearts were tendered and broken even to tears many of them held up their hands showing that they wanted to be good, which I believe the Lord did bless some of them.

May 25th. We had eleven meetings in all at Varonna. We closed on the evening of the 23rd. 12 came to the altar seeking Christ during the meetings and the membership was wonderfully revived wherein we praise God that Salvation is free for old hardened sinners if they will only accept. Their only plea Christ died for me. Bring Salvation near. Many regretted that our meetings closed so soon. Attended prayer meeting on the eve of the 24th at Petworth. It was a very spiritual live meeting. 28 May. Attended Moscow in the morning of First day the 27. At Colebrook in the afternoon. Petworth in the evening. They were times of refreshing like a shower before a more plentiful rain. Praise the Lord.

Wellington 6 mo. 4. 1888. Came to this place on the 31st of 5 mo. Attended the Select Meeting on the 1st. it was time of special blessing. W.U. Wright of Pickering was with us. The meetings were largely attended and on Seventh and First Days were times of God's presense and power. Seventh day Evening the W.F.M.S. (Wellington Foreign Missionary Society) gave a very interesting meeting at which W.V. Wright gave an address at the close many hearts were led to rejoice because of the outpouring of God's Spirit upon us. W.V. Wright will probably soon leave us to go to Japan.

June 7th. Attended the regular weekday meeting at Wellington yesterday in company with Wm. Wright. The line of the preaching was love and the fruits of the Spirit. After meeting several of us went to Anthony Haight's to a surprise party for his

mother on her 90th birthday. After dinner we had a nice little prayer meeting in which many hearts were made to rejoice and many of us could say all the way my saviour leads me and that makes our hearts rejoice in all the fullness of His love. Amen!

Pickering June 28th. I arrived here in Pic yesterday came up from Wellington. Today is the first day of Canada Yrly meeting. We had a most blessed meeting at 10 o'clock. Ministers from other meetings were Henry S. Newman England, Sarah A. Kelsey western Yrly meetingg, Jessie McPherson New England, Alec. M. Purdy New York, Amos Kenworthy Indiana, Asa C. Tuttle New England, Caroline Tuttle New England, Mary G. Underhill New York. This Meeting was the Merting of Ministers and Elders of Canada Yrly Meeting.

July 5. 1888 They preached the gospel with power and clearness which was very strengthening and edifying to the Yearly meeting. The business that come before the yearly meeting during the different sessions were entered upon in the life and power of the Spirit desiring the Lord to Direct in all their work. Womans F[riends] M[issionary] S[ociety]. reports were very interesting with their bright prospect of sending out their two missionaries W. Wright and wife. Their S.S. reports werre very full clear and interesting. The yearly meeting closed up with its business on the fourth. After several months of labour of Rufus Garratt and I in series of meetings at the close of this Yearly Meeting we separated this morning. He goes to his home at Wellington with a prospect of accompanying H.S. Newman through the meetings of West Lake Qtr. and I start for Rockwood, Hibbert and Norwich Meetings alone, desiring that God's blessings may be with us both in our separation. God has blessed us in the Salvation of many souls while we have travelled together. At

the close of Canada Yearly Meeting I visited Rockwood, Habert and Norwich and Hatchly meetings. These different places mentioned were times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord in going back to those places again after which I returned home about a year and a half in the master's work in Canada. I arrived home on the eighteenth of the seventh month. and found them that were spared to see me come home well as usual. Death during my absence visited my home which leaves all very lonely but his grace is sufficient for us that are left a blessed rest sweet rest in Jesus that we can have in trusting him.

Alum Creek Qt. meeting. held at meeting. Gilead comencing on the 27th and closing on the 29th of 7th mo. Had the acceptable company of Allen Jay from Richmond Ind. Colemibus(?) Coats from Windchester and others. It was a time of refreshing from the presents of the Lord with me to be at my own Qt meeting after being absent from the Qt meeting for two years in the Evenglist work.

Then I attended Salem Qt meeting on the 4th 9th of the 8th mo and had grate liberty in preaching full Salvation to the people and many testimonies was given for the privilege of attending such a meeting. Then I attended Damascus Qt meeting on the 11th of 8th mo at Damascus. Went from there on first day to Sandy Spring & held 1 meeting at that place with good satisfaction. Then I returned to Damascus to attend the yearly meeting comencing on the 23rd of 8th mo. and closed the 29th. We was blessed with the company of ministers from other yearly meetings. Henry Stanley newman from England. The best yearly meeting we have had for sevel from which we praise the Lord.

I left Damascus on the 7th day of the 9th mo, and arrived at Ashley on the evening of the same to attend there meeting. On first

day. Albion M. Gibson joined me on the way from Damascus to Ashley & we expect to be engaged in the work together. Ashley Ohio 9th mo. 2nd. We had or attended the meetings here at 11 in the morning and at 7 in the evening. They was both times of refreshing from the presents of the Lord.

On second day 9-2-1888 we took the train to Columbus and from there to Oskaloosa, Iowa, and arrived there on 3rd day the 4th in the evening. Then attended Iowa Yearly Meeting which was held at this place. The meetings was favioered with the felt presence of the Lord right from the first. Sinners was converted believers sanctified & the church much encouraged. There was a number of ministers from other yearly metings in attendance and although it was the first time I ever attended this yr meeting I met with many old friends and acquaintences which was very pleasant. There was a large crowd in attendance on first day. Number estimated at about 10,000 people. There was preaching at about five different places on the ground & sevril of the churches in town was opened & occupied by friends ministers in the evening.

We left Oskaloosa 9th mo. 11th 1888 & came to Standford where we held and attended 6 meeting. Had a crowded house except one evening when it rained. 6th day meetings. & the Lord was with us in power. On 7th day the fifteenth we attended Bangor Monthly Meeting. & had a wonderful meeting. There wasd a number of testimonies given. We appointed meeting for that night and attended the regular meeting at 10 o'clock on first day & held this for four success evenings & one meeting. in the day for the young people and children. all of which was times of blessing from the presents of the Lord and some made public confession of their neglectfulness in the past and promised to do better in the future. Taking it all in all we had a very pleasant &

we believe profitable time. On fifth day the 20th we attended the regular meeting at standford at 11 o'clock & had an appointed meeting at union in the Congregational church with much satisfaction. The Lord gave me liberty in preaching and the people seemed to enjoy it. On seventh day the 22nd we attended the Monthly Meeting at Honey Creek. Then came to Chester and attended the regular meeting on first day& went to Liberty school house in the evening where we found a crowded house & had a splendid meeting. Then we came back to Chester where we held one weeks meeting at the close of which many rose to say that they had been benefited by our coming among them. Salvation is a joy full sound. That jesus brought from Heaven down. Praise his holy name for his wonderful works to the children of men. On fourth day the 3rd of 10th mo we attended the regular meeting at Chester & on fifth day the 4th we attended the preparative meeting at Honey Creek & had a meeting in the evening at New Providence & on sixth day we attended the meeting of Ministers and oversite - all of which the deer Lord was with me. On seventh and first days the 6th & 7th of 10th mo we attended the Qt meeting at Honey Creek which was largely attended on first day morning. Had two meetings one in the meetinghouse & the other in the school house. J.H. Douglas and Wm Hobson was in attendance & we had a grand Qt meeting. The most remarkable in some respects I ever attended. At one of the meetings sevril young men and young ladies (after the way had been opened by J.H. Douglas) publicly acknowledged that they had felt God calling them to work for Him & that they was now willing to accept the call and go to work as the way may open. It was a grand Qt meeting and there was much (invitation?) given from the pulpit & many prayers, songs & testimonies came from all

over the house. God be praised for his wonderful works to the children of men. On second day following we come to Oskaloosa & stoped at P.S. Thomases. We left Oskaloosa Iowa on the evening of the 9th of 10th mo. and arrived at Lawrence Kansas at 11:15 10th mo 10th & attended the yr. meeting. Was held at that place from 10th mo. 12 to 10th mo. 18th including meeting on Ministry & oversite the 11th. Dr. Elis Jessup from Cal., J.H. Douglas from Iowa, C.W. Godard from Maine, Edwin Moor from Canada, Daniel Hill from Ind. and several other ministerts from other yr meetings was in attendence besides home ministers and workers of which there was a goodly number in attendence. There was meetings for worship every morning & evening during the yr, meeting in which the Lord's power was much manifest; some conversions and renewals & sevril received the baptism with the Holy Gost. The business of the yr. meeting was transacted in love & a good degree of harmony. Taking it all in all we had a good yr. meeting.

We left Lawrence, Kansas, on sixth day 10th the 19th 1888 and come to Tonganoxie and attend Tonganoxie Mo. meeting the 20th. Sarah Harris & husband also being in attendence. The Lord was with us and we had a good meeting. After attending the mo. meeting we had and attended 17 meetings in the friends academy at Tonganoxie with good results. Do not know the exact number that came out but there was quite a number some over twenty. Also held two meetings with the coloured folks while in town. Sarah Harris & husband was with us in the meetings held in the academy. They are from Cal. We attended Stanwood meeting on first day the 4th of 11th mo 1888 & then continued meetings. Attended and appointed 13 meetings. On account of the storm the 8 & 9 the meetings closed for three days & then the roads being bad the meetings was small

but very much blessed of the dear Lord. No conversions to our knowledge but the church much built up & strengthened. We attended Springdale Mo. meeting held at Stanwood the 14th & on the fifteenth we took the train to Milo, Iowa, to attend Akworth Qt meeting held at Waveland, Warren Co., Iowa. We attended the Qt meeting on the 17th & 18th and done most of the preaching. The Qt meeting was well attended & good interested. The W.F.M.A. Board had there meeting in the afternoon on first day which was a time of interest. We continued a series of meetings after Qt meeting holding 16 meeting in which there was a good interest manifested. There was some conversions & renewals and the church revived. Oh ye children of God work while it is called today for the night cometh where in no man can work. We atended Acworth meeting held at the Academy at Acworth, Warren co. on second day the 3rd of 12th mo. & on the third day we came to Truro, Madason Co. & comenced a series of meetings at Oak Run meeting which is held in the school house where we continued about two weeks. Then the crowd being so grate that we was obliged to go to the Methodist church where we ontinued the meetings another week with a crowded house & a deeply interested congregation. During the three weeks meetings there was over sixty five professed & gave evidence of conversion & renewal. Twenty three of which gave there names to become members of Friends & ten to become members of the Methodist Church. The meetings was an especily interesting one from the first. The power of God was much manifested especily at the closing meeting on Christmas; comenced at a little before 11 o'clock & we could not get away untill 3 P.M. Three souls blessedly saved and many testified that it was the happiest Christmas they had ever saw. My Christmas text was

the twenty third Psalm, first three and part of the fourth verses. Many others gave there Christmas texts. On sabbath morning before Christmas there was 70 testimonies given in 7 minits and 20 more in the next 13 minits.

We expected to a went to Smyrna on the 26th but got stormed. Stayed at E. P. Micheners two days. On the eavinging of the 27th after it quit storming the young people of the neighborhood came in & spent the eavinging with me in song & prayer & social conversation. On the 28th we come to Smyrna accompanied by two of the young converts who remained with us a few days. Arriving at Smyrna we found Joseph Blackledge & Alvin Coppock here engaged in a series of meetings which had been in progress for over a week in which we joined but Joseph left in a few days for home. Alvin continued with me a few days longer then he went to his home in Kansas leaving me alone in the work with the exception of the home workers. We held and attended 20 meetings in which there was some 12 or 15 conversions & renewals & sevrel gave there names to join the Church and others are expecting to join.

On New Years day we had a very blessed meeting. Five or 6 was on there knees calling for mercy & many promised the Lord in the presence of the meeting to be more faithful in the coming year than in the past. My New Years text was "Therefore being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ by whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand & rejoice in hope of the glory of God". The series of meetings closed on fourth day the 9th of 1st Mo. 1889 with good interest. God be praised. On first day we attended the regular meeting at Smyrna also had meeting in the eavinging. On second day the 14th come to Oak Run expecting to rest a few days but I was taken sick so I did not get

away untill the 23rd. Then we come to Greenwood meeting in Polk Co., Iowa, and comenced a series of meetings on the 24th which continued three weeks also one day. The meeting was well attended; sevrl nights the house was so full that sevrl stood in the iles during service. We had good order & good attention. 23 professed conversion through Christ, 12 wanders returned home & rejoiced in being again received to father's house & a number wholly consecrated themselves to the Lord & to the Holy Spirit witnessed to a pure heart. We had the very exceptual company of J.H. Douglas one day and night, and John Pennington one day & night & also Sister Arnold of Des Moines was with us sevrl days. She was a good worker int he congregation. We held in all 43 meetings closing on fourth day 2nd mo. 13th 1889.

We come to Des Moines on sixth day the 15th & attended the meeting of Ministry & oversite in the afternoon & an appointed meeting that night. On seventh day fall(ow)ing we attended the Qt. meeting held at Des Moines (Acworth Qt meeting). President Beniman Trublood, Senakay Wildman & Jessie Kenworthy was there. Also a number of ministers belong to that Qt. meeting. We had a blessed Qt. meeting. On first day night we went to the Mishonony meeting in the chapel in the south east part of the City. On second day, the 18th of 2nd mo., we come to Middle River meeting to commence a series of meetings in which we held 12 sessions. It was a meeting which was very much run down, only three friends attending. We had quite large meetings. Three conversions & one renewal. After clsoing the meetings there on fourth day day night on Feb. 27th & on the 28th we came to Des Moines & stayed overnight at J.H. Douglas.

On sixth day the 7 of Mar we went to Truro Iowa. We attended the regular

meeting at Oak Run. On first day went to Ebenezer Church first day night where we held meetings for five nights. We attended Oak Run Mo meeting, on the ninth - & stayed there over sabbath - & the most of the following week we spent in visiting families in that neighborhood. We came to Des Moines on the 16th of March & attend friends church on Grand avenew at 10.30 in the morning & the mission meeting on East Fourth & Allen street in the eavinging. We continued the meetings at Allen St. for two weeks with a good attendence & good results. Over 20 came out on the Lord's side. Some gave there names to join the church. I preached two first days to the friends on grand Avenew. I went to Greenwood & attend the meeting there in the morning of the 31st of 3rd mo. We had a blessed good meeting. On the eavinging of the 2nd of 4th mo. 1889 I spoke in the M.E. Church in Prospect Park on the north of Des Moines. Isah.

Left Des Moines for Ohio on the fourth of the same month I arrived home safe at Sandusky City. The next night Albion Gibson went on to East Goshen, Ohio, to his former home. I remained at home resting two weeks & a half. Went to our Qt meeting at Camp Chase. We had a good Qt. meeting, well attended. The spirit of the Lord was manifested in great power on seventh day and first day I started for Elby, New York on the last day of 4th month. John Cowgill (Cowgill?) and wife were with me. We spent one week with Chas. Sweet and Anna. Held some meetings while there. Then I came over to Norwich attended some of the regular meetings and appointed a meeting or two. Then went to Hibbert and remained there a little over two weeks. I had some good meetings there though it was very rainy weather. On the morning of 28th it snowed and stormed very heavy the fore part of the day after which we had two big

frosts and heavy rains on the 4th. I returned back to Norwich again. Bless the Lord for his keeping power through this work.

6 mo 27th Pickering. Remained at Norwich, Canada untill after the Quarterly Meeting there which was held the 3rd 7th day in 6th month. Was well attended, a good interest. Frank Dymond, Rufus Garratt & Wim Allen were the strangers present. I remained in the neighborhood during the following week making calls. Attended the meeting the first day following at Beaconsfield in the morning had a very good meeting. Was called away to Norwich to preach the funeral of a young woman and back to Beaconsfield in the evening. Frank Dymond of England was present morning and evening.

Arrived at Pickering last evening 6 mo. 26th. There was a number of Friends on the train I fell in company with on their way to Yearly Meeting. July 3. 1889. This Yearly Meeting has from the first been a time of power and blessing. A number of friends ministers have been here from other parts. They preached the everlasting Gospel in power and clearness, business meetings were conducted in great harmony and love and to our father we will give all the Glory for His matchless power and Love for his goodness and loving kindness which are better than life. The weather has been very pleasant during all the sittings of Canada Yearly Meeting... cf. Rufus in love for Wm...

I went from Yearly meeting into the limits of Norwich Monthly Meeting & remained about three months during the hot weather. Attended there meetings & appointed some prayer meetings & visited some families after which I spent some little time at Hibert afterwhich I went to Moscow & was taken very ill & remained there over two weeks & was confined to my bed most of the time. Albion Gibson come to me on

the 2nd of 10th mo. to join me in the work. I recovered so that we came to Pickering on the 7th of 10th mo. 1889. We held a few meetings. at Pickering in which the Lord's presence was manifest and the church strengthened. it was a busy time & the meetings was small.

On the 18th of 10th mo. we came to Uxbridge & comenced holding meetings on the 20th. We continued the meetings at Uxbridge for two weeks & two days. We had a good attendance & good meetings. The Lord gave us much liberty in speaking to the people. Much freedom in prayer & many vocal prayers almost every meeting. There was one or two conversions, several reclaimed & a number who came out for a better experience. We believe the church much built up. There was many testimonies given almost every meeting. Many declared the intentions to go forward & do more for the Lord and his cause than ever before.

We left Uxbridge on third day, 11 mo. 5th 1889 and came to Tecumseth where we held about a week's meetings to good satisfaction & to the strengthening of the members. Friday (?) which we went to NewMarket where we held three meetings & also attend the Mo. meeting on Young Street on fifth day the 14th which was a time of blessing from the presence of the Lord. Edwin Moor from CollingWood was present.

On sixth day the 15th we come to Norwich to attend Pelham Qt. meeting which is held here on the third seventh day of this Mo. Edwin Moor come with us. We had a good Qt. meeting. We continued a series of meetings after Qt. meeting which lasted over three weeks. There was some conversions and some renewals and the church greatly built up in the most holy faith.

We left Norwich on the 17th and arrived at Effingham on the same day have com-

menced the work here. We are still continuing the meetings here at Effingham, George Bowman is here with us from Norwich. Helping in the work, Fred Rhine (Ryon?) from Pelham is over, helping, and also his wife. The work is moving along nicely.

This is Christmas morning the sun is shining bright and clear. The grass are green and nice, the roads are very muddy. We are stopping at Philip Clines. We have the prospect of a large turkey for dinner. We had good meeting on Xmas night. A New Years morning was a very bright morning here. About 10 o'clock it commenced raining and rained very heavy all the remainder of the day and all night. We went through the rain to Pelham Monthly Meeting held at Pelham. We had an excellent good meeting wherein we praise the Lord. When I awoke a New Years morning first there was two texts came to my mind. The first was: "The blessing of the Lord maketh rich and he addeth no sorrow with it." The other text was, "Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life" (Jude 1 chap.). Meetings at Effingham last three weeks and closed on Wednesday evening the 8th of July. There was 5 conversions, 5 renewals, 1 for sanctification. Closed meeting with a full house. Started for to commence meetings at San(dy) Springs, Ohio. Made our home while here at Whitson Beckett's and Philip Rhine's. George Bowman started for home on 13th from Effingham after a stay of four weeks.

I left Canada on the 13th of first Mo. 1890, arrived at East Rochester on the 14th. Comenced a series of meetings at Sandy Spring which lasted a little over two weeks. The meetings was only fair size as the roads was bad & so many was sick so many got the S. Grippe that we had to close the meetings. There was three defiting blessed during the meetings. I attended Damascus

Qt. meeting on the 8th of second month which was a very favored season. Also attended the meeting there on the 9th. On the evening of the same day I attended East Goshen meeting. The Lord blessed in disclosing his truth. Attended the Preparative meeting at Beloit on fourth day evening the 12th. On sixth day the 14th came to Short Creek. Commenced a series of meetings at West Grove meeting on first day the 16th which continued one week and a half. The meetings was small on account of bad roads and raining every few days. We had good meeting. & some come out in a better experience.

On the sixth day the 28th of 2nd Mo. we come to Freeport, found Jospe Smith & Isaac (e) Stratton engaged in a series of meeting. in which we joined heads and hands and the work moved along nicely. Josepe had to leave on the 12 of March. We continued the meetings on until first day the 16th. Thirty meetings in all. During which time there was 9 sanctified, 11 renewed & 20 convicted besides 29 children. Quite a number gave their names to join friends. At the close of the last meeting, a lady who was a backslider come to an altar of prayer & while there she became unconcious & lay for 2 1/2 hours in something like a trance. But she came to praising the Lord. During the time of the meetings I received a letter from Frank Moore giving the account of the death of Edwin Moore, a Minister of Canada Yr. meeting, Young Street Qt. meeting. Said he was a man of God. We had often been together in the Lord's work. The Lord had blessed us together. He will be gratefully missed in that Yr. meeting for he was a good revivalist. He died very sudden while at Norwich in the work.

In Fourth month of the year 1890, I received a minute of service in New England Yearly meeting. Some service in Ferrisburg Qt. meeting, Vermont also.

Service in Canada and Iowa Yearly meeting. I went over in Canada the first of fifth month, visited some of the meetings in Pelham Quarter during the month. Gave one lecture at Hibbert, the experience of my life in slavery. Also one at Hatchley, 5 miles from Norwich. I attended Canada Yearly meeting the last of 6th Month. It was a blessed favored time of the Lord. There was several of us in attendance from other Yearly meetings. Business of Yearly meeting was conducted in harmony and love. Much good counsel was given by the visitors, by the ministers of there own Yearly meeting also wherein much praises were given to our heavenly father. Many hearts were tendered in the close of the meeting.

I went from Yearly meeting to Mary Posa (Mariposa) and spent one week with the dear friends there where I used to live. Praise the lord for his many blessings that came to me while in the neighborhood. I went from there to Uxbridge and spent a week with friends there. Gave a lecture on slavery while there which everybody seemed to be delighted. I spoke an hour and a half then the people said "go on, go on". So I thought it was better to close. They sang a real cheering hymn. Some others spoke and then we closed. Went from there to Toronto; spent part of the week in the city. Attended some meetings at the Friends Church and preached Christ the best I could there. I attended one street meeting. Had many invitations to hold meetings in the city.

I went from there to Norwich; spent a few days at Norwich. Went from there to Hibbert and rested two weeks or three weeks after which I started on the 26th of 8th mo. for Damascus to attend the Ohio Yearly meeting which commenced on the 28th. I met with Geo. Bowman in Buffalo. We travelled together to Damascus. The

public meeting on fifth day at 10 o'clock was a favorable meeting. It was held in the frame house; about 900 people were present. A Friends minister from Kansas City preached the opening sermon followed by David Uptigraph, Rufus King from North Carolina & others. Strangers were in attendance on fifth day night being the first night of the meeting. There were some twenty or more at the altar, some for sanctification, some for justification & some for the filling of the spirit. We praise God for that power that moved the hearts of the people to seek a deeper work of grace and to get right with God. Judith Johnston led the eight o'clock meeting on 6th day morning which was a blessed favored time. Many hearts could say glory to God in the highest, peace, goodwill on earth to all mankind, or at least I could say it. The meeting for business opened at 10 o'clock on 6th day when the credentials for ministers were read and much unity expressed in regards to their presence. Many words of our own members in attendance after which the London Epistle was read. The Epistles from all other Yearly meetings that we corresponded with, was read, which revived fresh greetings in our midst. After some other business were gone through with, the meeting adjourned 'till 10 o'clock 7 day. The business all through Yr. meeting was done in peace and harmony a large concourse of people on sabbath were present to hear the gospel preached.

After Yr. meeting closed Leander Hole and George Bowman and myself went from Damascus to Columbus and stayed over first day; attended Camp Chase and Columbus meetings. Left Columbus on 2nd day for Oskaloosa. Came through Chicago stopped over 1 day and spent it in Looking at the City and wild animals in Lincoln park. Then came on to Yr. meeting at Oskaloosa. We have had a good Yr.

meeting. There were a good many strangers in attendance. It was a very favored time of the Lord. A very large congregation on 18th day. The gospel were preached in great power. Yr. meeting after going through with its business closed on 16th of Sept. 1890. They sang the farewell song of (We Praise thee Oh God).

We left Oskaloosa for Earlham, west of Des Moines. Attended three meetings with monthly meeting. Went from there to Bear Creek and stopped with Nathan Pickett one of my old acquaintances and beloved in the Lord. We attended three meetings there. Went from there to east Linn on 23rd of Sept. 1890 and Commenced meeting. Held two weeks meetings there at East Linn, Dallas Co., Iowa. During the time there was ten that made a start and the church members greatly bless and brought out into greater liberty. Meetings were well attended wherein we have great reason to be thankful for the power of the Lord that will reach souls.

We left there on the 8th of Oct. 1890 for Linden in Dallas Co., a little town and commenced meeting on the evening of the 8th. Meeting was opened by George Wm. Bowman by reading 100th Psalm and with Prayer. Leander Hole also offered prayer. Then I, William Allen spoke from the Psalm that was read. A full house. The meetings all through was largely attended. 15 came out for Sanctification. We left there on the 18th sooner than we would of liked but had to meet other engagements. Many was left under conviction. The church was somewhat warmed. We held 11 meetings. Left for Truro; began meetings there on 19th with a full house. We held 19 meetings. in which there was not as much done as I would liked to have seen, but the church was greatly blessed.

We left there on the 2nd of 11th mo for New Sharon. We stopped to des Moines on

2nd day and held a meeting at night in which there was a great interest felt. We arrived at new Sharon on 4th of Nov. and commenced a series of meetings. We held 25 meetings which resulted in the salvation of some souls and some professed sanctification wherein we praise the Lord. Meetings were largely attended. After the first few meetings the Members took hold in the work with us. Many Prayers were offered from meeting to meeting. The Oskaloosa Qt meeting held at New Sharon came in at the close of our Series of meetings which were largely attended and much interest was manifested. Sunday school conference was held on first-day afternoon. I believe the time is come when ministers and evangelists should hold up Christ as complete saviour and cry against all these other things that is creeping into the church. Such things as entertainments and oyster suppers & neck tie socials and garden parties. All these things I believe are the work of the Devil. There is not souls converted at these places. They are sapping the spiritual life out of the Churches. We are sorry that some of our friends in some places are getting favorable to some of these things. They claim that it will hold our young people together and cause them to have more interest in the Church in the way of raising means to carry on the work of the Church. I believe it to be a curse to any Church to allow such things to come into our Churches. There are so many people today that are after the fleece instead of the salvation of souls. Many of them don't care how they get it as long as they get it. The Lord Jesus tells us "And I if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto me." And if that won't do it, it's no use to bring in these other things as a substitute to win souls to Christ. For it will not do it. The Lord is the way the Truth and the Life, & no man cometh unto the father but by me. Away with all these other things

and let Christ have his way. He will lead us to the place of Holiness. "Follow peace with all men and Holiness without which no man shall see the Lord." So be it unto the Lord. The Lord is my shepherd and my friend. My hope, my joy. He will keep me to my journey's end. My Joy he does increase. He will do this for all his faithful followers. May the Lord help us to have clean hands and pure hearts, to handle the word of God, and that without gloves but with an eye single to the Glory of God and to the salvation of souls. My motto is to preach the preaching that the Lord bids, [re]gardless to what men may say, or what they may think. For it is God I am working for and not man. So I hold up a free salvation, every person can have it by repentance towards God & faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. My hope is built on nothing less than Jesus' blood and righteousness. If we keep on the straight line with God we will have power to do his will. He will bless us in so doing. May not stand so popular before the world, but higher in the estimation of God.

We left new Sharon on the 5th for Union. Eli Mendenhall, Union, Hardin Co., Iowa, met us at the depot. We expected to of held a series of meetings at a meeting called Chester but on account of a neighboring meeting which had just started we went to a meeting called Concord where we began a two weeks series of meetings. Found the Church in a bad situation. Trouble had arose among the members, and such a contention and strife arose that the meeting was fast going down. The Lord so brought the situation of the people before me as to enable me to bring the hidden trouble to Light. And while in a day meeting an open confession was made on the part of individuals who had a hand in it and so it was settled and buried, I hope forever. The Lord began to work there on the hearts of the unsaved and soon many

was found weeping their way to Calvary. And before the meetings closed forty (40) was found to speak well of the name of Jesus. And 10 gave their names for to join Friends Church and others was expected. Praise the Lord for his wonderful works to the children of men. (We stopped with William Lee Radcliffe Hardin Co. Iowa)

We left Concord on 29th of 12th mo. 1890 for Greenwood meeting about 10 miles north of Des Moines. Began meetings here on 30th. We held a series of 20 meetings in their new House. There was not the results we would have liked to of seen. The Church was not in a fit state for a series of meetings. We done our work and left them. We made our home with Amos Bogue. Berwick P.O. Polk Co. Iowa. We stopped some with Ellis Randolph Ankeney P.O. Polk Co. Iowa.

After which we left that neighborhood and came to Hubbard, Hardin Co. Iowa on the evening of the 12th of 1st mo. 1891 and began our meetings. On the same we stopped with Zenas Martin, Hubbard, Hardin Co., Iowa. Held 26 meetings in which the Lord blessed us with 43 souls. The house was crowded night after night people came from miles around. Leander Hole left for home on 16th on account of sickness. I and George Bowman continued on. Had to close the meetings here on account of George's mother who was taken sick. We closed here at Hubbard on 25th of 1st mo. 1891. We both leave here this afternoon for Canada. The meetings will continue for a couple of nights by T.C. Kenworthy their pastor. May the Lord still bless the work.

We arrived safe in Canada and George found his mother quite poorly which required his help at home. That left me to go out in the work alone. After a week's rest I went to Hibbert which was the 11th of second month. I joined in helping Albert

Colquhoun in a series of meetings. We held 28 meetings in all. There was five that was convinced in the need of living a different life. They manifested it by excepting Christ as their saviour. And they was heard exhorting others to do likewise. The lord is able to save to the uttermost. We had a great deal of snow and wind during the meetings. The Lord was with us in power and blessed the Church Members wherein we praise His holy name. It seemed remarkable during the meetings that there was death each week of the meetings in the Limits of the Neighborhood from old age down to the children. One was an old lady that lived a few rods from the meeting house. When able to attend meeting she often spoke of the wondrous love of Christ to her soul. "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord" for Christ died to save all. If willing to accept Him by repentance and being born again. They with joy find themselves entering into a more noble life. (In another's handwriting.)

Went to Moscow the last of March 1891. Held a series of three weeks meetings at Moscow, which resulted in the conversion of some souls and the reclaiming of back sliders. One man who had not been to meeting for four years came to our meeting. The second meeting he stood up for prayer; the third meeting he accepted Christ as his Saviour and encouraged all his family to join in with him. Praising God from whom all blessings flow. The membership was much stirred and brought out into greater liberty of the fullness of Christ. Meetings were well attended. At the close of the meeting many praised the Lord and thanked God for sending me that way.

Went from there to Colebrook the first part of April. Held meetings there for about ten days. Some conversions and some renewals. I was taken with LaGrippe and had to close the meeting. Many were under convic-

tion when the meeting closed at a crowded house. But I was unable to continue the meeting; no one with me to continue the meeting. After resting a week I got some better. I held a few meetings at Petworth where they were very anxious for me to hold a series of meetings. On account of it being late in the spring it did not seem best. I made a visit back at Oak Flats. Had two meetings there the power of the Lord came upon the people and some requested prayer. Praise the Lord for His convicting spirit. I gave a lecture afterwards at Colebrook and one at Moscow on "Slavery" and the history of my life on the south. After visiting some families in the limits of those meetings, I went to Alfred Phelps near Canifton north of Belleville & visited some isolated friends through that section which were delightful. Much good can be accomplished in visiting such dear children that God has placed in isolated places who may not always be privileged to meet at the house of God. May the Lord draw many hearts in that direction.

I went from Canifton to Mariposa commenced meetings there the first of sixth month. Had three meetings a week for four weeks and visited nearly all the families in the neighborhood. They were times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Mariposa neighborhood was where I had once lived for three or four years and tried to persuade everybody to be good. The dear people seemed to be glad to have me back with them again & telling them of the old old story of Jesus and his love. It seems the dear young people and a good many of the older ones could hardly give up for me to leave.

I went from there to Pickering to attend the Yearly meeting which commenced the last sixth day in the month. It seemed pleasant to join the greeting of the dear fellow laborers in the different parts of Canada yearly meeting as well as those from other

yearly meetings. There were in attendance from other yearly meetings: John Y. and Mary J. Hoover as ministers from Iowa Yearly meeting. Charles H. and Elizabeth Jones ministers from New York Yearly Meeting and Alexander Purdy also from New York. Amos H. Hill minister from Indiana Yearly meeting and William Allen from Ohio Yearly meeting. These dear servants preached the Gospel in power as well as some of their own home ministers. The business of the yearly meeting was transacted in much harmony and love. The power of the Lord was felt in the meeting for worship. The yearly meeting adjourned to meet at Bloomfield the last fifth day of sixth month. 1892. Eliza Brewer requested the closing hymn to be sung. God be with you till we meet again. Some of those servants visited a few of the meetings in Canada before returning home. I went from Pickering after Yearly meeting to Norwich attended meetings on first day morning and evening also the monthly meeting the following fourth day. The Lord gave me great liberty to preach the word during these meetings. I went from there to Hibbert the 9th of 7th month. Expected to remain a few days and then to go on in the work but was taken sick and was unable to go. The dear friend Colquhoun's gave me a pleasant home during my illness and much kindness and care extended wherein I praise the Lord. After two months illness I recovered so that I was able to attend the Bible School Anniversary at Hibbert held 9th mo. 14. 1891 which, during my illness, I had blessed seasons of communing alone with the Lord in my little room when all was quiet.