



*Monograph Series Number Two*

**“The Best Man for Settling New Country...”**

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The Journal of Timothy Rogers

*Edited by Christopher Densmore and Albert Schrauwers*

**Canadian Friends Historical Association  
Toronto  
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# INTRODUCTION: THE JOURNAL OF TIMOTHY ROGERS

*Christopher Densmore*

The journal of Timothy Rogers (1756-1828) tells two inter-connected stories. One is an account of migration and settlement in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Rogers played a leading role in the settlement of Ferrisburg and Vergennes in Addison County, Vermont, in the 1780s and 1790s. In 1800-1801, Rogers led a migration of Quaker and related families from Vermont to the region of Yonge Street, Upper Canada, in the modern town of Newmarket, Ontario. In 1809 and after, Rogers developed mill sites at Pickering, Ontario. The second story, and the one that meant the most to Timothy Rogers, is a Quaker story. Rogers was part of the rapid geographical expansion of North American Quakerism in the years following the American Revolution. As an active Friend, Rogers helped to establish and nurture new Quaker meetings in Vermont and adjacent New York, at Yonge Street and at Pickering in what was then Upper Canada. With less success, Rogers also worked to support and nurture the small Quaker communities at Dartmouth and in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia.

In his later years, Rogers could look back on his life and accomplishment with modest pride. His self-assessment that he had "a great gift from the Lord to settle new country" (109) was shared by his neighbors. In 1813, a local government official at Yonge Street attested that Rogers was "the best man for settling a new country that I was ever acquainted with" (116). By his own reckoning, Rogers had "settled eight new farms... and three new countries..." (122). Rogers' hope and desire was that the

meetings he helped establish at Yonge Street and Pickering, added to the Quaker settlements at Pelham and Black Creek on the Niagara Peninsula and at Adolphustown in Prince Edward County, would soon unite into a new Yearly Meeting for Canada. This hope was partially realized with the establishment of Canada Half Years Meeting in 1810, and fully realized when the first sessions of Canada Yearly Meeting were held at Pickering in 1867.

Timothy Rogers visited Nova Scotia with Joshua Evans in 1795, and maintained a correspondence with Quakers in Nova Scotia until at least 1808. The accounts by Rogers and his companion Joshua Evans, together the account of Vermont Quaker Joseph Hoag<sup>1</sup> to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1801, remain the only substantial documentation of Quakerism in the Maritimes in this period.

Rogers recorded his experiences in a journal, preserved with the Canada Yearly Meeting Archives at Pickering College in Newmarket, Ontario. The Rogers journal has been well known to historians of Quakerism in Canada.<sup>2</sup> This annotated edition of the Rogers journal, sponsored by the Canadian Friends Historical Association, will make the journal more widely available.

## QUAKER CONTEXT

Rogers' journal focuses almost exclusively on religious experiences and work in the Quaker community. His career as a settler and entrepreneur in the early development of Vermont and Upper Canada is

mentioned only incidentally. The focus is not on the clearing of new lands and the building of farms and mills, but in the establishment of Quaker meetings in Vermont and Canada.

Rogers' journal is best understood as part of a broader genre of Quaker religious journal writing. In his study of Quaker journals, historian Howard Brinton wrote, "Because Quakerism is primarily a religion based on inner personal experience rather than creed or ritual, the religious autobiography, usually called a "Journal," has been the most characteristic form of Quaker writing."<sup>3</sup> Reading the journals of George Fox (1624-1690) and John Woolman (1720-1770) played a part in Timothy Rogers own "convincement" of the truth of Quakerism in the 1770s. Rogers own journal, perhaps consciously, is part of this genre. Rogers begins his journal with a justification and an explanation:

Whereas God Almighty has in His infinite wisdom caused me to live among the sons of men, and as I have went through many things in my days that may be instructing both to my children and others, I cannot feel easy without giving a short account of my pilgrimage in this life.

Rogers' statement is similar to the opening lines of John Woolman's journal, "I have often felt a motion of love to leave some hints in writing of my experience with the goodness of God..." or George Fox's opening, "That all may know the dealings of the Lord with me..."<sup>4</sup> Rogers is not writing a merely secular story, but an account of trials and tribulations and of his spiritual growth.

As religious documents, Quaker journals can be, at times, frustrating to the historian. Because the focus is on religious

experience, often interlaced with the minutiae of Quaker meetings, there is often very little account of the writer's temporal concerns or even family, unless these connect in a vital manner with the writer's religious journey.

Rogers began keeping a journal at the age of nineteen, precisely the time that he was "convinced" of Friends principles and was reading Woolman and Fox. His original journal was burned with his other records and writings in a fire in 1785. The existing journal was probably written in sections between the 1780s the late 1820s. The existing journal is not a strictly chronological narrative. The earliest pages are in the form of an autobiography, written by Rogers after his original journal was burned. In the 1780s and 1790s, Rogers appears to have been keeping an irregular though chronological account of his experiences and travels. Rogers left off keeping a regular journal in 1798, and much of the post 1800 journal consists of transcripts of letters and other documents, with Rogers autobiographical recollections and self-evaluations.

## UNIQUENESS AS QUAKER SOURCE

Rogers journal is part of the genre of Quaker journals but also an almost unique survival. Virtually all other Quaker journals from this period were written by Friends whose "gift in the ministry" was publicly acknowledged by the Society of Friends. They were usually reviewed by yearly meeting committees before being published by Quaker publishers for Quaker audiences. By the standards of the time, and because journals were intended for the religious instruction of young Quakers, editorial committees and printers felt free to modify the texts for style and content, silently omitting material that seemed unnecessary or questionable.<sup>5</sup> Rogers journal, being unedit-

ed, remains as he wrote it-- without editorial modification.

To understand Timothy Rogers, his religious aspirations and his journal, it is necessary to understand the nature of the Quaker ministry in the late eighteenth century. Among the Society of Friends, no mere book learning could qualify a person to be a minister. Education, training, class or gender did not limit the ministry. Considering the ministry a gift from God, the Society of Friends did not ordain ministers but, though the monthly meeting "acknowledged" or "recognized" some individuals to be ministers. In this respect, the Society of Friends had radically departed from the main Christian churches. But the Society of Friends also perceived a need to regulate itself, to distinguish between ministry that was acceptable and that which was not. No one could go abroad, presuming to speak on behalf of the Society of Friends without proper authorization from the appropriate meeting. Individual Friends could "speak" in meeting, and occasionally non-Friends did as well, but whose speaking was not deemed by the ministers and elders to spring from a correct source, were cautioned to remain silent.<sup>6</sup>

Though any Friend could potentially speak in meeting if they were led to do so, the expectation appears to be that only a few Friends would be called to the work of the ministry and be acknowledged as ministers by the monthly meeting. Rogers first spoke in meeting about 1778, soon after he was convinced of Friends principles but before he was officially received as a member. Over the next fifteen or more years, Rogers felt called upon to "appear in public" and speak in Quaker meetings. His speaking, at least at times, troubled the ministers and elders of his meeting. In 1791, Joseph Hoag and others "elderred" Rogers for his messages in meeting. For his part, Rogers acknowl-

edged in his journal that he may have been wrong in his speaking, but also that the criticism of his conduct, or at least the way that the criticism was expressed, hurt him deeply.<sup>7</sup>

Most Quaker journals of this period were written by Friends whose gift in the ministry would be formally acknowledged by their meeting. Rogers appears to have hoped in the early 1790s that his gift would be acknowledged, but he was never acknowledged as a minister or as an elder.

Quaker meetings kept and preserved records of their meetings for business. Most of the minute books of the early meetings in Vermont have survived and are now available at the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. The minute books for the early Quaker meetings in Ontario are preserved with the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives at Pickering College in Newmarket, Ontario. These minute books, along with the journals kept by traveling Friends, are the primary sources for Quaker history. Rogers' journal includes details and observations about Quaker life that are not documented in the journals of his contemporaries or mentioned in the minutes of meetings. Both Quaker meeting minutes and published Quaker journals tend to minimize the conflicts among Friends.

## **ROGERS AS A SUCCESS STORY**

The story Rogers does not tell is that of a man who rose from poverty to affluence. Born out of wedlock, Rogers was "put out" as a child and suffered abuse and "hard use" in a succession of homes. His formal education, begun at the age of fourteen, consisted of three weeks study under the guidance of a school mistress and some additional evening school, where he learned to read, write and "cipher a little." Yet by 1785, at

the age of twenty-nine, Rogers was employed by landowners in New York, mostly Quakers, to manage their property in Vermont. By 1785, and perhaps before, he was serving as the Proprietor's Clerk for the Town of Ferrisburg. That year he purchased a farm and millplace in Vergennes for five thousand dollars. In addition, Rogers was holding, probably on behalf of the proprietors, deeds for another six thousand acres of land and notes for two thousand dollars. Unfortunately for economic historians, Rogers says little about his economic affairs nor does he explain how he moved from poverty to prosperity.

## ROGERS' JOURNAL

Rogers' journal reflects his lack of formal education. Even in an era when spelling was not standardized, Rogers' orthography is at best erratic. Typical of informal writing of the period, Rogers used no punctuation and rarely indicated a change in topic. The opening section of his journal, in literal transcription, reads:

Whereas God all mite has in his infenite wisdom caused me to liv among the sons of men and as i have went thru many things in my days that might be instrcting to both my children and others i cannot feel esy with oute giving a short account of my pilgrimage in this life and if it should apeer simple to any in rising generations my Harts desire is that they may exsept these shets as the ritings of one that has never had much larning and has a consarn to leave sum thing for to incorage mankind to do what is rite before God and man and when thou come to rede this simpil but onest account of my life...

Rogers phonetic approach to spelling likely reflects the language of his time as he heard it. However, the modern reader is unlikely to be willing to read through pages of literal transcription. The present edition of Rogers journal retains Rogers words and word order, but with modern spelling, punctuation, capitalization and division into paragraphs. Inevitably, the editors had to make judgements about these matters that may effect the meaning of Rogers words. Where possible, Rogers spelling of personal and place names has been checked against contemporary records. However, the spelling of proper names at this period in existing records is often inconsistent.

### Footnotes:

1. Hoag, Joseph Journal (Sherwoods, NY, David Heston, 1861); Joshua Evans, "Journal", Friends Miscellany 10 (1837).
2. See Arthur G. Dorland, The Quakers in Canada: A History (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968) and Albert Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) for accounts of Rogers and the early settlement of Yonge Street and Pickering.
3. Howard H. Brinton, Quaker Journals: Varieties of Religious Experience Among Friends. (Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications), 1972, xi.
4. The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman, edited by Phillips P. Moulton, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 23; The Journal of George Fox, introduction by Rufus Jones (London: J.M. Dent, n.d.), 1.
5. See Philips Moulton's edition of The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), for a discussion of the editorial practices and omissions in Quaker journals.
6. See New York Yearly Meeting, Discipline (New York, 1810), p. 24-25, on "improper communications" in meeting; see also Samuel Bownas, A Description of the Qualifications Necessary to a Gospel Minister (Philadelphia, Pendle Hill, 1989). Bownas' work was first published in 1750.
7. Pages 58-60.

## Timothy Rogers' Family

TIMOTHY ROGERS, 22 5 mo. 1756 - 23 11 mo. 1834

Married (1st), 07 1 mo. 1776

SARAH WILDE, 3 1 mo. 1759 - 13 1 mo. 1812

### CHILDREN OF TIMOTHY AND SARAH WILDE ROGERS

1. Obadiah Rogers, 31 12 mo. 1776-
2. Hannah Rogers, 9 9 mo. 1778- 27 7 mo. 1809
3. James Rogers, 7 3 mo. 1780-
4. Mary Rogers, 22 5 mo. 1782- 13 7 mo. 1809
5. Lydia Rogers, 4 6 mo. 1784- 19 8 mo. 1809
6. Sarah Rogers Jr., 26 8 mo. 1786-
7. Timothy Rogers Jr., 6 6 mo. 1788- [disowned 7/12/1807]
8. Elizabeth Rogers, 13 5 mo. 1790-
9. John Rogers, 3 5 mo. 1793- 1 12 mo. 1809
10. Asa Rogers, 16 2 mo. 1795-
11. Matilda Rogers, 21 2 mo. 1797-
12. Wing Rogers, 23 10 mo. 1798-
13. Elmsley Rogers, 12 9 mo. 1800- 3 12 mo. 1809
14. Stephen Rogers, 25 11 mo. 1802-

Married (2nd) 28 10 mo. 1813, at Woodbridge, N.J.

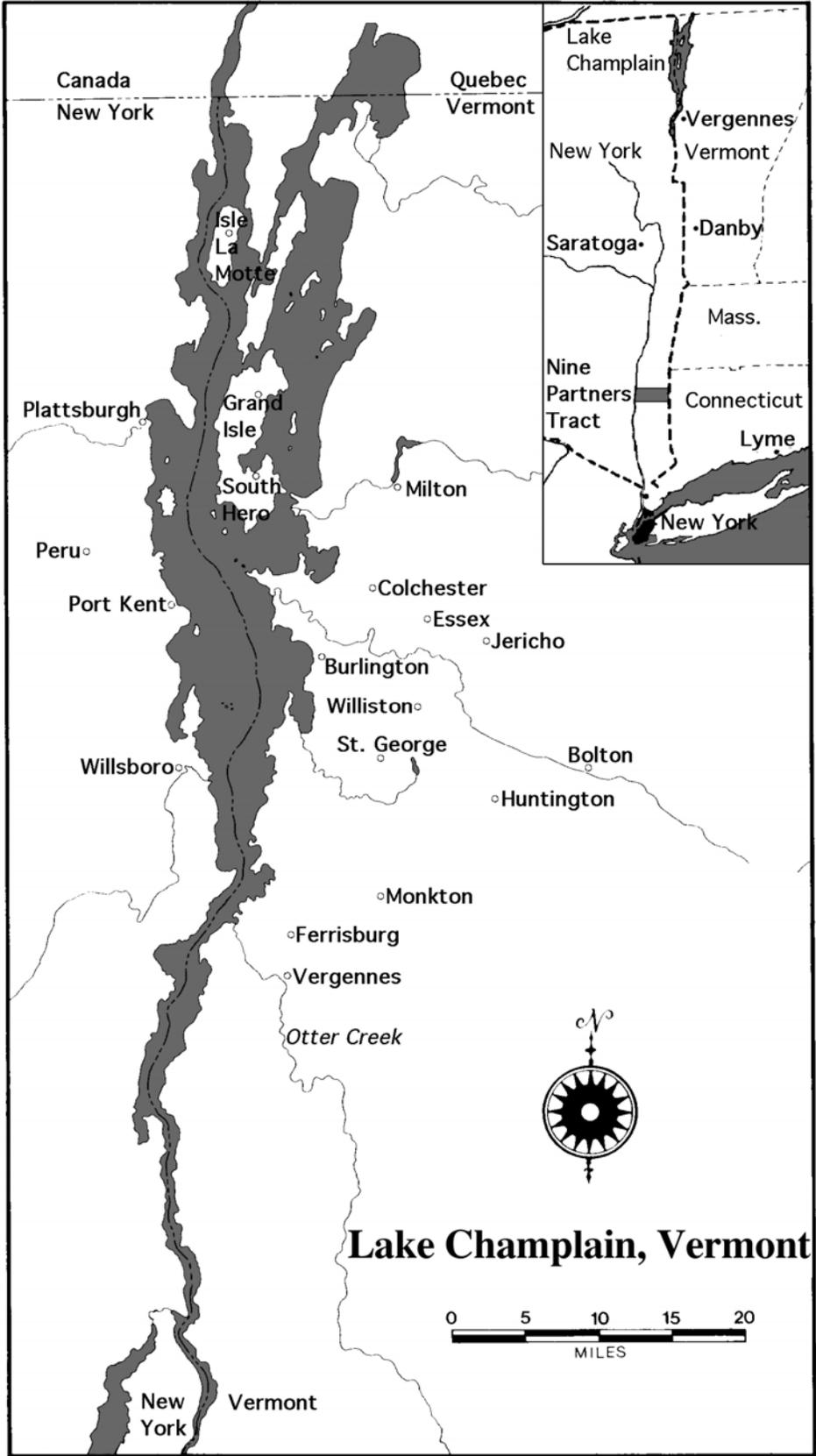
ANNA HARNED, 12 12 mo. 1780- 16 12 mo. 1846

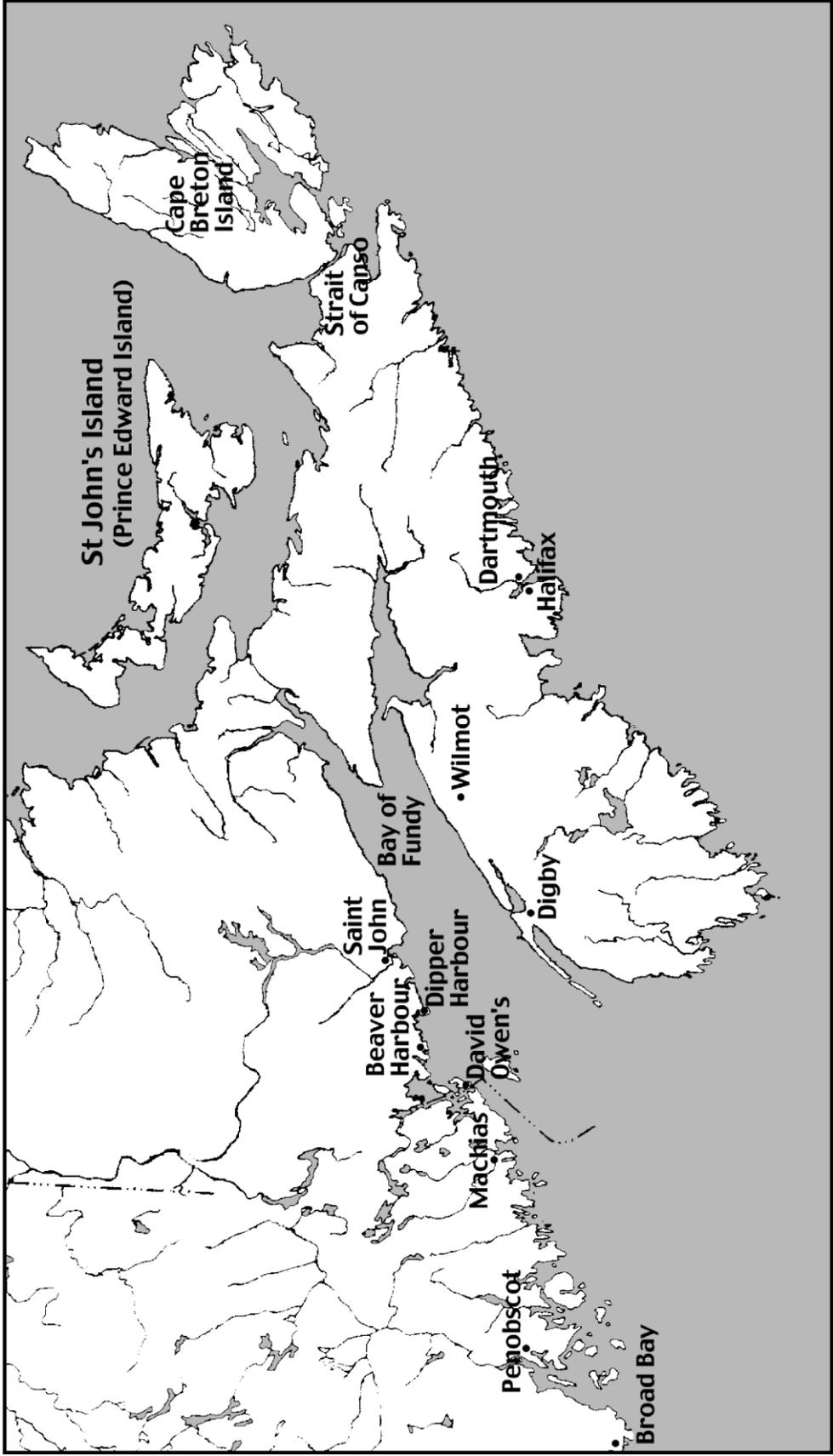
### CHILDREN OF TIMOTHY AND ANNA HARNED ROGERS

16. Jonathon Harned Rogers, 30 6 mo. 1814- 16 1 mo. 1888
17. Sarah Rogers, 5 10 mo. 1815- 16 6 mo. 1847
18. Martha Rogers, 3 9 mo. 1817-
19. John Wilde Rogers, 13 2 mo. 1819-
20. David Timothy Rogers, 8 12 mo. 1820-

### Sources:

Timothy Rogers Journal. Canadian Friends Historical Association. Genealogical Index to the Records of the Canada Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). Volume One: Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. CFHA, 1988. Harneds of North America [web site] <http://www.harneds.org>







“The Best Man for Settling New Country...”

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The Journal of Timothy Rogers

So many that is Not faithfull  
in following the spirit of truth  
after it has appeared to them  
is left to turn againe like the  
dog to his vomit or the sow  
to her wallowing this I fear  
is the case with many in  
Christendom when if they had  
put their hool dependance on  
the spiritual noes they wuld  
went to the promised land even  
New jerusalem the hart of spiritual  
canaan. may the lord saith my  
sole is throkt all onest obedient  
inquiring sould the full of what  
I men for I cannot suspies  
only apart of the ingaignment  
on my mind there means being  
found to shoe the andor that god  
wuld have man to stand in this  
world that in the covenant of the  
law of ~~a~~ mores was that the  
pepil shold be abidant and uncor  
Christ ordor that they shold be  
Obeding to the ledings of the  
spirit of truth that led into  
all truth so that as the first  
adam was dis abisians so  
All becom transgressors and  
there was a way found for all  
to transgres so all has a way  
preparat if they will walk in  
it wherby they may becom  
abidants to the ordor that god  
Requies that is christ wherough  
says I am the way and as they  
under the juis law cold Not be  
free juis without keeping the law  
so Non can be free christians  
Believers in christ or saints

A sample page from the Rogers Journal

Whereas God Almighty has in His infinite wisdom caused me to live among the sons of men, and as I have went through many things in my days that may be instructing both to my children and others, I cannot feel easy without giving a short account of my pilgrimage in this life. And if it should appear simple to any in rising generations, my heart's desire is that they may accept these sheets as the writings of one that has never had much learning and has a concern to leave something for to encourage mankind to do what is right before God and man. And when thou come to read this simple but honest account of my life thou may easily find that I have had many ups and downs, according to the natural fortune of this life, and that hitherto I have always found a blessing even in my outward employments in being faithful to the Light of God in my own heart, which has supported thousands in ages past, and, I believe, will always be a support to them that strictly attend the same as Christ told His disciples that it was expedient for Him to go that the comfort that was the Spirit of Truth might come that was to lead them all into truth. Then I pray thou reader to attend to the Spirit of Truth in thy own heart, as given by God, so thou may go through this world in peace of conscience, and at the end of thy day, lay down thy head in peace, and that thy soul may receive the answer of "Well done, thou good and faithful servant,

1 A misquotation of Matthew 25: 21, 23.

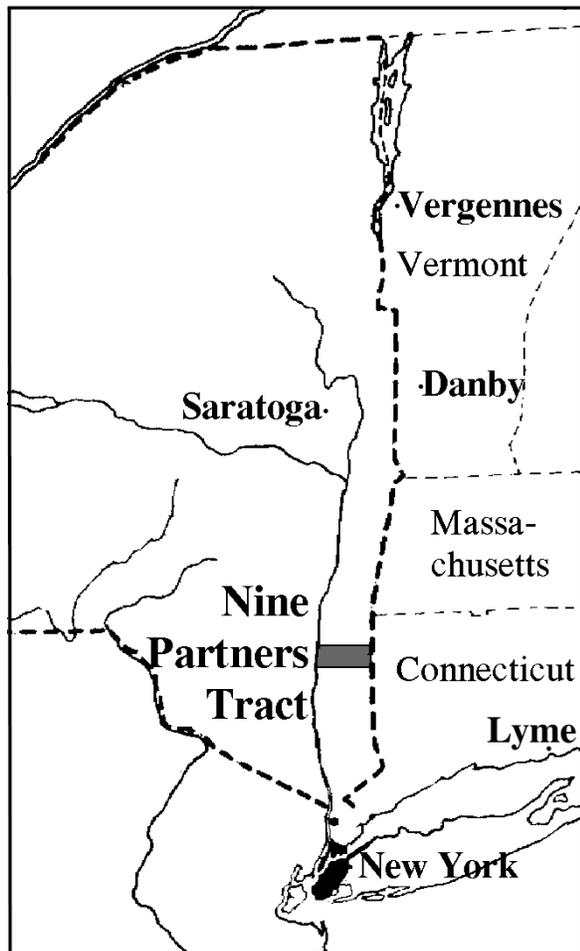
enter into the joy of thy Lord, and so remain in felicity eternally."<sup>1</sup> And don't let the missteps that I have taken be any pull-back to thee, but learn that for every idle word we must give an account.

I was born in the [*State*] province of Connecticut, North America, in the town of Lyme.<sup>2</sup> [*My mother's name was Mara Huntley*], and my father's name was said to be Timothy Rogers.<sup>3</sup> [*I was named after him*]. My birth was on the 22 day of the fifth month in the year of our Lord, 1756, and as my fortune was to be put out, I lived among other people till I was about six years old. And as they told me, I was used very hard. Then one of my mother's brothers, John Huntley by name, moved about 150 miles to the Nine Partners in the government of New York.<sup>4</sup> And as he came

2 Lyme, Connecticut was settled in 1665. Lyme disease, named after the village, has since added to its renown.

3 Mary or Marcy Huntley, born circa 1731, was the daughter of Joseph Huntley and Ruth Williams of Lyme, Conn. See Huntley, Virgil W. John Huntley, Immigrant of Boston & Roxbury, Massachusetts and Lyme, Connecticut 1647-1977 and some of his Descendants Book 1 (Mystic, Conn., privately published), 79. Nothing is known of Timothy Rogers Sr. or his fate, although Timothy Rogers Jr. told his son Wing that he "was of the stock & descendants of the martyr John Rogers, minister of the gospel, who was burnt at the stake, Smithfield, London, in Queen Mary's reign; whose wife followed him to the stake with nine small children, & one at her breast. And my beloved father informed us that his children are the tenth generation from that valiant martyr of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (McKay, William A., The Pickering Story (Pickering Historical Society, 1961), page 183).

4 The Great or Lower Nine Partners' Grant in Dutchess County, New York derives its name from



down to where I was put out to one John Tubs, hearing that I was abused, came and took me away and took me home to the Nine Partners where he had begun a new farm. But being poor and having a great family put me out a spell to a Baptist minister where I lived a little more than one year, then took me home a spell. Then when

the original nine men who held the patent on this tract in 1697. It is composed of a strip of land about 8 to 10 miles in width, stretching from the Hudson River to the Oblong River. The tract was divided into 36 principal lots of approx. 3,400 acres each. Few farmers in this area owned their own land (Smith, Philip H., General History of Dutchess County from 1609 to 1876, inclusive (Pawling, NY, published by the author, 1877)).

I was about ten years old he put me out to one James Griffin<sup>1</sup> in said place where I was well used till I was about fifteen or sixteen. Then being persuaded to go from him I went away and thought to learn a trade but being disappointed I returned to said Griffin again. The consumption<sup>2</sup> came in the family of my uncle and he and two of his daughters died with it about the time that I was fourteen years old. I heard that my mother was dead and I felt concerned to get some learning. My master sent me to school to a mistress and in about three weeks I learned so as to spell considerable and began to read. Afterwards I went to a night school a little to learn to write and cipher by that and what I got [at] odd spells I learned to read, write and cipher a little. Though I have often found my mind bowed in thanks to the Lord that He created a desire in me to strive for learning, I never got much. Yet I saw many in my day that had ten times the chance to learn that I had and did not get half so much as I did though. I hope all children will try to learn and I desire that all parents or guardians will try to give their children learning.

I remember when I was young I often found the visitation of God on my soul and I prayed if it might be his will that I might be one of His servants, if it were only the least of those that should be thought fit to enter

1 In 1791, Rogers recorded a dream where he spoke to his "old master," presumably John Griffin.

2 Tuberculosis.

into the Kingdom of His Son, Jesus Christ. My master was not a religious man, though called a very honest man, and of a moral life and conversation. As I grew to a riper age, youthful lust and the pleasures of this life begin to draw me away. And about this time wars between England and America the United States broke out.<sup>1</sup> And although at first I found a spirit of war on my mind yet as the Lord broke in on my soul, at times, I found my mind bowed under a sense of the great destruction of war on the earth. And yet I could not see why a man might not stand in his own defence, and I read I found that the servants of God under the old Covenant did fight when God did command them. Then I found that Christ and His disciples did not go to war, but Christ bore the scoffs of men and the pains of death for His enemies. And as a lamb[kin] slain from the foundation of the world He was crucified. Nevertheless I found a great struggle in my mind.

And in this time, in the nineteenth year of my age and year of our Lord 1776, and 7 day of the first month I married to Sarah Wilde, the daughter of Obadiah Wilde, who was Baptists in their principles.<sup>2</sup>

The war spread round the shores of America. Some towns was burnt, some harbours blocked up, the common people was much in a division whether they should

1 The American War of Independence from Great Britain began with the Battle of Lexington, 19 April 1775.

fight for King or Congress. But the Lord often sent His spirit on my soul and caused me to think why He should cause men to be created and yet let them kill one another at such a rate, which I found to be through their own pollutions and by the spirit of the wicked that caused men to fall. Which I believed Christ came to redeem men from, as His life and doctrine was of a peaceable, loving nature, and He taught His disciples to love one another and to love their enemies, telling them at a certain time that if His kingdom was of this world His servants would fight.<sup>3</sup> And He charged them to bear reviling and so far from fighting was His command that if they was smote on one cheek they was to turn the other and commanded them to do good for evil and as they would have men to do to them they should do to all men.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore I concluded all wars was wicked and the Scripture saith: When a

2 Sarah was the daughter of Obadiah and Sarah Wilde. Although a Baptist at the time of his daughter's marriage to Timothy Rogers, Obadiah had Quaker roots; he was disowned by Oblong Monthly Meeting on 18/8/1760 for some unspecified reason. This would explain the presence of the Quaker books (reported later in the journal) at the home of Rogers' wife's grandfather which led Rogers to the Society of Friends. At least one other daughter, Elizabeth Wilde (married John Huff), became a Quaker. John was accepted by Danby Monthly Meeting, Vermont, in 1791, and Elizabeth in 1794.

3 John 18:36 "Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence."

4 Matthew 5:39, Luke 6:29.

sword came on a land, it was for the sins of the people.<sup>1</sup> And as I was not brought up in any profession of religion I began to think what way or among what people I could serve God in an acceptable manner. Therefore as I was alone I often did read the Scriptures and thought as Christ's disciples did baptize, I would assuredly be baptized. But having a great desire to know what would be the most pleasing to God and was required by the Gospel of His Son, and as I had great unity with the Baptists I prayed to know the time when the Lord would have me to be dipped in the water. And one day as I was alone in a most solemn manner, I bowed in prayer to the God of Heaven and Earth that He would show me how I should proceed in a religious worship toward Him, for I thought it to be my duty to serve Him who caused me to live, move and have a being. And as I prayed a sense of God came through my mind so that the words came through my mouth saying: "What will it profit thee, oh man, to be dipped in cold water for God is a Spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

I lived among those that was then called Presbyterians not far from where I was married. And as I thought on what went through my mind it came on me to consider what made Quakers use the words of thee, thou, and thy to the singular number, for I had never observed that it was a Scripture

<sup>1</sup> cf Ezekiel 33.

language.<sup>2</sup> And I soon went to the Bible from my work and to my astonishment I found I had been so careless that although the Scriptures was full of those sayings I had not observed it. Then I began to think about using that language in common though I found a hard task in my own mind for I must leave all my youthful companies and also on the account of backsliders. For I thought it would be better to never pretend to religion, than to begin and then to fall back. But the Lord worked mightily on my spirit and caused me to feel very serious and solid so that the people where I lived took notice of my solemnity and a serious old woman asked me "Whether I was sorry I was married or whether I was offended with any of the family?" Then in a solemn manner I answered "It was nothing of that nature that did ail me, but a concern for the good of my soul."

Now I began to use the plain scripture language which caused people to call me a Quaker though my acquaintance with that people was very small. Yet as I continued in that language I soon found an opportunity of

<sup>2</sup> Rogers is referring to the Quaker use of "plain speech" in which the pronouns "thee, thou and thy" are used, as he states, in the singular, and the pronoun "you" reserved for the plural. The plural form "you" (as in the royal "we") was used in addressing those of higher rank at the time of the founding of Quakerism. Quakers refused to address their social superiors in the plural, or to doff their hats to any but God. By the end of the eighteenth century, "thee, thou and thy" were falling into general disuse and the pronoun "you" was used in both the plural and singular case. Quakers, however, continued the practice.

seeing some of the Society of those called Quakers. About this time I went to live at my wife's father in [?] who took me in on shares for I had no interest. My mind was much engaged about religion. They told me much about Quakers but when I read their writings I found they did not hold many things as they told me they did. I began to go to a Quaker Meeting as much as I could. I borrowed a book called "John Woolman's Journal" that I found great satisfaction in reading.<sup>1</sup> And I found in my wife's grandfather's house an old book much tore to bits called "George Fox's Journal", the first man called a Quaker in England.<sup>2</sup> That was a great satisfaction to my soul when I read his advice in his epistles and the account of his life. I plainly found that Friends had much degenerated from the pure principles they had maintained though I believed some to come up to the mark. And in this year I did request to come among Friends but was not received.

I had many disputes with the Baptists and about this time they took me out of their

Training List.<sup>3</sup> Because I would not fight I was called before the Captain. When he asked me whether I would not train I told him that if he could make it appear that Christ or His disciples did fight then I would fight or train. He gave me but little answer but called for some neighbour and inquired if I was a Quaker. They told him they thought I was so he let me go. The last day of the year 1776, I had a son born Obadiah.

1 John Woolman (1720-1772), the "Quaker Saint", was a Quaker minister from Mount Holly, New Jersey. He travelled widely in America and Britain, and had been instrumental in convincing the Society of Friends to abolish slavery. The first edition of his Journal was published in 1774.

2 George Fox (1624-1691) is widely considered the founder of Quakerism (the Religious Society of Friends). He preached of the perfectability of humanity by directly attending to the spirit of Christ within the soul, an experience available to all. His Journal, a spiritual autobiography, was first published in 1694, and is a classic expression of this faith.

3 New York law exempted Quakers from military training. Those professing to be Quakers were supposed to obtain a certificate from their monthly meeting, signed by at least six people, attesting that they had been Quakers for at least a year. New York State. Colonial Laws of New York (Albany, 1894), Vol. 5, pp. 732-43.

## Vermont

In the forepart of the year 1777, I went to a place called Danby in the state of Vermont, about 160 miles. I found land and hired some money where I was acquainted and bought a little.<sup>1</sup> My wife began the latter part of this year to use the plain language. I moved to Danby this year. I have had many trials both alone and in company. This year I often went alone and sat down to wait on the Lord and often found my strength to be renewed. After I moved to Danby a spell, the British sent an army from the northward to go to Albany. They were commanded by one Burgoyne, and there were many scouts through the country where I lived both from the British and America. The British went as far southward as Stillwater on the North River, and there was defeated by the Americans.<sup>2</sup> For about two years I worked out, some by day's

1. What is now the state of Vermont was subject to conflicting claims between New Hampshire and New York states at the time of Roger's move. Since the territory was in dispute, land title was extremely insecure, and thus land prices exceptionally cheap. Danby, in Rutland County, Vermont, was first settled in 1765. Settlers in the area no doubt depended upon the Crown's tendency to recognize the rights of actual settlers in the settlement of boundary disputes.

2. British General John Burgoyne (1722-1792) led an army south from Montreal with the intention of linking with an army coming north from Albany. After battles at Saratoga on September 19 and October 7, Burgoyne surrendered on October 17, 1777. The "North River" refers to the Hudson River above Albany. The military actions may explain why Rogers sold his land in Danby and moved so soon to Saratoga.

work, carried my grain to mill on my shoulders, and tried as much as possible to not join in any party that was for war.

On the 9 day of 9 mo. 1778, had a daughter born named Hannah. About this time there was many of the servants of the Lord sent to this place Danby and thereaway, preaching the Gospel as was revealed to them by the Spirit of the Lord.

And I sold my land although I was soon sorry, but the man I sold to held me to the bargain so I bought another small piece of land and moved on it. Though getting some unsteady I got uneasy and moved to Saratoga,<sup>3</sup> hired a farm, and lived there about one year where I attended a Friends' Meeting, and spoke sometimes in the Meeting which gave Friends some trouble<sup>4</sup> for I had requested to come among Friends.<sup>5</sup> I did not consider that when a man request-

3. The township of Saratoga at this time included land on both the east and west sides of the Hudson River. The township was divided in 1789, with the portion on the east side of the Hudson renamed Easton and the portion on the west side of the river retaining the name of Saratoga. Rogers is attending the Quaker meeting begun ca. 1774 at what is now the Town of Easton, Washington County, New York.

4. Meetings for Worship among Friends were held in expectant silence until a member, man or woman, was led by the "Inner Light", "that of God in thee", to speak. Ministry was thus spontaneous, and open to all members, not just those "recognized" as ministers. Rogers was then in the process of "convincement", of applying for membership to the Monthly Meeting at Saratoga. They would have appointed a committee to visit him to assess the sincerity of his desire to join Friends, as well as his ability to abide by their "Discipline".

5. Timothy Rogers' request for membership was received by Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 8th 4 Month, 1778; the Monthly Meeting recorded on 13th 9 Mo.

ed to come among any people he had ought to receive an answer before he begun to teach among them but as I found an engagement of mind I spoke. Concerned Friends came to see me several times and when I had considered the thing that the Churches of Christ apostles was advised to not lay [?] hands on any man I was willing to wait patiently for Friends to be satisfied. The man I sold to at Danby could not pay me.

While I lived here I had a son born, named James on the 7 day 3 m. 1780, and this year I moved back to Danby again, about 60 miles, where I lived about two years and had a turn of mind that caused me to think of going into some newer country where I would get land cheaper. And as I thought of it, I found as I thought, leave from that of truth to going, and I should be blessed in well doing, but if I transgressed God's laws, then destruction lay at the door.

On the 22 day 5 m. 1782 I had another daughter born called Mary. Now my wife had a very poor turn and never had a well day for two years. About this time she came among Friends. I thought of going about 7 or 8 hundred miles to the southwest and got a Minute from the Meeting, but there was so many concerned Friends that was not willing I should leave this country that I

1782, that "The friends appointed to visit Timothy Rogers on account of his request report they think well of his being received which his meeting concurs with and excepts [sic] him as a member of our society and Stephen Rogers is appointed to acquaint him thereof."

gave the Minute up again to the Monthly Meeting where I did belong. And as I had concluded to look out I went to the north about 70 miles of Danby to Lake Champlain to a township called Ferrisburg,<sup>1</sup> about 40 miles beyond where there was any inhabitants for I had a great desire to get interest enough to entertain Friends and bring up my children reputably. About this time the war between England and America was settled.

As I was going a journey to New York to buy land that was owned there, I got among the smallpox and was inoculated.<sup>2</sup> And not long after my wife's father in Great Nine Partners caught it the natural way and died though. My wife knowing I did intend to move to Ferrisburg, thought we should be disappointed so she got sleighs and moved before I came home.

Now the state of Vermont where I lived began to tax land and sell it at vendue and Friends in New York state employed me to take care of their land. In a few years I had

1 Ferrisburg Township, Addison County, Vermont, had been chartered by New Hampshire in 1762, and first settled in 1769. The area was abandoned during the Revolution, with new settlement resuming in 1783. It was organized as a town in 1785. The resumption of settlement pushed land prices up to between four and ten shillings an acre, on par with frontier lands available elsewhere in New England, and no longer a bargain as when Rogers first settled at Danby before the Revolution (Potash, Jeffrey Vermont's Burned Over District (New York, Carlson Publishing, 1991) 35).

2 Vaccination against smallpox was introduced by English physician Edward Jenner (1749-1823) in 1796. Rogers must thus mean he gained natural immunity through passive contact with the virus, rather than inoculation.

about one hundred rights of land to take care of for Friends. A right contained about 350 acres. This put me a great deal of business which took my mind some off from truth, though I soon had a stroke to pay for it from the hand of providence for I was left to buy a farm and millplace and gave five thousand dollars that was not worth more than two-thirds the money. And the night I moved there I had in a camp all my writings, notes-book and bonds burnt to ashes and almost all our household goods and clothes -- this was on the 2nd day of the 10 m. 1785.<sup>1</sup> This brought me to a great stand to know what to do though. I had had another daughter born on the 4 day of the 6 m. 1784, named Lydia.

There was two families of Friends moved up here with me - William Haight and Jacob Winn.<sup>2</sup> We had no roads in this

<sup>1</sup> This same incident was recorded at greater length in Rogers' deposition to the local magistrates, which reads: "Know all men by these presents that yestorday which was the sekont day of the 10 month I timothy Rogers of ferrisburgh was a moving from Botin bay in ferrisburgh to letill ortor crik forls and as I went by wartor I did not git up the Bay till about mid nite and my wife and five childorn and one woman peggy smith by name and one child was all in an open bote and it was a dark rany time we landid about a quartor of a mild from the hous som of the hands went up and got fir when they got down agane the fir was so rand out we cindild some fir by the side of a tree To lite barks that the famaly mite se a litill to walk up to the house for my wife was sik I led hir by the hand this morning Being the 3 day of the 10 m 1785 about son rise one of my men came and told me the tree by which the fir was kindled was bornt down and bornt up a large chist of droys that was packd as full as it cold be off cloths and Ritings of grate importuns I

country and but few families. Jacob Winn sometimes had spoke among Friends. He had one son drowned and William Haight had one drop down dead - all this was in the year 1786. Great was the trouble we went through and could not go much to visit one another, for we almost all had the fever ague when we first came here and we was about 130 miles from any monthly meeting of Friends.

I had kept a journal of my life wrote from nineteen years old burnt that makes me omit many things that was remarkable while I have been going through this last ten years. Some very remarkable things is left out, but I can say in truth whenever I have not kept to the light of God in my own heart I have found trouble, sometimes both inwardly and outwardly.

I sold in less than one year the large

sepose I had about forty deads for about Six Thousand acors of land some on Record and som not notes and bonds for about two thousand dolars and all the propietors Records of ferrisburgh som other gods was bornt with all the cloths only what we had on these whoughs names who air here sind ar setain witenis to the same for they helpd me move and seen the fire of the same this 3rd of the 10 m 1785 likewise they sen the heaps of Riting in their proper shaps bornt to ashes.

Timothy Rogers  
Bingham Zimry hill  
Ryce jun." Silas  
Stephen

(Hemingway, A.M. Vermont Historical Gazetteer (Burlington, 1867), Vol. 1, p. 34.).

<sup>2</sup> Jacob Winn (1744-1809) had a long, and frequently troubled relationship with Timothy Rogers. He was a recognized minister, and one of the settlers Rogers convinced to emigrate to Upper Canada.

farm I bought and went to Quebec on business. I made out to settle that better than I did expect. I had another daughter born while I was in Quebec, on the 26 day of the 8 m. 1786, named Sarah.

The man I had sold to was a wicked man who for a small season I was in partnership with in some things, but I got out as soon as I could. It was thought I was poisoned while in Canada. Now while I was in this place I had a poor turn and thought I was going to have the quick consumption that made me in a great hurry to get home. I had much trouble knowing I had transgressed the will of God in my own heart and had not been sensible of His visitations in love for six months. I got home in about ten days, 300 miles, and was soon taken sick and in about 6 days got so low that they could not hear me speak across the house though I would not allow any doctor to come near me believing that if God pleased He could raise me. And as I gave up to His will fully He showed me what to get and I told my wife. She got it, and it did cure me. Then for some days it seemed if I had been in Paradise. I could not had more comfort. When I got better I was exceedingly sore from head to foot that a doctor said was caused by the slow poison that I had had given me.

After this I moved on a farm I bought in Ferrisburg, 600 acres, and went to clearing for it was all woods. But I can say in truth I have a number of times put myself out

much to help poor people thinking as there was a chance put in my hands I ought to do good with what I was entrusted with, though in those things of the world I have found many dangerous places, and can truly acknowledge our Saviour's saying that "In the world (speaking to His disciples) ye shall have tribulation, but in Me ye shall have peace."<sup>1</sup>

About this time there was a certain tax that some sought much to get the lands in this country from Friends and some others. There was a very large falls on Great Otter Creek,<sup>2</sup> very convenient to build dam works, sawmills, gristmills, clothiers, and a number of other things, and this belonged to a Friend, George Bowne.<sup>3</sup> In the year 1787, he with Joseph Persall, his brother-in-law that the said Bowne had gave one half of the falls, and Richard Burling<sup>1</sup> came to view

1 cf. John 16: 33.

2 The Otter Creek flows through Ferrisburg Township in a northwesterly direction, emptying in Lake Champlain. The creek is navigable seven miles to the falls at Vergennes, where Rogers and Burling built the first mill. At this point, the creek is 500 feet wide, and separated by two islands, creating three falls of 37 feet. The mill thus had all the earmarks of a successful venture: sufficient water power, fertile land for farming, and easy access to Lake Champlain and outside markets (Hayward, John, Gazetteer of Vermont (Boston, Tappan, Whittemore, and Mason, 1849) page 126).

3 George Bowne (d. 1797) was a well-to-do Quaker merchant from New York City, and was clerk of the Yearly Meeting nine times between 1775 and 1797. Joseph Pearsall married his sister Hannah. Wilson, Edith King. The Bowne Family of Flushing, Long Island (NY, 1948), 12, 20-21; Hinshaw, William W. Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy (Ann Arbor, 1940), Volume 3, pp. 40, 250.

1 Richard Burling was received as a member of

this place and settle some difficulty. They came to the falls and put up and sent for me. I went to them and the business was all settled as appeared to satisfaction. And I talked of joining our Friend Richard Burling to trade and build on this falls. And as I was loathe it should go out of Friends' hands, we did join, brought goods from N[ew] York and went to building. This also brought me into much business of this world and as I went mostly on others' interests, it being a turn of times that made cash scarce and wild land that I had the care of much taxed, it made it hard for me as also for my partner.

On the 6 day 6 month, 1788, we had another son born - Timothy R. jr. And about the 25 d. 12 m. 1788, we moved to the falls. The fall before we moved, as I lay one night in the store with my partner, Richard Burling, I heard a knocking at the store door. I, when he waked, told him. This fall, when our friend went down he found his father deceased.

In the 1789 there appears the forepart of this season to be some that is afraid of a

Saratoga Monthly Meeting by certificate from Mamaroneck Meeting in Westchester County, New York, 11 Mo. 27, 1788. Burling was a land owner in Vergennes in 1788, and "was active in various kinds of business, principally mills and iron works, and making potash, and the commerce growing out of such business. The Burling family at White Plains [Westchester County], twenty miles from New York, were owners of large tracts of wild land in Vermont, and probably gave the name to Burlington." Smith, H.P. History of Addison County (Syracuse, 1886), 652-6.

famine for crops came in very short and we have had so wet a season the year past that it was hard getting much food. This spring being very backward and cold looked awful to some. I took notice this season I heard of a number of sudden deaths, some very sick and just recovered. Now I was caused to believe the Lord was about to shake the land.

One, Ethan Allan, a great deist died with a fit of the apoplexy, as supposed.<sup>1</sup> Though this principle seems to gain among our loose sort, and men of natural studies philosophers, lawyers and so on, a universal doctrine a few years ago took place in our land saying that all should be saved through Christ, believe or not, obedient or disobedient, for say they "Christ came to put an end to sin and finish transgression."<sup>2</sup> That, I believe, was done by His obedience and if we are not obedient we cannot have a part in Him that was truly obedient, and came to do His father's will. For he that is disobedient

1 Ethan Allen (1738-1789) had settled in the New Hampshire Grants in 1765, and had helped form the "Green Mountain Boys" to protect settlers' interests in the border dispute between New Hampshire and New York. After the Revolution, he wrote a book entitled Reason, the Only Oracle of Man, a 477 page diatribe against revealed religion.

24 Rogers is referring to Universalism, an Arminian sect which sprung up in Rhode Island under the leadership of Hosea Ballou in 1771. The Universalists opposed Calvinist doctrines of predestination, and asserted that the love and goodness of God assured triumph over all evil. A large number of Universalists from Rhode Island settled at Shoreham, not far from Rogers (Potash, Jeffrey Vermont's Burned-Over District (New York, Carlson Publishing, 1991) 129).

to God's witness in his own heart, that come by Christ's power to the whole world of men that will attend to it, cannot claim any right to that living water that they are not sensible of. But Christ came to put an end to all sin to those that was obedient to His Father's will through faith in Him. I talked with some deists, acknowledged they found different feelings in their mind and that they felt better sometimes than others. That, I tell them, is the witness that shows right from wrong and if they should follow it would lead them to know God to their souls, and cause their actions to be changed from bad to good. And as the Scripture says - "Make a new man."<sup>1</sup>

Now, as my former journal was burnt I may instance a few remarks, in that once I was praying alone I thought I seen a light that made me rejoice in God. At another time as walking in the edge of the evening I seen a light near as big as a table to appearance about 100 or 200 feet above the tops of the trees. Some others in the country said they seen it like a ball of fire. I dreamed some very remarkable dreams that proved a help to me and had some foresense of some things that proved true, some of which I told my wife, and she knew it with me. Notwithstanding all this, I have been tried with deist principles, at this universal redemption without repentance, open profaneness, adultery, and self-murder, that all shows me the great confusion of men.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a reference to Ephesians 2:15.

About this time I swapped part of my farm for land nigher the falls and turned this in company. We found our business very cumbersome and took in another partner - Jabez G. Fitch.<sup>2</sup> I find a particular concern to try to settle my outward business on account of the labour I feel to visit meetings, and to appear sometimes in public.<sup>3</sup> I told some Friends who unite with it and my partner Burling consents if a suitable way opens for me to sell.

William Haight did decease on the 21 d. of 5 m. 1789, a Friend that first moved in this place with me. This gave me a turn of mind to look to providence for assistance and on the 31 day of 5 m. 1789, being the first day of the week at night as I lay on my back on the bed with my wife talking, the room being dark for it was lathed and plastered - I saw a small light as big as the end of a man's thumb perhaps, very bright, that caused me to stop talking and I said to my wife, "The Lord then appeared to me by His power, in a small light, to convince me He was God," or words to this effect. After this I was a little intimidated thinking of it too much in the dominion of nature but soon found relief. But the next day being a day we raised a gristmill for two pairs of stones, very high, I was concerned to be very

<sup>2</sup> Jabez G. Fitch (ca. 1737-1820) came from Norwich, Connecticut, to Ferrisburg in 1788 or 1789, and was concerned with the Quebec trade. Smith, History of Addison County, pp. 649-50, 653.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase "appear in public" refers to the act of preaching in a meeting for worship.

careful. It was raised all well; none hurt though looked like a very dangerous place.

I have sometimes, when I felt it, had sittings in my family, sometimes silent, and sometimes concerned to speak to my children, telling them how it has faired with the just and unjust, according to scripture account, and have some other times been bowed to pray. I feel concerned and am bowed in prayer when alone, that men may attend to the light of God in their own hearts that is commonly called conscience. This I believe to be that grace that the apostle says appears to all men, teaching them.

§

The measles is now very thick this way - 9 day of 6 m. 1789. Now I am under the necessity to send our children to school, to one John Saltmarch, that is a very condescending man, and a good scholar, though not a Friend, nor was there many Friends' children except ours. This place, where I now live is called a city, and there is an act by the Assembly of Vermont for it to have a charter, and incorporated after three years.<sup>1</sup> The place gains though deists seem some to prevail. I had a mind to come here to start business, and now I want to be away, not so unordinary hand for interest as, perhaps, many men may think, but because commerce, trade, manufacturers of many natures is very helpful to any country; therefore I have desired to have this new country accommodated and because almost all such

<sup>1</sup> Vergennes was incorporated as a city in 1788.

connections is more practised by human honour, so called, and the connections of vice (especially that of trying to deceive one another), than by that understanding that God gives for the good of man. For this reason, I should be glad to be where I could have my liberty to attend the meeting of my Friends more,<sup>2</sup> not that I have any desire to go out of the country, but a few miles back, so as to live more composed. I have always done what I possibly could as to outward business to accommodate Friends hereaway, not for their praise but to do the will of my God, who liveth and abideth forever and ever by His own power in eternity.

<sup>2</sup> The nearest Meeting for worship was at Danby. Rogers was apparently prevented by business, rather than distance, from attending. Visiting Friends minister Hugh Judge noted in 1791 that Friends in this area "are upwards of a hundred miles from Monthly Meeting; but they are not stopped from going to meetings on account of a little rain, or muddy weather; even tender women walk many miles on foot." (Memoirs and Journal of Hugh Judge (Byberry, Pa., John & Isaac Comly, 1841) 229).

## Prayers

I have times of exceeding poverty of spirit, and am caused when alone in some desert places, sometimes to pray in my spirit, which a sense of causes me to write as follows (viz):

O Lord God Almighty, creator of heavens and earth, yea thou who gave Paul a sense of several heavens and thou who hast placed the sun, moon and stars for our good and yet beyond all our greatest perfection to know what they contain. Yet all these heavenly objects with the fullness of earth and sea, the extent of studiers or writers cannot give a sense of thy greatness. Therefore lord and father enable me to humble myself so as to have a true sense of my own smallness for thy greatness is quite too high for me, a man, one that has been created by thee for to serve thee as a governor. This is meaning before the fall then transgressing fell so low as to be cast out of the garden of thy love. A rebel I am in nature that hast descended from one who hath thus transgressed - Am I not, O Lord, lower in this sense than an ox, an ass, a wild beast, fish, fowl, or yea, a worm, for we have no account of any of these being the descendant of such a rebel as I have descended from.

Yet Lord I thank thee here in this lonely place that thou didst in thy great goodness prepare a lamb for our redemption from the foundation and gave thy promise to thy

servant that fell that the seed of the woman that bruised the serpent's head that caused man to fall and hast since often made thyself known to the human race by thy spirit. Yea, thanks to thee that thou has fulfilled the testimonies prophesied by thy prophets in sending thy son Jesus for thy power standeth not in multitude nor thy justice in strong men for thou has been a God of the afflicted, a helper of the oppressed, an upholder of the weak and one that regulates all things by thy power.

Thou hast caused me to be a man among the sons of men and has at times caused my soul to rejoice in the knowledge of thy light, yea Lord, and hast caused my spirit at times to be very humble for the transgressions of my ways towards thee the mighty God of Israel, Lord of heaven and earth, creator of the waters, King of every creature that is known or unknown of man. To thee may the breathings of my soul be directed both now and other times knowing thou can do whatever seemeth good to thee. Therefore, may it please thee to give of thy ruling knowledge to kings of all nations in this our age, cause governors to know thy witness in the secret of their own souls as a law given from thee so that they may execute true judgement.

May princes wait on thee for thy might. May magistrates seek to thee for wisdom that they may judge right. May the attorneys wait on thee for advice and be led by the regulations of the land to speak truth

so that the guilty may be condemned and the innocent go free. May all officers either civil or military be concerned to come to a further acquaintance with thy spirit all power. Yea, may the wives and children of all those ranks mentioned by thy servant here in this lonely place be led and guided in the way that may best suit Thee, the only wise God.

Yea, and may thy ministers and elders be favoured to know the increase of thy heavenly power. May thy prophets prophesy truth without mixture. May all those who have been sensible of thy power wait on thee for it offers them the morning. May all ranks from the highest to the lowest know thee through the operation of thy spirit by the power of thy Son who was dead and is alive.

Yea, thou greatest of all beings may all that is agreeable to thy will be done. May the aged lay down their head in peace. May the middle-aged do that in their strength that is to their praise and may the child be encouraged to follow in thy truths, so that the knowledge of thy greatness may cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. May it be so that my soul may be for the future delivered from those things that are not agreeable to thy will - and keep me from all that is contrary to thy good pleasure. Likewise, may my wife be preserved in the love that is by thy son made known. Likewise my children, that they may do right in thy sight. Further may thy spirit

enable me as one of thy creations to render all honour, glory, power and praise to thee and thy son Jesus eternally. Amen. Amen sayeth my soul.

Thus my mind was and is often bound when alone for all ranks. And sometimes a lamentation is taken up by my soul in secret after this manner, viz:

Lord, how long shall thy servants who wait on thee, who wait on thee the only, true God. Be grieved with the adversity of our souls, and the infirmity of our flesh. May my soul mourn for the abomination of the land and my spirit given up to grief, if thy will, for the sins of the people. May the mountains complain and the hills cry aloud. Yea, may the valleys put up their prayers that thy goodness may not depart from man, nor thy love from thy children. Oh that kings might know thy spiritual power and all ranks understand according to their stations, both men and women, parents and children. Or that all the wicked be convinced, return from their ways, and live. O Lord, how is it that I have been born to live among a people that is more zealous for some form of man or other than to attend to thy glorious spirit or the instructions of thy son Jesus Christ.

Ah and why am I so tried against thee for thy spiritual law? Why is darkness so thick around me at times and at other times I left to do that I would not. Why does it seem to me as if the scoff of the people was against me? Why, why is my trials so great

that at times I have had to give back though thy power did help me? Again, thanks be to Thee, the only wise God.

And at some other times I have had to praise the Lord in this manner, viz.

The spirit of rejoicing has come upon me because thy light doth appear. Oh thou holiest of all, who inhabits eternity and turneth bitter into sweet, and sweet into bitter when it seemeth good to thee. Oh praises to the God of heaven and earth that thou hast gave me a little sense of thy great goodness. Oh that thy servants may rejoice and kings learn righteousness. Governors and all those in rule amongst men from the highest to the lowest may they be favoured to put far away every abomination that to them doth appear and encourage all that is agreeable to thy good spirit. Out of the depths have I cried to thee, O Lord. I wait for the Lord. My soul doth wait, and in His word do I hope. Let all wait on the Lord with hope for with Him there is mercy. They that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion.

Blessed be the Lord who has not given us as a prey to the wicked one that has been faithful to his name in any generation. Our souls are escaped as birds out of the hands of the fowlers and that is obedient to thee, thou teaches of thy ways. Thou leads them in the paths of peace and makes life spring up in them as a living fountain. Their eyes is open to see thy goodness, their ears to hear, knowledge and their hearts understand

wisdom, oh their faculties are fully given up in the time of thy visitations to learn that which is right in thy sight. Let me rejoice with my wife. O that my children may be obedient to the glorious visitation of thy spirit for ever and ever. End.

1789

This season grain is exceeding scarce in this part of the world, so that many people has had to live without bread, though there has been considerable corn brought from Virginia by the way of New York.

Our beloved Friend Elijah Hoag<sup>1</sup> has come in this country with his wife to view, and I sold him two hundred acres of my old farm for him to live on, and they seem pleased with the country. I often sat in my family with my wife and children. I talked with my partner Burling about leaving the business, the matter left under consideration, 7 m. 1789.

About this time, one of my neighbours, Esquire Brews, his wife was to my house with some neighbouring women and told of an accident that I had been knowing to about 2 or 3 years ago, that a nigger went over the falls where we now live, that is about 40 feet high, and it being night some said he had run away. But the 11th or 12th day after, a black girl of his came in and said she knew Charles the nigger was drowned. She asked, Why? She said she had seen him in a cloud right over the falls. And in a few hours news came he was found; and stunk as they say. Another instance happened last year about this time. There came a young man about fifty miles from

this place called Middletown,<sup>2</sup> and was going across the creek above the falls, in a canoe, and got scared and jumped in, for fear of going over, and drowned. When a man went to tell his parents, his mother said it was no news to her, for she said at such a time she looked out of a window at that place and seen him jump out of a canoe. And the people all said she had told of it, in the time of it. This is to show that the Lord doth sometimes show by visions that He suffers to come to pass. This Deists doth not believe, but it could all at this time be proved by living evidence.

Now I begin to be very uneasy with my encumbrances by business. And the Lord, after I had mourned several months, brought a sense of death very nigh my view. And on inquiring the reason He showed me that I had not been faithful and that I must do His will more fully in the way of testimony, and if I did not, death and destruction should be my portion. I opened the concern of my mind to several Friends, and my partner, and about the 9 m. 1789, I sold all my trade and grain works, sawmills, and gristmills; he took all and was to pay all, and pay me for my work and care. Then I moved nigh where I had lived on a new farm; but I have much trouble by reason of wild land I have the care of, and debts I owed for wild land.

About the 11 month, Thomas Titus and Joseph Cooper,<sup>3</sup> his companion, came to see

1. Elijah Hoag (1740-1822) and his wife Phebe Hoag (1742-1829), parents of Joseph and David Hoag.

2. Possibly Middletown in Windsor County, Vermont.

3. Thomas Titus (1738-1828) was born at Westbury, Long Island, where he lived most of his life. He was

us, had a meeting and spoke to good satisfaction. I concluded to go with him to our Monthly Meeting at Saratoga, about 110 miles.<sup>1</sup> David Hoag,<sup>2</sup> who had been sick, so that many expected he would not recover, concluded and went with us. We went to Queensbury,<sup>3</sup> attending a meeting to good satisfaction. I spoke some. We went to Saratoga, over the North River,<sup>4</sup> and appointed a meeting;<sup>5</sup> then crossed the river and attended Monthly Meeting. Then we parted with Friends, and David and I came to White Creek, and from there to Danby, then over the Green Mountain, about 70 miles to Sharon and Strafford. There we found about fifteen families of convinced

recognized as a minister at age 30, and thereafter travelled widely in the ministry. See Memorials concerning Several Ministers and Others, Deceased; of the Religious Society of Friends, within the limits of the Yearly Meeting of New York... (New York, Mahlon Day, 1836), 5-9.

1. Rogers would have been a member of distant Danby Preparative Meeting, established in 1781. Their Meeting House was built on land purchased from Stephen Rogers, who was later instrumental in helping organize Ferrisburgh Preparative Meeting, established in 1792. Both were Preparative Meetings of Saratoga Monthly Meeting in New York until 1795 when the two were set off as Danby Monthly Meeting.

2. David Hoag (b. 1764), son of Elijah and Phebe, brother of Joseph.

3. Queensbury Meeting was located at what is now Glen Falls, New York.

4. The North River refers to the Hudson River north of Albany.

5. Recognized ministers were sanctioned by their Monthly Meetings to "appoint" or hold a Meeting for Worship where there were no established Preparative Meeting. These Meetings for worship were often held in the homes of isolated Friends, or in the

people, Timothy Blake being one of the first.<sup>6</sup> They were convinced without any Friends travelling that way, mostly; five had requested before, and two sent their requests now. When we came back, we found our Monthly Meeting so nigh again that was adjourned to Danby, that we went there before we came home. We had great satisfaction in this visit. I heard by Joseph Hoag, a public Friend, David's brother from home,<sup>7</sup> David Hoag gained fast in body and mind, as appeared. My wife heard I had went another way and was much put out. I hurried home with great distress of mind, often wishing for strength, but very willing to die. When I got home and told all what had happened, my wife was well satisfied. And the Lord made us feel well united, but it was a great comfort to my mind.

David Hoag went from Danby with his

6. Timothy Blake settled in Stratford in 1778 after having served in the Revolutionary Army. He was distressed by the attitudes of other officers towards the troops. "Reflecting on these things, he was favoured with a very clear manifestation of Divine Light in his heart, which fully convinced him, not only of their iniquity, but also of his own situation, and the inconsistency of war with Christian precepts" ("Account of Friends in Vermont" Friends Miscellany Vol. 7 (1835): 186-9). Blake swayed nine or ten families to join him for meetings for worship in the manner of Friends, even though the group had no direct contact with the Society until 1786.

7. This is the first mention of Joseph Hoag (1762-1842), who moved to Ferrisburg from Dutchess County, New York, at this time and who later became one of the best known and most traveled "public friends" of his generation. Joseph Hoag's Journal (1860 and 1861) details his journeys and religious experiences, and reflects the religious sensibilities of a "Wilburite" Quaker.

brother to the Great Nine Partners, where they had moved from. I visited several in our neighbourhood, some with Elijah Hoag (David and Joseph's father), generally to satisfaction. My wife and I means to try to get to Saratoga Monthly Meeting in the 1st m. 1790. Friends hereaway has a desire to have a Meeting.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, we got to the aforesaid Meeting, and went to the Great Nine Partners to see her relations; her mother has married to Stephen Badgley. They use Friends kind, although don't believe with us in some things. We got home in the 2 m., found all well as common.

Now begins a trouble that I cannot tell what the end will be. I was sued three times, and those that we had traded with would not take Fitch, our new partner, instead of me. After taking the advice of some private friends I were resolved to try to settle my matters, and so wrote with the assistance of Elijah Hoag and Perserved Dakins (1790)

twenty-one letter[s] to my creditors to compound with me; the time appointed to attend to it was from the 17 day of the 6th mo. next, to the 19 day of the same mo.

About this time Stephen Rogers,<sup>2</sup> his wife and Hannah Lapham<sup>3</sup> from Danby came to see us as old neighbours -- we now concluded in this country, Friends being very scattering, that it was best once a month to meet at some house for to see one another, and have conference together for we come from different meetings and hardly knew one another. The first was held at Elijah Hoag's house on the first fifth day in the third month 1790, began at 11 o'clock, ended to good satisfaction. This meeting held till we had a meeting allowed us.<sup>4</sup>

1. Ferrisburg Meeting was first established as an indulged meeting (i.e. a meeting for worship with no business functions) in 6 month, 1791.

2. Stephen Rogers (ca. 1750-1835), brother Wing Rogers, husband of Elizabeth Latham Rogers (ca. 1760-1840), came to Danby, Vermont, from Marshfield, Massachusetts, in 1770. Stephen built the first mill in Danby about 1790. Hemenway, Vol. 3, pp. 601, 644.

3. These Friends from Danby were probably part of a committee established by Saratoga Monthly Meeting to assess the request for an indulged meeting presented by Timothy Rogers in Jan. 1790. Stephen Rogers had been instrumental in establishing the Danby Meeting, and Hannah Lapham was no doubt related to David Lapham, who's house had served as the first meeting place for Friends in Danby in 1780.

4. This monthly "conference" had no official standing as a recognized Friends meeting. An "indulged" or "allowed" meeting for worship at Ferrisburg was first authorized by Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 6 Month 16, 1791.

## Religious Views<sup>1</sup>

Now I shall give up if so that my Master will help me to write a few sentences to a little ease my mind peradventure if it is not published in my day it may be for my children and others after my decease.

This is the desire of my mind that the Lord God who hath created all things may be the chiefest in our hearts, minds and souls, in all our undertakings, for it is by him we live, move and have our beings. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, Genesis 1th 1th. This shows that the first account we have in the scriptures of truth was intended to give him the honour of being first in heaven as well as in all the world. Then the account goes on to show in a particular manner how God created all things in their right order and also he shows how God created man meaning all the race of man both man and woman, for in this there seemed to be counsel. For as God was all and in all, for by him were all created.

Now I may observe man ought to ask knowledge of God for there never was so great counsel by the sons of men as appear in the origin of man as he made all. All counsel was in him: "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of

the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." Genesis 1, verses 26 and 27. A further confirmation of this is according to the account gave by Moses. "This is the book of the generation of Adam. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made He him; male and female, created He them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created." Genesis, chapter 5th, verses 1 & 2.

It takes all the descendants of Adam to make man in the way that he was created, namely, for a governor or ruler of the earth. Then I say let all men be united as one man to honour and serve their great Creator as their only Father of all good, both in this world and in that to come, where our spirits must all ascend to praise Him forever if we are saved by the blood of Christ who we read was a lamb slain from the foundation. For it was so that man did fall from that order that God created him in, for we find by scripture account that man was put in a garden to dress it. This shows that industry was required of man and there appears something mysterious for although God was all and in all in the creation, yet we find something called a serpent that was contrary to the law that God gave man in the first order and we have no account of his crea-

1. This section appears to have been written after 1813 and inserted in pages left blank at this point. It continues at the end of the journal, after the last

tion for it is said "God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it *was* very good." Genesis 1st, verse 31. Although as we do nothing of ourselves aright, yet by the help of God and the loving spirit of Christ, we may do all things needful for us.

The apostle Jude seems to hint of the fall of some angels, but doth not explain much, only; "And the angels which keep not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto judgement of the great day." Jude 1st, verse 6th.

And in intercepting in my mind that it is not desirable - the apostle Paul complained of a thorn in the flesh<sup>1</sup> - this interceptor seems somewhat like the serpent to strive by falls though seeming fine or great to the mind of man. I guess things rising in imaginations beyond the true place of man and so make him unhappy. This has sometimes made me want to know what was before the creation and how God came - foolish notions - for can the thing formed or made know what was before it was made? But God being kind to us, hath by his servant gave some account of the beginning and how man was made chief ruler or tiller of the ground and called at first to be after God's image.

And there was a law gave the man after this manner when being put in the garden to dress it, then says God to man: "And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of

every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shall surely die." Genesis, chapter 1st,<sup>2</sup> verse 16th & 17th. This law being given to man, we have no reason to believe any other.

But the man was fully happy while he kept it and when the woman was created, how long we know not, there was a serpent came to the woman and speak to her. He seems to know something of the greatness of God and puts himself in the place of God. For as God has been the instructor of these created, the serpent now begins to instruct. And this may be observed, that God counselled with the man, he being the head and most like God as he was ruler, but the serpent begin to counsel with the woman, the weaker part, so he tempted the weaker part of man. "And he said unto the woman, Yea hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the [trees of the] garden: But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." Genesis, chapter 3rd, verses 1st, 2, 3, 4, 5. So the serpent beguiled the woman and

1. II Corinthians 12: 7.

2. This is actually from Genesis 2.

she being weak beguiled the man, and they both fell into transgression against the law of God.

Now it is easier to know what is amiss than to know what the event will be. Surely the man, or the weak part of man the woman, knew what was amiss, and reasoned with the serpent. But after their transgression they were obliged to leave the garden. We often are warned in our minds to not do bad but the weak part of man gives away and so the man is deceived by that which sometimes to the weak part seems right. Then as our first parents was ashamed so are we. But some, I believe, are like Cain and can only complain that their burden is greater than they can bear.<sup>1</sup> But if they had a done according to what the reprove, that is, from God told them in the day of their visitation, they would aknow the grace of God to ataught them what they ought to a done to a served God.

For sure it is written in scripture by one of Christ's disciples "The grace of God that brings salvation hath appeared to all men teaching them to deny ungodliness."<sup>2</sup> And so on. This holy teacher has become the law of God to all men. Some it justifies and some it condemns, according to what they have witnessed of being born again, that is being begotten in the heart and soul by love to God to serve him after the directions of that spirit that leads into all truth and con-

demns according as they have transgressed this holy law and followed something else. Not that spirit that led into all truth, but something that although pretends to tell the truth, it proves a lie, and often deceives poor man. And as men follows this more than anything else, they become more acquainted with it than they do with the truth. Yet although they seem to be so intimate with this false spirit, they are but deceived for they do not consider the destruction that will shortly follow. Nor can they believe the torment they daily experience, for if there was any human law to inflict such perplexity or misery on their bodies as their mind is in, they would think themselves bad used. And as the spirit is from the devil or serpent, it is a liar, and makes the poor captive believe, although in bonds even of sin and death, that they are free and they will have a seeming joy to think and tell how they can pleasure the mind. And everything that is not agreeable, lay it to something else, and so although pretend to be well off, yet they are in misery.

Now I shall leave this kind of reasoning a little and turn to the serpent, hoping to write a little more on this in some future sheets.

This serpent or evil spirit is so injurious to the common good of man that I cannot quite feel easy without saying a little more how he began with his mischief. John says, "And there was a war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon;

1. Genesis 4: 13.

2. Titus 2: 11, 12.

and the dragon and his angels fought and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan that which deceiveth the whole world." Revelation, chapter 12, verses 7, 8, 9.<sup>1</sup> Also Peter speaks of some after this manner: "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered [them] in[to] chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgement." Second Peter, chapter 2nd, verse 4th. This fallen spirit has power to make war in our minds. This I know by experience.

And Christ speaking of the Devil sayeth to some who said that he cast out devils by Bezelbub, the chief of the devils, "A kingdom divided against itself shall not stand,"<sup>2</sup> or a house, and so on, but did not say but that Satan had a kingdom. And he is called the prince of the air. No man can find the extent of the air. This showed the Devil's power to be beyond our natural comprehension. Therefore, we need the assistance of God to stand against him. This was the reason of God sending his son Jesus Christ.

Jesus also said to some the Devil was a liar from the beginning and says when he spoke a lie he spoke his own.<sup>3</sup> The Lord is truth and nothing but truth, but the Devil is a liar, and as sure as we are in truth, so far

we answer the image we was created for, and as far as we are of that lying spirit, we are out of the image of God and pursue the part of the Devil that is always full of mischief.

I have heard some argue in my time what the Devil was and where he took his rise, but never found anybody able to fully determine so, but some others would dispute them. Some again hold there is no evil spirit and throw away the scriptures and go to human reason.<sup>4</sup> These is very difficult to argue with, for when we bring the scripture they will throw it away. But when we will bring good reasons without scripture, they say their opinions is as good as ours. And generally being less reprobate, men will, if company is by, endeavour to get their minds that stand by in the air and they run their discourse in a rig or canting line. But after I had talked with one deist a half a day on those things, he and I being alone in a room, he gave his opinion. I also opened mine.

"Now," says I, "How will we prove either?"

"Then," says he, "the scripture being nothing, we stand even and one opinion is as good as the other."

I spoke of the witness in our own heart that teaches what is right or wrong in the sight of God and asked if he had not had different feelings of mind concerning good

1. Rogers partially misquotes verse 7, which should read " and the dragon fought, and his angels".

2. cf. Mark 3: 24.

3. John 8: 44.

4. Here Rogers is making reference to the deists like Ethan Allen, whose death he noted earlier.

and evil. He allowed he had. I said, "Would thee wish to know the certainty of these things?" for I wanted to know whether he had any feelings on his mind for he said, "Before he had known only tradition." He then said he would not begrudge anything he could do that he might fully know if there was any reproofs. This made me tell him be still as to his own contrivance, and in a time I believed he might know. And I thought, and do still think, that struggle in his mind came by the two different spirits. But he becoming more presumptuous, I fear since has outwent the day of his visitation.

That there is one God is reasonable from the heavens and the earth, sun, moon, stars, sea and every living creature. And if it should be allowed by all there is a God, then I add this as my sole opinion, he had ought to be revered, honoured, praised and adored by all.

And as I can only feel of speaking after the manner of men, for myself I affirm for one, that I have been taught both sleeping and awake, at some times when favoured what had been or what was, and at other times what would be, according to my talent. And sometimes I have witnessed a being enticed by something in my spirit or mind, or presented to my view in this way, that has caused me to do that I really believe was wrong. And as I have been fully sorry for said conduct and prayed for forgiveness to the Lord in the secret of my mind, I believe I have by the blood of Christ wit-

nessed redemption.

This I hope all will consider whether they have not these struggles, some more and some less. And if any should confess they have, I beg them to consider who shall gainsay their own feelings. For this I think to be a proof that there is something not according to the spirit of God, or he would not reprove for what we can do. So I fully conclude there is a just God and a spirit of sin that is worthy of His displeasure.

Then leaving this dark way of writing I shall endeavor to come more to the matter in hand - how we ought to live - meaning to take the spirit of truth for a guide that the scriptures says will lead into all truth. But as some say where I have been, they believe all men die alike. I also believe with them in one sense, for as to the animal, part flesh and blood, we die as we may be said alike, although some with a fever, others a fall fit, sword, famine, drowned or any different disorder. But I believe as to spiritual senses, we do not all die alike. For we find by scripture that Cain slew his brother Abel, and Abel's blood cried to the Lord. And the Lord reproved Cain, but heard even the blood of Abel, or spirit of him, and a memorial is kept of both; one to show that Cain's offering was not accepted and the other to show that Abel's was.<sup>1</sup>

Also Christ gave a parable of Lazarus the beggar that was carried in Abraham's bosom, and of the rich man divers that went

1. Genesis 4.

to hell.<sup>1</sup> This seems to give an idea of their spirits or souls after death. But when Christ died, although by false accusation, yet he did not revile. Thus the son of God finished his course living and dying like a lamb, when others will live and die cursing, drunken, some gaming or swearing, in short, not praising God nor honouring him according to what we was created for.

Yea Christ says, "He that will not take up his daily cross and follow me, cannot be my disciple."<sup>2</sup> How now Christendom? Do you in general take up the cross of Christ who the scriptures declare to be the son of God? And we can't help but believe it, for his spirit reproves us for sin. Even some of the deists will confess to feelings, one good and the other bad, as may be said by men, but will not allow that the son of God was ever born of a woman and yet own a God. But being generally men of learning, and those that has often been visited, and like the young man not willing to part with all for Christ's sake,<sup>3</sup> so often run beyond their visitation and are left to believe a lie that they may be damned.

But stop, I did not mean to be rash. If any deist will follow that I have heard some acknowledge they felt, I believe there will be hope of such a one. That is to say, two feelings - one that led to temperance, love and doing as nigh right for the good of man

as they can. Also as they say, for the honour of the one great God that, feeling in the mind or spirit, I wish all to follow the motion of. And I believe that if we don't see enough that will be a light that will show us more. The other feeling they tell of is nonsense, jesting, lying, gaming, profaneness, drinking and eating to excess, quarrelling, fighting and above all, to be looked on as some great one and generally run into philosophy by star-gazing, astronomy, arithmetic and love to argue especially with the weak part of man. I mean these led by nature. Yet do not believe with them. I mean those that doth not walk according to the command of God. Then these deists come like the serpent that has been hinted before to the fallen part that is like the weaker part of man and leads some astray as the serpent did Eve and they draw away those more steady.

This part I desire all to stand against, for I can assure you my friends (for so I call all men) all that goes to dispute, tell about God or anything else to try to be looked at as a God or to rob God of his honour, will be condemned. For he will not give it to another. Now you that is called Christians, will you confess that God has visited you? If it were not for a feeling I feel of modesty in expression, I should say I fear there is great lying, whoring, gaming, fighting, excess on excess, and hypocrisy too in Christendom. Yea among some called teachers and many that profess high. But I

1. Luke 6: 20-25.

2. cf. Matthew 16: 24, Mark 8: 34, Luke 9: 23, Luke 14: 27.

3. Matthew 19: 21-24, Luke 18: 22-25.

would have all these consider whether they are Christ's followers, or anti-Christians, following the spirit of sin, and for a cloak call themselves Christians like a wolf in sheep's clothing or like the servants of the serpent and pretend to be servants of God. But I can tell thee my friend, however thou art God will meet thee or call thee, and thou will see thyself naked. Then fig leaves will not do but thou must be turned out of paradise and if the seed of the woman is not found to be thy friend, thou must go and be damned as the rich man was.

I greatly desire that all may see for themselves as God gives ability, and let none be deceived. For as Abraham was called the friend of God because he was faithful and the Lord blessed him and gave a promise that his seed should have a land, even the land of Canaan, so God has gave a promise to the woman reproving the serpent and saying there should be enmity between thee and the woman and between thy seed and her seed. It shall bruise thy head and thou shall bruise his heel.<sup>1</sup>

Now the whole power of the serpent was not taken away, but he has power to tempt and try to draw men away. Therefore, he is compared to a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour. But as we dwell in the spirit of Christ, we shall witness his spirit to be to us as the seed of the woman bruising his head and overthrowing all his temptations in our minds. And as we prove

faithful, we shall be accounted the friends of God with faithful Abraham, and witness in Christ the seed of the woman; a conquest over all our lusts and passions, as Abraham's seed did over all the wicked nations of Canaan. And as we dwell nigh that inward love that teaches what was right, we shall be preserved from all our spiritual enemies as they the Israelites was when they kept the law of Moses that was given for a season. And it was well known of the holy men of old that there should be a day wherein God should again be the teacher of men by his spirit. And all that truly depended on him in all ages was favoured to be his beloved servants.

Therefore, it was said of Enoch, he "walked with God: and he was not; for God took him." Genesis, chapter 5th, verse 24. And also of Noah, "And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence," etc. Genesis, chapter 6th, verse 13. "But with thee will I establish my covenant." verse 18, etc. This shows that there was a covenant, and then when he was about to punish the wicked, he would establish his covenant with that servant. Then we may look at Abraham and Lot both being wonderfully favoured, for God said unto Abraham, "And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee; and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." Genesis, chapter 12th, verse 3rd. This shows that God was about to do a great

1. Genesis 3: 15.

work, and that he made the servant the chiefest instrument in his time of preparing the way for the seed of the woman to come forth, that came for all flesh. I mean him whom the Jews called the Messiah, and in the new covenant is called the son of God, or as man god, Jesus Christ, the only begotten of the father and was said to be full of grace and truth.

And of Lot when two angels came to Sodom, Lot "rose up to meet them." Genesis, chapter 19th, verse 1st. "And when the morning arose, then the angels hastened Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters, which are here; lest thou be consumed in the iniquity of the city." verse 15th. Thus the Lord often shows his goodness by the deliverance of the just and obedient servants. And of Isaac it is said "And I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven," and so forth. Genesis, chapter 26th, verse 4. This shows that the Lord renewed the covenant with Isaac.

Also to Jacob the Lord said in the visions of a dream "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the Land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed."<sup>1</sup> Thus the Lord dealt with those in them days to show himself gracious according to his promise. Then I observe that all these promises was to prepare a way for the Messiah or the root of Jesse in which the Gentiles was to trust,<sup>2</sup>

1. Genesis 28: 13.

2. Isaiah 11: 1-2.

and as was said to Abraham for the seed that all nations was to be blessed in. And that the breach of order by the fool that is the disobedience of Adam and Eve being on all flesh, may or might be in some measure restored.

And now I shall consider a little how and in what way all has or may be restored to as godly a way of living as is required of man in this life. For the Lord always is so kind that when he requires anything of man, he enables him to do if man is obedient. But as man proved disobedient and did not keep the first command or law that was given in the garden being deceived by the serpent, fell in with his reasoning and did not improve the ability that God gave to God's honour. But God being above all made it for his honour and provided a way for the penalty to be answered. And yet for the spirit of truth to lead, all that is obedient to the spirit of his son unto all truth that is necessary for any.

Therefore, it is said that Christ was alaying slain from the foundation. But as man became many through the world and all for one use by the creation to honour and glorify God, he found men in a great plan of order in this world to prepare a visible means in evidence of that invisible power that was transgressed against. Therefore, man was to turn to the dust again but generations arising one after another till God thought proper to influence a woman, being the weaker part of man, to bring forth a son

without any copulation, only the Holy Ghost overshadowing her thus. This then was prepared after the manner of man and in the power of the obedient spirit to serve God according to his order.

He was called the son of God because He did inhabit a spiritual body in this world. Therefore, God regulated his order not wholly in one generation but in many as the wound by transgression was. Therefore, there was respect always showed to those that keep as nigh God's order as they could in their generation and situation as has been hinted, but still gradually bringing men more and more acquainted with his law of obedience. But none found able to keep it as man, for man was fell and the earth cursed for his sake.

Though as they was faithful, they was made sensible in old times of the power that was to come or be brought forth by the Lord and had their encouragements or promises according to their condition, and yet to show what was again to be brought about. This made the woman of Samaria to say, "When the Messiah comes he would tell us all things." And when she invited those of that place, [she] asked if it was not Christ because He told all that ever she did.<sup>1</sup>

As God gave the man and woman encouragement by the promise of the seed of the woman, so he gave testimony to Abel,<sup>2</sup> caused Enoch to be translated,<sup>3</sup>

saved Noah in the ark,<sup>4</sup> saved Lot from the fire of Sodom,<sup>5</sup> and Abraham being faithful, gave him a promise that all nations should be blessed in his seed.<sup>6</sup> This appears to me to be the same that was meant to the woman after transgressing.

But God works gradually with man, as man is in this order after the fall. Yet his means are sure, and they that are obedient, I believe, will witness it. For since Christ, we witness that God has prepared a way for the redemption of man as before they did witness the way was to be made. He renewed it to Isaac and made it sure to the posterity of Jacob called Israel.<sup>7</sup> Joseph being sold to Egypt<sup>8</sup> proved a preservation to his brothers and prepared a way for that family through their darkness or bondage as appeared to Abraham for more than four hundred years before. Then hard servitude came on them and the Lord appeared to Moses: "And an angel of the Lord appeared [un]to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush." Exodus, chapter 3, verse 2. "And the Lord said, I have assuredly seen the affliction of my people," verse 7. "Come now therefore, [and] I will send thee unto Pharaoh," verse 10.

Thus God begins to bring man in his order by some attitude as was agreeable to that day, and after many signs and wonders

1. John 4: 9-29.

2. Genesis 3: 4.

3. Genesis 4: 24.

4. Genesis, chapters 7, 8 & 9.

5. Genesis 19.

6. Genesis 22: 17 & 18.

7. Genesis 26: 2-5, Genesis 28: 1-4.

8. Genesis 37.

wrote on Pharaoh, who God raised for that purpose, because of transgression.<sup>1</sup> For as Abel was accepted in his offering, so Cain was refused.<sup>2</sup> And as Noah was saved in the ark, so the world was drowned;<sup>3</sup> also Lot delivered, and Sodom burnt with Gomorrah.<sup>4</sup> And as Israel was justified by Moses so Egypt condemned by Pharaoh.<sup>5</sup> And as Moses and Aaron was favoured to act in the character of God delivering the riches after the obedience of that order to God in the figure of Christ, so Pharaoh was left to (it may be for sin) act the character of the serpent to the fallen part of man. His people being at his command and showed the nature of Adam, and by the overthrowing of that wicked prince in the Red Sea, showed the overthrow of the serpent by the blood of Christ. This being in a figure, God caused the people to be still for Moses to go before; so the weaker part in man after the disobedient part ought to be still for the spirit of truth to go before, that Christ says shall lead into all truth. And those that has truly given up to be led by this spirit can at times sing the song of praise on the banks of deliverance, in spirit and in truth, after this people was favoured with that figurative leader who said to them, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me. Him shall you hear in all things,"<sup>6</sup>

1. Exodus 8-11.

2. Genesis 4: 4, 5.

3. Genesis 7, 8.

4. Genesis 19: 24-5.

5. Exodus 6.

6. Acts 3: 22.

was disobedient in their hearts and movement. The Lord sent his judgements on them and caused them to wander in the wilderness many years as some doth that is favoured to know the truth and as the first generation was almost all caught of.

So many that is not faithful in following the spirit of truth after it has appeared to them, is left to turn again like the dog to his vomit or the sow to her wallowing. This I fear is the case with many in Christendom when, if they had put their whole dependence on the spiritual Moses, they might awent to the promised land, even new Jerusalem the heart of spiritual Canaan. "May the Lord," saith my soul, "Instruct all once obedient enquiring souls." The full of what I mean, for I cannot express only a part of the engagement on my mind: their means being used to show the order that God would have man to stand in this world, that in the covenant of the laws of Moses was that the people should be obedient and under Christ's order, that they should be obedient to the leadings of the spirit of truth that lead into all truth, so that as the first Adam was disobedient so all become transgressors. And there was a way found for all to transgress, so all has a way prepared if they will walk in it, whereby they may become obedient to the order that God requires. That is Christ who says "I am the way".<sup>7</sup> And as they, under the Jews' laws, could not be free Jews without keeping the

7. John 14: 6.

law, so none can be free Christians, believers in Christ, or saints, without keeping in the way prepared, even the spirit of truth that Christ says comes in his name or was to come.

And as the deliverance of man was to be brought through the seed of Abraham, God made that family chief among the nations till the day of Christ, or till the root of Jesse as was said, came in whom one of the prophets said that the Gentiles was to trust.<sup>1</sup> They were preserved in a miraculous manner. David had a sense of this, I believe, when he said, "If it had not been for the Lord who was on our side, now may well say; If it had not been for the Lord that was on our side, when men rose up against us: then they had swallowed us up." and so forth. Psalms, chapter 124, verses 1st, 2 & 3.<sup>2</sup> But as it is said, "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book: But these are written, that ye might believe." John, chapter 20, verse 30, 31.

So I can say I perceive the spirit many times, opening many things concerning the law of Moses, that I believe to be a type of the law of God's made manifest by the spirit of truth that came in Christ's name and serves as outward Moses did to outward

Israel; to give all the statutes of the mind, heart and soul so that we may be truly furnished to serve the Lord.

Now this Moses ruled as a great prince that all was obliged to obey or not be of Israel. So Christ is a mighty spirit or prince. But he says his kingdom is not of this world.<sup>3</sup> This appears when some would amate Him king. He went away. He well knew His kingdom was of more value than any outward kingdom. But the redemption of saints being effected by the obedience of one mightier than Moses, for Moses, when he died, was not found after to give commands to his followers but left one to officiate in his stead. And that was Joshua,<sup>4</sup> chose by God for to bring Israel to the promised land, where the posterity of Abraham was to tarry till all nations should be blessed in his seed, even Christ, he being the fulfilling of all ordinances and the bringing in of a better hope and of more authority than Moses. For when he lay down his life being offered as a sacrifice to fulfill all the offerings under the law made by blood, for they for a sin offering shed blood, and many bloody types was under the law. Now Christ being able both to keep the commands of God as Adam had ought to a done and to forgive sin, he took on the nature of man. Only he did not sin, but suffered for sin. And as the law had made way to preserve a people till he came forth according to the

1. Romans 15: 12.

2. Rogers slightly misquotes the text: "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, now may well say; If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us: then they had swallowed us up."

3. John 18: 36.

4. Joshua 1.

promises made by God, he not only lay down his life but took it again and rose from the dead, and gave commands after he had been crucified. This could not Moses, nor Joshua. And not only so, but he by his spirit doth still rule and lead his servants into all truth or true worship when they are obedient. It is this circulating power of God that has preserved all that ever came to be truly the servants of God and more fully made known by the coming of the son of God.

And then did it more fully appear why God chose one nation. For in the seed of Abraham, all the families of the earth was to be blessed. This could not be effected by Moses, but his law served as a preserver to that family or nation till this should be brought about. And he thought proper as this people was to be preserved by a national law to appear to them by his prophets. And several gave plain prophecies of Christ's coming and of the overthrow of that disobedient people. Nevertheless, God preserved them till his time was fully come, that he would plead with all flesh. And then came forth the Messiah, his Son, being begot by his power and spirit, and was the seed of the woman that was to bruise the serpent's head, as well as to fulfill the law of Moses. And as he being God and man became the brother to all the human race, by being man and God, by being the power of God's spirit, then he became a suitable mediator between God and man. Thus the plan of God went on by the ordinance pre-

pared under the law till the way was made for the son of God to come forth.

"God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by his son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also all things was made." Hebrews, chapter 1, verse 1 & 2.<sup>1</sup> "Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high; Being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the angels said He at any time, thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee? [And] again, I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son?" verses 3, 4 & 5. And verse 6, "Let all the angels of God worship Him." Verse 8, "But unto the Son he saith, thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom." Verse 9th "Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."

Now the more we love righteousness

1. Rogers slightly misquotes the text: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, Hath in these last days spoken to us by His son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds."

and hate iniquity, the more we are like this king. His kingdom is a sceptre of righteousness and therefore all unjusstness is not of him and must be of the serpent. "For both he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are both one; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren." chapter 2nd, verse 10th.<sup>1</sup> How then ought Christendom to put away every abomination considering the highness of our profession?

I fear lest the land will be smitten with God's judgements. Yea, are they not begun. Look at the last inhuman war, also sickness, the loss of raising wheat in many places, and great scarcity for bread in many places, wars abroad, and men taking the advantage of each other at home. This will be. "We see Jesus, that was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man." verse 9.<sup>2</sup> After this there was no more nor will be need of ordinances after the manner of Moses' law, but that we should consider the high priest of our profession. "For this man was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he hath builded the house hath more honour than the house." chapter 3rd, verse 3. "And Moses was faithful in all his house, as a servant, for a testi-

1. Rogers slightly misquotes the text: "For both he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all one; for which cause He is not ashamed to call them brethren."

2. Rogers slightly misquotes the text: "We see Jesus, who was made..."

mony of those things which were to be spoken after," verse 5th. Take heed brethren, professors of Christendom, that there is not in any an evil heart of unbelief. For it was for this cause that the children of Israel wandered and mostly that generation fell in the wilderness. Wherefore as the Holy Ghost saith today, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts in the provocation in the day of temptation in the wilderness.

Now when the people of Israel kept to the law and commands of Moses as nigh as they could, they were favoured with peace and plenty for the most part. And if their enemy came against them, they were able, by the help of God, to always keep their way clear; ten could drive a hundred and an hundred, ten hundred. But when they forgot or neglected to serve the Lord with all their heart as was the first command commanded them, the Lord caused judgements to come on them, either wars, famine or pestilence, or sometimes quarrels would arise among themselves. So we that pretend to be Christ's followers ought to attend to the law of grace being a [*share*] of love from the Lord bestowed to all that are obedient thereto, even the spirit of truth that comes in Christ's name.

Now the believers in this day ought to attend to the details of the spirit of truth as that nation did to the law. But as no man could work the work of redemption according to the penalty that was laid on Adam, which he did transgress, but as God did

assist man by a promise and that by the seed of the woman it was necessary that God should by his spirit enable the woman to bring forth one that should be able to stand against that spiritual power, the serpent that caused the woman to transgress. And as there was a law between the man and God and by the transgression of the law the offence came.

So it pleased God in the day of man's visitation to fix a law; and that law not being perfect but did serve for a season to regulate till that perfect seed was brought forth. And that law no man being able to keep because of the corrupt nature that came by the first transgression, God did not make the law perfect but that was to prepare a way for that which was perfect to come forth; and as a schoolmaster till the true knowledge. Now a schoolmaster tutors the scholar and that ought to obey, but when they have full knowledge then they need not go to school; so then the school drops. So when Christ came the law might drop but the Lord would rule his people by his own spirit and the penalty is spiritual. And as we keep nigh that spirit we shall witness spiritual help in this world.

Therefore, it is said that the kingdom of heaven is begun in this world. And also says Christ, "Again, the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: Which, when it was full, they drew to shore, they sat down and gathered the good into the vessels, but

cast the bad away. So shall it be at the end of the world: the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." Matthew, chapter 13, verses 47th, 48, 49, 50th.<sup>1</sup> They that know these things, believe and witness that good spirit to lead them, will find Christ to be their strength and the God of Jacob to be their exceeding great reward, and will be able to bring forth by that spirit things new and old, agreeable to the saying of our Master. "Therefore every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder, which bringest forth out of his treasure things new and old." Matthew, chapter 13, verse 52. And he will have a sense of the law and the prophets even as they had a sense of the gospel day that was to come. In Lamentations it is found, "Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the land of Uz; the cup also shall pass through unto thee: thou shalt be drunken and shalt make thyself naked. The punishment of thine iniquity is accomplished, O daughter of Zion; he will no more carry thee away into captivity," Lamentations, chapter 4, verse 21, 22. David said, "I am a wonder unto many; but thou art my strong refuge," Psalm 71, verse

1. Rogers slightly misquotes the text: "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: Which, when it was full, they drew to shore, and sat down..."

7. Also verse 12, "O God, be not far from me: O my God, make haste for my help." Verse 20, "Thou, which hast showed me great and sore troubles, shalt quicken me again, and shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth." Then David saw that he should be comforted on every side. For to him had been the renewal of the promise, and his hope was in the Lord that was to come through his family; all those orders being kept from one generation to another for an evidence to man of the work of the Lord in preparing a way for their redemption.

Christ says, "I am the way; no man cometh to the Father but by me."<sup>1</sup> He that would be his disciple, let him take up his daily cross and follow him. "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Matthew, chapter 16, verse 26. "A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things: and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things." Matthew, chapter 12, verse 35. "But I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement." verse 36. "For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." verse 37. "And there was a cloud that overshadowed them: and a voice came out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved son: hear

him." Mark, chapter 9, verse 7. "For even the son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." Mark, chapter 10, verse 45. "But take heed to yourselves: for they shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten: and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them." Mark, chapter 13, verse 9. "But when they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand, what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak but the Holy Ghost." verse 11. And the way and manner of the spirit of truth is described by John in this plain way of giving the account of Christ's own words, "If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, and he may abide with you forever; Even the spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you. At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you." John, chapter 14, verse 15, 16, 17, 18 and 20. Also, "These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. But the comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to

1. John 14: 6, slightly misquoted.

your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." verses 25, 26.

O Christendom! Attend to this spiritual worship for it was for this cause that Christ came and gave his life a ransom that men might have a way by him to inherit eternal life. Seek to God for strength Solomon sayeth.<sup>1</sup> The preparation of the heart in man and the answer of the tongue are from the Lord. If the Lord alone can prepare the heart or incline the soul to serve him in an acceptable manner, had we not ought to wait for his holy assistance in all our worship and never do anything, although we might gain much human honour, without the assistance of that spirit of truth that was and is to lead his followers into all truth. It is by the spirit that believers have access to the Father.

O that believers may wait in submission of soul in order to distinguish between the precious and the vile. It is said, try the spirit's every spirit that confesseth that Jesus is or has come in the flesh is of God.<sup>2</sup> One saith, know ye not that Christ is in you except ye be reprobates.<sup>3</sup> If we do not witness the good spirit to lead us, even as Israel was led by Moses, we are not true followers of Christ. And if we love anything more than that spirit that comes in Christ's name, we are not worthy of its visitations.

God is just and has prepared a way for salvation for all obedient seeking souls. Therefore, he that seeketh, findeth, Christ

saith. And to him that knocked it should be opened.<sup>4</sup> The influences of the spirit is not at our command, nor can it be had at our wills; no more than we can breathe without air. Therefore, as our bodies live and keep in a clean element that we can have air that we may breathe, so we ought to keep nigh the leadings of the spirit of truth, that we may know the will of God and be able to enjoy the spiritual life. And then we shall witness old things to be done away and our hearts filled with love to God and man. And we shall witness a new name that none knows, only them that has it. And we shall be able at times to drink freely of the waters of life, ah out of the river that flows from the throne of God and the lamb.

The apostle Paul saith if any man has not the spirit of Christ he is none of his.<sup>5</sup> Then how attentive ought we to be to the leadings of that spirit that Moses was a type of. But his warfare was outward. But Christ's spiritual must not do according to man's invention, but according to the everlasting power of God. He has made known by the circulating spirit of his love or son Jesus in the hearts of his people, dictating and governing all those that will follow the mission thereof according to the sense of what the prophet Joel saw that was coming. "And ye shall eat in plenty, and be satisfied,

1. An allusion to Psalms 59: 17 or Psalms 62: 7.

2. I John 4: 2.

3. A misquotation of II Corinthians 13: 5, "Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates."

4. Matthew 7: 7.

5. Romans 8: 9.

and praise the name of the Lord your God, that hath dealt wonderfully with you; and my people shall never be ashamed. And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Isreal, and that I am the Lord your God and none else: and my people shall never be ashamed. And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit." Joel, chapter 2nd, verses 26, 27, 28, 29. And in verse 32 it is found, "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered: for in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the Lord hath said, and in the remnant whom the Lord shall call."

Here we find that all flesh had a way prepared. And this I do firmly believe, that Christ died for all that is obedient to his call, and they that resist bring the penalty before mentioned on themselves. That is their spiritual destruction, and this Jerusalem I believe to be that Jerusalem that John the Divine spoke of: "And He carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God: and her light was like unto the light of a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal." Revelation, chapter 21, verses 10,

11.<sup>1</sup>

On the gates and walls that was great and high, were written the twelve tribes of Israel.<sup>2</sup> Here shows the connection of the law of Israel in preparing a way for the lamb. And the walls had twelve foundations and in them the names of the twelve disciples.<sup>3</sup> Here shows that the dispensation of the gospel was sure and that the apostles' testimonies is to be remembered as witnesses to Christ. That is the foundation of all good to all the fallen race of Adam. "And I saw (said John) no temple: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it." Revelation, chapter 21, verse 22.<sup>4</sup> And verse 23, he says God did light it, "and the Lamb is the light thereof." I beg that the human race would spend a little time that they may wait for the leadings of the spirit of truth and for this holy light to shine in their hearts, and that would teach them to worship God aright. "And (says he) he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the lamb," chapter 22, verse 1st. Also he had a sense of the tree of life that bear twelve manner of fruit and yielded her fruit every month and the leaves of the

1. Rogers partially misquotes verse 11: "And her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal."

2. Revelation 21: 12.

3. Revelation 21: 14 states the twelve foundations bore the names of the apostles, not the disciples.

4. Rogers partially misquotes the first sentence: "And I saw no temple therein..."

tree was for the healing of the nations.<sup>1</sup>

Oh that the doctrine of apostles and saints may stir us up to put our whole dependence on Christ, the tree of life, that always is in his true church for their good. And I beg if not for the advantage of things in this life, you and I may wait on God with an honest heart and pray to Him as in the closet of our heart and soul that he may instruct us in these things, that we may feel the wonder of our souls to be healed by these leaves of love that are from God in love.

Jesus said to Nicodemus, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."<sup>2</sup> How my heart would rejoice if men would try to come to a true sense of these things, everyone for themselves as God shall give ability, and not for the sake of some great man, or some sinister views, or for the sake of being called good, but with the love to God, endeavouring to, by his help, honour and glorify him, as was intended by man's creation. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John, chapter 3, verse 16. Also the next verse says that God sent his son that the world might be saved. Here is a free offer. Will we not receive it then. I fear if we do not, that the woe that was pronounced against Jerusalem outwardly will come against us and we shall

be, every one that is not obedient to the spirit of truth of that unhappy number called in our Lord's parable, goats on the left hand for destruction.<sup>3</sup> But if we attend to the visitation of God's love, I hope we may be like those that was called sheep on the right hand that was to have everlasting life.

So I say again, may we consider these things before it is too late; that as Christ freely resigned to do his Father's will, being willing to follow the dictates of that good spirit that his Father had prepared for his support through his pilgrimage in the tabernacle in this life, and thereby enabled him to suffer all things for the good of men. For had it not been for man's transgression, there would not have been need of Christ's suffering. And if we would attend to the good spirit that Christ has prepared for to lead his disciples into all truth, we shall be able, through his assistance to overcome all our spiritual enemies and to inherit eternal life. And the way to come to this enjoyment is Christ, for he says he is the way, the truth, and the life.<sup>4</sup> Then we shall receive our righteous reward according to our measure as He also was righteous and received the rule of the kingdom prepared for him by God his Father, both being one in spirit. But Christ speaking after the manner of men had a body prepared to do his Father's will and to show the circulating stream of love from God to man whereby I hope all will be

1. Revelation 22: 2.

2. John 3: 3.

3. Matthew 25: 32-33.

4. John 14: 6.

encouraged to shun all manner of evil communication and all the ways of sin that come by the serpent's spirit.

And if we are truly redeemed by the blood of Christ, then when time shall be here no longer, we shall enter into the kingdom prepared by Christ for all his faithful followers that has fully followed the spirit of truth.

But now beloved to whom this shall come, let thy name to religion be what it may. I beg thee to consider the spirit of truth cannot lead to a lie, for all lies is from the serpent, though there is many hypocrites that pretend to be led by the true spirit. But they are like some we read of that was compared to whited sepulchres, the outside appearing beautiful but the inside being full of dead men's bodies.<sup>1</sup> Even the Pharisees that was some of the greatest instruments of our Lord being crucified, because he kept to the spirit of truth and fulfilled his Father's will concerning all ordinances that the scripture and the prophets bore witness to, and through obedience prepared a way for men to worship God aright, thereby making an atonement for sin as Adam through transgression fell and thereby brought sin, so he by obedience made a way for men's restoration. And as the Jews for a season served God by types (though therein was some lively emblems of the day that was to come) so when Christ came he followed the good spirit, not having it given to him by

1. Matthew 23: 27.

measure. But God poured it out on his son in a plentiful manner and made him the way for all Adam's posterity to come again to happiness.

Thus the woman of Samaria had a sense of in a small degree when she saith, "I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ: when he is come, he will tell us all things." John, chapter 4th, verse 25. Then Christ answered, "I that speak with thee, am he," verse 26. And verses 23 and 24, he described the way of worship, saying, "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

Then how necessary is it for all that worship to wait for the spirit of truth that they may be the true worshippers of God.

I wish to have all come to a knowledge of these things, both old and young. May kings learn these things; for them, they will be made able by the true spirit to rule their kingdom in a godly manner. And when time shall be here no longer with them, they will receive crowns of glory and their souls always inherit eternal life in joy and love. How much better would that be than to spend their time here after the corrupt nature that came from the serpent and then witness both the serpent's being cursed, and themselves to have a share of his punishment, even as far as they have been partak-

ers of his spirit. O, that [*governors*] princes and governors may learn the true motion of the spirit of truth as God giveth and not men, so that discerning of the truth may not be hid from their eyes, that they may be able by the spirit of truth to accommodate such laws as shall be most for God's glory and for the good of all men.

Also I desire magistrates and all under officers of all ranks with judges may attend to the spirit of truth, so that none may be deceived, but that all may give true judgment without deceit. And then I believe Christ would be their friend and they would be enabled thereby to worship God aright and answer the end of their creation that ought to be to the honour of God. And a desire is fresh in my mind for all common people both poor and rich that we may give up to be led by the spirit of truth. And then we shall be able to worship God aright and serve in governments to the honour of our fellow citizens, and in the end, enter in at the straight gate and narrow way that leads to life or the city, new and heavenly Jerusalem.

O, that all parents would learn more and more the motion of this spirit of truth so that they may know how to be good stewards over their own houses and learn their children to serve the Lord while young. And set them good examples in all their undertakings, that after death their good name may be as a precious memorial forever, and they receive the praise of "Well done", and enter

into that inestimable joy that the righteous is sure to find after death.

O, children, I have a word to you in love. May it be your happy lot while you are young to attend to the leadings of the spirit of truth that you may be of that happy number spoken of by our Lord. So "for little children to come unto me and forbid them not."<sup>1</sup> Now you little ones, if you will attend to that spirit, it will lead you to be moderate in speech, but quick to hear, and not to lie for that is from the devil; not to quarrel and fight for that is from our lusts and we shall have to repent of such things. Nor will you, my children, be persuaded to steal or be sassy or any thing that is bad to old people if you attend to the good spirit. For this doth not lead to laziness or any bad thing. But if you will attend to the good spirit that comes from God, it will lead you into all good practices. It will make you love father and mother and have a just respect for all your brothers and sisters, honouring old people with due obedience. And it will make you wise unto salvation through Christ our Lord. And then you will witness your minds to be most engaged to serve the Lord and to become heirs of his kingdom, and the pleasure that others seem to enjoy in bad conduct will appear odorous in your eyes, but will witness a much greater joy at times to flow through your minds. Then will you know what is meant by waiting on the Lord to renew our strength and witness Jesus to

1. Matthew 19: 14.

redeem you from the curse of corruption that comes on all disobedient that was or is not begotten by his spirit.

It is said of Christ "And though they found no cause of death in him, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain," Acts, chapter 13th, verse 28th. "But God raised him from the dead," verse 30. "And he was seen many days after of them which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses to the people," Verse 31st. "He, whom God raised again, saw no corruption," verse 37th. There was a saying by the apostles to some, "Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins," verse 38th.<sup>1</sup> And verse 39, it is said "And by him all that believe are justified." Now if any believe in the true spirit of Christ and attend to the guiding of the same, they will be justified by him the way that God has prepared and not man to save the human race without any partiality, only that we should believe in him and be obedient to his spirit as he was to his Father. I mean according to our measures or abilities that God has given us to serve him. For I believe all that will give up to serve the Lord according to the best of their understanding will be favoured to do by the help of Christ as much as God requires of them. And if we do not attend to the spirit of Christ, all any can do will not help them in the last day

1. Rogers partially misquotes this verse: "Be it known unto you, therefore..."

when time shall be with us no longer. For Christ said to his followers while in that prepared body to do his Father's will: "Without me ye can do nothing,"<sup>2</sup> and also said that he would send the spirit of truth that should lead into all truth.

No my beloved children may it be your happy lot to experience the true operation of this spirit that reveals itself in the mind, sometimes with a tender feeling, other times it makes children love father and mother, brothers and sisters, neighbours, playmates, and all others as God's creations, not for the wicked deeds of any, but as the works of God. And sometimes I have witnessed a love from this spirit to arise that made me love God for all his works for creating and supporting all the best of both the wilderness and on plantations, and the sea and all that is therein, and sun, moon and stars was brought to my mind, yea, even the sense of that spirit would carry my mind through death to see a degree of that joy through belief that is after death among those that has entered into the heavenly Jerusalem or a place prepared by God for the richest. And I have often the thought if people would follow good morals it would be better times on earth and God would not pour down His judgements on the nations. I feel a desire to all men that they may do that that will bring peace to their minds in this life and cause at last that they may enter into the joys of their lord and saviour Jesus Christ that was dead

2. John 15:5.

and is alive and liveth forever and ever. And then shall they know Jeremiah's words to be true. "Behold the Lord God will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him. He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: He shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young." Isaiah, chapter 40, verse 10, 11. And the nothingness of all is showed by that worthy prophet, verse 15: "Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance: behold he taketh up the isles as a very little thing." And verse 17, "All nations before him are as nothing; and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity." This last verse seemed to be as if it was spoken to discourage the people in that day from putting their dependence in anything but God for it seems as if they had offered to idols.

May everyone put away the idol of their own heart and house and see that there is nothing that we reverence more than God, for the prophet said in the 18th verse of the same chapter : "To whom will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him?" And verses 26, 27, 28: "Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number: he calleth them all by names by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power; not one faileth. Why sayest thou O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My way is

hid from the Lord, and my judgement is passed over from my God? Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? There is no searching of his understanding." Then: "Keep silent before me, O islands; and let the people renew their strength: let them come near; then let them speak: let us come near together to judgement," chapter 41, verse 1. Also the same prophet had a sense of Christ that was to come and of his spirit that I have called, to give my idea of it, the spirit of truth, where he says, "Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgement unto truth. He shall not fall nor be discouraged, till he have set judgement in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law," chapter 42, verses 1, 2, 3, 4.

The same prophet having a sense of the gospel day and of the destruction of the Babylonish sins saith: "But now thus saith the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel, Fear not: for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name; thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and

through the rivers, they shall not overflow, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." For I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Israel, thy saviour: I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back; bring my sons from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth," chapter 43rd, verse 1, 2, 3, 5, 6. And verse 14: "Thus saith the Lord, your redeemer, the holy one of Israel; For your sake I have sent to Babylon, and have brought down all their nobles, and the Chaldeans, whose cry is in the ships." And many other sayings by the prophets I find that was to encourage all that is of the true and spiritual Israel, reproving for all sins that is out of the line of the truth; and I believe ought to be for the encouragement of those that has been redeemed from sin.

I believe our warfare to be spiritual and not carnal, but mighty in power. And if we truly are obedient to the spiritual power no doubt God will be our friend. And if he is with us, who can be against us? O that nations may not seek the destruction of one another as we have accounts of heretofore. My desire is that they may seek one another's goods, that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the earth as the waters cover the sea and that Christ may rule in his church with his good spirit who came as he says, not to destroy men's lives but to save, and

may we learn when we are reviled to not revile again and to do good for evil, agreeable to Christ's command that even the true brethren may be willing to wash one another's feet if required.<sup>1</sup>

Solomon saith some things that is profitable for our instruction as inhabitants of the earth. "The rich and the poor meet together: the Lord is the maker of them all," Proverbs, chapter 22nd, verse 2nd. And verse 3rd, "A prudent man foreseeeth the evil, and hideth himself; but the simple pass on, and are punished." Verse 4th, "By humility and the fear of the Lord are riches, and honour, and life."

May thousands and tens of thousands come to witness the true spiritual riches that come in this way and feel even that life carries beyond death. Who so keepeth his mouth and his tongue (as he ought to) keepeth his soul from troubles. A wicked man hardeneth his face, but as for the upright he directeth his way with a forward man. Thou shalt not go lest thou learn his ways and get a snare to thy soul. Bow down thine ear and hear the words of the wise and apply thine heart unto knowledge that thy trust may be in the Lord.

Rob not the poor, neither oppress the afflicted, for the Lord will plead their cause who hath woe; who hath sorrow; who hath contention; who hath babbling; who hath wounds without cause;<sup>2</sup> who hath redness of

1. John 13: 14.

2. A paraphrase of Proverbs 22: 22-29.

eyes they that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine. Fret not thyself at evil men. Also, I add as my mind - it is best for all to stand against all manner of evil. Judge not any without proof. Join not with a stranger too soon, nor make too great dependence on thy friend, but be sure and do thy part faithfully. Show a liar, prove a preacher, and if thou preach to others let not thy example be contrary to thy words. Wait on God to know thy duty and never ask of man that thou ought to learn of God. The sea is deep and so is sin, and he that falleth into either wanteth help. As the sun lighteth the firmament, so doth the spirit of truth, the soul of the just. The Lord is good to his people but the wicked will have trouble of spirit.

And I think proper here to make some remarks. I have seen some men that was naturally very simple, but being concerned for good, they became condescending to the advice of their friends till they was called by strangers wise. And I have seen some that was naturally men of God, understanding and taking a turn to be conceited. They tampered so much with everything that they soon was called conceited fools, and I though justly so, for that wisdom that God had given was made a foolish use of.

Some others I have seen that was religious and I believe wanted that that was right to take place, but by doing so much in their own strength, they became burdensome, stood in the way of others, and wounded

themselves and some of their friends. I have seen them that would have been called wise, if they had not been caught in a few foolish and wicked acts. Also I have seen some that loved the praise of men so that they lost the favour of God. Yea and on the other hand some that loved the ways of God so that they gained the favour of wicked men. Some also I have seen that almost at all times could tell of some great good that they had done or told others or have been instrumental in bringing to pass. But it was much easier to hear of their good deeds than to see them and I have thought that this sprung from conceit that makes them believe they was better than they are. And I have seen when they was spoke to, that they lost the benefit of a friends' advice for fear they could not say enough.

There is in the world many sorts of men and women, many sects and denominations, but there is only one God that is real. And it is these out of all the world that will be found wise in His sight that acts according to the best of their abilities, let it be much or little. I mean they that attend to the leading of His spirit by and through the spirit of His son Jesus Christ. For all nations may truly call Him blessed. He is the good shepherd that laid down his life for His sheep and when He puts them forth, He goeth before them. And He teaches everyone according to the abilities that he gives and requires nothing unreasonable of neither man, woman, nor child.

I pray that God may bring men and women into that way that is so much better in this world as an hundredfold and in the end life everlasting. Oh reverence the majesty of the omnipotent, and tempt not his anger, lest thou be destroyed. The providence of God is over all His works. To Him who is supreme belongeth worship and adoration, thanksgiving and praise. Therefore praise the Lord in spirit and in silence wait with meditations on His goodness. Bow down thyself in humble submission and be obedient to His sovereign directions. He is the excellency of all goodness. If we lift up our eye to the heavens, His glory shineth forth. If we cast our eye on the earth, it is full of His goodness. Winds, mountains, valleys, rivers, and the great waters resound His praise.

But oh man! He hath distinguished thee with grace, peculiarly favoured thee, and exalted thy station above all creatures. He hath filled thee with abilities to rule the globe. Thy language is above the animal race. Be thou helpful in society. Thou art exalted with the powers of meditation. Then contemplate and adore His inimitable perfection.

The Lord is just and righteous and will judge all with equity and truth. Shall not the wicked tremble. Oh think not, bold man, because thy punishment is delayed the arm of the Lord is weakened or that He is deceived. His eye pierceth the secrets of every heart. He respecteth not the stations of

men, neither mindeth He their flatterings. Everyone is judged according as their works shall be, whether they be good or whether they be evil.

Oh fear the Lord all the days of thy life and walk in the paths he has opened to thee. Let prudence admonish thee, let temperance restrain thee, let justice guide thy hand, benevolence warm thy heart, [*justice guide thy hand,*] and the spirit of truth inspire thee with all religious devotions. These shall give thee happiness in thy present state and bring thee to the mentions of eternal felicity in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Saviour, who died the death of the cross for our sakes.

Let the preachers be pure in heart and open the truth as God requires, minding well that they tell others nothing concerning the gospel of truth but what they have fully understood by the grace of God as hath been showed them in the experience of their own conversion. And that do in the love of God, adorning your testimonies with [*with*] the practice of humility and meekness. For [*for*] the humble and meek God will teach of His ways and guide in judgement. And when any meet to worship God, bow down in thy mind with prayers in thy own heart that God by the Holy Ghost may still all thy natural thoughts and that thy heart maybe so fully cleansed by His good spirit that it is in a fit state for the spirit of truth to tabernacle in. And when thou (whoever thou art) hears His small still voice in thy own heart, be

still till thou art enabled to see thy duty that the Lord requires of thee. Then be faithful to do all and no more. But if thy mind is wandering and God doth not speak peace to thy soul, take this as a language to rebuke thee. And when thou goeth away be sure and mend thy doings and not forsake coming to the place of worship. For God is not slack as some count slackness but waiteth long to show himself gracious.

that He is God.

Seek and thou shall find if thou seeketh right. Knock and it shall be opened, if thou art given up to wait God's time. For God will be waited for. Therefore saith one of old, O ye lands, wait on the Lord. Be ye still saith my soul and know that the Lord is God. Mind nothing that any preacher sayest, only what the spirit of truth opens to thy understanding. Let the rule of every man's faith be that which he has found by experience to be truth, as made known by the spirit of truth either immediately or instrumentally.

And I heartily advise all to never uphold anything but that God by the spirit of His power has [*has*] showed thee is right, and be as careful to never condemn anything that thou hast not seen in the light of God's truth to be wrong. But if thou art at a stand, be still and wait for the seal to be opened as there was silence in heaven for half an hour, so there ought to be in us, till the Lord please by His own spirit to make known to us our respective duties. Therefore, let all flesh be silent before the Lord and know

In the seventh month at a meeting of conference by Friends in Ferrisburg, it was thought best that some should attend the Preparative Meeting at Danby, 70 miles from here, and assist about answering our queries, and then go to Monthly Meeting at Saratoga, 100 miles from here.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly Joseph Hoag and I did attend to good satisfaction, and we visited several small meetings, our Friend Joseph being generally favored with large testimonies and to good satisfaction. Saratoga, on the west side of the North or Hudson River, we went to where a girl of 13 years had requested Friends' care. At another place we saw a letter she sent to her sister, a copy of which is as follows:

Saratoga, 6th of 7 Mo. 1790.

Dear Sister, Nancy Mead

I take this opportunity to write to thee to acquaint thee that we are all as well as we commonly be. And I think it my duty to write my advice to thee, and I advise thee to seek after the Lord in the days of thy youth, for early seekers the Lord

1. Danby Preparative Meeting, 10<sup>th</sup> Mo. 3, 1790, received the request from "friends at faresburg" for a meeting for worship, and forwarded for the consideration of Saratoga Monthly Meeting. Danby also proposed Jacob Winn and Abraham Rogers as overseers for the proposed new meeting.

loves; and He said, - They that knock, the door shall be opened unto them. And what a happy situation is this for us to be in; and if everyone would be faithful, we might all enjoy this happy situation. O my dear sister, thou dost not know the great comfort that I have had within a week or two. It is more than tongue can express, it seems as though my God was all the time before my eyes, and I endeavor to give daily thanks unto Him for the mercies He has bestowed upon me. Dear Sister, I should be very glad if thou would let these few lines have a place in thy mind, for in much love I write them, and remain

Thy affectionate sisterx  
Fanny Mead.

This postscript was to the letter, viz:

This letter must be wrote  
And to thy sister must be sent:  
Then God will thee His mercy show,  
And thou'll enjoy great things below.

This verse came into my mind, said she.

I have settled a number of outward matters, but not all. We found Friends generally well, though we heard a few months ago that the Lord visited many in America with sickness. In the city of New York, we

hear there were a hundred buried in a day. We lately hear of several hail-storms with much damage in some places, also violent thunder in some places. I find hard work to stand against the enemy but the Lord helps me at times. May all trust in His power and in the love of His Son Jesus Christ that endures forever.

About two weeks after I got home I was taken sick. Soon after my wife was taken down, and soon after five children; we continued sick till cold weather, and underwent much, for we could not get help, there were so many sick in this place. Joseph Hoag was sick, Elijah Hoag was sick and got very much scalded. Many of us were a little shattered in our senses, having much headache and violent fever, with other pains made us very low and weak.

Soon after, I got well I went to a place called Quaker Hill<sup>1</sup> in New York State, to settle a debt that I did owe. I found Friends generally well where I went. From there I went to the Nine Partners, to see my wife's relations. Then I put on so fast as to get to our Monthly Meeting at Danby, where Peter Cronkite, one of my neighbours that had requested to come among Friends, was received. Now and then I went home, found

1. Quaker Hill was a Preparative Meeting of Oblong Monthly Meeting. The hamlet is located 28 miles east of Fishkill, on the eastern margin of the town of Pawling (just to the south of the Nine Partners tract), on the border between New York and Connecticut. See Wilson, Warren H. Quaker Hill: A Sociological Study (New York, 1907; reprinted, Akin Hall Association, 1987).

all as well as common. I rode out and in about 580 miles. My wife and I contrived to go to the next Monthly Meeting at Saratoga, 100 miles, that is to be held the third fifth day in the first month of the year 1791. This Monthly Meeting is adjourned twice a year to Danby, about 70 miles from where we live. We keep up our monthly conference in this place yet.<sup>2</sup> While I was gone a Friend, in Hinesburg, Cornelius Holbert, lost his wife.<sup>3</sup> He lives about 12 miles from me. Friends having a meeting at her burial, a while after, I heard that the inhabitants of that town said Joseph Hoag did preach the greatest sermon that was ever preached in that town. I suppose he was much favoured with the Lord's presence.

My wife and I attended the Preparative Meeting and the aforesaid Monthly Meeting at Saratoga. At this Meeting the concern that had been on my mind about the aforementioned was opened and a lay committee nominated to have a conference on that subject with those Friends that were concerned on that account.<sup>4</sup> For there appeared

2. Rogers is here referring to the indulged Meeting for Worship.

3. Cornelius Holbert of Hinesburg, Chittenden County, Vermont, was received by Saratoga Monthly Meeting on 5 Month 17, 1790. The spelling of his last name varies in Rogers' journal and in meeting records. W.S. Rann, History of Chittenden County, Vermont (Syracuse, 1886), p. 598, gives the spelling of his last name as "Hulbert."

4. Joseph Hoag recorded the source of their objections to a settled Preparative Meeting as follows: "I go back to the time of our becoming thoughtful of having a Preparative Meeting. This also met with strong opposition, some members openly declared

a number that were uneasy with their present form in this state. We got home well, found all as well as common, having good satisfaction with our visit, and the next Meeting had a solid conference on the subject foresaid and sent to the Preparative Meeting that they felt a close connection with their brethren on that account and advised us to be tender of our concern. The Monthly Meeting for the 3 m. I went to and Abraham Rogers with me. We carried a request for a Meeting sent by Friends nigh where I lived.<sup>1</sup> The Monthly Meeting appointed a committee to visit us and appointed Jacob Winn and Abraham Rogers for men and Phoebe Hoag and Margaret Corly for women overseers. This way although we have no Meeting at present, I had a good visit and got home well on the 22nd day of the 3rd month 1791.

against it, that discipline always promoted contention, and did more hurt than good; which backened [sic] the work for a while, until Friends abroad grew uneasy; consequently the opposition ceased. But one member told me if we obtained meetings for discipline I should never live to see the day that Friends would live peaceably and happy together." Journal of the Life of Joseph Hoag (Auburn, Knapp & Peck, 1861), 76.

1. Prior to 1791, Friends in Ferrisburg were part of Danby Preparative Meeting. The minutes of Danby Preparative Meeting for 9 Month 10, 1789, in answering the "queries" about the religious condition of the meeting and its members, state that the meeting was not able to answer on behalf of "friends to the northward they living at such a distance from 70 to 100 miles." At the preparative meeting held 3 Month 10, 1791, Danby recorded receiving a request for establishing a meeting at Ferrisburg which it passed on to Saratoga Monthly Meeting. The Monthly Meeting acted on the request at its meeting held 3 Month 17, 1791, by appointing a committee to visit Friends in Ferrisburg.

But here you may see, for I speak to all as I had gave up to serve the Lord in good earnest, and would no longer be drawn off from my duty than the devil turned against me in war. For he found none of his old baits would do as he is the God of this world. He now set the instruments of this world to be against me and as I have said I have been in business. There came a debt against me while I was gone and levelled on my horses, sheep and cows. This when I came home drew my closest attention, for I have a wife and 8 children, and it seemed as if all I had would be gone, for some strove to take every advantage. Though on consideration, I soon concluded to go to New York. So I leave my business till my return.

But here follows a few lines to my wife and children as advice in love:

Behave with prudence while thou dost live,  
 And praise to our Creator always give;  
 Thou art my wife, my loving friend  
 I beg thee on God almighty wholly to  
 depend.  
 Love me as I love thee above all things  
 below  
 Give due returns to God, whose love doth  
 often flow.  
 And we have felt it as a crystal stream;  
 At times, to wash away our guilt and make  
 us clean.  
 I beg to keep humble in all thy ways,  
 As man respect thy friend, but God must

have the praise.  
 But as to worldly matters that do confuse  
 the mind;  
 Be prudent, honest, to the Lord fully  
 resigned.  
 I see my misses many ways,  
 And for that sight I give my God the praise.  
 I beg that from my mind, he may not go,  
 And then shall end in peace and miss all  
 woe.  
 And as the sun the firmament doth light,  
 So Christ in Spirit doth shine bright.  
 And as our children He hath given,  
 I pray they may be taught to serve the God  
 of Heaven.  
 Obadiah, my eldest child,  
 Pray shun the way to Hell, that way so wild;  
 Enter in at the straight gate and the narrow  
 way.  
 Mind inward light that leads to life without  
 delay.  
 Hannah, my second, I thee advise,  
 To serve the Lord that rules above the skies.  
 Be wise according to thy kind,  
 Never let a flattering man ensnare thy mind.  
 O James, my third, I'm tender while I write,  
 I beg thee in the Lord's teachings to delight.  
 Follow the ways of virtue, and if then  
 Thou die, thy soul will dwell with spirits of  
 just men.  
 Mary, my fourth, I beg thee  
 To hear thy mother as well as me;  
 Be careful of thy virgin days,  
 And with clean hands thy maker praise.  
 Lydia, my fifth, as thy age doth increase

Do thou attend to that which to thy mind  
 brings peace.  
 Serve God, who made us all,  
 And He will save thee though thou art so  
 small.  
 Sarah, my sixth, although thou art young,  
 Learn wisdom when years doth come.  
 Them that for thy good advise, herein love.  
 When old, the youth seek thee, their way to  
 advise.  
 Remember God, thy happiness relies.  
 Timothy, my seventh, that bears my name  
 I love the Lord, O that thou mayst love the  
 same.  
 And to His power I do thee recommend.  
 If thou art faithful, He will be thy everlast-  
 ing Friend.  
 Elizabeth, my eighth, that seeks the breast,  
 For thee my spirit breathes among the rest.  
 I pray the Lord to guide thy ways,  
 And make thee serve Him, all His mercies  
 praise.

§

The 22nd day of the fourth month, 1791,  
 I got home. I had ridden out and in about  
 700 miles, sold some land, answered my  
 debts that crowded - had as good success as  
 could be expected. There was an opposition  
 about setting negroes at liberty that had  
 been free by gift or birth.<sup>1</sup> In New York

1. Vermont had abolished slavery in 1777. New  
 York state lagged somewhat behind. It prohibited the  
 import and export of slaves, and allowed owners to  
 manumit their slaves without posting a bond in 1788.

there was a negro man that was put on board a sloop handcuffed. I seen some of his papers, sent a letter to these people. I have not had an answer how it turned. I sold my horse in New York and came up the river by water. Here are a few lines that I wrote coming home, viz, from New York the 11 of the 4 m 1791:

Aboard of Peter Dox,<sup>1</sup> I set off to come home  
At Albany Pier, the sloop had lay,  
And with a pleasant breeze we sailed away.  
Charles Henry Hinds being on board,  
Often spoke about the things of God.  
Our rising to the stars and sea did ascend,  
Concluded God rules all things as well as man.  
The planets, wind, heaven, land and sea,  
Were allowed to teach us virtue and God's subjects to be.  
God created man, after his image He made him,  
Put him in paradise, and made him king,  
Of all the new created world below.  
As God the animals brought, names from his mouth did flow.  
But yet we do firmly believe  
That man first fell by minding Eve.  
And as the serpent did her beguile,  
God cursed Satan and on the earth man was to toil.

The opposition Rogers notes would have been to this legislation. See Barbour et al, [Crosscurrents](#), 68-9.

1. Peter Dox (1742-1831) was an Albany, NY, skipper.

In the side of the woman man was to trust,  
Woman brought forth Christ for to save us.  
Ah, say my soul, let us all be joined  
To love and serve the Lord that is so kind.  
Now I turn to our voyage again.  
We had a storm that is past, pleasant weather came.  
The raging wind and storm doth cease  
The sun shines forth, that fills our hearts with peace.  
God's love with everything appear.  
In the greatest danger He is near,  
And as the sun clouds doth break through,  
Christ His Son doth her mercy show  
To those that on His name doth wait  
Like Mordecai at the great King's gate.<sup>2</sup>  
We now pass on with peace,  
Praying that sin may cease.  
God's holy will be done  
And that men may love His Son.  
Jesus says let him that will my disciple be,  
Take up his daily cross and follow me.  
Yea, friends, let us consent  
To follow Him that from His bosom was sent.  
Whether a palace or a cave,  
Praises to His name be gave.  
My heart doth praise His name on high,  
Who for sinners on a tree did die.  
He made the earth, stars and sea,  
The heavens, angels and all that in them be.  
Come let us bow and wait for Him  
To lead us by His good spirit in everything.

2. Esther 2 & 3.

Charles Henry Hinds before mentioned was a young man from Prussia in Germany, about 15 years ago he says, and did appear very desirous to know something further than he had known about religion, and was very attentive to some things that I spoke.

The committee appointed to visit us on account of a meeting came and made returns to the Monthly Meeting that was held at Danby, this month being the 6th month. And Friends allowed us a meeting for three months, one a week on 5th day. Only the week that the Monthly Meeting is, they appointed a committee to attend with us. Stephen Rogers and Isaac Wilbur came to attend with us at our first Meeting that was on 5th day of the week and the 23rd day of the 6 m. in year 1791. This Meeting appeared to be held orderly and to general satisfaction. The next first day, Joseph Hoag appointed a meeting at Joseph Tobias', about seven or eight miles from here. That was a favoured meeting.

Now I seem to have a spell of dark, heavy temptations and trials. I sometimes cry in my spirit "O Lord Jesus save me from that roaring lion, the Devil, who is trying continually to destroy my poor soul. His temptations are so many I cannot stand against them without the assistance of Thy good spirit." And as I do thus breathe sometimes after a long and tedious combat with Satan, I find my feet to be taken out of the miry clay. Yea, when I have went down in the depths of my mind as the armies of

Israel did in the bottom of Jordan, so I find that that doth bring up stores of memorials.<sup>1</sup>

And I am mad to lament my past misses, and to take good care at the time present.

There has been some received hereaway by request - John Huff,<sup>2</sup> Peter Cronkite,<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Chase<sup>4</sup> wife of Abraham Chase, Rachel Cronkite received by acknowledgement,<sup>5</sup> and Rebecca Smith.<sup>6</sup> And as I have had many ups and downs, I may say again, whenever I have followed the spirit of truth I have found the help of the Lord.

The before mentioned journey I engaged to carry down some more horses to pay another debt. And the 15 day of the 7 m. 1791, I set off with a drove of horses to pay some debts and attended at Danby with

1. Joshua 4.

2. John Huff was the husband of Sarah Wilde Rogers' sister Elizabeth. He was received by Saratoga Monthly Meeting 5 Month 16, 1791.

3. Peter Cronkite was received as a member by Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 10 Month 22, 1790; his wife Rachel Cronkhite, was received by Saratoga Monthly Meeting on 5 Month 26, 1791, with a certificate from Nine Partners. Rogers' statement that Rachel made an "acknowledgement" likely refers to her marrying Peter Cronkite before he became a Friend.

4. Elizabeth Chase was received 1 Month 20, 1791.

5. Quakers who married non-Quakers without the prior approval of their Monthly Meeting would be "disowned", or loose their membership. They might later re-apply by publicly "acknowledging" their error to the Meeting. Such requests for re-admission were most successful if the non-Quaker spouse simultaneously applied for membership - as is the case here with Rachel and Peter Cronkite.

6. Rebecca Smith was received by Saratoga Monthly Meeting on 5 Month 26, 1791, after she made an acknowledgement, dated Monkton, 3 Month 2, 1790, for her errors in marrying out of meeting and departing from plainness.

Joseph Hoag our Preparative Meeting and our Monthly Meeting at Saratoga and did turn my horses to pretty good advantage and did attend the Quarterly Meeting at the Purchase.<sup>1</sup> Hugh Judge<sup>2</sup> was there that had been travelling from Pennsylvania State to the eastward about a year and six months, then I came to the Great Nine Partners and had a favourable opportunity among Friends and among my wife's relations and did attend our Quarterly Meeting. From this Meeting I hurried home, was gone seven weeks and rode about 700 miles - found my wife and children well as common, but our neighbour Abraham Chase was dead. His widow's daughter Anna was dead also, and our nigh neighbour Preserved Dakins lost his oldest son James. He died about the time I set off.

One of my wife's brothers, John Wilde, was very sick and the doctor gave him some psychic and set him to purging. So for a

number of days and nights, so that we did not expect his life, it came in my mind that white oak that is the inside, steeped and make a strong liquor would stop the purging. I mentioned it but the young man was afraid to take anything that the doctor did not give and so was those that waited on him. When the doctor came, I told him my confidence in the white oak bark. Accordingly, he concluded with me and I was to tend on him and I did, and in twenty four hours the juice of white oak bark with alum clay stopped his purging. He had got so to he did all he did under him for many days and could not speak, only whisper. This I believe to be the working of the Lord and he soon got so as to walk.

In the ninth month our Meeting was out.<sup>3</sup> We requested again. Our friend Hugh Judge came here to see us. He had five meetings about here to good satisfaction.<sup>4</sup> The power of the Lord was with him. Anna Willis<sup>5</sup> and her son from Long Island came here with some other Friends, by appointment from our Yearly Meeting to enquire

1. Harrison's Purchase, in Westchester County, just north of New York City. A Monthly Meeting had been established there in 1725. At this time, Purchase Quarterly Meeting included most Monthly Meetings in the Hudson Valley. See Barbour et al, Crosscurrents, 27-30.

2. Hugh Judge (1750?-1834) was the son of Irish Roman Catholics who had settled in Philadelphia. He became a Friend while a young man, and was eventually recognized as a minister. He travelled widely in the ministry, including trips to Upper Canada in 1799-1800, and 1828, and to Vermont in 1791. He was an ardent supporter of Elias Hicks; he and his son-in-law, Nicholas Brown of Pickering, played a pivotal role in the 1828 separation in New York Yearly Meeting. See Dorland, Quakers, 128-30, 148, and Judge, Hugh Memoirs and Journal (Philadelphia, 1841) p. 228 where he mentions attending Purchase Quarterly Meeting at this time.

3. The Ferrisburg Meeting had been allowed for three months to determine its feasibility. Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 9 Month 15, 1791, approved the continuation of the allowed meeting at Ferrisburg for another nine months.

4. Judge records that he held Meetings for Worship in Danby, Queensbury, Monkton, Stillwater, and Strafford (Memoirs and Journal of Hugh Judge (Byberry, Pa., John & Isaac Comly, 1841) pp. 229-30).

5. Probably Anne Seaman Willis (1747-1828), wife of Fry Willis, from Jericho, Long Island with son Thomas (b 1771). For Anne Willis, see NYYM Memorials, 1829, 35-48.

into poor Friends' situation and did help some by giving them money and gave encouragement of some more. And by these Friends and our Friends Elijah Hoag and Richard Burling we sent a request for a Meeting again.

At the Nine Partners I got a copy of some verses that a young Negro that when fourteen years old wrote and sent to his master in Carolina. Two Friends, women that was travelling on the account of the ministry from Ireland, brought them to the aforesaid place. Their names were Mary Ridgeway and Jane Watson.<sup>1</sup> That is as follows. Viz:

Lord, if Thou doth with equal eye  
See all the sons of Adam die,  
Why dost thou hide Thy face from slaves  
Consigned by fate to serve the knaves?  
Stolen or sold in Africa,  
Imported to America,  
Like hogs and sheep at market sold,  
To stem the heat and brook the cold,

3. Mary Ridgeway and Jane Watson were two of a number of Evangelical Friends from Britain who travelled throughout North America in the ministry. They were evidently displeased with the theological laxity of the American Meetings. During the contentious New York Yearly Meeting of 1828 in which Orthodox and Hicksite Friends finally parted company, Daniel Haviland, a New York minister, recalled that these women had enquired of him during the Yearly Meeting of 1793, who a speaker was. That speaker, Elias Hicks, will "some day or other be a troubler in Israel" they said. See "Journal of the Life, Labours and Travels of Thomas Shillitoe, in the Service of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" *Friends Library* Vol. III (Philadelphia, Joseph Rakestraw, 1839), 429.

To work all day and half the night,  
And rise before the morning light,  
Sustain the lash, endure the pain,  
Exposed to storms of snow and rain,  
Pinched both with hunger and with cold,  
And if we beg we meet a scold.  
And after all the tedious round,  
At night to stretch upon the ground,  
Has Heaven decreed that Negroes must  
By cruel men be ever cursed?  
Forever drag the galling chain,  
And never enjoy themselves as men?  
When will Jehovah hear our cries?  
When will the sun of freedom rise?  
When will a Moses for us stand,  
And free us all from a Pharaoh's hand?  
Though our skin be as black as jet,  
Our hair be curled and noses flat,  
Must we for this no freedom have,  
Until we find it in the grave?

Some called this a Negro prayer.<sup>2</sup>

Also I got a copy of a letter that was sent by some people in France to a friend

4. The "Negro's Prayer" appears to have been first published in the Virginia *Independent Chronicle*, November 29, 1789, followed by an appearance in the *Gazette of the United States* (New York City), December 12, 1789. Neither the *Independent Chronicle* or *Gazette* include any biographical information about the author, and both include a verse preface to the poem not included in Rogers' version. Rogers' text may derive independently from a manuscript copy or from an unrecorded print copy. The poem, with textual variants and additional verses, was later reprinted in *The Life and Adventures of Olaudah Equiano* (New York: Samuel Wood, 1829), the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* (Baltimore), May 1833, p. 109, and the *Liberator* (Boston), April 12, 1839, p. 60.

that was from England, there a business, and did put an advertisement as follows:

Paris, the 24 of February, copied from Lloyd's Evening Post 9 d. the 3 m. 1785.<sup>1</sup>

The precepts of peace and quietness which characterizes the Society of Quakers forbids them from taking any part in wars and does not suffer them to partake of any properties which may arise from such a source. One of these peaceable people was inevitably concerned in some privateers which his partners would fit out during the late war. Notwithstanding all his remonstrances and oppositions and having reserved his part of the prizes has sent his son to this city to endeavour to find out the owners of the vessels taken by the above letters a mark and restore them the part he has received of those prizes. For which purpose he has published the names of all the vessels taken by the privateers fitted out by his father's house and having the owners or agents to apply to Doctor Edward Long Fox, Hotel D'Yorck, rue Jacob, at Paris.<sup>2</sup>

Translation of a letter received by

1. Rogers' version varies slightly from that printed in the newspaper. This and the following item may have been based on a manuscript copy rather than from a printed source.

Doctor Fox in consequence of his advertisement appearing in the French papers, viz.<sup>3</sup>

The Quakers ) the French  
of ) words are Congenies  
) Calvisson the meaning of  
) which we don't yet fully  
) know, but that Calvisson  
to the virtuous ) was the name of him  
Fox ) him who first collected  
) them into a body.

Friend Fox

The testimony which thou hast borne to France of thy inviolate attachment to the

2. The capitalized words in the Lloyd's Evening-Post version reprinted below indicate where Rogers' text varies. "The PRINCIPLES of peace and quietness which characterizes the society of Quakers forbids them from taking any part in wars, and does not suffer them to partake of any PROFITS which may arise from such a source. One of these peaceable people was inevitably concerned in some privateers which his partners would fit out during the late war, notwithstanding [lower case] all his remonstrances and opposition, and having RECEIVED his SHARE of the PROFITS has sent his son to this city to endeavour to find out the owners of the vessels taken by the above letters OF MARQUE and restore them the part he has received of those prizes, for which purpose he has published the names of all the vessels taken by privateers fitted out by his father's house and DESIRES the or THEIR agents to apply to DR. Edward Long Fox, Hotel D'Yorck, rue Jacob, A Paris."

3. A translation of this letter was later printed in Friends Miscellany 8 (1836): 209-12. There are numerous minor variations between Rogers' version and that printed in 1836. Rogers errs in thinking Calvisson was the name of an individual. Congenies and Calvisson are places in southern France. For background on this letter, see Charles Tylor, The Camisards (London, 1893), 441-6, and Rufus Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism (London, 1921), vol. 1,

true principles of Christ, of thy humane and pacific disposition which has inclined thee to do good to thine enemies, has caused the hearts of thy brethren to leap for joy who are thy Friends although sequestered from the world and 150 leagues distant from thee. We are a little flock of about a hundred persons who, being raised to the divine life by our faithful obedience to the Holy Spirit, are united in heart and brotherly love and I am commissioned by them to inform thee how much thy proceedings hath tendered them and what esteem and affection they have felt for thee.

It is not worldly praise that we offer thee for thou hast done no more than obey the voice of the light within. Thy reward is in thine own breast.<sup>1</sup> Those who live after the flesh admire thee and wonder at a measure which they feel themselves incapable of. But as for us whose principles are the same with thine, and who practise spiritual worship, only our minds are all united in approbation of eminent an act of humanity which thou has lately performed in fulfilling this divine precept of Christ - if thine enemy hunger, feed him, and if he thirst, give him to drink, and revenge not yourselves... although thy countryman was the enemy of France, thou and all thy Friends called in derision Quakers, ye have always been remembered by us as brethren, have always been in remembrance with us in our prayers and the same good spirit which has conduct-

ed thee to our country has penetrated our hearts afresh, and excited us afresh to all the good works of which thou has so lately set us an example. Proceed, dear Friend, with undaunted courage and incorruptible zeal, to accomplish the good work which thou hast begun. Let not the numberless vices of a corrupt metropolis corrupt the purity of thy faith. May thou escape victorious from all the snares which many will lay for thy integrity. Consider that in the midst of a corrupt depraved multitude who nearly scrutinize all thy actions with a desire to invalidate that eminent principle which gave birth to thy good deeds and to cast a shade on their luster which has dazzled the eyes of mankind, thou can do nothing unseen by the Supreme Being and as thy actions undergo the closest investigation of slander they will impress beholders with profound respect or sovereign contempt for our religious principles. Perhaps our friend Fox will charge us with presumption for pretending to exhort him in this manner without knowing him, but our minds which are united to thee and are impressed with an apprehension of duty and we render implicit obedience to the call as a sincere testimony of esteem and most tender affection. Thou bears, dear Friend Fox, the name of one of our venerable founders as dear to our hearts as that of William Penn. And we all hope that the spirit which inclined his soul will always direct thy conduct as to render the more respectful amongst men. Thy first testimony

1. See Romans 12:20.

has contributed much to strengthen society. In the first effusion of our minds we are united in a desire to testify to thee the sincere affection that thou hast inspired us with and the love that thou hast been the means of renewing for all our brethren among whom thou will always hold a distinguishable rank. Condescend dear friend to instruct us with thy expert (?) and communicate to us whatever relates to thy happiness<sup>1</sup> in which we shall always be most affectionately interested, although we are here the objects of hatred and contempt both of Protestants and Catholics, we rejoice in being hated and despised for the sake of the name of Christ who foretold such things. Matthew the tenth. We answer their reproach, with blessings and acts of kindness. We give thanks continually for the happy toleration which through the clemency of a merciful prince, the kindness of his ministers hath been long since vouchsafed. We trust that our ready submission to the commands of our sovereign and our respectful conduct towards those whom he hath set over his people, the love we bear our brethren and our peaceable principles which makes us condemn war as the wrath of tigers and lions and the revolt of ancient Protestants as abominable rebellion against the divine will, the principles of Christ, and that obedience which we have always faith-

1. The version in the Friends Miscellany reads, "condescend, dear friend, to communicate what may concern thy welfare, in which we shall always take a most affectionate part."

fully to the sovereign appointed by God. We trust that these considerations will incline this benevolent father of his people to look with an eye of pity and indulgence on his submissive children which love and reverence him and will induce him to desist from informing the little flock of Quakers who live under his government to wound their consciences in drawing lots to bear arms which are so expressively forbidden ever to use. Do good to thine enemies and resist not him that striketh thee, Matthew 5 - 29. Oh worthy friend who has just fulfilled this divine precept, receive fervently this testimony of our love and joy as the emotions of true and sincere heart's desire to do likewise, making daily efforts to imitate thee. All our Friends embrace thee and ardently desire the pleasure of hearing from thee, which they request of thee as a token of sincere friendship. If thou thinks us worthy of an answer, send it to Mr. Maseden, junior sergeant at the post office Nismos.

We wish thee peace and happiness.

Monsieur Junior Benesat.<sup>2</sup>

Now I return to our request in the ninth month and Friends did allow us to have a meeting for seven months, first days and

2. Rogers, or more likely his source for this letter, misread the closing subscription of the letter. In the 1836 copy in Friends Miscellany, the letter ends "direct it to A.M. Majolier, at the post office, Nismes. We all wish thee peace and felicity. Signed, Jourdon Le Compt, Majolier Fils, Margenat De Lord, Benezet."

fifth days. Now we had several very good meetings and the first first day there was Elijah Hoag, Joseph Hoag, and Huldy Hoag<sup>1</sup> and Jacob Winn and myself appear in public. Not long after, Patience Bann, a young woman, did appear. In the tenth month, Joseph Hoag, David Hoag and Sarah Barker went to our Monthly Meeting. John Wilde, the young man beforementioned has got nearly well again. The night I sat up with him, I wrote in a writing book of his on these verses, viz:

In the day of Herod the king,  
Happened a blessed thing,  
Zacharias the worthy priest,  
and Elizabeth was promised increase.  
For God they stood upright,  
In his commands did delight,  
Well stricken they both were in years,  
Yet for the barren God appears.  
The priest according to his turn,  
At God's altar incense went to burn,  
And an angel did appear,  
Give him charge to not fear.  
Thy prayers is heard, the work is done,  
And Elizabeth shall have a son.  
John thou shall him call.  
He shall go before the Lord of all.  
In the sixth month an angel came  
To Mary, Gabriel it was his name.  
Thou shalt conceive in thy womb,  
To have God's Son shall be thy doom.

1. Huldy Hoag is Huldah Hoag (1762-1850), wife of Joseph and an acknowledged Friends minister.

Jesus thou his name shall call  
Forever he shall rule God's people all.  
Then Mary inquired how this could be  
Seeing that a man doth not know me?  
Answer:  
Possible with God this can be;  
Elizabeth shall have a son as well as thee.  
To the Lord she fully was resigned,  
Be it to me according to thy mind.  
[All nations shall be blessed in Jesus' name]  
The promise to Israel's prophets came,  
All people should be blessed in Jesus' name,  
Then the angels aloud did sing,  
Glory, glory to their holy king,  
Salvation for man he came to bring.  
Like others, as in years he grew,  
The works of God he did show.  
He helped the sick maid, the lame to walk,  
Cured the deaf and made the dumb to talk.  
The gospel to the poor was preached,  
His father's law he fully keeps.  
To a mountain he went,  
The people round Him was sent.  
See how the Son of God did cry,  
False Christs shall come and lie.  
Be blessings to the poor he says,  
The humble God will teach his ways,  
The mourners all shall be blest,  
The meek shall live among the rest,  
They that hunger after righteousness,  
The Lord will fill with bliss.  
The merciful the Lord our God did buy;  
For the pure in heart Christ did die.  
Peacemakers God's children be,  
His persecuted will him see

They that for his sake revilings bear  
He will be their God and guard them every-  
where.

Those are like salt that knows  
The Lord to still their foes.  
They in His light should always dwell,  
And shine like a city on a hill.  
They do not seek the truth to hide;  
Fruits show who is their guide.  
Good to others will arise  
By Him that rules above the skies.  
Good works is always right,  
Those only good that is done right.  
Tis right the law he should fulfill,  
Christ came to do his father's will.  
Swear not at all our saviour says,  
Do good and love our enemies.  
Revenge we must not have,  
Be perfect our saviour says.  
In service God Almighty prays  
By Jesus Christ God's blessed Son,  
The saint's perfection is always done,  
His spirit it is our daily bread,  
By that in truth we are only fed.  
Behold not faults in other men,  
When thou dost sin as bad as them.  
Seek and the one's soul shall find.  
Ask, it shall be given, He so kind.  
That thou would have men do to thee,  
Be sure always thyself to be.  
Enter in at the straight gate and narrow way,  
For destruction is found in the broad way.  
We may cry Lord, Lord and be sinners still,  
According to His spirit we must do His will.  
Then let us wait on Him resigned,

That we His spirit may truly find.

Reader, thou may find the substance of a number of the above lines in Christ's sermon on the mountain that begins at first of the fifth chapter of Matthew and continues till the seventh chapter.

Now that Christ came agreeable to the prophets, it is on my mind to mention one place amongst many more that must be mentioned if time would permit. "He is despised and rejected of men; a man, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from Him; He was despised, and we esteemed Him not. Surely He hath borne our grief, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem Him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted. But He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon Him; and with His stripes we are all healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and He was afflicted, yet He opened not His mouth; He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth. He was taken from the prison and from judgement: and who shall declare His generation? for He was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgressions of my people was He stricken." Isaiah, 53 chapter, and verse 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 soon

that chapter out.

About this time Joseph Tobias and his wife Hannah sent a request to our Monthly Meeting in Saratoga,<sup>1</sup> while I was gone the last journey. As it was said before while I went, there was one of my nigh neighbours died in the latter part of the night of the last day of the 10 m. In the morning of the day of the 11 m. in 1791 just before daylight I awaked, being in my own house and to bed with my wife, my family being at home, and had a dream or a vision in my sleep.

I thought I had been travelling in the northern country where it was mostly new and woods and seemed to have some companion, a young man, with me. And as I was returning, but I know not where, I came to a house where there was a long stream not far from said house that was a log house and a small flat nigh said house. And it was clear round said house. The stream ran south-west and I seen two roads, one across said stream and the other up it. I was at a stand whether of them to take. I inquired of the people but got not much answer, only the crossed road went by a mill, the other round. But I considering the one round was the best riding, went that way, but felt uneasy. Soon seemed as if I was at a loss where to go but found a small house in a rough, unpleasant place, and it appeared to be nigh night.

1. Joseph Tobias' request for membership was received by Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 10 month 21, 1791; he was accepted as a member on 9 month 4, 1792.

I thought to put up, and after I had been there a spell, there came in the man before-mentioned with his old antic turns, jesting and making sport as he used to do when alive. For the man beforesaid was a great jester and sometimes at public places would drink more liquor than he ought to. And I was grieved to see him in such a frame, knowing he was dead, yet I loved him so by being much acquainted with him that I was glad to see him; but got much burdened between the love I felt towards him and the dislike I had to his ways, very much as I have felt a number of times when he was living, for he always was one that I had many good desires for and had reproved him for his ways.

But at last I thought of my old master<sup>2</sup> that many years ago did die. And I had a concern on my mind from the Lord to go to see him and did not, and he often has appeared to me in my sleep since then. I thought I was asleep, but as this man had come to me I would be honest and ask him what arose in my mind, for if I did not, he would be a troubler of me also.

Then I called him by name and did ask him how it fared with him and where he went after he was dead. His countenance altered and he appeared sad and he seemed slow to tell, but said he, "I am as the barren fig tree if you know how it was with that, you may know how it is with me, for I am

2. This evidently refers to James Griffin (see page 2 of the journal).

as that tree."<sup>1</sup> Then I told him my spirit yearned towards him, and the rest of the infernal spirits, for by this time I thought I seen several with him but knew them not. And I thought when I pitied him he was angry with me, because he was in torment and I was not. And by this time I seemed to have a small number under my care and was resolved to try to go from that place with them.

I seen a woman go to visit a sick sister as I did repose, so I made out of said house to the east, soon found a large, flat meadow and did expect the spirit of the aforesaid man to follow me. And I looked round suddenly and saw him in his own shape in a few rods of me to devil me. But I spoke and a spirit went out of my mouth that wounded him, for it seemed as if I had a small parchment wrote on one side in my bosom. And when I looked on that in this trying time, it told me what to do. And I thought that was my dependence and the dependence of those with me. As I looked on it, I knowed he was coming again, so I looked round again and I spoke and a spirit went out of my mouth and wounded him so he went off crippled. And then I kept a watch, told those with me to help me for we seemed to be in great danger of that evil spirit.

Then he came again, but having my parchment in my hand and watching, I knew it before he got to me. I thought when I spoke again the Lord sent a spirit out of me

to wound him, and he turned to fly away in haste. But as he was about the height of a tree, I prayed he might be overcome. And the spirit that the Lord sent from me overtook him and so wounded him that he fell and jumped up and down in the same place for distress, for I thought he could not be killed as he was a spirit. And I stood and looked at him with those troubled ones round me till I awaked out of sleep, and it was a weighty dream to me. The Lord knoweth for I did once greatly love the man. O, saith my soul, that all would give up in the day of their visitation for God will not always strive with man seeing he is vain.

About this time, being the 11 m. 1791, I have had many troubles of mind for while Joseph Hoag was gone to Monthly Meeting, I had considerable to say in our meetings. When Joseph came home, I spoke one first day and I suppose I did miss it in saying more than the spirit of truth led to, but I can truly say I had no intent to do wrong. But as I had been one of the first settlers here, the enemy got some place in my mind making me have some dependence on self, although it was not my intent to do wrong. And some Friends seen it, and said they could not tell me on it. But after Joseph came home, he being a recommended minister, and I not, he spoke to them and got their opinions, and then spoke to me all for them. I was grieved because they did not use the freedom to speak to me before and I told them so. And the enemy seemed here to get some hold,

1. cf. Matthew 21: 18-21.

for I did believe they was in a plan against me. And afterward I took a time and told them on it, and it made some struggle, though in a few weeks the Lord did show me how it was. For He came in my mind by His spirit and showed me that I had been too fast and that I had let the enemy get in my mind in this way, viz, seeing the great growth of Friends in this northern country of which I truly had been a means of opening a door. For by the assistance of the great author of all good I was suffered to have some secret thoughts of self-greatness. And I was soon met with in a narrow way by Him who visits His children as in the cool of the day. And I was soon left to fall into some light talk; also then, into some flashing of anger; then into some disputes with my wife; then into an inward madness. And I now solidly believe Friends had ought to atold me as soon as I had missed it. But this did not justify me. See how the devil did work? For this spirit took an advantage and made me believe Friends was against me. Sometimes I was tried with libertines; sometimes with jealousy; sometimes with greatness; thinking I could live without Friends. Sometimes with madness; sometimes with despair, thinking that I would kill myself. Then soon all confusion would be gone, and I felt the light of Christ's spirit to rise in dominion over all. Then I would have peace a few minutes, some a littled longer than others. Then my mind would fly again as on the wings of the

wind or as a ship on the sea without anyone to steer, and in a great storm. God almighty knows I went through many trials in this time, but thanks be to Him that He, through the spirit of His son, the comforter, did keep something in my mind that had a great desire to serve the Lord in an acceptable manner.

Now I think I feel my mind led by the spirit of truth to give some advice to young meetings, for I witness the Lord's power again in some measure to still the waves, the truth to rise as a helm in the hand of a wise master, the winds to seas and in short, my mind humbly depending on the Lord alone, knowing all my strength to stand in being led by the spirit of truth, the comforter.

You that are heirs, I advise whenever there is any young appearance by any in public,<sup>1</sup> let it be by old or young, when you don't feel your minds founded on the sure cornerstone Christ, and His spirit on your minds, I beg you in such a case to be still. But if you don't feel satisfied with anyone's outward conduct, gently admonish for that that you know to be amiss, and nothing else. Don't say anything on surmise, for that is the way I was hurt many years ago, and the scar remains to this day. Get your minds settled steadfastly on the Lord. And when you feel your minds, each individual of you, in a solid quietness and in the still quiet part of the mind, if anything should arise as a

6. Rogers is speaking to those drawn to preach, or "appear in public".

judgement of what was said in such an appearance, that attend to. But don't go rush, nor stay too long if there is anything for thee to do. Do no more than the Lord's spirit requires thee to. And if there is elders in a meeting, I beg they would mind the same rule according to their allotment whether the Lord's spirit opens in thy mind for or against; so that all judgement may be in Christ that said "without me ye can do nothing."<sup>1</sup>

And now to the young minister, I advise let them be man or woman for all is one in Christ.<sup>2</sup> When thou has found a necessity to turn thy back on the world, the flesh and the devil, and all things that is contrary to God and His son Jesus Christ, and to the leadings of the Holy Ghost, the spirit of truth, I beg thee whoever thou art, to get thy mind still internally; to depend on nothing but the spirit of truth. And when thou knows all contrivance of nature to be gone from thee, and in the still quietude of thy mind, something opens with love to say "for if it ain't in love, it is not right." Say what opens and no more. Don't let a seeming tenderness hurt thee nor yet a stoutness for the humble. The Lord will teach. Rise with the son of God and set down when the spirit sets, as a master would rise and set with the outward sun to work. So never try to do God's work in the night, for you may remember John

1. John 15:5.

2. The Society of Friends was one of the few denominations of the period which allowed women to preach.

saw a place that there was no night; a city for God's people to dwell in. So when the testimony of God is born, let the instrument stand in the light.<sup>3</sup> Christ is light.

In the 12 m. we could none of us get to Monthly Meeting by reason of a great and tedious snow storm. Joseph Hoag set off but came back this month. Friends concluded to shift our Meeting from Abraham Rogers' to an empty house nigh where Preserved Dakins, Elijah Hoag, and myself lives for this winter.

In the latter part of the 12 m. 1791,<sup>4</sup> Elias Hicks from Long Island and his companion from New York, and Stephen Roger's (that lives in Danby) son for a pilot came to see us on a religious visit and had one meeting in the town of Vergennes, and a considerable number at other places among those that was not much acquainted with Friends; went as far north as Onion River and tended our meeting three times with another appointed for our members to good satisfaction. And we had to rejoice that the Lord was so kind to us. On the 2nd of the 1 m. 1792 he took his leave of us and had a very solemn and tender time.

3. Revelation 21.

4. Elias Hicks, accompanied by Andrew Underhill, visited Ferrisburg as part of a general visit through New York Yearly Meeting. Elias Hicks, Journal (New York, 1832), 36. On this visit, and on an earlier visit in 1790 (p. 30-33), Hicks paid particular attention to Stafford and Sharon. Hicks also visited the Ferrisburg area in 1793 (p. 50-52), though Rogers does not mention this visit in his journal. Hicks later became the focal point of the religious controversy which split Friends in the 1820s.

1792

About this time, I found it required of me to go to one of my neighbour's house and warn him to close in with the visitation of God on his mind. But as he was a man of a high spirit, I refused to go. And God left me to fall in some of His ways for a short time, and I cried to the Lord to know the cause. And He made known to me my duty again, and I arose out of my bed and went and took his sister's husband with me and did say that the Lord showed me to and did return in peace.

About 2 month 1792, some Friends came from New York and called on me so I could not go to our Monthly Meeting although I had thought of going. I soon got ready and went by their request to New York to settle some outward business. I had much trouble of mind at about this time to think I was led in the way of testimony and at the same time so many outward difficulties to attend to. I was tried with some severe temptations but found help in God my deliverer that sometimes was kind to me by sending the spirit of His son to instruct me. And although some great prospects opened on account of outward business, I dare not fall in with them believing it was not God's will concerning me. I was gone just four weeks; moved our Friend William Peake from the Nine Partners with his family.<sup>1</sup> Did my business to a degree of satisfaction; was at our Quarterly Meeting

of business and found my family all alive and so well as to be about, though my wife seemed weakly. I rid in all out and in about 670 miles.

David Corbin about this time moved from the Nine Partners here. Our Meeting appeared to be growing. About this time we had returns from Anna Willis and others of our Yearly Meetings' Committee for they sent along quantity of new clothes and those that was part were to our poor Friends in our Monthly Meeting that was accepted by some with tenderness and love. My soul praises the Lord for this good and human act of charity.

Joseph Hoag and his wife Huldy attended our Monthly Meeting the 1th month and also the 2nd month. About the middle of the 3 m. we considered of requesting for our meeting to be established and for a Preparative Meeting and of nominating overseers for another year; and of a place where to hold our meeting. We nominated Nicholas Holmes, Joseph Hoag, Richard Burling, Elijah Hoag, David Hoag, Cornelius Holbert, David Corbin and Jacob Winn to see where we could agree upon and I told Friends I had a desire to be with them. We being very scattering, we found it difficult to agree. We left the matter under consideration. And as there was one of our neighbours, Samuel Prindle, that lost his

1. Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 17 10 Mo. 1793, recorded the acceptance of certificates for William Peake, wife Jane, and children Elizabeth, Nathan and Seth, from Creek Monthly Meeting.

wife and requested Friends this day to have a meeting at his house, we generally went in the afternoon and had a very solemn meeting that appeared to good satisfaction, several lively testimonies being born. Repentance of the people was earnestly requested, citing to an overthrow with some if there was not returns from the evil of their ways. One thing I have omitted that is while I was gone to New York our Monthly Meetings committee came to see us. Soon after this, one of our neighbours by the name of Olford, they part of the family, sent for Friends. But some others sent for a priest that did preach as we did believe false doctrine and he was opposed after the meeting was over by Joseph Hoag.

In the 4 m. 1792 I went to Preparative Meeting and Monthly and carried a request from Friends here for a meeting settled and Preparative Meeting here. Friends here seem to be some divided about a place of holding their meeting, but such a concern arose that Friends seemed to be favoured. On that account I was favoured with a good Meeting. Nicholas Holmes had went with me that lives in Monkton about 5 miles from me. He had a good meeting and came home more zealous for the performance of the truth, then he went. And in the 5th month Joseph Hoag and his wife went to Long Island to Yearly Meeting. Also Cornelius Holbert from Hinesburg went with them.

Jonathan Hoag about this time came

here to work with his father and brother from the Nine Partners. In the same time that I was gone, my wife had a child still-born. And when I came home I found her in a low state of health for she came very nigh dying as the doctor and midwife told me; she continued in a low way.

But my wife and I, Elijah Hoag, John Huff and his wife went to Monthly Meeting the 6th month to Danby. And Friends concluded to receive those requestors that was convinced at Strafford and Sharon about 70 miles from Danby. All but Timothy Blake and his wife.<sup>2</sup> There was six Friends appointed to inform them and advise with them. Joseph Hoag, Jonathan Mosher, Elijah Hoag, and myself went as soon as we could. The other two did not go. Sarah, my wife went along and two other women to see a woman, Mary Palmer,<sup>3</sup> that had

2. The failure to accept Timothy Blake and his wife into membership is puzzling, given his pivotal role in creating the meeting. Friends reluctance to accept him may be explained by comments made by Elias Hicks, who had visited the Strafford meeting in 1790, and found that there was too much speculative preaching, and that this led to schism and dissension (Hicks, Elias Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks (New York, Isaac T. Hopper, 1832) 30.) Henry Hull, who visited the meeting in 1795, stated that Blake had opposed those members who had applied for membership. He wanted the meeting to remain independent: "His meeting has thus become divided and scattered, and is now broken up." See Hull, Henry "Memoirs of the Life and Religious Labors... of Henry Hull" Friends Library, Vol. IV, (Philadelphia, Joseph Rakestraw, 1840), 254. See also the "Account of Friends in Vermont," Friends Miscellany 7 (1835): 186-9. Later in the Journal, Rogers also notes that complaints were made that Blake drank excessively.

3. Mary Palmer, wife of Amos, formerly of Oblong

married out and was about to make satisfaction for her outgoings. Amy White, & Elizabeth Tyler, the women, seemed to be dipped in the labour with us. We had a very laborious time and the Lord's power was with us. We went from house to house seeing by the Spirit of Truth their situation so as to speak to them in the authority of truth. We attended three meetings for worship to great satisfaction. The Friends received was Matthew Herrington, Joseph Sherman, Jerod Basset, Joshua Brown, Amos Palmer and Benjamin Spalding, and the women - Sarah Bassett, Mary Herrington, Mary Brown.<sup>1</sup> And another sent her request to come among Friends, Elizabeth West.<sup>2</sup> We left them both, Friends and others, very tender. Many tears was shed for the Lord's power was with us. Friends there has had a meeting but now they requested a meeting under the care of our Monthly Meeting for they set up a meeting in the way of Friends before they requested Friends' care.

We got home well and found all well as common having abundant cause to glorify the name of the Lord Jesus Christ for letting us have His good spirit for our guide that I believe we did faithfully attend to. Only I omitted one family visit that caused me,

Monthly Meeting.

1. Requesters from Sharon and Strafford received by Saratoga MM, 6 Mo. 21, 1792. Timothy and Sarah Blake were received in 9 Mo. 20, 1792.

2. Elizabeth West received by Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 11 Month 22, 1792.

after I got home, a great share of trouble. For the Lord withdrew from me in His spirit that caused me much grief, and I was left to be tried with a certain mad jealous feeling and a sort of destruction though I thought to guard against it. Yet I had not strength, and therefore fell for some months as it were a captive to Satan and went through many trials that I shall mention in the love of God to my fellow creatures that the weak may see how necessary it is to be faithful in all our duty although ever so small in our natural notion about things that pertain to the kingdom of heaven. For God knoweth what is best, but man cannot know God's will, only as the spirit of Christ helpeth our infirmities.

I was tempted to deceit, also to lying, to stealing, to adultery, to murder, to set off in a division with my friends, to run away from my wife and children. I was so tried that I was hard set to know what to do. But one day as I sat in meeting I thought I was a little favoured and spoke. But Joseph Hoag and Jacob Winn spoke to me.<sup>3</sup> And after that I was silent for some months and was so lightheaded sometimes I hardly knew what to do. And although I thought I could live without work, I now found it my best way to work as hard as I could stand it. Though one day being to work in my garden, my wife came there, I was much tried with jealousy. And although I gave way to but little or none of the before men-

3. Both men were recognized ministers.

tioned trials, yet now I so far fell that I swore a few words as my wife said. And afterwards she told me of a number of things that I said that I had no remembrance of. I suppose I was some lightheaded with the passion and trials of my mind. But the everlasting God of my salvation who was kind to me had a hand underneath. And I was soon made sorrow[ful] for all that I had done amiss and did heartily condemn it to my wife, and before God the Lord who I have for many years meant to serve with faithfulness. I fell in a lonesome, solitary situation of mind and was grieved for the loss of my beloved, but no way to ever get to Him. And so, after a long time of trials, the Lord Jesus Christ sent His spirit of truth to me and gave me forgiveness for not doing my duty and also for my outgoings in my days of weakness, and favoured me again with a small share of the public testimony to bear that I willingly gave up to, but under the cross.

Considering my misses, now Friends, I advise in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ in whose spirit I feel my mind again comforted, for all to keep close to the Light of God in their own hearts. For that ought to be our king and ruler in this life and will lead all that attend to it in the way of truth.

In the 9th month 1792 a committee came from the Quarterly Meeting of the Great Nine Partners to see whether we should have a meeting settled with a Preparative Meeting, Paul Upton and others.<sup>1</sup>

Also about this time, two elders out of a committee [of], ministers and elders came to see us. They had an opportunity with all that had made any appearance in public. The two was Gideon Seamen from Long Island and Edmund Prior of New York.<sup>2</sup> I opened to them my situation. They gave very friendly advice.

I attended our next Quarterly Meeting held at the Nine Partners in the eleventh month and our Monthly Meeting. I went and found a horse for Jacob Winn to get him out. We had a Meeting settled at Ferrisburg with a Preparative Meeting.<sup>3</sup>

I met with Daniel Haviland,<sup>4</sup> on a religious visit with Alexander Young. I went with them for some time; I found my duty to speak a few words sometimes but Alexander Young reproved me. I thought he

1. Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting, Minutes, 8th Month 15, 1792, appointed a committee including Paul Upton to visit Ferrisburg and consider the proposal from Saratoga Monthly Meeting that a Meeting for Worship and a Preparative Meeting be established.

2. Gideon Seamen (1744-1837). Among the responsibilities of the Meetings of Ministers and Elders was the encouragement of those who were "young in the ministry" and to discourage "forward persons whose communications do not proceed from right authority," New York Yearly Meeting, Discipline (1810), p. 25.

3. The action of Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting, 11th Month 14, 1792, approving the establishment of a meeting for worship and a preparative meeting at Ferrisburg marks the transition of the Ferrisburg meeting from a temporary "indulged" meeting to an established meeting. At this time, Ferrisburg Preparative Meeting is part of Saratoga Monthly Meeting.

4. Daniel Haviland (1746?-1828), from Nine Partners Monthly Meeting.

crowded a little too hard, but I bore it with patience, believing I had ought to trust to God more than to man. Though I do believe this trial came for past disobedience. I was taken sick at Queensbury, at Abraham Wing's,<sup>1</sup> and had a great trial, but the Lord restored me in His own time. I at this time thought something was the matter at home. When I got home, I found my eldest son, Obadiah Rogers, with his leg broke with a fall.

1. Abraham Wing (1721-1795), originally from Dartmouth, Massachusetts, moved to the Oblong in Dutchess County, New York, ca. 1744, purchased patent rights in Queensbury in 1763, and moved there with his family in 1765. A.W. Holden, A History of the Town of Queensbury (Albany, 1874), 56-57, 382. A Quaker meeting was allowed in Queensbury in 1767, and a meeting house built ca. 1785, though Queensbury Preparative Meeting was not established until 1787.

## 1793

We made us a school in this town this winter, kept by David Corbin the second fifth day of the first month 1793. We begun our Preparative Meeting and chose David Corbin clerk and answered our queries<sup>1</sup> and appointed Nicholas Holmes and Cornelius Holbert to attend the Monthly Meeting, carry up and bring down such business as concerned us for that was our order.

Our Friend Preserved Dakins took a commission, called a Justice of the Peace, that Friends was generally dissatisfied with, and advised against, for in the extracts from our last Yearly Meeting, we was advised against taking a commission for profit or honour, although Friends have been despised by many.<sup>2</sup> Now seeing their increase, some of our great men, we believe, set off to see how many of us would join with them and so became very urgent to get Friends to take commissions.

The second month, our Preparative

1. The term "Preparative Meeting" refers to both the congregation which forms a Meeting for Worship, as well as a once monthly business meeting. This business meeting answered "queries" about members adherence to the Quaker Discipline, and reported to the Monthly Meeting. The clerk of the meeting chaired the business meeting, and recorded its decisions in "minutes". Nicholas Holmes and Cornelius Holbert would have been named "overseers".

2. Friends were advised to avoid political controversies, and not to accept "offices of profit and honor in government." New York Yearly Meeting, Discipline (1810), 102. In addition, participation in government might require taking or administering oaths or involvement in military affairs, neither acceptable behavior for Friends.

Meeting being held the second fifth day (for it is to be held every month on the second fifth day), Cornelius Holbert informed of his intention of making proposals of marriage next Monthly Meeting to Mary Arnold of Danby. Joseph and Elijah Hoag was appointed to attend the Monthly Meeting and Friends agreed here to build a log meeting house, and appointed Timothy Rogers and David Hoag to attend thereto. I now found concern on my mind to have some Friends go to Monthly Meeting that could not go without help. I found a span of horses, and by that means got out Samuel Barker and Sarah his wife, and Phebe Winn, Jacob's wife, and found peace without going myself.

A complaint came to our last Monthly Meeting at Saratoga against Timothy Blake of Strafford for drinking spirituous liquor to excess.<sup>3</sup> Friends was appointed to visit him on that account. At our Preparative Meeting for the 3rd month we had a book of discipline sent from the Quarter. David Hoag was appointed to attend our Monthly Meeting with Joseph Tobias.

About this time Jonathan Hoag, Elijah Hoag, Stephen Carpenter and their wives moved to this country. Carpenter married Elijah Hoag's daughter Hannah; the other is Elijah Hoag's sons. Elijah appeared in public.

3. Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 1<sup>st</sup> Month 17, 1793. Friends were to refrain from "other than a medicinal use of distilled spirits." NYYM, Discipline (1810), 52.

The 4th month Elijah Hoag and Philo Chandler was appointed to attend the Monthly Meeting and John Cerly showed his dislike about Friends building a meeting house where it is appointed. But we have partly built it before he spoke to the Meeting; that brought a weight on Friends.

In the 5th month a very ancient widow, Hannah Hart, requested Friends' care. Friends appointed Timothy Rogers and David Corbin to attend the Monthly Meeting. That we did, and I went over the Green Mountain to attend the meeting at Strafford and Sharon. Found Friends generally well. There seemed to me to be but little hopes of Timothy Blake's making satisfaction, for he begins to find fault with Friends, and to tell of great experience. His preaching also is burdensome to some Friends. Jerod Bassett appeared to be well grounded; Josiah Brown appeared tender; Alexander Pearson and Mary his wife, and Elizabeth West, all have been lately received, and appear hopeful. Some others seems to be inquiring after Zion's ways. I was led close in testimony. I parted with them very tenderly, went to Monthly Meeting, and then to Danby; had a visit to Abel Irish's; came home after riding out and in about 300 miles.

Cornelius Holbert is now married and about this time there came some difficulty between two of my nighest neighbours - Preserved Dakins and Elijah Hoag. But Friends one fifth day came to my house, got

them together, and they settled the same. Though we was tried with heavy labour, but I may say favoured with a good degree of gospel love.

At our Preparative Meeting in the 6th month 1793, we did appoint Friends to attend the Monthly Meeting (Jacob Winn and others). In the 7th month, a committee came to this Meeting, Stephen Rogers and others. They and some from this place went to visit some requesters at the Grand Isle 40 miles to the north of here.<sup>1</sup>

At this time I was going to lay out or survey a township called Hungerford.<sup>2</sup> I being a surveyor, some Friends called on me to do this business. It is 50 or 60 miles to the northeast. While I was surveying I made headquarters to one Colonel Sheldon's. And when I came in out of the woods, Colonel Sheldon's wife told me there had been some Friends from New York and in secret let me know that one had made some attempts to lay with a black woman named Mary. She begged me not to

1. Meetings were established on Grand Isle, and at Peru (now Ausable, Clinton Co., New York) in 1795. They were set off from Danby in 1799 as Peru Monthly Meeting. See Neal Burdick, "History of Quaker Union, Clinton County, New York," Quaker History 62 (1973): 90-105.

2. The town of Hungerford was renamed Sheldon in 1793, in honor of Colonel Elisha Sheldon, a proprietor and one of the first settlers of the town. Timothy Rogers not only surveyed the town but was acted as an agent for the proprietors in 1787. The children of Col. Sheldon were Samuel B., Elisha Jr. and George. See: State Papers of Vermont, Vol. 4, pp. 38, 216; Lewis Aldrich, History of Franklin and Grand Isle Counties Vermont (Syracuse, 1891), 615-8.

tell of it. I told her that I could not let it pass if he was a member among Friends.<sup>1</sup>

In the seventh month, Friends was appointed to attend the Monthly Meeting. Our Preparative Meeting was left at their liberty to move our Meeting to our house building for that purpose.

This year I have had a harvest of about sixty acres of wheat; help is very scarce. I gave men apiece one and a half bushels of wheat a day. I had no kind of spirituous liquor in my field; the men drinking gingered water beer, and had victuals four and five times a day, seemed well pleased, and used very little foul language. Thanks be to God for this favour. Some was very much put to it to get their harvest cut.

Joseph Hoag had it on his mind to appoint some meetings among other people; had a number to good satisfaction. Huldah Hoag, Joseph's wife, was recommended as a minister last winter. I had a concern on my mind to go see Joseph and his wife. Accordingly, after a close trial, I went about the 1st of 8 month 1793, [and] told them I should be glad to go with them to some meetings. Joseph's wife had a desire to appoint two meetings where Joseph did not feel his way clear to. Huldah and I went forward, she giving notice as she was recommended as a minister, but I am not. The first was a loving powerful meeting. The next was in a Baptist meeting house, people very civil but look very outwardly. Joseph

1. Evidently William T. Robinson. See next page.

Hoag came here. Huldah and he both spoke to satisfaction. My mind was not fully clear, but time would not admit.

At this time, my wife and daughter went with me. Obadiah, my oldest son, came to the last meeting in the ninth month. Abraham Rogers and myself was appointed to attend the Monthly Meeting, from the Preparative Meeting. A request<sup>2</sup> went from Henry Green and wife at River Sobel<sup>3</sup> on the west side of Lake Champlain. I was appointed with other Friends to pay him a visit and report the state of his mind; and with Elihu Hoag to labour with Samuel Austin for moving from another Monthly Meeting here without the advice of his Friends.<sup>4</sup>

In the tenth month, I went to Hungerford with Uriah Field from Greenwich<sup>5</sup> and Abraham Underhill to settle land matters. I settled for fourteen writs that I had ahad the care of to good satisfaction. In the tenth month I reported an opportunity with Henry Green. He and his wife was accepted. Nicholas Holme and David Hoag was appointed to attend this Monthly Meeting from our Preparative Meeting and Daniel Jackson and his wife sent a request to the

2. For membership.

3. Probably the Ausable River in New York, which runs into Lake Champlain near Port Kent.

4. Samuel Austin settled in Colchester

5. Uriah Field of Greenwich, Connecticut owned land with Timothy Rogers in Hungerford. Aldrich, *History of Franklin and Grand Isle* (1891), 617. The Fields, Underhills and Burlings were related Quaker families, mostly from Westchester County, New York.

Preparative Meeting to go to the Monthly the 11th mo., and also Moses Taft.<sup>1</sup> I not long ago I received a letter from William T. Robinson at New York denying the charge I had wrote to him about.<sup>2</sup>

The 11th month Elijah Hoag and Timothy Rogers was appointed and did attend our Monthly Meeting. There is now a Quarterly Meeting set up at Saratoga - a very weighty meeting. We had great mortality happened in Philadelphia, thousands died.<sup>3</sup> We sent them much money out of our Yearly Meeting for their support.

In the 12th month Joseph Hoag and Nicholas Holmes was appointed to attend the Monthly Meeting that was held at Danby. I went to said Meeting.

1. Moses Taft was received by request by Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 6<sup>th</sup> Month 19, 1793.

2. See events of 11/4/1791.

3. A Yellow Fever plague struck Philadelphia in 1793.

## 1794

About this time we by accident had our Meeting House burned. And in the 1st month 1794 Edward Halac and another Friend was appointed to attend our Monthly Meeting, and carried a request from this Preparative Meeting for advice and assistance in building another house. A large Committee came this way - Zabolon Hoxie and six or seven more, some elders.<sup>1</sup>

Huldah Hoag, being a recommended minister, had a concern to go and appoint some meetings among other people. My wife, Phoebe Hoag, Jemima Holmes, Edward Halac went along. First 1st month 1794 we had eight meetings to good satisfaction. We went through Monkton, New Haven, Bristol, New Huntington and got home to our Preparative Meeting, that was the sixteenth or seventeenth of the 1 mo. 1794. I went to [?]; Huldah Hoag, John Cerly and his wife Margaret went along. We had a meeting at evening at the house of Nathan Lockwood in St. George.<sup>2</sup> The

people here was very loving and kind. Jonathan Hart lives nigh. The next day we had a Meeting at Elihu Allen's doctor and in the evening at one Beck's, both in Williston. The people seemed high-minded and light, but civil. The next day we had a meeting at John Anderson's in the evening at Joel Bronson's, Esquire. This is first day. Both Meetings long, a considerable said to good satisfaction; one in New Huntington, the other in Williston. The next day we had a meeting in Bolton at the house of William Rogers's; at evening at the house of John Hollenbachs'. He and his wife being gone a journey, we had leave of his son Abraham and was entertained very kindly; these were favoured. Also the next day we had a meeting at a schoolhouse nigh the Governor's sons Noah Chittenden,<sup>3</sup> Esquire. We both spoke that seemed favoured and the meeting to good satisfaction. This was in January.

This night we got Moses Taft's. His wife sent a request to come among Friends. The Governor's son got us a dinner. The next day we had a meeting at the Bay in Burlington. After meeting we went to Colonel Stephen Louis. He and wife was very kind. At evening at Joshua Stanton's Esquire in Essex they were kind also. The first the people seemed loving, but very light. The latter a little more steady. The next day at Thomas Lowrey's in Jericho; at

1. The first Ferrisburg meeting house was occupied in mid 1793, but was "dissolved by fire" only a few months later. Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 1<sup>st</sup> month 16-17, 1793, appointed a committee consisting of Stephen Rogers, John Barker, Cornelius Dewil, Daniel Folger and Zebulon Hoxie to advise Ferrisburg on building a new meeting house. On 2<sup>nd</sup> Month 14, 1794, the Monthly Meeting authorized Timothy Rogers and Joseph Hoag to purchase land for a meeting meeting house. The new meeting house does not appear to have been completed until 1795 or 1796.

2. St. George and Williston are in Chittenden County, Vermont, north of Ferrisburg.

3. Noah Chittenden, son of Thomas Chittenden (1730-1797), the first governor of Vermont.

evening at Esquire Woodsworth in Essex. The first loving; the latter the people seemed stout in their way; both kind and loving after meeting.

Now we had a tedious storm of snow and rain the next day. We had a meeting at Essex in the house of Samuel Buell's. The next day at Samuel Austin's in Colchester. Here came to us Stephen Rogers, John Barkow and Pardon Tripp. We went and stayed at William Irish's in Milton. Had an evening Meeting to good satisfaction. The next day we went to the Grand Isle on Lake Champlain. The next day had a meeting to good satisfaction. The next day we got home.

I attended our next Monthly and Quarterly Meetings and got home well. Found much concern for the good of my family and often prayed in spirit for the Lord's assistance. And as my children now begins to be young men and women, I find a particular concern to keep them in plainness, out of bad company, and to read the scriptures and other good books.

We have had nothing extraordinary happened in our Meeting for some months. In the fifth month I went to Danby to Monthly Meeting. Moses Taft this day received. About the 27th of the fifth month Wing Rogers came to my house, informed that he had set off to go to a place called Peru over the west side of Lake Champlain from Danby.<sup>1</sup> His wife was a member. I took him in a spell till he could be a little

satisfied about war for he seemed to be some afraid of the natives in that country.

Friends from that side sent a request to the Monthly Meeting for a meeting but took it back again. Huldah Hoag about this time went up the Onion River<sup>2</sup> and had some meetings. In the 9 mo. I went to Monthly Meeting. There had been a committee to visit Friends at Peru on account of their request for a meeting and made a favourable report. They had a meeting allowed for six months under the notice of a committee. I being one sought of to be there the day the meeting was to begin that was to be held the first day of 10th month 1794.<sup>3</sup> I got defeated from getting there.

The next week Cornelius Holbert and I got as far as the Grand Isle where a number of Friends lived forty miles from where I live. Being headwind we thought it not safe to go any further, so we came home.

Friends appointed to our Monthly Meeting in 10th month is David Corbin and Joseph J. Tobias. Huldah Hoag went to the Great Nine Partners. Our meetings seems

1. The wife of Wing Rogers was named Rebecca. Three of Timothy Rogers' daughters were to marry three of Wing and Rebecca's sons in the following decade. Peru, in Clinton County New York, was established as a Preparative Meeting in 1795. It and Grand Isle Meeting were set off from Danby Monthly Meeting in 1799 as Peru Monthly Meeting. See Hughes & Bradley, Vermont, 160-1.

2. The former name of the Winooski River in Vermont.

3. Saratoga Monthly Meeting, 9<sup>th</sup> month 18-19, 1794, allowed a meeting for worship at Peru for six months. Timothy Rogers was part of the committee to visit Friends in Peru.

very discouraging, they are so dull. Friends in Monkton talk about requesting a meeting in about two weeks.

Jonathan Hoag, one of our overseers, went with me over the lake to Peru a new settlement. We went 16 or 18 miles between houses in the wilderness before we came to our Friends, then came to where about 8 or 10 families had settled. We stayed to a first day Meeting to good satisfaction. I was favoured with a small testimony. We got home well and not long after Matthew Ferris came in our country for a religious visit, attended our Meeting and appointed several this way to good satisfaction, and Cornelius Holbert went to Peru with him.

Not long from this I heard of one of my half sisters that was born of my mother, and I went to find her, and found her. I had not seen her for thirty-five years. She was a widow of about five years, had lived with a husband six, had one child stillborn by an abuse from her husband; had come nigh two hundred miles to get to me, but was still one hundred from me over a large mountain called the Green Mountain. She told me many things she had went through. One I shall remark, that Friends may be encouraged to be careful of orphans, she being put to a cruel man, that kept his wickedness not known for a time. One day [he] sat a bottle of cider on the hearth, struck with the head of an axe and smashed it saying, "So I serve you if you ain't a good girl". A while after fell to whipping her, whipped of her till her

back was very raw, and the blood ran down to her heels; then dipped a broom in brine and whipped her with that till she was almost crazy. Then going after a new bunch of whips, did positively declare he would whip her to death, and put her to choose the room. She went in the cabin, slipped out a privy door, and run till a woman found her and carried her to the selectmen of the town that took care of her.

1795

In the first month, my wife and I attended the Monthly Meeting, the 15th in the year 1795, and had good satisfaction; we rode 220 miles, and got home, found all well. In the second [month] I attended the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, being under appointment to both, and Cornelius Holbert with me. Monkton Friends sent a request for a meeting of worship, to be held about 7 miles from our meeting.<sup>1</sup> From this, after truth's service was over with me at Saratoga, I went to my sister Ruth Gibbs, that was about three years younger than myself, and moved her to my house. Friends at Monkton had their request returned.

Joseph Hoag about this time went a religious visit and was gone about three months. In the third month I went again to the meeting at Peru with Daniel Hull and Abraham Toker of Queensbury Meeting.<sup>2</sup> We had much labour for truth with Friends there to a good degree of satisfaction and the Lord favoured us though weak to do His work in love and truth.

In the second month, the 16th day, 1795, I had a son born while I was gone to meeting; I named him Asa Rogers.

Now seeing the increase of truth in our wilderness land made me often praise the

1. In 1811, Timothy Rogers and Cornelius Halbert [sic] gave the land for a meeting house at Monkton. History of Addison County, 452.

2. Saratoga Meeting in Queensbury Township, Warren County, New York.

God of heaven something like this:

The God of heaven is made known,  
The seed His Son is truly sown  
Among the stones by the wayside.  
The Briars and thorns is not denied,  
But it is the willing mind,  
The heart and soul that's full refined,  
Like sixty and a hundred fold,  
Will find Him that's before the other gold.  
Although the wilderness is here,  
The fruitful field doth appear.  
God's love is great and He is kind  
To every humble contrite mind.  
And I am rejoiced within my breast  
To see so many truly blest.  
Therefore I bow upon my knee  
And cry O God my keeper be,  
Lest like the thousands here and there  
I turn back to the devil's snare.  
O may my wife and children too,  
Thy spirit and blessed grace pursue.  
O may my neighbours and my friends  
Look to God on whom their all depends;  
May all my foes and enemies  
Witness His son in them to rise  
And cast down all that sinful be  
That they may sing thy song, Hallelujah.

About this time Garrett Burtis and Enoch Dorland came from the Great Nine Partners Meeting to make a religious visit to Upper Canada and went on their way to Lake Ontario by the Grand Isle in the 2nd

month 1795.<sup>1</sup> Joseph Hoag had a certificate and went a religious visit to Nine Partners Quarter and Purchase Quarter and Oblong Quarter 1795. And in the third month Edward Halic and Jacob Winn was appointed to attend the Monthly Meeting at Saratoga. When Edward came home, Deborah Darby from Coalbrookdale and Rebecca Young of Shrewsbury, both in Shropshire in old England (that is country), these women being recommended ministers, was at our fifth day meeting.<sup>2</sup> Sixth day they had a meeting at Vergennes four miles south. Seventh day at Nicholas Holmes in Monkton, six miles northeast. First day at our meeting again; that was large. Second day at Middlebury 16 miles south on their way to Danby. They was large in testimony and spoke to the state of the people, persuaded all to attend to that love, light and power of the Lord, made known in the heart of men and women by the spirit of truth.

I went 20 miles with them and Richard

1. Garrett Burtis (1748-1824) and Enoch Dorland (1753-1834), both from Oswego Monthly Meeting in Dutchess County, NY. Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting, 11 Mo. 5, 1794.

2. Deborah Darby (1754-1810) first appeared in the ministry in 1779 and Rebecca Young (1758-1834) in 1784. From 1784, the two women travelled widely in the ministry together, to Wales, throughout Ireland, and in 1793 to America for three years. See Josiah Forster, Piety Promoted Vol. XI (Philadelphia, Thomas Kite, 1829), 15-20. See also Rachel Labouchere, Deborah Darby of Colbrookdale (York: Sessions, 1993), 183. Rebecca Young married William Byrd in 1800, also a recognized minister. See Memorials of Deceased Members of the Society of Friends (Philadelphia, Joseph & William Kite, 1843) 66-73.

Burling; went to Danby with them the fourth month. David Hoag and Thomas Robertson was appointed to attend our Monthly Meeting at Danby for one is now set up at Danby and Ferrisburg.<sup>3</sup>

The fifth month, I and another Friend was appointed and I could not attend for sickness and trouble of mind, for the Lord suffered me to fall in great trouble.

The sixth month, Jacob Winn and another Friend was appointed to attend. Joshua Evans, from the Jerseys, attended our Preparative Meeting on his way to Montreal, Quebec and Halifax.<sup>4</sup> I found a concern to go with him; he and other

3. Danby and Ferrisbug Preparative Meetings were set off from Saratoga Monthly Meeting as Danby Monthly Meeting. The first session of Danby Monthly Meeting was held 4<sup>th</sup> Month 9, 1794. The meeting sessions were held alternatively at Danby and Ferrisburg.

4. Joshua Evans was a prominent minister from Newtown, West Jersey well known for his anti-slavery stance. Evans account of the journey can be found in "Journal of Joshua Evans", Friends' Miscellany 1837 Vol. 10. Evans does not refer to Rogers by name, but notes a member of Ferrisburg meeting "kindly gave up to be our pilot" (74). Dorland (1968, p. 34n) notes "The two journals corroborate one another in many interesting details." All further citations will note only the page number of this edition of Evans journal. The journal was also published as a separate volume in 1837. Evans' original journal, and later manuscript copies are in the Joshua Evans Papers at the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. An additional manuscript copy is in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The manuscript copies, probably made by George Churchman and Abraham Warrington within a decade of Evan's death, contain variant readings of texts. For a modern appraisal of Evans, see Donald Brooks Kelley, "Joshua Evans," in Quaker History 75 (Fall 1986), 76-82.

Friends seemed united. Our Monthly Meeting was held on the 11 d. of 6 m. 1795, first in Ferrisburg. Friends gave me a minute as follows:

At a Monthly Meeting of Friends held at Ferrisburg on the 11th day of 6th mo. 1795, our Friend Timothy Rogers informed this Meeting that he had a prospect of accompanying our Friend Joshua Evans into the province of Canada, and to Nova Scotia - if a way opens. He being a member of our Society in unity with us, the Clerk is desired to furnish him with a copy of this minute.

Extracted by Richard Burling,  
Clerk for this time.

And as I had much grievous trouble, I left home very heavy the next day but one being the 13 d. of 6 mo. 1795. We went to Vergennes; the 14th, had two meetings, one for Friends, the other for the public.<sup>1</sup> The 15th day we went seven miles by water to Nathan Thomson's, one mile from shore.

1. Evans records the first was at the home of Friend Thomas Robinson, the other at a school house (75).

2. Evans records: "The captain not thinking best to go out into Lake Champlain that night, came to anchor near a place where a few inhabitants are settled. Feeling a draft in my mind to see them together, and a person on board being willing to give them notice, we had a favoured opportunity together that evening. It appeared they were ignorant of us, as a people, having never been at any of our meetings" (75).

We had a good meeting.<sup>2</sup> The 16th we left the boat at Split Rock, rode seven miles, to Joshua Sheldon's at Willsboro,<sup>3</sup> had a favoured meeting, and rode to Richard Keese in Peru, about 27 miles, nigh a young meeting at this place. The 17 had two meetings here, and rode 20 miles to Cumberland Head. Left John Davis, our Friend, with the horses to go to St. Johns, Joshua and I crossed part of Lake Champlain, to our Friend Daniel Hoag's on the Grand Isle, nigh a number of Friends. Joshua and I went back to Plattsburg, about seven miles, had a meeting the 18 day, 19 and 20. We had five meetings on this island and one on an island north; all large and favoured. Joshua gave much good advice about many things and I helped a little sometimes.<sup>4</sup> We got to Ichabod E. Firk's, on the Isle La Motte, a man that sometime past was at my house and left a request to join Friends. Our Friends Waring McInborough and Valentine Jenkins junior accompanying us with a canoe.

The 21 being first day, we had two meetings, one on this Isle, and the other at the Tongue. Went up the River Chazy,<sup>5</sup> seven

3. From Evan's journal, it does not appear that Sheldon was a Quaker. Sheldon (1744-1836), born in Dutchess County, came to Willsboro in 1784. H.P. Smith, History of Essex County (Syracuse, 1885), p. 742.

4. Evans notes "After a solid conference with the few Friends who lived here, we took leave in near affection; they expressing their satisfaction with the visit, as the tears trickled from their eyes" (76).

5. These events are taking place in what is now the town of Champlain in the north-east corner of Clinton County, NY.

miles, to our Friend Jacob Bouron's, nigh Esquire Pliny Moore's.<sup>1</sup> We had two meetings to good satisfaction, found two families of the Bouron's from England friendly, and some members amongst them. One meeting Joshua spoke twice in and a Baptist teacher by name Nathaniel Colver, asked to sing a hymn. Joshua put him off; he sat a spell, and then rose and went to preaching, continued till we grew weary.<sup>2</sup> He stopped, sat a while longer. The meeting ended quiet and well, praises be to God.

The 23 we went to St. John's,<sup>3</sup> landed about one in the afternoon, found our Friend John Davis with the horses, and parted with the Friend that had carried us from the Grand Isle, so far in a canoe, safe to Abraham Brigg's.<sup>4</sup> We had a meeting at 5 o'clock this afternoon, very and highly favoured. Many, much spoke of Gospel truth. We wrote letters to our families.

The 24 we went 20 miles to a town on the St. Lawrence River called La Prairie. Heard of this Indian town; went 12 miles to

see them, [and] found about 400 families and a Roman Catholic meeting house and a priest amongst them.<sup>5</sup> Stayed one night with their chief called Captain Tommo or Thomas that entertained us very kindly.<sup>6</sup> Had much goodly conversation with him and others by an interpreter. This was a good time. He asked why their priest was not willing his young Indians should not learn to talk English and read the Scriptures. We answered we believed because he is afraid they will find a better religion than his one and leave him. Said he, "the thing I believe so too but my son is at the college. When he comes home I intend he shall learn

5. Evans estimates their number at two to three hundred people (78).

6. Captain Thomas was a chief of the Caughnawaga nation, "a very rich man, and had a most excellent house in which he lived as well as a signeur... he had built a church and was a Christian, and ... he was very charitable... Thomas appeared to be about 45 years of age; he was nearly six feet high and very bulky in proportion. This is the sort of make uncommon among the Indians who are generally slender. He was dressed like a white man, in boots; his hair untied but cut short. The people who attended him were all in Indian habit. Not one of his followers could speak a word of English or French, but Thomas could speak both languages. English he spoke with some little hesitation and not correctly, but French seemed as familiar to him as his native tongue. His principal attention seemed to be directed towards trade, which he had pursued with great success, so much so that we afterwards heard he could get credit in any store in Montreal for five hundred pounds... Thomas, as we afterwards found, is not a man respected among the Indians in general, who think much more of a chief who is a good warrior and hunter, and retains the habits of his nation; than of one who becomes a trader and assimilates his manners to those of the whites." Isaac Weld Travels through North America (London, John Stockdall, 1799).

1. Jacob and Polly Bouron from England moved to what is now the town of Champlain, Clinton County, ca. 1792, per D. Hamilton Hurd, History of Clinton and Franklin Counties (Philadelphia, 1880), 259. The manuscript journal of Joshua Evans, Friends Historical Library, commenting on the English Friends at Chazy, "I wish Friends not to remove with their families without proper clearness and the advice of the monthly meeting and then not let interest be the motive."

2. Evans recorded that the man "mentioned some text of scripture; after which he sat silent" (77).

3. Ste. Jean, Quebec.

4. From Evan's journal, it does not appear that Brigg was a Friend.

me. When I am learnt, I will learn my young Indians." He thanked us for our visit and advice but requested we would leave a writing saying he should forget; but if we have a writing we can keep it and my son can interpret. We gave him four or five small books and although he asked nothing, we gave his wife 3/4 of a dollar and left a paper as follows:

To Captain Thommas at the Village of Caughnawaga the 25 d. of six mo called June 1795:

Beloved friend and brother - being now at thy house for to see thee and as we have no good interpreter, therefore, we are obliged to go away and cannot tell the Indians how we love them. But we wish all of you would always live in the fear of Him that made heaven and earth and all that is therein and teach the young Indians so to do, do that when you and we die and leave this world, we may meet again in heaven. We read in the holy scriptures that whatsoever maketh manifest is light and that this light doth appear in the minds of all man and women and reprove or disquiet them when they do wrong and approve or bring peace for well doing, and this is what we would recommend to thee as the most sure teacher if faith-

fully attended to. And that good light is Christ or that good spirit or free grace that brings us to the knowledge of the true God whom to know is life eternal.

Signed by us thy real Friends.  
Joshua Evans of Newtown in the West Jersey, nigh Philadelphia, John Davis of Saratoga, New York State and Timothy Rogers of Ferrisburg, N.Y., Vergennes in Vermont State.

So after he invited us to write to him, we bid him farewell and all his family.

The 25th we went back to La Prairie, had a meeting here, then down the river to Longueuil ferry, crossed;<sup>1</sup> John Davis went [with] the horses to a friendly man's house, named Abraham Pastorus. On the 26th, he stayed here for fear the smallpox. Joshua and I went in the city of Montreal, put up at Elmore Gosham's, found several people very kind, especially a poor man, Adam Winslow, a German.

The 27th we got leave to have a meeting at the Presbyterian meeting house.<sup>2</sup> Elder

1. Joshua Evans letter to his family, written from Montreal, 6<sup>th</sup> Month 26, 1795, is in the Joshua Evans Papers at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Evans wrote: "I have a companion & a pilate [pilot] so there is three in company & we travel in grate [great] harmony..."

2. This church, built in 1792, was the first Presbyterian Church built in Canada. It was later named the "St. Gabriel Street Church." John Young, of the Albany, N.Y. Presbytery, was minister. See C.W. Gordon, "The Presbyterian Church and its

Young attended with us, and read our certificates. I believe, about one thousand attended; some went out when Joshua first spoke, but when he sat awhile longer he rose, spoke again, the meeting ended quiet. A number seemed kind.

We wrote to our families again; found a brig called "The Four Brothers" from London,<sup>1</sup> bound with eight thousand bushels of wheat, for Dartmouth, Halifax Harbour, about 1 1/4 miles from Halifax, in Nova Scotia, commanded by Capt. George Sarmon. Joshua and I went on board, and sent our horses back by John Davis.

The 28th day we parted, being on board for to go about twelve hundred miles by water. After about 20 days' passage by water, my companion being very sick about 2 weeks, and having several storms of wind, rain and fog,<sup>2</sup> sailing nigh St. John's Island,<sup>3</sup> through the Gut of Canseau,<sup>4</sup> by the island of Cape Breton, and having sittings on Fifth days and First days. And I had two very remarkable dreams that gave me a true sense of trouble in my family at home. I had many breathing cries for my wife and children in my spirit as also for my own soul.

Missions" in, Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty eds., Canada and its Provinces, (Toronto, 1913), vol. xi, Part 1, page 265.

1. The Royal Gazette and Nova-Scotia Advertiser, March 31, 1795, recorded the arrival of the brig "Brothers" under Captain Sarmon on March 28, after a thirty-nine day passage from London.

2. The words "and fog" added later.

3. Renamed "Prince Edwards Island" in 1798.

4. The Strait of Canso, which separates Cape Breton from the mainland.

On the 17th day of the seventh month 1795 we had a press gang come on board.<sup>5</sup> We got to Dartmouth among our Friends; put up at Seth Coleman's.<sup>6</sup> He, and one Thomas Green seemed to be the first Friend at that meeting.<sup>7</sup> We tarried hereabouts till the 27th day of this month, having family meetings, public meetings, and with the members, and attended preparative meetings twice that had part of the authority of a

5. Evans notes only that this is the day they arrived in Dartmouth (84). The British Navy regularly drafted or "pressed" merchant sailors into royal service. A "press gang" refers to the group of men sent to forcibly enlist these sailors.

6. Seth Coleman wrote to Joshua Evans wife Ann from Dartmouth on 8<sup>th</sup> month 16, 1795, that "his coming was very unexpected to us, as we had been ready to think that poor Nova Scotia was almost unworth of the notice of any of our Brethren..." Coleman noted that Evans "had a very worthy and agreeable companion [who] appeared consistantly attentative and careful in every respect." Evans Papers, Friends Historical Library.

7. Dartmouth Meeting was established in 1785 by Nantucket Quakers induced to move there by Governor Parr of Nova Scotia. Although over £15,000 was expended by the government for accommodations for them, most of them left again in 1792 after a Halifax firm went bankrupt, causing the whaling industry in Nova Scotia to collapse (See Dorland, Quakers in Canada, 33-6). The heritage of these Quakers is now preserved in the "Quaker Whaling House Museum" in Dartmouth. Seth Coleman was Clerk of the Meeting, but later returned to Nantucket. Thomas Green was not one of the Nantucket whalers, but a shoe-maker (cordwainer) from Hatfield, Pa. He was disowned from Richland Monthly Meeting in 1779 for having joined the British Army. He had joined the Beaver Harbour colony in New Brunswick (see below) in 1783, and moved to Nova Scotia after 1786. See Holmes, Theodore C. Loyalists to Canada: The 1783 Settlement of Quakers and Others at Passamaquoddy (Camden, Maine, Picton Press, 1992), 62-3. By 1796, he had moved to the Annapolis valley (described in a letter later in this journal).

monthly meeting. In all about 16 or 17 meetings. Friends endorsed Joshua's certificate and my minute that is as follows:

From our Preparative Meeting of Friends held at Dartmouth to the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Ferrisburg.

Dear Friends,

In love we salute you and have to inform that our esteemed Friend Timothy Rogers being now with us as a companion to our esteemed Friend Joshua Evans, we have to signify on his behalf that his company has been exceptional and advices both in public and private satisfactory to us and as their services is nearly over, we wish him a safe and joyous return to his family and friends.

Signed in and on behalf of our Preparative Meeting of Friends held in Dartmouth, County of Halifax, Nova Scotia, the 25th day of the 7th month, by Seth Coleman, clerk.<sup>1</sup>

We were highly favoured in this visit and our labours seemed to be blessed so as to tender many in this quarter. And we was

1. The text of the minute for Evans and Rogers is given with some variation in Douglas Trinder, The History of the Dartmouth Quakers (Hantsport, NS, 1985), 120-1.

bowed on their account, for they settled here from Nantucket about nine or ten years ago to carry on the whale fishery. And as they stated the matter to us, they had been three or four times as many more as they now are that belonged to the meeting for many did move in about four years after they first came to England and other places.

This little number was very loving and at a morning meeting we parted, as I believe, in the love of truth. And Thomas Green went with us to Samuel Moore's,<sup>2</sup> a Friend that lived in Wilmot in the County of Annapolis,<sup>3</sup> that received us very kindly. Both he and his friendly neighbours that came to see us 10 or 12 miles and some followed us 20 or 30 miles. I think we had hereaway about 10 or 12 meetings.

I wrote by Thomas Green back to Seth Coleman and family in substance like this:

2. Samuel Moore was a Quaker farmer from Woodbridge, Middlesex Co., NJ. He was accused of treason by the American Patriots, and his house and farm of 78 acres confiscated in 1779. In his deposition to the British-appointed Claims Commission in 1786 at Halifax, he testified he had been imprisoned several times for refusing to assist the rebels. He moved to New York in 1777, seeking British protection. After New York was evacuated, he settled in Nova Scotia. See, Holmes, Loyalists, 90-1.

3. Evans records: "The people appeared to live well, and seemed open-hearted to receive Friends; many of them being weary of their teachers" (85). The area was at the heart of the "Maritime New Light Stir" which saw the birth of the Free Will Baptists under the ministry of Henry Alline during the 1780s. Disputes about "water baptism" divided the inhabitants, no doubt leading to the "wearyness" Evans describes. (G.A. Rawlyk, Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, baptists and Henry Alline (Kingston, McGill-Queen's Press, 1984)).

Beloved Friend,

In that gospel love that we felt when we parted, I wish your patience in the truth and obedience to the spirit of truth that I believe was with us. For that love that doth arise from the spirit of truth is like an anchor to the soul, for it comes only by the true messiah. And I heartily wish my Friends your minds to be settled and founded on the rock of ages.

Farewell,

T.R.

And Thomas Green's wife and children something like this

Beloved Friends,

Keep ye in the everlasting truth; live in it and let it rule in your hearts. For as it was with us when we was with you, it will, if ye abide in it, be with you to the end and in the end. And in the end give you a crown of peace and joy that will continue through life and in the world to come.

Farewell, this in love from your Friend Tim Rogers.

Samuel Moore's wife and children was

not members but very loving, and I believe fully convinced of truth. She came with us 25 miles. He came about one hundred and fifty. We had a number of Meetings being highly favoured in testimonies,<sup>1</sup> and came across the Bay of Fundy from Digby to the city of St. John, on the mouth of St. John River. In the Bay of Fundy, they say, the tide raises from 30 feet to 70 feet high, that causes, in a time of wind, the bay to be very rough.

At St. John, we landed on the eighth day of eighth month, 1795; Joshua has been very much complaining of being unwell. We put up at John Garrison that married Sarah Woodward;<sup>2</sup> her brothers Isaac and Jessie Woodward<sup>3</sup> was livers in town, and all was very kind to us. We had two very large meetings, and highly favoured, may the

1. Evans records meetings for worship at Randolph; at a nearby Baptist Meeting House; another 10 miles further on the way to Annapolis; and at an inn in Digby (85-6).

2. John Garrison, a tanner from New Jersey, and his wife Sarah Woodward had settled in Beaver Harbour in 1783/4. They had lived on the town plot East and North of Beaver Harbour, lot #15, 6 acres. John Garrison was not a Friend, although Sarah was. It is not known when they moved to the St. John area. See Holmes, *Loyalists*, 60.

3. Isaac (1760-1833) and Jesse Woodward (1746-1805) were Quakers from Monmouth Co., New Jersey, and both had been disowned for military activities during the Revolutionary War. They were among the 49 original signers of the 1783 Quaker agreement to settle Beaver Harbour. Isaac had been granted town plot #242, and Jesse, plot #61. It is not known when they moved to St. John. See Holmes, *Loyalists*, 139. Evans states that "many of the people hereaway have had an education amongst Friends, and are friendly; but appear to be as sheep without a shepherd" (87).

Lord bless the honest hearted.

The 11th day we went forward with the help of some friendly people. Got to Charity French's at Dipper Harbour. The 12th, we landed at Beaver Harbour.<sup>1</sup> Our Friend Samuel Moore went back from here. We had two or three meetings here. Put up at our Friend Joshua Knight's;<sup>2</sup> here was a small meeting of Friends, that was set up by them without the notice of any monthly meeting.

The 14th, we went forward by Friends' help, to one David Owen's on Campobello Isle, in the Bay of Quoddy, nigh St Croix

1. Also known as Pennfield (Quaker) Settlement. Dorland notes that it is "unique in the history of the Society of Friends as a distinctly Loyalist Quaker settlement" established by Friends deported from the Philadelphia area. Joshua Knight of Philadelphia was the most prominent Friend in the settlement. After his property in Philadelphia was confiscated by the Whig authorities, he sought refuge in New York. In 1783, he and a group of Friends applied for permission to establish a settlement on the River St. John, which was eventually established at Beaver Harbour. There were 149 lots on the original grant. A contemporary estimates the population at 800 people, although many of these were not Friends. (Dorland, Quakers in Canada, 47). See also, J. Vroom, ed., "The Pennsfield Records, 1783-1789" Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society Vol. IV.

2. Joshua Knight (1731-1806) was a Quaker blacksmith and farmer from Abington, Pa. who organized the Quaker migration to Beaver Harbour in 1783. A Loyalist, he was disowned by Abington Monthly Meeting in 1777 for military activities, and fled to New York for British protection in 1778 after escaping imprisonment during the Battle of Germantown. His wife and children remained Quakers. The meeting established at Beaver Harbour was "set up without the notice of any Monthly Meeting" since many of its founding members had been disowned by their home meetings for their military activities. See Holmes, Loyalists, 77-9.

River.<sup>3</sup> He gave us supper, lodging for nought. He is from Europe.

The 15th day we got to Machias in the province of Maine, a part of the Bay States.<sup>4</sup>

The 16th being first day we had two favoured meetings that was large.<sup>5</sup> When we went, a doctor and squire gave us a paper to a man in substance as follows:

Respected Friend - Manwarren Beal.

We have the satisfaction to inform you that our Friends had a very comfortable and quiet Meeting at the West Falls at our Meeting House. Our Friends Joshua Evans from the West Jersey and Timothy Rogers of Vermont both sat with us. They each of them spoke and gave general satisfaction. I hope by the blessing of God. They have done a very material service in this place. The Meeting was uncommon large. May they go on and prosper in the work of the Lord is the wish and desire of your Friends,

William Chaloner Doct.

Stephen Smith Jus.<sup>6</sup>

3. David Owen was a non-Friend, the proprietor of Campobello Island.

4. Until 1820, Maine was a part of Massachusetts (the "Bay State").

5. Evans adds that "no members of our society reside in the place" (88).

6. Copy in Evans Papers, Friends Historical Library.

The 17th day we came to Squire Merritt's, at Pleasant River. The 18th we went to one Hall's; was used very kind; had a meeting nigh with some friendly people. Joshua spoke and that answered as the people seemed hungry for preaching. Crossed Pleasant River to Richard Coffin's. The 19th, we rode on with hired horses and a pilot. The 20th day, we rode through rain six miles to Paul Dudley Sargent's at Frenchman's Bay; from here we landed at Blue Hills Bay. The 21st day, we, by land and water through woods, got to Penobscot; had a meeting the 23rd after some difficulty about getting a place. And then way opened for another. Then we left the town in peace, landed at Camden, the 27th day having a meeting by the way. We heard that our Friend David Sands was here and went to Europe about 3 weeks past.<sup>1</sup>

After meeting, we rode twenty miles to widow Chapman's at Broad Bay.<sup>2</sup> The 28th had a meeting, bought two horses; the visit seemed over, for we had not much to do,

1. David Sands (1745-1816) was born a Presbyterian on Long Island, but joined the Quakers at age 21. He moved to the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, where he was recognized as a minister 9 years later. He made extensive travels in the ministry throughout New England, and laid the foundations for the meetings established in the Vassalboro and Windham areas of central Maine, not far from Camden. See Barbour et al, Crosscurrents, 112-3. For details of his European travels, see Sands, David Journal of... David Sands (London: Charles Gilpin, 1848).

2. "Broad Bay" apparently refers to what is now know as Muscongus Bay. The 1790 Census locates "Widow Chapman" in Nobleborough, Lincoln County.

only ride about three hundred miles to my house. We crossed Sheepscoot River, Kennebec River, through New Brunswick, Falmouth, stayed at our kind Friend John Windslow.

At Sandwich we stayed at Benjamin Scribing. The 1 day 9 mo. we got to Sandwich, third day. We at night we lodged at Dorchester. Fourth day we came to Lyme in [New] Hampshire, crossed Kennebec River to Thetford.<sup>3</sup> This day we got to Jerod Bassett's in Vermont; met Joseph Hoag, from my Meeting, and Henry Hull from Nine Partners, both travelling ministers.<sup>4</sup> The next day we had three Meetings; I parted with Joshua Evans, went with Henry Hull. Got home to our Monthly Meeting in Ferrisburg. Found my family all alive. Had travelled about 2,200 miles. My family was not well, my ten children having the whooping cough; my wife had moved our Friend Jacob Winn's wife and five children in our house, because they had sickness.

My old troubles came again. As they had been poor, and moved with me about ten years ago to or nigh here, I gave them 50 acres of land that I could ahad when they had it. 100 or 150 dollars for an agreed-for 50 acres more, that they was to have five years to clear. 25 acres, to 15 inches fence

3. "Kennebec" here is in error. Evans and Rogers are crossing the Connecticut River which forms the boundary between Vermont and New Hampshire.

4. Henry Hull (1765-1834) was a minister from Nine Partners NY, and the brother-in-law of David Sands. See Hull, Memoirs, 254.

with poles, to girdle the bigger timber, and to have the use of it five years. This made him a hundred acres. Friends gave besides to them to the value of two hundred dollars. When I was appointed with three other Friends to advise because they could not get a good living without help, nor pay their debts, we advised him to sell his farm and he did for seven hundred dollars in notes on interest from date; the longest pay-day not more than three years. His wife often talked cross to me; the man was to have a house, and follow coopering, as he was very lame and not fit to farm it. The house on his seven acres, bought by him for that purpose nigh our meeting house, was not done so as to be comfortable.

When I came home his wife Phoebe was so exceedingly touchy with me that she would cry many hours, and I believe tried all she could in a sly manner to catch me in my talk with her because we that, she said I acted chief actor in and sold their farm for 210 pounds and she believed it would afetched 250.

I tried to reason with her, but no way would do, till we called on six or seven Friends, and made a settlement. Friends seemed pleased to find them worth, besides his cooper's tools, clothes, and household furniture, £210, and nearly or quite, clear of debt; but yet she reflected on me, and Friends, when I offered to tell the story, put the matter by, by telling them to complain of the committee. I hope the poor that do

not or cannot, or will not, maintain themselves, will not use their best friends so any more.

I while I was gone had left almost all that had growed on 150 acres of improved land, lost. My family became much out of order to my great grief.

In the eleventh month I went to monthly meeting, 2 monthly meetings more, and our quarterly meeting at East Town.<sup>1</sup> Rode out and in nearly 400 miles. Did what I could to get stoves and glass for our meeting house at Ferrisburg. Friends at Peru requested a settled meeting and preparative. A committee by the quarter was appointed.

Notwithstanding all my trouble, I find the Lord favours me in my bearing all things with patience.

In the 12th mo. 1795 our monthly meeting was at Ferrisburg. Friends at the Island where I was last summer now request for a meeting on the 10th day 12 m. 1795. The eleventh, I got a letter from our Friend Samuel Moore, that is as follows:

Wilmot, Nova Scotia,  
10th mo. 17 day 1795.

Esteemed Friend

The day I parted with thee at Beaver Harbour, we reached St. John's the next day, got a passage to Digby, that made my passage home very quick. That I found all well. I

1. Easton.

was at home but a few days, and then went to Halifax, and paid our Friends a visit at Dartmouth; they were much rejoiced to hear from thee and Joshua, that you had got so far with so little difficulty. I expect to go to Dartmouth in about ten days, and Job Young with me, who has a desire to join with Friends in membership. I often think of thee with gratitude for thy long and tedious journey in love to visit us. I hope the labour that was bestowed amongst us with love will prove to us with a lasting impression, to honour of the great master. We have not heard from you since we parted, therefore, a line from thee would be very acceptable; and let us know how you got along. I hope, when this comes to hand, it will find thee at home to thy family, with the answer of peace in thy own bosom. My family is all well, and joins with me in love to thee and thine.

From thy Friend, Samuel Moore  
To Timothy Rogers

The 15 day of the 1 mo. 1796 I wrote one letter to Samuel Moore, and one to Seth Coleman and Thomas Green, and one to Jesse Woodward and brothers, and one to Jacob Lester. We now continue a few months as usual round Lake Champlain. Joseph Hoag attended the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meeting in this year. Our Quarter let our Monthly Meeting that was held at Ferrisburg in the 6 mo.<sup>1</sup> They thought best for Friends at Peru to not have a Preparative Meeting yet and in this Monthly Meeting they was allowed a meeting for one year. And Friends at the Grand Isle or South Hero held a Meeting for six months, both under the care of a committee, I being one of said committee at Peru.

*[My wife ? to ? at other times to be ? your high ? about several things to my great sorrow and about this time she visited amongst the ? neighbour ? and ? friends? and one night she went off so high ? I spoke to her that I supposed she would part and me and as she had gave me ? of being with other ? job came in such a trial mixed with ? that I fell to ? myself. Till the blind rage ? face and ? and told her she had ? she seemed to be sorry and after awhile prom-*

1. Danby Monthly Meeting had been set off from Saratoga Monthly Meeting in 1795. Danby Monthly Meeting was composed of Danby and Ferrisburg Preparative Meetings, and Peru and Grand Isle Indulged Meetings.

*ised many good things.]*

I recovered from a delirium and went to meeting but had many hours of sorrow for this so doing as a fool, but mostly in secret for we told not of the matter. And in 7 mo. my oldest son [Obadiah] and second [James] got to blows. When I came to them and spoke somewhat sharp, the oldest fled, kept away till night, and got a horse to run away. As I was agoing after him a feeling took hold of my mind, as if someone had said - "Thy son is at home, or soon shall be." I went home, and as I could not find nor hear of him, I walked out to see if I could see him. And as I stood mourning, I felt as if it would be best to talk loud to my son, as if I knowed he heard me; and in obedience to the Lord, I begun as I had come home, although I could not tell where he was, and it was dark. But after I had talked awhile, in much love advising him for his good, as if he were present, the Lord favoured me to see him coming. For he was nigh hid, waiting for us to go to bed, but he might get a horse and clothes and some money, and flee into another country. But after he came in, although I offered him to go, he chose not and did appear to do well, and made an acknowledgement. Blessed be the God of heaven for His great favours to my poor soul.

About the 12th day of the 7 mo. 1796 - Martha Routh from old England<sup>2</sup> and Lydia

2. Martha Routh (1743-1817), like Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, was an English evangelical

Rotch from Rhode Island, Abraham Underhill from Crouton River<sup>1</sup> and Joseph from West Jersey came to visit us and had good service for truth. This way they was at our first day meetings. Had one to Monkton in the afternoon and visited the meetings of Friends at the South Hero and Peru and got to our next first day meeting that was very large and favoured with the power of the Lord amongst us. And second day they went on for Queensbury.

In the eighth month I attended with other Friends our Monthly Meeting at Danby and Quarterly Meeting at East Town to good satisfaction.

In the ninth month I opened in our Preparative and Monthly Meetings at Ferrisburg, a desire I have had on my mind to go westward, to look for some new settlement.<sup>2</sup> And a committee was appointed, and concluded I might have a few lines, but I found Friends to be so unwilling I should move, that after I had done considerable towards looking and buying to the west-

ward, I gave up my prospect and concluded to not move from our Meeting at present.

travelling in the ministry in America. She recorded that the Monthly Meeting at Danby was very long, since many had requested membership. She reminded them that numbers alone did not "increase the church's joy; which could not be promoted by any means short of coming in at the right door, by Christ." See Routh, Martha "Memoir of Martha Routh", Friends Library, Vol. XII (Philadelphia, Joseph Rakestraw, 1848), 453.

1. The Crouton River is in Westchester County, New York.

2. Friends who desired to move required a "certificate of removal" from their Monthly Meeting establishing their membership in the Society of Friends.

To obtain this certificate, they had to specify the Monthly Meeting to which they were moving. In this way, Friends sought to ensure that migrants would remain under the close watch of a meeting. The records of Danby Monthly Meeting are vague on the nature of Roger's concern. The minutes of Danby Monthly Meeting, 11 Mo. 10, 1796, state that "Timothy Rogers informed this meeting that he wanted the advice and assistance of his friends in the disposal of his property" and recorded the appointment of a committee to advise and, if expedient, assist him. The minutes for 1 Mo. 6, 1797, recorded that Rogers had dropped his prospect and dismissed the committee.

## 1797

In the first mo. in the year 1797, I stayed about home, and so on till third month, then went to South Hero to visit Friends with our Friend Luther Colvin from Danby, and to Peru.<sup>1</sup> Was at four meetings and visited about thirty families. Got home well with peace of mind, for the Lord was with us through this visit and by the spirit of His son, opened many sweet and blessed opportunities according to the nature of this visit.

Soon after this I found a concern to try to get to our Yearly Meeting, but found it very trying, wishing to do my duty as I have a wife and eleven children, the most small. And my oldest son about to go for himself.

About this time we had many difficulties turn up by some careless Friends amongst our neighbours, and I was called by a number to arbitrate. I got off with as many as I could, and helped settle all I could as there was some very intricate matters. I was generally called, and had much labour on those accounts. May the Lord make His people more pure by the power of His love.

I went in the fifth month to our preparative meeting, and to our Monthly Meeting at Danby, and Quarterly at Easton, and to our

Yearly Meeting at New York. Our Friend Isaac Leggatt from Saratoga was there and we spoke about slaves; he told me he thought they might be set at liberty by law [and] asked me if I did not want to hire.<sup>2</sup> I told him I would hire a couple if he would recommend them. We each one went our ways home from Yearly Meeting. When I got to Danby, two had fled from their masters, as they said, to go to me at Ferrisburg, by Isaac Leggatt's advice. The next day as we went on, they was stopped with an advertisement. I agreed with the officer to let them be till their masters would come and see to it, and I wrote to them, went on home. And about the 20 day the 6 m. I went from home. Their masters came and attempted to run on them with rope, as supposed to bind them. I being gone and they being frightened, they both ran to the woods. After three days I came home, heard what was done, went four miles to see the masters, found them very angry, threatened great things; but I was very much put to find some of our late laws, as they have not long been in print.

On the 26 d. of 6th m. 1797, they both sued me, for each black man, 500 dollars

5. Luther Colvin (ca. 1739-1829) came from Rhode Island to Danby in 1765. Hemenway, vol. 3, 618. South Hero Preparative Meeting on Grand Isle, Vermont, on Lake Champlain, and Peru Preparative Meeting, Town of Ausable, Clinton County, New York, were established as part of Danby Monthly Meeting in the 1790s. Both became part of Peru Monthly Meeting on its establishment in 1799.

2. Abolition measures had been debated in the New York State Legislature since the 1780s, but the first gradual emancipation act was not passed until March 29, 1799, freeing the children of slaves born after July 4<sup>th</sup> of that year. An act passed in 1817 freed all slaves born before that July 4, 1799, effective on July 4, 1827. A Judd Northrup, "Slavery In New York," New York State Library Bulletin (May 1900), 286-99. Vermont had abolished slavery in 1777.

apiece as fine, for aiding or assisting.<sup>1</sup> When I found our late acts of Congress, I found the law so pointing against what was done, that I thought best to settle, for the black men was starving in the woods. In short I believe my Friend Leggatt was mistaken, and we had been too fast, and my trouble was very great. But I had this satisfaction, that I had meant to do all the good I could towards freeing all slaves. So I concluded to not value interest with freedom, and bought them both for seven hundred dollars, that pinched me very much to pay, and then gave them their freedom; writing the whole matter to my Friend Isaac Leggatt. They would let no man come nigh them, till I travelled through the woods from one place to another, calling "Harry" and "Francis", for that is their names. And they heard me, came to me, went home with me; agreed to work for me six years for wages that was agreed to by Abel Thompson,<sup>2</sup> one of our county judges, for the black men, as he assisted in our business in a very kind and friendly manner. This man has used me and my neighbours that are Friends, in a very friendly way, he being an honourable

man. This hint I believe to be due to his character.

I am so unwell I thought not safe to attend our to preparative meeting for the 8th mo., but felt much peace and quietude of mind in my illness.

This fall I have many trials. Blessed be the Lord God that I am not quite drowned in the ocean of despair.

1. Under a United States law passed in 1793, any person obstructing the capture of a "fugitive from labor" was liable for a fine of \$500 for the benefit of the claimant. The first compilation of United States federal laws was, the so-called "Foxwell edition" was not published until 1796-97.

2. Abel Thompson (1741-1808) settled in Ferrisburg in 1778, and was its first justice of the peace and first representative to the Vermont legislature. H.P. Smith, History of Addison County (1886), 440, 648, 650.

1798

In the First Month I found my black men very uneasy, for I had now give them their full liberty. Acknowledged my forward conduct in buying them to our Monthly Meeting,<sup>1</sup> and through many hours of pain and a bowed mind to the Lord, I became willing to suffer and as it was thought one of these black men did attempt to poison my son James, so I let them both go. And went with my wife to our monthly meeting in the first mo. and to Nine Partners to visit her relation, and visited about thirty families. My oldest son went with us, and stayed awhile for his health. I took much pains to get Friends to labour and advise him for his good. We got to our Quarter in the second mo. 1798, and got home soon after, finding all as well as we left it. My mind was almost always bowed to the Lord for some trouble that taketh place either on me or my Friends this way.

In the fourth mo. I received a letter that here follows a copy:

1. The discipline of New York Yearly Meeting prohibited Friends from buying or hiring slaves. Rogers felt that he had been "forward" in purchasing the freedom of Harry and Francis and that he needed to make an acknowledgement for what was technically a violation of the discipline. The Monthly Meeting minutes do not record Rogers acknowledgement or make any reference to this incident. Presumably the Monthly Meeting felt that Rogers' actions were within the spirit and intent of the Quaker testimonies against slavery and an acknowledgement of error was not needed.

Dartmouth,  
4th 12 m. 1797

Respected Friend Timothy Rogers,

Thy favour of the fifth m. last was very acceptable from which we expected Joseph Hoag and some other Friend. But the good master knows best how to dispose of His servants. He stayeth one and another according to His own good pleasure and who may say unto Him "What doest Thou?" But blessed be the Lord who is mindful of a little remnant up and down in this part of the world in whom He hath begotten some hungerings and thirstings after the true and living bread and pure wine of the heavenly kingdom. May there be an increase of this saith my soul, although our expectation failed of Joseph, it was acceptably recompensed by John Winn whose gospel labours was acceptable to all and powerfully edifying to a number. Oh may it never be lost or be like the morning dew that soon passeth away.

I went there with him and his companions to Annapolis where we parted in love and unity which yet liveth in me, with thankfulness to God and the Lord Jesus Christ from whom cometh every good and every profitable gift. Job Young, Andrew Crawford, [Jonathan] Elliott and Deborah Thane have been received into membership since thou was here. My son-in-law [Alexander] Thane and son Benjamin and William Grovenor and a young man that

served his time in this neighbourhood have requested and stand fair, at present, to be received soon.<sup>1</sup> But when there will any more step forward in this glorious cause, I cannot tell.

And now I may inform thee that this little Meeting will shortly come to an end. I expect to move to Annapolis. Have had evidence to believe it to be from a living spring; doubt not, but He who is the world and the fulness thereof, is, will provide me a place. Let me seek after an humble mind that is satisfied with a little of this world and always enough to be thankful for.

The cause of this meeting being removed, I leave to Him that best knoweth my prospect at present, is in that the meeting place will be about half way between Samuel Moore's and Job Young's and if I leave to move there I expect my son-in-law will go with me or soon after, if the Lord will. I believe Seth Coleman has not concluded as yet where to move to. It is likely to the States.<sup>2</sup>

I have a prospect, if the Lord will, of visiting some part of my native land next summer. I hope to be at the Yearly Meeting

at Newport,<sup>3</sup> but desire to be resigned to the will of God in all things that is best for me, for I am a poor, weak, depending creature on Him. For every needful thing is from His blessing for soul and body. I often think of thee and Joshua and many more valiants in and for the truth. May the increase of such never have an end. My fears are inexpressible at times when I consider the danger and darkness I am surrounded with and sensible of my own weakness and being as one alone to bear the ark of the testimony for the truth here in the wilderness of iniquity. But I thank God through Jesus Christ who caused me to believe and take up the cross and despise the shame.<sup>4</sup> He has never left me nor forsaken me, but in mercy doth awaken me in His own good pleasure and renewed my strength to serve and worship Him who is God over all, blessed forever. Above all things may I continue in His love and fear too often so that I may be strengthened so as to obey His commandments, not regarding the scuffings makings or any discouragements that may be cast in the way.

Respecting the present judgements in the world, I have but little to say. But this much I feel a freedom to mention; let Friends be very careful not to join with anything whereby they may be found, upon impartial and perfect examination, fighters against God. Therefore let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.<sup>5</sup> Wisdom only can

1. A committee from Nantucket Monthly Meeting visited Nova Scotia in 1798 reported on 8<sup>th</sup> month 25, 1798, that there were twenty-eight members of Dartmouth Meeting, and that Alexander Thane, Benjamin Green and William Grovenor were "young men or orderly circumspect lives." Rotch-Wales Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Section B, item 38. See also Trinder, 124, 128.

2. Coleman returned to Nantucket, where he died in 1822. See Dorland, *History*, 35.

3. New England Yearly Meeting.

4. cf. Hebrews 12: 2b.

5. cf. 1 Corinthians 10: 12.

direct in this to show the snare and guide to happiness. Therefore let none unwisely step aside and so be left to mourn and find no place to hide.

If thou gets this, please to let me know the first opportunity next spring. Thou may have opportunity this winter to send a letter to William Minturn, New York, who will forward it to me the first conveyance so that I might get it before I leave home, as I expect if I am favoured to go forward, I shall set out by the middle of 5th mo. and would be glad to know if Joseph or any other Friends has a prospect of coming to visit us here next summer, and which way they will come. For I should be sorrowful if any come and I should miss of their company. But if it be their way to take the Yearly Meetings, I may see them and should be as glad to see thee, as anyone I think of at this time.

I conclude with fervent desires that thee and thine and as many more as the Lord will please to bless may be abundantly favoured with spiritual health and temporal blessings according to His will. In love to thee and thy wife and children in which my wife and children join, as also Seth Coleman and family. I remain at this time if nothing more a well wisher for the prosperity of truth.

Thomas Green.

I forgot to record a letter from Thomas Green that was dated Annapolis ninth d. 9

m. 1796, before the last that here follows a copy of:

Beloved Friend Timothy Rogers

Thy kind favour the first m. last I received at Samuel Moore's, being there in company with James Davis, Jethro Michael, Joseph King and William Rotch, jr;<sup>1</sup> [they] being a committee to visit this part, and in particular my son-in-law [Jonathan] Elliott [&] daughter [Deborah] Thane, Andrew Crawford and Job Young of Granville, who requested to be members of our Society.<sup>2</sup> And there is a prospect of their being received and some more in a hopeful way. Thanks be to Him that turneth people from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to the power of the living God. And it is very comfortable to me to hear that there is an increase of faith and faithfulness in that that is more to be desired than gold, yea than fine gold. May they be favoured to come forward in humble obedience to the requirings of the Lord and may there be more added to the number such as shall be saved saith my soul until the knowledge of the birth cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. Amen.

I left my family all in health. Likewise

1. William Rotch Jr. (1759-1850), of Nantucket and New Bedford, Clerk of New England Yearly Meeting. See John M. Bullard, The Rotches (1947), 25, 71-83, 408.

2. See Trinder, 127; "Letters from Joseph Wing," Bulletin of the Friends Historical Society, 1 (1907): 113-4.

Seth Coleman's family is all well when I left home. Thanks be to Him that preserveth man and beast for his long suffering and great loving kindness to the children of men. And not having time to add must conclude, recommending thee unto the grace of God and also thy dear wife and children and all that love and for the Lord which is able to build you all up in the holy faith and make truly wise unto salvation in a mission of that love that time nor distance cannot relinquish to thee, thy family and all Friends. I bid you all farewell.

Thomas Greene<sup>1</sup>

We had a meeting upon the mountain nigh Samuel Moore's and one at the meeting house near Robert Randolph's, two at Job Young's and several family sittings and there appears to be a tender people in this part that is hungering and thirsting and some truly seeking after the sincere milk of the word of life. May the Lord increase their faith and give them grace to keep them from falling saith my soul. Amen in love to all.

Thomas Greene

And here is my answer:

1. A note in a different hand has been entered in the margin here: "This T. Greene was one of the principal members of a small preparative meeting at Dartmouth, Co. of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and my father's acquaintance with him and Seth Coleman was in his visit there in co. with Joshua Evans in 7th mo., 1795. See Journal. J.H.R."

Ferrisburg 6 day 5 mo. 1798.

Respected Friend Thomas Greene,

A few days ago in the post office at Vergennes I found thy favour of 12 mo. past to my comfort and satisfaction. I may inform that Joseph Hoag has been so long detained by some Friends that he believes the time past that he ought to have been there, so he has returned his certificate to the monthly meeting. But I find he often has you that way on his mind, but I believe he means to be subject to the will of the great master. And I often feel prayers to the father and fountain of all good that you are of that little remained in that part of the land. May as little children begotten by His spirit of love that is in Jesus Christ that you may remain as small children in His arms that He may suffer you to come to Him and He and His father by the spirit of truth come in and sup with you. For of such who hath fully experienced the new birth and are redeemed by the blood of the lamb is the kingdom of heaven. I praise the Lord that he hath sent one of His servants among you, no doubt to your great joy; being a help to you in your tried situation by advising you for your good, face to face, that I hope was a means of sharpening your love in the truth caused you to thank the Lord in sincerity of soul. I am thankful that there has been four received amongst you and three more convinced. May they remain as children of the same spiritual father looking to Him in a

spiritual manner that they with you that are older in truth may be nourished by the sincere milk or wine of the kingdom that is a spiritual kingdom and is made known to us in the still part of our minds and not in the bowels of the world.

I have been somewhat uneasy about that meeting being dropped. I hope thy good master will make thee fully sensible what he requires of thee. I wish the truth to grow in the neighbourhood of Annapolis and elsewhere in that part of the footstool. If Seth Coleman has moved, please to inform me where. As to thy place to settle on, I hope thou will continue thankful to the end whether thou has little or much. As to the place to meet among you, let truth alone appoint, that Christ with His father by the spirit of truth may meet amongst you. And I beg as a brother that thou would be faithful to bear the ark of the testimony, though I spoke of faithful[ly] with such honest, plain simplicity, that the Lord will feed thee with that bread that comes down from above, that the wilderness may become as a fruitful field. This will be a full recompense for all gainsayers as to the judgements of the Lord that are on poor Christendom.

I am glad thou was careful to say but little about, but I can say I long to see the sword put up in its sheath and garments that are rolled in blood washed white in the blood of the lamb of God that taketh away the [sins] of the world if we are obedient to Him.

As to Joshua [Evans], I have no particular answer since he went southward, nor do I know of any Friend coming that way at present. I want to see thee and a number of others that way, but when the Lord will send his angel and smite my chains about me and cause the prison door to open I know not.<sup>1</sup>

I now conclude with breathing to the same father and fountain of all good that is alpha and omega, the beginning and the end, first and last, praying for obedience to His will in all things. My love is to thee, thy wife and children and brothers and sisters in Christ that live in that land.

Timothy Rogers

About this time I found very heavy labour, and I had heavy labour by many things in the beginning, so it continues. Our meetings dwindled.

1. cf. Acts 16: 26.

1799

In 1799 I received a number of letters enclosed in one as follows (viz):

Beloved Friend Timothy,

Please to accept the enclosed lines as a token of regard for thee and family and the people in that part, with real love to all, in which my wife joins and family joins. If this come to thy hand, I should be pleased to hear of thy receiving it by the first convenient opportunity. I was in hopes that Friends would return from Dartmouth before the bearer of this set out but is at this time uncertain - this is forwarded by a man lives 40 miles up Onion River. His name is Woodbury. I should be pleased to see Joseph Hoag and thee this summer if the good master's wills be so. All the Friends here desire their love to be remembered.

It was said of Paul, that he dwelt two whole years in his own hired house and received all that came in unto him to preach the kingdom of God and teaching those things that concerned the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him.<sup>1</sup> But what bore little use shall be instrumental in doing here one only knows and experience will only make manifest. Once more in love I bid thee farewell.

10 day, 9 mo., 1799.

Thomas Greene

This being the outside, this following is a copy of the next, kindly forwarded at Hick's ferry:

9 mo., 3 d., 1799

Respected Friend Timothy Rogers,

Thy favour of fifth mo. 1798 I received in the sixth mo. following at Newport at the time of our Yearly Meeting, which I read with a simple and new unity with thy travelling spirit for Zion's children. For it is written when Zion travailleth [*that*] she bringeth forth children.<sup>2</sup> May thee and me continue this holy travail for the deliverance of souls and many more.

I was from home last year for about five months in which time I visited my near relations and near and dear Friends at Boston, New Bedford, Nantucket, Newport, Greenwich, Coventry, Foster, Smithfield, Gloucester, Uxbridge, Providence, Bolton, Cranston; was at all their Preparative and Monthly Meetings, and some of them twice, in obedience to the Good Master's command, who was pleased to try me and prove me in various exercises according to His good pleasure. And when He commanded me to turn back again and again, I was obedient thereto and in so doing, I felt the abundant reward of peace, although I had to return back once to Nantucket after I had taken liberty feeling freedom therein to bid a hearty and lasting farewell to my native land and all the near and dear ones therein.

1. Acts 28: 30.

2. Isaiah 88: 8; cf Jeremiah 4: 31.

[And] This was a trying and proving time to me, yea it is revived in my heart at the recollection in precious remembrance when in my fears of misstepping, I was bowed low beseeeking the Lord once more. Yea and my paper I now wet with tears in recollecting all those precious fears and thou condescending goodness.

Continued: I cheerfully set forward and got well to the island where I had a testimony given me to bear for the truth in public and in private in order to confirm the faithful, shoring up the lukewarm and encouraging the rising youth to a daily and diligent seeking after the right strength and preparation of heart that would enable them to bear the ark of the testimony as on their shoulders. And that they may be guided in unerring wisdom in the true pathway, stepping in the careful steps of the faithful elders who, according to the course of nature, must shortly go hence; as also reminding them that the youth and middle-aged frequently fall, and that there is no place of safety of acceptable sacrifice, short of keeping the commandments of God.

I had an opportunity with the quarterly meetings committee that was appointed to join the monthly meetings committee and report their judgement respecting my son Benjamin [Green] and son-in-law Thane being accepted and also respecting my three daughters that I requested,<sup>1</sup> for these opportunities with both committees was edifying and comforted and I may now inform thee

they are all accepted as members in Society and I hope in some degree are seeking after the sincere milk, word of life so that they may grow thereby.

My turning back to Nantucket was two hundred miles out of the way pointed out for my travel homewards, but the reward of peace in thus obeying the command of the Lord abundantly rewarded me therefore.

After this I went carefully on my way homewards and was favoured to get well there and met my dear family all in good health and just in time to escape the most violent storms that has been experienced on this coast by the oldest people here in which many lives was suddenly changed unto death. And under a degree of understanding why it was so that the rod was thus laid upon us, I was bowed low and had to say in my heart "Great is Thy mercy and just are all Thy righteous judgements, O Lord." And in a good degree of thankfulness for my safe arrival before this storm and fervent breathing after a right preparation of heart for the renewing of strength to meet the next trial of which I soon found I had great need for.

I had been but a few days at home before I met with the most exercising trial that I have ever experienced. Our worthy Friend Ralph Bainbridge's son Thomas<sup>2</sup> that

1. Dartmouth Preparative Meeting forwarded Thomas Greene's request for membership for his three daughters, Elizabeth, Mercy and Penelope, to Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Trinder, 131.

2. Possibly Ralph Bainbridge (1729?-1793), a "public friend" of Gateshead, England. Thomas Bainbridge does not seem to have been a member of the Dartmouth meeting.

lived near me who had been disobedient from his youth and became an idle profligate drunken creature and given over to serve the master he had chosen, had let out his affections towards neighbour Russell's daughter, a virtuous, delightful young woman. And she not consenting to become his wife, he at last brought to a conclusion to put an end to her life and his own. Accordingly, to their house in the evening and in the presence of all the family, pierced her breast with his knife so fatal that she died instantly. Not speaking one word, he wounded himself twice before the knife was taken from him. But by the care of a physician was killed.<sup>1</sup>

But it was my lot to be called there in a few minutes after this scene began, to behold them both lying on the floor, one dead and other in the greatest distress with a wounded body. What was inexpressibly more, the cursing, seeing a wounded conscience. I was with him a considerable part of the time while he was in prison and under the keenest distress at times for the poor convicted man under sentence of death whose peace was all hid from him. I went with him to the gallows where was a long number of people which stood in a quiet situation near one hour and in his last moments I asked him how his feelings was then. He told me he did not feel that peace

1. This passage is difficult to interpret. The David. P. Rogers transcription reads "but by the ? of a fair citizen was killed."

and resignation that he did above all express and wish for, before he went hence to be no more seen. He then felt too hard to die which I fear was his unchangeable condition. But it was given me to believe in the evidence of the anointing truth that the soul of the dear young woman was received into the mentions of glory of which I was required to testify of to her parents. But of this and some other revelations that in condescending goodness I have been highly favoured with, respecting my last movement which some that know nothing but that they know are natural brute beasts have disputed, and so little afraid of speaking evil of dignities that they have said it was the whisperings of satan and delusions of the devil. But alas for them my heart forgives and pities them.

It is now five months since I came to my new habitation, in which time myself and family has been favoured with health<sup>2</sup> and have also been renewedly confirmed that He that said the time is in thine own hand,<sup>3</sup> go and I will go with thee,<sup>4</sup> and I will be thy God<sup>5</sup> and thou shall be my servant and serve me,<sup>6</sup> is well pleased with my obedience that I am brought daily under renewed obligation with fervent desires to

2. The handwriting in the manuscript changes at this point from large thick lettering to a smaller and more compact script in thinner ink.

3. cf. Psalms 31: 15a.

4. cf. Judges 4: 8a, Ruth 1: 16.

5. cf. Isaiah 41: 10, Exodus 20: 1, Deuteronomy 5: 6, Psalms 46: 10a, Psalms 100: 3a.

6. cf. 1 Samuel 17: 9b.

be perfectly subjected into a state of unfeigned thankfulness for all mercies and favours past and a doubling my diligence so as to make my calling and election surer that I may be enabled to keep the commandments and in truth say thy will be done oh Lord.

The number has increased from 20 to a 100 and some days near two hundred people. And sometimes I have a testimony given me with power to bear against the unfruitful works of darkness and sometimes to sit with my lips sealed in silence which is a disappointment to the earthly mind and ear that is impatiently waiting to hear words spoken by man. But may I retain it in memory that obedience is better than sacrifice and to harken to the voice of God than the fat of rams.<sup>1</sup> I have been inexpressibly consoled three days past with very agreeable company; Gervas Johnson from Ireland, Joseph Whitehall from Jersey, Cornelias Howland and Thomas Rotch from New Bedford and Abishai Bunker and Peter Barney from Nantucket have this morning set forward for Halifax. They had two meetings in this neighbourhood wherein the gospel was preached with demonstration and power, confirming and strengthening my testimony in the same precious truth from all which I hope some strength and edification will be gained.

And I found one whole sheet almost in verse part as follows):

2. cf. 1 Samuel 15: 22b.

(viz. )

But all that do His ways reject  
And time that He doth give,  
Consider well what to expect  
When sentence you receive.  
The righteous may say to one  
Into my kingdom come,  
And to another justly say,  
Depart and go away,  
For misery in thy doom.  
And now I return unto the man I left  
In prison strong with iron bolts  
Of all his joy bereft.  
What heart so hard that did behold  
And could not pity have  
On this enthralled distressed soul  
On the brink of the grave.  
When I within his prison strong  
Locked up in his sad cell,  
And sat with him for hours long,  
In sorrow I beheld  
With anguish smart  
His mournful heart  
Tears wrung from his eyes.  
Both day and night  
He sought for peace,  
But peace the Lord denies.  
Often did he say to me  
And anguish deep condole,  
Oh that the Lord would give me  
Peace to my distressed soul.  
Surely my heart was much distressed,  
I groaned, I prayed, I cried,  
Oh must our hopes all fruitless prove,

Oh must he be denied.  
 When now his time is set to die  
 From which there's no reprieve,  
 Which did his sorrows multiply  
 We wept, he mourned, he grieved.  
 He said it is just that thus I die,  
 And miserable be.  
 May all poor wicked drunken men  
 Warning take by me.  
 And now I go to the gallows,  
 Go for all to look upon  
 That come to see the end of me.  
 My wicked race is run.  
 Horror and fear, attend me here.  
 I feel too hard to die  
 And this I told to my near friend,  
 That he may testify,  
 So that all that hear of this  
 May fear the danger of delay  
 And shun the terrors of the Lord  
 That I do feel this day.  
 Let all that know my end  
 And woe, my sorrow and cry,  
 Now warned be by sad, sad me  
 And seek for grace  
 And make their peace  
 Before the time to die.  
 Other wise this will aggravate  
 Their woe and misery.  
 And now I close my sad, sad theme  
 Of this poor creature man.  
 He hungereth, he died, and is gone hence  
 To answer for his great offence  
 Before his Judge to stand.

I now conclude and caution all to seek  
 pure charity that will prepare forgiving  
 hearts for the greatest injuries and giveth  
 hope and joy and peace to all eternity.

§

Dear mourners, though I cannot realize  
 Yet with you, I can truly sympathize.  
 Oh may we labour to be resigned  
 In that which is gracious and divine.  
 Be this darling object of our mind  
 While we remain in this uncertain time  
 Once more conclude. And thus I make an  
 end.  
 In love conclude, the mourners sympathiz-  
 ing friend  
 Writing in hope and fear, joy and sorrow  
 with the account of her age.

Being the daughter of Nathaniel  
 Russell, 18 years, old day old, when killed  
 with a long butcher knife.

Thomas also says the young man's  
 father was Ralph Bainbridge, a public  
 Friend in England. And that he, the young  
 man, when a boy, stabbed or cut one of his  
 mates so as he died. And that he was always  
 subject to great passions and he once pre-  
 vented him by myself from shooting his  
 tutor, a clever man. His father appeared  
 wealthy.... T[homas]. Gr[een].

And also he wrote two dreams that is as  
 follows (viz):

Deborah Thane's dream the same night that Mary Russell was killed. And not knowing the matter that she related as follows:

I dreamed I went into a room  
But where I cannot say,  
Where was a woman and a man  
Who both expiring lay.  
Who those were I did not know,  
So then I could not relate.  
For this it seems I was to know  
When once I did awake.  
I dreamed that many stood around  
But who I did not know.  
But for my part, I thought my heart  
Was filled with grief and woe.

§

Was informed next morning it was true.

Mary Elliott's dream concerning Mary Russell, viz. It appeared in my sleep that I was at neighbour Russell's ahelpping to lay out their daughter Mary. But perceiving her to have life I spoke to them that was helping me, of which they doubted. But she soon opening her eyes and breathing, removed all doubts from us. She then held out her arms and desired to be helped up and then said she had been to the place of happiness which was beyond expression -- beautiful and glorious. She then enquired after Bainbridge and being informed that he was hung seemed to lament that she had not seen

him before to have given him good counsel for she had forgiven him for what he had done unto her and wished her parents to forgive him. And then she enquired after her father and mother saying "I know they are greatly concerned for fear I am unhappy, but I had time before I died to ask forgiveness and was forgiven and now I shall dwell in happiness forever." She said she had seen the place of torment that was dreadful beyond expression, but had not seen Bainbridge. She again repeated she had been to heaven that was a delightful, happy place and seemed to wonder that people would live in carelessness and unpreparedness for that forever happy place. Then she awoke and saw the same the second time.

In visiting my Friends at Danby, I found a letter from Stephen Buffington<sup>1</sup> of Rhode Island, that I got.

Dear Friend,

Having this opportunity, write a few lines which I have greatly desired and long for, I most affectionately salute thee, thy dear wife, and all the children, in that love which I believe proceedeth from the throne of God, and of the lamb, which is more truly precious to my poor soul than anything

1. Rufus Hall recorded in his journal that "our Friend, Stephen Buffington, of Aponegansett in New England [Rhode Island], who had lately recovered from a sickness which had confined him at Danby all the winter past, now coming to Easton..." Hall, Journal (1840), p. 38.

this world can afford. I have been much favoured with my health since I left Danby except a pain in my head a few times, no doubt occasioned by being exercised beyond what my feeble state was well able to bear. As to the eruption in my lungs, not yet wholly allayed. The inducement of my writing to thee at this time is principally to inform thee that thou art very near and dear unto me, and also thy dear wife, which I truly believe is a blessing from the Lord unto thee. O that thou who art truly favoured, may the Lord direct thy heart unto His love and the patient waiting for Christ to enable thee to set a good example at all times and all occasions before thy precious dear children, saying unto them in the language of fathers and mothers in Israel, "Follow me as I follow Christ, the beloved of souls, and that thy last days may be thy best days and that thy later end may be blessed more than the beginning,"<sup>1</sup> is the sincere prayer and desire of thy assured Friend and brother.

And dear friend, may I not forget to inform thee and thy dear wife and thy beloved children: oh how near and dear you have been brought afresh in my remembrance since I have been separated in body commemorating the mercy and kindness of almighty goodness bestowed upon me when at thy house. Through instrumental help it hath at times so greatly humbled my mind that everything of the first nature dissolved

4. Possibly reference to I Cor. 11:1.

in me so that I have had greatly to rejoice since I parted with my dear Friend in your parts in that I did give up, contrary to my natural inclination, to pay a religious visit to my dear Friends and others in Danby, in being made willing to turn my back upon my nearest and dearest connections.

Permit me to say O the sweet peace that I have been favoured with since I and my dear Friend Pardon Tripp [were] with you is beyond the expression of words which I could not compare to anything short of heaven on earth. So at times I have experienced great comfort of both body and mind beyond what I can express, for it truly seemed to me to be a near resemblance of that joy which is in the midst of the paradise of God. O my soul, be thou humble under a renewed sense of divine mercy in the living hope of salvation which is freely offered to all men the world over.

O my ardent desire is that I may be more and more fully dedicated in heart to the direction of best wisdom for to direct preservation through life, remembering the language in Holy Writ, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep amongst wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, but harmless as doves."<sup>2</sup> Oh the beauty of that wisdom that is wise and harmless as a dove. And it is further said by way of encouragement, "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God

5. Matthew 10: 16. The first sentence is partially misquoted, and should read "in the midst of" rather than "amongst wolves".

that giveth liberally and upbraideth not."<sup>1</sup> Oh how is my poor heart rejoiced while I am writing in a fresh remembrance of the gracious promises, "Ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find."<sup>2</sup> Oh the great need we have of that wisdom Solomon was endued with which was granted according humble request and it pleased the Lord.

And oh dear Friend, and may the Lord bless thee and thy dear wife and all the dear children which is the sincere desire and prayer unto God of my heart for you all at this time. Believing the blessing from above will be revealed upon condition if thou art truly engaged of heart, humbly requesting the Lord thy God that He may give the wisdom and understanding that thou may go in and out in an acceptable manner before the young and rising generations. And this will be well pleasing to the beloved of Thy soul and He is able to add riches and long life. I once more most affectionately salute thee, thy dear wife, and all the dear children in that love which the waters cannot quench nor the flood drown it, nor the distance of way erase. May this last legacy of love through divine assistance help forward instrumentally the repairing of the breaches of the walls of Jerusalem which are much broken down, here and there amongst us, by giving way to many undue liberties, some of

1. James 1: 5. The verse is partially misquoted, and should read, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not."

2. Matthew 7: 7, Luke 11: 9.

which I feel constrained to mention; that of idle conversation, foolish jesting and vain talking which greatly darkens the understanding and brings an eclipse over the mind to the great loss and disadvantage of many precious sons and daughters of Zion in the growth and life of true religion. And feeling a renewed desire for the preservation of the dear children, that no unprofitable discouragement might take place and that there may be rendering true obedience to their parents which no doubt will draw the blessings of sweet peace. That will be truly a valuable treasure more than anything this world can afford. In dear and tender love I bid you all farewell.

From thy affectionate Friend  
and Brother  
Stephen Buffington.  
Cambridge 27 of 4 m. 1798.

While Stephen was at the Friends' house, I visited him in his sickness, and had a good visit.

In part of this year and 1799 I had many very great trials, some things so singular in my family that I think not best to mention, but can say that I never had experienced anything near equal to what now came.

My wife and I both had something to acknowledge, which we did, and I can say in truth I was very sincere.<sup>3</sup> I believe, as I

3. Timothy Rogers presented an acknowledgement to Ferrisburg Preparative Meeting, 8<sup>th</sup> Month 2, 1798, which that meeting sent to Danby Monthly

had given way so far to my old nature, in the spirits of a man, as to fall into a passion when I had been provoked time after time. And truly many gross lies were told; but as in this time of trouble my mouth as to preaching were closed, my tongue as it were cleave to the roof of my mouth. My prayers became silent, but almost a continual crying to the Lord our God. And as I were suffered to struggle between life and death many months or years, only at times the Lord would give my soul a little love and faith whereby a hope would arise as bread to keep me from entirely giving up the ghost, but from several occurrences, I was caused to have reflections of my not moving to the westward, and I had many still and humble days and nights.

But as I was waiting on the Lord, there was a very pleasant feeling covered my mind, and I gave all up to His will, thinking I would do anything that He required. And it appeared if I would make ready and go immediately to the westward, the Lord would make way for me to settle in the wilderness, where no others were settled. And that both me and my children might settle there, and that the place should soon

settle, and that it should open a door for a Meeting of Friends in that place. I gave up to do as the Lord, by his spirit, now revived in my mind; for it was agreeable to a prospect that I had in years past, but as my wife was unwilling to move I could not see how it could be, as I also had three daughters married and settled, and two sons. But I went to making ready, and said nothing. But about three weeks after an occurrence took place whereby my wife became willing, and on the 24 day of the 4th mo. 1800, I started and kept minutes, but left writing in this journal from 1798 till this day, that is, the 26 day of 8 mo. 1804, which I shall here begin, and give a true account of, as the 2 part of my journal. And as I have been a long journey, and had a minute, I shall here give a copy of said Minute and our Governor's certificate, and then proceed.

Meeting. Danby Monthly Meeting, 8<sup>th</sup> Month 9, 1798, recorded receiving an acknowledgement from Rogers for "falling into a passion and using unbecoming language and conduct in his family" and appointed a committee to visit Rogers. After several visits, the committee reported to the monthly meeting on 2 Mo. 7, 1799, that Rogers' acknowledgement be accepted and appointed David Corbin and David Hoag to read it at the close of first day [Sunday] meeting in Ferrisburg.

## Upper Canada

These are to certify that Mr. Timothy Rogers has completed the settlement he undertook in this province, much to my satisfaction, and has, in all respects, conducted and demeaned himself as a good moral character and faithful subject.

Dated at York, 29 day of December in the year of our Lord, 1803.

Signed Peter Hunter,  
Lieutenant Governor

§

Whereas our Friend Timothy Rogers, having opened his prospect of going to Vermont, in order to settle some outward affairs, and also if way opens, to go to our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, we therefore recommend him your brotherly care and oversight. The Clerk is desired to give him a copy of this minute at a monthly meeting of Friends at Pelham, in Upper Canada, the 4 day of the first month, 1804.

Peter Beckitt, Clerk.

§

After it was endorsed thus:

At Quarterly Meeting held in Philadelphia, the 7th day of the 5 mo. 1804.

Our Friend Timothy Rogers having attended our late yearly meeting, and being now present with us at this quarter, his

company has been acceptable to us. Signed in and on behalf of said Meeting.

Jonathan Evans, Clerk.

§

And also:

At a Monthly Meeting held at Muncy 23 day of the 5 m. 1804.

Timothy Rogers attended this meeting and produced the written minute which being read is with this company acceptable. Signed on behalf of said Meeting.

William Ellis, Clerk.

§

In Vermont

Monkton

21 d. 3 m. 1804.

To whom it may concern,

These may certify that Timothy Rogers attended our preparative meeting and several other meetings and his company [has been] agreeable and satisfactory to us.

Nicholas Holmes,  
Joseph Hoag,  
John Cerly,  
John Austin,  
Solomon Barton,  
John Huff,  
David Knolls

§

Ferrisburg, 22 of the 3 mo. 1804

These may certify all whom it may concern it may concern that Timothy Rogers attended our preparative meeting meeting and several other meetings meetings and his company was agreeable and satisfactory to us.

Nathaniel Austin,  
John Huff,  
David Corbin,  
Peter van Vliet,  
Timothy Dakins,  
Joseph Rogers

§

As I said, I now proceed on the 24 d. of the 4 mo. 1800; I travelled to (if I don't live to write the story, I wish my son Timothy would from my minutes. This wrote by me the 5 day of the 4 month 1811 at Pickering. Timothy Rogers.)

§

I started with my son-in-law Rufus Rogers, his father Wing Rogers having had a talk with me, as thus:

“Brother Timothy, if thee will stay till next fall, I will go with thee.”

Answer: “I can't. I feel as if I must go.”

Wing: “Thee has hay and harvest to attend to, and it will be such a loss. Thou had best to wait for me till fall.”

I answered that “I can't see my way clear to wait, but should be glad of his company.”

I felt a great trial in my mind as I talked and walked the room. And as he urged very hard to have me wait, I felt a heavy impression of mind and told him if he would go immediately I should be glad, but I understand there is places that there is a Friends' meeting at the Bay of Quinte in New York Yearly Meeting, and Pelham in the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania, and if I go now, it seems as if I shall find a place between them, and be helpful to get Friends in Upper Canada united.<sup>1</sup>

And as I spoke, I became zealous to show my intent to do right, and it impressed my mind so strong that, said I "It seems as if there will be a line running,<sup>2</sup> and I can get

1. Adolphustown Monthly Meeting in the Bay of Quinte was established as a Preparative Meeting of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, under New York Yearly Meeting in 1798. Due to their distance, the Preparative Meeting was granted the extraordinary powers of appointing its own overseers, and accomplish marriages. For further history of the meeting, see Dorland, *Quakers*, 62-76; and Finnegan, Gregory "People of Providence, Polity and Property: Domesticity, Philanthropy and Land Ownership as Instruments of Quaker Community in Adolphustown, Upper Canada 1784-1824" in Schrauwers, *Faith*, 13-24. Pelham Monthly Meeting was established in 1799 under Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the Niagara peninsula. It was composed of two Preparative Meetings: at Short Hills (Pelham township) and at Black Creek (Bertie township). See Dorland, *Quakers*, 77-90; and MacMaster, Richard "Friends in the Niagara Peninsula 1786-1802" in Schrauwers, *Faith*, 1-12.

2. "A line running" refers to the surveying of new townships. In this case, the line was Yonge Street, laid out by Augustus Jones in 1794.

land where people may settle on both sides. And a new country will soon be like an old place in a new neighbourhood." So he stopped talking as I had been led to say that which proved an evidence to him, for so it was.

And after a long travel I got there. Rufus gave out before I got half way; and I viewed several places. And as I got a day's journey in the wilderness nigh Rideau Lake<sup>1</sup> I lay by, for I struck along maybe 20 miles from any house, alone, for so I often have done as I got up before sunrise. A very strong notion took hold of my mind to go back to my [*horse*] mare, but I sat, and it seemed to leave me. But I thought I was willing to go back, or home, or any way, if I knowed the motion was from the Lord. But now feeling no more I went on very fast, farther in the wilderness, as nigh as I could tell by my watch and small compass, about five or six miles. And I went fast, the feeling struck me again, and I went immediately back to a friend and old acquaintance of mine, Joseph Day,<sup>2</sup> where I left my mare. And then it seemed as if I must go to York in this province.<sup>5</sup> And by a great deal of hard travel got to York, and then went 30 or forty miles back. And following my concern made way to apply to Governor

1. In Leeds County, Ontario.

2. Joseph Day's certificate of membership from Easton (Saratoga) Monthly Meeting was received by Adolphustown Monthly Meeting 25/2/1802.

3. York, now Toronto, was founded by Sir John Graves Simcoe as the capital of the new province of Upper Canada in 1793.

General Hunter;<sup>4</sup> and John Elmsley, Chief Justice, became my friend.

And all the land was viewed by a company before me. I got back and got a grant for forty farms of 200 acres each.<sup>5</sup> By minding the feelings of the good spirit in my heart where now there is a monthly meeting and a half year meeting and 5 week-day meetings, including where I now live.<sup>6</sup> And the Lord was so wonderful to begin a meeting of Friends at this place, for I met the surveyor that had run the lines when I went out viewing. And after I had contracted to bring on forty families about 500 miles by land, I went on to Lake Erie, and

4. General Peter Hunter served as Lt. Governor of Upper Canada from 1799 to his death in 1805. He was also commander of the armed forces in British North America. Craig, Gerald Upper Canada: the Formative Years 1784-1841 (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1964) 42-43.

5. The "minutes of removal" submitted to the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting do not support the numbers cited by Rogers. The actual proportion of Friends from Vermont and Pennsylvania is roughly the inverse of the 40 to 20 ratio given by Rogers. Late arrivals from Catawissa, Muncy and Bucks Monthly Meetings in Pennsylvania either obtained grants on their own at a distance, or purchased land closer to the meeting. Rogers' settlers largely settled along Yonge Street in East and West Gwillimbury. Friends from Pennsylvania settled in Whitchurch and Uxbridge townships.

6. The Quaker settlement Rogers helped create in central Ontario was eventually organized as the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting was composed of 5 Preparative Meetings: Yonge Street (Newmarket), Queen Street (Sharon, East Gwillimbury), Pine Orchard (Whitchurch township), Uxbridge and Pickering. In 1810, Canada Half Years Meeting was established under New York Yearly Meeting, which met alternately in West Lake (a Preparative Meeting of Adolphustown) and Yonge Street.

found two preparative meetings, one at Pelham and one by Black Creek, that made one monthly meeting under the care of the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia.

And while I was gone, in a day or two, our Friend Samuel Lundy<sup>1</sup> came from Pennsylvania and took adjoining the land I agreed for, and took from government a grant for 20 families more. Joining after a long tedious journey, and laying many nights alone in the wilderness, I saw Samuel in my return to York. And Isaac Phillips, that is now an elder,<sup>2</sup> moved into York from Pennsylvania, Muncy Monthly Meeting. And as the whole move would be tedious about this. Pelham and Adolphus is about 250 or 300 miles apart. Now Friends were scattered 300 miles; so of business may I say the Lord did assuredly help. Blessed be His Name.

So I found Rufus and returned, and got home after about three months. And on the day 15 day of the second month, 1801, I started one sleigh. And on the 17, I started seven sleighs, and all my effects, and had a

1. Samuel Lundy (1740-1826) and his wife Sarah Webster married in Kingwood Monthly Meeting, N.J., and moved to Muncy Monthly Meeting, Northumberland County, PA., on the upper Susquehanna River. They, and a large number of the extended Lundy family later migrated to Whitchurch township where they formed the backbone of the Pine Orchard Preparative Meeting. Samuel Lundy patented Lots 31 & 32, Conc. 4, Whitchurch township.

2. Isaac Phillips (1755-1815) and his wife Edith Eves moved to Lot 89, Conc. 1, King township (west side of Yonge St.) in 1800 from Muncy Monthly Meeting. Phillips was named an Elder on 7/5/1806.

tedious voyage. My wife Sarah had a son just before I started that I named after the Chief Justice, John Elmsley Rogers. We had a great move and many trials, but got on the ground about the first of the 5 month 1801.

We began to meet soon in a house of mine, and went to Pelham Monthly Meeting with our certificates,<sup>3</sup> and soon was allowed a meeting at Rufus Rogers, my son-in-law; and after [a]while built a log room, and increased very fast till our loving Friends Henry and Martha Widdifield, both recommended ministers, and they was a help. But Henry soon grew weak and a dropsy caused his final dissolution. I think in 1805 he died.<sup>4</sup>

And my wife had another son, we named Stephen, after my old Friend in Danby, Vermont, a fine good Elder.

And in 1804, I had a concern as appears

3. Since there was no established Quaker meeting in the area, Yonge St. Friends brought their certificates of membership to the nearest Monthly Meeting, that being at Pelham in the Niagara peninsula. Pelham Monthly Meeting granted the Yonge Street Friends an indulged Meeting for Worship which met in the home of Rufus Rogers on Lot 91, Conc. 1, King township. Pelham Monthly Meeting, 12 Mo. 2, 1801, recorded the receipt of a certificate from Danby Monthly meeting of Timothy and Sarah Rogers, with children Sarah, Timothy, John, Elisabeth, Asa, Matilda, Wing and Emsley; the certificate from Danby for Wing and Lydia Rogers was received at the same meeting.

4. Henry Widdifield (?-1804) his wife, Martha Willson (1754-1836) and their large family immigrated from Muncy Monthly Meeting to Whitchurch township in 1803. Henry died 1 Sept. 1804. Martha remained the only recognized minister in the Pine Orchard Meeting until her death 15 Feb. 1836. She affiliated with the Hicksite branch of the Society after 1828.

to go to the States to settle business and attend our Yearly meeting, and was much favoured, but subject to many weaknesses and great trials.<sup>1</sup> And it seems as if something is very apt to turn up to block my way amongst Friends, yet the Lord has been kind in many respects; blessed be His holy name forever. However, I went to Vermont, and took my son from a school and he went with me to Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia,<sup>2</sup> and stayed to Friends' School at West-Town by Friends' kind offer.<sup>3</sup>

And in 1807 my wife went with me through Vermont, New York, Jersey states, and Pennsylvania; attended a great many meetings, and our yearly meeting, and seen her mother, brothers and sisters, and a great many cousins, uncles and aunts. And our son [Timothy] came home with me and offered to keep school for Friends and I to

1. Pelham Monthly Meeting, 1 Month 4, 1804, "Whereas our friend Timothy Rogers having opened his prospect of going to Vermont to settle some outward affairs and also if way should open to attend the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia with which we concur and may say on his behalf that he is a frequent attender of our meetings and as a member we recommend him to your brotherly care and oversight. The Clerk is directed to furnish him with a copy of this minute."

2. Roger's presence at Philadelphia Yearly meeting in 4<sup>th</sup> Month 1804 is significant. At this meeting, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting established Yonge Street as a Preparative Meeting, with the additional authority to conduct marriages, under Pelham Monthly Meeting. Yonge Street became a Monthly Meeting in 1806. Dorland (1968), 93.

3. Westtown Boarding School of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was opened in 1799. Timothy Rogers was admitted in 5<sup>th</sup> Month, 1804. Smeadley, Susanna. Catalog of Westtown Through the Years. (Westtown, 1945), p. 13.

board him for the privileges he had got amongst Friends.<sup>4</sup> But as he was of an uppish turn, Friends were not willing he should teach school. He kept school about a year or two, and went to train, and Friends disowned him. He has been gone back to the States for some years, and I have not seen him since 1809.

In 1807, I bought a mill place in Pickering.<sup>5</sup> And about this time Job Hughes<sup>6</sup> from Pennsylvania, a recommend-

4. Rogers brought a parcel of books and paper from Yearly Meeting with a note instructing Yonge Street Friends to deliver "one book of each sort to Timothy Rogers, Jun., the said books, paper &c being for the use of a school" (Minutes of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, O-11-6, page 7). A school committee was appointed to oversee the school "that is now or may be put under the care of Timothy Rogers, Jr." (ibid). However, within two months, the committee recommended that Timothy Rogers Jr. be discontinued as teacher. He was disowned 7 Dec. 1807 for joining in statutory militia training. He eventually moved to Virginia where Timothy Rogers Sr. visited him in 1821 (see the journal of Timothy's son Wing, in McKay, William A. The Pickering Story (Pickering Historical Society, 1961), page 192). For a fuller history of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting school, see Newlands, David "The Yonge Street Friends School 1806-1828", York Pioneer 1976 Vol. 71, No. 2: 12-16.

5. Rogers purchased 800 acres, Lots 13 & 14 on Conc. 3, of the broken front range, and the same lots on Conc. 1 from D. W. Smith on 24 July 1807 for \$2 an acre. The land had been owned by Major John Smith, commandant of Fort Niagara and father of the province's Surveyor-General. After his death in 1795, his son owned a block of land two and a half miles along the lake shore, stretching back to the third concession. Duffins Creek ran through the property, and Rogers built the first saw and grist mill in the township there. See McKay, Pickering, 1961.

6. Job Hughes (1740-1807) migrated from Catawissa Monthly Meeting to Yonge Street in 1805 and settled on Lot 91, Conc. 1, Whitchurch township (east side of Yonge St.). Hughes wife, Eleanor Lee (1751-1825) was an Elder. He died 16/4/1807 in Fishing

ed minister, moved in and took much lead in our meeting. And soon after Jacob Winn, a fine tender minister in truth, came to Yonge Street from Vermont.<sup>1</sup> And then there soon became a select meeting,<sup>2</sup> of which I can say but little, as I do not belong thereto. But I have always made it my rule if I thought any of our members did amiss, so as to make me uneasy, to go and tell them. And when I thought minister or elder or overseer missed it I go and tell them, so that opens a door, and they talk with me freely.

And it is well known I have had a great gift from the Lord to settle new country; I have settled eight new farms or plantations, laid out one town, where I went first. I went thirty miles in the wilderness, and now there is a town on Otter Creek called Vergennes, that is incorporated as a city. And within four miles of said town I lived, and in a mile's distance we built a meeting house where there is now a quarterly meeting called Ferrisburg Quarter.<sup>3</sup>

Creek, PA., on his way home from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. An extensive biography of Hughes by Ethel Willson Trehwella was published in four consecutive articles in the *Newmarket Era* and *Express* 5-26 May 1949.

1. Jacob Winn and his family migrated with a certificate from Danby Monthly Meeting in 1804 and settled on Lot 99, Conc. 1, East Gwillimbury (east side of Yonge St).

2. A "Select Meeting" was a meeting of Ministers and Elders charged with overseeing the Meetings' ministry.

3. Ferrisburg Quarterly Meeting, established in 1810, included Danby Monthly Meeting, Peru Monthly Meeting (established 1799) and Ferrisburg Monthly Meeting (established 1801). At the time of its estab-

When I first went to Danby, there was no meeting. But Stephen Rogers was the main instrument of the beginning of that meeting, and in them countries round Lake Champlain, is now many meetings. And in this country has become that I looked for united under the care of New York Yearly Meeting.<sup>4</sup> For about 1807 or 8, Job Hughes and Jacob Winn had a concern to go to Bay of Quinte or Adolphus Monthly Meeting, and I had a concern from the Lord come on me to go as a pilot. And in this visit at Adolphus Monthly Meeting arose a concern for Friends in Canada to be united - being three Monthly Meetings - Adolphus, Pelham and Yonge Street - where was short time back a wilderness now the most in number. It was thought that the Lord made way and we were joined by New York and Pennsylvania Yearly Meetings. And Job Hughes died going to Yearly Meeting.<sup>5</sup>

lishment in 1801, Ferrisburg Monthly Meeting included Ferrisburg Preparative Meeting, Monkton Preparative Meeting (also established in 1801), and indulged meetings at Starksboro, Lincoln and Montpelier, Vermont.

4. Rogers had explained to Wing Rogers his desire to establish a settlement in central Ontario as a means of uniting Friends in Upper Canada. Pelham and Yonge St. Monthly Meetings were under Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and Adolphus Monthly Meeting under New York Yearly Meeting. Communication between the Canadian meetings was thus hindered by the different hierarchies to which they reported. The three meetings were eventually united as Canada Half Years Meeting under New York Yearly Meeting in 1810. This required the deliberation and consent of all three Monthly Meetings and both Yearly Meetings, a tremendous undertaking taking a number of years and extensive travelling.

5. By 1807, the three Monthly Meetings in Upper

And the next year I had got my family at this place Pickering - and mills agoing, and I was obliged to go, for as I was grind- ing about midnight, the spirit of truth impressed my mind to go to Yonge Street Meeting, near 40 miles next day. I went, and Friends appointed me to go and I gave up to go, although I looked for a great loss, and I found it so. But I was gone about six months and was so wonderfully favoured that I did much dread to join worldly busi- ness again. But the spirit said I must, and then the Lord would make way for me in His own time.

And I found my store had been opened, and I thought I had lost 400 or 500 dollars by thieves. And I heard when I got home that Jacob Winn was buried, and his son Theodore Winn that came with me, daugh- ter Phoebe, a fine young woman, Job Cogsell his son-in-law,<sup>1</sup> and my daughter Mary was very sick. And I went to that place, and soon my daughter, a fine inno-

cent young married woman died, and left a loving husband, Asa Rogers with 4 children.<sup>2</sup> For I had three daughters married three brothers, all Rogers, but very little if any related.<sup>3</sup> They called son & d [---] I had 5 daughters married and doing very well, all but one, and they all died in a few weeks, and two sons, one son-in-law Rufus Rogers.<sup>4</sup> They all appeared to die fully in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, only one, and him, I had reason to hope, died well. And we buried three grandchildren.

Here was a great trial. I was very sick, my wife unwell, and nine all sick at once, of which we buried 3 near my house. And the Lord caused my mind to bear up under all this. But many told my state made them think of Job. And truly my soul doth often bless and praise His name, in all His giving and taking from me.

In the 1808 John Simpson came through Canada, a fine tender Minister from Bucks County in Pennsylvania;<sup>5</sup> fine service he

Canada, Adlophustown (part of New York Yearly Meeting), Pelham and Yonge Street (both part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting) requested the estab- lishment of a quarterly meeting to unite the meetings in Upper Canada. A joint delegation from Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings, named in the following paragraph, visited Upper Canada in 1808. This resulted in the establishment of Canada Half Yearly Meeting, under the care of New York Yearly Meeting, in 1810.

1. Rogers later records that they and about 30 others died of Typhus. Jacob Winn died 10/4/1809. His son Theodore born 18/1/1780, died 7/12/1809. His daughter, Phoebe Jr., born 7/2/1773, died 23/4/1809. Job Cogsell, a non Quaker, was married to Lucinda Winn about 1808. They lived on part of Lot 97, Conc. 1, East Gwillimbury.

2. Mary Rogers died 18/7/1809.

3. Timothy Rogers' daughters Hannah, Mary and Lydia, had married three sons of Wing & Rebecca Rogers Sr., of Ferrisburg township, Vermont. Hannah married Wing Rogers Jr. and they settled on Lot 94, Conc. 1, King township. Wing returned to Vermont after the death of Hannah on 27/7/1809. Mary married 17/1/1799 Asa Rogers, and they settled on Lot 96, Conc. 1, East Gwillimbury township. Lydia married Rufus Rogers, and they settled on Lot 91, Conc. 1, King township. Lydia died on 19/8/1809, and Rufus on 30/8/1809.

4. Elizabeth Rogers married a Mr. Bostwick, a non- Quaker, and was disowned in 1806. She also died in the epidemic. John Rogers died 1/12/1809.

5. John Simpson (1739-1811) left the following letter with Timothy Rogers' son John at the time:

"Dear Youth John Rogers, since I was at your

had, and as it was his request, I went with him. Soon after a committee came from both Yearly Meetings, in a joint capacity.<sup>1</sup>

Fathers house I have often thought of thee as being the eldest child at home with thy tender parents who at present seem too much cumbred with the busy things of this world, somewhat like Martha of old who laboured through the whole so as to be the beloved of the Lord, which I hope my dear parents will also do and yet be of use among their Friends; And now dear John, may thine eyes be open to see what a door is opening for thee to come forward so as to be [?] in this thy day, both in the things of this world and that which is to come. Now only be carefull in the business thy father alots for thee. Thou need not work too hard so as to hurt thy constitution, nor neglect business. But remember that Jacob when young in years was very industrious and prayed to the Lord for bread to eat and raiment to put on, and also for his heavenly presence which was granted him. And so it will be granted unto thee, and thou mayst become a worthy man so that when the Lord is pleased to remove thy worthy father, that thou mayst come forward and take his place. But although thou art young, yet thou mayst quickly die and hasten to eternity. Therefore may thee seek to the Lord for wisdom to assist thy exercised parents and neighbours in promoting a meeting for worship in your place. And when they are concerned to sit down together to wait upon the Lord how helpfull thou mayst be if thou will use thy best endeavour to promote it by sitting humbly with them. And as David, King of Israel said as for thou Solomon my son, know thou the God of thy father and serve him with a perfect heart and a willing mind for if thou [?] will be found of thee, [?] if thee forsake them he will cast thee off forever for the Lord knows the secrets of all hearts. O may thee consider what poor offcasts Friends children are when they neglect their parents so as to disobey them which I hope thee will never do. But set a good example to the younger children and not go abroad on needless visits on first days. And if thou should feel thyself called as John the Baptist was to drink neither wine nor strong drink be thou faithful unto death. Then shalt thou be blest with a crown of life, which is the sincere desire of this aged Friend. The 15 day 8 month 1808, John Simpson."

1. This was the joint committee of New York and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings established to investigate the need for Canada Half Years Meeting.

This town of Pickering lays on about the centre of Lake Ontario, where empties a fine stream called Duffin's Creek. This is a fine stream and I built my mill so a boat could come 3 miles from the lake shore and land at my mill-door.<sup>2</sup> A fine fishery it is; our salmon commonly weighs after well dressed about 7 or 8 lbs., and some 15 to 20 lbs. We have a great variety of fish in this lake which is 300 miles navigable for great shipping. And the great waters that make the river St. Lawrence runs through this lake and Niagara Falls at the head, and the rapids below; Oswego at the outlet, and Montreal our first seaport. Smith has given a history of Upper Canada,<sup>3</sup> and several travellers, as Carver<sup>4</sup> and old Father Anthony, that I refer those to that want a history [?], but I only write to ease my mind.

This place, although very new, is about the centre of Friends in Upper Canada. I believe in time will produce a yearly meeting, within ten miles of this spot where I live on Duffin's Creek.<sup>5</sup>

Rogers gives further details in the third paragraph following. See also Dorland, Quakers, 101-102.

2. Rogers had noted earlier that he had purchased this land in 1807.

3. Possibly Michael Smith, A Geographical View of the Province of Upper Canada and Promiscuous Remarks on the Government (Hartford, 1813).

4. Jonathan Carver, an American explorer, was the author of a popular volume entitled Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768 (1778), which went through 32 editions.

5. Roger's prediction of a Yearly Meeting in Canada meeting near his home came true when the first sessions of Canada Yearly Meeting were held at Pickering in 1867. Dorland (1967), 101-3, 207-8. Sessions of Genesee Yearly Meeting, which included

And on the 7 day of the 10 mo. 1808,<sup>1</sup> John Brown, Falls Meeting, Bucks County; John Shoemaker in Shoemakers-town, Abington Meeting, both in Pennsylvania; Hannah Fisher of Philadelphia; one Rebecca Archer of Burlington, [all of] the Yearly Meeting for Friends for Pennsylvania and New Jersey to be held at Philadelphia. And from the Yearly Meeting of Friends held at N. York, Ann Shipley<sup>2</sup> of New York City, Anna Merritt of Nine Partners, and Reuben Haight<sup>3</sup> of Nine Partners, is with several others. For pilot and company, these I went considerably with, and a blessed visit it was to us in Upper Canada. And in my last attendance of our two yearly meetings, I saw them all, and mostly at their own homes. And it was in the power of truth that both yearly meetings agreed and did think best to allow and set up a Half Year's Meeting in Canada that was to be held at West Lake Meeting on fourth day following the last first day in the first month, and at

the Hicksite meetings in Western New York, Canada and Michigan, were held in several locations in New York and Canada, including Pickering.

1. The Yonge Street Monthly Meeting minutes give the date as 13/10/1808.

2. Ann Shipley was an English Friend who immigrated to the U.S. in 1794.

3. Reuben Haight (1769-1851) moved to Upper Canada in 1817 and settled in Yarmouth township. He and his wife, Sarah Wright (1775-1853) helped establish the Yarmouth Meeting (now Sparta). Reuben was an Elder in the meeting, Sarah a recognized minister. A lengthy biography of the two by their son Samuel H. Haight was published under the title "Early History of Reuben and Sarah (Wright) Haight" in Issue 58 (Fall 1995) Canadian Quaker History Journal pp. 14-21.

Yonge Street on fourth day following the last first day in the eighth month - select meeting the day before.

At my return, I found great death on Yonge Street, and had been heavy on my beloved Friends' family - I mean Jacob Winn and mine, for I had had fourteen children - 8 sons and 6 daughters. My two oldest sons do not belong amongst Friends, but are settled on Yonge Street.<sup>4</sup> Five daughters that was married all died [as well as] two sons, John about eighteen and John Elmsley, about nine years old; and also the man he was named on the account of, I hear is dead. My wife entirely gave up business, my family almost half gone. I had been building grist-mill, saw-mill, and several log buildings, and from the first week I came here, always sat down to wait on the Lord in my own house on first days. And John Haight, that married Mary Rogers, became touched in his mind, although he had been very bad, and had been very deistical in his principles. I believe some opportunities I had with him was to good effect. He came and sat down with us sometimes.

And my wife kept along in a strange way, and was a block to my going on my duty amongst Friends, but said if I would

4. Obadiah had evidently been disowned in Vermont, as his certificate of removal was never received by either Pelham or Yonge St. Monthly Meetings. He settled on Lot 96, Conc. 1, West Gwillimbury township (west side of Yonge St). His brother James settled on the adjacent lot, Lot 95, Conc. 1, King township. James was disowned in 1803 for marrying a non-Quaker.

[build] her a good house or to that effect I might go. And in 1810 and 11, I got a house so I thought to amoved in in a short time; had a barn, and a considerable of clearing. About the third day of the 1 month 1812, my wife Sarah and I started to go to York with me to get some things she wanted to begin said house. And as we rode this 24 miles, she talked pleasant and told her wishes, and the next day attended to sell and buy.

And after we had been there awhile, went 6 or 7 miles up Yonge Street, to William Marsh's, for his wife was her relation and they used us well.<sup>1</sup> But my wife was taken poorly and complained of chills, then an ague and pain between her breast and side. Her old relation was very kind, as also Sally their daughter; and I soon went to York and brought Doctor Aspinwall. Everything was done that man could do. We had left four children at home - Asa, Wing, Stephen and my now only daughter Matilda.

It being very cold I was very much fatigued in attending on her. She prayed aloud to the Lord, and often expressed some religious sayings that she had learnt when young, before she had joined Friends, and were not willing to be removed.

And on the sixth day of her sickness, and the 13 day of the 1 month, about 8

1. William and Susannah Brown Marsh lived at York Mills, near St. John's Church. The exact relationship between Sarah Wilde and Susannah Brown is not known. See Patricia Hart, Pioneering in North York: A History of the Borough (Toronto, General Publishing, 1968), 46-7.

o'clock in the evening she departed this life, while I was lay down a short time; but I heard Sally say "Mrs. Rogers is dying". I arose and made haste but before I got to her she was gone.

I sent to my settled children at the farther end of Yonge Street. They came to her burial that was on the 17 day of the first month, at my own house in Pickering, with my three children, Sarah, John and John Elmsley Rogers.

And now I was left to move in my new house, with four children, two oldest sons settled at Yonge Street, and Timothy disowned and gone to the States. Do you think tongue can tell my trouble - or pen write my grief? I soon went with my daughter about 14 years old, to our Half-Year's Meeting at West Lake.<sup>2</sup> And had a concern and went, after telling Friends, about 150 miles to see some Friends at Leeds.<sup>3</sup> And our Friend Gideon Monalow was amongst us for a religious visit. We were at a first day meeting at Kingston<sup>4</sup> and then a recom-

2. 29, 30 Jan. 1812.

3. A few scattered Friends in Leeds, Yonge and Elizabethtown townships had been encouraged by the visiting Quaker evangelist Stephen Grellet, to meet for worship beginning in 1804 in the cooper shop of Gersham Wing in Farmersville (now Athens), Yonge township. This indulged Meeting for Worship became a Preparative Meeting of Adolphustown Monthly Meeting in 1818, and set off as Leeds Monthly Meeting in 1825. Dorland, Quakers, 74-76.

4. Kingston Preparative Meeting was established in 1801 under Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, at the village of Waterloo (now Cataraqui), Kingston township. The meeting evidently did not survive long. Dorland, Quakers, 67-68.

mended minister in the name of Joseph Levins and an elder Cornelius Blount, both of West Lake Meeting, kindly went with me. And we had a good visit and three appointed meetings. The Lord helped and then I came home, found all well as common. And much talk of war between England and the States that made me very sorry, and I cried to the Lord. This season I attended Monthly Meetings, mostly at Yonge Street, near forty miles.

Great troubles arose both in state and society for the States some time in the sixth month declared war.<sup>1</sup> And a number of Yonge Street Friends became so good and zealous in their own opinions that after telling their thoughts left our meeting, and met to one David Willson's nigh Queen Street Meeting,<sup>2</sup> and soon after at Amos

1. On 18 June 1812, President James Madison signed a declaration of war against Great Britain, threatening the province of Upper Canada with invasion from the south. The War of 1812 lasted until 1815, and greatly disrupted communication between the Canada Half Years Meeting and its parent Yearly Meeting at New York, such that only Rogers was able to attend in 1813.

2. David Willson, a convinced Friend from Nine Partners, N.Y. had settled on Lot 10, Conc. 2 of East Gwiliimbury in 1801. He donated the land for the Queen Street Meeting House (Sharon) in which he began ministering in late 1811. His ministry emphasized the primacy of the Inner Light over scriptural exegesis, and he claimed he would take the Friends Peace Testimony and raise it as "an ensign to all nations". When he was forbidden to speak in meetings for worship, Willson left the Society of Friends and formed a new group, the Children of Peace, who went on to build the Sharon Temple (1825-31). Three of the five Elders, and a total of 36 adult Quakers from Yonge Street joined the sect. See Schrauwers, Albert Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope 1812-

Armitage's shop,<sup>3</sup> within a quarter of a mile of our meeting house at Yonge Street. For Friends has a good house, 60 feet one way and 30 the other, now built.<sup>4</sup> We disowned those that separated, which proved to be above twenty.

In the same time past we had a meeting allowed at John Haight's about half a mile from my house.<sup>5</sup> My family meeting continued till John Haight and James Powell<sup>6</sup>

1889 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993).

3. Amos Armitage (1764-1847) migrated from Catawissa Monthly Meeting, PA., in 1804 and settled on Lot 92, Conc. 1, Whitchurch township (east side of Yonge Street). He and his wife Martha Doan (1758-1840) were elders in the Yonge Street Meeting. They, and a third Elder, Eleanor Hughes, supported David Willson's ministry and joined the Children of Peace. Armitage was a carpenter, and the group met in his joiners shop. Following a dispute with Willson in 1816, the Armitages rejoined the Society of Friends, and were named Elders again in 1819. Armitage also came to play a key role among the Yonge Street Hicksites (whose theological stance was similar to David Willson). See Schrauwers, Albert "Consensus Seeking, Factionalization and Schism in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting" in Schrauwers, Albert ed. Faith, Friends and Fragmentation: Essays on Nineteenth Century Quakerism in Canada (Toronto, Canadian Friends Historical Association Monograph Series No. 1, 1995) pp.83-87.

4. The Yonge Street Meeting House was built on Lot 92, Conc. 1, King township (west side of Yonge Street) on 2 acres of land donated by Mary and Asa Rogers (Timothy's daughter and son-in-law). This was later expanded by an additional 2 acres for the burial ground to the south. This frame building was completed in 1810. It still stands today, the oldest continuously used Meeting House in Canada, and the oldest church in York Region.

5. John Haight lived on Lot 14, Conc. 2 in the village of Duffin's Creek. The Indulged Meeting for Worship was granted by Yonge Street Monthly Meeting on 16/7/1812.

6. James Powell was received in membership 18/6/1812. He and his family had settled on Lot 6, Conc. 3 of the broken front range.

and wives all became members and Mark Widdifield, son of Henry, moved here.<sup>1</sup> He, his wife and 5 children is members. Samuel Eves also moved in this neighbourhood; has a wife and four children, all members.<sup>2</sup> And Isaac Gerow and Benjamin, request[ed], both since moved to West Lake.<sup>3</sup> Isaac received Benjamin's case, sent to him to that meeting. Samuel Jameson and his wife and two sons and a man lives with him, lately received.<sup>4</sup> Our meeting to be held second month under the care of a committee as before. Robert Widdifield and wife, members, moved here in the eleventh month.<sup>5</sup>

I told Friends I wanted to go see Friends at Pelham Monthly Meeting.<sup>6</sup> Went and attended a meeting lately set up at Norwich, beyond the Grand River,<sup>7</sup> then Pelham, then

1. Mark Widdifield (born 1777) and his wife Susannah Hogeland (born 1775) removed from Muncy Monthly Meeting to Pickering township in 1807. His children were Hannah, Henry, Elisabeth, Joseph and Martha.

2. Samuel Eves and his wife Tamer removed from Muncy Monthly Meeting and settled in Pickering in 1806. Their children were Isaac, James K., Priscilla, Reuben, Thomas, Elizabeth and Edith.

3. Benjamin Gerow requested membership 13/8/1812, and Isaac 12/11/1812. They left for Adolphustown about Aug. 1813.

4. Samuel and Anna Jameson were received in membership 18/2/1813.

5. Robert Widdifield, brother of Mark, married a non Quaker, Lydia Wray, in 1811. She was accepted in membership in 1812. They moved to Eden Monthly Meeting, New York, in 1817.

6. Visits in the ministry required the approval of the Monthly Meeting. There is no mention of Rogers request for such permission in the Yonge Street Minutes.

7. An indulged Meeting for Worship was allowed at the home of Joseph Lancaster in Norwich township

Black Creek, then back to Pelham, then home, then soon to our Half-Year's Meeting at West Lake. Then I was appointed with others to go to our Yearly Meeting at New York.<sup>8</sup>

And I went to settling my outward affairs, and the Lord made way. And I sold my mills, and fifty acres of land, and paid all my debts that I know of, except a mortgage on my land, and paid part of that. And left money due from Robert and Benoni Penrose and Timothy Millard,<sup>9</sup> enough to pay it. And Asa Rogers, my late son-in-law took a power-of-attorney, to collect said money and take up the said mortgage.

And Cornelius Blount being appointed to go, wrote to me to go to General and

by Pelham Monthly Meeting in 1812. Norwich became a Preparative Meeting in 1816, and was set off as a Monthly Meeting in 1819. Dorland, Quakers, 84.

8. An unsigned note in the journal adds: "None of those appt. except T.R. attended the Y.M. from Canada, this year - He carried the business of Canada Half Yearly Meeting up to the Y.M. and was favoured to present to the N.Y.M. held one year from this and returns from the Y.M. - This was an eventful and important period of his life, but I find no written memoranda of this journey, except what may be gathered from incidental remarks in some letters still extant."

9. Timothy Millard, a miller from Pennsylvania, settled near Stouffville in 1805. Seven years later, he purchased 200 acres (Lot 95, Conc. 1, Whitchurch township - part of the original site of the town of Newmarket) from Timothy Rogers. Carter, Terry Newmarket: The Heart of York Region (Newmarket, Dundurn Press/Elm Tree Publishers, 1994) pp. 20-21. Although he is not listed in meeting records, his affirmation of allegiance, dated 1805, states he is "one of the people called Quaker". Reaman, G. Elmore A History of Vaughan Township (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971), 27.

Governor Sheaffe to get liberty<sup>1</sup> and I did so and got as follows:

Headquarters, York,  
15th March, 1813.

Permit the undernamed persons of the Society of Quakers to pass over from Kingston into the United States, as it appears they have been appointed to attend their Yearly Meeting of their Society in the City of New York:

Philip Dorland<sup>2</sup>  
Jonathan Bowerman  
Cornelius Blount  
Timothy Rogers

By command of his Honour Major General Sheaffe to Col. Pearson,

Nathan Coffin, Col.,  
for officer command,  
Kingston, P.A.D.C.

§

1. General Roger Hale Sheaffe was first in command of British forces in Upper Canada during the War of 1812 and served as Lt. Governor for the same period.  
2. Philip Dorland, of Dutchess Co., NY, settled in Adolphustown township in 1784, one of the first Quakers in the Bay of Quinte area. When the Adolphus meeting gained Preparative Meeting status in 1798, it met at the house of Dorland, who also served as the clerk. Dorland was elected to represent Adolphustown and Prince Edward in the first Parliament of Upper Canada which met at Niagara, 17 Sept. 1792, but was disqualified for his refusal to "swear an oath" of allegiance. The Quaker Discipline prohibited Friends from swearing.

I got from a man of my acquaintance on Yonge Street (viz:)

These are to certify that I have known the bearer hereof, Timothy Rogers, one of the first of people called Quakers that settled on Yonge Street, and one of the heads of that Society in the county of York, since the year 1800. And as he has been my nigh neighbour most of the time I have known him to be a very thorough, industrious man, and the best man for settling a new country that I was ever acquainted with. And he hath been very conformable to all of our laws and regulations, as a good subject to our lord the king. But he had the misfortune to lose his old companion, a worthy wife, by death in the month of January 1812, and now is desirous to travel to visit his Friends.

Yonge St.,  
February 19 day 1813  
William Graham  
Justice and Col.  
of Militia

§

I also got from Friends to show that I was clear of marriage engagements as follows:

Timothy Rogers being appointed to attend the Yearly Meeting at New York, informed that he had a desire or prospect of

visiting some of his relations in the States. These may certify that he is a member with us and clear of marriage engagements as far as appears.

Signed in and by order of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, held by adjournment the 25 d. of 2 mo. 1813 by Thomas Linville,<sup>1</sup> Clerk

§

And also from our town clerk the following:

To Whom It May Concern,

This is to certify that I have been acquainted with Timothy Rogers for several years past and I know him to be a man of veracity and property that consists of nigh five thousand dollars, and clear of debt.

By date at Pickering this the  
28 day of March A.D. 1813  
Thomas Hubbard,<sup>2</sup> town clerk  
for the town of Pickering,  
Home District,

1. Thomas Linville had immigrated from Catawissa Monthly Meeting in 1807, and was first named Clerk of the Meeting in 1811. On 17/6/1813 he was named an Elder, as was his wife Martha on 16/6/1814. Linville played a central role in the Hicksite-Orthodox Separation in the Yonge St. Meeting in 1828. See Schrauwers, *Consensus Seeking*, 84-6.

2. Thomas Hubbard (1759-1853) settled on Lot 19, Conc. 5, Pickering township about 1800. He was elected the first Clerk of the township in 1811. See McKay, *Pickering*, 213.

county of York, and  
province of Upper Canada.

§

I put my son Asa to take care of 290 acres and a considerable of improvements about 16 or 20 miles towards Yonge Street. Stephen is to our old friends Thomas and Sarah Hilborn,<sup>3</sup> nigh friends to his mother. Wing to my young friends, John Haight's, that lives nigh here, to help take care of this six hundred acres and so forth. My daughter Matilda at Henry Widdifield's. And I clothed them all extraordinary well for about two years.

The war makes the journey look dubious, but my whole dependence is in the Lord.

Having now brought forward a short account of things with my own hand, I may say that in a few months in the year 1809, departed of my acquaintance by sickness about thirty, on and nigh Yonge Street, and considerable numbers in other places. And in this date, and last fall, a great death has gone through this Upper Canada. First it was called the typhus fever,<sup>4</sup> but latterly we

3. Thomas Hilborn (1747-1836) and his wife Sarah Brundage (1758-1836) had immigrated from Catawissa Monthly Meeting to Lot 34 & 35, Conc. 6, Uxbridge township in 1804.

4. Louse-borne (European) Typhus is most common in cool climates in areas with poor hygiene and louse infestation. It causes intense headache, deafness, stupor, delirium and death. Mortality rates vary from 10% for those between the ages of 10 and 30, to 60% for those over the age of 60.

have had the measles by which some has departed this life. But mostly it has been such an uncommon disorder that it seems to baffle the skill of the wisest [*of men*] and [*the*] best [*of*] physicians.

Nicholas Brown nigh here and wife is members.<sup>1</sup> This is the 1 day of 4 month 1813. I expect to start soon.

(On the 7 d. of the 12 month A.D. 1827, I set very still, my wife and 5 children by me - none else present.<sup>2</sup> Jonathan read 7 chapters in the last of Acts. I seemed to feel a pleasant flow of divine love, that I believe to be the love of God by His son Jesus Christ. Then it was and is that came in my mind to add to my youngest son's name that has been David Rogers, that was for the kind acts of David Rogers to me. He is deceased, and I now add Timothy to signify my son, so that from this time, his name is

David Timothy Rogers. And when his name is wrote - David T. Rogers. It may be understood David Rogers, son of Timothy Rogers, so that David's name and his father's is remembered.)<sup>3</sup>

1. Nicholas Brown (1785-1868) and his wife, Esther Rogers (1789-1826) first moved to Whitchurch township from Monkton in 1808, but shortly thereafter went back to Vermont. They returned to Upper Canada, settling in Pickering in 1812. Nicholas was recognized as a minister in 1819. After the death of his first wife, he married Margaret Judge in 1828, herself a recognized minister. She was the daughter of prominent Hicksite minister Hugh Judge. All three played a pivotal role in the Hicksite-Orthodox Separation in New York Yearly Meeting. Dorland, Quakers, 147-8. "Nicholas Brown," Friends Intelligencer 25 (10 Mo. 17, 1868), 516-7; Genesee Yearly Meeting. Extracts from the Minutes... 1870 (Rochester, 1870), 12-14.

2. On his trip to New York Yearly Meeting, Timothy Rogers married 28/10/1813 Anna Harned of Rahway and Plainfield Monthly Meeting in New Jersey. She was born 12/12/1780 (24 years his junior), and bore him five children: Jonathan H., born 30/6/1814, Sarah, born 5/10/1815, Martha, born 9/9/1817, John Wilde 29/2/1819, and David T., born 9/12/1820.

3. The narrative ends here in 1813; Rogers did not record the events of his trip to the United States, nor of his second marriage. The remainder of the volume is filled with notes and accounts.

## Notes

Copy of a letter,<sup>1</sup>

New York,  
30th day of the 5th month, 1809.

Esteemed Friend, Samuel Moore,

I am thankful in seeing thy son at Yearly Meeting. I feel a revival of that love which has not been forgotten; and which, I hope, neither time nor distance will diminish. My dear friend, I wish thee health of soul and body. My love is in a particular manner to thee, thy wife, and [*children*] family; also to Thos. Green and family; & to Seth Coleman and his family.

My mind is bowed in a concern for the growth of the truth seed, in that part of the footstool where your lot is cast. Oh, that the Lord may be pleased to renew humility and meekness in my heart, and enable me to wait as at his footstool, for His will to be made known to me!

Now, dearest friends, I may inform you, that after I returned from my visit to that country, my trials and probations were so many, that time would fail me to write them. And as I believe they were for my own improvement, let this hint suffice; only remember as when the body is sick, a physi-

cian is good [*and*] (so of the soul). And as I lay sick of soul, as by the wayside, my tender sympathy with you, dear friends, leads me to say: -- The great King and Lord of all our blessings, spiritually and outwardly, hath visited me by His spirit in an acceptable time, and when very much needed. Oh, that my soul may be fully given up to the disposal of this blessed physician of souls! Yea, He is a nurse for the sick; - a shepherd that feeds the flock! I hope you, my dear friends, are sensible of His good pasture in pleasant places, which most abounds when we are most fully given up to His will; - and He applies His oil and balm, where it is most needed.

You may now understand that I, having had many troubles for some years, waited for the waters of affliction to cease. And a prospect or opening was revived in my mind with clearness of a removal to the westward; which had been presented some years before. After opening the prospect to my wife and near friends, way opened for it and I travelled between four and five hundred miles to a place called Yonge Street, about 30 miles from York, in Upper Canada. After viewing this part of the country alone, I contracted (with the government) for forty farms of 200 acres each; each lot cost about 30 dollars.

I then returned and soon moved nearly 500 miles, and a large number with me. We reached the ground, in an entire wilderness country, in the 5th month, 1801. In about

1. This letter was copied into the Journal by someone other than Timothy Rogers.

five months we began a meeting; and the next year were allowed a preparative meeting, under Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Two years later, we had a full monthly meeting consisting of four meetings for worship. At Adolphustown, 135 miles to the east of us, there is another monthly meeting under the care of N.York Yearly Meeting; and in the opposite direction, at Pelham, not far from Niagara Falls, is [another] monthly meeting of Friends, under care of Phil.<sup>a</sup> Yearly Meeting. This is about 110 miles from Yonge Street Meeting.

On account of a request (from Friends in Upper Canada), for a Quarterly Meeting, a Joint Committee from both Yearly Meetings visited us. I was appointed to attend our Yearly Meeting, and started from Yonge Street, about the 20th of 3rd month 1809, and rode (on horseback!) six hundred miles to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and am now here attending this Yearly Meeting. Our request for a quarterly meeting is granted so far that we are to have a meeting twice in the year: at Yonge Street, in the 9th month, and at West Lake in the first month, and to report to New York Yearly Meeting. This was agreed to by both Yearly Meetings, and both appointed some Friends to attend at the opening of our meeting.

About 18 months ago I removed from Yonge Street to Pickering, near Lake Ontario shore, where I believe, will be, not only a monthly, but (perhaps after I am

gone hence) a Yearly Meeting of Friends; as this is near the centre of Friends in Upper Canada, and land is about two dollars per acre. The love I feel towards you, my dear friends, is what makes me so simple and plain; and I hope some or all of you will send me one kind letter more, as my heart yearns towards you while I write.

Dear fellow-laborers and companions in trials and sorrows, let us die to all outward mans contrivance about the Gospel rule, which I believe the natural part in us is too apt to be meddling in. Oh, my friends, how it wants to be called wise, and looks for applause! But surely this disposition dies when simple honesty arises in the heart, in the love of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Then all is concord, and the honest Truth; the Lamb, becomes "the Lion of the tribe of Judah",<sup>1</sup> spiritually. This has been slain from the foundation of the world, and has arisen from this death, by slaying the Spirit of the world. Thus all that is wrong in us being slain by grace, the wolf must die also; although it may have appeared in sheep's clothing.

Now, therefore, let us feel after the tendering impressions of that Spirit that "works by love", having much charity. And I beseech you, let honesty be your companion; so that these tender impressions may grow as the mustard seed,<sup>2</sup> up into the revelations of Christ our Lord, which is, to us,

1. cf Revelation 17: 8-14.

2. cf Mark 4: 30-1, Matthew 13: 31-2, Luke 13: 19.

the kingdom of Heaven. And in this my soul hath at times had great joy and gladness. In this humble, meek, lowly state of mind, we are brought to a heartfelt surrender of all man-contrivance.

I see beyond the grave, a crown of everlasting glory for all that love the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, my friends, be small, as to any outward honour; but “strong in the Lord!” And wait for the revelation of the Spirit of Truth, that comes in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. That is all things to us, and raises all our natural faculties and abilities unto the true life and raises us by faith (who were dead) to live with Christ, our King and Captain. To him be all honour, glory and praise! Amen.

Wrote by Your Friend,  
Timothy Rogers.

§

Extracts from a letter written in the 5th mo. 1827, to Thomas Shillitoe of England.<sup>1</sup>

I feel a cry to our Father in Heaven that thou mayst hold on the way - Christ is the way, the truth and the life, no man comes to the Father but by Him.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, dear Friend, hold fast thy confidence. It is at the end of the race that we receive the crown of "well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."<sup>3</sup>

In love I salute thy dear wife and children (although unknown to me by face) and I feel a flow of the same toward Friends in Europe. A cry arises in my heart, O that the testimony of Jesus, as borne by our forefathers, may not fall to the ground!

As for me, I may say, I have been abundantly favoured; both in an outward sense,

and as regards the dealings of the Lord with my soul, in the trials of the spiritual warfare. Time would fail me to enumerate the trials I have passed through, and the tender mercies of my God.

I was born in 1756, married in 1776, had 15 children by my first wife. In 1795 Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young from England visited me at my home in Vermont. In 1801 I removed to Yonge Street in Upper Canada. In 1809 I buried seven children; in 1812 I buried my wife Sarah; in 1813 I married my present wife, by whom I have five children. I have settled eight new farms; once when removing to a new farm I lost all by fire. Settled three new countries, where meetings of our Society have been established.

Timothy Rogers

1. Thomas Shillitoe (1754-1836) was a convinced English Friend who travelled widely in the ministry, including a trip to North America in 1826 and '27. A strong proponent of theological Orthodoxy, he helped polarize the theological debates then ensuing in Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings. He visited the Yonge St. Meeting during his travels, including the Pickering Preparative Meeting, of which he only noted "First Day morning, attended the usual meeting held at this place; at least one hour elapsed before the meeting could come to any degree of settlement from the members of the meeting being so unseasonable in their attendance, some not coming in until the time meeting closed. I sat and mourned under a sorrowful sense of the prevalency of this evil practice amongst the members of our religious society in this wilderness part of the country" (cited in Dorland, *Quakers*, 141).

2. John 14: 6.

3. Rogers omits a large part of the verse, Matthew 25: 21, 23, which reads "Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." cf. Luke 19: 17.

**Accounts<sup>1</sup>**

This 8th day 11 month, 1800 credit to Wing Rogers for a debt dated 7th of 11 mo. 1800 three thousand dollars, ten hundred dollars on demand and ten hundred dollars on interest to be paid in the course of winter after next and ten hundred dollars on interest the winter after that. The above is a just debt.

Jos. Chilson

Timothy Rogers

§

Ferrisburg 29 day of 11 mo. A.D. 1800

Wing Rogers debtor by a deed for the above for three thousand dollars and two hundred more for my giving up the same 3200 do.

Timothy Rogers

and credit for one note that I gave Deliverance Rogers some years back for a mare, interest and principal last 10 m. 15 d.

£	s	d
40	16	7

and for this trouble 10 dollars     3\_\_\_\_\_

43 16 7

and as I have lost said note and I don't know

2. The following accounts are in Timothy Rogers own hand.

but my name is on said note but it is paid in full by me.

Timothy Rogers

§

1798- Timothy Rogers account of what I give my children that is to be noticed in settling my estate after my decease so that one may not have so as to wrong another.

Timothy Rogers

§

Obadiah Rogers, my son, had clothes, besides everyday wear, when he was twenty one (that was on the 31 d. of 12 m. A.D. 1797).

1 day 2 mo. to clothes from hat to shoes and boots

Dollars Dimes Cents

When he was going to Nine Partners  
40           0           00

In cash for wheat that I let him raise  
10           0           00

One young horse, saddle & bridle  
110       0       00  
160       0       00

§

My daughter Hannah was 18 years old the 9 day of the 9 mo. A.D. 1796. And on the 15 day of the 3 mo. 1798 she married Wing Rogers Jr. She had four decent long gowns and other clothes answerable.

	Dollars	Dimes	Cents
1 day 4 mo. In chairs, pots, crockery, wheels and the like	26	00	76
2 day 4 mo. To 2 cows	90	00	00
To 1 two year old mare	55	00	00
To 1 side saddle and bridle	20	00	25
After shearing, To 3 ewes and lambs	<u>6</u>		
	198	00	01
Also to two beds and bedding, 25 d/pr	50	00	00
To 1 table, Cherry	<u>5</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>00</u>
	203	00	01

## **Appendix 1:**

### **From: The Journal of Joshua Evans Friends Miscellany 1837, Vol. 10**

6th month 3rd. We reached Vergennes, in Vermont, after a trying journey of near eighty miles, through a rough country, where the people fare hard; large families having but one room. Here I met with Thomas Robinson and wife, - kind friends who came from Rhode Island to settle here. On the 4th, I attended Friends' preparative meeting at Ferrisburg, and visited divers families, some of them to my comfort. On first-day, the 7th, I was at two meetings, one at Ferrisburg, the other at Vergennes, which is near Lake Champlain. They were large, and seasons of favour. At the last, nearly all the inhabitants attended, some of whom were priests, lawyers, doctors, judges of the court, &c. To those who were as leaders of the people, I had close doctrine to deliver, in a measure of the authority of Truth. Next day, we visited the priest, the doctors, lawyers and highest rank of these people, to our comfort and their satisfaction, as far as appeared; although this way of visiting families was strange to them. I had to advise them to endeavour to be as good way-marks, by precept and example, to the youth who were coming up, as well as to the other inhabitants. Some of these great men were tendered.

While here, I visited some of the poor in their small cottages, to their comfort. And

though the manner of such a visit was strange to them, they blessed me, and said they wished my journey might be prosperous. Some, I thought were sincere and honest-hearted, though others might be formal. I also visited a family of black people, where a number of French people, men, women and children, came in and seemed to behave solidly.

11th. Attended Ferrisburg monthly meeting to some satisfaction. A committee was appointed here to confer with us respecting our journey further on, and one of their Members kindly gave up to be our pilot. Having concluded to go by water to St. Johns, we waited at Vergennes for a boat. While here, a person inquired of me, how it would do for a Friend to accept a gift from government, in consequence of having served as a soldier in the last war, and whose service had entitled him to draw a tract of land in the back country, in addition to what pay he had received before. I told him, it was not consistent with our principles, to accept any gift or compensation for such services done. He queried whether the right might not be assigned to another person. I let him know, I should not account myself to have any right to land coming through such a channel. He then queried, how we reconciled paying duties which were laid on goods imported, towards defraying the expenses of war. When he heard my answer, embracing the reasons I have before related, and was told that I did

not use such goods, at first it seemed strange to him, being a military man; yet he appeared to unite with my views, and we parted friendly.

Before leaving, we had two public meetings, one at Vergennes, in a school house, the other at the house of our friend Thomas Robinson, both large, and Truth had dominion over opposers; there being several in the place, with whom I had dealt plainly. On the 15th, we went on board a vessel, bound for St. Johns, with my horse and carriage; being well supplied with provisions for our voyage, supposed to be one hundred miles. The wind not favouring, we went slowly down the creek, and the captain not thinking best to go out into Lake Champlain that night, came to anchor near a place where a few inhabitants are settled. Feeling a draft in my mind to see them together, and a person on board being willing to give them notice, we had a favoured opportunity together that evening. It appeared they were ignorant of us, as a people, having never been at any of our meetings.

16th. We again went on board, and put out into the lake; but the wind being unfavourable, the men got weary of using the oars; and we on pondering the matter, believed it best to leave the boat, and try to get on shore again. The captain manifested his regard for us and for our service, and assisted us in getting to land again with our horses - this was effected with difficulty, the wind being against us. But so it was, we

had but one saddle for three of us, and near thirty miles to ride to reach a settlement of Friends. It was not long before we came to a place where a few families reside, remote from other inhabitants. On proposing a meeting there, it appeared agreeable to the people, and we had a satisfactory opportunity with them. After which we rode about twenty miles to a place called Peru, in New York state, where about ten families of Friends are settled. We had a solid opportunity with them in the morning, and a public meeting afterwards, large and satisfactory. Remarkable was the kindness of my divine Master in furnishing me with matter suitable to the condition of the people: a sense of which was tenderly expressed by an elderly woman, after meeting. We took leave of them in near love, travelled about twenty-five miles, and crossed the lake about three miles wide to an island, called Grand Isle.

18th. It being concluded that my companion should take our horses to St. Johns, and I with our guide stay and visit the people near the shores of the lake, - we had two favoured meetings, one at Grand Isle, and the other at Plattsburg. This is a small town on the York side of the lake, about seven miles from Grand Isle. At first, some rawness appeared; and one man who appeared to be of some note, early in the meeting, said he believed the people were mostly come, and I might proceed. It was mentioned, that our manner was to endea-

your after stillness. He seemed somewhat abashed, and went out a little while, but came in again and sat quiet till meeting ended.

After a solid conference with the few Friends who lived here, we took leave in near affection; they expressing their satisfaction with the visit, as the tears trickled from their eyes. I earnestly crave that I may love and serve my Saviour faithfully, and that I may cause no reproach to his Truth and testimony, during the days of my sojourning here.

21st. We had a small meeting at a place called the Isle of Malt, and another on the main land; - then crossed the lake to Sharrey, on the west side, and had a meeting. Here were two families of Friends. While meeting sat silent, a man who served as priest among the people, queried whether it would be any offence to sing a hymn. He was calmly told it was not our practice. But the creaturely part in him desiring to be active, he stood up awhile after, and mentioned some text of scripture; after which he sat quiet. I informed them of our manner of worship; and at the proper season the meeting ended under solemnity. While here, I had occasion to think of the necessity there is for those who remove to new countries and distant places, to wait for proper clearness, and take suitable advice; and not be led out from lucrative motives principally. Some of those who live here, we found, came from England. The women, especial-

ly, meet with many trials in new places.

23rd. Taking leave of our friends at Sharrey in true love, we went by water to St. Johns, and had a meeting there in the afternoon; wherein a solemnity was felt which seemed to bind down all loose spirits; - to the praise of the Lord, let it be ascribed. We also had several conferences with the people, who seemed desirous to be informed of our principles; for which they expressed satisfaction. We left them in an inquiring state; which, if continued in, may produce fruits to their own benefit, and the honour of him whose mercy is great to the workmanship of his hands.

Next day we travelled to a small town called Tipperary, situate on the river St. Lawrence, below the falls.

Here I felt as though my faith would almost fail me. The people were of a strange language, of the popish religion, and I thought more depraved than any I had met with. After dinner we went on to a small Indian town, about ten miles up the river, on the south side. The St. Lawrence here is about a mile and a half wide, and runs an easterly course. The Indian chief, named Captain Thomas, was a sensible man, and though he could not speak English, yet in order to be informed of our business, he got an interpreter.

My certificate was then read, and my errand told, with the reasons why I had left my wife and children to come so far.

He replied, "It is good;" and bade me

welcome.

He also said, I could speak to him now, but would soon leave him, and then he might forget what I had said: he therefore desired I would leave him something in writing, to think of when I was gone; which he should take kind, as he had never before heard of such a people as we were. He also spoke about the priest's not letting them have the scriptures, and asked my opinion concerning it; which I gave on this wise: Perhaps the priest thought if they knew the scriptures, they would learn better principles from them than he taught. This chief appeared serious, and several times assented to what I said by saying, "yough." The opportunity with him was refreshing to my drooping mind.

The number of these Indians, I understood, was between two and three hundred. The chief told me they raised wheat and corn, and seemed to live pretty well. They appeared to be a well-behaved people; their dress was in the Indian manner, and their town commodiously situated on the bank of the river. I wrote a few lines for the chief, according to his desire, and left them with him; also gave him some books I had with me. On taking leave, he appeared well satisfied, and thankful for the visit.

25th. Not feeling myself clear of the people of Tipperary, we returned thither; and after waiting for inward counsel, I found freedom to propose a meeting, however strange it might seem. The master

of the house where we put up our horses allowing it, notice was spread to meet there at three o'clock in the afternoon. Many of the people of the town assembled; and, considering their rough appearance, their behaviour in sitting quietly, was much beyond our expectation. I believe the Lord's power was near, owning us in this undertaking, and Truth came into dominion before the conclusion of the meeting. To him be the praise of all.

We then went on towards Montreal; and, having to cross a branch of the river, where the bridge was gone, we floated our carriage over on hewed logs, and swam the horses. Getting safe over, we travelled down the river side about ten miles, - then crossed it, and about a mile further down we came to Montreal; where the people received us with the appearance of kindness in their way. We took lodging near the market, and had a room to ourselves.

27th. The way opening for us to have a meeting here, it was proposed to hold it in a meeting house of the Presbyterians. The number that assembled was large; but being unacquainted with silent waiting, divers of the people went out, causing some disturbance. At length, I allowed my certificate to be read, which produced a solemnity, and gained their attention. It appeared to give general satisfaction, and I believe the good cause did not suffer by our holding a meeting in Montreal; being the first of the kind ever held there. We found here several

tender-hearted people who took us to their houses; and there appeared more openness in the people of the town, than we had looked for. I thought I felt that a measure of the savour of Truth would be left behind us. May the Lord of the harvest send forth more to labour among them, and preach the necessity of repentance; for great indeed is the wickedness that prevails in a too general way. The sacred name of the Most High is commonly taken in vain, in the mouths of both sexes. Even old and gray-headed men are guilty herein, as though they thought it an ornament to conversation. The popish religion prevails among the greater part of the inhabitants; and by the craft of their clergy, it appears that great ignorance predominates among the people.

As I was waiting in silence for right direction, and feeling the Divine presence near, it opened to me, that as my prospect of going to Nova Scotia remained weighty, my best way was to take a passage by water, from this place, if I could obtain it. I knew not that this was likely to be had; but, on going to the door soon after, a man came to me and queried, whence I came, and whither I was going. I told him I came from near Philadelphia, and was going to Dartmouth, in Nova Scotia, if I could get there; that I had been advised to go by water, but knew not how to get a passage. He then informed me of a vessel bound for that place, which was to sail the next day. My companion having walked out, and the man being

willing to go with me to see the captain of the vessel, I went with him, and having found the captain, he readily agreed to take us. Upon this, I went to speak with my companion, and he uniting with the proposal, we soon agreed for a passage, the price of which was five guineas, each. The matter being thus concluded, the Friend who came with us, agreed to take back the carriage and our horses.

28th. We put our goods and clothes on board the vessel. Travelling by water has been very unpleasant to me; but at this time, as I had resigned to what I believed to be a clear opening for proceeding on the errand I was engaged in, it seemed more easy; and, giving myself up into the hand of the Lord for protection, I could bless his holy name, in a sense of his Divine presence being near.

We had to anchor the first night opposite Montreal. Next day, we proceeded down the river, and got on our way about seventy miles, into the lake, called St. Peters, which I am told is about twenty-five miles long, and seven wide. Here we anchored the second night. The cabin being taken up by a man and his wife who were going to Quebec, I fared not so well.

30th. The wind being ahead, we made but little progress: and at night, the watch falling asleep, we were in danger of rocks. The current being strong, our anchor was dragged, and the vessel did strike one, but received no damage. It was an awful season

to me; and this circumstance induced me to consider the danger of spiritual slumber, in which the souls of unwatchful mortals hazard an eternal wreck.

My mind was favoured with quiet resignation; altho', as a man, a prison would have been as agreeable as my confinement in a vessel, upon rough waters, and where a strong current made the appearance awful.

7th month 3rd. Having lain at anchor near two days, the vessel sometimes driving, - I observed the country towards Quebec was level, and thickly settled, chiefly by French people. This morning, the wind favouring, we soon came against Quebec, about two hundred miles from Montreal. This town consists of two parts, the upper and lower. The upper stands on a mountain, or high point of land; the lower, near the water, having one street - between the two is a very steep ascent. Here, the captain and sailors went on shore; and the sailors having drunk to excess, returned before the captain. A quarrel of a dangerous nature arose among them, and they struck with clubs and handspikes, using profane and dreadful language. I found it best for me to retire, and keep in the cabin, with my mind turned inward to the Lord, who faileth not in mercy to those who put their trust in him. The captain was a man who endeavoured to maintain his authority, and his return gave me some relief. I leave the reader to judge of our situation, and my exercise, thus pent up among disagreeable company, and the

far greater part of our voyage yet to come.

After being about a week on the water I began to feel my health affected by the motion of the vessel. In this situation, I had no way to flee, but to him who regardeth the sparrows; and lie sustained my mind in patient submission to his will. We passed a mountainous country on one side, and on the other we could not see land, as the river became very wide: and when we came to the gulf of St. Lawrence, reckoned three hundred and fifty miles from Quebec, we were quite out of sight of land. As the wind blew fresh, my sickness increased so much that I thought the sea must be my grave. It was about three days before the land came in sight again; and then the weather appeared so stormy that the captain thought best to put out to sea again, to avoid danger in the night; and this put us out of our course.

In this trying season, I was led closely to examine my steps; and my prayers to the Lord were fervent, that he would condescend to be my stay and staff: and he did not leave me without an inward evidence that I had given up in obedience to what I believed he required of me; and likewise I was favoured with what I esteemed a well-grounded hope, that it would be well with my soul, if I were never more permitted to see the land.

12th. After a hard gale of wind, we were in danger of rocks and shoals between the island of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia.

About noon, we entered what is called the Gut of Canso, in a very favourable time. Our passage through this strait was so wonderful that the captain confessed it was of the Lord. This Gut is a narrow passage between the main land and Cape Breton, about twenty miles in length and a mile wide, and saves (as is supposed) between three and-four hundred miles sailing. An awful sense of the Lord's goodness impressed my mind this night, as we lay near Cape Canso.

After passing through grievous sea-sickness and various difficulties, occasioned by contrary winds, fogs, and rough weather, we were favoured to land safe at our desired port of Dartmouth, on the 17th of 7th month, 1795, and were kindly received by our friend, Seth Coleman. The next day, I felt myself weak, and did not go about much. But my tongue cannot describe the feelings I had of the Lord's loving kindness, which had been extended towards me, and is still continued towards all who are given up to serve him in humility and sincerity of heart.

19th. Being first-day, we attended the meeting at Dartmouth. It was large for the place, and proved to be a heart-tendering, favoured opportunity. We then went out about four miles to our friend Thomas Green's, where next day, we visited three families in the neighbourhood, to good satisfaction. These Friends have had their trials, by reason of others removing away,

when they had not freedom to go. Our visit was very acceptable, as coming in a needful time; which some of them expressed.

21st. We visited six other families, who seemed tender. Dartmouth is situated on the east side of Chebucto bay, and contains between fifty and a hundred houses. The town of Halifax, containing about five hundred houses, lies nearly opposite, on the west side.

23rd. We were at three meetings; one for public worship; one, a meeting of conference; and at the third hour was held their preparative meeting; in which, those who incline to marry are allowed to declare their intentions. This is on account of their situation being so remote from any monthly meeting. These were opportunities of remarkable favour; and I thought their business was well conducted. On the next first-day, we had a solemn, parting meeting, which was a favoured season; and the next day we took our leave of Dartmouth. - Many people, Friends and others, coming together, we had a solemn opportunity before we left them.

27th. Our prospect now was to go towards Digby, Beaver-harbour and other places farther on in Nova Scotia. As the soldiers had the ferry boat, we had to swim our horses over the bay, which was about half a mile wide. That day, we rode about thirty miles, and lodged at a public house. Next day, I was unwell and the weather wet; so we tarried there, and the people

were kind to us. Poverty of spirit was my portion; yet I was humbly quiet in mind. Praised be the Lord.

7th month 29th. We set forward this morning, a little refreshed, and rode near forty miles through a mountainous country. The people appeared to live well, and seemed open-hearted to receive Friends; many of them being weary of their teachers. As I was very weak in body, we hired a chaise to ease me in travelling; and on the 30th, reached our friend Samuel Moore's; it being about forty miles. Here my weary body and mind seemed to experience much comfort.

8th month 3rd. We had two meetings; one of which was in Samuel Moore's house, large and satisfactory; and the other on a mountain, not far off. I marvelled at the kindness of the people, and their openness to receive us.

4th. We set forward for Annapolis; and that afternoon had a meeting at Randolph. Though a very rainy time, it was large and satisfactory. The next day we had a meeting in a Baptist meeting house, and another about ten miles farther on our way. Both were favoured seasons, and the people openhearted and kind.

6th. This day we reached Annapolis, and thence went to Edward Thomas's, who kindly took us in his boat to Digby, nine miles. This is a small town of about one hundred houses, standing on the Basin, so called, at the mouth of Annapolis river,

where that empties through a narrow passage into the bay of Fundy. Here the tide is said to rise thirty feet.

7th. A large room in the tavern where we lodged, was freely offered to hold meeting in; which was this day occupied, and a large meeting held there to good satisfaction, to the tendering of some hearts. We were requested to stay longer, and to have more meetings: but intending to cross the bay in a vessel which was to sail that afternoon for New Brunswick, we thought it best to take leave of them and go on board. We were on the water all night; which to me was very trying, as the motion of the vessel occasioned me to be very sick. In about twenty-two hours, we landed. It is called forty miles from Digby to New Brunswick.

One who was called a bishop of the church of England, was with us on board the vessel in this voyage. He was respectful, and desired to see my certificate. On its being shown to him, he commended it, and the order established among Friends; saying, it well agreed with his sentiments. After this, his kindness towards me increased: for he came frequently to inquire how I was, and whether I was any better. When we parted, he gave me his blessing, as also did divers others, in their way.

9th. At New Brunswick we had two large and favoured meetings, to the tendering of many hearts, and bringing honour, is I thought, to the cause of Truth. Many expressed their satisfaction: and I admired

their solid sitting, as there was long silence, and a number of them never before were at any of our meetings. It was the Lord's mercy blessed be his great name. I am but as a worm, and no man.

Many of the people hereaway have had an education amongst Friends, and are friendly; but appear to be as sheep without a shepherd. I felt love flowing towards them. and I thought great openness appeared in this town towards the doctrines of Truth; a number expressing their tenderness by the flowing of their tears.

On the other side, of the bay of Fundy, there was not any thing which oppressed my mind with more sadness, than the manner the former French inhabitants of the place (who were called *neutrals*) were forced away from their improved farms and estates, in this part of Nova Scotia, by those acting under British authority; and the British subjects coming in to inherit the fruits of their labour. I mentioned my sentiments freely concerning such injustice taking place; and I am willing to leave it.

As we had to wait for a passage from hence to Beaver-harbour, we visited a few families here; being kindly received by the people where we came.

11th This morning we went on board a boat with four oars, and came about twenty miles to Dipper harbour. Being yet only about half way to Beaver-harbour, we went on board early next morning, and reaching the latter place, had a meeting there in the

afternoon; which was a solid season. The next day we had another favoured meeting among them.

On the 14th, we proceeded about twenty miles to Passamaquoddy, at the mouth of the river St. Croix. Next day we went on by water to Machias in the province of Maine. Here, although no members of our society reside in the place, we had two large and satisfactory meetings. They desired us to stay longer, and have more meetings; but I found it safest to leave the people hungering, rather than to stay to make additions, without duty calls. I wish all who travel on Truth's account, to guard against the activity of the creature, lest a good savour be not left among strangers.

Being kindly supplied with horses, and a man to take them back, we went on to Pleasant river, about twenty miles towards Penobscot. As heretofore hinted, there appears to be much openness towards Friends, amongst the inhabitants of this eastern country. I thought it looked as tho' the fields were white unto harvest; and that many seemed weary of their teachers. We had a small, but solid meeting here the next day. After which we crossed the river to Richard Coffin's.

19th. Having hired horses and a man to take them back, we came about thirty miles to Frenchman's Bay; and the next day we reached the house of Paul Dudley, who was a very kind man. It being rainy, we tarried here till the day following; and then were

taken down Frenchman's Bay, to the Blue Hills. Thence we had a pleasant passage towards Penobscot; and I had to admire the goodness of the Lord in opening and preparing my way. Blessed be his excellent name, doth my soul say, tremblingly, and in awful fear and love.

The next day we hired horses, to cross a neck of land about six miles, and then went by water to Penobscot. Feeling poor in mind, and hearing of an opportunity to go on further by water we had like to have gone; but unexpectedly perceiving an opening for a meeting here the next day, we concluded to tarry; and accordingly had one in the morning and another in the afternoon; both solid and profitable, I hope. The behaviour of the people was commendable; I was comforted; and some benefit, perhaps, was received by individuals among them.

24th. After leaving Penobscot, we crossed the bay about fourteen miles to a place called Duck Trap; and had a small solid meeting among the people there that afternoon. They behaved well. The next day we hired a man and horses to take us to Camden, on Penobscot bay; and on the day following had a small meeting there, which I thought was favoured.

Here I bought a horse, bridle and saddle, and rode to Broad bay, where we had a satisfactory meeting at the widow Chapman's house, in which, deep impressions were made on some minds, and we were brought to each other, though outwardly strangers.

In near the afternoon, we proceeded about fifteen miles to the widow Kennedy's, near Sheepscut ferry; and the day following, to our friend Jeremiah Hacker's, at Durham.

29th. Proceeding to Falmouth in company with several Friends, we were at meeting there on first day. It was, I thought, poor and dull. The weather being warm, thus riding on horseback was trying to my shattered condition; yet I was favoured. All praise belongs to the Lord. I have been fully convinced in this pilgrim-like journey for the good of souls, that nothing belongs to man, nor the contrivance of men, in putting forward the Lord's work.

From Falmouth we went to Sandwich, and had two meetings there; one of which was public, the other with Friends selected. They were exercising seasons; but, I believe, ended well. Poverty and much hard labour seem to be my allotment; but let me not murmur: the Lord has hitherto helped me.

9th month 3rd. We journeyed to Cohorse in Vermont, where we arrived on the 4th, and I was very weary. The day following, being first-day, we had two meetings; one of them was held in a school house, and was in a good degree solid; the other in a Baptist meeting house, large, but interrupted by the people going out and in. It is often so, when we consent to hold meetings in the houses which belong to people of other societies. I believe we ought carefully to feel our way, even when their houses are

freely offered.

Here I met with my friend Henry Hull, from Nine Partners; and on the 7th, had a meeting at Sharon, near Bossett's, which was large; but it suffered loss by a Friend speaking rather too much about his own convincement. My mind was distressed thereby; and my desire is that Friends of the ministry may be well guarded against branching out improperly, when silence might be more useful near a meeting's conclusion.

9th. We set out for Danby, and travelled through a mountainous country; but reached there the next day. My journey since I left my habitation, I think amounts to nearly two thousand miles, by land and water, to this place; and I am thankful that I feel in a good measure comfortable, after the fatigue which has attended so long a travel.

**Appendix 2:**  
**THE JOURNAL OF**  
**WING ROGERS**

from  
The Pickering Story  
by William A. McKay

The following pages are an exact copy of the originals—words, spelling, punctuation, etc. The original book, at this date (Jan. 30, 1961) is in the possession of Mervyn Paul, R.R. 6, Galt, Ont. Mervyn Paul, is the son of the late Hannah Saunders Rogers (and J. G. Paul) daughter of Elihu Rogers (and Susannah Cruess) son of Wing Rogers (and Rebecca Hughes) son of Timothy Rogers (and Anna Harned).

This is my first book of manuscripts, to leave behind me, Wing Rogers Book, and pen this the 12th day of the 8th. month, 1866, & I am now in my 68th, year of my pilgramage, it being a long time since I have had it on my mind to write down some of the baptisms & trials, that the Lord, out of his tender mercies, hath brought me through; praise ye his holy name, all ye my tender offspring, rising generation, & ye that fear the Lord, that look upon these lines when I am dead & gone, & may we all meet in Heaven above, where all is love, to see his face & sing his praise forever & ever Amen, & also I have wrote a few beautiful pieces, that I have found in different authors, selected out of good paper, tracts, & books, &c, &c. In these, I have taken

great delight & would with my dying breath recommend to both young and old, as also to all good books, which point the way to Zion, for books have a great influence, on the mind to direct us to the way of the saints everlasting rest, or the way to lamentation & woe. But I study brevity; although I want to tell to thee Oh friendly reader a little about my dear Parents, and first I will speak of my dear father his name was Timothy Rogers, and he was born in the state of Connecticut, of the stock & descendents of the martyr John Rogers, minister of the gospel, who was burnt at the stake, Smithfield, London, in Queen Marys reign whose wife followed him to the stake, with nine small children, & one at her brest, & my beloved father informed us that his Children are the tenth generation from that valiant martyr, of our dear Lord and saviour Jesus Christ who triumphed over death hell & the grave, in the flames, Hallalujah, praise ye the Lord, Oh my soul, & I want to meet all of you, that now doth live, but soon will be numbered with the nations that has gone before, in the hapy Caanease land I hope, where there will be rest for you & rest for me, & rest for the good soldier, that hath laid his armour by, & when I meditate and speak of these preshus things my poor soul seams to be with Bunyons on the delectable mountain with the shepherds where the ayer is pure & the birds are ever singing, & all Creation praise the high & lofty one who inhabits eternity, & where all the peoples

minds & souls, are engaged, both by night & by day, to reach that happy home, & conversing about their enjoyments when they arrive safe at that delightful clime, On the other side of Jourdan, in the sweet fields of Eden, Where the tree of life is ever blooming, There will be rest for you. Oh ye faithful weary pilgrims, & there two the shepherds had telescopes & those that had good eyes (or much faith), could see the Celestial City whose builder & maker is God, there they craved & longed to be, there their treasures were, & there their hearts were who, neither do Gods saints on earth wondre at it, for I never read of a trance or vision or a dream, of any man or mortal, that had a sight of that glorious place that wanted to leave it, oh no, not for all of earths storehouses full of jewels, of perishing gold & siver, & moreover Bunyon tells of the shining ones, comeing down from the Celestial City, which was built on a very high mountain, with trumpets harps and all kinds of instruments of music, in their hands, playin the most melodios strains, that mortals ever heard, to conduct them up to the royal City, & when the gates were opened & he heard all of the bells ring in that great City, & all of the inhabitants whould welcome weary pilgrim, he wished to be there, but in vain, & uterly impossible, unless we truly love that noble Prince Emanuel, Gods only begotten son Jesus Christ, worthy to be praise, forever & ever more, & keep his statutes & ordinances in

our hearts & printed in our thoughts, as Zechariah & Elisabeth, who walked in all of the Commandments of the Lord, blameless. Oh when I think of these great wraptueres of Joy which John Bunyon leaves, with us, as well as many more, most exelent writings under the samilitude of dreams, & visions admired by all denominations then I have to praise the Lord, for that word of truth, left us in Holy writ, Job 33, Cha. & 14th verse, — For God speaketh once yea twice yet man perceiveth it not—in a dream in a vision of the night when deep sleep falleth upon him in slumbering upon his bed, namely, Oh what are earths joy to me, Since I an heir of Heaven may be, Praise ye the Lord Saith my longing panting soul & I will sing in spirit & truth, Hallalujah—& high renown be to the Lord God & the lamb forever & ever, Amen. Now I will tell the, oh friendly reader, that my dear Father was an orphan Child, had neither father or mother, both were dead & gone, & whilst but a young Child he was put out amongst strangers, who used him very hard and cruel, & I have often had, to wondre however he lived through the abuse that he would tell of, with the tears running down his aged cheeks, but Providentially some of this friends got charge of him & brought him to Dutches county in the state of Newyork, to live with an uncle where he received good usage, & there he remained untill he grew to mans estate, & there he was married to Sarah Wilde, my dear effec-

tion ate Mother, that hath been gone no doubt to the Celestial City, about 52 years. Oh yes, & there I hope to meet her with songs of the redeemers praise & Hallalujahs & high renown, forever to be with our Lord to see his face, with that dear mother. She was away from home to receive the awfull stroke of death, which she met with, in the greatest composure, and songs of her redeemers Love saying, Oh death where is thy sting, Oh grave where is thy victory; & directed where she chose to have her remains laid even beside her children in Pickering, then sang her weary soul to Rest in Jesus Arms, oh let us all strive to meet there. And that dear father and mother had fourteen living Children, & one still born and here I will give their names, the first birth, Obadiah Rogers, James R., Hannah R., Mary R., Lydia R., Sarah R., Elisabeth R., Timothy R., John R., Asa R., Matilda R., Wing R., John Elmsley R., & Stephen R., & about two years before my dear mothers death, my Parents buried seven children out of the fourteen & most of them were married & had families, which was a great trial to them both, but particularly so, with mother, I was young but I can remember of seeing her meet the neighbour wimin, & talking of her troubles & great loss, with the tears runing down her aged face, & comparing it to Jobs troubles, but she took the same disease, the Tiphus fever when there was none of that in the land, & went after them, & I most shurly believe to that

sweet land of rest, forever to be with hur dear Lord & master &c. Then after my mothers death my dear father married the seckoned time, to a very fine Christian woman, who made an exelent stepmother to me, & all of Fathers Children, by his first wife, & she was a great comfort to him in his declining years, hur name was Anna Harned, of New Jersey, of a good respectable family, & she two has gone, I hope to the City of the New Jerusalam, where sickness pain sugging & sorrowe can never come, Hallalujah, but my dear Father passed away a few years before her, I hope to be forever with his Lord, & rest from his toil, both outward & inward, for he oft had to contend with principalities & powers & spiritual wickedness, in high places; he oft spoke to the mourners in Zion, in the assemblies of the Lord, & strenghtned the weak knees & hands that hang down, & it was his delight to see the prosperity of Jerusalam, & craved to see her borders enlarged, & her stakes strengthened, & hur cords lenghned, he traveled some in his masters cause, & oft times proclaimed the glad tidings of much joy at home at his own meetings, to the rejoicing of many hearts, &c., & in the compassionate Saviours bosom. I hope he hath found a resting place, & my dear mother Anna bore my Father five Children, whose names are; Jonathon R. Rogers, Sarah R., Martha R., John Wilde R., David T.R., which in all made twenty Children. But of my own dear mothers children there

now only remains two, & of the second family four, &c. &c. I have said that my father & mother were married in Dutchess county, & from thence they moved to Danby, on the waters of Lake Champlain, in a howling wilderness, & there he called on the name of the Lord, & a friends meeting in a few years, was gathered around him. My father & mother also came in amongst friends by request, my dear father was a man that drove much business, he built mills, & here he built a forge, cleared land, kept store, & in some places made large contract with the land proprietors & Governors to make settlements, & always strove to gather unto the Lord, & it was his great delight thence to erect an altar to the God Abraham Isaac & Jacob, & from thence he moved to Vergennes, where now stands one of the largest towns in the State of Vermont, & in that country my God gave me birth, in the year 1798, 10th mo. 25th day. My father moved here into the wilderness, But settlement went on rapidly, & he became wealthy, for the God his fathers had blessed him in basket & in store, & here also he erected an altar to the God of the whole Earth, Martors, Prophets & Apostles, where in a few years there was gathered a large meeting of valiants, for their holy Redeemers cause, for all those blessings; I oftentimes heard my dear father thank bless & praise the great giver, of all things both temporal & spiritual, Hallalujah, & now the Orphan boy, something like Joseph in

Egypt, forgot his fathers house, he became full & plenty, with a wife & Children, a numerous family, & several of the eldest of them married, & he had men servants & maid servants, & he might have said with Jacob, —I came over this Jourdan with my staff only but thou Oh God, hath made of me two bands. Well my father sold out a rich possession there & moved to Canada, west five hundred miles, & settled on Yonge street, near Newmarket, where he again made a contract with the newly arrived Governor & Chief Justice, for to make a settlement, & I oftentimes heard him say that he arrived here the first Governor ever took his seat, in Upper Canada, in the year 1800. He made a bargain with the authorities to bring in forty families, to settle this howling wilderness, for surely it was then a howling wilderness, where now is fruitful fields, orchards vineyards garden villages towns Cities schools grammar-schools Colleges Academies good roads factories of all kinds both of wood iron brass gold & silver stone & marble; I can remember when it was a great phenomenon to have one printing office, even in little York, as it used to be called, but Toronto now, & now I presume there are hundred of them in this Province, there is scarcely a village but there will be two or three of them. Those brave pioneers had to go to mill forty-fifty, and in some places a hundred miles, after there were a very few erected, & in some cases cut the road, make bridges or swim across creeks

and streams, & indeed combat with thousands of difficulties, that the inhabitants now are strangers to; & now I am gowin to give the reader a little hint respecting our wild beasts, there were thousands of wolves, bears deer foxes wildcatts or lynx, racoons, & other smaller animals two numerous to mention. The wolves would collect into larges companies oftimes, howl, & bark, yelp & squeal, as it were, & make several strange noises, yes, old hunters tell us that one wolf will sound many different notes enough to make the forset ring again, & make the strongest man trimble if he was exposed to their wilds, & had no protection. But to the persons that had safely arive to the log house their houling pleased them well—they delighted to hear this wild music, probably as much as our vain youth delight nowadays to hear what they call the whool brass band. Besides these monsters of the forests, which were the dred of man, sheep & the timid deer, the bear was to be dreaded next, they did not gather into large companies but they were bold & would of attack man, they were an awfull oponent, & frequently people have been roughly handled by them, & some killed; they also destroy the sheep & swine, & other creatures that the new settlers knew not how to spare. Also the deer, & numerous fish, of many very exelent kinds, was much used, insted of what every farmer can raise now, on his own farm for food, & the seting of the table. Besides we had a great variety of

birds, that made our forests ring with their sweet notes, wild ducks & geese which were an excelent dish, & for a few years the rushes, that grew in those forests, in a bundance, made good food for the cattle & horses, through the cold winters, until it could be raised by the inhabitants.

In those days there were a great many, yes hundreds and thousands of Indians, or Natives, who were harmless & agreeable, & they traded with the white people, in many articles, & when a boy we were allways glad to see them come to our fathers house with Baskets brooms trays ladles & fish, venison ducks & geese, & shugar, cramberries, & many more kinds of berries, & furs & skins &c, but now they are fast dwindling, & runing out, & will in all probability some futer day be entirely gone as the nations that are extinct. Well after my father had lived to fulfill his contract with respect to settlement, & had the satisfaction to see great improvements in those parts, & a larg meeting gathered, in the year 1807 or 8—he again mooved to Pickering where he lived until death remooved him, as the sweet poet tells us, On the other side of Jourdan, In the sweet fields of eden, I hope to Caanean, Where the tree of life is ever blooming, There will be rest for you; never to moove any more, nor toil any more, nor hunger or thirst any more. But my dear father lived to see a large meeting gathered around him here, & also to see the great rent in the society that was called the Hixite

separation which took place in those parts, about the year 1828 — & a very sorsfull rent it was indeed, it caused many pangs of sorrowe on both sides. But my dear father had a prospect, of a yearly meeting in Canada, & he used to tell his Children, & his friend, that he thought it would be located in Pickering, nearly 60 years before it was granted to our Three Quarterly meetings, now held in Upper Canada, namely Westlake, Yongstreet, & Pelham, for after several requests being made to the Newyork yearley meeting of friends, to which we belonged in those days, they granted to us a yearley meeting, to be held at Pickering, & the first meeting to be held next 6th. mo. in the year 1867—& our friends are now makin preparations for it, & a large brick meeting house is building, on part of my fathers old farm, on the very grounds that he gave to the society, many years before his death, for the use of a meeting & a burial ground, praise ye the Lord, saith my soul, sal vation belongs to our God: saith Mary & Elisabeth, St. Luke first ch. 46th verse, & Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, & my spirit hath rejoiced in God my saviour, &c, &c. And when but a youth, & up to manhood, & the early part of my days, we cought hundreds and thousands of Salmon, in Duffinses Creek, that ran through my fathers farm on the which he built a sawmill & grist mill, & also they were cought in all the cricks & streams on the north side of Lake Ontario that was

large enough. But as the fishermen increased, & the country became cleared up, & mildams built, which prevented them from gowing up to spawn, besides all that nets & seins, & the increase of navigation, on those waters (where 60 or 80 years before there was not a white man to be sean) — doubtless this is the reason why they faled; & also all kinds that had to spawn in the runing waters the salmon trout whitefish sturgeon herin pike & pickerell—& many more kinds live in the great water, the mullets & suckers the beautiful little speckle trout & Eals run up the Creeks & also, men contrive schemes & plans even to draw them out of deep waters, & the poor fish, like the Natives of Aboregines, are fast diminishing, for which I sorrowe. And now I propose telling thee oh dear reader, a little about my last schooling. In the year 1818 —I left home on foot, to cary my self & all the necessary clothing, to the Ninepartners Boarding School, the distance being five hundred miles, held in Dutches county, Newyork State, & about the twentieth uear of my life. This was then considered to be the most respectable school in Newyork yearly meeting, I think the avarage number of schollars probably would be 80 or a 100; the boys were taught & taken care of, both day & night by men, & the girls by Wimin —the boys & girls had entirely separate apartments, there was a Quarterley meeting held close by, & all the Children attended the meeting twice a

weak; & every first day in the afternoon, all of the schollars, Teachers, Superintendents & family met for to worship the Lord of hosts, & many a refreshing schower in those tender years, like the springing up of the grass, did we receive, from the river of God, that makes his Children shout & praise, him that is worthy forever more. We had exelent teachers, & care taker, nourishing fathers & mothers, & I have oftimes had through my pilgramage to bless & praise, the God of my fathers Abraham Isaac & Jacob, that I ever was united to this good family. I took down all the names of my dear fellows, & school-master they were comin in & gowing out nearly all of the time, so thou may see I had a great many names. But I have had thousand of times to marvel & wondre, that I have not met with them more than I have, in this vail of tears, I cant make up with on half of a dozen I ever met, but I keep hearing of the deaths of one schollar after another, & teacher after teacher, & superintendents, & parts of the family, so that it is verry rare that two of us ever meet, since the day that we left each other at the school; but it is my hearty prayers that we may meet, On the other side of Jourdan, In the sweet fields of Eden, Where the tree of Life is ever blooming, there will be rest for you. And now as I was about to leave the school, my kind friends, that I had made acquaintance with & was about to leave behind, was kind enough to give me, to take home to my friends, & relatives, & acquaintances, the

following surtificate or recommend, namely—

This may inform the friends & relatives of the bearer, Wing Rogers, who has spent a year & a half in the Boarding School at Ninepartners, that whilst here he has been particularly careful to observe the regulations & rules of the school, kind & obliging in his disposition, by which he has gained the esteem not only of the schollars, but teacher, superintendents & family.

Wahington 7th. month, 28th—1820

Andrew Cumstock )

Enoch Haight ) Teachers

Reuben Hows — Superintendent

I fully approve of the above, & think he well deserves it.

James Congdon, Jr.—Late Teacher

Well kind friend, after getting the above, & setling all accounts most cordially with those new made friends, & my heart filled with sorrowe for having to leave them, never to meat again on this earthly ball, I bid them adieu, & as I have said above, it seamed as if I was conscious of it, for my youthfull heart felt pangs that is not easy to describe. Meet, thought I, no we shurely never shall meet again on the shores of time, whilst the tears flowed down my cheaks like rain, & also every marks of love on the part of those left behind. I also returned home to Canada, much like the gowing out to Ninepartners, only in the heat

of summer, which was very fortifying in the extreme, where I found my old friends & acquaintances, mostly well, but a few had gone the way of all the earth, which caused very serious reflections to pass over my troubled soul, the great hardship of mind & trouble, & the great change from being to school, & going immediately into toil beyond my strength as like to of caused my frail bark to of foundered in the deep, —but the Lord my pilot suffered no harm to befall me; he stood beside me & suffered none of these things to harm me, & I still will praise his holy name forever & ever. Oh let us remember he leads the blind in a way they know not, & always for short sighted mans good, & so it was with me, & let me sing with the sweet poet— Should earth against my soul engage, And fiery darts around me be hurled, Then I'll smile at satans rage, And face a frowning world. And now a year or more had passed & I began to think of setting myself for life, & in this solemn undertaking I greatly craved to be guided by Gods holy spirit, & to find a helpmeet that would go with me not only through this veil of tears but up to that Glorious City whose builder & maker is God, —being well aware that there is an eye that never slumbers nor sleeps, & he takes cognizance of all that man doeth, & he can bless or he can blast all of our fair prospects & endeavors. Again I say that I humbly asked & craved as in the dust ashes, that the great pilot would direct my little bark into the true haven of

rest, for how can two travel one road unless they be agree, & I thought that our eternal bliss or misery much depended on our choice in taking a companion to travel with, through lifes chequard scene, & I still think the same, or rather I might say more than that. I know a good deal about it, & have seen & heard abundance, of the sad effects of two being unequally yoked together; just think, one pulling for the happy land of eternal rest, & the other for the bitter lamentations of woe. Oh how many dear wimins have been dragged down to lamentation & sorrowe, & also how many husbands by the wife, although she being the weaker vessel hath cried like Delila did to Samson until she had slain him, & whole families lost by the influence of a wicked father or a tender indulgent mother, in all things pertaining to the world. But lacking the true riches that will purchase the eyesalve that they may anoint their with & see, or lack the true gold that hath been tried in Gods furnace which is in Jerusalem, or tried on his altar that is in Zion—oh how many are content with half measures like Annanais & Safira his wife, & dyed, in truth & reality (P. 12) in Gods holy sight the same as they did, by indulging in sins & follies, which must all be punished in eternity; but thousands being down upon their heads, even in this world, the heavy stroke of Gods wrath, by not being obedient to that teacher that cannot be removed into a corner, & I can say with the sweet psalmist, Once I was young but

now I am old, but I never saw the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread. So I besought him aright to direct me in this great undertaking, & I thought he did, & I came to James Hugheses place, in the township of Uxbridge, the family all being friends, & respectable people, & good neighbours, & having a high recommend of their daughters. I chose the eldest, which was lacking three years only of my own age, we communed on the subject of marriage, & of many other things pertaining to the Celestial City, &c, &c, & believing each others love to be true, & true to each other, & to our God, we joined hands in hand, in Wedlock bands in the years 1822, & we were happy, carefully attending to all of the outward ordinances of the Lord. We began poor, as to the outward circumstances as it would be called by people in these days, worked hard, late and early, & after many years the dear Lord blessed us with a goodly heritage, & plenty, both in house & outdoors, with many thanks to him that had compassion on us, as on the fishermen of old times, after their toiling all night, praise ye his holy name. But I am truly thankful now, since I have always tried to fill my seat in his house of prayer, & let no worldly business prevent me, & I do believe that I tried with all of my little strength & might, to do what was right in his holy sight, to train those tender lambs committed to my charge, for Christ my dear Lord, let others say what they may, I know & abundantly confess that

I am but a poor arring worm of the dust, & can say with the poor Publican, smiting his fist on his breast, God be merciful to me a sinner. Yea, I have lived to see Gods blessings on my Children, both temporal & spiritual, praise ye his holy name; & he blessed us with 8 Children, whose names are — Robert, Anna, Elihu, Hannah, Harriette, Peninah, Clarkson, & James, : 4 sons & 4 daughters, & all of them proper Children, that is, with thanks be to God, had their natural shapes, & abilities, praise his holy name.

Again I say, that I study brevity, but I must tell a little about our moving, in the forepart of our lives, & a few of the hardships & difficulties that we had to encounter in those days that are past and gone, in settling in a new Country, on entirely new places in the wilderness, &c. In common cases, I never did approve of much moving, but we seemed in those days & circumstances to be almost compelled to move oftener than we wanted to. We first settled after being married, on a hundred acres of land gave to me by my dear father, lying on Duffinses Creek, there our first child Robert was born; we had sickness & some little losses & disappointments, so after being there about two years, we moved to Uxbridge, there we lived about four years, & there I had a cancer & suffered very much with that & in doctoring it, which lasted one long year, & so severe was the time with me that I despaired of my life, &

so did all of my dear neighbours around us, but with many thanks to my dear Lord & master, he saw fit to restore me again to my little family, praise ye the Lord. So in this place our eldest daughter Anna was born, & our seckond son Elihu, & after doing abundance of hard laborious work, for the time, about four years, & suffering much, we mooved to Pickering, to my fathers, to take care of his house, farm, Children, stock & all they had, whilst father & mother went on a long journey to Virginnia, to see my brother Timothy, & this was in the year 1821. Also they made a verry memorable visit to my dear stepmothers friends & relatives in the state of Newjersey, which proved to be the last visit they ever made in these parts; & we lived there several months, untill they returned home, all in much harmony, & good understanding, friendship & love. And soon after, we mooved up to the Kingston, & Toronto Road, & there I took a school, & there we lived for about four years on a little place, near to where the yearley meeting is now granted to the society of friends, in Canada, & there our daughter Hannah was born. I had tried weaving, & severel small businesses, but I thought none of these occupations to be equal to farming—but I was poor, & if I would be a farmer, I must go into the woods again. Then in the year 1832 we mooved to the place that we now live on, in the 6th. Co., of Pickering, where we have lived 34 years, & here—Harriette,

Peninneh, Clarkson & James was born, & I do bless & praise the God of Abraham Isaac & Jacob who hath also blessed us with many good things, both temporal & spiritual, praise his holy name, saith my soul. And I have it on my mind to relate a few of the many inconveniences, hardships difficulties & trial, that nearly all have to encounter, that setle with it, in a howling wilderness, before it can be brought to Cultivation & a fruitful field. In the first place, the pioneer has oftimes to make a yoke of oxen, sled or cart, with an axe in hand, & cut his road as he gows, & run over logs bushes, & through brooks creeks & swamps & over hills & dales until with much dangers & difficulties he arives at the much desired spot, then he gows to cutting down the trees to make the shanty, or log house, and before he is half ready, perhaps to raise his building, a few hardy sons of industry & toil, come with a shout that will make the forest ring, & raise the rustic log building; and now before it is half finished his wife & children have to moove into this new abode, run the risk of geting sick, or geting their deaths, in many ways. On one occasion after I had mooved into a forest wild, near to my newly dwelling, stood a large tree that leaned over the house, & one verry tempestious & windy night, that tree kept us awake & in much distress, when the blast or gale, took that as well as all of the forest about us; the trees bowed as if they must fall, & indeed many did, but that one swung over & over our

helpless heads untill daylight came; & perhaps I was never gladder to see daylight for then I soon got my axe & laid it bellowing on the ground, but let me tell thee, oh dear freindly reader, that trees do often fall on the new buildings, & sometimes do much damage to the new setler, & cripple people & tak life. And again when pleasant spring has come, the poor mans cows have to be turned out in the woods to seek their own living or starve, & commonly he will get them until the Calf is weaned, but I allways had to build a pen to put the Calves in, & then bring baswood bushes leaves & all for them to eat, which made a great deal of work, wither for male or female to do, but with those leaves & a little milk we used to raise verry good calves. But perhaps by the time mid-summer had come the Cows would grow careless & lay out, & after the poor man had hunted & searched many days, until he was discouraged, he would let them go, & they would soon dry up, & do him no more good that year; & he would be obliged to go out to work for a little butter bread & meat & also he would work for groceries & store pay, &c. &c. And before I got a yoke of oxen, I had to change work, that is give three days work for men & one for oxen, & in those days I done all of my chopping alone, but in logging I had to give four days work for every one that I got back again, & then after that I did get oxen. They would stray off like the cows, & a man might look peradventure a weak & not find

them when he most needed them. Our mills, oftimes, would be a great distance from us, a good deal of the milling was performed by a boy or a little girl, taking a horse with a bushel or two on his back, & some stong men, if it was known, to cary there little grist on their shoulder to mill. Others drew a few bushels on a sled or a crotched stick, with a yoke of oxen in the summer on the bare ground, &c. &c. These are some of the stiff currants & tides that the new setler oftimes hath to steer his little bark through, or founder in the storm (or in other words) he must be courageous, or he would live & die in poverty, but thousands get well off & many get rich with these small beginnings, for industry & economy is the way to wealth. But I cannot tell of much wealth, neither did I seek it, but my gracious Lord hath given me enough, & I have retired, from seeking wealth & wordly pleasure & gain these many years, just at the period that the worling commences to be ap up gold, the rust of the which we read, "will be a witness against him", that is, "if a man knoweth his masters will & doith it not, he must be beaten with many stripes"—I most shurly do be lieve, that there is hundreds of thousands in this respect, doing as the poet te]ls us, namely, I have shed his preshus blood, & trampled on the son of God. But to go on with my story, I do consider all of my worly substance only lent to me from the Lord, & after he enabled me to get my wilderness farm cleared up & well fenced,

woods & all, & a large orchard baring abundance of fruit, & I had been to great expence to build barns houses & outhouses, & the farm well stocked &c, to make my wife & family comfortable, & to leave them in easy circumstances, I set out to spend most of my life of pilgrimage—seeking the fair land of Caanean, oh how my sould panteth for thee.

On the other side of Jourdan, in the sweet field of Eden.

Where the tree of life is ever blooming,  
There will be rest for you. I said so much  
with the sweet poet, & a little more  
again—I will march up the heavenly street,  
& ground my arms at Jesus feet — For the  
Captain of my souls salvation had given me  
a charge to keep, a heaven to gain, & a hell  
to shun; & I was constrained to use the  
language of another sweet singer, that sang  
the Lords song, saying -

Should earth against my soul engage, &  
firey darts around me be hurled, Then I will  
smile at satens rage, & face a frowning  
world. Should cares like a wild dellug round  
me fall, May I but safely reach my home,  
My god my heaven & my all, There will I  
bathe my weary soul, In seas of heavenly  
rest, And not a wave of sorrowe roll across  
my peaceful breast.

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