Dissecting Perspectives on Faith, Family and Community, 1800-60: The Society of Friends and the Children of Peace

By Louise Mussio

Introduction

The relationship between gender, family and religion in Upper Canada is not well-understood. Indeed, it is only of late that serious, scholarly interest has been given to this multifaceted subject, most historians preferring either to ignore religion altogether, or to study later periods in Canadian history for which documentation is more readily available. Moreover, Canadian historians, unlike their counterparts in the United States and Britain, have generally limited their study to "mainstream" denominations, a fact which reflects the novelty of the discipline, and perhaps the assumption that these groups embody the central elements of colonial experience.[1] In discussing aspects of gender, family, economy and belief in the lives of Upper Canadian Quakers and Children of Peace, this article creates a more accurate sense of the colony's cultural diversity. It also demonstrates how Dissent was multivocal: in addition to influencing political debate within the colony, it was integral to the construction of gender roles that differed significantly from those espoused by the larger culture.

This is particularly the case with separate spheres ideology which was essentially irrelevant to the lives of Quaker and Davidite women and men during the first forty years of the nineteenth century. Domesticity did not function as a defining discourse – a goal to which all colonial women aspired – as Jane Errington has suggested. Amongst both groups, faith was intimately bound up with communitarianism – a way of life in which individuals and families existed in symbiotic relation to the larger community. Quaker beliefs and practices created alternatives to traditional "peasant" family structures, which in North America, as elsewhere, were typically organised along patriarchal, authoritarian lines. Friends communities combined traditional land settlement patterns, and the privileging of the concerns of the many over the desires of the few with patterns of child-rearing and gender relations that accentuated women's contribution to group cohesion. Because of Quakers' commitment to endogamy, parenthood was viewed as a sacred, public trust, a fact which bolstered both women's administrative and spiritual authority within their communities. At the same time, this emphasis on good parenting encouraged men to assume a nurturing role as both fathers and keepers of the faith. The result was that the distinctions between male and female roles were often blurred. Moreover, it meant that Friends communities were comparatively less patriarchal than others of the time, though they too bore the imprint of women's traditional social subordination.

On the surface, gender relations amongst the Children of Peace seemed to be even more emphatically countercultural: women played a prominent, public role in the community's ritual life; furthermore, David Willson's political rhetoric drew upon images of feminine strength and spiritual superiority, while in several of his writings he bolstered claims to female independence before marriage, and to wives' authority over their husbands. Upon further examination, however, one finds that the effects of Willson's levelling theology were more apparent than real. [2] This was particularly the case by the 1830s when rising youth independence resulting

from increasing market economic involvement challenged Davidite elders' ability to maintain the group's communitarian traditions. During this time, Willson used the special, fatherly relationship that he had cultivated with young Davidite maidens as a means of bolstering community cohesion in addition to his own role as Hope's great patriarch. By appealing to maidens' loyalty to him, love of their parents, and fear of the trials of adult womanhood, Willson sought to control the experience of courtship and marriage within the community, and thereby maintain its traditional moral economy. As both patriarch and prophet, Willson's charismatic leadership embodied, to a significant extent, the aspirations of the founding generation versus the young adults of the 1830s. The latter came of age not only during an era of political turmoil, but during a time when the structure of the family was experiencing a fundamental shift away from its traditional moorings, to a more modern form that privileged the rights of individuals over the imperatives of the larger community. Central to this shift was the expression of youth independence through the experience of romantic love, and Willson and the elders' desperation at their increasing inability to reign it in.

In the first section, the establishment of traditional, subsistence-oriented Quaker communities in Upper Canada will be explored with direct reference to the ways in which religious values formed the basis of Friends' peculiar way of life, centred on the land. It will also discuss how Friends sought to protect their communities through the enforcement of the Discipline, noting which sins posed the greatest challenge to sect cohesion, to 1840. In the subsequent section, the efforts of the Children of Peace to maintain the traditional Quaker moral economy intact, while accommodating David Willson's prophetic mission will be discussed. Furthermore, the gap that developed between Willson's rhetoric of female equality and Davidite reality will be examined with particular reference to the generational tensions that developed over time, and that ultimately led to the demise of this Dissenting community. Although the two groups will be treated separately within the text of the article, the final section will offer concluding arguments for both sections.

¶

Most Quaker migrants settled in Upper Canada as a means of maintaining an alternative community, united in peaceful protest versus the dominant society, and based on ties of faith, family and mutual assistance. The economic crux of the rural Quaker way of life was subsistence farming: in older American settlements, a scarcity of new land compelled young men to leave Quaker communities in search of better opportunities. This rent the fabric of rural Quaker life, by shutting off its main source of growth. As a result, Quaker patriarchs settled large, extended families on contiguous land holdings in a process of chain migration that essentially transplanted Friends' communities from Pennsylvania, Vermont, New York and New Jersey to the Upper Canadian frontier.

Quaker pioneer life in Upper Canada was organized similarly to other subsistence-oriented, "peasant" communities in Europe, New England and the American frontier.[3] In many parts of the United States and Upper Canada, families were organized along traditional, patriarchal lines: patriarchs settled their families on adjacent farms, and directly supervised production for inter-generational family economies. In such circumstances, individual desires were sacrificed for the greater good of the community, which was envisioned in organic terms. Moreover, the boundaries separating families from the larger Christian community were indistinct: meetinghouse and hearth were of equal value in nurturing individuals in the faith and were often interchangeable: families played a cru-

Temple of the Children of Peace at "Hope" (Sharon)

cial religious role; social welfare was the purview of churches and families; and disciplinary cases served to regulate individual behaviour, by emphasizing obedience to authority over harmony and love.[4] As Edward Shorter has asserted, traditional families had "gaping holes in the shield of privacy" which allowed others beyond the nuclear family free access to the household.[5]

Frontier Quaker communities in Upper Canada adhered to many of the cultural standards dictated by economic subsistence. For example, until at least the 1810s, Yonge St's Quaker sons worked on their father's land, and applied any surplus labour to their own crops grown on a portion of this land, as a means of acquiring a stake for land acquisition in later life. Parents assisted in the creation of new households by providing sons with long-term land loans. When paid off, the incoming cash would be used to buy land for another brother, or to assist parents in their retirement. Under such a system, sons remained dependent to a great extent upon their fathers, at least until they could purchase their own land.[6] But in contrast to Mary Ryan's "Puritans, "Friends' unique traditions, polity and testimonies assisted in constructing a qualitatively different settler experience. While it can be argued that both Puritan settlers to the western frontier, and Quaker settlers to Upper Canada created communities based on the values of spiritual tribalism, the latter's peculiar emphasis on child nurture, in addition to its formal recognition of women's spiritual authority dislodged the traditional, subsistence-oriented family from its patriarchal moorings. On a prescriptive level, rather

than emphasizing the coercive power of the pater familias over wife and children, Quakers exalted the role that good parents, but especially mothers played in lovingly guiding and correcting their children. Viewed as a model for Quaker citizenship, the ethic of the good parent was extended to the public realm: through the power of loving mothers and fathers, Quaker communities would grow in harmony.

The vision of parenthood as a sacred, public trust was intimately connected to women's administrative and spiritual authority within Quakerism. And this authority was buttressed by the economic conditions of pioneer farming which made the work of wives and mothers vital to family survival. The example of Upper Canadian Quakerism challenges Jane Errington's proposition that the Cult of True Womanhood, and in particular, separate spheres ideology was a "hegemonic" force in the colony from the early nineteenth-century onward. Although she asserts that the conditions of life for the vast majority of the colony's women mitigated against achieving domesticity, she suggests that most Upper Canadian women felt pressure to conform to its dictates. Moreover, the outside world increasingly judged them by the new standards. Although Quakers were not immune to external pressures, and despite the limitations they placed on women's authority, their vision of gender relations differed substantially from the ethic of separate spheres. By exalting the good parent, Quakerism proposed domesticity as a model for all people. And although the sexes were to follow prescribed roles, the Quaker ideal was less radically dichotomized, with the boundaries between public and private domains being indistinct.

In the following section, Quaker attitudes toward children and proper parenting will be explored. In addition, the gendered elements of Quaker religious and community experience will be discussed with reference to both the prescriptive literature, and to descriptive accounts, including Friends disciplinary case files. The latter offers some insight into the efficacy of Quaker attempts at social control, which by the 1820s demonstrated increasing signs of fragility. Alongside the divisions caused by the Hicksite schism of 1828, Quaker communities had always had difficulty enforcing endogamy. As the years progressed, the problem became more pronounced, and most individuals who married out preferred to be disowned than to acknowledge their transgressions. The inflexibility of Quakerism's own testimonies were largely responsible for the situation: because it was not an evangelical faith, disowned individuals were not easily replaced. Nonetheless, members' increasing propensity to be lured by the temptations of the outside world, and to neglect Friends meetings were likely related to factors beyond the sect's direct control, including a reduction in geographical isolation, mobility, and the attractions of political agitation.

By the time of the American Revolution, and on the eve of Quaker migration to Upper Canada, the sect was aware of its declining numerical status: even in Pennsylvania, its traditional strong-hold, Quakers made up less than one-seventh of the colonial population. William J. Frost suggests that fears of spiritual decline strengthened the sect's child-centred focus as a means of ensuring the preservation of the faith. The same end was served by coinciding attempts to retrench the Quaker discipline, which resulted in a less worldly, more insular and more conservative faith by the Revolution's end. Although Quakerism was guided more by a standard of behaviour – one designed to foster simplicity, self-restraint, usefulness and charity in opposition to unwieldy passions – than a set of theological principles, the sect's concern with child nurture was distinctly related to its ideas regarding sin and redemption. Unlike the Puritans who believed that Christ died for man's sins, justifying him while he remained at the

core a depraved sinner, the Quakers believed that Christ died so that he could enter man's heart and justify him, in the present-day, by the Inward Light. The Light was God's call to repentance and a sign of His grace through which humans could attain perfection from sin. And whereas predestination underscored the Calvinist's powerlessness in the face of God, Quakerism's insistence on individual free will in responding to the Inward Light left greater room for human agency in the cosmic order.[7]

Although both Quakers and Puritans were agreed as to man's fundamental worthlessness, the former maintained that infants were born innocent. The idea that infants were depraved was contrary to the Quaker idea of God's infinite love and justice. Nonetheless, the Fall of Man had a latent, but inevitable effect: after a period of innocence lasting from birth to age four to eight – years which coincided with the beginning of schooling – children were doomed to sin. Originally, the perception that young children were faultless inspired Quaker parents to treat their offspring with greater softness that their Puritan counterparts. Within American evangelical families, fears of damnation frequently inspired parents to attempt to crush any signs of self-assertion and independence in their children, beginning in the first few years of life.[8] Upper Canadian Methodists shared this legacy: children were naturally depraved, and loving parents were encouraged to break their wills.[9] Conversely, Quaker childrearing ideals were more moderate to begin with, and by the late eighteenth-century this tendency was strengthened by the widespread shift toward romanticism, and the sentimentalisation of childhood.[10] Although parents were to be authoritative and vigilant in correcting their children, they preferred less radical methods than will-breaking: it was better to bend wills rather than break them. This was achieved be inculcating in children a sense of love and duty towards their parents, as suggested by the following excerpt from the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, held at New York in 1816:

> And for those…younger mothers, whose "precious offspring are rising like olive plants around their table,' much solicitude has been felt [and] many are the cares attending this stage of our pilgrimage, and very important its effects, both to the parents and the children: how necessary then to seek for that help which will enable us to possess our souls in patience, while by… restraining love we are labouring to subject the wayward passions of the tender…mind and to suppress the first buddings of evil. Thus we shall become instrumental in preparing the way of the Lord…We have also believed, that if parents were careful to treat their children, as they advance to riper years, with prudent freedom, it would not only tend to strengthen the bonds of affection, but produce a confidence…leading to open the heart to a beloved parent…[11]

This example sets out several themes regarding the importance of proper child nurture as a parental trust. The best advice for the raising of "precious offspring" was to be patient and loving, while keeping watch for the emergence of evil tendencies even during the prolonged period of Quaker infancy, and certainly during the "tender" years of childhood that followed. The best means of suppressing the "wayward passions" was to provide as positive example for children to emulate, and to make known the ways of the faith. In addition, a gentle parent's loving correction would assist in leading offspring along godly path. The emphasis on godly parental example was related, in part, to the practice of receiving offspring of Quaker parents as "birthright Quakers." Unlike outsiders who had to prove

their "convincement" of Quaker standards and beliefs, Quaker children were accepted by the meeting because their parents behave upstandingly. It was assumed that a neglectful and indulgent upbringing might cause a child to deviate from the path of salvation, with the result that birthright membership for children came with a price: parents could be disowned if they disregarded their duties.[12] This sense or responsibility extended to children's growth to maturity during the teen years, and into the second decade of life. During this time, the delicate ministrations of parents would ideally strengthen the bonds of love within the family, to the extent that they would continue to possess their children's confidence. As a result, parents would be able to maintain their position of moral authority even as children became young adults.

Through the epistles produced in men's and women's sections of the Yearly Meetings in both Britain and America, the latter of which select Upper Canadian Quakers attended, one can get a sense of the advice Friends were encouraged to follow. Copies of epistles were carefully preserved, they were frequently circulated and read in meetings, and occasionally, particularly important excerpts were copied into Monthly Meeting records for Friends' edification. Although the epistles of the meetings of both sexes emphasize parenthood as a sacred trust, it was expected that Quaker men and women would approach the tasks of child nurture somewhat differently. Male friends were encouraged to be obedient to the duty of, "stirring up the pure mind" in others, of pressing "the observance of those things which appear to be neglected" and of "persever[ing] in the way of peace" and in the "humble performance of solemn obligation" for "by this means alone can the parent, guardian, or the master, hope to discharge his important and awful truth to the lambs committed to his care, in the wilderness of this world."[13]

In contrast to fathers, whose direct responsibility seemed to increase as their children grew to maturity, Quaker mothers were acknowledged as having a more influential role to play in their children's early development. In their hands lay the primary responsibility of suppressing their children's "first buddings of Evil," and of protecting their innocent minds from "the enemy, who gilding his baits according to their opening capacities" progressively weans them from the pursuit of divine things. Because mothers were given the primary responsibility for child care during the most tender years of development, when sin made its first inroads in life, women's parenting task was more challenging then men's, despite the fact that duties were shared. In contrast to the more direct methods enjoined upon Quaker fathers, Quaker mothers were to be careful of the differences between benevolent influence and smothering love; between patience and laxity; and between firmness and authoritarianism. Through restraining love, prudent freedom, affectionate correction and self-restraint, mothers were to encourage habits of industriousness, kindness, meekness and wisdom in their children. More concretely, this would be accomplished by assiduous attention to Quaker codes of discipline. For example, children were to be dressed in plain clothing so as not to encourage the growth of vanity and pride. They would be taught to keep their anger in check, and to control their tongues. In more developed communities, where reading material was readily available, they would be prevented from reading fantastical stories and poems which would make them receptive to lies. Furthermore, in addition to taking part in family devotions, they would be brought to meeting at the end of their "infancy" and be made to sit still during silent worship.[14]

Part and parcel of the Quaker concern for their offspring was a desire to have them acquire a "guarded and useful education" in the rudiments of learning. Obtaining qualified

Quaker teachers to instruct children was necessary for outsiders could lead their tender souls astray, betraying them into wrong-headed principles and practices. While both sexes were committed to making provisions for the formal education of children through meetings and committee work, it was felt that Quaker women had a special role in educating children unable to attend Friends' schools. There were few formal, Friends' schools in operation in Upper Canada.[15]

Women's special role as educators was recognized, and indeed reinforced by the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends at New York in 1820. In their epistle, they asserted that women "are under solemn obligations to bestow upon [children] a suitable portion of useful learning." In the absence of Quaker schools, mothers were expected to "spare time from…domestic engagements" in order to provide their children with the rudiments of literacy, and a firm grounding in Friends spiritual teachings.[16] Indeed, providing children with an education grounded in practical subjects and in Quaker practices and beliefs was so essential that it formed part of Friends Discipline, and meetings were regularly queried to ensure that attempts were being made to fulfill this solemn obligation. In this way, the goals of community cohesion would best be served. Children who were shielded from the dangerous teachings of non-Quakers, and who were solidly grounded and nurtured in the Quaker way would resist the temptations of other faiths, and or irreligion. Children were innocent, yet exceedingly malleable: the Quaker intent was to mould, protect and instruct them by the joint efforts of home, school and meeting so that a barrier would be constructed against the spiritual contamination of Quaker communities. As long as Friends schools were few, the onus of responsibility for children's education was placed on women and mothers.

Ideally, the solicitude adult Quakers demonstrated to their offspring remained consistent as children reached their teen years, and grew into young adulthood. Age fourteen to twenty-one, constituted the period of Quaker youth, and corresponded to the modern period of adolescence.[17] Despite the fact that parents were instructed to guard versus sin's effects in their children from the period of "infancy" onwards, this latter stage was traditionally recognized as being full of both grave moral dangers and joyous spiritual possibilities. Moreover, it was the time during which Quaker parenthood was put to the test: young people – males especially – faced the choice of either indulging their passions, which might include drinking, attending taverns and dances, and keeping unsuitable company, or of proving their spiritual maturity by upholding the Discipline. Young men often did both: after a period of sinful indulgence, they sought repentance.

This was certainly the case with Joseph Gould, who confessed to being "a little wild" in early manhood: he was fond of "balls, dancing and wild company' and of "gallanting, first with one girl and then with another." In 1828, at age 20, his taste for boisterous company caught up with him: he was brought before the Yonge St. Monthly Meeting for striking a man in anger, and after producing an acknowledgment, he was allowed to continue as a Quaker in good standing. Burt it was only several years later, after meeting his future wife, that he turned his back on his bad ways, with the wish that he could "obliterate the history of the last five years of [his life]."[18] From the perspective of the Quaker community, it was imperative for children to make the proper choice, not only for their own moral welfare, but also for the continued growth of the Society of Friends as a spiritual tribe. Because the denomination was endogamous, and not conversion-oriented, the continued existence of Quaker communities depended almost entirely on young adults keeping the faith, marrying within it, and perpetuating it by raising up good Quaker chil-

dren. It was expected that conscientious parents would realize this, and be extra vigilant during this decisive stage. Generally, this meant that boys and girls were raised in a similar fashion until they were preparing for marriage. Young people's sexual maturation demanded a different parenting approach based on the peculiar weaknesses of adolescent girls and boys, and on the same-sex ties between father and son, mother and daughter.

Both men's and women's yearly meetings recognized their solemn obligations, but they approached the problems of youth in different ways. The former was rather more outspoken, and addressed young men directly, often at the end of published epistles. "[T]ender youth" were warned that they were "in that most critical time of life, in which men often receive the bias which forms them into servants of their God, or warps they away from his fear, and sometimes almost irretrievably…" Young men were chastised for "evidently prefer[ring] the gratifications of nature which is corrupt, and which tends to corruption, to the Cross of Christ which corrects its hurtful propensities." Furthermore, they were enjoined to assist their elders in keeping Friends' testimonies alive, as they "advance[ed] in the ranks of righteousness,"[19] and they were encouraged to "submit to the gentle admonition and restraint of those who desire for you, above every other attainment, a growth in… love of God."[20]

In contrast, the superior women's meetings were just as likely to address young women via their mothers, as address them directly. Unlike Quaker fathers, whose responsibilities were coterminous with those of all mature, adult Quaker men, Quaker mothers were encouraged to foster close personal ties with their daughters during this critical phase, so as to shield them from moral danger. This was in addition to the tasks of public parenting entrusted to all mature, adult female Friends. And whereas young men were deemed prone to committing a wide variety of sins, "sin" for young women was nearly synonymous with marital infractions, and more specifically with marrying out of the Society. Take for example, the following excerpt from the Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends held in New York in 1824:

> A tender solicitude has been felt, that mothers…be instructed to prepare the way of the Lord in the minds of their precious offspring, that when they attain to ripened years, a free and confidential intercourse may be maintained, that so ascendancy may be preserved in their affections. – The distance and reserve sometimes practiced, between mothers and daughters, (especially at that period of life when it may be said that the latter walk in 'slippery places') have subjected them to injurious restraint, and exposed them to the danger of seeking associates, amongst those whose converse and example are calculated to lead out of the simplicity of the truth…and eventually to the forming of connexions in marriage with those whose religious sentiments and views may differ from their own.

In the lines that followed, the women united in the view that godly parents would nurture godly offspring, and that children would be "preserved from mixing with unsuitable company…thereby avoid[ing] the many snares which attend their increasing years.[21]

This select examination of early nineteenth-century Yearly Meeting epistles provides one with a sense of Quaker attitudes toward questions of gender and family within its highest circles of consensus. In addition, it raises the question of how deeply North Atlantic Quakerism was influenced by, or indeed mirrored the rising cultural ideologies of the surrounding world, namely that of separate spheres. According to several historians,

separate spheres ideology emerged in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries in the large centres of Great Britain and the United States. In Britain, it paralleled the rise of industrialisation whereas in the United States, separate spheres was intimately bound up with economic diversification, which involved the encroachment of wage earning on family farm production. As economic production and exchange shifted away from the household, the association of middle class women with the "domestic sphere" became more conspicuous. Despite the fact that such women carved out space for themselves within what was increasingly envisaged as a masculine public world – most notably, through charitable associations and movements for reform – the prescriptive literature pronounced an "emphatic sentence of domesticity" upon them. In an ideal world, women's opportunities would be limited to the roles of wife, mother, nurturer, and devout Christian. In the private realm, women would provide order and solace to men immersed in the amoral public world of politics, business and the market. From this emerged the sense that the differences between the sexes were naturally quite pronounced. To women were attributed the qualities of superior delicacy, sensibility, imagination and piety whereas men were accorded such traits as rational prowess, bodily strength, and daring. Men were less religious due to their harder hearts, and stronger passions.[22]

The prescriptive literature of early nineteenth-century Quakerism, prior to the Hicksite schism in 1827-28 does not truly reflect the ideology of separate spheres, despite some similarities. Although it was understood that Quaker men were more directly engaged in the larger world of politics and business – this was particularly so in Great Britain – while Quaker women were more intimately connected with children and family, the importance that the sect placed on proper child nurture meant that the worth of both sexes was substantially defined by their parenting abilities. Furthermore, as illustrated by the above excerpt from the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, the boundaries between male and female parenting styles were not, in reality, that explicit. Mothers may have been encouraged to foster close ties with their nubile daughters, but nevertheless, some preferred to adopt the "distance" and "reserve" that many would consider characteristic of a family patriarch. Proper parenting may have been the measure of Quaker citizenship, but well into the nineteenth-century, this concept proved resistant to the dictates of separate spheres ideology, and its more pronounced sentimentalisation of the mother-child bond.

According to Phyllis Mack, the Quaker parenting ideal was rooted in the systematization of the faith which took place in the 1660s. With the creation of separate women's meetings, Quaker leader George Fox intended to create a mechanism to promote the sect's commitment to holy childrearing and the spiritualization of household relations. He understood that mothers were "oft-times more amongst [their children] than the men, and "may prevent many things that may fall out, and many times they make or mar their children in their education." By exalting women as "Mothers in Israel" rather than "administrators or deputy husbands, Friends projected domestic values into the public sphere" while avoiding the pitfalls of defining women's roles in a way that would directly challenge men's domination of public space.[23]

In the context of a wider patriarchal culture, in which women's characters were moulded to please fathers, husbands and male ministers, and in which women were forced to rely on persuasion as the only means of asserting authority, the creation of the Quaker women's meeting was a radical step. This new standard insisted that Quaker women were to answer first to the community's coterie of female superiors, including elders, ministers and overseers, and only second to their

husbands or the sect's male leaders. Moreover, the women's meeting was empowered to inquire into Quaker proposals for marriage: the couple would present a written marriage proposal, signed by both parties, to the Preparative Meeting of which the woman was a member. This would be forwarded to the Monthly Meeting, and if the prospective husband and wife were both members of said meeting, those assembled would appoint a committee to examine their characters. This included ascertaining whether the couples' parents had consented to the match, and ensuring that the rights of any children from a previous marriage would be adequately protected. After a month or more deliberations, the couple would return to both men's and women's meetings, to receive the committee's decision. If the members came from different Monthly Meetings, the onus was on the man to produce a certificate from his Monthly Meeting proving that he was clear to marry.[24] This process forced men into a subordinate posture vis a vis female Quaker elders, and it suggested that they would be forced to accept continued intrusions into their households after the wedding day.[25] Such developments challenged seventeenth-century notions of gender relations which emphasized women's radical subordination to men in all areas of life.[26]

Despite the creation of separate, gendered business meetings, it would be more accurate to say that in reference to the various relations of the sect, Quaker elites prescribed a system of overlapping as opposed to separate spheres, even by the early-nineteenth century. Although Quaker women were deemed to have greater power over children, while Quaker men had greater authority over financial matters and questions touching on the sect's public role, both sexes equated good parenting with upstanding citizenship. Moreover, both served as elders, clerks and overseers, and on committees struck to discuss their communities' most pressing concerns, including prospective marriages. In addition, the sect recognized ministers of both genders, and as such valued them equally as vessels of the Inward Light. And unlike those descriptions of separate spheres ideology which presupposed that the True Woman would be irrational, and highly emotional, Quaker women were expected to have a well-developed sense of order and justice, alongside a tenderness of heart which their male counterparts to a significant extent were presumed to share. The most important point here is that ideally, both sexes would participate in faith communities governed by the values of spiritualised domesticity.

Despite the hardships of pioneer life, Quaker migrants to Upper Canada in the late-eighteenth to early-nineteenth centuries successfully established communities guided by the peculiar testimonies of their faith. Moreover, in some ways, it is likely that the rural, subsistence orientation of such early settlements buttressed Quaker commitments to spiritualized domesticity, which formed the basis of women's authority within the sect. During the early to mid-nineteenth century, rural folk, Quaker and non-Quaker alike, geared production toward meeting the subsistence needs of their households. According to Marjorie Griffen Cohen, the role of female household labour, and its contribution to capital accumulation has been neglected by scholars concerned more with the development of market versus subsistence production. During this period, labour was divided according to gender, but men and women were interdependent and worked in close cooperation with each other. Cohen argues that women's household production was critical to the survival of family farms, and eventually to the process of capital accumulation in an inauspicious context of labour scarcity, volatile export markets, and underdeveloped local markets. More directly, because families were fed and clothed by means of women's productive efforts, men were free to engage in market

production, and market income was geared toward capital accumulation.[27]

A sense of what life was like for first and second generation Upper Canadian Quakers can be gleaned from the few personal recollections available to posterity. For example, Joseph Gould's father and mother migrated to Canada from Pennsylvania in 1805, and settled on 200 acres of wild land in Uxbridge, joining a handful of Quaker families – only a dozen in all. Gould was born as the township's second white male child, in a log shanty which his family occupied for more that twenty-five years. For several years, they were the only white settlers of Uxbridge, which was located thirty miles from the Yonge Street settlement. Settlers were scattered miles apart, and there were no roads linking them to each other and to larger centres, but for a rough track through dense forest. In his recollections, Gould emphasized the importance of reciprocal labour exchanges, mutual assistance and neighbourliness in those early days, and he notes that members of both sexes and individuals of all ages joined in the work of harvesting wheat and haying. At other times of the year, work likely reverted to a more gendered pattern. Typically, men and older boys hunted, made simple tools, sowed crops, worked the fields and performed heavy, outdoor chores such as chopping wood for fuel, whereas women and older girls kept house, worked the garden tended the children, and produced enough food and clothing for the entire family.[28]

Rachel Webb Haight's "Recollections of Daily Life" provide a more detailed description of what life was like for Quaker mothers and daughters in Yonge Street's second generation families. She noted that her parents had married in 1823, with "few of the world's goods…little more that the clothes on their back" which were the product of home labour. They began their lives together in a small log house, which was little more that "a shelter from the storm." Eventually they moved to a new house, erected "near grandfather's dwelling, which was quite a commodious frame building." After her grandmother died in 1837, she and her family moved in with their grandfather. Rachel stayed there until she married, in 1846, at age twenty-two.[29]

Haight provides a detailed description of the regular tasks of the typical rural Quaker wife, living on a mixed farm. In her work, she was assisted by her daughters – if she had them – who remained at home until they got married. Alternatively, she could hire another family's daughter as a domestic for about seventy-five cents a week. Haight recalls that domestics were in large supply, and that many farmers' daughters served in this capacity before marriage. On a typical day, they baked bread and cooked meals in an open fireplace. Cooking large dinners was a "face burning task" but meal preparation was only the final step in the extended process of food production. Haight recalls helping her mother dry fruits and make pies and sauces from produce grown in their garden. These tasks were laborious, as were churning butter, making cream, pressing cheese and pickling. In the winter, pigs were butchered and women assisted in salting, drying and smoking pork, and in preserving deer meat in a similar fashion. Haight also notes how the "thrifty housewife" of the 1830s would cultivate numerous herbs such as camomile, peppermint and ivy. These were used as medicines at a time when doctors were scarce and rarely called upon.[30]

When not engaged in food production and preparation, farm women were kept busy making candles and straw hats for the men, in addition to making clothes for the family, and invariably, washing them. Haight notes that her "mother was well acquainted with the use of the spinning wheel… and… the management of the wool from the time it left the sheep's back until the yarn was ready for the weaver…" After being pressed at the fulling mill, the women made the cloth into dresses,

sewing every stitch by hand. In addition, "full cloth" was woven for men's suits and coats, in addition to wool blankets. Yarn was also used for knitting mittens, socks and hosiery. Moreover, women dried and spun flax into cloth used for trousers, linens, and sacks. Haight recalls that select farm women were weavers of both linen and wool, and produced cloth for cash.[31]

Although such accounts are fragmentary, they provide one with a tangible sense of the integral role women played within the Upper Canadian Quaker household. They do not, however, mention that female labour in both reproductive and productive terms was critical to the success of farm households. Due to the labour-intensive nature of early farming, having several children was viewed as an asset, for a large family meant that more land could be cleared and put into production. Upper Canadian women married in their early twenties, and usually bore offspring into their forties, with the result that most of their adult lives were dedicated to caring for children, and producing food and clothing to fulfill subsistence needs. Only a small proportion of women who presided over very large families – particularly those with several daughters – were themselves able to produce goods for local markets.[32]

While historians are in general agreement regarding the interdependence of the sexes within the context of rural life, they come to different conclusions regarding opportunities for the expression of female authority within such communities. For example, in her study of nineteenth-century farm families of the Nanticoke Valley, New York, Nancy Grey Osterud asserts that rural conditions created an experience of relative gender equality which mitigated against the adoption of separate spheres ideology and its inherent notions of female inferiority. Osterud emphasized the fact that while labour was divided according to gender in farm households, tasks were distributed with much flexibility, and there was considerable cooperation between the sexes, particularly in dairy operations. Formal and informal social activities furthered this sense of mutuality, and when women were excluded from groups that wielded authority, they responded by forming auxiliary associations that drew men in, rather than creating exclusive female enclaves. Osterud accents the multiple ties that bound rural communities together across age, gender and social relation. In contrast to this view, Cohen asserts that the patriarchal productive relations which underscored rural Upper Canadian life guaranteed female subordination. Because male heads of families owned the means of agricultural production, by both custom and law, wives and children "were the proletariat of the family farm, the workers whose labour was regarded according to the good fortune or goodwill of the owner."[33] Even though women's and children's labour was central to the family unit's survival, they had no legal right to articles produced by the sweat of their brow. As such, women's social inferiority was guaranteed.

Although there is much value in Cohen's assessment, its economic determinism is rather stark, with regard to groups such as the Upper Canadian Quakers, a sect whose relations were governed by a system of alternative values, in opposition to the state and the wider society. In this sense, approaches that are more wide-ranging, such as Osterud's provide more depth and subtlety, with the result that women's lives become much greater than the sum total of economic victimization. While it is difficult to assess the subtle, gender dynamics operative amongst Upper Canadian Friends, It Is clear that while the sect supported spiritual roles for women that challenged current assumptions of male superiority, the basic social fabric that guaranteed female subordination remained intact.

British common law dictated male domination of property in nineteenth-century Ontario. Although single women over age

twenty-one and widows were entitled to the same property rights as males, inheritance practices, legal restrictions and norms dictating proper behaviour meant that few such women controlled property. Additionally, the law upheld the view that the work women performed for their families did not require remuneration because such work was their God-given duty. Until 1859, married women in Upper Canada had no legal right to own property, for according to William Blackstone, marriage made husband and wife one "and that one is the husband." In return for the right to be supported by her husband, a wife forfeited her rights to the products of her labour, to her children, and to independent action. A woman's legal inferiority was only emphasized when her husband or father died. Daughters were rarely given an equal share in their father's estate, likely due to the assumption that another male, - either a husband or brother – would support them. Although widows were legally entitled to own property, it was rare for women to obtain complete control over their husbands' estates after they passed away, particularly when there were children involved.[35]

According to the provisions of Upper Canadian law, a woman's material fate was entirely dependent upon her husband's felt duty to provide for her after his death. While the Quakers did not radically contest the gendered basis of distribution of property, the sect's commitment to community cohesion, and its faith-centred approach to questions of day-to-day life offered an alternative to state-sponsored social regulation designed to fulfil the needs of individuals, defined as adult, male property-holders. This meant that when faced with poverty, a Quaker widow could call upon Friends for material assistance. Indeed, Quakers were encouraged to show liberality proportionate to their means in relieving the needs of the poor. The Quaker discipline dictated that charity be disbursed in complete confidentiality. But, one can only speculate how often Quaker widows relied upon their community for support. The records do show, however, that monthly meetings of both sexes were required to make collections for relieving the poor of their own sex on a quarterly basis. And although women were encouraged to apply to the men's meeting when unable to collect enough money or provisions from their own ranks, the fact that they were entrusted with financial responsibilities, however "traditional" in focus, suggests that female Friends had more official control of property than most women of the time.

And yet, the assessment of the extent of female authority within Upper Canadian Quakerism is ambivalent at best. Unlike other denominations, Quakerism backed up female power within families – particularly, the power of the spiritual mother – by giving women substantial control over marriages, and hence, over men. Moreover, it provided women with religious and administrative structures through which to voice their concerns, nurture female spirituality, and deal with the problems of discipline peculiar to their gender. Additionally, Quaker women were placed on a relatively equal spiritual footing with men, and could attain the position of overseer, elder, or minister within the Society. This differed markedly from the practices of other denominations. For example, Presbyterians, male and female alike were disciplined by male ministers and church elders, nominated by male members. The situation was not as extreme amongst the Baptists, who maintained that all believers were responsible for overseeing members' behaviour; nonetheless, male deacons and ministers wielded the sole power of disciplinary enforcement. Neither denomination allowed women to become preachers. Within the Methodist Episcopal Church until the early 1830's, and in two smaller Methodist connections into the second half of the nineteenth-century, some women did preach,

although they were not treated the same as the male counterparts: they were paid much less for equal work, and by mid-century they were shut out of the position altogether.[36] In contrast, the Society of Friends' commitment to the female ministry and to harnessing women's maternal and moral energies for the faith, via the offices of the sect, and the administration of its discipline was long-standing and secure.

But while Quaker women had more access to positions of authority within their communities than their non-Quaker counterparts, it is important to note that within united Quakerism, women's role was limited by the male leadership, whereas men's power was less circumscribed by the corresponding female authority. For example, prospective female elders were subjected to a more rigorous process of examination by the opposite sex than were prospective male elders. Moreover, female ministers who felt a call to travel on religious "business" were required to seek the approval of the men's meeting, after having secured the consent of the women's meeting, while male ministers were only compelled to obtain female approval for extensive visits, beyond the limits of the Quarterly Meeting.[37] As a result, women's movements were more constrained by male Quakers than vice versa. This was perhaps due to concerns regarding women's safety. More cynically, it may have reflected traditional fears of scandal, and the need to ensure that female ministers were accompanied by appropriate companions on their journey.

In addition, women's Preparative and Monthly Meetings were not allowed to receive or disown members without the concurrence of the men's Monthly Meeting. The women's meeting was to bring the particulars of such cases to the attention of the men's meeting, and if no consensus emerged, a joint committee of men and women would labour together in order to reach a harmonious settlement.[38] In several disciplinary cases, it would appear that the men's meetings provided little more than their formal agreement regarding women's disciplinary decisions, but this may be more a reflection of the sect's consensual style than men's practice of giving women a free hand in such matters. It is hard to say. Men's authority over women is more pronounced in those many "difficult cases" requiring the appointment of a joint committee. For example, in the "Twelfth Month" of 1806, the Women Friend of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting requested their male counterparts to assist them in a visit to Kezia James, "who hath been guilty of unbecoming behaviour in A meeting for worship – and Through A turbulent … spirit hath been endeavouring to Defame the Character of friends – Not only Amongst Members – but to those Not of our society - Whereby she hath wilfully Asserted things which Appears to be false." The underlying assumption was that women were not as capable of judging such cases as men, or alternatively, that women's power of persuasion was not enough to convince errant females of the gravity of their sins, and of the need of repentance. The ministrations of sisters, and Mothers in Israel having failed, women may have called upon the more stern authority of fathers, as moral reinforcements, and spiritual enforcers. Perhaps this was the case with Kezia James, who later rejected the attempts of the joint committee to bring her to a sense of her transgressions: in February of 1807, it united in "the opinion that the Charge against her was Justly Supported" and thus disowned her.[39] It is possible that the women's meetings' frequent recourse to the joint committee reflected a peculiarly female, Quaker style of investigation. During the American Hicksite schism of 1827-28, women on both sides of the controversy, prior to making decisions, sought greater deliberation, prolonged attempts at reconciliation, and recommended multiple inquiries more frequently than men who favoured swifter action. This is related to Os-

terud's argument regarding rural women's approach to community concerns: they sought to forge links across gender rather than reinforcing all-female associations. Moreover, it is likely that the tendency of women's meetings to seek male assistance was strengthened by connections linking Quaker office-holders of both sexes. As Albert Schrauwers has shown, in the early nineteenth-century, a small coterie of "weighty" Quakers – the sect's social elites – monopolized most committee positions in both men's and women's meetings. Quite often, married couples dominated the sect's affairs. At Yonge St. for example, Amos and Martha Armitage, and Thomas and Martha Linville were the meeting's de facto leaders, for a quarter of a century.[40] As such, requests for assistance likely drew upon the social ties which bound elite men and women together, often but not exclusively in opposition to women of lesser status in the community.

To be sure, the nature of women's authority within united Quakerism was somewhat ambivalent. But this ambivalence reflected the sect's understanding of revelation, in addition to women's role within their families and within the larger "Family of Love." On the one hand, women could be preachers and prophets. But traditionally, their ability to command public space was not justified by appeals to feminine piety or via the glorification of the weak. Rather, Quakers based this right upon their belief, derived from Galatians 3:28, that "male and female are one in Christ Jesus, and he gives his Spirit no less to one than to the other." Self-annihilation or "killing the creature," which represented all that was willful and base in one's character, preceded the gift of the Spirit. As such, early Quakers assumed authority as political prophets by disengaging from their social identity, and allowing God to speak through them. Because preaching was a public, male activity, female preaching depended more emphatically upon women's ability to transcend their womanhood. On a day-to-day basis, however, women were envisioned as "Mothers in Israel" who drew their authority from their role as parents to correct unruly children, and instruct younger women on how best to nurture their families, and keep their homes. By formally recognizing this type of female power, through the creation of women's meetings and religious offices, women's private role, in addition to the domestic values of mutual love and discipline, were propelled into the public sphere. Although radical in its challenge of patriarchal assumptions, Quaker women's public authority derived either directly from God, or from a godly extension of their "natural" role and not from a conception of equal rights.[41]

Quaker men and women, through their intimate roles as parents of children, and through their more public vocations as parents of the larger sect were expected to guide young people toward an acceptance of full adult responsibility within the community, and to ensure that others remained obedient to Friends' discipline, throughout their lives. As Quakers, individuals were required to subsume their passions, and to spiritualize all social relations for the greater good of the community of faith. Rather than adhering to a confession of faith as a guide to group identity, Quakers focused on questions of behaviour: good deeds and upright moral conduct were the proper fruits of inward illumination. On a spiritual level, the Quaker discipline was intended as a path to religious enlightenment through self-control, and through the correct ordering of social relations. On a tribal level, it was a means of avoiding spiritual contamination by the "other". American Quakerism had emerged in the late eighteenth century as a purified and reformed sect, cautious of the sullying effect of worldly values and of unseemly relations with those who stood outside of Friends' definition of piety. Quaker discipline attempted to reinforce group harmony

and the integrity of its spiritual family versus a godless world.[42]

The means by which Quakers attempted to reach this end were frequently oppressive of individual freedom. As mentioned, Quaker polity allowed for the appointment of male and female overseers whose duty it was to ferret out moral transgressions, which I have broadly categorized under the following rubrics: drink and diversion,[43] disorderly conduct,[44] going out of plainness,[45] gossip and dishonesty,[46] verbal and physical violence,[47] neglect of meetings,[48] in addition to sins pertaining to marriage and sex,[49] war and government,[50] and business and legal concerns.[51] Overseers usually began their investigations by visiting alleged offenders personally.[52] It is likely that many cases were dealt with informally. However, if a transgression were serious enough, of a persistent nature, or likely to cause a public scandal that would defile the good name of the Society, the case would be brought up in the Preparative and then the Monthly Meeting. By this point, enough investigative groundwork had been done to ascertain that the errant party was likely guilty of the charge. The Monthly Meeting would then appoint a committee overseers to "treat with the offender" in an effort "to make him sensible" of his sin. If the sinner wholeheartedly acknowledged his wrong-doing verbally, and then in writing, he or she could be allowed to continue as a member of the Society. If an acknowledgement was not procured, or if the acknowledgement did not appear to be sincere enough, the person was disowned, and advised of his or her right to appeal the decision.[53]

Richard MacMaster has demonstrated that early Friends' communities in Upper Canada were made up of Quakers disowned in their meetings of origin, Quakers who never associated themselves with Friends meetings in the new settlements, in addition to those in good standing.[54] Within this context, it was hoped that disowned individuals would suffer a sense of shame and feel the pain of being spiritually disenfranchised, even while they continued to take part in farm and family life. This may have been the case with an anonymous Yonge St. Quaker, who was the object of Theodore Winn's death-bed utterances, as recorded by Winn's mother, Phebe in 1806:

> … [M]any were the savoury expressions and advices which he utterd [sic]…[T]o one who had turnd [sic] his back on our meetings and disregarded our testimony in respect to bearing Arms he said [']when thou wast in the heighth of thy obstanancy [sic] I have retird [sic] alone and on my bended knees solicited that Father of mercies on thy behalf[.] Earnestly entreating him to return and being again drawn Forth in Supplication he prayd [sic] earnestly after the return he expressed it For that poor Departure…[55]

This scene bears the marks of a "good" Quaker death, one in which the individual's mind was preoccupied with the salvation of friends and family members. But it also underscores the habit of vigilance that animated the lives of righteous Friends. This habit was fostered, formally and informally, not only within communities and meetings, but also between jurisdictions. The disciplinary authority of the Monthly Meeting would follow errant individuals if they moved to new settlements, leaving questions unsettled. For example, late in 1811, the Yonge St. Monthly Meeting received a complaint against John Masters from Muncey Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania alleging that he drank to excess, quarrelled, swore and fathered an illegitimate child, for which reasons he left their neighbourhood. Upon investigation, Masters acknowledged all charges except "that of being the father of the Child" and informed the

committee that he would return to Pennsylvania in the spring to face the meeting.[56]

In the following section, quantitative data collected from disciplinary cases treated in Quaker men's and women's monthly meetings, at Yonge St. for the periods 1807-10, 1825-8, and 1837-40 will be examined for insight on the gendered orientation of infractions, and on Quakers' ability to maintain over time, the testimonies which formed the basis of their distinct communities. It is first necessary to note the challenges facing the historian in search of rich, documentary detail. For example, Monthly Meeting minutes pertaining to the adjudication of disciplinary cases are at once intriguing and remote. Quakers kept records on individuals and their transgressions, in addition to the names of appointees to committees struck to treat with offending parties. Month to month, meeting minutes noted whether progress was being made, and finally, they noted when decisions were made to testify against their errant brethren and sisters, and conversely, when it was deemed appropriate to receive sinners back into the meeting's good graces. But due to Quakerism's consensual style, the minutes of all business meetings reflect only the decisions agreed upon by those assembled. Disagreements, contentious issues, and points of debate were routinely left off the record, leaving many questions as to the exact motives that underlay both decisions to disown, and to pardon errant Quakers. In addition, meetings did not record the exchanges that occurred between transgressor and committee, and as such, the reasons for one individual's apparent obstinacy and another's willingness to be forgiven are unclear. This consensual style also obscured the work of many other Quaker committees, including those struck to discuss the validity of an individual's calling to the ministry. And because accounts contained in letters, journals, and reminiscences are precious and few, it is nearly impossible to round out disciplinary case information with other reports.

That being said, much can be learned from the available case information, which is presented as follows. For the 1807-10 period, thirty-nine individuals appeared before the Yonge St. Monthly Meeting to face a total of fifty charges. Twenty-five of these individuals were men, and fourteen were women, but only one woman was guilty of more than one charge: in 1809, Lydia Ray was disowned for the dual charge of neglected attendance at meetings, and for joining the Methodists.[57] In contrast, eight men were guilty of multiple infractions, usually involving drinking, or less frequently, selling alcohol. For example, in 1810, Seba Armitage was charged with drinking to excess and behaving in an unbecoming manner. Two years earlier, John Huff was disowned for retailing spirituous liquors to the Indians, attending a military training, and leaving the meeting's jurisdiction without applying for a certificate.[58] During this period, 54.3% of male infractions involved, in order of descending importance, drink, disorderly language or conduct, diversion, and to a much lesser extent, verbal or physical violence, for a total of nineteen cases. Fourteen percent of cases involved either attending a militia training or accepting government office, while there were only two meeting infractions, and one business infraction which involved Ephraim Dunham cutting "cedar timber that was not his own" in 1807. A further 14% of infractions involved issues of marriage and sex: only three men married non-Quaker women during this period, and only one was charged with fornication. Of twenty-five individuals, 36% were disowned, while 56% acknowledged their errors and continued as Quakers in good standing.[59]

Of the fourteen women charged by the Monthly Meeting, fully ten answered to marital or sexual infractions: seven married non-Quakers, two attended marriages accomplished contrary to Friends' discipline, and

one Sarah Hill committed fornication with a man she subsequently married. Two neglected attendance at meetings, one was disorderly therein, and the infractions of two others remain unclear. In contrast to Yonge St.'s men, 57% of its female sinners were disowned, while 35% proffered acknowledgements accepted by the Meeting.[60]

From January 1825 to September 1828, forty-seven men who committed fifty-eight infractions were investigated by the Yonge St. Monthly Meeting. By this point, fewer infractions – only 36% - involved, in descending order, verbal or physical violence, drunkenness, diversion, and profanity. Nonetheless, incidents of assault versus the opposite sex increased from zero to four. About 33% of infractions involved issues of marriage and sex, with thirteen individuals marrying non-Quakers. Three men neglected meetings, three were charged with joining the militia, two were embroiled in business/legal concerns and the nature of seven cases remains unclear. Fifty-five percent of individuals were disowned by the meeting, while 34% proferred acknowledgements, which the meeting accepted. From September to December of 1828, nearly forty individuals were charged with meeting infractions, the largest proportion of whom were disowned for joining the Hicksite faction of Quakerism.[61] Women's key area of concern continued to involve marital/sexual transgressions. From January 1825 to September of 1828, twenty-three of thirty-five infractions, or 66%, fell under this category: notably there were twelve cases of marrying out, and four pertaining to fornication. Moreover, two women were charged with attending a place of diversion, one with using unbecoming language and another with acting unbecomingly. Within the latter part of 1828, several women were disciplined for seceding to the Hicksites, but far fewer than those that came before the men's meeting. 62% of women were disowned during the entire period, while only 13.5% were accepted back into the fold.[62]

During the final period in question which stretches from January of 1837 to December of 1840, the men's meeting at Yonge St. recorded seventy-five infractions committed by forty-eight individuals. There were twenty-three individuals who committed multiple infractions, but this time, few involved alcohol. Charges involving, in descending order, disorderly conduct, drink and diversion, verbal and physical violence, and plainness declined to 21.3%. Infractions pertaining to war and government rose to 13.3%, largely due to participation in the Rebellion of 1837, and business/legal infractions remained low at 2.7%. Marriage/sexual infractions accounted for 28% of the total, with nine individuals marrying non-Quakers, and seven marrying contrary to discipline; two individuals were charged with fornication. Twenty-one men, or 28% of the total were charged with meeting infractions, the majority of which pertained to neglected attendance. Seventy-three percent of the men were disowned, while 10% were accepted back. The remaining cases were still under consideration as of December of 1840. The same meeting recorded thirty-eight infractions committed by twenty-eight Quaker women, nearly 48% of which involved marital/sexual infractions, with the majority marrying non-Quakers. Incidences of diversion, disorderly conduct and "going out of plainness" remained low. Meeting infractions accounted for 34% of all sins. Seventy-eight percent of female transgressors were disowned, while 21% proffered acknowledgements, which were accepted.[63]

These figures provide only a snapshot of the conditions prevailing within the Yonge St. Monthly Meeting from 1807 to 1840, but nonetheless, one can discern a few important facts and trends. Beginning with a comparison of men's and women's monthly meeting information through all periods, one notes that infractions were in significant measure

gender-specific. This reflected, in part, the legal boundaries separating men's concerns from women's: only men could join the militia, or accept a government office, and because they controlled most property, only men could be charged with dishonesty in business, incurring dishonest debts, initiating court proceedings versus a Friend, or selling spirituous liquors. While business/legal sins remained very low in all periods studied, Quaker men in the first two periods could not easily resist pressures to attend militia trainings. This was likely due to the meeting's proximity to Yonge St., which was used as a military road.[64] Other infractions, while not expressly "masculine" were almost exclusively committed by men. During the periods in question, only men were charged with gambling, drunkenness, participation at a chiveree, uttering profanities and verbal and physical violence. Plus, men were more likely to be charged with attending a place of diversion, such as a tavern, unbecoming conduct and language, and slander. In all periods, few individuals of either sex were charged with going out of plainness, though prior to 1810, men were somewhat more likely to do so. Conversely, women's infractions were generally limited to sins against the marriage testimony, and neglected attendance at meetings. Men also committed these sins, but within a wider disciplinary infraction range. In addition, individual men were more likely to be charged with multiple infractions than women.

What this suggests is that aside from the marriage testimony, women were much more likely to behave according to the Quaker ideal than were men, particularly during the first decade of the nineteenth century. This perhaps reflected gendered notions which made certain actions, such as drinking, fighting, and cursing completely unacceptable for Quaker women, though early to mid nineteenth-century Baptists and Presbyterians seemed to have shown no particular sense of outrage over women's drinking.[65] It is also likely that women had less opportunity to commit certain diversionary sins such as attending a tavern: compared to men, whose work likely involved forays to local markets, and extended business trips, women's work was confined to home, and the daily needs of the household would not permit much time for leisure, particularly for married women who had children to care for. Young, single women were somewhat less constrained, which likely accounts for the diversionary sins of women as a whole.[66]

Taken together, male cases of drink and diversion, disorderly conduct, gossip and dishonesty, and verbal and physical violence decreased from 53.9%, to 38.6%, to 20% of total infractions in each successive period beginning with 1807-10. As time progressed, proportionately fewer individuals were caught drinking, selling or distilling spirituous liquors, which largely accounts for the decreases. This probably reflected the sect's increasing commitment, not only to temperance, but also to discouraging the distilling and retailing of liquor.[67] As such, from 1807 to 1840, there appears to have been a shift toward greater decorum, and a movement away from "rougher" definitions of masculinity which historians suggest characterised the pioneer period in Upper Canada. But it is important not to exaggerate this effect. For example, chiverees, that emblem of pre-industrial, vigilante justice continued to pose an occasional problem at Yonge St. into the 1830s. In one case, occurring in 1826, Stephen Rogers, and James and Isaac Eves were charged with assisting in "tarring and carrying a woman on a rail" for which the former was disowned, the other two being sufficiently penitent.[68]

From 1804-28, seventy-two marriages were conducted with the approval of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Because most settlers came from Pennsylvania, it is not surprising that most marriages occurred between

Pennsylvanians, though a fair proportion occurred between Pennsylvanians and Vermonters. Individuals sought mates in Preparative Meetings other than their own, with the largest number of marriages occurring between Yonge Street and Uxbridge, the most widely separated groups. Whitchurch and Uxbridge, which were also quite far apart, were next. Furthermore, by 1828, "all but five families (where there had been marriages) were related or had intermarried" with certain families inter-marrying frequently.[69] These patterns suggest that Quakers, separated by distance within the settlement, maintained strong ties with others who hailed from the same place of origin in the "old country," and preferred to select marriage partners amongst the large network of extended kin which bound certain groups of Friends more tightly together than others. Done properly, marriages were a matter of both family and faith.

From 1804-28, however, fifty-seven Quakers married out of the community. And interestingly, the data for 1807-1810 suggests that there was some correlation between the number of marital infractions and disownment rates. During that period, few men were charged with such sins compared to women, and the women's meeting's disownment rate was much higher at 57% versus 36% for the men's meeting. From 1825-28, prior to the Hicksite schism, the percentage of men disowned by the meeting rose to 55%, which likely reflects, to some extent an increase in exogamous activity.[70] Traditionally, Quakers who had "married out" were loathe to condemn their marriages as sinful, and when they did, it was difficult for them to muster enough sorrow to convince disciplinary committee members of their sincerity. In contrast, acknowledging error after a bout of drunken diversion, or after striking a man in anger was much easier to do, in that it did not require one to cast aspersions upon one's chosen spouse and the future of one's family. The former were obviously sins of passion, which sullied the reputation of both individual and community. It was much more difficult to conceive of marriage in such terms, and assent to the official view that exogamy resulted from esteeming fleshly lusts above Divine truth -- a truth that only Quakers were deemed to possess. As such, it is not surprising that of fifty-seven Yonge St. Quakers who married non-Friends from 1804-28, thirty-four became permanently estranged from the faith community.[71]

That exogamy was a serious problem for Upper Canadian Quakers implies a few things. If faced with the prospect of finding no suitable Quaker to marry, individuals were willing to look beyond the sect, even if that meant inviting community censure, and suffering disownment. In this case, individual economic and perhaps emotional necessities were placed above the interests of maintaining the purity of the Quaker community. Although Quakers traditionally demonstrated respect for women who remained unmarried,[72] the facts of rural life were such that they staked their economic livelihood on the prospect of marriage. As mentioned, fathers ensured that their sons would receive the lion's share of their estates for this very reason. As an alternative to years of service to elderly parents, and dependence upon married brothers, Quaker women who could not find a suitable mate within the sect, chose to marry either non-Quakers, or perhaps men whom the Society had disowned, or whose families had fallen away from the faith. It is also possible that economic considerations were augmented by romantic ones, particularly in the later periods for which data was collected, though this is difficult to establish due to the scarcity of descriptive documents.

As noted previously, for men it was nearly impossible to create new farm households independently because women's productive and reproductive work was integral to both their survival and success. Cases of exogamy leave many questions unanswered, however.

The lower incidence of male exogamy as compared to female from 1807-10 might be explained with reference to the patriarchal land-loan system, which encouraged sons' dependence upon their fathers. But it is unclear how fathers would have reacted to those sons who chose to marry non-Quaker women. It is possible that some fathers may have tacitly complied – though the meeting registered no cases of parents conniving in this way during the periods in question – particularly if they themselves had selected non-Quaker spouses, or if they felt well-disposed towards those family members who had. Tacit consent may also have been given to both sons and daughters if a match promised to be advantageous economically, though the historical record is silent in this regard. Furthermore, there is some indication that individuals of both sexes who married out were less likely to be directly related to Quakers in positions of authority, which suggests that pressure to maintain the sect's marriage testimony was greater amongst the sect's elite families. It is also possible that some men sought mates outside of the faith, due to an impatience with the special powers accorded to women within the Quaker community. As long as Quaker women were expected to answer first to the women of the meeting, and second to their husbands, the authority that Quaker men could wield over their wives and families was significantly restricted. Choosing non-Quaker wives may have given men greater control over their households. If this was the case, gender conflicts likely contributed to the progressive breakdown of Friends' communities in Upper Canada by 1860.

By 1840, Yonge St. disownment rates for both men and women had risen to 73% and 78% respectively. This cannot be explained solely by the continued, high incidence of marital infractions.[73] By this point, neglected attendance had become a significant problem amongst Orthodox Quakers at Yonge St. The figures are most dramatic for the men's meeting, 4% of whose charges for 1807-1810 were attributable to meeting infractions. By 1837-40, the number had increased to 28%. The figures for the women's meeting are less dramatic, but nonetheless, by the latter period, 34% of infractions involved neglected attendance. Often, neglected attendance and marrying out went hand-in-hand, with the one preceding the other. For the period 1837-40, however, many men were charged with neglected attendance in addition to taking an active part in seditious activities, or in the Rebellion.[74] The high disownment rates for the 1825-28 period are largely attributable to the Hicksite schism, which erupted in the Pickering Preparative Meeting in the Eighth Month (August) of 1828, and which put an end to Quaker unity in Upper Canada, and North America.

In the main then, the key factors which worked against Quaker community cohesion at Yonge St. were internal: the marriage testimony which was designed to ensure the unity and purity of Friends' communities versus the outside world was difficult to enforce. Also, the rigorousness with which marital infractions were punished served to alienate a steady stream of Quakers whose behaviour was upstanding in other respects. The Hicksite schism, more notable than the Davidite schism, as far as numbers were concerned, created two competing sects, and compromised the unity of Quakerism, in both the United States, and Upper Canada. Furthermore, in the Yonge St. settlement, the pressures of the larger society, most specifically the demands of the Canadian state for military requisitions and militia men, and later on the enticements of political reform further challenged Quakers' ability to maintain their distinct way of life during the Upper Canadian period.

Despite such challenges, Orthodox Quakerism in Upper Canada continued to grow at a moderate pace, until the Gurneyite-Wilburite Separation of 1881, which involved a quarrel

over attempts to evangelicalise the sect, divided it into two branches – "Conservative" and "Progressive." After a movement for revival infused Orthodox meetings with new life in the 1870s, and early 1880s, Quakerism experienced significant decline. This was preceded by a considerable relaxation of disciplinary enforcement: old rules were annulled or ignored as Quakers took an attitude of encouraging the lost lamb, as opposed to judging and disowning the offender. For example, by the late 1850s, individuals were no longer disowned for marrying out, or for being married by a magistrate or priest, though some form of acknowledgement expressing the desire to retain one's membership was still required. In the last twenty years of the nineteenth-century, several meetings were laid down, and numbers ebbed. The Separation of 1881 occurred in the midst of a revival within Orthodox Quakerism, which initially swelled its ranks. Unfortunately, by the 1890s, few remained convinced members: most drifted away to other denominations with the waning of revival ardour.[75]

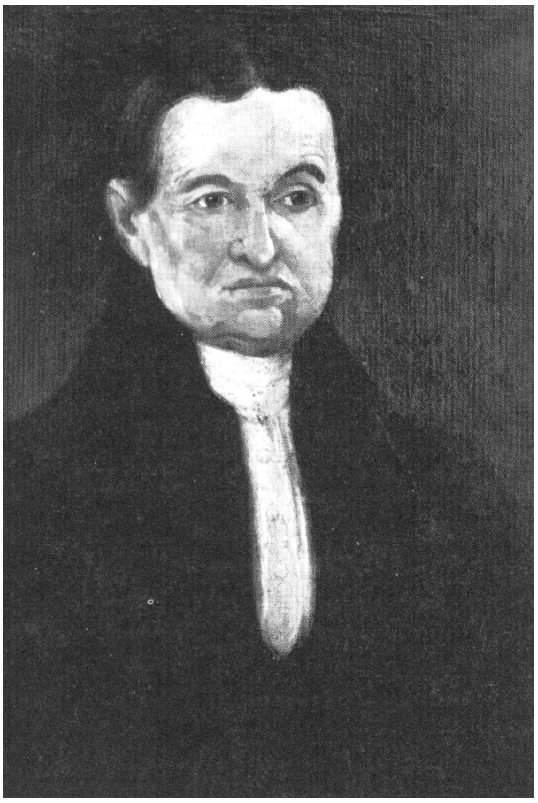
It is to this latter period that one must look for clear evidence of Quakerism's decline as a faith based on traditional structures tightly binding individuals to the larger sectarian community as "family". Once the discipline was no longer enforced, church bodies lost the power they once had to compel individuals to conform to moral dictates designed to serve communities based on ties of kinship, faith and reciprocity, and to keep them pure from the effects of moral error. By the late 1850s, Quakers joined other Protestant denominations in treating sin as a matter of private struggle: although spiritually guided by the larger community, individuals approached moral issues as opportunities for interior reflection, and the deployment of greater self-control. Furthermore, a relaxation of the marriage testimony suggests that marriage was envisioned less as a bulwark of exclusive Friends' communities, than an opportunity for individual fulfillment. In turn, families became more autonomous and less open to the intrusions of the church into the domestic sphere. It is likely that these changes were assisted by the rise of consensus Protestantism in the second half of the nineteenth-century. As the number of professing Christians rose, as the struggles which had separated Church from Dissent faded, and as the values of evangelical Protestantism became enculturated in English-speaking Canada, Quaker testimonies such as those pertaining to plainness of dress, and intemperance were no longer distinct. The boundaries between Quakerism and the outside world became more permeable during this period, as evangelical influences shifted Orthodox members increasingly toward the cultural mainstream. In addition, as the difficult conditions of pioneer farming gave way to more intensive rural development, a process which led to the formation of an agricultural middle-class by mid-century,[76] it is likely that many Quakers found themselves less in need of the economic assistance provided by the faith community. This fostered a greater sense of independence, and assisted in transforming the relationship between individuals and Friends' communities.

Although the decline of communitarianism amongst Upper Canadian Quakers appears much clearer after mid-century, historians have put forth evidence that this process was underway, in certain Friends communities, as early as the 1810s and 20's. A lack of descriptive evidence, however, makes it difficult to make direct links, during this period, between the rise of commercial capitalism on the one hand and insular nuclear families, individualism, and modern courtship on the other. This is certainly not the case with the Children Peace, who are treated in the following section. During the 1830s, rising market activity by young farmers was paralleled by a marriage and courtship crisis that singled the failure of the sect's attempts to maintain

community cohesion, and to protect its traditional way of life.

§

The schism of David Willson and one quarter of the Yonge Street Quaker population was a struggle between old Quakerism and new orthodoxy: as Friends in the North Atlantic world began to embrace elements of the evangelical creed, including Biblicism and an express belief in the divinity of Christ, Willson rose up in protest, and asserted the superiority of progressive revelation via the Inward Light. His own mystical revelations led him to believe that Spirit superseded Christ in power. Just as the Spirit had entered Christ, who acted as a perfect example of human triumph over sin, so could the Spirit enter all people who sought knowledge of the Lord by following Christ's lead. Once God was internalized, Scriptures and creeds were no longer necessary.



Early Painting of David Willson attributed to Richard Coates.

Soon after the schism, the sect organized itself along Quaker lines. But in 1816, corporate, disciplinary authority was rejected in favour of an emphasis on the centrality of the Inward Light. This theoretically strengthened individual spiritual power and autonomy, but in reality, it refocused the sect's direction on Willson's own messianic sense of mission. Although not enforced, several Quaker cultural practices were maintained as the sect moved to consolidate itself geographically by resettling on lot 10, concession 2, East Gwillimbury Township. This settlement would become the village of Hope, later re-named Sharon. From 1819 through the next decade, a "paternalist gerontocracy" emerged alongside Willson's prophetic leadership, further challenging the sect's profession of egalitarianism. This tendency was only reinforced in the early 1830's when elders gained even more control of the sect through the establishment of the Yearly Meeting of Committees. During these years, generational tensions emerged which threatened the unity of the Children of Peace, and which were never successfully resolved. In combination with external political, economic and cultural factors, this resulted in the precipitous decline of the group from the mid-1840s onward.[77]

The Children of Peace constituted an attempt to maintain the traditional Quaker "moral economy" against the hostile incursions of the outside world. As mentioned, rural Quaker communities in early Upper Canada were based on ties of faith, kinship and mutual assistance as opposed to commercial exchange. The economic bulwark of this system was subsistence farming: Yonge St. Quakers owned their own farms, and acted with little regard for market demands in producing crops to meet household consumption needs. Community needs and moral imperatives dictated economic choices. Capitalist pressures increasingly threatened the Quaker moral economy, enticing them to seek the highest price for their produce or goods that the market would allow. This, combined with the military harassment Willson and his followers experi-

enced during the War of 1812, led them to reject worldly pressures by taking refuge in a transformed version of traditional Quaker isolationism.[78]

The Children of Peace maintained Quakerism's traditional moral economy through a number of means, including charity, schooling and building projects. Most importantly, however, they struggled to maintain the Quaker subsistence farming tradition whereby fathers loaned land to sons until they obtained money for purchase. But as the cost of land rose after 1825, new farms could not be created without significant debt, which could only be liquidated by marketing crops. As younger sect members began to start new farms, they found themselves in the difficult position of depending upon the "subsistence insurance guaranteed by their moral economy" while finding it impossible to tear themselves away from market production in order to participate in unpaid, community-oriented work projects. Operating from a more secure economic position, the sect's elders sought to preserve the traditional moral economy, often at the youths' expense. This resulted in increasing inter-generational discord, particularly during the 1830s as young farmers "played their new-found (but precarious) independence" against community demands. In response, the parental group subsidized the creation of new farms by taking on the burden of capital costs themselves. As recompense, they demanded that young heads of families participate fully in the communal life of the sect, most notably by donating their labour for the building of the temple.[79]

What Schrauwers and other historians of the sect neglect, however, is a discussion of the Davidite conceptualization of family, community and gender roles.[80] In attempting to preserve the sect's moral economy, Willson drew upon seventeenth and eighteenth-century Quaker and Puritan notions that based the social order on a tight fit between family, church and community, to the extent that the wishes of the individual were subordinated to the interests of the larger group. The Children of Peace were envisioned as a large family gathered together under the spiritual leadership of its "father," David Willson, and guided by the elders of the sect. The elders sought to strengthen both Willson's and their own authority over younger members as a means of perpetuating a common culture based on subsistence farming. The patriarchal tendencies of the sect were mitigated, however, by its emphasis on the Quaker doctrine of the Inward Light, which provided a theoretical justification for the spiritual, social and political equality of all people. Willson sought to resolve the inherent tension between the individualism fostered by the doctrine of the Inward Light and the communitarian ethos of patriarchy by means of his unique, prophetic role. Willson's advanced understanding of God's will made him the first among equals, and in this capacity, he constituted both the bulwark of patriarchal authority within the sect and its central proponent of egalitarianism. This seemingly contradictory blend of egalitarian and patriarchal notions of family and community was mirrored by Willson's proposals to reform the Upper Canadian alliance of church and state by turning it into a peculiar combination of monarchy and democracy, a system which would be tied together by a godly, Patriot King. This leader would act as the guarantor of liberty, humbling himself so that the people would be exalted.

The tensions between egalitarianism and patriarchy were also manifested in the ways in which Willson and the sect conceptualized gender roles. Willson exalted and idealized women on visionary and rhetorical levels, to the point of suggesting that gender roles be inverted. He also envisaged marriage in egalitarian terms, in addition to ensuring that all women – young unmarried ones in particular – played a central role in the ritual life of the sect. At the same time, however, Davidite

women's opportunities to exercise egalitarian political power were reduced in comparison to their Quaker counterparts, whose roles were institutionalized within the Discipline of the Society of Friends. In one sense, Willson's symbolic inversion of traditional gender roles served his larger political purpose by tapping into a theological view that attributed to the most marginal members of society the greatest spiritual, and hence political and social authority. Furthermore, on a visionary level, he associated both himself and the larger sect with the humble woman as icon. Over time, however, this was used to reinforce the power of the sect's elders by creating a core of young believers whose first loyalty lay with Willson and to the larger community whose will he embodied. Consequently, Davidite women – especially the young – traded their authority in sect governance, for a special relationship with the sect's prophet and patriarch. This served the dual purpose of bolstering women's authority within marriage and fostering sect unity.

Because of its lack of formal discipline, sect cohesion depended greatly upon the subordination of individual, nuclear families to the larger sectarian one. Since Willson embodied patriarchal authority within the sect, the authority of individual heads of households had to be reduced. This did not pose a problem in the first fifteen years or so of the sect's life, when its adult membership was relatively small, because Willson and the elders represented the interests of the majority of the sect's nuclear families.[81] By the late 1820s to the 1830s, however, as increasing numbers of children of the founding generation came of age and married, and as most of them were forced by higher debt loads to engage in cash cropping, several of the sect's latent tensions with regard to marriage and family came to the fore. By the early 1830s, the sect experienced a crisis of apocalyptic proportions centred on the destabilizing effects of rising youth independence. As a result, Willson and the elders attempted to regain control over the younger generation by influencing its perception and experience of courtship, marriage and family formation. The battle to maintain the authority and order of the larger sectarian family versus the competing claims of individual nuclear families was expressed in religious terms, as a contest between God and evil, in which the cosmic fate of both individuals and the larger community hung in the balance.

Willson and Davidite elders focussed most of their attention on the sect's girls, and young women of marriageable age. By exaggerating the dangers of courtship and marriage, and by praising young women on their strength and superior piety, Willson encouraged them to put parental wishes first, and to delay marriage as long as possible, channelling their ardour toward worship in King David's house. Although less than successful, gaining control of the sect's young women through marriage was the corollary of controlling young men's access to land. Both means of control were intended to preserve the traditional moral economy of the sect, by bolstering not only parental authority, but also Willson's prophetic leadership.

From 1812 to 1816, the Children of Peace were organized along Quaker lines into Meetings for Worship, the Business Meeting, the Select Meeting of Elders, and the Yearly Meeting which served to unite Davidites, scattered as they were among the Queen St., Uxbridge and Yonge Street settlements. The Select Meeting of Elders was composed of six men and six women who were to set and maintain sect discipline. In 1816, after a series of internal struggles, in addition to the community's failed attempt to rejoin the Society of Friends, the Children of Peace rejected Quakerism's corporate structure and jural authority, and rallied around David Willson's charismatic leadership based on the primacy of the doctrine of the Inward Light. Now, both men and women met together in a

single Monthly Meeting. Although the settlement of the sect at Hope preserved the earlier patterns of subsistence farming and kinship ties upon which Quakerism's moral economy was based, the changes in Davidite polity made for a very fluid structure. Lacking a formalized system of social control, the sect turned to more subtle means of ensuring group cohesion. David Willson, in his role as the sect's spiritual leader, visionary, and patriarch was at the centre of these efforts, a fact attested to not only by his high public profile as itinerant minister, but also by the volumes of published and unpublished writings that he produced. But unity was also fostered by the gradual emergence of a "paternalist gerontocracy" made up of the sect's "twelve eldest brethren in years." Made up of members of both sexes, this group came to dominate the administration of sect affairs through the Monthly Meeting, which meant that its consensual nature was undermined.[82]

Until 1812, in their lives as Quakers, seven of the ten founding female members of the Children of Peace participated in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting as overseers, elders, or assistant clerks, and ten of ten participated in committee work.[83] While the Children of Peace maintained a high level of female participation in sect governance until 1816, its reorganization on the basis of the Inward Light, and around Willson's charismatic leadership resulted in the demise of women's traditional source of control. Once women's power was no longer entrenched in the regulations governing the sect, their ability to exert authority in business meetings was likely eroded. Indeed, the Quakers had provided women with separate meetings, as a means of guaranteeing their participation in governance; whereas Willson's mixed-gender meetings tended to silence the female voice.

Women's loss of a guaranteed place in the governance of the sect did not appear to be offset by an increased reverence for the spiritually egalitarian doctrine of the Inward Light. Although Willson's chosen confidante and advisor was Rachel Lundy, there is no direct evidence to suggest that she or any other female members of the sect became regular ministers.[84] Interestingly, women's decline in power was masked by Willson's theology, which relied on an insistently female-centred rhetoric, as this excerpt from one of his early hymns suggests:

> …Will Christ the inner temple build /By her that did his feet anoint/ The same my father did appoint/ her second cup shall be fulfilled [sic]…The woman's [sic] soul did wash the ground/ Because the sacred place was found/ Where on the inner temple stands/ Hence forth let it be ever said/ That by a poor female or maid/ Anointed Jesus with her hands/ The woman did discern [sic] his End/ Her substance did she freely spend/ Pound [sic] forth upon a Saviour's feet/ The same hence forth the temple build/ With more compassion was she filled [sic]/ Than men that sat with him at meat/ See where the woman has begun/The lowest state beneath the sun/ The same foundations doth lay/ The same the pillars of the work/ That the designs of men hath broke…[85]

Here, there reader encounters Mary of John 12: 1-7. Willson likely believed that this woman was Mary Magdelene, a former prostitute and one of Christ's closest disciples. Knowing that Jesus' days were numbered, she purchased an expensive perfume with which to anoint his feet and wiped it with her hair. Conversely, the men present at this dinner scene appeared to be lacking in faith and compassion. According to Willson, this humble woman was chosen to construct the inner temple of the spirit, which stood in stark contrast to the "designs of men" which lay in ruins. It was precisely her lowly state that

would enable her to build the foundations of this temple. Men of power and supposed wisdom, who exalted themselves in Christ's presence would be incapable of constructing this vessel of the soul.

In cultural and political terms, this hymn is linked to Willson's constitutional ideal of monarchical republicanism, which was based upon an inversion of social relations in which those of humble estate would be raised up, through the agency of a benevolent and egalitarian-minded king. This vision, which was developed more fully during the 1830s, framed the sect's participation in the larger culture of reform opposition versus the Upper Canadian Church-state. It will be discussed at greater length below. In the hymn, Christ the king exalts the lowly woman for her superior spiritual gifts, and in spite of her lack of temporal power. On one level, Willson associated himself with the messiah, while associating his sect with the woman as temple builder: indeed, his 1817 hymn harkens back to his visions of 1812 which had alerted Willson of his divinely-ordained role as prophet and protector of a new, purified church which was depicted in feminine terms, as a strong, sensual but virginal woman with "power…like fire." Alternatively, this gender association extended to all those who lacked power in Upper Canadian society: both God, and an idealised, benevolent monarch would recognise their superior piety.[86]

Davidite women played a key, symbolic role in the elaborate rituals Willson created as a means of commemorating his visions. As an observer noted in 1825, the Children of Peace "go in procession to their place of worship the females taking the lead, being preceded by banners and two of their number playing on the flute." Men followed in a separate line, and as they entered the meeting house, the sexes sat on separate sides of the room. The banners depicted Willson's early visions, and as John McIntyre has suggested, they reminded the marchers of his "divinely inspired mission." In addition, a special Choir of Virgins, dressed in white to symbolize their purity, played a significant role both in the ritual processions from meeting house to temple for the monthly almsgiving service, and in the itinerant services Willson held at Markham, York, and Sheppard's Inn in York Township. This choir was made up of several of the sect's young unmarried women.[87] When in York, the procession travelled down King Street from Lawrence's Hotel where they stayed, to the Old Court House where services were usually held, which took about an hour. According to the Rev. Isaac Fidler, Willson "never performs such religious errantry without being accompanied by his virgins, six in number, selected from among the females of his household for their superior voices." These young women travelled in the same waggon as Willson, while in one of the other waggons followed as many youths.[88]

Kate Brennagh has argued that young women's participation in public processions was a testament to both their equality within the sect, and to their disregard of the restrictive elements of separate spheres ideology. By participating in marches, Davidite women ignored social prescriptions relegating them to the private sphere, and crossed over into "male territory" – the public domain. While the public role of Davidite women calls into question the validity of separate spheres ideology, particularly within Upper Canadian agricultural communities, assertions of female equality must be qualified.[89] Linda Colley has noted that female Britons often participated in public processions during this period; however, she likewise cautions against hastily concluding that such public participation was evocative of the social and political power of women.[90]

Similarly, Willson's efforts to educate the young girls and women of Hope must not be viewed as simply the product of an "enlightened" espousal of gender equality. To the contrary, such efforts were designed to secure the

dependence and subordination of younger members to older ones in the absence of a coercive mechanism of group control. At Hope, boys and girls attended primary school at the first meeting house beginning in 1819. But in addition to this, in 1818, a girl's boarding school, known as the "female institution" was established in a log house on the settlement. It was subsequently moved to a frame house that Quaker traveller Jacob Albertson identified as Willson's own, and then to a larger edifice opposite the meeting-house. Under the special tutelage of David and Phebe Willson, girls twelve years of age and older were taught traditional feminine skills, such as cooking and spinning, in addition to lessons in reading. The girl's boarding school was thus central to the sect's ability to foster a set of shared values and to further group cohesion. This appears to be particularly so, when one notes that the need for a girl's boarding school at Hope would hardly have been necessary: most families were situated close to the village; moreover, the curriculum was heavily oriented towards the teaching of skills normally passed down from mother to daughter. There is some evidence to suggest that parents sent their daughters there because Willson could bring them up better than they could.[91] This attests to the faith sect members placed in their leader's abilities, and suggests the extent to which Willson was able to act not only as spiritual patriarch, but as an actual father to the sect's girls. This demonstrates two things: firstly, the prime importance Willson placed on cultivating the loyalty of the sect's young women; and secondly, that ties to the larger sectarian family were fostered at the expense of those that bound members of nuclear families together.

By 1830, the increasing participation of the sect's young families in the market economy had led to a crisis centring on the inability of the older generation to control its children's behaviour. As such, Willson and the elders attempted to maintain sect unity by preventing younger, wealthier members from purchasing extra tracts of land, and by dispensing lands concentrated in their own hands to other members of the sect according to necessity. The crisis deepened as the younger, wealthier heads of households refused submission to elder control. With the sense that the "Judgements of Almighty God are now in the earth," the Yearly Meeting of Committees was formed in 1832. Eight communities were created to "repair the breaches in Israel" and to oversee the sect's various concerns. Composed of both elders and young heads of families, two of them were designed specifically to respond to the latter's particular needs.[92] But for the most part, the power of the elders was significantly increased, once again at the expense of group consensus. As such, while Willson's theology and the rituals of the Children of Peace remained theoretically rooted in a spirit of egalitarianism, in practical terms, the elders were accorded an increase in political authority that mirrored their economic power within the sect. Additionally, the committees struck to "correct our female Institution according to the will and mind of the Parent," to "order the neighbourhood and the inhabitants," and to advise those involved in idle diversions represented a departure from informal means of maintaining sect discipline and cohesion.[93]

Additionally, these records provide insight into female participation in sect governance: women's names were only listed for those committees charged with organizing funerals, caring for the sick, tending the Female Institution, and arranging feasts. Women did not serve exclusively on any one committee; moreover, they were exempted from all other committees, including those which wielded disciplinary authority. Whereas under Quaker rule, and under the early forms of Davidite governance, both men and women had relatively equal claims to the exercise of community control, by 1832, the Children of Peace had effectively reduced women's

power in this regard. Nonetheless, the records demonstrate that women participated as elders, with both Rachel Lundy and Mary Willson co-signing reports on the group's behalf. This suggests that authority within the sect must be understood in both generational and gendered terms. Men had access to all forms of leadership, but with participation weighted in the elders' favour. In contrast, women were restricted on both gendered and generational bases. Female elders had more authority than young Davidite women, but less authority than male elders, and perhaps less authority than younger male members who served on disciplinary committees. Young Davidite women were at the bottom of the sect's governing hierarchy.[94]

But by 1830, the crisis that pit communitarianism against individualism was expressed in another important and related way, namely, through the increasingly frantic attempts of Willson and the elders to control the courtship practices of the younger generation. It was in this context of crisis that Willson's special relationship with the young, unmarried women of the sect proved particularly useful. Evidence demonstrates that he attempted to mould young women's attitudes toward courtship, love, marriage and family, so as to ensure that they acted with the best interests of the larger community in mind. Willson judged that these interests would be best served if young women – maidens in particular – placed their loyalty to their parents and to himself above both foolish desire and allegiance to perfidious suitors and irresponsible husbands. By playing on maidens' fears of marriage and childbirth, and by appealing to their sense of pride rooted in their superior piety, virtue, and freedom, Willson sought to delay their decisions to marry and to influence their choices of suitors as a means of controlling the actions of the sect's young men, who had grown increasingly restive under elder control. At times however, Willson's negative rhetoric regarding marriage pointed to a more extreme solution to this crisis--namely, that the younger generation avoid marriage altogether. All in all, this constituted an adamant rejection of the growing North American cultural tendency to embrace both romantic love and the right of individuals to select their own marriage partners, a trend that some historians suggest accompanied the transition from subsistence to market economics.[95]

According to the traditional Quaker theology of marriage, the love of husband and wife grew out of a greater love of God, and as such, the essential goal of courtship was to ensure that a couple's desire to marry was based on divine will, and not on worldly motives such as greed or lust. Exogamy was closely related to this theological view: not being the will of God, it bore the taint of sinful motives. Placing human above divine will in the act of marriage would result in an unsanctified union, meaning that the couple would be plagued with poor health, discord, wayward children, and sad events reminding them of their fall from grace. Eighteenth-century Quaker custom dictated that before courting, a man had to notify all four parents of his intentions before emotional involvement occurred, thus ensuring that they knew and approved of the potential match. Once a couple decided to marry, the Monthly Meeting ascertained their readiness to do so.[96]

Evidence suggests that the Children of Peace maintained these elements of the Quaker theology of marriage intact, while modifying the means of controlling the courtship experience in such a way that Willson became the bulwark of both parental and community authority. Aside from several wedding songs and marriage certificates, Willson and the sect produced comparatively few documents pertaining to courtship, love and marriage prior to 1830. That the usually prolific Willson did not feel compelled to dwell on the subject until after 1830 suggests that for the most part, younger members of

the sect in the 1810s and 1820s courted and married in a manner acceptable to the sect's prophet and elders. This means that they complied with Willson's wish that they not "marry with Strangers, lest we shall bring in a wicked generation of Canaanites that know not the will of the Lord and [that] will destroy our inheritance and make captives of our children." As for the exact nature of the procedure surrounding courtship and marriage amongst the Children of Peace, it is not altogether clear. However, one observer asserted that Willson acted as a courtship broker, informing maidens of proposals of marriage, and setting up two-hour appointments for prospective brides and grooms to meet, after which a final decision, favourable or otherwise was made. As such, it is likely that acceptable courtship and marriage practice, although not enforced by a set discipline, would have involved obtaining Willson's consent to any prospective match, in addition to the consent of parents.[97] What is more certain is that Willson and the elders attempted to limit the unsupervised interactions of young men and women, in order to control the courtship experience.[98]

By the 1830s, Willson and the elders' feared that their authority was being undermined by the younger generation's independent tendencies. For example, in 1831, the sect passed a resolution on "the expediency of our young males and females meeting together on such subjects as is common on earth," stating that such encounters were to be avoided, as they were "injurious to the female character…unprofitable to the male" and generally detrimental to the entire society.[99] Moreover, in March of 1835, the sect approved a set of advices pertaining to courtship and marriage celebrations. This document states explicitly what a number of Willson's poems, hymns, wedding songs and in memoria had implied for several years. As such it would be instructive to examine its contents more closely. First of all, it attempts to arrive at a scriptural understanding of God's will regarding marriage, and comes to the conclusion that God "hath [not] appointed man to Marry." When a couple married, in "ages that were of old… the parties took Each other in the presence of the people and then performed a married life." This reflected the Quaker practice of marriage, but not the Quaker understanding of it, for they believed that God had ordained the institution, and thus it was blessed. Adam and Eve had been united before the Fall, and as such matrimony was a sinless institution. Davidites believed that a couple's decision to marry had to be based on the conviction that it was God's will. Willson nevertheless suggested that marriage was not ordained by God. And even though He continued to will people to enter this "solemn Covenant," the idea that marriage was a human custom, instituted after the Fall of man into sin, suggests that it bore the taint of man's fallen nature.[100]

The question of who could best ascertain the will of God in such matters was crucial to the courtship crisis of the 1830s. In short, Willson, the elders and the parental generation of the sect believed that they embodied the will of God, and that young people's increasing tendency to "choose [their] own companion[s] through the Intoxication of what is called youthful love," demonstrated that they were motivated by sinful desire. This threatened the traditional moral order of the community for "the parent is cut off from a voice on this binding subject which once was all and all." Whereas parents could once guide their inexperienced offspring in the ways of the Lord, "now every one hath taken whom he or she hath chosen to place their eyes upon and the sight of the eye hath become the direction of life…" The primary result was that children "have gone into ways that God never hath appointed in the choice of their companions and in the performance of their marriage…" Unions unsanctified by God – or by parents and the sect's leaders who interpreted His will – could only lead to

destruction, not only for individual couples and their offspring, but also for the larger community. As such, God's "aged and afflicted people" set themselves the task of "awaken[ing] our young to the danger of marriage" in the following way:

> We hear the doleful news…the young mother is gone to the grave, but the little thirsting orphan is left to weep. He must be cast into the hands of a borrowed mother … and soon he follows his mother down to the grave, or endures a thousand weary nights to live. When the Lord so frequently doeth this with his people" querie if the marriage day should be merry… If the mother liveth a few years, she beareth a few feminent [sic] Children. The living Cry with hunger, the scanty breast is often produced to the babe, and the parent must haste fro bread for his young: he can scarcely call at the house of the Lord, to worship there, because of his young, he has become too lean to pay his offrings [sic] or perform his vows.

The document closes with a plea that children consider these things before they marry. In order to avoid the Lord's chastising hand, they were to "enquire often at the gates of wisdom before you pass your word or perform your vows," and to "[k]eep from the dead watches of the night in all your Intercourse, one with no other for there is a deep snare in it…" Most importantly, they were to keep away from strangers, and "if marriage must make you happy" they were to gather together in the presence of their brethren and in the fear of God, declare their intention to take each other as husband and wife, signing their promise with a seal.[101]

These passages testify to the profound anxiety that sect leaders felt with regard to courtship and marriage. Central to this anxiety was their conviction that the unsanctified marriages of the younger generation constituted the principal challenge to sect cohesion. The lusts of youth had made them independent of both God's will and parental control, causing them to reap the rewards of death, orphaned or sickly children, and importantly, a lack of prosperity which forced young men to neglect their religious duties as they sought to feed their young – a reference to their increased participation in the market economy. In addition to this, Willson and the elders were concerned that such deceptions were luring maidens into marriage before they were old enough, a fact which exacerbated the sorrows parents felt when many were led "to the grave in the morning of their day."[102] Even more negatively, marriage produced misery, while it was suggested that the entire process of family formation was to blame for young people's lack of participation in the sect's moral economy. Although unsanctified unions were largely to blame, ironically, it was implied that sect unity and survival would best be served if the younger generation refrained from marrying altogether.

One must be careful, however, to distinguish between Willson's and the elders' perception of events and reality. They had asserted that a plague of child and maternal mortality had descended upon the sect's young families in punishment for the sins of youth. However, an examination of the genealogical record demonstrates that this view was not based on reality. During the sect's existence, three of 132 female members were known to have died in childbirth. Of these three, only two had perished prior to March of 1835: Sarah Lundy Willson in 1826 and Hannah Dennis Willson in 1830. Tragically, both had been married to David Willson's son John. A random sample of twenty-five of the sect's families demonstrates that a majority of sixteen had not experienced the death of at least one child, under the age of ten, while nine of twenty-five families had. Interestingly,

from 1830 to 1835, three children under the age of three died compared to only one between 1820-1829. With regard to women marrying too young, the average age of marriage for the sect's females was 19, while the male average was 25. While Davidite men married at about the same age as their counterparts in the province's other pioneer communities, Davidite women married a year or so earlier than theirs, thus suggesting that the sect's concerns about brides being too young had some comparative basis.[103]

In all, however, these figures imply that Willson and the elders exaggerated the frequency of maternal and child mortality, as a means of suggesting that God disapproved of youth's disruption of the sect's traditional, communitarian emphasis.[104] Within the history of the sect to 1835, only two women had died in childbirth. Moreover, the increased incidence of childhood death in the early 1830s was in accordance with the much higher number of marriages in that decade compared to the 1820s. It stood to reason, that as more individuals married, and as more children were being born, a greater number of children would also die.[105] Nonetheless, reason alone cannot account for the emotional impact that these deaths had on the community. Indeed, it appears that Hannah Willson's death in childbirth on November 22, 1830, two months shy of her twentieth birthday so shocked and saddened the community that it acted as a kind of psychological watershed point, afterwhich discussions of courtship, marriage and family took on an increasingly sombre tone. It also served to bring several of Willson's latent concerns regarding these issues to the fore. Furthermore, Willson's writings during this period demonstrate that he used Hannah's death, and the infant deaths that followed as a means of exerting moral and religious pressure on the younger generation – but particularly on its young, unmarried women – to curb its independent tendencies.

For example, David Willson wrote a memorial for Hannah Willson that sounds less as a remembrance of the deceased, than as a warning to young maidens to take the lessons of her death to heart. In it, Willson had Hannah proclaim: "But oh I saw a setting sun/ As many maidens more will see/ For when they do as I have done/ They will come trembling down to me." And suggesting that there was "in the land an angry God," he pleaded with young women to "[p]repare thy heart take Hannah in." Willson continues, speaking for young maidens in the first person, by remarking on the frightening sight of the deceased. He queries "[w]hy should I haste to see my fate/ While I'm so weak and young," juxtaposing this sentiment with a description of the joylessness of married women. Then, in chorus, the young maidens vow to "step aside" from the "beaten path" of marriage, to which "the lawless run" and to fear the wedding day, for while the "earth may boast of…[o]ur youthful morn it soon destroys/ When balanced in the scale." They end with a set of promises: firstly, to seek for joy in God and His laws, rather than in "walks by night or vile deceit" with young men; and secondly to avoid "afflict[ing] the aged breast, "they vow to remain "firm in worship" placing their trust in their parents' guidance.[106]

It appears that the lessons Willson sought to teach regarding Hannah's death were taken up with zeal by the young women of the Female Institution, who felt so moved as to publish "our mutual agreement in the House of the Lord" on December 5, 1830. Addressing their statement to "parents and Elders," they remarked that the "visiting hand of God has caused us to look back on our late practices of life and wonder… in the separation of our little band of Sisters who were educated together in our little female institution, we seem to be led as lambs to the slaughter, not knowing what is before our eyes." Lamenting the "alarming" death of their "dear… Sister Hannah Dennis," they resolved to "turn a little

aside from the common course of life…in which we see so many go down to their death," and to place their parents' wishes before their own. They pledged to be humble, and to give their attention to "moderate industry, useful history, and the necessity of orphan females and aged mothers," while single. Furthermore, they vowed to "keep no male company to offend the House of Lord," and to forever abstain from "secret interviews by night." If God provided them with a change agreeable to their parents" will and "the gray headed in the House of the Lord," they promised to contribute to the support of the Whole institution" according to their abilities.[107]

Although Hannah's memorial bears no suggestion that she was anything but a faithful member of the community, Willson was able to convince the young unmarried women of Hope that her death was a sign of God's displeasure with their behaviour, particularly when they so gave into their own wilfulness as to allow themselves to be courted in secret. Such actions defied God's will, which was synonymous with both the will of their parents and of the community's Elders. In order to appease an angry God, and to ensure that they did not cause their parents any grief, they were to devote themselves to worship, creating a virtuous home, moderate work, and to caring for the neediest female members of the community. In short, they resolved to place the needs of the larger sectarian family above individual desire, while recognising that this represented a divergence from common cultural practice.

Possibly, the impact of Hannah's death on young Davidite women was augmented by the apparently prophetic wedding song that David Willson wrote for her and John Willson. Although Upper Canadian law did not recognise Davidite marriages, unless couples remarried by a justice of the peace or an approved minister, Willson composed hymns, signed by witnesses, which substituted as marriage certificates. The fact that Willson wrote all of these wedding songs testifies to his special authority within the sect, and to his attempts to articulate its understanding of marriage. The wedding songs written during the 1820s underscore the solemnity of the marriage vow, and the couple's commitment to sharing both life's burdens and joys in the traditional Quaker fashion – as helpmeets, and "companions of the mind" or spirit. Although these early songs tended to dwell on such sober themes as the weariness of life and on the couple's submission to destiny, the wedding songs of the 1830s demonstrate a much more pungent negativity intimating future marital misery for the couples, and the certain demise of youthful love.[108] No exception was Hannah and John Willson's wedding song, whose central theme was the plight of a little orphan, "born without a father's care" and deprived of his mother's love. It concludes: "Thus we see the child oppressed [sic]/ Parents for the orphan weep/ Eer [sic] you down in pleasures lie/ Through prayer reenter into sleep/ Parents and the child may die."[109] On a general level, the increasing negativity of wedding songs suggests that marriage had become a central source of tension in the life of the community. More specifically, however, the fact that Willson had presaged Hannah's death likely served to increase the weight of his opinion, particularly among young women who had been taught to be especially loyal to the sect's prophet and patriarch.

During the next few years, Willson's writings suggest that he sought to reinforce young maidens' resolve to remain unmarried, and obedient to their parents by contrasting the utopian qualities of maidenhood with married life, typically characterized as a female dystopia. A particularly salient example of this is the hymn "To be sung after meat by the female Children of the house of the Lord, Israel's God," written in the early 1830s. The title suggests that Willson intended the hymn to be sung regularly by the sect's girls, after

supper, perhaps with the view that its lessons could best be internalized by frequent repetition. The song stressed the benefits of celibacy:

> …We are a little orphan band/ Thats [sic] left our house and home/ To travel to a joyful land/ Where brightest virtues known/ We will put on our robes of white/ In peaceful union join/ Appear like clusters sweet and ripe/ That's bearing on the vine…/ King Jesus placed us in the midst/ And there our place shall be/ With glory crown upon our heads…/ For ancient David well [sic] sing…/We will not haste to wedding bands/ As thoughtless children do/ Nor crying Infants in our hands/ Soon bid our peace adieu/ We still will praise our maiden name/ Till storms of angers oer/ Why should we drink a mothers pain/ Before we are one score/ Well in the churches bosom rest… [and] marry as we need…[110]

This hymn speaks to the centrality of young virgins in the ritual life of the sect, who donned their "robes of white" and took their place "in the midst" of celebrations, singing "for ancient David" in all glory. Images of beauty and lush nature surround the virtuous, young maidens, as they vow to rest secure in the "church's bosom" until they are at least twenty. The hymn implies that it would be absurd to forfeit their present esteem and peace for the trials of motherhood. Maidens' role "for ages yet to come" was to be sweet and virtuous, bringing comfort to aging parents, while rejoicing in their celibate state until the troubles that the sect was experiencing subsided.

Willson exalted maidens for their superior piety and virtue, as a means of rejecting the more mainstream ideal that women were happiest as wives and mothers. In this way, the concept of family and social organisation promulgated by the Children of Peace contrasted with separate spheres ideology. At the same time, he proved to be quite adept at tapping into young women's natural fears of leaving childhood behind in favour of married life. It was common for young women of the middling ranks in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century America to express profound anxiety about this rite of passage. They recognised that marriage could bring much evil and unhappiness, and many appeared reluctant to forfeit the benefits of girlhood – close connections to parents, safety, freedom and amusement – for marriage and its potential trials, including poor harvests, ill health, financial troubles, loss of sexual control, and death in childbirth.[111] Time and again, Willson made an art out of these fears, contrasting the virtuous play, freedom and homosocial solidarity of girlhood's "secret cause" with the anxiety –producing scenes of motherhood. Indeed, as young maidens "like plants of honour gr[e]w," mothers "toil[ed] and cr[ied] with half a score of young ones by." Such sights were not only occasions for trembling fear, but also reminders to young women to avoid "evil company," and to set their gaze on the Lord.[112]

In attempting to dissuade Davidite women from acting independently when selecting mates, Willson accented the dangers of unsanctioned and unsanctified courtship, in addition to attacking young men for being unreliable. These are the main themes of "Oh pride thou for to human right…" written in 1831. The hymn tells the story of an innocent maiden who went walking "one pleasant morn" whereupon she saw a youth who had been seeking her. He laid his "gentle arms" upon her and told her that for years his soul had sought her. The maiden folded her hands on her bosom but he "with love… forced them from [her] breast," with the result that she lost her "maiden rest" and bore a child. Dissatisfied, the youth abandoned her and her

weeping child, making the woman realise that his flattery had fooled her. Mournful, she longed for her lost freedom, and instructed maidens to shun the "sweet Imbraces [sic]" of "sons of adam" whose "hearts are full of treachery."[113]

These hymns suggest that the uncontrolled nature of sexual attraction and romantic love had begun to seriously undermine Willson's and the elders' grip on the younger generation. Willson's juxtaposition of innocent maidenhood with male carnality must be viewed in this light. Such appeals were based on the common view that by accepting or rejecting men's advances, young women were in control of sexual expression. Moreover, they tapped into the rising cultural tendency to equate femininity with superior virtue in contrast to the "natural" masculine propensity for lust. Fearing that maidens' innocent and "tender-hearted" natures would make them vulnerable to male deception, such hymns underscored the dangers of taking suitors' loving words at face value. Pregnancy, abandonment, early marriage, death in childbirth or a woeful married life could be the only results of such inauspicious beginnings. Willson advanced that the best prophylactic against such fates was a longer stay in "Eden's garden" – a reference to the sexually pure world of girlhood, where females lived peacefully and in harmony with God, resisting suitors' advances until they too experienced this harmony, and "bowed down to kiss [their] hands." In short, before young men and women courted each other, they were to "court the messiah" and "triumph in his name." Importantly, once young men took "King David [as their] armour" – a double entendre designed to support David Willson's claims to patriarchal and prophetic authority -- they would "defend the rights" of young maidens, with all rejoicing in the blessings thus received.[114] Young people's happiness rested in the continued subordination of their own wills, to the "will of God" which Willson and the elders claimed to embody.

Interestingly, there is evidence to suggest that Willson employed similar arguments in order to convince young married women to place loyalty to the sect – and by extension, loyalty to Willson and the elders – above loyalty to their own husbands. A poem entitled "Female history or the Mother's peace" written in the early to mid 1830s is a particularly strident example of this. It echoes the 1835 "marriage ceremony" in linking the perils of "youthful love" and unsanctified courtship with marital woe, men's participation in cash cropping, and male tendencies toward irreligion. The difference, however, is that it offers women a means of regaining God's favour, after having been punished for the sin of self-will: by serving the Lord as master, wives could re-establish order within their marriages and obtain the balance of power therein. In the process, gender roles would be inverted. The poem's narrative voice is female, and she begins her song at eighteen, when she "thought [her]self a woman… fit for courting by young men." Cynically, she remarks that she "sold [her]self to be a wife," as many women do, but despite the sweetness of the wedding day, she soon "wearied [sic] in the marriage yoke/But found the chains could not be broke." Burdened with tears, she prayed to God for death, while her husband "did oft lament/And of his courting did repent." With this, the bloom of youthful love passed away, "[a]nd fruit paid for the marriage day." No sooner had her cheek dried than she was "confined to nurse a son," the result being that her husband was "bound for bread/To sweat and toil till he is dead." To make matters worse, her nursing duties prevented her from attending meetings for worship. When she "told [her] boy to stay at home/And one day nurse the babe alone… he began to frown and scold… [saying] that he must till the field for gold… [and] had not time to tend the church." She continues:

> And I must of the house take care/ With every thing thats placed there/ I left the wheel for heavens sake/ And none knows how my heart did ache/ My husband he did fret and scold/ And says hes [sic] lost both Joy and gold/ And my insides began to burn/ To see this world sad overturn/ But I did… try the strength of my own arm/ In twain did part the marriage chore/ By the Jehovah calld the Lord/ And males again may try to bind/ With tears and groans may court my mind/ Ill first go hedge go ditch or plow/ To no such lords no more Ill bow/ … Im bound henceforth to serve the Lord/ And lead the husband by the cord/ He many a day on earth did rule/ And made the male the greatest fool/ But now Ill sweat and pull the string/ My husband to the church Ill bring/ Ill also bow my heart and pray/ That he in fitts won't run away/ If so I hope hell not return/ To learn my free born soul to mourn.[115]

This document suggests that Willson and the elders viewed the nuclear family and its independent tendencies, as a potential menace, not only to the husband and particularly the wife, but also to the larger sectarian family. Interestingly, even having children was viewed somewhat negatively: as mothers nursed their babies, and as fathers were forced to work the fields to support their families, both parents were drawn away from the religious duties that tied them to the larger community. But Willson placed most of the blame on male individuality: men's greediness and hardness of heart compelled women to take on the lion's share of responsibility in tending the church, which increased female authority within the family. Recalling his earlier "vision" of the pious woman as temple builder, Willson suggested that because of men's failures, within both nuclear and sectarian families, God had ordained the disruption of the unity of husband and wife and the reversal of traditional gender roles.[116] Willson offered young wives greater rights within marriage, if they sided with him and the elders of the community against their errant husbands. In this way, the "Mother's Peace" was less a critique of marriage as a restrictive institution, than an attack on the individualism of young men – a vice which led them to shirk their religious obligations, and which made them exceedingly difficult to control. As a result, the unity of the sectarian family was deemed to be more important than the unity of the nuclear family, particularly when it proved increasingly difficult to dissuade young married men from the economic practices that severed them from community life. In this context of crisis, Willson's special relationship with Davidite women, together with his powerful rhetoric were instrumental in convincing them that their primary allegiance lay with the large, sectarian family that he himself had "fathered."

This special relationship had led to British traveller Thomas Rolph's recognition that Willson's reordering of traditional family and marital relations, through the creation of a "polygamous" harem, had a direct bearing on his attacks versus the newly evolving market economy. He likened Willson to Mohammad, "who, although possessing an extensive harem is not quite so jealous of its houris… 'holding all things in common'… What with the influence of music, and the still softer attractions – the founder of this new sect has managed to induce farmers to dispose of their farms, to take an acre lot in this new village Priapus."[117] Hyperbole aside, Rolph understood that Willson's attempts to escape market economic encroachments depended upon the subversion of the yeoman farmer, and of domestic ideals based on the creation of the separate nuclear family. Willson's efforts to dissuade young men from cash-cropping, to

create a highly visible, loyal core of female acolytes or "sect symbols," and to strengthen the ties of the larger, sectarian family to the detriment of the integrity of individual families, were explicitly patriarchal.

Indeed, from the sect's earliest years, Willson's prophetic leadership was conflated with the sense that he was its singular patriarch. Time and again, he asserted that he was the "servant the Lord has chosen" and urged his "children" to receive his words as they "are from the Lord."[118] He was even more direct in the introduction to A Lesson of Instruction, Written and Published for the Children of Peace, which was used as a catechism in the sect's schools, beginning in 1816. In it, he claimed to be "a father of a family of small children… committed to… [his] care in this life." He believed that his sectarian children, should look up to their parent for support and for instruction in both temporal and spiritual matters. Although Willson did not sustain exclusive rights to spiritual leadership within the community, he was its "principal minister." Moreover, the sect's elders supported his special patriarchal and spiritual authority and even amidst divisions recognised him as "the first stone in our… congregation" and founder of their community. As such, they believed it best to esteem him as "the father of us all," and to be willing to serve him, just as he had served them, "that he may advise us and our children with Godly care and the respect that a father should have for sons and daughters who is by them respected. In the main, the elders supported Willson as the sect's spiritual patriarch because they recognised him as a prophet who "hath written much… [and who] wrote truths which has proved to us that he was favoured with some foreknowledge of events, which has come to pass within our knowledge."[119] But Willson and the elders worked in tandem: their joint aim was the preservation of the sect's distinct moral economy in the absence of a set discipline. As was mentioned previously, after 1825, this became increasingly difficult as young heads of families began to depend on market production for survival. One way that the elders sought to meet this challenge was by controlling the sale of land. But equally important was the elders' recognition of Willson's special patriarchal and spiritual role which bolstered the moral authority of the founding, or parental generation in general, and the power of the elders in particular.

An example of this is found in Moral and Religious Precepts, Church Ordinances, and the Principles of Civil Government (1836), which was published in the context of the community's increasing inter-generational strife, in addition to its participation in the radical reform movement. In it, Willson attempted to provide a blueprint for both successful family life and constitutional reform that by implication, centred on an idealisation of social relations in the sectarian village of Hope. Willson's hybrid of monarchical republicanism echoed the mid-eighteenth century Whig ideal of the Patriot King, a morally righteous and benevolent fatherly figure who would be the focus of political unity in the interest of the common good. Additionally, Willson's political ideal harkened back to Paineite arguments that stated that the Rights of Man were divinely sanctioned. According to Willson, the ideal king would make the poor and ignorant the peculiar objects of his favour, thus demonstrating that he ruled justly, according to egalitarian, Christian principles. Within this system, the essential outlines of establishmentarianism would be maintained, while the relationship between rich and poor would be radically reversed.[120]

The loving care the king extended to his subjects was mirrored by both Willson's sense of himself as sect patriarch, and by his vision of the ideal relationship between parents and children within the Children of Peace. Similar to his idealised King, Willson's leadership of the flock depended upon his superior piety, wisdom and justice – things that he readily

accorded himself. Moreover, his conception of community was based on an interdependent family model. For example, Willson asserted that the duty of parent to child went from cradle to grave, during which time, the former was responsible for giving the latter the "whole necessities of a moral and religious life" as long as they lived. In turn, the child's duty was to respect his parent's wisdom at all times, because of his advanced age and experience. Although a son could provide for himself at age twenty-one, at no time was he to "declare himself independent of his father's love," for this was "but the full time of his childhood, and the beginning to be a man," when he needed parental guidance "more than when he lay in his cradle."[121]

Similar to peasant family structures in both Europe and America, the settlement at Hope depended upon a perpetuation of the subsistence-oriented, corporate family economy that was based on the patriarch's personal supervision and the settlement of his sons on contiguous land holdings. The cornerstone of this system was the continued interdependence of family members over "generational time." As such, it is not surprising that family and community was conceived in organic terms, with the "parents" of the sect constituting the "vine" and their children the "fruit."[122] But unlike other Dissenting communities organised along patriarchal lines, Davidites (and Quakers) sought to strengthen the relationship between parent and child by emphasising the bonds of love that kept the latter in a state of benign dependence, as opposed to the more stern rhetoric of submission to patriarchal authority that characterised the "distant progeny" of other English Dissenting denominations.[123] For a time, Willson's model was more effective because it instilled patriarchal ideals through control of affections, in addition to control of economic relations. Willson's ability to influence the opinions of the community's young girls with whom he is especially close is a case in point.

But Willson and the elders were fighting a losing battle. In the absence of strong disciplinary authority, and faced with a marked rise by the early 1840s of large, commercially prosperous, and independent farms owned by individual Davidite families, the group's elders found that they could no longer control the behaviour of the younger generation. This had exacerbated the internal divisions caused by the participation of several young Davidites in the Rebellion of 1837. The experience dampened the radical ardour of Willson and other Davidites, as did the political and religious reforms of the 1840s and 50s, which served to redress several of their original concerns. Furthermore, the involvement of local government in schooling and in poor relief eroded the group's traditional role as educator and welfare provider, which contributed to the severance of ties that bound family, faith and community closely together. At the same time, Willson increasingly monopolised the religious life of the community. This, along with a further reduction in the importance of the Inward Light doctrine impeded the denomination's potential for spiritual regeneration via the emergence of new ministers. By the 1860s, the community was in rapid decline, as many of its younger members left the village, some in search of land, and others in search of opportunities in the rapidly urbanising centres of Ontario. In 1876, ten years after David Willson's death, the denomination was incorporated into a charitable society, which ceased operation in 1889.[124]

Conclusion

In the first section, the key elements that contributed to the creation of traditional, rural, subsistence-oriented Quaker communities in Upper Canada was explored in some depth. Quakers in both Upper Canada and the larger North Atlantic world modified the typical, patriarchal orientation of the traditional, communitarian way of life. In contrast to

those communities in Europe and North America which were organised along patriarchal lines, and which emphasised the coercive power of the father in controlling both his wife and offspring, Upper Canadian Friends directed their attentions toward proper child nurture, as the root of community harmony and cohesion. The Quaker understanding of childhood as a period of prolonged innocence, bounded at the far end by grave moral dangers, combined with its unique family-oriented polity to encourage both parents to approach child-rearing as a sacred, public trust. In earlier times, this accentuated parental role, particularly the role mothers played in their children's moral development, had led to the formal recognition of women's authority as elders, overseers and officers of the church. Although they worked within separate business meetings, and despite the disabilities which Quaker women faced both within the denomination and within the larger society, Friends in Upper Canada did not subscribe to the most extreme dictates of separate spheres ideology. Rather, Quaker women's guaranteed authority within the community, particularly their control over marriages, in addition to the independent nature of agricultural household relations, and the practice of joint cooperation on Disciplinary cases mitigated against both physical separation and the polarisation of gender attributes.

As for information on how successful Upper Canadian Quaker communities were at maintaining their peculiar way of life, this study has only "scratched the surface." In order to speak with certainty about the entire range of Friends communities in the colony, both Orthodox and Hicksite, a more exhaustive, statistical analysis must be pursued. Such a task is beyond the scope of this article, however, my research has indicated some of the main challenges to Quaker community cohesion at Yonge Street. In descending order of importance, these included the problem of marrying out, a factor directly related to the Quaker marriage testimony, and to the tendency for marital infractions to end in disownment; schism, which in some ways reflects the failure of Quaker consensus to successfully mediate between disputing parties; state pressures such as military requisitioning; the lure of reform activism; and the temptations of diversion, drink, crude words and rough behaviour. After mid-century, however, the challenges to Friends' traditional way of life became more pronounced, as economic "progress," consensus Protestantism and the assumptions of liberal individualism sealed its fate.

The rich documentary sources on the Children of Peace have permitted historians to speak with greater depth and certainty about this peculiarly Upper Canada religious group. In this article, I have argued that the crisis of the 1830s over courtship and marriage pointed to the irreconcilable differences between the denomination's espousal of individualistic piety, with its rhetorical support of gender equality, and its adherence to a patriarchal system of family and community order. Willson had attempted to effect an ideological rapprochement between the two, which was expressed most directly in his vision of monarchical republicanism: harkening back to eighteenth-century notions of the social and political order, he modelled family life on the relationship between a benevolent, divinely-appointed king charged with protecting the welfare and liberties of his subjects. Willson envisaged his leadership of the Children of Peace in such terms: at Hope, he acted as a divinely-inspired patriarch, commissioned to care for his family of God's chosen people. Unfortunately however, the challenges of reality meant that Willson's stress upon female participation and egalitarian community consensus were increasingly outpaced by the necessity to maintain community order and unity, a task which called for a strengthening of patriarchal controls. In the matrix of this struggle, Davidite women gradually lost po-

litical power while Willson used the rhetoric of gender equality to create a young female coterie that was loyal to his prophetic and patriarchal authority. But the most dramatic battle between egalitarianism and patriarchalism, individualism and community, and subsistence versus market economic involvement, was expressed in the generationally-based courtship and marriage crisis of the 1830s. The community's second generation came of age at a time when rising land-debts necessitated greater dependence upon cash-cropping: successful participation in the market economy fostered an independence amongst young heads of households which threatened the traditional moral economy, most notably by challenging the authority of Willson and the elders. Aside from direct attempts to control the purchase and use of land, and in the absence of a system of discipline, they endeavoured to maintain the ties that bound family, faith and community so closely together through the more subtle instrument of indoctrination directed at the denomination's young women and girls. It was hoped that young women's personal loyalty to Willson as denominational patriarch would keep them from the temptation of romantic love which dangerously privileged individual desire, in addition to the couple's allegiance to each other and to the nuclear family unit, over the larger bonds of community.

On a more general level, this study suggests a number of things. First of all, it is clear that separate spheres ideology neither mirrored the reality of gender relations amongst the Children of Peace, nor was it an ideal toward which women were encouraged to strive. That being said, Willson drew upon its belief in female moral superiority to serve the purposes of both his egalitarian ideology, and the necessity of patriarchal control. It was perhaps this necessity that caused the erosion of female political power within the group. Furthermore, this study illuminates the relationship between the conceptualisation and practice of courtship, and notions of family, faith and community within a context that has been generally neglected: that of Upper Canadian agricultural and artisanal communities. In lieu of church courts, by which other, larger Canadian denominations of the era controlled the sexual behaviour of individuals in defence of the family,[125] Willson and Davidite elders took recourse to less formal means of social control. Moreover, it was the Dissenting family of God's chosen people assembled at Hope that they sought to defend, versus the challenges posed by nuclear families of increasingly independent means. That the defence rested largely on attempts to discredit the power of romantic love suggests that the denomination's tribulations during the 1830s constitute the beginning of a transition from a traditional, communitarian-oriented view of the family, to one based on more "modern" notions that privileged individual happiness, and the emotional bonds of couples over ties to the larger community. As such, the Davidite crisis over the meaning of the family, and over courtship, love and marriage provides the student of history with a sense of the cultural dimensions that accompanied the transition from subsistence-oriented to market-oriented production in Upper Canada.

Taken together, this study of the Quakers and the Children of Peace in Upper Canada accomplishes several things. Firstly, it points to the intimate links between Upper Canadian Dissent, on the one hand, and experiences of gender and family, on the other. It also pushes our historical understanding of such issues beyond the traditional Anglican and Methodist parameters. In the process, it challenges the notion of separate spheres ideology as a widely recognised, but ultimately unreachable set of values which colonial women valiantly sought to emulate. In agreement with other historians of gender, it asserts that separate spheres ideology and its dichotomisation of masculine and feminine, public and private

realms is too stark and simplistic. However, it goes a step further in suggesting that no one model of gender relations was authoritative or supreme prior to 1850. As such, it refocuses the historiographical debate away from separate spheres as a joint elite/bourgeois phenomenon, and toward the persistence of early-modern notions of family and faith, which moulded the experience of gender within Upper Canadian agricultural communities into the middle decades of the nineteenth-century.

Endnotes

1. For example, Elizabeth Jane Errington does not discuss the role religion played in the lives of Upper Canadian women, in Wives and Mother, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids (Montreal, McGill-Queen's Press, 1995). And although Cecilia Morgan's Public Men and Virtuous Women (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1996) explores the intimate connections between religion, politics and gender discourse, it does not venture beyond the Anglican/Methodist paradigm.
2. I would like to thank Dr. William Westfall for suggesting that I explore the deeper currents beneath Willson's apparent espousal of female gender equality within the Children of Peace at the Conference on the Canadian Evangelical Experience held at Queen's University in 1996.
3. For example, Mary P Ryan has demonstrated how Protestant settlers to the frontier lands of Oneida Country, New York, in the 1790s created a corporate family economy and a domestic system of production in which all family members were united in the common enterprise of subsistence. She argues that this mode of economic organisation was intimately linked to Puritan commonwealth ideas regarding individuals, families and their social functions. Mary Ryan Cradle of the Middle Class, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 18-22.
4. Ibid.
5. Edward Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 3. Shorter argues that the bonds of the traditional, community-centred, patriarchal family were severed by a "surge of sentiment" that coincided with a transition from subsistence to market economic production, in Western European countries between the late eighteenth and the late nineteenth centuries. He notes that modern societies exalt individual, emotional considerations in courtship over material, instrumental or community considerations. Moreover, they are characterised by an increasingly intimate relationship between mother and child, and by a privileging of nuclear family bonds over ties to the larger community. For a contrasting point of view, see Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800. (New York: Harper & Rowe, 1977). See also Mary Beth Norton, Founding Mothers and Fathers (New York: Knopf, 1996). Norton underscores the importance of the bonds of unity between family and community within patriarchal social structures, and contrary to Stone argues that Puritanism does not signal the beginning of modern individualism.
6. Albert Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 99-103.
7. J. William Frost, The Quaker Family in Colonial America (New York: St Martin's Press, 1973), 14-22.
8. Philip Greven, The Protestant Temperament, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 35-48. See also David Fischer, Albion's Seed (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 97-102, 507.
9. Neil Semple, The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 65. See also Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988), 31-40.
10. Frost, 84-6.
11. AO, Religious Society of Friends Papers [hereafter RSFP], MS 303, Reel 50, D-1-10, Pelham: Epistles, Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, a/ Manuscript, 1801-52; b/ Printed, 1813-41, Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, New York, 1816.
12. Frost, 76-77; Discipline, 9; see also Joan M Jensen, Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850 (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1986), 12; Frost, 14-24, 75-78.
13. RSFP, Reel 50, D-1-8, London (Eng.) Yearly Meetings. Epistles. "The Epistle from the Yearly Meeting, Held in London," 21-29th of the Fifth Month, 1798.
14. RSFP, Reel 50, D-1-10, "From our Yearly Meeting of Women Friends held in New York by adjournments from the 29th of 5th month to the 2nd of 6th month 1820, to the Half Years Meeting of Women Friends in Canada." See also Frost, 78-80.
15. The Yonge St. Monthly Meeting made provisions for schooling as early as 1806. School was conducted in local Friends' homes until 1816 when a school house was built on meeting land, near Newmarket. This school survived until the Hicksite schism of 1828-9. At Pelham, a school was organised in 1811 in Welland County, and at Westlake, one was organized in 1816 in Prince Edward County. In the late 1830s, Westlake Boarding school was established, also in Prince Edward County. Because Quaker schools were few and far between, children were usually educated in female-run family schools. For example, Joseph Gould, the son of Uxbridge pioneers, recalls that there was no school in the township until 1818. Nor was there any school closer than the Quaker schoolhouse on Yonge St., twenty miles to the west. He acquired the rudiments of reading and spelling from his mother, and after age ten, he attended a Quaker school that was

open only during the winter months where he got a smattering of the "three R's." Samuel Haight, whose family moved to Yarmouth from Westchester Co., New York in 1817 recounts that he and his siblings were "deprived of school learning" but for the efforts of his older sister Rebecca who "wrought hard in her delicate state of health to teach us all she could." See Gould, The Life and Times of Joseph Gould, Ex-member of the Canadian Parliament. Struggles of the Early Canadian Settlers – Settlement of Uxbridge – Sketch of the History of the County of Ontario – The Rebellion of 1837 – Parliamentary Career, etc., etc. REMINISCENCES OF SIXTY YEARS OF ACTIVE POLITICAL AND MUNICIPAL LIFE, ed., W.H. Higgins, (1887; Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1972), 38-40; and DFHC, Young Friends' Review, First Month, 1889.
16. RSFP, Reel 50, D-1-10, "Yearly Meeting of Women Friends Held at New York, the 5th of 6th Month, 1820."
17. Fischer, 510.
18. RSFP, Reel 27, B-2-84, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1818-28; Gould, 88-9. This pattern was also reflected in the life of Adolphustown farmer and lumberman, Thomas Bowerman, who went from sin to repentance in those years. See RSFP, Reel 54, Papers Relating to Individuals and Families, "Some Account of the Events of My Father," (Mimeographed pamphlet, date unknown. Subject of the sketch, Thomas Bowerman, was born in 1761).
19. RSFP, Reel 50, D-1-8. "The Epistle from the Yearly Meeting, Held in London," 1807.
20. RSFP, Reel 50, D-1-8, "The Epistle from the Yearly Meeting, Held in London," 1809.
21. RSFP, Reel 50, D-1-10. "At a Yearly Meeting of Women Friends Held in New York."
22. Nancy Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood, (New York: Yale University Press, 1977), 128-9, 197-201. Errington, Wives and Mothers, 21; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," in Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America, (New York: Mercer University Press, 1985); Ann Douglas, The Feminisation of American Culture, (New York: Knopf, 1977); Barbara Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity, (Middletown, Connecticutt: Wesleyan University Press, 1981). In recent years, historians have demonstrated that the reality of middle-class life did not live up to the prescriptions of this ideology, to the extent that the boundaries separating public and private worlds were blurred. In addition to Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's Family Fortunes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) see Cecilia Morgan's Public Men and Virtuous Women (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1996). Although Morgan criticises the traditional binary opposition at the heart of separate spheres ideology as too simplistic, she nevertheless argues that bourgeois social relations in Upper Canada, by the 1840s, were largely guided by the ethic of domesticity.
23. Barry Levy, Quakers and the American Family (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 78; Phyllis Mack, Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 245-6.
24. Arthur G. Dorland, Quakers in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), 14; Discipline, 57.
25. Levy, 79.
26. Like Mack, Patricia Crawford notes that the creation of "respectable" Quakerism after 1670 augmented women's authority in some respects while restricting it in others. In reference to the restrictions, Crawford notes that the post-1670 emphasis on discipline versus mysticism led to the limitation of publications produced by female prophets, mainly through the censoring efforts of the Second Day Morning Meeting. Although women gained power over marriages and obtained a forum in which to discuss their concerns, Crawford asserts that men contested their authority and attempted to control their opportunities for speaking out. See Patricia Crawford, Women and Religion in England 1500-1720 (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), 193-7.
27. Marjorie Griffin Cohen, Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 8, 66-71.
28. Gould, 21-33; Errington, Wives and Mothers, 8.
29. AO, Pamph. 1987 no. 7, Rachel Webb Haight, "Recollections of Daily Life," in Reflections on the Pioneer Settlement of Newmarket by Two Yonge Street Quakers, Newmarket Historical Society, Occasional Papers 1, no. 2, 15.
30. Ibid. 19-21, 21-27.
31. Ibid. 15-17.
32. Cohen. 79, 85.
33. Nancy Grey Osterud, Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 4-11; Cohen, 44.
34. Ibid. 49-56. Bruce Elliott takes a much more an optimistic view of how women were treated in questions of inheritance. He argues that Tipperary Irish Protestant husbands of the Ottawa Valley allowed women as much control as was possible, while ensuring that the farm reverted to a male heir of the late husband after the wife's death. Indeed, the majority of men sampled gave their widows control over the homestead for the rest of their lives, or until they remarried. (See Bruce Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach [Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988], 198-199). However, several other studies substantiate Cohen's claims. For example, David Gagan's study of wills led him to conclude that in widowhood, women "became the dependents of their sons, grandsons, sons-in-law or their hus-

bands' executors, their standard of living and even their future conduct prescribed or proscribed literally from the grave." (See David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981], 89-90). Nanciellen Davis makes a similar argument in "'Patriarchy from the Grave': Family Relations in 19th Century New Brunswick Wills," Acadiensis XIII, 2 (Spring 1984), 91-100. In Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society (New York: Knopf, 1996), Mary Beth Norton asserts that legal provisions in seventeenth-century New England ensuring that widows received 1/3 of their husbands' property were ignored in practice. In Property and Kinship: Inheritance in Early Connecticut, 1750-1820 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). Toby L. Ditz concludes that a number of factors "reinforced the subordination of women's direct claims to productive property." (See Ditz, 169). Women rarely came into ownership of land from their husbands. "So long as the life chances of children depended on productive property, wives and husbands did not normally become their spouses' main heirs. Holders were likely to cut corners on their wives' maintenance needs. Both law and practice combined, on the whole, to curb sharply women's control of land." (See Ditz, 133). On balance, the larger historiographical record favours Cohen. However, Elliott's assessment suggests that the experiences of rural widows varied along regional and ethnic lines, and that the subject, at least in the Canadian context, requires further study. See Bettina Bradbury, "Widowhood and Canadian Family History," In Intimate Relations: Family and Community in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800 (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1995), 19-41.

35. This was certainly the case with Quaker Mutuah Bowerman, who settled with her husband, Thomas Bowerman at Westlake at the turn of the century. Thomas Bowerman, who engaged in both farming and the lumber business died in 1810. Although Mutuah was a resourceful manager of the family farm during her men-folk's business absences, her husband did not see fit to entrust his entire state to her. Instead, she was appointed co-executor, along with her son and her brother-in-law Stephen Bowerman. See: RSFP, Reel 54, Some Account of the Events of My Father. In the early nineteenth-century, the wife was often given usufructory rights over property until death, with certain limitations, and usually conditional upon her not remarrying. Husbands' provisions generally ensured that wives would be dependent upon their adult children, and often a single son was ordered to provide his mother with support. After the wife's death, estates were usually redistributed to the children, according to the husband's express intent. While women had little freedom over the bulk of the estate, they were often free to dispose of small amounts of property as they saw fit. This was the case with Yonge St. pioneer and widow Phebe Winn who penned her last will and testament in 1823. See: NA, Archives of the Religious Society of Friends, Reel M 3850, "Phebe Winn's Diary," 1823 04 25. See also Jensen, 24-5.

36. Lynne Marks, "Christian Harmony: Family, Neighbours, and Community in Upper Canadian Church Discipline Records," in On the Case: Explorations in Social History, eds., Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 12; Elizabeth Gillan Muir, "Beyond the Bounds of Acceptable Behaviour: Methodist Women Preachers in the Early Nineteenth-Century." Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada, eds. Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 164-178.

37. Discipline, 21-24.

38. Ibid., 16.

39. RSFP, Reel 27, B-2-83, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818. Minutes for 1806 12 18; Minutes for 1807 02 13. She vowed to appeal the decision, and in 1808 her case was revived. See same source. Minutes for 1808 01 14.

40. Nancy A Hewitt, "The Fragmentation of Friends: The Consequences for Quaker Women in Antebellum America, "Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women over Three Centuries (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 104; Albert Schrauwers, "Consensus Seeking, Factionalization and Schism," in Faith, Friends and Fragmentation (Toronto: CFHA, 1995), 84-5.

41. Dean Freiday, ed. Barclay's Apology In Modern English (New Jersey: n.p., 1967), 218.; Mack 287-8. A disproportionate number of the feminist abolitionist leaders who gathered together at Seneca Falls, New York in 1848 to discuss the issue of women's rights were Hicksite Quakers. As Nancy Hewitt has argued, these women did not represent the interests of urban, middle-class moral reformers. Rather, their experience working alongside their husbands in New York State's agricultural communities, combined with Hicksite Quakerism's commitment to social justice led them to reject the Cult of True Womanhood, with its separation of spheres and claims of female superiority, and to embrace arguments for women's natural right to equality. Unlike the ranks of Orthodoxy, which contained a larger proportion of urban, wealthy Quakers, the Hicksite branch was predominantly rural. Margaret Hope Bacon suggest that the rural experience was crucial in sheltering these women from the effects of Victorian gender ideology. See Nancy A Hewitt, "Feminist Friends: Agrarian Quakers and the Emergence of Women's Rights in America," Feminist Studies 12, no. 1, (Spring 1986), 27-49; Margaret Hope Bacon, Mothers of Feminism; The Story of Quaker Women in America (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986). Canadian history lacks its own Seneca Falls, though notably, Emily Stowe, Canada's first female doctor, woman's suffrage pioneer and egalitarian feminist was born into

a Hicksite family in Norwich, in 1832. See Carol Lee Bacchi, Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).
42. Jack Marietta, The Reformation in American Quakerism (Philadelpia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), xi, passim.
43. I have classified five charges under this rubric including intemperance or drinking spirituous liquors, selling or distilling liquor, attending a place of diversion, participating in a chiveree, and gambling.
44. Three charges are classified under "disorderly conduct" including uttering profanity, using "unbecoming language," or behaving unbecomingly.
45. This charge pertains to "going out of plainness," ceasing to dress plainly, and ceasing to speak plainly.
46. This charge refers to "tale-bearing and detraction," slander, and lying.
47. The types of violence encompassed by this heading include verbal abuse, verbal abuse to spouse, same-sex assault, opposite sex assault, and spousal assault.
48. This heading takes in non-attendance or neglected attendance at meetings, disorderly conduct at meetings, the act of joining another society, which could include schism, and leaving the area without obtaining meeting permission.
49. Under this heading are listed the following sins: marrying a non-Quaker, marrying contrary to discipline, accomplishing one's marriage with the assistance of a priest or magistrate, attending a marriage performed contrary to discipline, conniving at a child's keeping company or marrying a non-Quaker, cohabitation, fornication, adultery, and consanguine marriage.
50. War and government transgressions included attending a militia training, working for the militia, complying with military requisitions, bearing arms, taking an active part in the Rebellion of 1837, accepting military office, accepting a government office, taking an oath. The last three are quite similar, since to assume a government or military office in Upper Canada, one was required to take an oath.
51. Business/legal concerns pertained to the following: initiating court proceedings versus a Friend, incurring debt due to dishonest or negligent business practices, reneging on a business promise, dishonesty in business, and theft.
52. Discipline, 31-2.
53. Ibid., 38-40.
54. MacMaster, 2-3.
55. "Phebe Winn's Diary."
56. RSFP, Reel 27, B-2-83, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, Minutes for 1811 09 12, and 1811 10 17.
57. Ibid., Minutes for 1809 01 12.
58. Ibid., Minutes for 1810 05 17; Minutes for 1808 12 15.
59. RSFP, Reel 27, B-2-83, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, Minutes for January 1808 to December 1810.
60. Ibid., and Minutes for 1807 11 12; Reel 49, C-3-10, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting – Women's, 1806-1817, Minutes for January 1807 to December 1810.
61. RSFP, Reel 27, B-2-84, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1818-28, Minutes for January 1825 to December 1828.
62. RSFP, Reel 49, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting – Women's, Minutes for January 1825 to December 1828.
63. RSFP, Reel 28, B-2-85, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1836-50, Minutes for First Month 1837 to Twelfth Month 1840.
64. Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium, 44.
65. Lynne Marks, "No Double Standard?: Leisure, Sex and Sin in Upper Canadian Church Discipline Records, 1800-1860," in Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity And Masculinity in Canada, eds. Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, Nancy M Forestell (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1999), 54.
66. For example, in 1810, Hulday Warren, nee Sprague of Pelham was charged with neglected attendance, going out of plainness, attending a place of diversion and keeping company with and subsequently marrying a non-Quaker. RSFP, Reel 41, Pelham Monthly Meeting 1806-34, Joint to 1810, Meeting Minutes for 1810 06 06.
67. See for example, RSFP, Reel 27, B-2-83, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, Minutes for 1807 12 07.
68. RSFP, Reel 27, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1818-28, Minutes for 1826 01 12.
69. Elizabeth J Hovinen, The Quakers of Yonge Street, Discussion Paper No. 17 (Toronto: Department of Geography York University, 1978), 17-20.
70. RSFP, Reel 27, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, Minutes for First Month 1807 to Twelfth Month 1810; Minutes for First Month 1825 to Twelfth Month 1828; MS 303, Reel 49, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting – Women's, Minutes for First Month 1825 to Twelfth Month 1828.
71. Frost, 158-9; Elizabeth Hovinen, The Quakers of Yonge Street (Toronto: Dept of Geography, York University, Discussion Paper 17, 1978), 23.
72. See for example, Karin A. Wulf, "'My Dear Liberty': Quaker Spinsterhood and Female Autonomy in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania." In Women and Freedom in Early America, ed. Larry D Eldridge. New York/London: New York University Press, 1997.
73. RSFP, Reel 28, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, Minutes for First Month 1837 to Twelfth Month 1840.
74. Ibid., and RSFP, Reel 27, Minutes for First Month 1807 to Twelfth Month 1810.
75. Dorland, 16, 258, 273.
76. Gordon Darroch, "Scanty Fortunes and Rural Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century Central

Ontario," Canadian Historical Review, 79, no.4, (December 1998), 653-6.
77. Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium, 59-128.
78. Ibid., 20-22,44-47.
79. Ibid., 87-113. In 1825, the community began construction of a temple that would be an architectural symbol of Willson's prophetic vision. Linked to the building of Solomon's temple as well as to the dawn of a millennial kingdom based on equality and charity, it stood at the crossroads of history, between dispensations old and new. The temple was completed in 1831, while the ark or altar was completed in 1832. A marvel of wood and glass, the temple was used for monthly almsgiving services, for a yearly candle-lit illumination service, and for two special feasts commemorating the Jewish Passover, and the first harvest.
80. See John McIntrye, Children of Peace (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1994) for example. An exception to this statement is Kate Brennagh's "The Role of Women in the Children of Peace," Ontario History, LXXXX, no. 1, (Spring 1998): 1-17.
81. According to John McIntrye's analysis of 1851 census data, nuclear family households, consisting of only parents and children were the norm for the sect, but with considerable variation. The average number of people per household was 5.7: non-farming households (headed by artisans, in the main contained 5.2 occupants on average, while farming households contained 6.6 occupants. The latter figure was higher than the figure for King Township, a predominantly rural area, which registered an average of 6.1 people household. McIntyre argues that the comparatively large households of Davidite farm families was linked to the community's distinct traditions: sons remained as tenants on their fathers' land longer than their non-Davidite counterparts, thus delaying the establishment of independent households. See McIntyre, 132-134.
82. Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium. 60-63,74.
83. See: "Appendix 1," in Ibid., 211-213.
84. Ibid, 54-57.
85. STP, 985.5.23, "Again great workmen will anoint…" 28 February 1817.
86. David Willson, The Practical Life of the Author from the Year 1801 to 1860, (Newmarket: Erastus Jackson, 1860), 17-22.
87. Upper Canada Gazette, 17 November 1825; McIntyre, 95; Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millenium, 83-4.
88. Isaac Fidler, Observations on Professions, Literature, Manners and Emigration in the United States and Canada made during a residence there in 1832 (New York: Arno Press, 1974), 325-6; See slso David Wilkie, Sketches of a Summer Trip to New York and the Canadas (London, 1837), 202-6.
89. Brennagh, 5-6.
90. Linda Colley, Britains Forging the Nation 1707-1837 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 235, 244, 280.
91. STP,x975.439.1, "History of the Children of Peace, by Emily McArthur" -excerpted from the Newmarket Era and Express, 12 December 1898; Colonial Advocate, 18 September 1828; Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium, 74-77; McIntyre, 122.
92. These include a committee to ensure that business was conducted with "truth and justice to the world." And one to ensure that hired servants obtained their pay, and to "still murmuring against the house of the Lord for injustice amongst men." See Davidite Records, Series A., Vol. II, 1832-1844, hereafter referred to as "Davidite Records."
93. Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium, 118-129. All concerns were to be placed before the elders who would then predefine the consensus of the meeting, thus ensuring the unity of the larger assembly. Furthermore, the twelve eldest brethren gained the right to disown sect members by unanimous vote. A majority in the congregation could also vote to disown sect members.
94. Davidite Records, File #2.
95. See Daniel Scott Smith, "Parental Power and Marriage Patterns: An Analysis of Historical Trends in Hingham, Massachusetts," Journal of Marriage and the Family (August 1973); 419-428; and Shorter, 3-17.
96. Frost, 50-58.
97. George Hume, Canada As It Is (New York: William Stodart, 1832), 122-23.
98. This did not mean that young men and women were deprived of each other's company. To the contrary. participation in the religious life of this small, kin-based, farming community, through attendance at meetings for worship, business meetings, almsgiving services, itinerant services, choir and band practices and feasts ensured that this was not the case. Within the context of community life, and under the watchful eye of their elders, young men and women would have had ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other.
99. STP, 986.3.2, "The expediency of our young males and females meeting together…," 3 December 1831.
100. "Where as the Lord hath brought us together like Joseph's Coat of many colours…"
101. STP, 986.3.2, "An address to the young families and unmarried people of the Village of Hope," 1 February 1836.
102. Appendix 3, in Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium, 216-251.
103. However there is some suggestion that Jane Willson died due to complications resulting from childbirth, in October of 1835. See STP,973.33.1. "To the memory of Jane Willson deceased October 4, 1834…" 4 October 1835; Peter Ward, Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth Century English Canada (Montreal/ Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 51-53.
104. Moran and Vinovskis suggest that Puritans in early America also exaggerated the incidence of death

for religious purposes. Similar to Willson and Davidite elders, Puritan ministers used death " to remind the living of the proper way of serving God." See Moran and Vinovskis, 219-24.
105. This was likely exacerbated by the cholera epidemic of the summer of 1832.
106. STP, 973.33.1, "Memorial of Hannah wife of John D. Willson…"22 November 1830. See also STP, 985.5.1 9.
107. STP, 985.1 9, "The above signers do hereby publish…" n.d. but likely written in December 1830.
108. See for example STP, 973.33.1, "Wedding song of John for John and Eliza Morris," 4 November 1832; "wedding song for William and Mary Reid," May 1831, and others in same source.
109. STP, Reel 2, 973.33.1, "Wedding song of John Willson and Hannah Dennis, 1830.
110. STP, 959.84.4, "To be sung after meat by the Female Children of the house of the Lord, Israel/s God," n.d. but likely written ca. 1832.
111. Ellen K Rothman, Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 64-68. Such concerns were also shared by middling English women of the eighteenth century. See Margaret Hunt, The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 164.
112. STP, 959.84.4, "When e'er we take our walks abroad…" n.d. but likely written in the early to mid 1830s.
113. STP, 973.33.1, "Oh pride thou for to human right…" 4 October 1831.
114. Ibid., and 986.3.2, "An address to the young families and unmarried people of the Village of Hope…"
115. STP, 973.33.1, "Female history or the Mothers [sic] peace," n.d. but likely written in the mid-1830s.
116. In traditional agricultural families, men were responsible for the heavy, outdoor work of ditching, hedging or fencing in land, and ploughing. See Shorter, 66.
117. STP, 917.1, Thomas Rolph, Descriptive and Statistical Account of Canada and Shewing its Great Adaptation for British Emigration. Preceded by an Account of a Tour Through Portions of the West Indies and the United States (London, 1841), 183.
118. STP, 973.33.1 "Lord show thy name by peace and praise…" 17 September 1830.
119. McIntyre, 90; STP, 986.3.2 "A memorial…" 22 December 1831. See also: David Willson, Impressions of the Mind, 269-70.
120. Willson, Moral and Religious Precepts, 5-16; Willson, Impressions of the Mind, 278-79; JCD Clark, English Society, 179-82.
121. Willson, Moral and Religious Precepts, 5.
122. STP, 986.3.2, "An address to the young families and unmarried people of the Village of Hope…"
123. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, 18-32; Shorter, 3-18, 33; Moran and Vinovskis, 24-25; See also Philip J Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), chapter 4.
124. Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium, 20-2.
125. Peter Ward, Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth Century English Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990), 25-31.