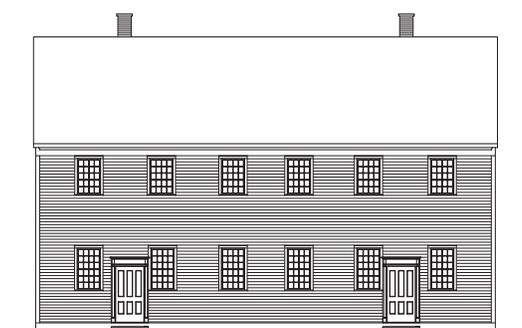


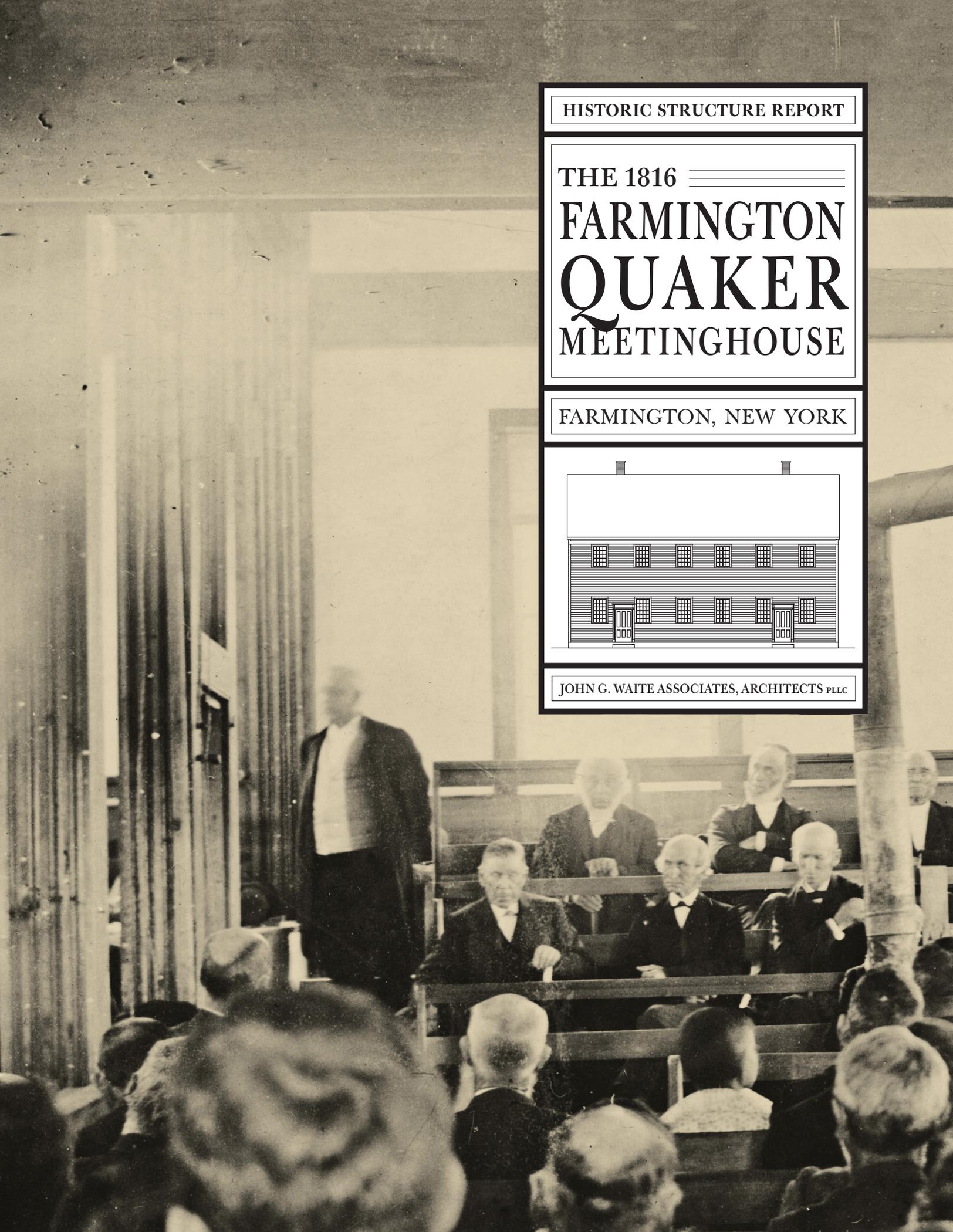
HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

THE 1816
FARMINGTON
QUAKER
MEETINGHOUSE

FARMINGTON, NEW YORK



JOHN G. WAITE ASSOCIATES, ARCHITECTS PLLC



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2017

JOHN G. WAITE ASSOCIATES, ARCHITECTS PLLC
384 Broadway, Albany, New York 12207
64 Fulton Street, New York, New York 10038

JOHN G. WAITE ASSOCIATES, ARCHITECTS PLLC

384 Broadway, Albany, New York 12207

John G. Waite, FAIA
William Brandow
Douglas G. Bucher
Chelle M. Jenkins
Jessica Lankston
David Weirick

HISTORICAL NEW YORK RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

Judith Wellman, Principal Investigator

FRIENDS HISTORICAL LIBRARY

Christopher Densmore, Curator

1816 FARMINGTON QUAKER MEETINGHOUSE RESEARCH GROUP

Alaine Espenscheid
Charles Lenhart
Reginald Neale
Diane Robinson
with
Peter Evans
Sue-Jane Evans
Douglas Fisher
Donna Hill-Herendeen
Margaret Hartsough
Kathleen Hendrix
Helen Kirker
Brooke Morse
Marjory Allen Perez
Preston Pierce
Cynthia Schwab
Robert Skellan
Judith Wellman
Jane Zavitz-Bond

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
ADMINISTRATIVE DATA	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	5
NOTES ON SOURCES	7
PART I: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT	10
Introduction	10
Upstate New York Before the Civil War.....	12
European Americans Come to Farmington, 1789-1860	14
Quakers in Farmington: The Early Years, 1789-1804	24
<i>Farmington Meetinghouses, 1796 and 1804</i>	29
Quakers in Farmington, 1804-1816	31
<i>Farmington Meetinghouse, 1816</i>	36
Quakers in Farmington: Orthodox-Hicksite Separation, Westward Migration, and the New Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1816-1834.....	43
Farmington Friends and Reform: Equal Rights for Native Americans, African Americans, and Women, 1834-1842.....	46
<i>Farmington Meetinghouse, Committee Building, 1841-42</i>	67
Farmington Friends: “Roiling on the Wheel of Reform”: Quietists versus Reformers: 1842-1851	71
Farmington Friends: The 1850s and the Civil War, A Challenge to the Peace Testimony, 1851-63.....	103
<i>Farmington Meetinghouse, Its Last Enhancements: Doors, “Shetters,” Paint, and Veranda, 1842-1863</i>	112
Farmington Friends, 1863-1927	117
<i>Farmington Meetinghouse, Moving the Meetinghouse, 1927</i>	124
1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, 1927-2014	127
EVOLUTION DRAWINGS	131
HISTORIC IMAGES	135
Maps	137
Related Quaker Meetinghouses	138

Treasurer’s Account Book.....	148
Farmington Meetinghouse: Exterior Photographs	149
Farmington Meetinghouse: Interior Photographs and Sketches	160
PART II: ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS	175
DRAWINGS OF 1816 MEETINGHOUSE	183
IMAGES, 2008-PRESENT	197
PART III: CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	224
Existing Conditions	224
Recommendations	227
STATEMENT OF PROBABLE COSTS	231

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CHAIN OF TITLE

APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Built in 1816, the Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse was among the largest buildings in upstate New York for its time. Built with equal spaces for women and men, with windows front and back that flooded the space with natural light, the building became an anchor of organized national efforts for equal rights, where Seneca people, African Americans, and women found support in their battles for equality. Despite relatively small numbers, Farmington Quakers, with their regional and national allies, effectively promoted nationwide debates about the meaning of equality and became a model for non-violent social change up to the present.

By the turn of the twentieth century, however, a decline in the population of members led the Farmington Friends (Hicksite) to lay down their meeting and sell the meetinghouse to a local farmer, who moved the building and remodeled it as a storage barn. Remarkably, a substantial amount of historic material survived the conversion.

More recently, long-term neglect led to advanced deterioration. In February 2006, a windstorm blew off the east bay of the meetinghouse. When the building was slated for demolition, citizens organized a grassroots coalition to save it. In just four years, the committee acquired the Meetinghouse, gained not-for-profit status, brought in John G. Waite Associates, Architects, to stabilize and enclose the Meetinghouse, and moved it to its current site.

The 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse is now listed in the National Register of Historic Places at the national level of significance, the National Park Service's Underground Railroad Network to Freedom, and the National Collaborative of Women's History Sites.

This historic structure report is the next step in developing a disciplined approach to the restoration and care of the Meetinghouse. Beginning in 2015, a team from John G. Waite Associates carried out the investigation and recording of the Meetinghouse by preparing a set of measured drawings of the existing conditions. The 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse committee provided the archival history and materials, leading to a set of evolution drawings as well as drawings of the 1816 conditions. The elements of the building were examined to determine date or origin, existing condition, and scope of needed repairs, restoration, or replacement. Assembling the minutiae of the Meetinghouse's history and current conditions creates a benchmark that will not only provide a guide for immediate work, but will also furnish future generations with a clear picture of what was found in our time.

Part of that record normally includes a "Problems of Repair" or conditions assessment, but the advanced deterioration of the Meetinghouse precluded such a section. As a result of the extensive stabilization and salvage project after the February 2006 storm, the building is now fully weatherproof and is no longer deteriorating. The encapsulation of modern

coverings will allow a phased approach to the restoration, more methodical than usually possible.

The recommendations section of this report proposes a five-phased restoration process, conserving the east side of the interior to display as much original stabilized and reinstated materials as possible, allowing for original elements to be reinstated and displayed in their existing condition. The west end of the interior would be accurately and fully restored to present the interior as it was at the height of its use. When once again open to the public, the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse will again provide a place where the community can gather and, in the words of its mission statement, invite “visitors to explore issues of equality and justice in their own lives.”

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

NAME AND LOCATION

1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse
230 Sheldon Road, P.O. Box 25053
Farmington, New York 14425-0053

REAL PROPERTY INFORMATION

Tax map Lot 128.

In 2007, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation acquired the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse as a donation from Lyjah Wilton. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation will own the Meetinghouse until 2028, when the contract between the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and New York State's Environmental Protection Fund expires.

At that time, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation will transfer ownership of the Meetinghouse to the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum for \$1.00. (See attached Agreement between Lyjha Wilton and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, July 11, 2008, and Letter of Intent from the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, July 11, 2012.) The 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum owns the land on which the Meetinghouse now stands, acquired as a gift in 2010 from Farmington Friends Church. Deed reference: Religious Society of Friends to 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum, recorded July 2, 2010, Liber 01247, 1-8.

Both the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum are 501c3 organizations.

Size: Meetinghouse dimensions are 47 feet 6 inches x 60 feet. The lot is a triangular parcel totaling approximately five acres.

CULTURAL RESOURCE DATA

Listed on the National Register as part of the Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District in April 2007 at the national level of significance.

Period of significance: 1816-1927. (Note: subject to further research and discussion.)

PROPOSED TREATMENT

Restore building to historic appearance before 1864 (when the veranda was added), to be used as a museum and interpretive center.

RELATED STUDIES

Ann Morton (Fisher Associates), "Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, Phase I Cultural Resource Survey," August 2010.

John G. Waite (John G. Waite Associates) to Judith Wellman, "Farmington Meetinghouse Conditions," December 27, 2007.

Judith Wellman, Charles Lenhart, Mark Peckham et al, "Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District," National Register nomination, April 2007.

Judith Wellman, "1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse: Network to Freedom Nomination," 2008.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was a remarkable collaborative effort and reflects the contributions of many, many people.

Judith Wellman, Coordinator of the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum, wrote the historic context statement, based on research done by volunteers. Christopher Densmore, Curator, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, shared information from his research, read many original minutes, and edited the entire manuscript. Charles Lenhart found almost all of the newspaper articles online through fultonhistory.com, African American newspapers in Accessible Archives, and local libraries. Reginald Neale shared information he collected for his book, *Farmington: Images of America* (2011), and helped read minutes of Quaker meetings. Diane Robinson shared material from her work on the 1976 history of Farmington and also helped read Quaker minutes. Alaine Espenscheid did the entire deed search. With few exceptions, we have not noted individual names in the footnotes.

Many other people provided various pieces of research and helped find records, including Peter Evans (Wayne County Historian), Sue-Jane Evans (Pultneyville Historical Society), Douglas Fisher (Volunteer, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum), Donna Hill-Herendeen (Town of Farmington Historian), Kathleen Hendrix (Secretary, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum), Margaret Hartsough (former Farmington Town Historian), Helen Kirker (President, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum), Marjory Allen Perez (former Wayne County Historian), Preston Pierce (Ontario County Historian), Robert Skellan (who shared photographs and work on Quakers in central New York), Judith Wellman (Coordinator, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum), and Jane Zavitz-Bond (Curator of Canadian Friends Archives). Brooke Morse of the Ontario County Archives and Records Department supplied electronic copies of deeds.

Several people shared photographs, including Bruce Harvey, who took photographs using Historic American Building Survey standards in 2006 and 2011. Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College shared their treasure trove of photos of Quaker meetinghouses, including the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse. We remain indebted to Edwin J. Gardner, local photographer, who took both interior and exterior photos of the 1816 Meetinghouse in 1892. Current photographers include Charles Lenhart, Rich Regen, Robert Skellan, Judith Wellman, and others. It has been a pleasure to work with such a knowledgeable, efficient, and committed team.

We are especially grateful to those who care for archives and records. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, holds all records relating to New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, including records from Genesee Yearly Meeting, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, Farmington Monthly Meeting, and Farmington Preparative Meeting. Peter Evans,

Wayne County Historian, also holds many of these in his office in Lyons. We are grateful to Friends Historical Library for making electronic copies of Genesee Yearly Meeting minutes available to us and to Farmington Friends for authorizing the creation of electronic copies of minutes from Farmington Friends for public use. Preston Pierce, Ontario County Historian, and Peter Evans, Wayne County Historian, have generously shared their resources and expertise. Ed Varno and his staff at the Ontario County Historical Society and Hans Finke and his staff at the Ontario County Records Office, have provided irreplaceable service. Local historians, including Margaret Hartsough and Donna Hill-Herenden from Farmington and Helen Burgio and June Hamell from Macedon, have been helpful both with research and access to their remarkable collections. All of these people have volunteered both time and resources on behalf of this project, and we could not do this work without this whole team.

Jack Waite, Bill Brandow, Doug Bucher, and the staff of John G. Waite Associates, Architects have been involved in the restoration efforts since 2006, providing architectural services for the stabilization of the structure, the relocation to its present location, and repair and replacement of framing members.

Finally, we are immensely grateful to financial supporters, including several generous private donors as well as New York State's Environmental Protection Fund, Preserve New York (administered by the Preservation League of New York State and the New York State Council on the Arts), and the National Park Service's Network to Freedom. Both Canandaigua National Bank and the Preservation League of New York State supported this project with loans. Their sustaining help has allowed us to move forward with this Historic Structure Report. This Report will be the basis for all restoration.

NOTE ON SOURCES

The narrative section of this report is based on written documents and images that focus on the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse and the people who created it. Organized chronologically, each major section leads up to a description of physical changes in the Meetinghouse. Changes in the physical structure occurred as a result of new people, needs, and events associated with the Meetinghouse.

Main topics include:

- 1789-1804—The early settlement of Friends in Farmington resulted in new Meetinghouses in 1796 and 1804.
- 1804-1816—The expansion of Friends in Farmington, upstate New York, and Upper Canada resulted in construction of a much larger Meetinghouse in 1816.
- 1816-1842—The development of Friends in Farmington, through the Orthodox-Hicksite split in the Meeting, westward migration, and the expansion of national reform movements (especially for equal rights for African Americans, Native Americans, and women) resulted in construction of a new committee building attached to the 1816 Meetinghouse, 1841-42. This building was constructed at the request of women friends.
- 1842-1863—Splits between quietist and reformers within Farmington Friends Meeting (Hicksite) 1842-51, and the reaction of Friends to events surrounding the Civil War from 1851-63 resulted in the expanding strength of Quakers, repairs to the Meetinghouse, and the addition of a veranda in 1863. Unlike the addition of the committee building in 1841-2, repairs to the Meetinghouse in the 1850s and addition of the porch in 1851 were entirely done by men.
- The decline of Farmington Friends (Hicksite) between 1863-1927 resulted in the sale and move of the 1816 Meetinghouse in 1927.

This work is based in information from books, articles, deeds, manuscripts, oral recollections, and a thorough reading of minutes from Genesee Yearly Meeting of Men Friends, Genesee Yearly Meeting of Women Friends; Farmington Quarterly Meeting (men's and women's minutes); Farmington Monthly Meeting (men's and women's minutes); Meeting for Sufferings, and treasurer's notes. Since these minutes exist for both women's meetings and men's meetings (and after 1828 for both Hicksite and Orthodox Friends), researching them has been a major task. All original minutes are located in Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, with microfilm copies at both Swarthmore and the Wayne County Historian's Office. Many thanks to Friends Historical Library for making minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting accessible in electronic format.

Details about Farmington's pioneer history have been repeated so often that they have assumed legendary status, and it is often difficult to trace their origin. Oral traditions certainly provided the basis for many early printed histories. Most of Farmington's original settlers lived long lives, and many of their descendants remained in Farmington into the 21st century.

Beginning in 1851, several printed histories of Farmington referred to specific oral sources. In 1851, Orsamus Turner published his classic *Pioneer History of the Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*. Both this volume and his earlier *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase* (Buffalo, 1850) were based in large part on recollections of early settlers. Turner noted that his description of Farmington relied heavily on Levi Smith, most likely part of the large Smith family who settled near Mertensia. Ancestry.com lists a Levi Smith, born in 1773, who died in 1852 and was buried in the Hathaway Cemetery. Alternatively, Turner's informant may have been the Levi Smith who lived in Farmington in 1855 with his daughter Mary K. Sprague and son-in-law Jonathan Sprague. Orsamus Turner may also have been familiar with Farmington through his sister Margaret, who was the first wife of Quaker Pliny Sexton.¹

In 1878, the *History of Ontario County, New York* gave detailed information about original settlers, who they were and where they built their houses, barns, and mills. The authors noted that much of this information came from Jared Smith, a son of Jacob Smith, who came to Farmington in 1791. In the 1870s, Jared Smith still lived in the family homestead built near Mertensia on the west side of Farmington in 1799. The 1875 New York State census listed Jared Smith as a farmer, born in 1797, married to Louisa Smith, in a household with John Marrhan, age 27; Margaret Potter, age 35; and Charles Potter, age 4.²

A.B. Katkamier compiled a history of Farmington in 1897, and he noted that he used material from an 1867 manuscript written by Edward Herendeen. There are several Edward Herendeens, but this one was most likely a son of Welcome Herendeen and Elizabeth Durfee, born in Farmington (or perhaps Newport, R.I.) in 1795. The 1860 census listed him as 65 years old, living with his wife Harriet and eight other people, including at least four children and two farmers, one child, and a domestic, with a farm worth \$13,000 and personal property worth \$9000.³

Unlike the history of Farmington's pioneers, information about the reform history of Farmington is remarkably absent from either oral traditions or printed local histories. Instead, reflecting the national importance of Farmington reformers, most of the

1. Orsamus Turner, *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase* (Buffalo, 1850) and *Pioneer History of the Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, 1851), 219; Ancestry.com, "Find a Grave Index" and New York State Census, 1855. Robert G. Koch, "Orsamus Turner, Please," and "Henry O'Reilly and Orsamus Turner") *Crooked Lake Review* (Winter 2001), http://www.crookedlakereview.com/articles/101_135/118winter2001/118koch2.html and http://www.crookedlakereview.com/articles/101_135/118winter2001/118koch1.html.

2. "Town of Farmington," *History of Ontario County, New York* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1878), 189-94; information on Jared Smith from New York State 1875 manuscript census, Ancestry.com.

3. U.S. Census, 1860, Ancestry.com.

information about movements for equal rights for Seneca Indians, African Americans, and women comes from materials written for national audiences. In particular, newspapers were major sources. Abolitionist newspapers, many now online through Accessible Archives database, were particularly important. Fultonhistory.com is a remarkable internet source for local newspapers. In addition, once we found names of reformers, we can identify them through census records, membership records for Quaker meetings, maps, deeds, and other public documents.

PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

In 1776, the Second Continental Congress of the new United States of America adopted a Declaration of Independence. They asserted that

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

From that time until the present, Americans have debated the meaning of that Declaration. Never was the debate more intense than between the Revolution and the Civil War.

Debates centered not only in the national press but also in local communities. One of these communities was Farmington, New York. Farmington, like many other hotspots of reform, was located in Upstate New York, an area often called the “burned-over district” because it was so swept by fires of religious revivalism and reform. This is the story of how the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse was built in 1816, how it changed (very slightly) over time, and how it became before the Civil War an anchor of organized national efforts for equal rights, especially for Native Americans, African Americans, and women.

Visitors to the Town of Farmington in the early twenty-first century might leave the New York State Thruway at exit 443. Driving south on Route 332, toward Canandaigua, or east and west along Route 96 from Waterloo to Rochester, they would recognize signs of the twentieth century: fast food restaurants, gas stations, a grocery store, housing subdivisions and various businesses, most prominent of which is the Finger Lakes Gaming and Racetrack, the premier site for thoroughbred horse racing in upstate New York.

If they followed less-travelled roads, however, visitors would see a rural landscape that looked much as it did in the nineteenth century. A small village (once called New Salem but later known locally as Pumpkin Hook) stood surrounded by farmland, woods, and meadows. Dotted among the rolling hills were some of the earliest structures, dating to the 1790s, still standing in western New York.

The largest of these buildings, measuring sixty feet two inches by forty-seven feet, was the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. This Meetinghouse rivaled in size seventeenth-

century Haudenosaunee longhouses (such as the one reconstructed on the site of the Seneca village of Ganondagan, six miles west of Farmington). Among western New York buildings built before about 1830 that still stood in the early twenty-first century, the 1816 Quaker Meetinghouse remained the largest.

More important than its physical size, however, was its national impact. People associated with this Meetinghouse created a national center of movements for equal rights for all people. They focused on ideals from Bible (“Remember those in bonds as bound with them”) the Declaration of Independence (“all men are created equal”). Quakers and many other reformers defined “men” to mean people— of whatever race, ethnicity, or gender. In this Meetinghouse, Seneca people, African Americans, and women found support for their demands for self-definition, respect, and equality. All out of proportion to their numbers, Farmington Quakers and their regional and national allies effectively promoted nationwide debates about the meaning of equality, debates that led directly to the Civil War and became a model for non-violent social change up to the present.

Two of these movements—for African American rights and women’s rights—have been studied from many different perspectives. Their national importance is well known. Studies of the third movement—to preserve Native American land rights—have been uneven. The dramatic story of the 1838 Trail of Tears for Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and others from their homelands in the southeastern U.S. to Oklahoma has been told many times, as has the equally important story of the Seminole fight for survival in Florida. But the story of Haudenosaunee success from 1838-1848 in maintaining at least a remnant of their homelands in upstate New York has only recently begun to be told, principally by Lawrence Hauptman. Professor Hauptman’s careful analyses included few references to the key Seneca-Quaker alliance, however, an alliance that brought national influence on behalf of Seneca people through Quakers in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Genesee Yearly Meetings of Friends. As models for non-violent social change, all three of these movements for equal rights set the tone for subsequent grassroots democratic movements, including those for temperance, women’s suffrage, labor, civil rights, immigrant rights, Native American rights, and the environment.

This Historic Structure Report outlines the national significance of people and events associated with this Meetinghouse. The story is presented chronologically, to show the intertwined nature of these events as well as their impact on the physical development of the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse.

Changes in the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse reflected major periods of change within Quakerism as well as the impact of Farmington reformers on the larger world:

- In 1816, construction of the 1816 Meetinghouse based on equal interior spaces for meetings for business for women and men (a two-cell plan) reflected in physical form Quaker ideals based on gender equality.
- In 1841-42, the addition of a committee building on the left rear the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, promoted by women friends, represented the

expansion of movements for equality for Native Americans, African Americans, and women (1838-1848) among Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends.

- In 1851, new doors added to the 1816 Meetinghouse, replacing those that had been taken down to prevent reform meetings, represented the end of formal support for reform movements by Farmington Friends (Hicksite) and the splitting off of Congregational Friends in 1848, who met annually thereafter in Junius (Waterloo, Seneca County) Meetinghouse and Collins (Erie County, south of Buffalo) Meetinghouse.
- In the mid-1850s, renovation of the Meetinghouse (including repairs to interior shutters, exterior painting, and new window shades) reflected revitalization of Genesee Yearly Meeting after struggles ended with reformers.
- In 1863, a new porch on the south and east sides of the 1816 Meetinghouse represented the strength of Farmington Friends, who continued to repair and expand both the 1816 Meetinghouse and the meetinghouse in Pickering, Ontario, Canada, even as the congregation disagreed about whether or not to fight during the Civil War.
- In 1876, a new Orthodox Friends Meetinghouse, built to facilitate programmed meetings led by a hired minister, represented the renewed commitment of Farmington Friends (Orthodox) to evangelical religion.
- In 1927, Farmington Friends (Hicksite) laid down their meeting and sold their historic meetinghouse to John Van Lare, a local farmer, who moved it 325 feet north of its original location and turned it into a storage barn for potatoes and celery.

For further information, see the appendices for a chronology that focuses on physical changes in the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse from 1816 until 1927.

UPSTATE NEW YORK BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Located on a major route from the Atlantic shoreline to the western Great Lakes, Upstate New York reflected the adage that “geography is history.” From the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the powerful Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy—made up of five and later six nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora)—dominated upstate New York as the center of a vast trading network that extended from the St. Lawrence River into the upper Midwest.

As European Americans occupied former Haudenosaunee lands, they transformed the region with changes so dramatic that historians called them revolutions. The transportation revolution enhanced traditional Haudenosaunee trails and water routes with new turnpikes and canals, steamboats and railroads. The industrial revolution

exploited these transportation methods and abundant waterpower to create factories and mass-produced goods. Cities expanded rapidly, and their residents provided markets for agricultural goods, textiles, lumber, and metal goods, many of these produced in upstate New York.

Like a magnet, the economic dynamism of upstate New York attracted settlers from the east coast of North America and the west coasts of Europe and Africa. Dominant among European American migrants were New Englanders, who burst out of over-crowded farmlands in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont to occupy fertile fields once tilled by Haudenosaunee women. Dutch and English settlers came from the Hudson Valley and Long Island. From southeastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Chesapeake came both European Americans (many of them Quakers) and African Americans. Great Britain (including England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales) and Germany sent thousands of immigrants, many fleeing poverty or political instability. African Americans, most from the upper South and many only a generation or two removed from West Africa, came either as free people or as people who had escaped from slavery.

Changes in the material conditions of life brought social stress. Social ties shifted, strained, and often snapped as social institutions changed dramatically. Workplaces moved from homes to factories. Families moved not only from east to west but from farms to cities. Families were often split apart as sons and daughters moved west. Some—especially European Americans from the east coast of North America and west coast of Europe—traveled freely and by choice. Some—especially African Americans and Native Americans—were forcibly removed. Many African Americans were sold from slavery in the upper South to slavery farther west. Many Native Americans were forced by the federal government to move west of the Mississippi.

In this churning and often chaotic world, some new settlers created essentially separate communities in upstate New York, as the Welsh did in Oneida County, for example. More often, however, shared transportation systems and economic opportunities brought them into shared neighborhoods. As people from different culture hearths and different religious, ethnic, and geographical roots lived side-by-side, and they were forced to re-define their notions of community. Linked into an increasingly integrated national economy, they began to explore not only their differences but also their similarities. What did it mean to be the first generation of citizens born into this new nation? They voiced their exploration of American identity in the words and ideas of the Declaration of Independence.

In particular, two value-oriented institutions—churches and political parties—reflected debates about the ideal of equality. It was no accident that two of the fastest-growing world's religions—Mormonism and Seventh Day Adventism—began in upstate New York, and that long-established religions experienced major transformations. Established Protestant churches (such as Presbyterians and Congregationalists) were eclipsed by newer Protestant denominations (Methodists and Baptists), by Catholic churches

energized by immigrants, and by splits in older denominations over issues such as slavery, hierarchy, and free will. Political parties also split apart over issues relating to slavery and states' rights. The Liberty Party, Free Soil Party, National Democratic Party, and the national Whig Party morphed in 1854 into the new Republican Party.

Rapid in-migration based on transportation and economic development brought these stresses to Upstate New York in particularly powerful ways. People called the region the “burned-over district.” It was particularly susceptible to what Alice Felt Tyler called the “ferment of reform.” Carl Carmer dubbed a corridor across upstate New York—heated up by religious and reform movements and crossed by turnpikes, canals, and railroads—as a “psychic highway.”⁴

Farmington, New York, became a key community along this psychic highway. As an anchor for Farmington Quarterly Meeting and Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, Farmington attracted hundreds of Quakers from all over central and western New York, Upper Canada, and Michigan. As the focus not only of local but also of regional and national debates, Farmington became a powerful reflection of divisions that convulsed not only the burned-over district but also the whole nation.

EUROPEAN AMERICANS COME TO FARMINGTON, 1789-1860

Located about twenty miles southeast of Rochester, New York, and seventy miles west of Syracuse, at Thruway exit 443, Farmington comprised a six-mile square of agricultural land, laid out in 1789 as one of the original townships of the Phelps and Gorham purchase (Figure 5).

The powerful Seneca Nation once controlled Western New York. The largest of the original Five Nations, Seneca people, lived in villages scattered across what became western New York State. Because this included the crucial Niagara River, linking Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, Senecas became known as the Keepers of the Western Door.

From their base in upstate New York, Haudenosaunee people developed a vast trading network, reaching south into Pennsylvania and west and north into Ohio, Canada, and beyond. At the same time, British and French colonizers sparred over territory and trade (especially the beaver trade). Generally, the British were more successful than the French at developing Haudenosaunee allies. In July 1687, in retribution, the Marquis de Denonville, Governor General of New France, lured all fifty sachems of the Iroquois Confederacy to Kingston, Ontario, where he captured them and sent them to prison in

4. Whitney Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), originally published 1950; Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961); Carl Lamson Carmer, *Listen for a Lonesome Drum: A New York State Chronicle* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, reprint 1995).

France. He then led an attack against the Seneca, destroying the largest Seneca village, at Ganondagan, only six miles southwest of Farmington.

In the eighteenth century, Haudenosaunee people continued to play a major military role in a worldwide struggle for empire. As British and French wars escalated into what the English called the French and Indian Wars, Haudenosaunee maintained control of what became upstate New York. Their upstate base gave them the balance of power between British and French in North America and the world. They used their position well to defend their historic homelands.

The American Revolution changed the balance of power, however. When colonists in British North America declared a revolution, Seneca people (and every other Haudenosaunee nation except the Oneidas) reluctantly sided with the British, their traditional friends. But when the British signed a peace treaty in 1783, they did not even mention the Iroquois. Instead, they left their historic allies to deal alone with the new United States of America, a nation dominated by people who desperately wanted new land for an expanding population.

By the Treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784 (never officially ratified by Seneca people in council), New York State recognized Haudenosaunee sovereignty over much of central and western New York, while the Haudenosaunee ceded all lands west of Buffalo Creek. Recognizing the threat of American expansion, however, many Iroquois supported a pan-Indian Confederacy focused on mutual defense. Although this idea, discussed at a council in Detroit in December 1788, continued to hold appeal, it did not prevent European Americans from flooding into central and western New York.

Ownership of central and western New York was clouded in controversy. In the eyes of the new state and federal governments, the Haudenosaunee, as British allies, had lost the war. Based on colonial charters, both Massachusetts and New York State claimed control of upstate New York. In 1786, they agreed to split the spoils: Massachusetts would have the right of first sale, and New York State would have authority to govern all the lands from a Pre-emption Line, which went north and south from Sodus Bay to the Pennsylvania line (now marked by Route 414) west to the Niagara River and Lake Erie.

On April 1, 1788, two investors, Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, defeated competing claimants and paid Massachusetts \$1,000,000 for all the land west of the Pre-emption Line. On July 4-8, 1788, they held a council with Iroquois leaders at Buffalo Creek to negotiate a sale of this territory from the Senecas, who still formally owned it. In spite of opposition from Red Jacket, Senecas agreed to sell to Phelps and Gorham a tract of land from the Pre-emption Line in the east to the Genesee River in the west (and 200,000 acres beyond known as the Mill Site Tract in what would become the City of Rochester) and from Lake Ontario in the north to the Pennsylvania state line in the south. The purchase price was 2100 pounds in New York currency, plus \$500 annual rental, to be paid “forever.” Sixty-five Haudenosaunee leaders—58 men and seven women—signed the document, written in English. Of these, only Joseph Brant could actually read it. When Oliver Phelps appeared

at Canandaigua in August 1789 to turn over final payment, the price in New York currency was half what the Seneca—perhaps used to thinking in terms of Canadian currency—thought they had agreed to. They had sold this huge tract for “the price of a few hogsheads of tobacco,” as Red Jacket described it, and many remained bitter at what seemed a betrayal. To add further injury, their \$500 annual rental was not paid after 1837.⁵

Although Seneca people formally ceded their land to Phelps and Gorham, they did not immediately leave their traditional fields and fishing areas. When these Yankee Quakers came to Farmington, they found many Seneca people still living on their traditional homelands. When William Savery visited from Philadelphia in 1794, he found many Indians who lived “all around,” with white settlers “very thin.” Yankee families also found evidence of long-term Seneca settlement in Farmington, especially in the northern part. For decades, European American farmers turned up Seneca artifacts relating to farming and fishing when they plowed their fields.⁶

In 1789, New York State created a new county called Ontario County, covering the entire state west of the Pre-emption Line. Phelps and Gorham began to sell newly surveyed six-mile square townships. Phelps and Gorham’s first purchasers were Quakers from Massachusetts who bought the whole Town of Farmington, the third township south of Lake Ontario along lot 11. (See Appendix II: Deeds, Chain of Title.) Although the deed was formally given to Nathan Comstock and Benjamin Russell, these two also represented Abraham Lapham, Edmund Jenks, Jeremiah Brown, Ephraim Fish, Nathan Herendeen, Nathan Aldrich, Stephen Smith, Benjamin Rickenson, William Baker, and Dr. Daniel Brown.⁷

In 1851, in *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps’ and Gorham’s Purchase*, Orsamus Turner printed the narrative of Farmington’s early settlement that has been repeated ever since. He most likely heard this story directly from Levi Smith, son of original settlers, to whom he was indebted, noted Turner, “for many of his Pioneer reminiscences of Farmington”:

In 1789, Nathan Comstock, with two sons, Otis and Darius, and Robert Hathaway, came from Adams, Berkshire county, Mass; a part of them by the water route [Nathan Aldrich and party], landing at Geneva, with their provisions, and a part by land [Nathan Comstock and party] with a horse and some cattle. When the overland party had arrived within 15 miles of Seneca Lake, they had the addition of a calf to their small stock, which

5. John Thompson, *Geography of the State of New York* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966); Blake McKelvey, “Historic Aspects of the Phelps and Gorham Treaty of July 4-8, 1788,” *Rochester History* 1:1 (January 1939), 1-25; Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham’s Purchase and Morris’ Reserve* (Rochester: William Alling, 1852), 135-52.

6. William Savery, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Religious Labours of William Savery, compiled from his original memoranda, by Jonathan Evans* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1844), 57, <https://archive.org/details/ajournallifetra02savegoog>.

7. Orsamus Turner, *Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham’s Purchase*, 217-19.

Otis Comstock carried on his back, that distance. They arrived upon the new purchase, built a cabin, cleared four acres of ground and sowed it to wheat. Their horse died, and they were obliged to make a pack horse of Darius, who went once a week through the woods to Geneva, where he purchased provisions and carried them on his back, twenty miles to their cabin in the wilderness. Upon the approach of winter, the party returned to Massachusetts, leaving Otis Comstock to the care of the stock through the winter, with no neighbors other than Indians and wild beasts.⁸

The traditional story of Farmington's early settlement focused on four families with twenty-eight people who left Adams, Massachusetts, in February 1790, for the long trek into the western wilderness. These were the families of

- Nathan Comstock (with sons Darius and Otis);
- Nathan Herendeen (1741-1801) with son Welcome Herendeen (1768-1837) and daughters Pennsylvania Herendeen Herrington with her husband Joshua Herrington and Philadelphia Herendeen M'Cumber with her husband John M'Cumber (b. 1763) and their children;⁹
- Isaac Hathaway (with his wife Jemima Comstock Hathaway and two children); and
- Nathan Aldrich, whose first wife had died in 1779 but who may have brought his two children with him.

The Comstock family brought their household goods by ox-cart, cutting their own road from Utica to Farmington. Other families quickly followed, including those of John Payne, Abraham Lapham, and Jacob Smith.¹⁰

A closer look at this group suggests two salient characteristics. First, Quaker families often stressed the importance of sibling ties, and this group was no exception. Although these were four nuclear families, three of them they were actually composed of Comstock siblings, Nathan (1776), Jemima (b. 1766), and Esther Comstock, and their spouses and/or children. Jemima Comstock, Nathan's sister, was married to Isaac Hathaway, from Vermont. Esther Comstock was Nathan Aldrich's mother, so Nathan Aldrich (born August 13, 1762) would have been a nephew of Nathan Comstock and Isaac and Jemima Hathaway. Although Esther died before the family came to Farmington, Nathan's father (and Esther Comstock Aldrich's husband) Peter Aldrich was born in Uxbridge, Massachusetts, November 19, 1722 and died in Farmington on March 17, 1799. To

8. Orsamus Turner, *Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham's Purchase*, 217-19. For further details about these early pioneers, see *History of Ontario County, New York* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1878), 189-94.

9. "Descendants of Nathan Herendeen," research by Charles Lenhart, August 1, 2014.

10. Orsamus Turner, *Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham's*, 219; Cyrus Ballou Comstock, ed. *Some Descendants of Samuel Comstock of Providence, R.I.*, 28; *History of Ontario Co, NY* (1878), 14-19, <http://www.usgennet.org/usa/ny/county/ontario/history.html>

complicate things further, Nathan's older sister Esther Aldrich (born in Uxbridge on January 30, 1756) migrated to Farmington the year after her brother, with her husband Abraham Lapham.¹¹

Of the first four immigrant families, only the Herendeens seem not to have been part of the Comstock sibling group. They, however, formed their own sibling links. Although the traditional story gives the names of only males, Nathan Herendeen (1741-1801) actually came with one son and two daughters. Welcome Herendeen (1768-1837) was unmarried, but daughter Pennsylvania Herendeen (1765-1828) came with her husband Joshua Herrington and daughter Philadelphia Herendeen (b. 1769) came with husband John M'Cumber (b. 1763). The two sisters had eight children between them.¹²

Besides strong sibling ties, these families shared another characteristic: they had all moved to Adams, Massachusetts, from Quaker communities in the Blackstone River Valley of New England, where the Great Road connected the area around Smithfield, Providence, Pawtucket, and Woonsocket, Rhode Island, with the communities of Uxbridge, Mendon, and Worcester, just over the border into Massachusetts. These Quaker communities were nests of abolitionism and women's rights. In 1756, Lydia Chapin Taft voted at a town meeting in Uxbridge. She is locally celebrated as the first woman ever to vote in a town meeting in the U.S. During the American Revolution, Deborah Shurtless enlisted as a soldier under the name of "Robert Shurtleff of Uxbridge." Before the Civil War, Quaker antislavery activists such as Abby Kelley Foster and Elizabeth Buffum Chace came from this area. The Jacob Aldrich house, center of the Aldrich family, still stands in Uxbridge.¹³

Many Quakers from the Smithfield-Uxbridge area—including the Aldrich, Herendeen, Comstock, and Hathaway families—migrated in the late 1760s to Adams, Massachusetts, in the Town of Hoosic. Nathan Comstock and his first wife Mary Staples Comstock, e.g., left Providence about 1769 and moved to Adams, Massachusetts. Nathan Aldrich moved from Mendon, in central Massachusetts, very close to the Rhode Island border. The Herendeens moved from Smithfield to Adams in 1769.¹⁴

Twenty years later, in 1789, these families pulled up roots once again to travel from Adams to new homes in Farmington, New York. Local tradition suggests that they left without first obtaining permission from their East Hoosic Quaker Meeting, and that the Meeting

11. Jacob Aldrich and Huldah Thayer Genealogy, http://www.stupakgen.net/Genealogy/Beahm/03712_aldr.htm, research by Charles Lenhart. For further discussion of sibling ties among Quaker families, see Judith Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention* (Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004), Chapter 4 "Minding the Light."

12. "Descendants of Nathan Herendeen," research by Charles Lenhart, August 1, 2014.

13. "Smithfield, Rhode Island," "Uxbridge, Massachusetts," "Lydia Chapin Taft," Wikipedia.

14. *History of Ontario County*, compiled by Lewis Cass Aldrich, edited by George S. Conover (Syracuse: D. Mason, 1893); Cyrus Ballou Comstock, ed. *Some Descendants of Samuel Comstock of Providence, R.I.*, 28; *History of Ontario Co, NY* (1878), 14-19; *Hathaways of America* (Hathaway Family Association, 1970), Compiled and edited by Elizabeth Starr Versailles, Ancestry.com; 1850 U.S. Census.

did not support what they viewed as an imprudent move. Minutes of East Hoosic Monthly Meeting confirm this oral tradition. On January 13, 1791, minutes recorded:

Received a minute from the preparative meeting informing this that it appears that there are some families and parts of families of friends preparing to remove a great distance from this meeting and also from any other meeting of friends and as it appears to be a weighty matter and it was thought best to repair [?] to this meeting which this meeting taking under solid consideration and appoints [names] to make inspection into the circumstance of the matter and make report of their services at the next meeting.¹⁵

In March, the committee reported to East Hoosic Monthly Meeting:

that they have found several friends deeply engaged in this matter and although friends have bestowed much labor on them it appears to us that there are several who determined to remove and rather decline to say anything of their motives or make friends satisfaction.

East Hoosic Monthly Meeting appointed several friends “to assist the Overseers in laboring with such as may stand in [way/] of advice and counsel in that respect and report of their sense to the next meeting.”¹⁶

Abraham Lapham was the only one who complied with the committee’s request for an explanation. He did not apologize for moving to the Genesee country. Instead, diplomatically, he apologized for not having asked Monthly Meeting for their “advice and counsel.”

Dear Friends, I have a more full consideration of my conduct in making sale of my outward interest and laying of it out to the Genesee before I had laid the same before the monthly meeting in order for their advice and counsel in that respect which conduct I look upon entirely out of the way hoping that I may be more careful for the future desiring that friends would pass by my offense and continue me under your care, these from your friend, Abraham Lapham. ¹⁷

The committee to work with the overseers in laboring with Friends who wished to move to Farmington continued their work for several more months. Abraham Lapham seems to have come in for special attention. His note of apology was not enough. On April 12, 1792, East Hoosic Monthly Meeting noted that Lapham and his family had moved “to

15. Minutes, East Hoosic Monthly Meeting, January 13, 1791, p. 171. All East Hoosic Monthly Meeting minutes are located in Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. Thanks to Christopher Densmore for research in East Hoosic minutes.

16. Minutes, East Hoosic Monthly Meeting, March 10, 1791, p. 173.

17. Minutes, East Hoosic Monthly Meeting, March 10, 1791, p. 174-75.

the Genesee after much labor being bestowed on him to the contrary. . . in a manner disowning himself from the privileges of membership with us.”¹⁸

Finally, on January 10, 1793, East Hoosic Monthly Meeting formally disowned Abraham Lapham. “Through unwatchfulness and inattention to the leadings of Truth his mind became ensnared and beclouded,” they recorded.

This [meeting] therefore finds itself under a necessity to testify against his said misconduct and disowns him from being any longer a member until he is favored to see his mistake and honestly to condemn the same which that he may be favored to do is our sincere desire. Signed on behalf and by direction of our monthly meeting of friends held at Easthoosuck this 10th of 1st month 1793 by John Upton, Clk.¹⁹

At Monthly Meeting on the 11th of 4th month, 1793, East Hoosic Meeting also disowned Nathaniel Smith “in regard to his removing to a great distance from under the care of friends.”²⁰

When these first Quakers arrived in Farmington, they drew numbers to see which of Farmington’s 144 lots would go to each family. This system led to farms and settlements scattered throughout the town. Nathan Comstock drew lot 137, where his family built the first cabin. This northern section became the first settled part of Farmington and site of the earliest Quaker meetinghouse. Nathan Aldrich drew lot 23, where he planted wheat in the fall of 1789 and built a cabin, the second in the town, the following year. Nathan Herendeen settled on lot 21. Isaac Hathaway settled on lot 34, and his house still stands there. Scattered settlements grew up throughout the town. The village of New Salem (Pumpkin Hook) emerged near the Comstock farms. Hathaway’s Corners emerged around Isaac Hathaway’s home, just east of Mertensia along what is now Route 41. Brownsville stood in the northwest part of the town near the farm of Dr. Daniel Brown.²¹

The land they purchased, noted Horatio Gates Spafford in 1813, was “good, almost without exception, and the surface either quite level, or gently undulated, with good proportions of arable, meadow and grazing lands.” Two creeks ran through the town,

18. Minutes, East Hoosic Monthly Meeting, April 12, 1792, p. 213.

19. Minutes, East Hoosic Monthly Meeting, January 10, 1793, p. 237.

20. Minutes, East Hoosic Monthly Meeting, April 11, 1793, p. 260.

21. *History of Ontario County, New York* (1878), 189-94 gives a detailed listing of early pioneers and the lots on which they settled. It mentioned two people who provided much information. Edward Herendeen, born February 10, 1795, was the oldest son of Welcome Herendeen and Elizabeth Durfee Herendeen, grandson of settler Nathan Herendeen, and he grew up on the family homestead on lot 21 in Farmington. He wrote a manuscript of his recollections, which A.B. Katkamier (1897) dated to 1867 and which provided information for the 1878 history. Jared Smith was the son of Jacob Smith, who came to Lot 41 after a trip of 31 days from Adams, Massachusetts.

Canandaigua Creek across the southeastern portion and Mud Creek along the western edge and through the northwest corner.²²

Life in these early years was not easy. William Savery noted in 1794 that, although the land was very fertile and settlers were arriving “very fast,” there were “two great disadvantages” to the Farmington area. The first was “the scarcity of springs and rivulets,” and the second was the “unhealthiness of the climate in its present uncultivated state.” Nevertheless, although many settlers were forced to live “under the shelter of bark and bushes” for many weeks, they persevered.²³

Genesee fever was common. Quaker Jonathan Evans visited Farmington in 1796 and reported, “It is a low flat country, the water unwholesome, and the place sickly.” Out of the fourteen members of the extended family of Nathan Herendeen, thirteen of them had the “fever and ague” the first year. Welcome Herendeen escaped, only to be struck down for six months the following year. Horatio Gates Spafford visited Canandaigua, eight miles south of Farmington, in 1797, and noted conditions that most likely applied to Farmington, also. The area, he noted, was “but feeble, contending with innumerable embarrassments and difficulties. The spring of that year was uncommonly wet and cold. Besides a good deal of sickness, mud knee-deep, mosquitoes [sic] and gnats so thick that you could hardly breathe without swallowing them, rattle-snakes, and the ten thousand discouragements everywhere incident to new settlements.” Yet, he added with astonishment, “surrounded by these, in June of that year I saw with wonder that these people, all Yankees . . . perfectly undismayed, looking forward in hope, sure and steadfast. They talked to me of what the country would be, by and by, as it were history, and I received it as all fable.”²⁴

The optimism of Ontario County citizens was justified. In the early nineteenth century, Farmington’s population exploded. In 1790, the U.S. census recorded fifty-five people in Farmington (in twelve families, all European American, including forty-two men and boys and thirteen females). By 1800, the population surged to 633 people, with 1908 in 1810 (in 317 families), and 4214 in 1820 (including twenty-three free people of color and six people of foreign birth, not naturalized). In 1830, after the Town of Manchester was formed from Farmington in 1821, only 1733 people remained in the Town of Farmington, less than half its 1820 population. For the next twenty-five years, Farmington’s population remained relatively stable, hovering just about or below 2000 people, with a high point in 1840 of 2122. Almost all of these were European American. In 1855, for example, only seven of Farmington’s 1950 people were African American.

22. Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: H.C. Southwick, 1813), 186; Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: B.D. Packard, 1824), 170-71; *History of Ontario Co, NY* (1878), 14-19.

23. William Savery, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Religious Labours of William Savery, compiled from his original memoranda, by Jonathan Evans* (1844), 57.

24. *The Journal of Joshua Evans*, July 10, 1796 (1837). Found by Christopher Densmore; *History of Ontario County, New York* (1878), 189-94; John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (1846), 408,

Between Farmington’s earliest settlement in the 1790s and the mid-nineteenth century, however, many people arrived from overseas. In 1855, 273 of Farmington’s residents were “aliens.”

Town of Farmington
Population, 1800-1890²⁵

1800	633	1845	2062
1810	1908	1850	1876
1814	2281	1855	1950
1820	4214	1860	1858
1825	1733	1870	1896
1830	1733	1880	1978
1835	1843	1890	1703
1840	2122		

Farming dominated the town’s nineteenth century economy. In 1820 (when Farmington still included the Town of Manchester), 929 people listed their occupations as farmers, 192 people counted themselves as mechanics, and only three people were involved in trade, out of a total population of 4214. Since there were only 793 electors (men over the age of twenty-one) in Farmington, this occupational identification most likely included older teenage boys as well as men. Most of the farmers were either dairy or sheep farmers. Farmington counted 4690 cattle in 1820, 902 horses, and 10,208 sheep. In 1810, farm wives and daughters used 110 household looms to produce 25,923 yards of homespun cloth from wool and flax produced on their farms. By 1820, they had increased production to 35,319 yards.²⁶

Agriculturally related manufacturing also developed in Farmington. In the earliest years, after the loss of the Comstock’s horse, Darius Comstock brought provisions from Geneva, twenty miles away. In 1790, they used either Wilder’s Mill in Bristol or the Friends’ Mill in Jerusalem (now Penn Yan) to grind grain into flour. By 1824, however, local farmers needed go no further than Mud Creek in Farmington itself, where they found several mills, including two grist mills and four saw mills, along with five asheries (to process potash made from clearing forested land and burning trees), five distilleries, and one iron works. Six fulling mills, eight carding machines, and two “cotton and woolen factories” helped process local wool.²⁷

25. *Census of the State of New York for 1855* (Albany: Charles Van Benthuyssen, 1857), xxv; Conover, *History of Ontario County* (1893).

26. Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: H.C. Southwick, 1813), 186; Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: B.D. Packard, 1824), 170-71.

27. Orsamus Turner, *Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham’s Purchase*, 219; Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1813), 186; Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1824), 170-71.

Almost every family in Farmington owned its own land. In 1855, 309 people owned land, from 368 families. Each family housed an average of 5.3 people.²⁸

In 1855, 932 of Farmington's people, forty-eight percent of the total population of 1950, had been born in Ontario County. Others had been born in New York State outside of Ontario County (including in the nearby counties of Monroe, Wayne, and Cayuga County, as well as Dutchess County, a major Quaker center on the Hudson River) to make Farmington's New York State-born population 1367, 70 percent of the total.

Where did the rest of Farmington's population originate? Almost twenty percent of the total had been born in western Europe or Canada (including 157 from Canada, 13; New Brunswick, 1; England, 94; Scotland, 27; Ireland, 225; Belgium, 1; Holland, 2; Germany, 15; At Sea, 2). By far the largest number of foreign-born people (225) had come, however, from Ireland. Together, these added up to 382 people (19.6 percent of Farmington's total population).

One hundred and forty-seven people (7.5 percent) had migrated from New England (including New Hampshire, 5; Vermont, 29; Massachusetts, 73; Rhode Island, 14; and Connecticut, 26). Most of these were probably older, reflecting the initial infusion of settlers who poured out of New England into upstate New York after the Revolutionary War. Thirty-nine people (.02 percent of the total population) had been born either in Pennsylvania (12), New Jersey (23), or Maryland (4). A few more had come from other parts of the U.S. (including Louisiana, 2; Ohio, 8; Illinois, 1; Michigan, 6).

A network of roads connected Farmington's scattered settlements—New Salem, Brownsville, Mertensia, and Hathaway's Corners. A north-south highway from Canandaigua to Pultneyville on Lake Ontario ran through the center of Farmington, connected to area farms by smaller pathways, many of them laid out by Nathan Comstock, who rode his favorite horse from settlement to settlement, followed by men who cut the underbrush. By the 1820s, a stage road from Canandaigua to Rochester crossed the southwest corner of the town.²⁹

The transportation revolution affected Farmington by opening up local farmlands to canal and rail transportation. In 1825, the Erie Canal ran just north of Farmington, through the village of Macedon. In 1841, the Auburn and Rochester Railroad came from Canandaigua through the southern part of Farmington and then went west to Victor, Pittsford, Brighton, and Rochester.³⁰

28. *Census of the State of New York for 1855* (1857), xxv.

29. Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1813), 186; Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1824), 170-71; *History of Ontario Co, NY* (1878), 14-19.

30. John Disturnell, *A Gazetteer of the State of New York* (1842), lxxx; [Lewis F. Allen], "Historical Remarks at Railroad Centennial," *Shortsville Enterprise*, September 18, 1941.

Beginning with the earliest European American settlers, Quakers dominated life in Farmington. In 1813, Horatio Gates Spafford noted in his *Gazetteer*, “This Town is well settled, principally by Friends, or Quakers, who have a meeting-house; and there are a competent number of common school houses.” In 1824, Spafford again noted the dominant presence of Friends:

This Town is settled principally by Friends, or “Quakers,” who have 2 meeting houses, in one of which is held a Monthly meeting, and once in 6 months a Quarterly meeting; and though Dr. Morse might hardly admit it, they seem to be a religious people, who pay proper attention to the education of their children, and have, besides, a competent number of school houses.³¹

In 1842, John Barber and Henry Howe reported in *Historical Collections of the State of New York* that Farmington was “inhabited by Friends, noted, like all that sect, for their honesty, industry, and neatness.” In 1893, the *Ontario County History* noted, “The majority of the early settlers and nearly all the pioneers of Farmington were Friends.”³²

So many Quakers lived in Farmington that even those were not Friends came to Quaker meetings, and from the beginning, Farmington Quakers worked with other people in the area. Sunderland P. Gardner (1802-1893), remembered, “Farmington and parts of adjoining towns had mostly been settled by friends; there was no other meeting-house in the town for many years, and the consequence was that the inhabitants generally attended their meetings.” Although a Presbyterian Church was established in Farmington in 1817, it lasted only about fifteen years. Not until 1846 was there another religious group in Farmington, when Wesleyan Methodists organized an anti-slavery church in Pumpkin Hook, on land donated by Quaker J.C. Hathaway.³³

Farmington Quakers brought with them a tradition of equal rights for all people. Quaker beliefs and life experiences made the idea of equal rights for all people seem not radical but reasonable. The presence of God, the Inner Light, in every person meant that truth was no respecter of persons. As one letter of advice noted in 1659, “none may exercise lordship or dominion over another” but “all such may be honored as stand in the life of the Truth.”

Focusing on the Light within every person reinforced secular ideals highlighted in the Declaration of Independence and gave a powerful motive to work for equal rights for

31. Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1813), 186; Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1824), 170-71.

32. John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (1842), 408; *History of Ontario County*, compiled by Lewis Cass Aldrich, edited by George S. Conover (1893).

33. John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (1842), 408; *History of Ontario County* (1893). In 1892, the Farmington Grange purchased the former Wesleyan Methodist Church.

everyone, no matter what their race, culture, class, or gender. From this perspective, whatever conflicted with respect for the equal rights of all people clearly needed to be changed.³⁴

Social structures within Quakerism also provided a model for change in the larger world. Families emphasized sibling ties and offered a model of equality for brothers and sisters to balance ideals in the surrounding culture of the dominance of husbands over wives. Quaker women ministers, as well as separate meetings for business for men and women, gave women as well as men an opportunity to develop leadership skills and exercise authority.

Quaker organizational matrix of preparative, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings also helped promote the spread of reform ideas. When Quakers in one monthly meeting found inspiration to join a reform movement, they shared their leadings with Quakers in other meetings, not only through publications but also through regular face-to-face gatherings. In 1835, for example, diarist Hannah Pierce listed the names of nine Quaker preachers (five of them women) who came to Farmington from other yearly meetings: Priscila Cadwaledor, Hannah Mitchel, Elizabeth Thomas, Lucretia Mott, Priscilla Townsend, Stephen Treadwell, Samuel Comfort, John Wives, and Charles Townsend. Abolitionist lecturers, women's rights advocates, and supporters of Seneca people also followed these paths from one Friendly meeting to another. So did people who followed the Underground Railroad.³⁵

From their founding in England in the 1660s, Quakers had a long tradition of reaching out peaceably to women and people of all cultures. Founder George Fox advocated an expanded role of women in Quaker meetings, preached to African Americans in Barbados (although he contended that he was not encouraging revolt), and was impressed with the "courteous and loving" demeanor of Native Americans in Maryland. William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, worked to make formal agreements with local Native Americans. In 1688, Quakers in Germantown, Pennsylvania, protested against slavery. Prison reform was a consistent Quaker concern, beginning with efforts to help Quakers themselves who were imprisoned for their beliefs.

In the eighteenth century, Quakers in the United States continued these concerns. In terms of women's rights, they solidified the importance of separate business meetings for women by building meetinghouses that could be divided into equal halves by folding panels. In the Pennsylvania area, the first example of this was the Buckingham Meetinghouse, still standing in southeastern Pennsylvania (Figure 10). Quaker women traditionally met for business in separate meetings, and their words were respected by the whole meeting. In 1829, *The Friend, or Advocate of Truth*, a Quaker journal, described Quaker women as

34. *Friends' Library, comprising journals, doctrinal treatises, and other writings of members of the religious Society of Friends*, Vol. 11, William Evans and Thomas Evans, eds. (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1847); *The Friend, or Advocate of Truth* 4:20 (1831), 153.

35. Diary, Hannah Pierce, June 15, 1835.

having “intelligence, sound sense, considerateness, discretion. . . that is not to be found in any other class of women, as a class” because of “an extensive and a separate sphere” that women had within Quaker meetings.³⁶

At the same time, women within Quaker meetings were required to submit their minutes to men’s meetings for approval. As the *Discipline* of New York Yearly Meeting directed, “Women’s monthly meetings are not to receive nor disown members without the concurrence of men’s monthly meetings.” Men’s meetings were under no similar obligation to consult with women’s meetings.³⁷

In terms of slavery, the work of itinerant Quaker preacher John Woolman and author Anthony Benezet in the mid-eighteenth century raised awareness of slavery’s wrongs in Quaker meetings throughout the colonies. In New York State, Quakers in Flushing Meeting, on Long Island, took a formal stand against slavery in 1767. In 1771, New York Yearly Meeting followed their example and disowned members who refused to manumit their slaves. Some Quakers also worked with African Americans to promote equal opportunities for free people of color. Quakers in Philadelphia led the way, but Quakers in New York State quickly followed. In 1785, twelve Quakers and six others formed the New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves. This group organized the New York African Free School in 1787.

In their relationships with Native Americans, Quakers tried to follow the model that William Penn had established in his peace treaty with the Delaware Indians. Wars in the eighteenth century disrupted much of this effort, but Quakers continued to respect Indian spiritual beliefs. In 1765, John Woolman visited the Delaware and Munsee Indians. He reflected the attitudes of many Quakers when he reported, “in mine own eyes I appeared inferior to many amongst the Indians.”

When Friends moved to Farmington, they carried with them this cultural commitment to respecting the Light within all people. They also carried the history of how Quakers had tried to carry out these ideals in their own lives and across the world.

Very early, they had an opportunity to live out ideals of equality in their new Farmington home. Farmington was recently the territory of Seneca Indians, and it is fitting that one of the first efforts for Quakers to show support across cultures came in 1794 and related to Seneca people. The American Revolution severely disrupted Native American control over their traditional homelands. In the 1790s, the federal government was worried about potential Haudenosaunee alliances with both British forces and Native Americans in the Great Lakes basin and Ohio River Valley. In 1794, they sent Timothy Pickering to Canandaigua to negotiate a treaty with Haudenosaunee people. Senecas invited Quakers from Philadelphia to witness the negotiations. Friends from Farmington also

36. Catherine Lavoie, *Silent Witness: Quaker Meetinghouses in the Delaware Valley* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Meeting of Friends, 2002); *The Friend, or Advocate of Truth* 4:20 (1831), 153.

37. “Women’s Meetings for Discipline,” *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in New-York For the State of New-York, and parts adjacent, revised, in the sixth month, 1810* (New York, 1830), 16-19.

attended, although we do not know what their role may have been. The Canandaigua Treaty recognized the sovereignty of both the U.S. and the Haudenosaunee nations and guaranteed that Haudenosaunee lands belonged absolutely to them. Supporters still celebrate its anniversary annually on treaty day, November 11.³⁸

Meetings for the Canandaigua Treaty proved important not only for Native Americans but also for Farmington Quakers. When the first settlers moved to Farmington, their home meeting in Adams, Massachusetts, disapproved of such a hazardous undertaking and refused to condone it. When the Quaker delegation from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, headed by William Savery, came to meet for the Canandaigua Treaty, they also visited Farmington Friends. On September 27, 1794, Savery noted in his journal that “seeing some persons in the garb of Friends, they informed us they lived about five miles beyond this, and, being glad to see us, invited us to their homes.” Philadelphia Friends held two meetings on First Day, September 28, “largely attended by the people and a considerable number of Indians, so that the house could not contain the whole.” According to Orsamus Turner, these Philadelphia Quakers affirmed the good order of Quakers in the Farmington area, and recommended that they be reinstated in good standing.³⁹

In 1795, the year after the Canandaigua Treaty, Quakers from Philadelphia, working with Cornplanter, set up a school on the Allegany homelands, which later became known as the Tunessassa school. While Quakers made no effort to convert Allegany Senecas to Quakerism, they did, with Cornplanters’ support, work to establish men as farmers and women as homemakers, eroding traditional Haudenosaunee gender roles. The goal was to make Seneca people self-sufficient and able to survive, surrounded as they were by people from the dominant European American culture. This pattern of Quaker-Seneca cooperation to protect Seneca lands and belief systems while educating Seneca people in English language and dominant culture economic and social patterns continued into the nineteenth century. Most especially, Quakers (centered in Farmington) and Senecas (centered at Cattaraugus) would build on this tradition when they attempted to save Seneca lands after the 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek.

In 1799, five years after the Canandaigua Treaty, Friends in Palmyra requested official recognition as a preparative meeting under the care of Saratoga Monthly Meeting. This was the beginning of Farmington Preparative Meeting. On May 15, 1799, minutes from Easton Quarterly Meeting noted that Saratoga Monthly Meeting “informs that it has received a request from friends at Palymra, Genese [sic] expressing a desire to have a Meeting for Worship and Preparative Meeting settled there.” They appointed seven men

38. *Treaty of Canandaigua 1794: 200 Years of Treaty Relations Between the Iroquois Confederacy and the United States*, G. Peter Jemison, Anna M. Schein, and John C. Mohawk, eds. (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Clear Light Publishers, 2000).

39. William Savery, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Religious Labours of William Savery* (1844), 57; Orsamus Turner, *Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham’s Purchase* (1852), 219; R. Barclay Spicer, “The Farmington Centenary,” *Friends’ Intelligencer* 74 (1917), http://books.google.com/books?id=yLTAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA665&lpg=PA605&ots=7rVjHAKOjU&focus=viewport&dq=%22Barclay+Spicer%22+%22North+Collins%22&out=put=text#c_top.

(Humphrey Wilbur, Joseph Wilbur, Reuben Peckham, James Austin, Jonathan Austin, Joseph Bowne & Simon Brownell) to visit Palmyra and “report their sense of the prospect of granting their request.” In August, they added three more names (Jonathan Griffin, Stephen Rogers, William Odell & Rufus Hall) to the committee. On November 13, 1799, Easton Quarterly Meeting approved the committee’s recommendation to allow them to hold meetings for worship and a preparative meeting for business on the first and fifth days “at the usual hour.” The men’s meeting appointed seven men—Edward Cornell, Isaac Legett, John Gifford, John Southwick, Wm Odell, Humphrey Wilbur & Joseph Bowne—to join what became known as Farmington Preparative Meeting at their first meeting, “and in the above establishment we have the women’s concurrence.”⁴⁰

Most likely, Farmington Friends held their first Preparative Meeting under the care of Saratoga Monthly Meeting in January 1800, for on February 12, 1800, Easton Quarterly Meeting reported:

Most of the Committee to sit with Friends at Palmyra Genesee at the opening of their Preparative Meeting & to furnish them with a copy of our Book of Discipline report that they have attended to their appointment and sat with friends there at the opening of their Preparative Meeting and also have furnished them with a copy of our Book of Discipline the report of which together with expense that occurred is eight dollars and the treasurer of this meeting is directed to pay them the same to Edward Cornell & report at our next meeting.⁴¹

Distance was a problem, and Easton Monthly Meeting requested New York Yearly Meeting to allow Farmington Preparative Meeting to send reports only twice a year, in first and seventh months, and to have authority normally vested only in monthly meetings to approve proposals of marriage, handle their own finances, and answer their own queries from New York Yearly Meeting. They also asked that Friends in Scipio (Cayuga County, south of Auburn, about forty miles east of Farmington) become part of Farmington Preparative Meeting. (This arrangement lasted until 1806, when Scipio formed its own separate Preparative Meeting.)⁴²

In 1803, Farmington became a separate Monthly Meeting of Easton Quarterly Meeting. On February 16, 1803, Easton Quarterly Meeting agreed to allow a monthly meeting at Farmington, with a review at the end of one year. Easton minutes recorded that they were “united in believing that a usefulness would arise from a Monthly Meeting to be allowed there agreeable to the proposal from Saratoga Monthly Meeting,” “& in the above we have the women’s concurrence.”⁴³

40. Minutes, Easton Quarterly Meeting, May 15, 1799; August 14, 1799; and November 13, 1799, pages 136, 142-3, 146. Christopher Densmore did all of the research on Easton Quarterly Meeting minutes.

41. Minutes, Easton Quarterly Meeting, February 2, 1800, page 150.

42. Minutes, Easton Quarterly Meeting, May 14, 1800, page 156; August 13, 1806, page 259.

43. Minutes, Easton Quarterly Meeting, February 16, 1803, page. 207.

In 1804, a committee from Easton Quarterly Meeting visited Farmington and reported, “there is a considerable number of families in a good deal concerned to maintain our discipline.” Farmington Monthly Meeting proposed to build a new meetinghouse and requested help from Easton Quarterly Meeting, which referred the request to the Meeting for Sufferings, in charge of raising such funds.⁴⁴

Farmington Meetinghouses, 1796 and 1804

In the earliest years, Friends gathered for worship in private homes. In July 1796, Joshua Evans, a New Jersey Quaker, visited Farmington and recorded in his diary that he went from Geneva “on to Nathan Comstock’s near Mud creek, in the Genesee country; where we had a meeting in the forenoon, and another in the afternoon, which were favoured seasons. We also visited several families in this neighbourhood; Abraham Lapham’s, Nathan Aldrich’s, and others. . . . We had a large and favoured meeting at Jonathan Smith’s, in which much tenderness appeared.⁴⁵

Abraham and Esther Lapham were noted for their hospitality. In 1957, a Palmyra resident recorded an anecdote to illustrate this. A neighbor called just as family members were about to sit down to a meal of “mush and milk.” Abraham invited the neighbor to eat with them and then called out, “Esther, put more water in the milk. Let there be plenty for all.”⁴⁶

In 1796, Friends built a separate Meetinghouse. “They made their spiritual life a part of the temporal by erecting houses for meetings, and giving strict attention to attendance and discipline,” noted the 1893 *History of Ontario County*. When Nathan Comstock gave a triangular plot of fifteen acres of land to Farmington Friends on August 3, 1796, he specified its use for a meetinghouse, school, and burial ground. Located on the east side of the highway at the southeast corner of Comstock’s own Lot 137, this land, said Comstock, was “to be appropriated for the use of building a meeting house or School house thereon and burying ground for Friends and Friendly people.”⁴⁷

Observers noted that the new 1796 building was a double log house, half used as a meetinghouse and half as a school. Although no one specifically mentioned the gendered implications of this building, we can assume that these two rooms were also used for separate meetings of men and women for business, as well as for school and worship, especially after women and men began keeping separate minutes for business meetings.

44. Minutes, Easton Quarterly Meeting, February 15, 1804, page. 219.

45. *The Journal of Joshua Evans*, July 10, 1796 (1837). Found by Christopher Densmore.

46. *Palmyra-Wayne County Sentinel*, July 18, 1957.

47. *History of Ontario County, New York* (1893); Nathan Comstock to Society of the Religious people called Friends or Quakers, August 3, 1796, Liber 28, page 216, Ontario County Records and Archives; Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, (Palmyra, New York: Palmyra Courier-Journal, c. 1930). 256-57.

We do not know, however, whether the two rooms in the Meetinghouse were of equal size.⁴⁸

The original six Farmington families came directly from the East Hoosic Monthly Meeting in Adams, Massachusetts, and Farmington Quakers may have used as a model the 1784 East Hoosic Meetinghouse, only five years old when Friends from Adams moved to Farmington. The Adams meetinghouse was a simple two-story structure, 28 feet x 36 feet, with a movable interior partition that divided the interior for men's and women's meetings for business. The women's side had fireplaces on both the first and second floors, but the two sides were unequal. (See appendix for photos of meetinghouses noted here.)⁴⁹

Many of the Adams (and Farmington) families had roots in Smithfield Friends Meeting in the area around Providence, Rhode Island. While the original Smithfield Meetinghouse burned in 1880 and was replaced by a gable-end-to-the-street meetinghouse, reflective of its status as a programmed meeting, the Lower Meetinghouse of the Society of Friends in Saylesville, Rhode Island (built in 1703 and enlarged in 1745) still stands.

When the 1796 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse burned in December 1803, Friends constructed in 1804 a new frame meetinghouse on the same site. Minutes of Easton Quarterly Meeting on February 15, 1804, noted, "Farmington Monthly Meeting proposes to this Meeting the building of a Meetinghouse at that place, the former Meetinghouse being burnt." Dimensions were to be forty-four feet by thirty-two feet with twenty-foot posts, suggesting that it was a two-story building, probably with galleries inside. Clapboards for this meetinghouse were made of four foot long split cedar boards, shaved with an adz and attached with hand wrought iron nails, with boards for seats inside.⁵⁰

One of the pioneers (Nathan Comstock) drew timbers to Jacob Smith's sawmill in Mertensia, to be sawed into lumber for the new building. Built by Ananias McMillan for Jacob Smith in 1795, this was the nearest sawmill to the 1804 Meetinghouse. Smith had

48. Nathan Comstock to Society of the Religious people called Friends or Quakers, August 3, 1796, Liber 28, page 216, Ontario County Records and Archives; Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, (Palmyra, New York: Palmyra Courier-Journal, c. 1930). 256-57.

49. The Adams meetinghouse was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976 and as a contributing feature of the Maple Street Cemetery in 2004, "National Register of Historic Places Listings in Berkshire County, Massachusetts," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Register_of_Historic_Places_listings_in_Berkshire_County,_Massachusetts; "Quaker Meetinghouse (Adams, Massachusetts)," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quaker_Meetinghouse_%28Adams,_Massachusetts%29; "Maple Street Cemetery," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maple_Street_Cemetery.

50. Minutes, Easton Quarterly Meeting, February 15, 1804, page. 219.

a blacksmith shop across the road from the mill, so he may also have made the wrought iron nails for the 1804 meetinghouse.⁵¹

Easton minutes on February 15, 1804, noted the estimated cost of this new Meetinghouse as 346 pounds (British sterling), of which Easton Quarterly Meeting would pay 174 pounds. On November 13, 1805, Easton Quarterly Meeting noted that the expense of building the new Meetinghouse was two hundred dollars more than expected. Farmington Monthly Meeting raised \$88.50 toward this, and Easton Quarterly Meeting assessed other monthly meetings in the quarter to pay the remaining \$111.50.⁵²

By May 1805, the new Farmington Meetinghouse had been completed, and Easton Quarterly Meeting sent them two books of the *Discipline*.⁵³

QUAKERS IN FARMINGTON, 1804-1816

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the European American population in general and the Quaker population in particular grew rapidly in central and western New York and upper Canada. Farmington Quakers became part of a larger national and international Quaker network. This network reflected both time and space. Meetings for worship were held twice a week. Local “preparative meetings” met once a month to prepare business for monthly meeting and to handle purely local business. Once a month, two or more preparative meetings would gather into a monthly meeting for both worship and business. Four times a year, several monthly meetings gathered in a quarterly meeting. Annually, quarterly meetings would gather in a yearly meeting. Farmington was particularly important as a Quaker center because it was home to all these levels of Quaker meetings: preparative, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings.

51. 51. James Padgham, “Farmington Friends Meeting, 1796-1846,” typescript read by James Padgham at sesquicentennial, August 4, 1946. Padgham may have relied on A.B. Katkamier, comp., *The History of the Township of Farmington, New York, With Biographies of Prominent Citizens, Compiled from Various Authentic Sources* (Farmington, A.B. Katkamier, December 1897), 40, who noted that “Nathan Comstock drew the timber to Smith’s mill at what is now Mertensia, for the construction of the Friends’ meeting house which burned in 1875.” Katkamier relied for some of his information on Edward Herendeen, born in 1795, who recorded his reminiscences in 1867 in a manuscript not yet located. “Services Are Held Once a Year in Old Meetinghouse,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 13, 1916; Everts, Ensign, and Everts, *History of Ontario County* (Syracuse: D. Mason, 1878) noted that Ananias McMillan built the first mill in town in 1793. It was a small frame grist mill, constructed for Jacob Smith on Mud Creek in District No. 4, bordering the town of Victor. In 1795, Smith put up a saw mill on the opposite bank of the creek, which operated until 1841. This was undoubtedly where boards were milled for the 1804 meetinghouse. Jacob Smith and his brother and partner Joseph Smith also built a blacksmith shop at this site. Jared Smith, son of Jacob, inherited the 1799 house that his father built just west of the grist mill. In 1878, he noted that boards used in the house “were nailed on with wrought nails of his father’s manufacture.”

52. Minutes, Easton Quarterly Meeting, November 13, 1805, page 246. Later historians estimated the cost of this Meetinghouse, in dollars, to be \$1300.

53. Minutes, Easton Quarterly Meeting, May 15, 1805; August 14, 1805, pages 241, 246.

In 1799, Farmington became a preparative meeting of Saratoga Monthly Meeting, near Saratoga Springs, New York. In 1803, Farmington became a monthly meeting in its own right, part of Easton Quarterly Meeting. Shortly thereafter, six preparative meetings (Farmington, South Farmington, Macedon, Palmyra, and Williamson) comprised Farmington Monthly Meeting. Preparative meetings in Macedon and Palmyra rivaled Farmington Preparative Meeting in size. According to the *History of Ontario County* (1893) more than half the members of Farmington Meeting lived in Macedon in 1804, and even more lived in Palmyra. Farmington Preparative Meeting included thirty families, but forty-five Quaker families lived in Palmyra. In an analysis of the number of Friends in 1828, Christopher Densmore found a different geographic distribution. Fifty-five percent of members of Farmington Monthly Meeting came from Farmington Preparative Meeting, while 45 percent were members of Williamson, Macedon, Palmyra, or South Farmington Preparative Meetings. Reflecting the large number of Friends in Wayne County north of Farmington, Farmington Monthly Meeting was held at Palmyra in the 2nd, 5th, 8th and 11th Months, and at Farmington the other eight months.⁵⁴

As people migrated –usually west—from one meeting, they would set up new meetings “under the care of” their previous meeting. So many people left Farmington for other places in western New York, Ontario, and Michigan that Farmington became known as “the mother of meetings.” Between 1803 and 1838, twenty-five new Quaker meetings owed their initial origin to Farmington Monthly Meeting. Most of these were in western New York, but at least one was in northern Pennsylvania, at least one was in Michigan, and six were in Upper Canada.

In 1810, Farmington became the center of a new quarterly meeting. Two or three times a year, monthly meetings in western New York gathered at Farmington. In 1845, Farmington Quarterly Meeting met at Farmington in the 1st, 4th and 10th Months, and at Hamburg (now Orchard Park) in 7th Month. In 1849, Farmington Quarterly Meeting met in Farmington on the third Wednesday of the 1st and 4th months and at Hartland, in Niagara County, on the 7th and 10th months. Early on, Farmington Quakers also met at Scipio, in Cayuga County south of Auburn. Farmington Quaker minister Sunderland P. Gardner remembered, “Farmington Quarterly Meeting included all the Friends in western New York (who were numerous), and was held a part of the time at Scipio.”⁵⁵

54. *History of Ontario County* (1893); Joseph Foulke, *Friends' Almanac for the Year 1845* (Philadelphia: Elijah Weaver, 1844?).

55. Joseph Foulke, *Friends' Almanac for the Year 1845* (Philadelphia: Elijah Weaver, 1844?); *Account of the Times and Places of Holding Meetings of the Society of Friends in America* (New York: Egbert, Hovey, and King, Printers, 1849), 10-11; J.H. French, *Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of New York State* (Syracuse: R.P. Smith, 1860), 141; *History of Ontario County, New York* (1893); R. Barclay Spicer, “The Farmington Centenary,” *Friends' Intelligencer* 74 (1917). Ricketson's map of 1821 shows eight monthly meetings in the quarter (Scipio, Junius, Farmington, Hartland, Eden and Concord) with fifteen preparative meetings attached to them. In 1825, Scipio Quarter was set off from Farmington.” *History of Farmington-Scipio Quakers*, <http://www.quakerwny.com/?q=node/9>.

Farmington Quakers had settled in the middle of Seneca lands, and Quakers continued to be aware of the presence of Seneca people both historically and in the early nineteenth century. European American settlers frequently found Seneca arrowheads, pipes, and stone tools when they plowed their fields. Native Americans also often visited Jacob Smith's gristmill in Mertensia, near traditional Seneca hunting and fishing areas. They would offer fish and wild game in exchange for corn meal and wheat flour. Old-timers remembered,

The Indians would come into the grist-mill bringing their fish or game, and lay them down before Mr. Smith, with the expression, "The skano trout," or "the skano game," and then be off before any answer could be returned. In a few days they would be back for their "gifts," and say, "Skano ingun meal." The miller humored their caprice, and gave as they desired.⁵⁶

Nationwide debates over control of Seneca land became tense after the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua. Population pressure in western New York exerted stress on Senecas to sell their lands to European Americans. In 1797, at the Treaty of Big Tree (Geneseo), Senecas sold most of their land to Robert Morris. Opposed by Red Jacket, Robert Morris gained the support of women and warriors and purchased all Seneca lands except for reservations at Allegany, Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda, and Oil Springs. Morris paid one-third of one cent per acre. Morris in turn sold most of his purchase to other land companies, including the Holland Land Company, whose agent was Joseph Ellicott. Hoping to profit from continued pressure on Seneca people, the Ogden Land Company in 1810 gained the option to buy Seneca lands, should they ever be sold. This set the stage for federal government efforts to move Haudenosaunee people west of the Mississippi River in 1838, a move defeated by a powerful non-violent Seneca-Quaker alliance.

Farmington Quakers also became directly involved in efforts to end slavery. Before 1827, slavery existed in New York State and in Farmington itself. James Brooks, a settler from Maryland, built a house—still standing in the early twenty-first century—on Lot 127, just east of the Quaker meetinghouse on the south side of Sheldon Road. Brooks brought two enslaved people with him. One was a mother—Cassie Waters. In 1809, Cassie Waters, was arrested, tried in Canandaigua, and sentenced to death by hanging for murdering her infant. Although the governor commuted her sentence, she committed suicide while in prison.⁵⁷

Another Marylander, Benjamin Hance, also brought enslaved people to Farmington. In 1803, he came to Farmington with four people in slavery, and he later bought another person. They settled on a farm with a noted apple orchard.⁵⁸

Perhaps impelled by such a closeup view of slavery or perhaps inspired by knowledge of the New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves (founded in New York

56. *History of Ontario County, New York* (1878), 189-94.

57. *History of Ontario County, New York* (1878), 189-94.

58. *History of Ontario County, New York* (1878), 189-94.

City in 1785 by twelve Quakers and six others), several Farmington Quakers organized the Ontario Manumission Society in 1812. It was chartered by the State of New York to help “those who are illegally held in slavery to the attainment of their personal liberty, and to assist in the education of people of color, whether free or enslaved.” This was the first known antislavery group in New York State to organize after the New York Manumission Society in 1785. Farmington Friends dominated this group. Many Quakers associated with Farmington Monthly Meeting served as officers (along with a few non-Quakers), including Darius Comstock, President; Otis Comstock, Treasurer; and Welcome Herendeen and John Pound, Directors.⁵⁹

The Ontario Manumission Society, and more specifically Darius Comstock, Otis Comstock, and Amy Smith Comstock, played a key role in the earliest documented Underground Railroad activity in Farmington. In 1815, Austin Steward escaped from slavery to stay with Otis Comstock and Amy Smith Comstock.

Austin Steward was born in slavery in Virginia in 1793. Brought to Sodus and Bath, New York, by slave owner William Helm, Steward began to devise a means of escape. Consulting with a lawyer in Bath, New York, he learned of Darius Comstock and the Ontario Manumission Society. Comstock advised him that, because he had been hired out to work, he was legally free. Steward was overjoyed. In his extraordinarily detailed autobiography, *Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman*, published in 1857, Steward recounted the story of his escape with Milly, one of Helm’s former slaves, in March 1815:

When the dark night came on, we started together, and traveled all night, and just as the day dawned we arrived at Manchester, where we stopped a short time with one Thomas Watkins.

But I was not to be let go so easily. I had been missed at Capt. Helm’s, and several men started in immediate pursuit. I was weary, and so intent on getting a little rest that I did not see my pursuers until they had well nigh reached the house where I was; but I *did* see them in time to spring from the house with the agility of a deer, and to run for the woods as for life. . . . I escaped them, thank God, and reached the woods, where I concealed myself for some time

As soon as I thought it prudent, I pursued my journey, and finally came out into the open country, near the dwelling of Mr. Dennis [Darius] Comstock, who, as I have said, was president of the Manumission Society. To him I freely described my situation, and found him a friend indeed. He expressed his readiness to assist me, and wrote a line for me to take to his brother, Otis Comstock, who took me into his family at once. I hired to

59. “Ontario Manumission Society,” *Laws of New York*, 1812, Chap 229, noted on website, Preston Pierce.

Mr. Comstock for the season, and from that time onward lived with him nearly four years.

When I arrived there I was about twenty-two years of age, and felt for the first time in my life, that I was my own master. I cannot describe to a free man, what a proud manly feeling came over me when I hired to Mr. C. and made my first bargain, nor when I assumed the dignity of collecting my own earnings.⁶⁰

In spite of Captain Helm's efforts to claim him, first in person and then by kidnapping, Steward managed to remain free. He worked on the Comstock farm and attended school in Farmington before moving to Rochester in September 1817, where he set up a meat market and grocery store, selling goods ("wheat, corn, oats, butter, cheese, meat, and poultry") from the Comstock farm. He also started a Sabbath School for African American children. In 1831, Steward left Rochester to become President of the Wilberforce settlement in Canada. He returned to Rochester in 1837 and then moved to Canandaigua, where he became a leader of the African American community locally and nationally. He died of typhoid fever in 1869 and is buried in West Avenue Cemetery, Canandaigua.⁶¹

In 1823, Darius Comstock, still a member of Farmington Monthly Meeting, was involved with another documented fugitive slave case. Working as a contractor on the construction of the Erie Canal near Lockport, he supervised large numbers of Irish workers, and he was also "extensively known as a defender of the fugitive slave from the clutches of the slave-hunter." Two slave-catchers from Kentucky, wearing "leggings of green," arrested Joseph Pickard, a local barber. "Friend Darius," along with Irish canal workers, promptly came to Pickard's aid. During Pickard's hearing, Comstock argued his case inside the office of the local Justice of the Peace, while sympathetic canal workmen crowded the street outside. When Pickard tried to escape, the Kentuckians chased him with drawn pistols. The crowd attacked the slave catchers and dared them to shoot. The Justice discharged the case for want of sufficient evidence, and the men from Kentucky, according to one observer, "concluded that it was safest to leave Lockport. Comstock was heard to say that 'the prisoner could never be taken away from Lockport by the slave-hunters.'"⁶²

Shortly thereafter, Darius Comstock left the Farmington area for Adrian, Michigan, which became a major Underground Railroad area. Friends in Michigan, both Orthodox and Hicksite, continued to be part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting. After 1834, Hicksite Friends in Michigan became part of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. Otis Comstock remained in Farmington until his death in 1850. He lies buried in Farmington Quaker cemetery under a small plain white stone.

60. Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman*, ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 111-113, and www.docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/steward/menu.html.

61. Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman*, ed., 111-113, 126, 131-32.

62. "Fugitive Slave Case, Lockport, New York, 1823," *Staats' Lockport City Directory for 1868-69* (Lockport: M.C. Richardson, 1868), 42, quoted in Christopher Densmore, "Underground Railroad in Western New York," <http://ublib.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/urr/LP1823.html>

Farmington Meetinghouse, 1816

In 1810, Farmington had become the center not only of Farmington Monthly Meeting (which encompassed Farmington, South Farmington, and Macedon Preparative Meetings, with the addition of Williamson and Palmyra Preparative Meetings in 1817) but also of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, bringing Friends from central and western New York and Upper Canada (Ontario) to Farmington. Friends wanted to create a space large enough to hold both the expanding local Quaker population and gatherings of Friends from this larger region.⁶³

To meet this need, they constructed a brand new, very large meetinghouse in 1816. At first, they intended only to expand the 1804 Meetinghouse. On February 15, 1816, Farmington Preparative Meeting came up with a plan to enlarge the 1804 building, which they reported the following week to Farmington Monthly Meeting:

2 Mo. 22. Farmington Monthly Meeting. Received from Farmington Preparative Meeting the following proposals for the enlargement of the Meetinghouse in that place (Viz) This meeting taking into consideration the inconveniences which we have long laboured under on account of the smallness of our Meetinghouse in this place after a time of deliberation and free conference on the subject it is unitedly concluded to propose to the Monthly Meeting to enlarge the house by dividing it and adding 25 feet in length and Sunderland Patison, Darius Comstock, Ira Lapham, Nathan Aldrich and Wellcome Haringdeen are appointed to estimate the cost and inform our next Monthly Meeting the amount. [Note: Nathan Aldrich was one of the first settlers (1790). Darius Comstock and Welcome Herendeen were sons of the first landowners.]

And the comite [sic] appointed to estimate the cost report that they have estimated it as seven hundered [sic] dollars which being considered Friends are united with the proposal. Sunderland Pattison, Ira Lapham and Wellcome Haringdeen are appointed to open subscriptions and provide materials for making the proposed alterations and also as trustees to se[e] that the work is completed.⁶⁴

By business meeting the following month, March 28, Trustees had changed their minds. They reported, “if the present house be so enlarged as proposed it would be attended with a considerable expense and still would be inconvenient and disagreeable.” They proposed instead to build an entirely new structure, almost twice as big as the 1804 building, 40 x 60 feet with 22 foot posts, at a cost of \$2250, \$1150 to be raised by “friends of this monthly meeting,” \$700 to come from the sale of the present meetinghouse with one acre of land to “friends for a benevolent purpose,” “reserving the stoves and seats,” and \$400 to be

63. Minutes, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 7th mo 23rd, 1827, Friends Historical Library.

64. Minutes, Farmington Monthly Meeting, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, transcribed by Christopher Densmore and Reginald Neale. Capitalization standardized to modern usage.

requested from Meeting for Sufferings of New York Yearly Meeting.⁶⁵ Although trustees suggested that the old 1804 meeting with one acre of land be sold for \$700, no evidence has so far been found to suggest that this was done.

Trustees also suggested “reserving the stoves and seats” from the 1804 meetinghouse. According to Douglas Fisher, at least one of the stoves had been used in the Phelps and Gorham land office (opened in Canandaigua in 1789). Fisher remembered that his father J. Sheldon Fisher purchased this stove from one of the Van Lare sisters, and then father and son moved it to the Valentown Museum.⁶⁶

On April 17, Farmington Quarterly Meeting accepted this proposal. On July 25, Farmington Monthly Meeting reported in its minutes that the Meeting for Sufferings had given Farmington Monthly Meeting the requested \$400. Presumably, work began on the meetinghouse sometime in the early summer and continued into the fall. Quakers held their first meeting in the new Meetinghouse in January 1817.⁶⁷

Although the original proposal had been to build the new structure “within a few rods of the present one,” they actually constructed the building across the road, on the northwest corner of the intersection. Just as Nathan Comstock had given land for the first meetinghouse, the Comstock family also gave land for the new Meetinghouse. It was carved out of Lot 137, just west of the north south road (now County Route 8, Canandaigua Road).

For a payment of sixty dollars, Joseph Comstock deeded land to Sunderland Pattison, Jr., and Isaac Smith, appointed by the Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends

65. Minutes, Farmington Monthly Meeting, March 28, 1816: Minutes: “1816 3 Mo. 28 Farmington Monthly Meeting. The trustees appointed to make an addition to the Meetinghouse Report as follows (Viz) To the next Monthly at Farmington. We who were appointed by the monthly meeting to make an addition to the meetinghouse in this place have consulted together and with a number of Friends on the subject and we believe that if the present house be so enlarged as proposed it would be attended with a considerable expense and still would be inconvenient and disagreeable so friends whom we have consulted and to ourselves [?] we have apprehended it would be better to build a new meetinghouse on a site that is offered within a few rods of the present one sixty by forty feet and 22 feet posts. We have estimated the cost of such an house at twenty two hundred and fifty dollars and we find that friends of this monthly meeting are willing to give for such an house eleven hundred and fifty dollars and that the present house may with one acre of land be disposed of for seven hundred dollars to friends for a benevolent purpose reserving the stoves and seats and we would seghest [suggest?] whether it would not be right to propose to the quarterly meeting the consideration of the subject and if that meeting should think best to ask the remaining four hundred dollars of our Meeting for Sufferings all which we submit to the Monthly Meeting. Farmington, William [Welcome?] Harindeen, Ira Lapham, Sunderland Pattison, 21st 3d mo 1816.”

66. Douglas Fisher, email, July 27, 2014.

67. Minutes, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, April 17, 1816. “By a minute of Farmington Monthly Meeting it appears that friends of that place find it necessary to have a larger meeting house, and their old one being inconvenient to enlarge they propose building a new one 40 by 60 feet and 22 feet posts, on a site adjoining the meetinghouse lot, estimated cost \$2250, towards which friends of that meeting will pay \$1150 and they are offered for the old house \$700 which leaves the sum of \$400 wanted to compleat the building. This meeting unites with the proposal, and recommends to the consideration of our meeting for sufferings, requesting assistance in raising the deficient sum. The clerk is directed to forward a copy of the above minute to said meeting.” Minutes, Farmington Monthly Meeting, July 25, 1816.

of Farmington, to receive part of Lot 137, at the northwest corner of the highway intersection, “beginning at a stake standing one chain and sixty-two links north fifty-four degrees west from the north west corner of Friends Meeting House . . . containing one hundred and fifty two rods of land.”⁶⁸

Reflecting its use as a regional gathering place, the 1816 Farmington Quaker meetinghouse was much larger than most Meetinghouses. When the building was finished, it was sixty feet two inches wide by forty-seven feet deep, with six bays on the east and west sides of the building and three bays on the north and south sides. In effect, the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse was twice the size of a typical English barn, the most common barn type in the northeastern U.S.⁶⁹

West of the colonial settlement line only one Meetinghouse, built in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, for Ohio Yearly Meeting, rivaled the Farmington Meetinghouse in size (Figure 18). At the centennial of the Farmington Meetinghouse in 1917, R. Barclay Spicer noted that the 1816 Meetinghouse “is an immense structure, larger than any other Friends’ Yearly Meetinghouse, unless it be that of Philadelphia, and to be compared with no other meeting-house except that of Ohio at Mt. Pleasant.”⁷⁰

The 1816 Meetinghouse had a post-and-beam frame and weighed, according to a 1927 estimate, four hundred tons, with posts that measured twenty-four feet from the sill to the eaves. It was made, noted two twentieth century sources, of the “finest whitewood,” with boards up to “thirty inches wide and entirely free from knots.” (Whitewood was a common name for tulip poplar, *liriodendron tulipifera*, the tallest hardwood found in the northeastern U.S.) In 2007, Dan Schmucker, a local Amish carpenter, identified some of the beams as American chestnut.⁷¹

The plan and design features of the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse reflected testimonies of simplicity, integrity, and equality dominant throughout Quakerism in Great Britain, the U.S., and Upper Canada in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The building was extremely plain. Built for use, the meetinghouse was unadorned and even stark. Yet its very simplicity resulted in elegance. Everything, inside and out, reflected balance.

68. Ontario County Records and Archives, Jared Comstock to Sunderland Pattison, Jr., and Isaac Smith, June 16, 1817, Liber 28, page 268; [Lewis F. Allen]. “Notes Used by Narrator on Farmington Tour,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 2, 1939.

69. Measurements by William Brandow and Jessica Malarik, John G. Waite Associates, 2006.

70. R. Barclay Spicer, “The Farmington Centenary,” *Friends’ Intelligencer* 74 (1917).

71. References to “the finest whitewood,” with boards up to “thirty inches wide and entirely free from knots,” and to weight and measurement of posts came from “Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House,” “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927, and “Old Quaker Church Now Celery Storage,” *Rochester Times-Union*, May 18, 1927. “*Liriodendron tulipifera*,” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liriodendron_tulipifera; Horatio Gates Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (1824), 105, listed “whitewood or poplar.” Daniel Schmucker, Amish carpenter from Wayne County, identified some of the framing structure as American chestnut.

Light was important to Quakers. Sunlight reflected the Light within every person, so windows in this meetinghouse were relatively large for the period. First floor window sashes contained twelve panes of glass in the bottom sash and twelve in the top sash. Second story windows had twelve-over-eight sashes.

Outside, two front doors opened off the east side (the right side used by women and the left used by men, noted one observer in 1927). Other doors may have opened off the south and west sides. In 1841, Quakers added a small addition to the left rear, used for committee meetings. In 1863, they added a porch along the east and south sides.⁷²

Exterior walls were covered with clapboards. Photographs suggest that the outside was painted white, probably not until the 1850s. Wood shingles covered the roof.

Construction techniques reflected common building practices from the period. Roof trusses and twelve-over-twelve windows bore similarities to plates in Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant* (1797).⁷³

Inside, a gallery ran around three sides (the long east side and the shorter north and south sides), accessible by stairways at each end of the meetinghouse. Six posts supported the gallery, and their chamfered corners were the only concession to decoration. Neither woodwork, benches, posts, or plastered walls were ever painted.

Heat, either not enough or too much, was a constant concern. Four iron stoves heated the room. Sometimes, this heat proved enervating. In 1879, for example, women Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting, meeting at Bloomfield, Ontario, noted "The necessity of (forceful?) ventilating our meeting houses in the winter as well as in the summer was advised, thereby preventing a feeling of drowsiness."⁷⁴

Simple wooden benches were arranged within the meetinghouse to reflect two distinctions among members. The first distinction was based on roles that different members played within the meeting. Raised "facing benches," reserved for ministers and elders, stood along the long west wall. Particularly gifted speakers and spiritual advisers, both women and men, were designated as ministers. They shared sermons on a regular basis, although ordinary members might also be given spiritual messages to share. Others would be appointed as elders, whose role was to counsel ministers.

The second distinction was based on sex. Men and women conducted business separately, with one clerk for men and one for women. They separately reviewed requests for

72. "Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House," "Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927, and "Old Quaker Church Now Celery Storage," *Rochester Times-Union*, May 18, 1927.

73. Measurements by William Brandow and Jessica Malarik, John G. Waite Associates, 2006; "Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House," "Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927; "Old Quaker Church Now Celery Storage," *Rochester Times-Union*, May 18, 1927.

74. Minutes, Women Friends, Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1879, p. 279.

membership, marriage, behavioral transgressions, and transfers to other meetings, for example. All decisions were based on consensus, but until 1838, following Quaker practice everywhere, the decision of the women's meeting was subject to "men's meeting concurring."

The interior plan of the 1816 Meetinghouse (as of almost every Meetinghouse of this period) reflected these separate business meetings for men and women. Using an ingenious system of pulleys, folding shutters could be raised from the bottom and lowered from the top to create two equal-sized interior spaces. When opened, these shutters made one single interior space for meetings for worship. Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting often recorded the use of these shutters. In 1883, for example, both genders met together for the first part of the meeting, and then minutes of women Friends noted, "The shutters were then closed and each meeting proceeded with its respective business."⁷⁵

In Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, as Catharine Lavoie noted in *Silent Witness*, this two-cell meetinghouse plan, with equal spaces for men and women built as integral parts of the whole structure, first appeared in the Buckingham Meetinghouse in Pennsylvania, in 1768. Previously, women and men had met in the same room for worship, and then women withdrew to a smaller separate room to conduct women's meetings for business. This change coincided with a change in the discipline in 1762, making it an offense punishable by disownment to marry out of meeting. Since marriage was an issue under the purview of the women's meeting, argued Lavoie, this provision most likely elevated the importance of women's meetings and supported the construction of spaces of equal size for women and men.⁷⁶

Quakers who built the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse came primarily from New England. No chronology of interior plans has yet been developed for New England meetinghouses, but they used a similar two-cell plan in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁷

Other Meetinghouses in New York State provided prototypical plans, close to the one used in Farmington. The closest two-story meetinghouse to the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse was built in the Town of Scipio, in the Cayuga County, just south of Auburn, about fifty miles east of Farmington. In 1810, Aaron Baker built this meetinghouse for Scipio Preparative Meeting and Scipio Monthly Meeting of Friends on Poplar Ridge Road near Dixon Road (Figure 7). Minutes of Scipio Monthly Meeting for

75. Minutes, Women Friends, Genesee Yearly Meeting, 6th mo 12th 1883, page 311.

76. Catherine Lavoie, *Silent Witness: Quaker Meetinghouse in the Delaware Valley, 1695 to the Present* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, c. 2003), 25-26.

77. The best collection of New England meetinghouse photographs is Silas B. Weeks, *New England Quaker Meetinghouses: Past and Present* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2001), but this deals primarily with exterior details.

10th Month 20, 1808, requested a building 34 x 50 feet, with 22-foot posts. It was a two-story frame building, with two front doors (one for men and one for women), flanked by two windows each.⁷⁸

Like Farmington, Scipio was a major center of Quaker life, and there were once five different Quaker meetinghouses in the town. From 1810 to 1825, Scipio Monthly Meeting was part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting. At the time of the separation in 1828, the “larger body,” i.e. the Hicksites, took over the Scipio 1810 building. This Meetinghouse was demolished in 1912.

Many Quakers in Scipio had migrated from South Dartmouth, Massachusetts, and this 1810 meetinghouse reflected the influence of the Apponegansett meetinghouse (Figure 9). The Apponegansett Friends meetinghouse, built in 1790, incorporated the equal two-cell plan, the same plan adopted by Scipio Friends in 1810 and Farmington Friends in their 1816 building.

Other two-story meetinghouses that still stand in New York State include Nine Partners (Figure 14), Dutchess County, built in 1780 by Quakers from Nantucket; Quaker Street Meetinghouse in Duanesburgh, New York, built in 1807; and Orchard Park Meetinghouse, built in 1820, near Buffalo, once part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting.

We have no details about who actually built the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse. As Christopher Densmore, Curator of Friends Historical Library, has suggested, “it is fair to say that all members of the meeting ‘built’ it.” Mostly likely, community residents, whether Quakers or not, helped build the Meetinghouse, and one or more master carpenters took charge of the project.⁷⁹

It is reasonable to look carefully at the 1810 Scipio Meetinghouse for a model. Scipio was part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, so communication between these two major centers of Quakerism in central and western New York was frequent. Since Aaron Baker was the master carpenter for the 1812 Scipio Meetinghouse, he may also have helped develop plans for the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse.⁸⁰

Most likely, local carpenters also helped build the 1816 Meetinghouse. Members of the Brown family seem especially likely candidates. Zuriel Brown (from Brownsville, west of the 1816 Meetinghouse) was known to be “very particular in his work.” When he was building the home of Peter Smith, Smith offered him a bonus of five dollars if he would not split any clapboards when he drove his nails. In 1816, he had just returned from service as a sergeant in New York State’s 39th Infantry in the War of 1812. By 1844, Zuriel Brown was postmaster in Norton’s Mills, Ontario, New York. Both the 1850 and

78. Minutes of Scipio Monthly Meeting of Friends, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Thanks to Christopher Densmore for this research.

79. Email, Christopher Densmore, date?

80. Judith Wellman et al, “North Street Meetinghouse,” *Uncovering the Freedom Trail in Auburn and Cayuga County* (Auburn, 2003), <http://www.cayugacounty.us/Portals/0/history/ugrr/report/index.html>.

1860 census listed him as having a farm in Farmington but did not list him as living in Farmington.

Nicholas Brown was another carpenter, whose home was on Lot 131, between Brownsville and the 1816 Quaker Meetinghouse. By the 1850s, Nicholas Brown lived near Pickering, Ontario. Genesee Yearly Meeting hired him in 1862 to repair the Pickering Quaker Meetinghouse. Other members of the Brown family were also involved in building. Otis Brown had a blacksmith shop in Brownsville from 1814 until 1836. Stephen Brown owned a sawmill.⁸¹

Another local carpenter was Ananias McMillan, who built both the first mill (in 1793 for Jacob Smith at Mertensia) and the first barn (in 1793 for Isaac Hathaway at Hathaway's corners). Two local finishing carpenters were Robert Power, carpenter and joiner, who settled near Isaac Hathaway at Hathaway's Corners, and Samuel Mason, Baptist, who built furniture.⁸²

Macedon and Palmyra, in Wayne County just north of Farmington, were Quaker strongholds and may have provided carpenters and builders to help construct the 1816 Meetinghouse.

In all likelihood, Austin Steward also helped build this Meetinghouse. He was then living with Otis and Amy Comstock. Otis Comstock's brother, Darius Comstock, along with Welcome Herendeen (both officers of the Ontario Manumission Society), Sunderland Pattison, Nathan Aldrich, and Ira Lapham served on the building committee for the new Farmington meetinghouse. We can assume that all able-bodied men in the community—including Austin Steward—were involved in the construction of this meetinghouse.⁸³

Sunderland Pattison was on the building committee and was also a Trustee of Farmington Friends Meeting. It is quite possible that sawn lumber for the 1816 Meetinghouse came through his sawmill on Mud Creek, about a mile west of the Meetinghouse on what became Allen Padgham Road. According to local historian Lewis F. Allen in 1939, Sunderland Pattison constructed this mill, along with a gristmill, in 1813, the year after Pattison built his own house. It was almost certainly one of the two gristmills and four saw mills on Mud Creek in 1824. Other saw mill owners in Farmington included Jacob Smith in Mertensia (who had supplied sawn lumber for the 1804 meetinghouse), Stephen Brown

81. *Military History of Wayne County*, 235. Ancestry.com; "Town of Farmington History," *History of Ontario County, New York* (1878), 189-94; *Appointments of U.S. Postmasters, 1832-71*, Ancestry.com; U.S. Agricultural Census schedules, 1850 and 1860, Ancestry.com; "Treasurer's Book, 1848-1886," Genesee Yearly Meeting.

82. *History of Ontario County, New York* (1878), 189-94.

83. Email, May 26, 2006.

in Brownsville, and Job Howland on Black Brook on Lot 50, in the southeastern part of Farmington.⁸⁴

Nails may have come from the blacksmith shop of Jacob Smith, who may also have supplied the nails for the 1804 Meetinghouse. Alternatively, John Gillem, who established a log house and shop in New Salem “at an early day,” may have supplied them. His shop burned up when he used it as a stable for horses. He placed hay on the forge for the horses to eat, not realizing that the embers were still hot. When his shop burned, Gillem left for Canada and Augustus Bingham took over. Jonathan Reed, son-in-law of pioneer Nathan Herendeen, was another early blacksmith. “Many the needed repair; many the tool set right; many the gathered group at his shop during stormy days; and much the work done during that period when the hammer and anvil were the chief agencies in a manufacture of sickle and pruning-hook, hoe and plow,” noted the 1878 *History of Ontario County*. Herendeen had moved by 1816, however, so he may or may not have been the source of nails for the 1816 Meetinghouse. Otis Brown also had a blacksmith shop in Brownsville from 1814 until 1836.⁸⁵

QUAKERS IN FARMINGTON: ORTHODOX-HICKSITE SEPARATION, WESTWARD MIGRATION, AND THE NEW GENESEE YEARLY MEETING, 1816-1834

Between the Revolution and the Civil War, Farmington Friends, like other Quaker meetings across North America and Great Britain, were caught up in theological debates that profoundly affected the lives of Quaker families everywhere, including Farmington. Collectively known as the Second Great Awakening, religious revivals engulfed many eastern U.S. churches every few years through the first half of the nineteenth century, beginning in 1803. A particularly impressive revival swept the country in 1825, associated in upstate New York with Charles Grandison Finney. So powerful were these revivals in upstate New York that the region came to be known as the burned-over district or the burnt district. Preaching, singing, and enthusiastic religious expression were all associated with revivals. Theologically, revivalists emphasized the inherent sinfulness of human beings, preached that Christ died as atonement for human sins, and believed that the Bible was the revealed Word of God, the main source of spiritual truth.⁸⁶

84. Horatio Gates Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (1824), 170-171; “Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House,” “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927; “Old Quaker Church Now Celery Storage,” *Rochester Times-Union*, May 18, 1927. Lewis F. Allen, in a tour of Farmington in 1939, referred to “large whitewood panels or sliding doors,” [Lewis F. Allen]. “Notes Used by Narrator on Farmington Tour,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 2, 1939.

85. *History of Ontario County, New York* (1878), 189-94.

86. The classic work on this remains Whitney Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New-York, 1800-1850* (1950). See also Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millenium: The Burned-over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986).

Quakers were not immune from evangelical influences. Many Quakers absorbed these beliefs into their own traditional worldview. Others, however, were disturbed. If Christ were the Inner Light, part of every human being, how could people be inherently evil? Why, then, was there a need for atonement? And how could anyone know Truth, anywhere, including in the Bible, except by reliance on continuing revelation? If the Spirit continued to speak, all the time, then it was the duty of Quakers to listen and to act on ongoing “divine requiring.” “True religion comes not by tradition or creeds, but by obedience to the living word of God,” as Sunderland P. Gardner, Farmington Quaker minister, wrote.⁸⁷

Opposition to evangelical values became associated with Elias Hicks, Long Island Quaker preacher. He was, wrote supporter Sunderland P. Gardner, “inferior to none in point of talent or depth of experience. He bore a faithful testimony, was firm, immovable, and could give, moreover a reason for the faith which he possessed.” Hicks visited the Farmington area in 1827, holding several “large favored meetings in which truth was exalted over all.” “We parted with them in true peace of mind,” he wrote.⁸⁸

Hicks could not have left all Farmington Quakers “in true peace of mind,” however, for on June 26, 1828, almost half the group, led by minister Caleb M’Cumber, walked out of Farmington Monthly Meeting in the 1816 meetinghouse. Those who walked out moved back to the old 1804 meetinghouse on the east side of the road and were known as Farmington Friends (Orthodox). The remainder stayed in the 1816 meetinghouse and became known as Farmington Friends (Hicksite). From then until the present, many people in Farmington referred to the 1816 Meetinghouse as the “Hicksite Meetinghouse.” This Hicksite-Orthodox split in Farmington paralleled similar separations in Quaker communities throughout the U.S.⁸⁹

In 1832, someone in Farmington, most likely one of the Hicksites, created a list of members who remained “Friends” and those who became “Orthodox.” Charles Lenhart

87. This essay summarizes complicated splits within Quakerism. This discussion is based on discussions in Hugh Barbour, Arthur Worrall, and Christopher Densmore, *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 100-45; Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1988); Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman’s Rights Convention* (2003); Ryan P. Jordan, “Slavery and the Meetinghouse: Quakers, Abolitionists, and the Dilemma Between Liberty and Union, 1820-65,” Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2004. Sunderland P. Gardner, 1878, quoted in Betty Polster, *Genesee Friend: The Life and Times of Sunderland Pattison Gardner* (Argenta, B.C.: Argenta Friends Press, 1993), 26. Thanks to Jane Zavitz-Bond for sharing this pamphlet. Theological differences between Orthodox and Hicksite Friends were exacerbated in certain areas by differences in class and urban vs. rural culture. Robert Doherty has argued, e.g., that in Philadelphia, rural friends tended to be more traditional, while urban Friends absorbed more of the new evangelical influences (*Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1967)). Whether class differences played any role in the Hicksite-Orthodox separation in rural upstate New York is unknown.

88. Sunderland P. Gardner, *Memoirs*, quoted in Town of Farmington Rootsweb.

89. Elias Hicks, *Journal*, quoted in typescript, Macedon Historical Society; *History of Ontario County* (1893).

counted a total of 999 Friends. Orthodox Friends formed 58 percent of the total (581 Orthodox, including 290 adults and 291 children) and Hicksite Friends formed 42 percent of the total (418 Hicksite, with 252 adults and 156 children).⁹⁰

Christopher Densmore, Curator of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, analyzed a similar list kept by Orthodox Friends. This list counted 980 members of Farmington Monthly Meeting before the separation. Of these almost two-thirds (623) Friends became Orthodox and a little more than one-third (357) became Hicksites. Fifty-five percent (535, including 287 adults and 248 children) were members of Farmington Preparative Meeting, and 445 were members of Macedon, Palmyra, or South Farmington Preparative Meetings.⁹¹

The Hicksite-Orthodox split coincided with two economic and social developments in western New York: 1) rapid economic and social growth; and 2) dramatic migration of many local people to new lands in Michigan. Western New York's population exploded as the Erie Canal, finished in 1825, brought a new transportation system, with new people and new markets for farms and factories. Eighty percent of New York State's population, including people in Farmington, lived within twenty-five miles of a canal. Completion of the first railroad through Farmington in 1842, the Auburn and Rochester Railroad, made east-west transportation for people and goods even easier.

Farmington was three miles south of the Erie Canal, and the canal economy profoundly affected Farmington as well as surrounding towns. As a direct result of access to the Erie Canal, Farmington grew from 1733 people in 1830 to 1843 people in 1835 to 2122 residents in 1840, its largest population in the nineteenth century. In addition, Friends in Macedon and Palmyra Preparative Meetings (both part of Farmington Monthly Meeting) were located directly along the canal. Canal construction in 1823 led to the division of Palmyra into two towns—Macedon and Palmyra—and growth of the village of Macedon (sometimes called Macedon Locks) around Lock 30.

Several nearby communities affiliated with Farmington Quarterly Meeting also expanded rapidly. Waterloo, New York, just west of Seneca Falls, grew to 3643 people in 1845, sustained in part by the new Seneca and Cayuga Canal and railroad and in part by an 1836 woolen mill, organized by Richard P. Hunt, of Quaker background. Along with Waterloo's growth came new members to Junius Monthly Meeting, just west of the village of Waterloo. Rochester exploded from 2500 people in 1823 to 9200 people in 1830. Many Quakers—including Amy and Isaac Post and their family—became part of the canal-related expansion of the city.

In addition to rapid growth of western New York's population, many Quakers, both Orthodox and Hicksite, migrated west from Farmington Monthly Meeting in the 1830s to set up new monthly meetings in the towns of Adrian, Raisin, Nankin, and Plymouth in

90. James Hazard Index, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, <http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/friends/hazard/instructions.html>.

91. Christopher Densmore, email, October 16, 2013.

Lenawee and Wayne Counties in southern Michigan. These migrations split Farmington families apart, but they also expanded Farmington's influence into the west, not only in terms of Quakerism but also helping to promote abolitionism, women's rights, and the Underground Railroad.

In Farmington, the Hicksite-Orthodox split, population growth, and migration to Michigan set the stage for two major changes. First, in 1834, the expanding number of Quakers in western New York led to the creation of the new Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite). Orthodox Friends from all over New York State continued to meet annually in New York City, but Hicksite Friends divided in 1834 into two yearly meetings. New York Yearly Meeting included Friends from eastern New York and parts of New Jersey. Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends embraced Friends in central and western New York, Canada, Michigan, and northwestern Pennsylvania. Every June, Genesee Yearly Meeting brought hundreds of Quakers to the 1816 Farmington Quaker meetinghouse. In addition, people attended Genesee Yearly Meeting as visiting preachers from New England, eastern New York (including Long Island, the Hudson Valley, and the area east of Albany), and southeastern Pennsylvania. As a result, the 1816 Meetinghouse began a new period of development as a regional, national, and international gathering place.

Second, these changes presaged a new and dynamic period of reform. Beginning in the 1830s, both Orthodox and Hicksite Friends, sons and daughters of the Revolutionary generation, pursued a reform agenda that would change America. As they tried to make real the ideal that all men and women are created equal, Friends in Farmington made a difference—all out of proportion to their numbers—in promoting equal rights for Native Americans, African Americans, and women. Hicksite Friends took the lead in working with Seneca Indians to save their homelands. Both Hicksite and Orthodox Friends became major state and national leaders in equal rights for African Americans and women.

FARMINGTON FRIENDS AND REFORM: EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NATIVE AMERICANS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND WOMEN, 1834-1842

The separation of Friends into Orthodox and Hicksite in 1828 and the organization of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1834 formed the prelude to a dramatic expansion of reform movements relating to equal rights, both in Farmington and the nation as a whole. Issues of abolitionism, Indian land rights, and women's rights exploded in the 1830s, closely intertwined with the tension between violence and non-violence as paths to social change. Farmington Quakers were at the forefront of these nationally important organized reform movements.

Among Hicksite Friends, the struggle for equal rights in the larger world intensified an internal debate about equality within Quaker meetings themselves. Should Quakers continue separate meetings of ministers and elders and separate meetings of men and women? Or were all Quakers indeed created equal, with equal rights to interpret "divine requiring"? In Farmington, these stresses culminated in 1848 in the separation of

Genesee Yearly Meeting into the quietists, who retained control of the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse, and activists, who created a new Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends (later called Progressive Friends and then Friends of Human Progress). Congregational Friends emphasized absolute equality among all people, abolishing separate meetings of ministers and elders and separate meetings of men and women. They had no creed but believed absolutely in the need for each individual to act on spiritual insights based on the Light within all people.

Other stresses came soon after. The Civil War challenged the historic Quaker peace testimony, and Farmington Friends divided personally over whether or not to join the war effort. After the Civil War, Farmington became the focus of a holiness movement that changed many Friends' meetings for worship. Instead of waiting in silence, many Friends began to worship through sermons, Bible readings and music.

Who were the Farmington Quakers reformers? While many people identify Hicksite Friends as the more "liberal" wing of Quakerism and therefore assume that Hicksites were more likely to be involved in reform movements than Orthodox Friends, the pattern in Farmington did not fit this model. In Farmington, key people from both Hicksite and Orthodox Friends remained active in reform from the 1830s to the 1860s.

Among Orthodox Friends, many leading reformers had come to Farmington Meeting in its earliest years, not as elders but as sons and daughters of the official founders. Many also had family ties to the Blackstone River Valley and to Quakers from Providence, Rhode Island, and south central Massachusetts. The Comstock family was a major anchor. Otis Comstock, who stayed alone in Farmington in the winter of 1789, and his brother, Darius Comstock, born in Rhode Island, devoted their lives to abolitionism. Both were sons of Nathan Comstock. Darius's daughter Hannah Comstock married Asa B. Smith, and their son William R. Smith and William's wife, Irish-born Esther Wright Smith, were major abolitionist organizers. Joseph C. Hathaway and his sister Phebe Hathaway (with help from their siblings) were all children of Isaac Hathaway (whose first wife was Jemima Comstock) and his second wife Elizabeth Richmond, from a Rhode Island Quaker family. Joseph's wife Esther Aldrich Hathaway was a descendant of the Rhode Island Aldrich family, granddaughter of one of Farmington's first settlers, Nathan Aldrich, and great-granddaughter of Peter Aldrich and Esther Comstock.⁹²

Among Hicksite Friends, many key reformers were younger than the core group of Orthodox reformers. They were also relative newcomers to the Farmington area. Many were affiliated with preparative meetings of Farmington Monthly Meeting at Williamson, Palmyra, or Macedon. Others were members of nearby meetings, especially Junius Monthly Meeting in Waterloo and Rochester Monthly Meeting. This group came to

92. Hathaway Family, <http://www.rootsweb.com/~nyontari/CHAPTER5.htm>; "Biographical Sketch of Willis Aldrich," <http://www.accessgenealogy.com/new-york/biographical-sketch-of-willis-aldrich.htm>; Judith Wellman, "William R. Smith," *Sites Relating to the Underground Railroad, Abolitionism, African American Life in Wayne County, New York* (Lyons, New York: Wayne County Historian's Office, 2008). Genealogical research by Charles Lenhart.

Farmington for meetings of Farmington Quarterly Meeting and Genesee Yearly Meeting. In terms of birthplaces, some of these had roots in New England. Others had come from southeastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and eastern New York. At least two key leaders—Griffith Cooper and Thomas M’Clintock—had become Quakers after they reached adulthood. As such, they were not birthright Friends but rather, in Quaker terminology, they were “convinced Friends.”

Griffith Cooper (b. 1791) and Eliza Hodgson Cooper (b. 1790), daughter Rebecca Cooper Capron (b. 1825), and son-in-law Eliab W. Capron (b. 1821), are good examples of this pattern of relative youth, relatively late arrival in Farmington, connection with Farmington Monthly Meeting through Williamson Preparative Meeting, and birthplace in New Jersey. Griffith Cooper, once a naval officer, became a Quaker after the War of 1812. He was an enrolled minister of Farmington Monthly Meeting and a catalyst for national efforts to preserve Seneca Indian homelands. He and Eliza kept an important Underground Railroad station, and son-in-law Eliab W. Capron signed the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments. They had moved from Haddonfield, New Jersey, to join Farmington Monthly Meeting (Williamson Preparative Meeting) on September 23, 1824.

Other reformers affiliated with Farmington Monthly Meeting lived in Palmyra. Again, they tended to be of a younger generation and were not directly related to the cohort of families who migrated from Adams, Massachusetts. Pliny Sexton (b. 1796), for example, came with his parents from Suffield, Connecticut, to Palmyra in 1801. He married three times. Susan Aldrich was a local woman, born in 1798. Hannah Van Alstine (b. 1803) was from Coeymans, New York. She came to Farmington when she married in 1836. As a Quaker minister, she took an active role with her husband in reform movements in Farmington before her early death in 1842. Stephen Durfee (b. 1776) and Mary Durfee were from the Quaker family of Gideon Durfee and Anna Bowen Durfee of Tiverton, Newport County, Rhode Island.

Members of Macedon Preparative Meeting of Farmington Monthly Meeting included William Gould Barker (b. 1809), whose family moved from Bristol, Massachusetts, to Poughkeepsie, New York, and finally, in 1783, to Upper Canada. William Barker married Caroline Cornell Barker (b. 1815), from Dutchess County, New York. Susan White Doty was born in 1807 in New Bedford, Massachusetts. She moved first to Clinton Corners, Dutchess County, New York, and then to Venice, New York, near Scipio in Cayuga County, where she married Elias Doty. Elias had been born 1788 in Dutchess County, New York and moved in 1828 to Scipio. In 1841, Susan and Elias bought a house and farm in Macedon. Although there is no record of when they joined Farmington M.M., Elias was disowned in 1850.⁹³

Many reformers affiliated with the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse were not members of Farmington Monthly Meeting but nearby monthly meetings. They came to Farmington as part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting and Genesee Yearly Meeting. Amy

93. *Descendants of David Barker*; Hazard index. Genealogical research by Charles Lenhart.

and Isaac Post and Isaac Post for example, were among the most active reformers. They were both Quakers from Long Island who moved first to Scipio M.M., where they married in 1836 before they moved to Rochester M.M. Amy Post was born in 1802 in Jericho, New York. Isaac Post was born in 1798 in Westbury, Long Island.

The M'Clintock family were also very active reformers at Farmington but belonged to Farmington Quarterly Meeting but not Farmington Monthly Meeting. Thomas M'Clintock, Clerk of Genesee Y.M. from 1838-43, was born in 1792 in New Castle County, Delaware. Mary Ann M'Clintock was born in 1800 in Burlington, New York. Thomas M'Clintock was originally Presbyterian before he joined a Quaker meeting in Philadelphia in 1802. He had been a leader of the Hicksites in the 1828 separation, an editor of the works of Quaker founder George Fox, and—as Lucretia Mott noted—“a scholar of some renown.” The M'Clintocks brought their five children to Waterloo in 1836, when they joined Junius M.M., part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting.

In summary, Orthodox reformers were generally older, sons and daughters of Farmington's original Yankee settlers, tracing their roots to Adams, Massachusetts, and before that to the Blackstone River Valley and the area around Providence, Rhode Island. Hicksites were generally younger than their Orthodox allies, often living outside the Town of Farmington itself, sometimes convinced Friends rather than birthright Friends, and certainly not directly related to the pioneer families from Adams, Massachusetts. But whether Orthodox or Hicksite, they joined forces from the mid-1830s to 1860 to turn the Farmington area into a dynamic center of reform, whose powerful energies radiated outward to change the world.

Coinciding with the formation of the new Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, the 1830s saw the emergence of a new, more radical form of abolitionism. In 1833, a group of men from Boston, New York City, and Philadelphia met in Philadelphia to form the American Anti-Slavery Society, dedicated to the immediate abolition of slavery everywhere. No known members of Farmington Quarterly or Monthly meetings attended the Philadelphia gathering, but Quakers who met regularly in Genesee Yearly Meeting were key organizers. With full support from Lucretia Mott, for example, James Mott signed the original Declaration of Sentiments.

Beginning at least as early as 1835, Lucretia Mott came regularly for at least thirteen years from Philadelphia to speak at Genesee Yearly Meeting at Farmington. Lucretia Mott was a recognized minister—perhaps the best-known woman speaker in the U.S. She was active also in abolitionism, peace, prison reform, Indian rights, and women's rights. She and James had relatives in upstate New York—Lucretia's sister, Martha Wright, in Auburn and James' sister and brother-in-law, Abigail Mott Moore and Lindley Murray Moore in Rochester. The 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse was halfway between Auburn and Rochester, so the Motts visited Farmington virtually every year, as one stop on their visits with family members. Mott was an extraordinary speaker, well-known not only within

Quakerism but in the country as a whole. One reformer called her “the most eloquent Quaker minister in the United States, if not in the world.”⁹⁴

In May 1835, Orthodox Friends from Farmington, including William R. Smith, his father Asa B. Smith, and J.C. Hathaway, attended the second annual meeting of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society in New York City.

Hicksites, too, promoted antislavery. Genesee Yearly Meeting met in June 1835. June 14 was so cold that “some fire was made in the stoves to change the air of the house,” remembered Charles Townsend. The next day, regular business meeting for men began by reading the names of “representatives from Farmington, Sipio, Canada, and Pelham half-year’s meeting,” and continued with reading epistles from other yearly meetings. “Many friends from Cannada are lively spirited friends and do not appear to be afraid to speak with a loud voice whatever they believe they are called upon to communicate,” noted Townsend.⁹⁵

When Philadelphia Yearly Meeting expressed “a concern for the African race,” Friend Adon Corey launched into an impassioned response, saying that “those who partook of articles which were procured from slave labor were worse than highway robbers, or horse thieves.” “Friends here are generally very zealous on this subject,” Townsend noted. The meeting agreed to “follow the track of N. York meeting” and they sent a memorial to Congress protesting slavery in the District of Columbia and recommending abstention from any products of slave labor. This Meeting, noted Townsend, “may do without a great deal of the use of those articles—Many of them spin their own articles of wearing apparel and have an abundance of Shuger of their own making from the maple sugar trees which [are] in great numbers in this country.” “Friends here appear to be in advance of us in this respect,” he added.⁹⁶

Townsend generally approved of the ways in which members of men’s meeting conducted their business. At the same time, he feared that “the warmth of feeling” might make them “want to do too much which must weaken our testimonies instead of making them more strong.” “There must be order there must be an outward discipline in the present state of Man,” Townsend noted in his journal. “The health of society depends upon it.”⁹⁷

At that same Yearly Meeting in 1835, Genesee Yearly Meeting heard “very good discourses” on slavery from several ministers. Lucretia Mott also spoke about women’s education. Hannah Pierce, a 28-year-old Friend, recorded Mott’s remarks in her diary. “Lucretia Mott,” she noted, “spoke beautifully on the subject of female education endeavoring to convince them of the advantage arising from a highly cultivated mind,

94. *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, July 6, 1849.

95. Charles Townsend, “Journal,” in *A Collection of Townsend Family Letters, Diaries, and Documents, 1776-1957*, vol. 2, compiled by Dana Dunbar Howe. Courtesy of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

96. Townsend, “Journal.”

97. Townsend, “Journal.”

them to not be satisfied with merely a knowledge of the common branches of education, but prove to the world that females are capable of acquiring a knowledge of the higher branches also.” Lydia P. Mott, a Quaker who ran a girls’ school in Skaneateles called the “Beehive,” “addressed the young sisters very feelingly wishing them to lay aside the trimmings and ornaments with which so many were adorned, and appropriate the money to benevolent purposes.”⁹⁸

When Lydia Mott and Lucretia Mott asked to bring “a concern,” to the men’s meeting, however, the response was lukewarm. The women sat “on one of the low benches on the floor.” When invited to assume one of the high seats in front, Lydia finally did so, but said that she was “uneasy” about it, “making the hackney’d remarks we have so often heard of latter times, of the high seats being no more Holy than others and that some people were desirous of promotion and of being placed about their brethren &c &c.” Lydia Mott added “a severe attack on Select Meetings,” “great concern for the education of youth, and some harsh remarks upon parents for hoarding up their money to the exclusion of their children’s instruction.” “My impression was that the meeting was not edified by her Visit,” noted Townsend drily.⁹⁹

Lydia Mott’s attack on high seats and select meetings foreshadowed emerging tension between passionate reformers and those who valued order and discipline, as well as the way in which ideals of equality challenged hierarchies both within Quakerism and outside of it. In only thirteen years, this tension would split Genesee Yearly Meeting apart.

Meanwhile, Farmington Friends expanded their commitment to abolitionism. On October 3, 1835, several men from Farmington (including L. Hathaway, R. Hathaway, Asa B. Smith, William R. Smith, and J.C. Hathaway, all Orthodox Friends from Farmington Monthly Meeting, and Pliny Sexton, Otis Clapp, Gideon Ramsdell, Elias Durfee, and Elihu Durfee from Palmyra Preparative Meeting of Farmington M.M.) signed a call to the organizing meeting of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society. When the delegates met at the Bleecker Street Church in Utica on October 21, 1835, Asa B. Smith and J.C. Hathaway of Farmington attended. When this meeting was disrupted by “gentlemen or property and standing,” delegates adjourned to the Presbyterian Church in Peterboro, New York, where they officially formed the statewide anti-slavery society.¹⁰⁰

A year later, Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Friends (Orthodox) adopted a strong abolitionist statement on November 9, 1836, published in pamphlet form as *An Address from Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Friends, to its Members on Slavery*. More than seventy years have passed since Friends renounced slaveholding, they noted. And on 1st

98. Oliver Johnson, “Meeting at Waterloo,” *The North Star*, June 29, 1849; Journal Hannah Pierce, 6 month 16th, 1835, <http://www.geocities.com/lenaweemi/diary.html>.

99. Townsend, “Journal.”

100. “To the Friends of Immediate Emancipation in the State of New York,” *Liberator*, October 3, 1835 (5:40), Reprinted from *Oneida Standard and Democrat* in the *Liberator*, October 3, 1835; *Proceedings of the New York anti-slavery convention, held at Utica, October 21, and New York anti-slavery state society, held at Peterboro’, October 22, 1835* (Utica: *Standard and Democrat*, 1835), www.archive.org/stream/proceedingsofnew00newy.

of 6th month, 1834, “the shackles of slavery fell from nearly one million of human beings,” when Great Britain abolished slavery. “Christian efforts have been highly blessed this side of the Atlantic,” too. The country abolished the slave trade, and half the states had no slavery. Yet,

the number of slaves has increased, within the last fifty years, from six hundred thousand to two and a half millions. Thus, one-sixth of our population are held as mere goods and chattels. . . . It is not sufficient that the society of which we are members is clear of the sin of actual slave-holding. . . . Our Saviour characterized his followers as . . . “the salt of the earth,” “the light of the world,” “a city set upon a hill.” If we neglect to plead for those who cannot plead for themselves; if we close our eyes to the miseries and our ears to the lamentations and wailings and woes of millions of our fellow men, shall we have a claim to this exalted character? If our candle be lit by the light of Christ, we are solemnly warned not to “put it under a bushel.”

The profession of Christianity lays us under many and important obligations. A mere theoretical belief in Christ is of no avail. Living faith calls for the exercise of active virtues. . . . When a plain and positive duty is enjoined, no excuses that we can make can shield us from responsibility.¹⁰¹

Clerks who signed this minute were Lindley Murray Moore for the men’s meeting and Abigail Lydia Mott Moore, James Mott’s sister and Lucretia Mott’s sister-in-law, for the women’s meeting. Lindley Murray Moore later became president of Haverford College.¹⁰²

In March 1837, women and men formed two separate anti-slavery societies in Farmington, both affiliated with the American Anti-Slavery Society. One hundred men in Farmington formed a men’s antislavery society, whose president was J.C. Hathaway. Thirty-two women formed the Farmington Union Female Antislavery Society, one of only twenty female anti-slavery societies in New York State. Their president was J.C. Hathaway’s sister, Phebe Hathaway. During the next year, they bought a small library of antislavery books and circulated several petitions asking for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the abolition of the slave trade, and so forth. “May we never think it is time to relax our exertions, or to disband our societies, till the end for which we associated shall have been fully accomplished - till there shall not be a slave in these United States, and this country becomes in truth, what it has long hypocritically professed to be, the refuge of

101. *An Address from Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Friends, to its Members on Slavery* (Rochester: Hoyt and Porter, 1836), Samuel J. May Anti-Slavery Collection, Cornell University, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/m/mayantislavery/browse_S.html, published in *Friend of Man*, December 15, 1836.

102. Thanks to Charles Lenhart for identifying the relationship between Abigail Mott Moore and James Mott.

down trodden humanity - the asylum of the oppressed,” reported Margaret Macomber in their second annual report in 1839.¹⁰³

At the same time, Quakers Otis Clapp of Palmyra and Asa B. Smith of Farmington and Macedon, became agents for *The Colored American*, edited by Samuel B. Cornish in New York City. People in Farmington regularly sent donations and letters to this newspaper, \$5.00 in September 1837, \$10.00 in December 1838, and \$10.00 in January 1839. “We heartily thank them,” noted the editor. “Such kindness not only relieves us from the difficulties into which we have been plunged, but it renewably nerve us to faithfulness in our duty.” This is an uncommon example of European American abolitionists working under the direction of African American abolitionists.¹⁰⁴

Orthodox women in Farmington also connected abolitionism explicitly to woman’s rights. On July 4, 1838, Independence Day, they published an address to the women of western New York. Some people, especially some husbands, thought that the only duty of women was in the home, they noted, but “have we no other object to claim our affections?” “Rest assured, dear sisters, that he who would chain you exclusively to the daily round of household duties, is at least in some degree actuated by the dark spirit of slavery, and that this feeling is a relic of barbarism, having its origin in countries where woman is considered emphatically the *property* of another.”¹⁰⁵

In late 1837 or early 1838, half a dozen women from Farmington, Macedon, and Palmyra prepared “beautiful and useful articles for sale” in the first known women’s anti-slavery fair in western New York, held in Rochester. Their labors raised fifty dollars for the “abolition current which is rapidly bearing the principles of truth and light all over the land.”¹⁰⁶

As part of their abolitionist commitment, Farmington Friends also established a manual labor school. Reformers in several parts of the country formed these schools in the 1830s, designed to help low income (or no income) students, both black and white, earn an education by doing farm work to pay their way. At one stroke, manual labor schools that welcomed African Americans as well as European Americans helped attack discrimination based on class as well as race. One of the best known of these was the Oneida Institute, operated by Beriah Green in Whitestown, New York. Gerrit Smith opened a similar school in Peterboro. In Farmington, Gideon Herendeen, Asa B. Smith,

103. *Friend of Man*, May 23, 1838; Margaret A. Macomber, “Farmington Female A.S. Society,” 7th Mo. 13th, 1839, *Friend of Man*, [August 1839].

104. *Seventh Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society*, Preston Pierce’s website; *The Colored American*, June 10, 1837, September 30, 1837; February 17, 1838, from A.B. Smith; December 15, 1838, \$10.00 from George Comstock and friends; January 26, 1839.

105. Wellman, “Women and Radical Reform,” in Mabel E. Deutrich, *Clio Was a Woman* (Washington, D.C., 1980), 118; “Auxiliaries to the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836,” Elizur Wright Papers, Library of Congress; “Address of Farmington Female Anti-Slavery Society, to Females residing in the Western part of the State of New York,” *Friend of Man*, July 4, 1838.

106. “Anti-Slavery Fair,” *Friend of Man*, January 31, 1838.

and John Ramsdell, as trustees of the Manual Labor School, purchased 12.14 acres from Daniel Robinson, Isaac Hathaway, and Asa Smith on March 19, 1838, to use for their school. Although their intentions were noble, the school did not succeed.¹⁰⁷

Meanwhile, Hicksite Friends were active in movements for Seneca Indian land rights as well as abolitionism and women's rights. These movements were led by Friends from Farmington Monthly Meeting as well as by Friends from nearby monthly meetings, especially Rochester and Junius (in Waterloo). By 1836, Genesee Yearly Meeting had established a school for Seneca Indians (probably at Cattaraugus) under the care of the Yearly Meeting. In August of that year, Griffith Cooper, Quaker minister from Farmington, representing Genesee Yearly Meeting, attended Cherry Street Meetinghouse in Philadelphia (Lucretia and James Mott's meeting) to plead for funds to keep this school going. Thirty-six Philadelphia Quakers offered to collect funds and expressed the "confident belief" that they could raise "a considerable amount of money."¹⁰⁸

Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends at Farmington in June 1838 saw a major escalation in all of these reforms. This reform energy coincided with the approval of Thomas M'Clintock as Clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. The M'Clintock family became an engine of reform within Genesee Yearly Meeting. Thomas M'Clintock's clerkship, from 1838 to 1843, paralleled the most active period of reform in the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. Around them coalesced other activists, notably Amy and Isaac Post from Rochester Monthly Meeting.

Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock and their five children had moved from Philadelphia to Junius Monthly Meeting of Friends in Waterloo in 1836. Thomas M'Clintock had been one of the major Hicksite leaders in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. He was an editor of Quaker founder George Fox's journals and, as Quaker minister Lucretia Mott noted, a minister "of some renown." He was also a leader of the Free Produce Society and an abolitionist. His daughter Elizabeth attended the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, meeting in Philadelphia in 1838. This meeting was notable for, among other events, the burning of the new Liberty Hall, when white and black women insisted on meeting together. Angelina Grimke, newly married to noted abolitionist Theodore Weld, spoke at this meeting. Grimke, with her sister Sarah, author of *Letters on the Equality of Women and the Condition of the Sexes*, became an important role model for abolitionist women asserting their rights as women to speak in public.¹⁰⁹

In June 1838, Genesee Yearly Meeting dealt with Seneca Indian land rights, abolitionism, and women's rights. A diary kept by Quaker minister Mary Durfee from Palmyra gave a personal perspective, intertwining comments on the religious and reform concerns

107. *History of Ontario County* (1893); Deed found by Diane Robinson.

108. Minutes of "meeting of a number of Friends convened at Cherry Street Meetinghouse 8 mo, 2nd, 1836, Papers of Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

109. Christopher Densmore and Judith Wellman, "Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock," *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Judith Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Women's Rights Convention* (2004),

of Friends with notes about where she stayed, who was sick, and what the weather was like. After meeting for two days with the “select meeting of Ministers and Elders,” Durfee attended yearly meeting from June 11 to June 17.

On June 11, Genesee Yearly Meeting, acting on a minute sent in 1836 from Junius Monthly Meeting of Friends in Waterloo, agreed that the discipline shall be “so altered that men and women shall stand on the same footing in all matters in which they are equally concerned . . . and the words ‘the ultimate judgment to be in the mens [sic] meeting, be erased----.” When Genesee Yearly Meeting reprinted the *Discipline* in 1842, they included this change, noting that “in accordance with the declaration of the apostle, that male and female are one in Christ Jesus, the following rules of Discipline are to be understood as being alike applicable to both sexes” and that “men’s and women’s meetings stand on the equal footing of common interest and common right.” June 16, they addressed this minute again, as part of other reports. Durfee noted, “the com. on the subject of disipline [sic] concluded to adopt the several reports for each Meeting to act upon in conjunction.”¹¹⁰

With this change, women’s meetings—for the first time in Quaker meetings anywhere—stood on absolutely equal footing with men’s meetings. Ten years later, this group would form the core of organizers (and the single largest religious group of signers) of the nation’s first women’s rights convention, held in Seneca Falls, New York.¹¹¹

On June 15, Durfee noted a strong concern for both Seneca Indians and African Americans. Men Friends drafted a memorial to Congress opposing the 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek:

Attended meeting again. interesting indeed - exercised, on account of the natives of this country and also the poor oppressed and much injured africans & their decendants. men friends conclude to sent a Memorial to Congress, praying them not to ratify a fraudulent treaty that the _____ [Ogden] Company has obtained by bribing the Indians etc.

Men Friends were responding to the draft of the Treaty of Buffalo Creek, first presented to the Senate on January 15, 1838. This treaty, “one of the major frauds in American Indian history,” according to historian Laurence M. Hauptman, would have forced the Seneca to give up their ancestral lands in western New York and move as a people to lands in Kansas. The Cherokee and other southeastern peoples were forced to move to Oklahoma later that year in what became known as the “Trail of Tears.” Such a fate seemed imminent for Seneca peoples, as well, unless something could be done immediately to prevent it. Quaker intervention was the key. Quakers in Genesee, New York, Philadelphia, and

110. Genesee Yearly Meeting Minutes, June 11, 1838; *Discipline of Genesee Yearly Meeting* (Rochester, New York, 1842), 11.

111. Judith Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Women’s Rights Convention* (2004); Christopher Densmore, “Quaker Origins of the First Woman’s Rights Convention,” *Friends Journal*, July 1, 1998.

Baltimore Yearly Meetings appointed a joint committee to investigate Seneca concerns. Two members from Farmington Monthly Meeting—Griffith M. Cooper and William S. Burling—served as representatives to this committee from Genesee Yearly Meeting. On June 11, 1838, four days before men Friends raised the issue at Farmington, the Senate refused to approve the Treaty of Buffalo Creek until “each of said tribes or bands, separately assembled in council . . . have given their free and voluntary assent.” Seneca refusal to give that “free and voluntary assent” opened a way to resist the Treaty. Quakers responded with immediate support.¹¹²

On June 16, women Friends drafted a petition “on behalf of the people of Colour.” In “A Memorial of the Genesee Yearly Meeting of Women friends in the State of New York, held at Farmington, 16th of 6th mo 1838,” they noted that women friends were “under a deep feeling, of the wrongs practiced upon our coloured brethren and sisters in wresting from them the greatest of all external blessings, that of Liberty’ in the exercise of those noble faculties which are the endowments of one common Creator. We feel in duty bound respectfully to present you our earnest petition on their behalf.”¹¹³

This may have been the petition “on behalf of their coloured brethren and sisters” that Hannah Sexton and Mary B. Durfee, both ministers from Palmyra Preparative Meeting of Farmington Monthly Meeting, sent to Mark H. Sibley, their congressional representative, in December 1838. On January 7, 1839, Congressman Mark H. Sibley acknowledged receipt of this petition but noted that, as expected, Congress had refused to receive it. Like all antislavery petitions, it was subject to the Atherton resolution, whereby all antislavery petitions were immediately tabled. Abolitionists called this resolution the “gag law.”¹¹⁴

Friends affiliated with Genesee Yearly Meeting from meetings outside Farmington also focused on abolitionism. In Waterloo, women and men met together in the same antislavery society. They sent antislavery petitions (some signed by men, some by women, and some by both women and men). In Rochester, three separate antislavery societies organized. The one that included Quakers also included non-Quakers, both black and white.¹¹⁵

Genesee Yearly Meeting in 1838 concluded on the “warm and beautiful day” of June 17, when both men and women ministers spoke. “Benj Mather rose & spoke a few words,” noted Mary Durfee, “which seemed to open the door of the celestial treasury & Hannah

112. For the text of this treaty, see “Treaty with the New York Indians, 1838,” January 15, 1838, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 501-516, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/new0502.htm>.

113. Text of whole petition in Mary Durfee, *Diary*, Wayne County Historian’s Office. Transcribed by Marjory Allen Perez.

114. Mark H. Sibley to Mary B. Durfee and Hannah Sexton, January 7, 1839, found in Palmyra Public Library by Reginald Neale.

115. Judith Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls* (2004).

S[exton] was qualified to proclaim to the people that those exelent [sic] blessings in store was free to all in a living powerful manner.”¹¹⁶

This meeting in June 1838 solidified the core network of reformers among Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite) and set the tone for all succeeding efforts for a generation. Abolitionism and work for Seneca Indian land rights created a core group of reformers and anchored the network that would create a national movement for the rights of women.

Reform-minded Friends in Farmington—both Orthodox and Hicksite—received an infusion of energy from a visit by British abolitionist and Quaker Joseph John Gurney, when he traveled to the U.S. in 1839. With his sister Elizabeth Fry, Gurney worked for prison reform and the abolition of capital punishment. He traveled all over Great Britain, Ireland, and the U.S. on behalf of world peace, total abstinence from alcohol, and the abolition of slavery. Gurney was so much associated with reform-minded Orthodox Friends that they were often referred to as “Gurneyites.”

As an aristocrat, philanthropist, and son of a wealthy Norwich banker, Gurney had access to the highest levels of politicians and diplomats in Washington, including the British ambassador, Senator Henry Clay, Senator John C. Calhoun, and Chief Justice Roger B. Taney. He visited all of these men, trying to convince them that U.S. slavery could successfully be abolished, as British slavery had been abolished in the West Indies.

When Gurney traveled west across upstate New York, he stopped in Farmington where he spoke to “a large settlement of Friends.” “Great was the multitude of persons, including many of the Hicksite denomination,” he wrote, “who flocked to our meeting both in the morning and afternoon.” He held several meetings among this “sturdy, intelligent, and prosperous people,” including a large one in the Hicksite meetinghouse. He had “a memorable time; two large overflowing meetings; that in the afternoon, from the pressure of the multitude, held in the Hicksite meeting-house.” “I think they were good times,” he added, “the truth being triumphant, and Christ fully preached.” “I know of no district in America,” Gurney concluded, “in which the anti-slavery cause, as well as that of total abstinence, are more vigorously maintained by the bulk of the population [than in Farmington].”¹¹⁷

Gurney spent the evening in Farmington with a “veteran minister” (probably Caleb McCumber), “whose sterling good sense, comprehensive views of Christianity, and fervent piety, are not the less striking for the perfect originality and even quaintness of his manners and appearance.” Gurney, a British aristocrat, could not resist adding, “I give this brief description of our friend because it characterizes the effect produced by divine grace

116. Mary Durfee’s diary, transcription by Marjory Allen Perez, courtesy of Wayne County Historian’s Office.

117. Joseph John Gurney, *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie* (Norwich [England]: J. Fletcher, 1841), 308-9; Joseph John Gurney, *Journal*, Rochester, New York, 7 Mo. 28, 1839, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, ed., *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney* (Norwich [England]: Fletcher and Alexander, 1854), 2:173.

in the midst of the hardy discipline of these rough regions.” Gurney later commented to Elizabeth Cady Stanton on his visit to the U.S. He liked everything about it, he said, except ‘your pie crust and your slavery.’”¹¹⁸

Immediate results of the reform initiatives in the mid-1830s energized Farmington Friends, especially those working for Seneca Indian land rights and abolitionism. In terms of support for Seneca and Haudenosaunee land claims, Quakers took their concerns in 1838 directly to President Martin Van Buren, protesting the Treaty of Buffalo Creek in the strongest terms. “To contemplate a forcible removal of the Indians, and the heart-rending scenes that must accompany such removal, is shocking to every sentiment of justice and humanity. To see a great and powerful nation lending its aid to oppress the weak and helpless . . . would do more to weaken the bond of our national union than all the enemies of a just people could ever effect,” they argued. Results were not what they intended. The Ogden Land Company renewed its efforts to collect Seneca signatures of support, and by bribery and untruths it managed to convince thirteen more people to sign the treaty, making forty-four signatures in all, out of a supposed total of 81 leaders. On that basis, Van Buren recommended to the Senate on January 22, 1839, that they confirm this treaty.¹¹⁹

The Joint Committee on Indian Affairs did not give up. Representatives met personally with President Martin Van Buren. Van Buren assured the committee that “if he shall be fully assured that a majority of the Chiefs of the Seneca nation have not fairly signed or authorized others to sign the amended treaty, he would not think himself at liberty to ratify that instrument.” Van Buren, along with the Secretary of War arranged a council with Seneca people at Cattaraugus on August 12, 1839, and the invited Friends to attend, as well.¹²⁰

At a conference held in Baltimore, Maryland, the Joint Committee agreed to hire Griffith Cooper, Farmington Quaker minister, to interview Seneca leaders and provide President Van Buren with solid information about which Seneca leaders had signed the treaty and which had not. Benjamin Ferris, Delaware Quaker and secretary of the Joint Committee, sent an official letter of instructions to Cooper on November 4, 1839, requesting him to “proceed as soon as practical to the Seneca Indian Settlement and there obtain authentic information so as to enable him officially to answer the following queries –

118. Joseph John Gurney, *A Journey in North America, described in familiar letters to Amelia Opie* (1841), 308-9; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815-97* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1898). Thanks to Christopher Densmore and Charles Lenhart for finding these citations.

119. *The Case of the Seneca Indians, in the State of New York*, 31; National Register Nomination, Farmington Quaker Crossroads. Quoted in *U.S. Supreme Court, U S v. NEW YORK INDIANS*, 173 U.S. 464 (1899)173, U.S. 464 UNITED STATES v. NEW YORK, No. 697, March 20, 1899, <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=173&invol=464>.

120. Benjamin Ferris to Martin Van Buren, November 4, 1839, Papers of Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

1st. What were the names of the Chiefs, acknowledged as such by both parties, at the time the amended treaty was finally returned to Washington?

2nd. What Chiefs did actually sign the Treaty, or by Powers of Attorney, really signed by themselves, authorize either to sign it on their behalf? Return their names under both heads.

3rd. What Signatures of Chiefs appear on the treaty, who declare they never in any way authorized them to be attached to it, nor attached them to it themselves.

4th. What are the names of Chiefs, properly elected since the treaty subject was agitated, say 7th mo. 1, 1837? And what are the names of those improperly elected, and when and how were they elected?¹²¹

In January 1840, Griffith Cooper took sworn testimony from Seneca leaders in a council at Buffalo Creek. The Joint Committee presented this documentation in a memorial to President Van Buren on January 29, 1840. Out of 2505 Seneca men, women, and children, only 146 had declared themselves willing to move. President Van Buren had already sent the Treaty to the Senate on January 13, recommending adoption except for the Seneca. “I have not been able to satisfy myself,” he wrote, “that I can . . . cause the treaty to be carried into effect, in respect to the Seneca tribe.”

On February 2, 1840, Benjamin Ferris, secretary of the Joint Committee, wrote to Senator A.H. Sevier, chair of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, “Such a tissue of fraud and imposition as has been discovered, we believe is not to be found in the history of American diplomacy.” On March 5, 1840, Senecas and Quakers could rejoice over the report from Senator A.H. Sevier and the Senate committee, recommending entire rejection of the Treaty.¹²²

In spite of opposition, however, from both the President and the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, the Senate ratified the Treaty of Buffalo Creek on March 25, 1840. It was a tie vote, broken by the vice-president of the U.S., Richard Johnson. On April 4, President Van Buren put the Treaty into effect.¹²³

This was a crushing blow. Seneca villages were full of “consternation and gloom.” Still, neither Senecas nor Quakers gave up. On April 4, 1840, the Quaker Joint Committee on Indian Affairs authorized collection of letters, petitions, and depositions relating to the

121. “Copy of Instructions to Griffith M. Cooper and a letter on the occasion 11 mo. 4, 1839,” Papers of Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

122. *The Case of the Seneca Indians*, 23, 33. For an overview of these debates, with their political context, see Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 175-212.

123. U.S. Constitution (Article 2, Section 1) requires a two-thirds vote of Senators present to approve treaties. Was Senate approval of the Treaty of Buffalo Creek legal?

Seneca. These included sixty-two documents from Seneca people, with evidence of federal fraud and dishonesty. They published these in June 1840 as the *Case of the Seneca Indians* (Philadelphia, 1840).

Meanwhile, in May 1840, a Seneca Council decided, “whatever might be the consequences, that they would in no event voluntarily remove to the country allotted for them west of the Mississippi.” On May 2, 1840, Tonawanda Seneca leaders drafted a petition, to be sent to Genesee Yearly Meeting at Farmington in June: “We only ask for justice. *We love Tonawanda*. We have no wish to leave it. It is the land of our fathers. Here we wish to lay our bones in peace.”¹²⁴

On May 28, the Joint Committee met in New York City, where they learned that “a delegation from the Seneca nation desired to have an interview with Friends at Farmington, during the week of Genesee yearly meeting.” The Joint Committee appointed sixteen of its members to meet with Seneca leaders in Farmington in June.¹²⁵

On June 17-19, 1840, at least eight Seneca leaders, including Jacob Shongo from Allegany; Seneca White, Henry Two Guns, and William Tony(?) from Buffalo Creek; Samuel Gordon from Cattaraugus; two interpreters (Peter Wilson, Cayuga, and Cephas Two Guns, Seneca); plus Jimmy Johnson from Tonawanda, who arrived on June 18, met with representatives of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, in the 1816 Meetinghouse and also at the home of Quaker Hugh Pound. Quakers from the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs included William Wharton, Philip E. Thomas, Joseph Warner, Nathaniel Starbuck, George M. Justice, Deborah Wharton, Rachel Hicks, Maria Torrington, Dorothy Golden, Benjamin Ferris, Abraham Bell, John Gillingham, Dobel Baker, Griffith M. Cooper, and William S. Burling (all from the Joint Committee), plus Joseph Hillman, teacher at Cattaraugus, Thomas and Mary Ann M’Clintock from Waterloo, and Caleb and Rachel Barker from Poughkeepsie.¹²⁶

On the first day, June 17, Seneca leaders presented their case in the 1816 Meetinghouse. The next day, Quakers on the Joint Committee met by themselves at the house of Hugh Pound on and concluded:

On deliberate and weighty attention to the present trying circumstances of the natives in the State of New York, it was unanimously agreed that those who have been under our care be advised quietly to remain on their present Reservations, that they demean themselves in a peaceable unresisting manner, tranquilly waiting the events that may be permitted to overtake them, under the assurance that Friends deeply sympathize with them and their trials, and that we stand disposed to do all in our

124. *Case of the Seneca Indians, 1840*.

125. Philip Thomas and Benjamin Ferris to President Martin Van Buren, *Case of the Seneca Indians, 1840*, 41, 51.

126. Minutes of 1840 Meeting at 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, Papers of Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Transcribed by Charles Lenhart.

power for their relief, by representation to the General Government and by such other means as may be afforded us.

On June 19, Quakers and Senecas again met together. Quakers read the essay of the Joint Committee through an interpreter and gave a written copy to Seneca White, Seneca leader from Buffalo.

Working with Seneca people and the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, Cooper and others organized a petition campaign, getting signatures of support for the Seneca from various communities in central and western New York. With Seneca leaders, they also sent letters and made personal visits to federal and state officials. They worked closely with Maris B. Pierce, a Seneca leader and teacher, educated at Dartmouth, who worked as interpreter and who spoke in schools and churches throughout western New York.

They had no immediate success, but the fall election shifted control of the federal government from Democratic proponents of Indian removal to Whigs, who were more sympathetic to Native Americans. When William Henry Harrison became president on March 4, 1841, followed quickly by John Tyler, John C. Spencer from Canandaigua became Secretary of War. Spencer's father Ambrose had a long-standing relationship with Seneca people. Although Spencer refused to renounce the Treaty of Buffalo Creek, he was willing to consider an amendment to it. That amendment took the form of the Supplementary Treaty of 1842.

Terms of this treaty seem to have emerged from a meeting in New York City on January 8, 1842, with members of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs. Philip Thomas, Baltimore Quaker, chair of the Joint Committee, and president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, played a key role. "On his own responsibility," Philip Thomas freely conversed with those individuals on the subject, and after much labor had finally succeeded in arranging with them the Basis of a Supplementary Treaty."¹²⁷

The final version allowed Seneca people to keep both Cattaraugus and Allegany homelands, but it mandated the sale of Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda. In addition, any railroad company chartered by the State of New York could receive right-of-way across Seneca land. Finally, asserting the authority of the federal government over both the states and Indian people, New York State was forbidden to tax the Seneca. Was the mention of railroads a concession to Philip Thomas's personal interest in railroad expansion? Did Thomas agree on this basis to fund Seneca schools? Did the Joint Committee agree to continue their work with Seneca people?

Whatever the debates were, the Joint Committee accepted this proposal on January 8, 1842. Neither Seneca people nor Quakers from Genesee Yearly Meeting seem to have had any input into this agreement. And both Senecas and Quakers from western New York felt betrayed.

127. Minutes of Joint Committee, January 8, 1842.

About March 13, 1842, Quakers held a special meeting in the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse. “Our minds were painfully affected,” they wrote, “by a view of the present position of the Seneca Nation, who are in great danger of being dispossessed of their most valuable possessions.” Quakers from Genesee Yearly Meeting arranged to meet with representatives from Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia in Albany on March 15, 1842.

About the same time, on March 14, 1842, Seneca women at Tonawanda forwarded a petition to President Tyler, asserting their absolute refusal to leave. “We are astonished to hear that the Tonawanda Reservation, we have to give up,” they wrote. “We the women of the Tonawanda have exerted our influence, in trying to have our Chiefs to be united in their mind in their councils & they have done so,--not one of our Chiefs here, have signed the Treaty.” “You may be astonished to hear this from us,” the women acknowledged, “as we have never done so [sent a petition] before. We think much, and are attached to these places, which the Great Spirit has given to his Red children of the Country.” A copy of this petition was filed with the National Archives and Records Administration. A second copy resides in the Amy and Isaac Post Family Papers at the University of Rochester, suggesting that Amy Post had a role in working with Tonawanda women to prepare it.¹²⁸

In April, several Seneca leaders (including Israel Jemison, Cattaraugus) presented a proposal to the federal government to give up part of each reservation, rather than lose both Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda. Ambrose Spencer, U.S. agent to the Seneca and father of John C. Spencer, refused to consider this. Instead, he met in council with Seneca leaders in May to present the ultimatum that Seneca people give up both Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda and that all Seneca people move either to Cattaraugus or Allegany. Samuel Gordon from Cattaraugus continued to press, unsuccessfully, for the idea that Senecas should keep all four homelands, even if reduced in size.¹²⁹

From May 9-15, Seneca leaders met in council to debate their response. “Nearly all the chiefs of the nation were convened,” noted the Quaker delegation that met with Seneca leaders on the first day. “After a free conference the Indians being fully satisfied, Friends took an affectionate leave from them and returned home.” Council members continued to talk for five more days, until May 15, when 79 of the 81 leaders agreed to support the Supplemental Treaty. On May 20, 1842, the federal government formally ratified the Treaty of 1842.¹³⁰

Most likely, Tonawanda people were not among those Seneca who agreed to the Treaty. Tonawanda resistance to removal continued for fifteen years—through petitions, court battles, and refusal to allow surveyors on Tonawanda land. In 1857, the Tonawandas

128. Minerva BlackSmith and others to John Tyler, Tonawanda, March 14, 1842, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester.

129. Lawrence Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests*, 208; Indian Education and Civilization, 546.

130. Indian Committee to Philadelphia, 5 mo. 10th 1842; “Treaty With The Seneca, 1842,” May 20, 1842; Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests*, 196.

negotiated a separate treaty with the U.S. government, keeping their traditional homelands.¹³¹

Amy Post, member of Rochester Monthly Meeting (part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting) continued to maintain her interest in individual Indians throughout her life. An obituary noted that “she was especially interested in the condition of the Indians on the state reservations, and an Indian named Blind John has annually visited her house from the Cattaraugus Reservation.” Fellow Quakers often wrote to Amy and Isaac Post using Iroquois phrases. John Ketcham spoke of “the great Council fire of the A.A.S. Society in N. York,” for example. Oliver Johnson closed one letter with “let the chain of friendship between us be kept bright.”¹³²

In October 1842, Griffith Cooper summed up Quaker work with Seneca people against the Treaty of Buffalo Creek, urging Quakers to use this as a model to work for the rights of African Americans:

When my Indian brothers were likely to be robbed of their *property*, by a powerful and unprincipled company of speculators, their *chief* and WARRIORS were invited into our houses, to tell of their wrongs, and plead for their brethren; Friends were not then told to ‘*keep in the quiet*’— to ‘*keep out of the mixture*.’ No— if not in word, it was in deed— AGITATE, AGITATE! Let *all* people know their wrong; spread their evidence before *every* body. We have struggled for four years to relieve our *red* brethren. We have circulated petitions to be signed, as well out of the Society as in it; we asked— and received names for these petitions from *all kinds* of religious and political parties, civil and *military officers* We pulled the wires, and these ‘*worlds people*’ danced to them. Now, Friends, what *was* all this for? Why, for the very thing abolitionists are now pleading for, namely— *universal right to all men*.¹³³

131. Laurence M. Hauptman, *The Tonawanda Senecas' Heroic Battle Against Removal: Conservative Activist Indians* (Excelsior, 2011); Christopher Vecsey and William A. Starna, eds., *Iroquois Land Claims* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 9-10. For a less sanguine view of Quakers and the 1842 treaty, see Laurence M. Hauptman, “The State’s Men, the Salvation Seekers, and the Seneca: The Supplemental Treaty of Buffalo Creek, 1842,” *New York History* (January 1997): 51-82. Other treatments include Christopher Vecsey and William A. Starna, eds., *Iroquois Land Claims* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988); Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999) and Stephen J. Valone, “William Seward, Whig Politics, and the Compromised Indian Removal Policy in New York State, 1838-1843,” *New York History* 2001 82 (2): 106-134. For the treaty itself, see “Treaty with the Seneca, Tonawanda Band,” November 5, 1857, <http://www.firstpeople.us/FP-HTML-Treaties/TreatyWithTheSenecaTonawandaBand1857.html>.

132. “Mrs. Amy Post at Rest,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 30, 1889; John Ketcham to Amy and Isaac Post, June 1, 1842, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester Library; Oliver Johnson to Isaac Post, June 7, 1842, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester. National Register Nomination, Farmington Quaker Crossroads, 2007.

133. “Friends in Commotion,” E.W.C. to William Lloyd Garrison, Walworth, N.Y., October 28, 1842, *Liberator*, December 9, 1842.

Many Quakers took Griffith Cooper's call to heart. As Friends fought for land rights and independence for Seneca people, they were also engaged in an all-out campaign against slavery. The high point of formal antislavery activism in the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse came between 1838 and 1842.

On March 17, 1840, in the context of support for Seneca land rights, abolitionists from across New York State met in Farmington to form a Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. Many Quakers (both Orthodox and Hicksite) attended, as did many non-Quaker abolitionists. The new society encompassed eighteen counties in western and central New York. William L. Chaplin, "a most efficient agent and deservedly popular in Western New York for his eloquent and convincing advocacy of human rights," became Corresponding Secretary and General Agent. The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society welcomed both African Americans and women as full members, and members of both groups took leadership roles on committees. In effect, the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society became the crucible of the organized women's rights movement in western New York and ultimately in the nation.

Henry C. Wright, a Massachusetts abolitionist and advocate of non-resistance, reported ecstatically on the new organization and on the potential of western New York to invigorate the abolitionist movement:

The field it aims to cultivate, without an exception, is the best in the country. Here mind is free to act and is not bound down by the trammels which bind it in New-England . . . Western New York, in moral and intellectual power, will, ere long, become the Eden of America. A company of nobler spirits I never met than I have met here. These volunteer conventions are bringing forward and disciplining a set of men and women to the work of agitation, who will turn the Church and State upside down. Your heart would leap for joy to see the power of such meetings.¹³⁴

Formation of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society took place in the context of a split in the American Anti-Slavery Society. Those opposed to formal political action among abolitionists followed the lead of William Lloyd Garrison and remained committed to the peace testimony of the American Anti-Slavery Society and also to its assertion that the Constitution was a pro-slavery document. Political abolitionists felt otherwise. They broke away to form the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and then the new Liberty Party. Since only males could vote, membership in the new political antislavery party was limited to men. Adherents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on the other hand, welcomed women members. It was, in fact, the election of Abby Kelley Foster to the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society that led to the formal split. Abby Kelley Foster was a member of the Quaker meeting in Uxbridge, Massachusetts, near the ancestral home of many members of Farmington Monthly Meeting.

134. *Liberator*, April 10, 1840.

Thomas M'Clintock, Clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, made his allegiance clear when he and Quaker mill-owner Richard P. Hunt sent a bolt of woolen cloth from the Waterloo Woolen Mill, made free from the labor of slaves, to William Lloyd Garrison, to be made into a suit for Garrison when he attended the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in May 1840. Garrison returned a laudatory note, perhaps recognizing how important Thomas M'Clintock was to the cause of the American Anti-Slavery Society. "I regard you as one of those whose countrymen are all the rational creatures of God," he enthused,

whether they are found on 'Greenland's icy mountains,' or on 'India's coral strand'—whether their complexion be white, red, or any other color—whether they are civilized or savage, Christians or heathens, elevated in point of intelligence and power, or sunken in degradation and helplessness. When this spirit shall universally prevail among men, there will be no more wars, no more slavery, no more injustice. Then will be held the jubilee of the human race; and every thing that hath breath shall praise the name of the Lord."¹³⁵

If Garrison's intent was to encourage M'Clintock's firm allegiance to the American Anti-Slavery Society, he was successful. M'Clintock would be a staunch supporter of the American Anti-Slavery Society for the rest of his life.

The new Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, organized at Farmington, was affiliated with the American Anti-Slavery Society. In November and December 1840, they sponsored a series of antislavery lectures through western New York (including Monroe, Genesee, Livingston, Allegany, Erie, Niagara, and Orleans Counties). J.C. Hathaway, W.C. Rogers, W.O. Duvall, Lorenzo Hathaway, Esek Wilbur, Gideon Ramsdell, P.D. Hathaway, and Pliny Sexton volunteered for this tour. All of these men were Quakers, some Orthodox (Hathaways and Ramsdell) and some Hicksite (Wilbur and Sexton), but all listed themselves as from Farmington, Ontario County. Perhaps this reflected their affiliation with Farmington Quarterly Meeting, since Duvall was from Port Byron, Cayuga County; Rogers from Utica, Oneida County/ Ramsdell from Perinton, Monroe County; P.D. Hathaway from Cambria, Niagara County; and Sexton from Palmyra, Wayne County. Notably, although all these lecturers were men, they encouraged women and children also to support the cause. "Friends of the slave, will you not rally?" they asked in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. "Let the old and the young, the grave and the gay—men, women, and children—all who claim to be human, come up to the rescue of suffering humanity! The *object* is noble, the *means* righteous, and we earnestly ask your attendance and co-operation. Will you not come?"¹³⁶

135. William Lloyd Garrison to Thomas M'Clintock, May 1, 1840, Garrison Papers, Boston Public Library.

136. *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, November 12, 1840; December 31, 1840.

In February 1841, abolitionists led by Farmington Quakers, including J.C. Hathaway, held a general convention at Northville in Cayuga County, with the following notice published in local newspapers:

Let us not forget that there is at work in midst a system which is antagonistical to sound civil and religious liberty, and that it lives and breathes only at the expense of Human Rights. The battle is in, and will be decided: Under which banner then shall we enlist—the pure and peaceful banner of Truth and Freedom, or the dark and blood-stained banner of Tyranny and Oppression?¹³⁷

Many Farmington Quakers decided to enlist under “the pure and peaceful banner of Truth and Freedom.” One of the ways they contributed was through assisting people who had escaped from slavery and settled in Canada. In 1838, Hiram Wilson committed his life to creating a Canada Mission based in St Catherine’s, Ontario. In 1841, the *Friend of Man* published names of the Board of Directors of Canada Missions. Of the twenty-four men from across New York State, eight of them were Quakers. Five of these were affiliated with Quakers in Farmington Quarterly Meeting (Orthodox Friends Lindley Murray Moore, Lyman A. Spalding, Joseph C. Hathaway, William R. Smith, and Quaker-affiliated Richard P. Hunt), and three more were from Scipio Quarterly Meeting (Joseph Talcott, David Thomas, and James C. Fuller).¹³⁸

Quakers continued to support this project for many years. A manuscript entitled “An enumeration of articles packed at Edward Herendeens—Farmington 27th of 11th mo 1850 for the Black people of Upper Canada to be given them free of all expense” listed items such as:

- 10 pare of [?] gray pants about 28 yards
- 2 white blankets
- 5 knots of stocking yarn
- 10 men’s shirts cotton & 6 women’s 38 yards
- 1 old shimmy
- 10 second handed vests cloth worth 4/
- 2 mens vests cloth worth 6/
- 8 coats
- 5 woman dresses second handed
- 8 aprons cloth
- 15 Waring Quilts for women cloth
- 8 Comfortables about 112 yards worth
- 24 scanes of cotton threads
- 1 old shawl

137. *Wayne Sentinel*, February 10, 1841. Found by Charles Lenhart in the King’s Daughter Library, Palmyra, New York.

138. “The Canada Mission,” *Friend of Man*, March 16, 1841; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, January 21, 1841.

1 old vest
Batting for the 8 comfortables

The above is a selection from the entire list. Total estimated value of these items was \$64.00.¹³⁹

Farmington Meetinghouse, Committee Building, 1841-42

During this period of energized reform efforts in Farmington, the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse was the major center of reform. A new committee building constructed in 1841 on recommendation of women friends represents both the importance of women in Genesee Yearly Meeting and the strength of Genesee Yearly Meeting as a reform center.

Friends built this new committee room in the context of efforts to defend their property rights in the 1816 Meetinghouse. After the split between Orthodox and Hicksite in 1828, Friends spent several years in sorting out legal ownership of the buildings. In 8th month 1828, Orthodox Friends appointed Ira Lapham, Gideon Ramsdell, Jonathan Ramsdell, Benjamin Hoag Jr, Benjamin Hance Jr., David Willson, Peter Harris and Edward S. Townsend “to receive and hold as trustees until other appointments all Deeds of land belonging to this meeting and to retain such of the ‘former’ trustees as associates as they ‘might’ think proper and report the state of all titles in third month 1829 ‘or sooner if the business’ was ‘arranged.’” In 12th month 1832, they took up the topic again. “Owing to the multiplicity of business in the 3rd Mo. 1829, the subject was overlooked,” they noted, “and the committee have never been called upon to report, they are requested to report next month.”¹⁴⁰

In 1837, deeds from Sally Comstock, widow of Joseph Comstock, and Ira Lapham and Gideon Ramsdell as Trustees of Farmington Preparative Meeting (Orthodox), affirmed the sale to Zephar Smith of the 115 acres of Lot 137 once owned by Jared Comstock and then Joseph Comstock, except for the property deeded to the Society of Friends on the northwest corner of the intersection (location of the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse). On 4th month 1838, Monthly Meeting of men Friends (Orthodox) recorded:

The subject which was referred from Farmington Preparative Meeting relative to the New Meeting house and lot claimed the attention of the meeting and it was concluded to appoint the following friends to consider of and report their views upon the subject at next meeting, Viz:
Gideon Herendeen, Gideon Ramsdell, Asa B. Smith, William Birdsall,

139. Edward Herendeen, “Memorandum of the articles sent to Canada, 1850,” manuscript research by Diane Robinson.

140. Men’s Minutes, Farmington Monthly Meeting (Orthodox), 12th month 1838, p. 91. Research by Reginald Neale. Further research in these minutes, beginning in 1833, may reveal more discussion on this topic.

Jonathan Ramsdell, John Van Duzer, John Warren, Peter Harris, John Underwood.¹⁴¹

In 1841, with ownership of the land clarified, Genesee Yearly Meeting and Farmington Quarterly Meeting added the first of two additions to the 1816 Meetinghouse, a small committee room at the southwest corner. The idea and some of the fund-raising for this committee building originated with women friends in Genesee Yearly Meeting. The building symbolized the growing strength of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, including the energy of its reform interests. It also symbolized the leadership of women within Genesee Yearly Meeting. The 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse embodied ideas of gender equality between men and women by creating separate but equal spaces for men's meetings and women's meetings for business. We do not know whether the smaller committee building also incorporated this plan. We do know, however, that the idea for the addition came from the women's meeting.

During Genesee Yearly Meeting on June 18, 1841, women Friends accepted the following minute:

A proposition has been opened in this meeting for raising money for the erection of a building and some other necessary expenses for the use of the Yearly Meeting, which being united with, the sum of \$100 or more is directed to be raised by the several Quarterly and Half Years Meetings by the 1st of 10th month next if practicable and forwarded to Sarah H. Pound who is appointed to receive the same and Farmington Quarterly Meeting is requested to take the necessary Care in appropriating the money for the above purposes and having the work accomplished; men friends concurring therewith.¹⁴²

Men's meeting affirmed this idea, endorsing "a proposition for erecting suitable building for the accommodation of committees during the sitting of our Yearly meeting." "Having been introduced by the women Friends," noted the minutes, it was united with and referred to Farmington Quarterly Meeting to have a proper building erected and draw on the Treasurer of this Meeting for the needful funds to defray the expenses."¹⁴³

Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Friends took up the work. On July 7, 1841, their minutes noted:

141. Sally Comstock (by right of dower and power of attorney) to Zephar Smith, April 22, 1837, Liber 62, page 248, recorded July 7, 1837; Ira Lapham and Gideon Ramsdell as Trustees of Farmington Preparative Meeting of Friends to Zephar Smith, April 20, 1837, Liber 62, page 150, recorded July 7, 1837, Ontario County Clerk's Office; Farmington Men's Meeting, 1803-1868, page 111, Wayne County Historian's Office. We did not follow up to find out the reaction of Farmington Friends (Orthodox). Research by Alaine Espenscheid and Reginald Neale.

142. Genesee Yearly Meeting, Minutes of Women's Friends, Sixth mo 18th 1841, page 44.

143. Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, Men's Meeting, June 18, 1841, pp. 61-62.

A proposition has been made by the Yearly Meeting to the several Quarterly and Half Year meetings, to raise the sum of \$100 or more to erect a building and some other necessary expenses for the use of the Yearly Meeting. This meeting proposes to raise \$33 of the above sum. And the Monthly Meetings constituting it are directed to raise their respective proportions and forward to Sarah H. Pound of Farmington by the 1st of 10th month if practicable.¹⁴⁴

On October 6, 1841, women friends appointed a committee to work with men friends on this project:

The Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends, 6th of 10th mo. 1841 . . . Elizabeth Lundy, Sarah K. Pound, Margaret Pryor, Susannah Lawrence, Judith Robinson, Catharine Boswith, Eliza Cooper, Hannah Mabbet, Mary Freeman, Hannah Colvin, and Huldah Gatchell are appointed to unite with men friends in having a suitable building erected for the accommodation of Committees during the sittings of the Yearly Meeting.¹⁴⁵

On October 26, 1841, Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Men quoted the minute from Genesee Yearly Meeting:

a proposition for erecting a suitable building for the accommodation of committees during the sitting of our Yearly Meeting having been introduced by women friends, it was united with, and refered [sic] Farmington Quarterly Meeting to have a proper building erected, and draw on the Treasurer of this meeting for the needful funds to defray the expense.

Extracted from the minutes
Thomas M'Clintock, Clerk

Then they appointed a committee of men Friends to “unite with a committee of women friends to carry into effect the direction of the Yearly Meeting. Committee members included John Aldrich, Oliver Durfee, Edward Herendeen, Seth M. [?] Bosworth, Alden Gifford, Elisha Freeman, Joseph Head, Webster Laing, Azaliah Schooly, George Pryor, Asa Palmer, Gilbert Stedwell, Lorenzo Mabbitt, Daniel Pound, Stephen White, Sylvester Wight, Nathaniel Russell, Gideon Morey and John H. Robinson.¹⁴⁶

As Christopher Densmore has noted, Genesee Yearly Meeting had many committees who would use this new space. They included committees to propose a clerk and assistant clerk; another to prepare epistles to be sent to the other yearly meetings; one to consider requests for assistance in building new meeting houses; a committee to review the

144. Minutes, Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends, July 7, 1841.

145. Minutes, Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends, October 6, 1841.

146. Minutes, Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Men Friends, October 26, 1841.

accounts of the Treasurer; a committee to review the book of discipline; the committee that had charge of building the committee building; and the committee on Indian Concerns.¹⁴⁷

Farmington Quarterly Meeting reported on June 10, 1842:

To the Yearly Meeting. The committee appointed by Farmington Quarterly Mg. to build a committee-house at Farmington report, that the house is completed and has cost three hundred thirty-three dollars, including stoves, and that we have received from Sarah H. Pound, Treasurer of the Women's Meeting \$49 had carried out this work. The building "for the accommodation of committees during the sitting of this Yearly Meeting has been completed," and the report of the committee appointed by Farmington Quarter for erection of the building report the cost as \$333, including stoves, and report receiving \$49—and from the Treasurer of our Yearly Meeting \$284, which makes the amount of the cost of said house.

Signed on behalf of the committee by George Pryor, Gideon Morey, Mary Ann M'Clintock, and Margaret Pryor. Farmington 17th of 6th mo. 1842.¹⁴⁸

Gideon Morey was a member of Rochester M.M. He died in 1843. All the other members of this committee belonged to Junius Monthly Meeting and were part of the core group of abolitionists and women's rights advocates who would attend the Seneca Falls women's rights convention in 1848. On 17th of 6th month, 1842, this committee submitted the same report to Genesee Yearly Meeting, and men Friends recorded it in their minutes.¹⁴⁹

On June 18, 1842, women Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting reported that Sarah Pound had carried out her mission as treasurer:

The friends to settle with Sarah H. Pound report they have attended to their appointment and find she has received from the different Quarterly and Half Years Meeting the sum of \$99.26 and has expended in the improvements directed by the Yearly Meeting \$93.34, leaving a balance in her hands of \$5.92.

On July 17, 1842, men Friends at Farmington Quarterly Meeting affirmed the committee building had indeed been completed.¹⁵⁰

147. Email from Christopher Densmore, August 2009.

148. Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 10, 1842, p. 67. This note was recorded in Yearly Meeting minutes for June 10, 1842, but the note from Farmington Quarterly Meeting is dated June 17, 1842.

149. James Hazard Index, New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College; Minutes, Men's Meeting, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 17, 1842, p. 38. Research by Diane Robinson.

150. Genesee Yearly Meeting, Minutes of Women's Friends, Sixth mo 18th 1842, page 45 (p. 28 of scanned copy); Minutes, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, Men, July 17, 1842, p. 321. Research by Reginald Neale.

In 1843, women Friends appointed Catherine E. Bosworth, Anne Clark, Susan R. Doty and Abigail Wilson to “make “some purchases for the improvement of our meeting house,” and they used funds supplied by treasurer Sarah Pound to do so. In 1844, the minutes recorded, “friends appointed last year to make some purchases for the improvement of the meeting house report they have taken the balance due the meeting in the treasurer’s hands, and applied it to the use directed by the Yearly Meeting.” Unfortunately, women Friends did not record what they bought. Could it have been benches, stoves, or lanterns for the new committee building?¹⁵¹

In 1927, when John Van Lare moved the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse 325 feet north of its original location, he left the committee building in its original location.

In 1928, his brother Raymond Van Lare built a new house on the property, probably incorporating the old committee building. Raymond Van Lare’s daughter, Phyllis Van Lare Husner, lived there for many years. The outline of this house is visible on the 1989 tax map (see maps). The building burned about 1990.¹⁵²

FARMINGTON FRIENDS: “ROOLING ON THE WHEEL OF REFORM”: QUIETISTS VERSUS REFORMERS: 1842-1851

Summary

The year 1842 marked the continuing growth of Farmington’s reform energies into the larger world. Quakers expanded their work with Seneca Indians, abolitionists, and women’s rights, becoming key proponents of the Supplementary Treaty of 1842 between Seneca people and the federal government, organizing abolitionist activities with the American Anti-Slavery Society, promoting Frederick Douglass and the North Star, and organizing the first woman’s rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848. Some of these reform Quakers also helped create two utopian communities, a Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform at Skaneateles, New York, and a Fourierist community at Sodus Bay, New York.

These reform initiatives were not, however, shared by all Hicksite Friends. Many Quietist Hicksite Friends reacted against using the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse for abolitionist speakers. Opposition to activists was so powerful that key reformers withdrew from Genesee Yearly Meeting after 1843, part of a national struggle that resulted in what historian Chuck Fager has called the “great purge.” In the case of Genesee Yearly

151. Genesee Yearly Meeting, Minutes of Women’s Friends, Sixth mo 16th 1843, 53; Sixth mo 18, 1844, 57. Research by Reginald Neale.

152. *Shortsville Enterprise*, May 10, 1928, reported, “Ray Van Lare has broken ground for a new house to be built near the church corners, on the old Hicksite property, purchased by John Van Lare last year.” Similar note in *Wayne County Journal*, May 10, 1928. Both articles found by Charles Lenhart. Local residents say that the house that burned was the former committee building.

Meeting at Farmington, this split was not a purge but an exodus, as reformers voluntarily left Genesee Yearly Meeting in June 1848 to form an entirely new Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends (later called Progressive Friends and Friends of Human Progress).

Work with the world's reformers was intertwined with debates about equality within Genesee Yearly Meeting itself. Beginning in 1843, Friends in Michigan laid down their separate meetings of ministers and elders, and they asked Genesee Yearly Meeting to do the same.

In 1848, debates over these issues split Genesee Yearly Meeting apart. Among Quakers in Farmington Monthly Meeting, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, and Genesee Yearly Meeting, quietist and activist Friends were almost equally balanced from 1842 to 1848. In June 1848, however, tensions between reformers and quietists could no longer be restrained. Genesee Yearly Meeting split in two, when reformers walked out of Yearly Meeting. They returned to the 1816 Meetinghouse only once, on October 6 and 7, 1848, to form a new Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends. After October 1848, no reformers ever spoke again in the 1816 Meetinghouse.

Discussion

In June 1842, John Comly, minister from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, felt a concern to visit Genesee Yearly Meeting. "A Friend from a neighbouring meeting alluded to a very trying state of things among Friends of that Yearly Meeting," noted Comly. After two days, he was disturbed by what he saw:

On the subject of meetings of ministers and elders, much diversity of opinion prevails among the members of this Yearly Meeting, arising as a branch of the tree of popular reform. But it is a superficial spirit that would throw off all restraint, and order, and discipline. Much mixture of creaturely activity is already interspersed among the ministry, even of many who are said to be in unity with Friends. The lecturing, wordy spirit of the times has affected even the professed gospel ministry of our society.

It was obvious to Comly "that a leveling spirit was prevailing in society, that would prostrate all the salutary guards and helps intended to promote unity and concord, and preserve the ministry and ministers in soundness and consistency."¹⁵³

In 1842, Genesee Yearly Meeting adopted its revised Discipline. "Agreeably to the practice of the primitive Christians, we believe it to be our duty not only to meet together for the worship of God, but also for the exercise of a christian care over each other, for the preservation of all in unity of faith and practice." Most of the Discipline would be familiar to earlier Quakers everywhere, but in 1842, Genesee Yearly Meeting made one

153. John Comly, *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of John Comly, late of Byberry, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Chapman, 1853), 545-553. Transcribed by Christopher Densmore.

noticeable change, reflecting their minute in 1838: “In accordance with the declaration of the apostle, that male and female are one in Christ Jesus, the following rules of Discipline are to be understood as alike applicable to both sexes, although the masculine gender is generally made use of.” Further, “agreeably to the conclusion of our Yearly Meeting, men’s and women’s meetings for discipline stand on the equal footing of common interest and common right.”¹⁵⁴

“Increasing quietness and order prevailed,” as both men’s and women’s meetings adopted the new Discipline, noted John Comly, “with reciprocal understanding” and “much harmony.”¹⁵⁵

In 1843, Genesee Yearly Meeting heard a report on Indian concerns. Work with Seneca Indians took place primarily at Cattaraugus, so this narrative does not deal with Indian affairs in the 1840s in detail. Briefly, Farmington Quakers and members of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs supported a school for both boys and girls at Cattaraugus. There, Quakers met regularly in council with Seneca people. In 1843, women spoke for the first time in council. On January 25, 1845, Senecas adopted Philip Thomas, clerk of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, as a member of the Seneca people. In 1848, Lucretia and James Mott attended a meeting at Cattaraugus where Seneca people, in an attempt to prevent further loss of Seneca land, adopted a formal constitution. Only males could vote, but no treaties could be approved without the consent of three-quarters of the legal voters (male) and three-quarters “of all the mothers of the nation.” The Joint Committee on Indian Affairs continued to publish annual reports of its work until the committee disbanded in 1850.¹⁵⁶

Quakers pursued an abolitionist agenda in several ways in the 1840s. One issue was free produce. Quakers within Farmington Quarterly Meeting (both Orthodox and Hicksite) established free produce stores. Groceries and cotton produced without slave labor were available in Farmington, Macedon, Palmyra, Rochester, and Waterloo. In Waterloo, druggist Thomas M’Clintock, Clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting, advertised goods “free from the labor of slaves.” In 1842, the Committee on Slavery of Farmington Quarterly Meeting (Orthodox) published a pamphlet urging Friends to support the Free Produce

154. *Discipline of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, held at Farmington, in Western New York, revised in the sixth month, 1842* (Rochester, 1842), 6, 11.

155. John Comly, *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of John Comly, late of Byberry, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Chapman, 1853), 545-553. Transcribed by Christopher Densmore.

156. Buffalo Express [?], July [?], 1845, clipping in Orsamus Marshall Papers, State University of New York at Oswego; *Constitution of the Seneca Nation of Indians* (Baltimore: William Woody and Son, 1848), 9, <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCAQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.loc.gov%2Fflaw%2Fhelp%2Famerican-indian-consts%2FPDF%2F2002615610.pdf&ei=RzxdVJHHFIX6yAT49oHoCQ&usg=AFQjCNFLMjeBI4ydAZwjzOfdbIhPnCuPA&sig2=AXC5FL1SM-TqmLWE5xcubw&bvm=bv.79189006,d.aWw>. Voters were defined in Section 10, p. 10, as “any male Indian of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, either residing on one of the Reservations (the Cattaraugus, Allegany, or Oil Spring,) or owning, possessing and occupying any lands upon either of said Reservations, and which lands may have been taxed for highways or other purposes, shall be entitled to vote at all elections.” Only males signed this document as “representatives of the people of the Seneca Nation of Indians,” p. 13-14.

Movement. In 1845, New York Yearly Meeting followed the lead of Farmington Quarterly Meeting in recommending that Quakers buy only free produce. Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite) also took up the cause in its *Discipline* in 1842, asking Friends to consider “whether by dealing in, or consuming the produce of the labor of slaves, we are not encouraging the system of slavery.”¹⁵⁷

In May 1842, the American Anti-Slavery Society organized a series of one hundred conventions across the northeast, countering efforts of the Liberty Party to promote political abolitionism. They initiated this plan at Utica, New York, in a meeting chaired by J.C. Hathaway from Farmington. John Collins, the general agent, announced that two of their best speakers, Abby Kelley and Frederick Douglass, would be present at every meeting. Quakers from Junius Monthly Meeting in Farmington Quarterly Meeting—including Jacob Ferris, Thomas M’Clintock, George Pryor, and Margaret Pryor—accompanied them.¹⁵⁸

As a young woman traveling with several men (including Frederick Douglass, a handsome African American), Abby Kelley received her share of criticism. Although Quaker Margaret Pryor accompanied her as a chaperone, people hissed with “the forked tongue of slander.” “Even Aunt Margaret Prior’s Quaker bonnet and honest, almost angel face was not sufficient to shield us,” noted Kelley. “We were sometimes called a ‘traveling seraglio.”¹⁵⁹

Whether in spite of (or because of) her position as a young woman touring with so many men, Abby Kelley turned out to be the star of this tour. Dressed in Quaker fashion, with a “snowy kerchief crossed upon her breast,” her appealing looks brought people to hear her radical message. “Of one thing rest assured,” she confided to a friend, “I never make compromises.” As Judith Wellman noted in *Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman’s Rights Convention*, Abby Kelley argued that any institution that permitted slavery to exist, anywhere, was wrong. Churches were pro-slavery. The federal government was pro-slavery. Anyone who supported them was a sinner. The Constitution was a pro-slavery document—a Covenant with death and an agreement with hell, William Lloyd Garrison said—and people should withdraw from the Union rather than support it. They should also withdraw from churches that allowed slave-owners as members.¹⁶⁰

Quakers in the Farmington area took her message to heart. They must also have pondered the message Kelley gave from her own life experiences. As a member of Uxbridge Monthly

157. Christopher Densmore, “The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: The Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-60,” *Quaker History* 1993 82 (2): 84.

158. Dorothy Sterling, *Ahead of Her Time: Abby Kelley* Whether in spite of her position as a young woman touring with so many men, n she spoke in Williamson, at the request of Quakers *and the Politics of Anti-slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 139-44, 147-148; *Liberator*, August 12, 1842, and several other issues published notices of the conventions.

159. Abby Kelley to Maria Weston Chapman, August 13, 1843, Abby Kelley Foster Papers, American Antiquarian Society.

160. Abby Kelley to Maria Weston Chapman, August 13, 1843.

Meeting of Friends, near the area where many Farmington families had lived in the late eighteenth century, Kelley may have known many extended Farmington families before she came to western New York. On March 22, 1841, she withdrew her membership from Uxbridge Friends because she did not believe that New England Yearly Meeting of Friends took a strong enough antislavery stance. “The fundamental principles of the Society have . . . taken deep root in my heart,” she assured the Uxbridge Meeting, and she was “filled with surprise, and bowed down with grief, in view of the fact that the New England Yearly Meeting, of which we were a part, took ground in direct opposition to its own professed principles on the question of slavery.”¹⁶¹

Abby Kelley returned to upstate New York in 1843 and again in 1853, when she spoke in Williamson, at the request of Quakers Griffith and Eliza Cooper.

In November 1842, William Lloyd Garrison himself came to central and western New York, to crown the “glorious anti slavery effort.” “There has been a special curiosity to see and hear me,” Garrison reported. Attacked by mobs in Syracuse and Utica, he received a warmer welcome in Rochester, where abolitionists organized a region-wide Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. This essentially succeeded the original Western New York Anti-Slavery Society organized in 1840 in Farmington. They endorsed moral suasion, urged the immediate abolition of slavery; promoted the complete social, political, and religious equality of free people of color; and advocated the withdrawal from every church, political party, or government that supported slavery in any form. They affirmed that God “hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.” In obedience to Jesus’ golden rule, “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,” they urged citizens of New York State to send petitions to Congress, hold antislavery fairs, circulate antislavery books and newspapers (including the *Liberator*), support traveling agents, and refrain from voting.¹⁶²

The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, organized first in 1840 at Farmington and then re-organized at Rochester in 1842, became the primary support for non-political abolitionist activity in central and western New York through the 1840s, sustaining abolitionist lecturers, supporting abolitionist newspapers (the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and then the *North Star* and *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*), signing antislavery petitions, maintaining a reading room in Rochester (staffed in the mid-1850s by Harriet Jacobs, who had escaped from slavery in Edenton, North Carolina, to write her autobiography), and in some cases even organizing politically.

Samuel D. Porter, from Bethel Church, Rochester, was elected President, but Quakers—all of them from Farmington Quarterly Meeting—dominated the list of officers. At least

161. Abby Kelley to Uxbridge Monthly Meeting of Friends, March 22, 1841, copy enclosed in Abby Kelly to William Lloyd Garrison, September 30, 1841, Garrison Collection, Boston Public Library.

162. “Convention at Utica,” *Liberator*, December 23, 1842; “Interesting Report of the Anti-Slavery Convention,” “Utica Convention,” and “The Abolition Convention,” *Liberator*, December 30, 1842; “American Anti-Slavery Society,” *Liberator*, January 6 [5], 1843; William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, November 21, 1842, No. 47, Garrison Papers, III (1973): 108-110.

twenty of the thirty-four Vice-Presidents and members of the Executive Committee were Quakers, including Isaac Post and Sarah Hallowell from Rochester Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), as well as Margaret Pryor, Richard P. Hunt, and Thomas M'Clintock from Junius Monthly Meeting (Hicksite) in Waterloo. J.C. Hathaway also became a mainstay of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society.¹⁶³

After the Rochester convention, William Lloyd Garrison lectured in November 1842 in the Orthodox Quaker meetinghouse at Farmington. "Very few Quakers were present," noted Garrison, "owing to a strong prejudice against us." Although Farmington Quakers may not have turned out for Garrison's speech, at least several Farmington Quakers subscribed to Garrison's paper, the *Liberator*.¹⁶⁴

From Farmington, Garrison traveled to Waterloo, where he stayed with Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock. Thomas M'Clintock was then in his last year as Clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting. Garrison spoke twice on Sunday and again on Monday evening in the courthouse, with John Collins, Abby Kelley, and Jacob Ferris, member of Farmington Monthly Meeting, "I occupying the greater part of the time," he noted, "in blowing up the priesthood, church, worship, Sabbath, &c."¹⁶⁵

Thomas M'Clintock's 1842 tour of upstate New York with Abby Kelley and Frederick Douglass and his experience with William Lloyd Garrison so impressed him that in 1843, he left his position as Clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends and became a manager of the national American Anti-Slavery Society. He held this position for six years before becoming a Vice-President in 1848.

The core coalition of abolitionists associated with the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society included Quaker women and men (both Hicksite and Orthodox) from Rochester, Farmington, and Junius Monthly Meetings of Friends (all from Farmington Quarterly Meeting), as well as many non-Quaker women and men (both black and white). Among Farmington Quarterly Meeting (Hicksite), abolitionists included the Barker, Capron, Cooper, Doty, and Sexton families in Farmington Monthly Meeting (centered in Palmyra and Macedon Preparative Meetings), the Bonnell, Dean, Ferris, Hunt, M'Clintock, Pryor, and Schooley families in Junius Monthly Meeting in Waterloo; and the Anthony, DeGarmo, Post, Hallowell, and Fish families in Rochester Monthly Meeting. This group devoted their lives to equal rights for all people. Together, they connected western New York with the national abolitionist movement, linking western New York to urban centers in the east (especially Boston, New York, and Philadelphia) and newly formed

163. Nancy Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 108; *Liberator*, February 3, 1843.

164. *Liberator* subscription list, Garrison Collection, Boston Public Library; William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, November 21, 1842, No. 47, Garrison Papers, III (1973): 108-110.

165. William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, November 21, 1842, No. 47, Garrison Papers, III (1973): 108-110; Judith Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls* (2004), 110.

communities in the west (especially in upper Canada, southern Michigan, and parts of Ohio and Indiana).¹⁶⁶

The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society became not only an important engine of abolitionism in western New York but also an incubator for the emerging woman's rights movement. In February 1843, five Quaker women (Amy Post and Sarah A. Burtis from Rochester, Abby Kelley from Lynn, Massachusetts, Phebe Hathaway from Farmington, and Mary Ann M'Clintock from Waterloo) organized the very first activity supported by the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. All organizers except Abby Kelley were from Farmington Quarterly Meeting. They invited African American members to join their sewing circle in Rochester and collected goods for sale from as far as away as Utica, Boston, England and Ireland. They held the fair in Rochester on George Washington's birthday, February 22, 1843, and raised \$300. J.C. Hathaway wrote to Abby Kelley from Farmington that "Considering the shortness of the time to prepare in, and the dreadful dull and 'hard times' it was quite a magnificent *affair*."¹⁶⁷

This network expanded during the 1840s, gaining leadership experience and political perspectives through their work with the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. It was this group who would come to the aid of Elizabeth Cady Stanton as organizers of the first formal woman's rights convention. Without these Quaker women, there would have been no woman's rights convention in Seneca Falls in 1848.

The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society network, both women and men, also created a strong core for Underground Railroad activity. In May 1842, Quaker J.C. Hathaway, whose house still stands about half a mile from the Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District, reported in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* about his experience with a person who had escaped from slavery in Virginia:

A few days ago, a fugitive from Virginia gave me a call, on hi way to a free country. He is no doubt safe, ere this, from American kidnappers. He arrived about 10 o'clock, and remained until after dinner; during which time, we had an opportunity of making many inquiries relative to the condition of our southern brethren in bonds. We urged him much to remain over night with us; but he was impatient to set foot upon a soil where he could feel assured he was free. He was a fine-looking fellow, of about nineteen, evidently possessing much native shrewdness. The Virginian, whose victim he was, staked him against \$1000 in a *cock-fight*; and for fear his master might lose his wager, and he be sold to the South, he thought best to use the physical and intellectual powers God had given

166. See, e.g., "Fifth Annual Meeting of the Western N.Y. Anti-Slavery Society," *North Star*, December 19, 1848.

167. J.C. Hathaway to Abby Kelley, February 16, 1843, Abby Kelley Foster Papers, American Antiquarian Society.

him, in finding a country where an immortal being is considered of too much value to have his destiny hang upon a *chicken's foot*.¹⁶⁸

That same year, another documented Underground Railroad incident involved a young woman and her two children who escaped from slavery with the help of Farmington Friends and a small group consisting of Richard Valentine, African American; Mrs. Valentine David, a Native American; and Lazette Worden and her family, European Americans. Richard Valentine was an African American who worked in a hotel in Canandaigua. Once enslaved by Richard DeZeng in Geneva, New York, Valentine escaped and married a Seneca Indian woman whom people called Mrs. Valentine David, who worked in the household of Lazette Worden, Governor William Henry Seward's sister-in-law. As Frances Worden Chesboro, then a young girl, later recalled:

It was a bitter cold morning, when Richard Valentine appeared in our kitchen looking for everything he considered necessary to the comfort of a fugitive and her two children, my Father, Mother, our faithful Elsie and I eagerly listening. Elsie from the kitchen stoves soon supplied sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a trio that seemed to have dropped from the clouds in the night and during the day my mother shaped out innumerable garments and though I was but a child I was kept sewing far into the night to furnish warm clothing for this family. Before Spring I heard Richard tell my Father the woman had heard her Master was in pursuit and the order given to procure conveyance and take the family to Farmington, a Quaker settlement north of us in the direct road of "The Underground Railroad" leading into Canada. By the time the Master reached Canandaigua the good Quakers had his prey safe over "the line."¹⁶⁹

Frederick Douglass was a regular visitor to Farmington. In 1851, he wrote to Amy Post, "I called to see you while you were at Farmington." In 1854, he wrote to Phebe Hathaway:

It is too bad that I cannot come to Farmington on the first of April after that winsome little note of yesterday. But I cannot and cannot now, see any chance of visiting the kind domicile of the Dear Hathaways this side the bright Sunshine and bird singing of the bonny month of June. My hands are full and more than full of work. I have two or three lectures to prepare for several occasions near at hand, have a long journey before me to Cincinnati, number meetings to attend in Ohio-Rosetta to take to Oberlin- Have just been made agent of the industrial School and my paper to attend to. I am Dear Phebe, an over worked man [.] Still my heart is warm and my sprit is bright and sure I am that a visit to the house of your Father would greatly please me but I dare not just now allow

168. J.C. Hathaway to *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 5, 1842.

169. [Frances Worden Chesbro], untitled manuscript, Seward Collection, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, 4-8. Thanks to Kate Clifford Larson for finding this.

myself even so much leisure. I hope some day and that day I hope is not very far distant when I can come out to Farmington for more than one day. Do me the kindness to remember me affectionately to your Father Brothers- and your Dear sisters- and Believe me now and always most.¹⁷⁰

We get some sense of the location of Farmington in the regional and national Underground Railroad route from several specific sources. One was the narrative of Rev. Alexander Helmsley, who stopped at Farmington on his way to Toronto, and another was an account from Frederick Douglass. Rev. Helmsley, interviewed in St. Catharine's, Ontario, by Benjamin Drew for *A North-side View of Slavery*, recounted his escape:

I traveled some two hundred miles, most of the way on foot into Otsego county, N.Y., where I gave out through fatigue. I was sick when I got there. Here I was joined by my wife and children. I remained here until navigation opened,—we were forty miles from the canal at Utica. Then, from visions of the night, I concluded that I was on dangerous ground, and I removed with my family to Farmington From Farmington, I went on directly to Rochester, where I remained but one night We embarked from Rochester on board a British boat, *The Traveller*, for TorontoIn a few days, I left for St. Catharine's, where I have ever since remained.¹⁷¹

Quakers and African Americans formed the majority of agents along this route. Thomas Garrett, Edward M. Davis (Lucretia Mott's son-in-law), Isaac T. Hopper, and the Mott sisters were all Quakers. William Still, Robert Purvis, David Ruggles, Stephen Myers, and Jermain Loguen were all African Americans. The only European Americans who were not Quakers among this group were Samuel J. May, Unitarian minister from Syracuse, Hiram Wilson in St. Catharines, and J. Miller McKim, a close friend of Lucretia Mott's.

Douglass recounted one incident from the 1850s about the key role of Quakers in both Rochester and Farmington:

On one occasion while a slave master was in the office of a United States commissioner, procuring the papers necessary for the arrest and rendition of three young men who had escaped from Maryland, (one of whom was under my roof at the time, another at Farmington, and the other at work on the farm of Asa Anthony just a little outside the city limits,) the law partner of the commissioner, then a distinguished democrat, sought me out, and told me what was going on in his office, and urged me by all means to get these young men out of the way of

170. Douglass to Post, Cazenovia, March 3, 1851, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester; Douglass to Phebe Hathaway, March 28, 1854, sold at auction, http://americana.heritageauctions.com/common/view_item.php?Sale_No=626&Lot_No=25598. Thanks to Charles Lenhart for finding these.

171. Benjamin Drew, *The Refugee: or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada. Related by Themselves* (Boston: J.P. Jewett, 1856), 32-40, reprint (Toronto: Prospero, 2000).

their pursuers and claimants. Of course no time was to be lost. A swift horseman was dispatched to Farmington, eighteen miles distant, another to Asa Anthony's farm about three miles, and another to my house on the south side of the city, and before the papers could be served, all three of the young men were on the free waves of Lake Ontario, bound to Canada. In writing to their old master, they had dated their letter at Rochester, though they had taken the precaution to send it to Canada to be mailed, but this blunder in the date had betrayed their whereabouts, so that the hunters were at once on their tracks.¹⁷²

In Rochester, Amy Post, until 1845 a member of Rochester Monthly Meeting and Farmington Quarterly Meeting, estimated that 150 people passed through her house one year in the 1850s. Quite likely, many if not most of these came through Farmington.¹⁷³

At least one freedom seeker, Selby Howard, lies buried in the Farmington Quaker cemetery. Born in Maryland in 1801, his gravestone reads:

Selby Howard
Died February 18, 1885
aged 83y, 10m, 23d
husband of Harriet
Born a slave
Lived a freeman
Died in the Lord¹⁷⁴

European American abolitionists associated with the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society also attracted African Americans to lecture or live in the Farmington area. Austin Steward's sister moved to Victor Road in Macedon, just north of the 1816 Meetinghouse. Charles Lenox Remond, born free in Salem, Massachusetts, lectured for the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society on several tours of western New York, including 1846 and 1848. J.C. Hathaway from Farmington often traveled with him. William Wells Brown had escaped from slavery in Kentucky and moved to Buffalo, where he worked on Lake Erie steamers and helped others escape from slavery. From June 1845 to 1847, he and his family lived in Farmington, where he worked as an antislavery agent for the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society with John C. Hathaway and others. Wells Brown also wrote his autobiography while he was in Farmington, with a forward by J.C. Hathaway. Frederick Douglass visited Farmington frequently and found a special welcome with J.C. and Esther

172. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 273.

173. Amy Post, "The Underground Railroad," William F. Peck, *Semi-Centennial History of the City of Rochester* (Syracuse, New York: Mason and Company, 1884), 458-62.

174. Thanks to Margaret Hartsough for pointing out this gravestone.

Hathaway and Phebe Hathaway. Mary and Emily Edmondson moved to Farmington as soon as they were rescued from slavery in 1849.¹⁷⁵

Abolitionists were always welcome in the Orthodox Meetinghouse. They continued to hold antislavery meetings there until the Civil War. On January 24, 1845, for example, William Wells Brown, J. B. Sanderson, Giles B. Stebbins, Griffith Cooper, and J.C. Hathaway “met at the house of the Orthodox Friends, and found a good audience ready to listen to what we might say.” “It was a grand meeting, one long to be remembered,” wrote William Wells Brown. Wells Brown and J.B. Sanderson were African American lecturers and activists. Sanderson was an abolitionist lecturer who later edited a newspaper in California. Notably, members of this group were both Hicksites (Cooper and Stebbins) and Orthodox (Hathaway), both African American (Brown and Sanderson) and European American (Stebbins, Cooper, and Hathaway).¹⁷⁶

As Farmington Friends escalated their abolitionist activism in the larger world, they also faced growing resistance within Genesee Yearly Meeting. Between 1843 and 1848, reformers and quietists struggled for control of Farmington Monthly Meeting, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, Genesee Yearly Meeting, and the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. Many Hicksite Friends were decidedly uncomfortable with abolitionists who worked with the “world’s people” and with what they viewed as unseemly attempts by reformers to challenge control of the meetings by ministers and elders. Jacob Ferris, a member of Galen Preparative Meeting, Junius Monthly Meeting, and Farmington Quarterly Meeting, had such an experience when he tried to speak about abolitionism in Rochester Monthly Meeting on January 1842. Eliab W. Capron, one of the reformers, reported on this incident in a letter to the *Liberator*. Although the selection is lengthy, it gives a good sense of the tension that pervaded so many meetings within Farmington Quarter in these years:

Jacob Ferris arose, and stated that he felt that it was his duty to say a few words. He spoke of a Christian’s duty to reduce theory to practice— spoke of the poor and destitute about the city. All was quiet. He spoke of temperance. All quiet. He spoke of oppression, and there was some uneasiness, probably in anticipation of what would follow. He spoke of SLAVERY, and the commotion became very apparent; and he was interrupted by Charles Frost, who said the young man must be aware that he was intruding— he hoped he would sit down— he had told us of our duty to our fellow-men, but had said nothing about our duty to God.

Friend Burtiss informed the meeting that the ‘young man’ was a member, and had as good a right to speak as any one; but this was not heeded.

175. William W. Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave. Written by Himself* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1847); Ezra Greenspan, *William Wells Brown: An African American Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014), 136-45.

176. *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, January 16 [?], 1845, and January 30, 1845.

Friend Frost again arose, and remarked that if the young man was a member, he ought to know his place. Bro. Ferris proceeded to make some comments on the difference between man's duty to God and his fellow-man, showing how inseparable were the two, when Barnabas Coleman, the man who occupied *next* the highest seat in the synagogue, attempted to break up the meeting in the usual *quiet* way, by shaking hands! After making several trials to get the *head man* to shake hands, Barnabas took hold of his hand and shook it: next came Lewis Burtiss— he proved a non-conductor, and it went no farther on the *high* seat. The next thing I saw of it was near the centre of the room, between *two* individuals. Friend Coleman buttoned up his coat, pulled his broad brim over his eyes, and arose to go out; and the house was in quite a confusion.

They were getting comfortably out of the quiet, when Sarah Underwood remarked, that as the *quiet* had been spoken of, she hoped that Friends would keep *quiet*, and allow the Friend to free his mind— an act for which she is entitled to much credit. The wish was responded to from all parts of the house.

Friend Colby took his seat, and quiet was at length restored, and Jacob permitted to go on without interruption. 'I am astonished,' said he: 'is this the Society of Friends, that attempts to put down A MEMBER, because he speaks against the sin of slavery?' He continued to 'free his mind,' administering some justly severe rebukes on their *quiet* way of folding hands, and saying 'peace, be still;' when any popular sin was spoken against; and their *boisterous* way of putting down any one that dare speak against such sins as the Society *pretend* to bear a testimony against.

After Jacob sat down, Lewis Burtiss gave notice that there would be a lecture by friend Ferris, at 4 o'clock, and the meeting dispersed.

The story did not end there. Capron noted that the content of Ferris's talk was acceptable to many, but the fact that he spoke at all was not. Ferris was not a minister; therefore, some thought, he had no right to speak. Capron's opinion was clear.

It seems that even in the Society of Friends, *priestcraft* has taken deep root. Had it been a person, who was a minister— one who was set apart, ordained, *set up on the high seat* by an edict from the meeting of *ministers and elders*, it would have been well enough for him to say what Jacob did; but that one who wore neither a shad belly nor a broad brim, nor occupied a high seat, should get up and talk, was intolerable, and must not be allowed. Shame on Friends to talk of priestcraft and corruption, when such scenes are enacted in their own places of worship!¹⁷⁷

177. "Friends in the 'Quiet,'" Eliab W. Capron to the *Liberator*, January 21, 1842, published February 10, 1842.

In September 1842, Palmyra Preparative Meeting brought a request to Farmington Monthly Meeting that Friends open the 1816 Meetinghouse for speakers on temperance and abolitionism. Eliab W. Capron, a member of Farmington M.M., noted in a letter to the *Liberator* on October 28, 1842, “Some weighty friends were for treating this, after the manner that anti-slavery petitions are treated in Congress— i.e. reject it entirely, or send it back to the preparative meeting, where it originated. But they found some bold spirits, who were not to be intimidated by the old admonition to ‘keep in the quiet.’” Discussion lasted about three hours before the topic was laid over to the next monthly meeting.

On October 27, the subject came up again. Opponents included the clerk of the meeting and at least one Friend who was active on the Indian committee. “Now, Friends,” said the latter, “I think we had better drop this exciting subject; we have a great sympathy for the slave; it is not against him that we shut our doors, but against abolitionists. We all know that their masters could not liberate them if they would; and if they could, they would be in a deplorable condition.” Early Friends, he continued, were “Christian slaveholders, and that when we denounced slaveholders as no christians, the primitive Friends must come under the head of anti-christians.” Such a characterization was unthinkable to this Friend.

Capron’s father-in-law Griffith Cooper responded. “And now, Friends,” he said, “let me ask, why this great difference between a red man, and a black man? Why is it a crime to admit those into our houses, who are pleading the cause of the slave, while we admit those who plead for the Indian?” Furthermore, he added, “if you wish to keep this subject from going to a committee, you can have it discussed here, and will have it. You cannot get rid of it. You may as well undertake to get rid of death, as to get rid of the subject of slavery.” The meeting finally adjourned, with no decision. “It is time some action was had that would decide whether this meeting is willing to bow to slavery or not,” concluded Capron.

When William Lloyd Garrison visited Farmington the following month, many local Quakers boycotted his talk. “Very few Quakers were present,” he noted, owing to a strong prejudice against us.”¹⁷⁸

Friends in Mendon, New York, just outside of Rochester, followed Farmington Friends (Hicksite) in closing their meetinghouse to abolitionist speakers. In August 1843, Frederick Douglass and fellow black abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond tried to speak in Mendon, but they found the Friends’ meetinghouse, “closed against us.” They moved to a local church to “one of the most crowded audiences I ever saw,” reported Remond. The two tried again on December 4, 1847, joined by black abolitionist, orator, and publisher Martin Delany. This time they ended up speaking in a local schoolhouse because “Friends meeting house [was] closed against us on the ground that our views differed from theirs.”¹⁷⁹

178. William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, November 21, 1842, No. 47, Garrison Papers, III (1973): 108-110.

179. Remond to Garrison, August 30, 1843, *Liberator*, September 23, 1843; E.W. Capron to Garrison, January 21, 1843, *Liberator*, February 10, 1843 [?]; *North Star*, January 8, 1848.

As Jacob Ferris's experience illustrated, debates over abolitionism within Farmington Monthly and Quarterly Meetings and Genesee Yearly Meeting were intertwined with another issue: should Quaker meetings retain their separate meetings of ministers and elders? Traditionally, Quakers recognized those with a gift for ministry by designating them officially as ministers. Elders were expected to supervise ministers and maintain order and discipline in meetings for worship. Some Quakers felt that these roles conflicted with the core beliefs of the Light within all people and the direct relationship of each person with the Spirit.

In 1843, Michigan Quarterly Meeting informed Genesee Yearly Meeting: "This Meeting considering the Meeting of Ministers and Elders no longer beneficial to us, have discontinued it, and we cannot feel a duty to resume that Meeting. And we are desirous of having the discipline so revised as to make that order no longer obligatory on us. The women's meeting concurring." Palmyra Preparative Meeting made the same request to Farmington Monthly Meeting.

Many Friends in Farmington Monthly Meeting and elsewhere objected to so radical a transformation of traditional Quaker structure. The debate created what the Pennsylvania Freeman called a "moral earthquake" in many Quaker meetings, especially in Genesee Yearly Meeting, Green Plain Meeting in Ohio, Indiana Yearly Meeting, Marlborough Meeting in the Hudson Valley, Michigan (where many people from Farmington had settled), and Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.¹⁸⁰

In Genesee Yearly Meeting as elsewhere, abolitionist Quakers faced considerable opposition from those who feared that involvement in confrontational abolitionist politics would undermine the very basis of Quaker beliefs in a non-violent approach to the world. As Sunderland P. Gardner, an abolitionist himself, but also a quietist, said,

"Wrong may be wrongfully opposed, and war may be opposed in a warlike spirit." When Quaker abolitionist Jacob Ferris tried to speak in Rochester Monthly Meeting, he was interrupted by one member and defended by others before he was finally allowed to speak. "It is to me, absurd that," he noted, "at this day and age, Friends should talk about keeping to the quiet. Have they not, since the first rise of the society, been agitating the public?"

180. A. Day Bradley, "Progressive Friends in Michigan and New York," *Quaker History* 52 (1963): 96; Pennsylvania *Freeman*, September 14, 1848, quoted in Albert J. Wahl, "The Progressive Friends of Longwood," *Friends' Historical Association Bulletin* 42:1 (1953), 14.

Their testimonies were calculated to do so; and, I believe, they have been productive of great good to the world.”¹⁸¹

Faced with such opposition, some reform Quakers began to leave their Quaker meetings in the mid-1840s. In New York Yearly Meeting, Quakers Isaac Hopper and Charles Marriott, and were disowned for their abolitionist sentiments. Griffith Cooper, minister in Farmington Monthly Meeting, found himself released from the ministry in 1843 for supporting Hopper. Cooper accepted it philosophically.

I am at peace with all men. The difficulty is among Friends themselves—I will have nothing to do with religious feuds. The members of my Preparative Meeting [Williamson Preparative Meeting] or at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of them signed and forwarded to the last Monthly Meeting a remonstrance against discussion in the Meeting of Ministers and Elders in relation to myself. This was done without my knowledge. So it appears I have not lost caste at home the place to know a man.¹⁸²

Eliab W. Capron resigned from Farmington Monthly Meeting in 1844. Amy and Isaac Post held on in Rochester Monthly Meeting until 1845. One contemporary observer called the Post house “the hottest place in our reputed ‘hot-house for isms’—so many reforms, agitations, and new questions have been furthered in its parlors.” Rochester Monthly Meeting sent a committee to reason with Amy Post, especially in regards to “her duty towards her family,” when she organized antislavery fairs and supported antislavery lecturers, but opposition only strengthened her resolve. She sent letters on abolitionist stationery carrying a famous image of a man in shackles, with the motto, “Am I Not a Man and a Brother?” “I expect they will have a fresh charge against me soon,” she noted, “and I have but little doubt but that imploring image [sic] will disturb their quiet, at least I hope it will.” Amy Post found support from a traveling preacher, who received a message from the Spirit: “The language of the Spirit now is,” he reported in October 1843, “—Dear Sister be faithful. . . . Open thy mouth in the cause of the dumb, and those appointed to destruction.—’Endure the cross and despise the shame.’—for some will be ready to say, ‘it is a shame for a woman to act the part which the Lord will require at thy hands’’Male & female are one in Christ Jesus,’ our head.—Now do not begin to make excuses,

181. Quotation from Sunderland P. Gardner in Hugh Barbour, Arthur Worrall, and Christopher Densmore, *Quaker Cross-Currents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 134; “Letter from Jacob Ferris,” *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, March 16, 1843, quoted in Christopher Densmore, “The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: The Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-1860,” *Quaker History* 82:2 (Fall 1993): 84-85. The *Liberator* carried many articles about the impact of abolitionism on Quakers in these years. See, for example, “Quakerism, Church Discipline,” April 1, 1842; “Scenes in a Quaker Meeting-House in Lynn,” July 15, 1842; “New-York Yearly Meeting of Friends,” July 22, 1842; “Religious Formalities,” September 9, 1842; “The Quaker,” October 7, 1842; “Friends in Commotion,” December 2, 1842; “American Slavery and American Friends,” October 27, 1843; “A Noted Quaker: Sketch of the Life of the Late Sunderland P. Gardner,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, February 17, 1893. Thanks to Charles Lenhart for finding many of these articles.

182. Griffith M. Cooper to Philip E. Thomas, October 27, 1845, quoted in A. Day Bradley, “Progressive Friends in Michigan and New York,” *Quaker History* 52 (1963), 97.

for I feel there is danger of it.” By 1845, both Amy and her husband Isaac officially left Rochester Monthly Meeting (and Farmington Quarterly Meeting). They began to hold “free meetings,” open to everyone, whether Quaker or not.¹⁸³

All of these reformers identified with egalitarian reform. In a real way, commitment to abolitionist allies (both African American and European American), especially those in the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, replaced commitment to membership in a Quaker meeting. Out of this realignment came new networks and a broader vision.

Inspired by a commitment to universal, non-violent, and immediate egalitarian reform, several of these reform-minded Friends helped form two new utopian communities. Followers of abolitionist-socialist John Collins, just north of Skaneateles, New York, organized one of them, the Society for Universal Improvement and Reform. Several Quakers from Junius Monthly Meeting—including Thomas M’Clintock, George and Margaret Pryor, and Stephen Shear—published letters of support in the *Liberator*, and George and Margaret Pryor became founding residents. With more than seventy-five members, the Skaneateles Community sustained itself financially but fell apart from internal wrangling.¹⁸⁴

The second community was called the Sodus Bay Phalanx, located on land formerly owned by the Sodus Bay Shaker community at Sodus Bay, New York, overlooking Lake Ontario. It existed from 1844-47. We have no list of those who lived at Sodus Bay, but several Friends associated with Farmington and Rochester Monthly Meetings and Genesee Yearly Meeting formed the core group. The Fish family (Benjamin Fish, Sarah Fish, and children, including Catharine Fish Stebbins and Mary Fish), who left Farmington in the late 1820s, formed key members. Benjamin Fish was President of the community from 1844 until August 1846, when he was released from his position because his daughter Catherine married out of the community. Two sisters, Sarah Griffen Hurn and Anna Griffen Mabbett, brought their husbands John Hurn and Lorenzo Mabbett, along with their children. Eliab W. Capron, who married Rebecca Cooper, daughter of Farmington Quakers Griffith and Eliza Cooper, also belonged. All were core members of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. Many were also committed women’s rights activists. (Both Catherine Fish Stebbins and Eliab W. Capron signed the Declaration of Sentiments at the first women’s rights convention in Seneca Falls in 1848.) These Quakers viewed their residence here as part of the wholeness of their lives and vision, and they

183. Nathaniel Potter to Amy Post, November 19, 1844, also referred to “thy trial about going to meeting;” Phebe Post Willis to Isaac Post, March 7, 1845; J.M. Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical* (1884), 258, quoted in “Isaac Post,” *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8:117; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 2, 1843; Lucy Colman, *Reminiscences* (Buffalo: H.L. Green, 1891), 84, quoted in Hewitt, “Amy Post,” 9; Nathaniel Potter to Amy Post, October 7, 1843, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester; Joseph Post to Edmund and Julia Willis, September 17, 1845, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester.

184. Thomas M’Clintock to J.A. Collins, June 22, 1843, *Liberator*, September 29, 1843; Joseph Savage, Lydia P. Savage, Stephen Shear, George Pryor, Margaret Pryor, Charles White, and Charles Hart to John A. Collins, August 16, 1843, *Liberator*, September 29, 1843; Thomas D. Hamm, *God’s Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, 1842-1846* (1995); Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman’s Rights Convention* (2004).

used their community life to help promote temperance, abolitionism, women's rights, and equal access to property.¹⁸⁵

In spite of opposition from influential Friends in Genesee Yearly Meeting, reformers continued for several years to press their case. Between 1845 and 1848, control of the 1816 Meetinghouse shifted back and forth between abolitionists and quietists. In the summer of 1845, Quaker reformers held a called meeting in the Meetinghouse to support reformers Joseph and Mary Dugdale from Green Plain Meeting in Ohio. The Dugdales were kindred spirits with reformers in Genesee Yearly Meeting. According to William Lloyd Garrison, Joseph Dugdale was "a loving and reverent spirit" and "a practical reformer on a world-wide scale." With other abolitionists, the Dugdales split from their meeting in 1843. Seeking support, they brought an epistle to Genesee Yearly Meeting at Farmington in June 1845. Genesee Yearly Meeting as a whole did not have "sufficient unity" "to hear and respond . . . in a meeting capacity," so reformers from Genesee Yearly Meeting came back to Farmington in a called meeting in August 1845. One hundred and nine men and women—all but ten of them members of Genesee Yearly Meeting—signed an epistle to Green Plain Quarterly Meeting "and such other branches of Indiana Yearly Meeting, as are under proscription on account of faithfulness in the maintenance of our testimony on the subject of slavery." Comparing current splits within Quakerism to the "painful scenes of 1827 and '28," they sympathized with Green Plain reformers, since they were experiencing similar antagonism themselves, against "the *action* of brethren and sisters in works of benevolence – their conscientious efforts, by the power of truth and love, peacefully to break the fetters of slavery from the bodies and minds of fellow-beings who are the victims of wrong and cruelty." Still, they consoled themselves,

Why should we lament when there is so much cause for joy? – joy, that pure principles of truth, love, and mercy, are breaking forth like the beams of the morning . . . and illuminating as it were the whole earth. And it is the faithful in heart, those who are willing to bear the scoffs and scorn of the world, and who can remain unmoved through good and evil report, that are the fitted instruments to advance this glorious reform in the earth.

Signing themselves "your affectionate friends," they advised their Green Plain brethren, "Hold all your meetings in the power of God. Be Steadfast, always abounding in the love of the Gospel, which will subdue every foe, and crown our path with peace, and may the God of love be with you all."¹⁸⁶

The following year, on July 10, 1846, abolitionists held another meeting in Farmington, not in the 1816 Meetinghouse but in the new Wesleyan Methodist meetinghouse. It is

185. For more information on Quakers and the Sodus Bay Phalanx, see Judith Wellman, Marjorie Allen Perez, et al, "Sodus Bay Phalanx," *Uncovering Sites Relating to the Underground Railroad, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Wayne County, N.Y., 1820-1880* (Lyons, New York: Wayne County Historian's Office, 2008).

186. *Liberator*, December 24, 1852.

“not a large building,” commented J.C. Hathaway, “but is always open to Anti-Slavery.” The Orthodox Friends’ meetinghouse, where abolitionists usually held their meetings, was being repaired. And “the Hicksite Friends’ house, the largest, and most commodious building in town, is bolted and barred against Anti-Slavery meetings, notwithstanding the majority of the owners and occupants are opposed to having it shut.”¹⁸⁷

Perhaps responding to this implied challenge, abolitionists once again managed to hold an antislavery meeting in the 1816 Meetinghouse in the fall of 1847. One of Frederick Douglass’s first acts after he moved to Rochester in the fall of 1847 was to give a series of lectures. He began in Rochester, and his next stop was Farmington, “and in what house, do you think?” he asked. “In friends’ Meeting-house – a house which has been hermetically sealed against Anti-Slavery meetings for more than five years.” Douglass continued to hold meetings in Canandaigua, Waterloo, Seneca Falls, Auburn, Syracuse, and West Winfield, “all of which were well attended,” Douglass noted, “and left a good impression.” “A change has come over those in authority in that region,” he concluded, “which promises much to the cause of the slave and the character of that society. There are a number of the truest friends of the slave connected with that society, whose hearts will leap up with delight at this pleasing indication.”¹⁸⁸

Support for Frederick Douglass from Quakers in western New York has been little noticed. But their role in helping Douglass find his voice as perhaps the best known African American figure in the nineteenth century is one of their most important national contributions. Born in slavery in Maryland, Douglass escaped with the help of his wife Anna in 1838. They settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts. Douglass’s first job on the whaling docks came from George Howland, a Quaker who settled his own children in Sherwood and Union Springs, New York (part of Scipio Monthly and Quarterly Meetings). Douglas traveled though New York State in 1842 with Abby Kelley, Thomas M’Clintock, and other Quakers. In 1843, he spoke again in western New York with Charles Lenox Remond, where Mendon meeting denied them entrance. Quakers affiliated with the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society were impressed with Douglass. When he decided to start in his own newspapers, *The North Star*, in 1847, the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society invited him to Rochester, where he received both personal and financial support from Quakers and the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, much of it from women’s antislavery fairs.

Douglass specifically mentioned several Quakers from the Rochester area who helped support *The North Star*, including Isaac and Amy Post, William and Mary Hallowell, Asa and Hulda Anthony, and indeed all the committee of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. “They held festivals and fairs to raise money,” he wrote, “and assisted me in every

187. J.C. Hathaway to *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, July 16, 1846, published August 6, 1846.

188. Frederick Douglass to *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 7, 1847.

other possible way to keep my paper in circulation.” All of these people were originally affiliated with Farmington Quarterly Meeting and Genesee Yearly Meeting.¹⁸⁹

The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society also organized many lectures for Douglass, beginning with the one that included his talk in the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse in the fall of 1847. Douglass became the best-known and most powerful African American voice in the mid-nineteenth century. As Douglass made clear in his 1893 autobiography, these talks with the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society and in general and with Quakers in particular helped shape this powerful personal style.

I did not rely alone upon what I could do by the paper, but would write all day, then take a train to Victor, Farmington, Canandaigua, Geneva, Waterloo, Batavia, or Buffalo, or elsewhere, and speak in the evening, returning home afterwards or early in the morning, to be again at my desk writing or mailing papers. There were times when I almost thought my Boston friends were right in dissuading me from my newspaper project. But looking back to those nights and days of toil and thought, compelled often to do work for which I had no educational preparation, I have come to think that, under the circumstances it was the best school possible for me. It obliged me to think and read, it taught me to express my thoughts clearly, and was perhaps better than any other course I could have adopted. Besides it made it necessary for me to lean upon myself, and not upon the heads of our Anti-Slavery church. To be a principal, and not an agent. I had an audience to speak to every week, and must say something worth their hearing, or cease to speak altogether. There is nothing like the lash and sting of necessity to make a man work, and my paper furnished this motive power.¹⁹⁰

In addition to financial support for The North Star and lecturing opportunities for Douglass, Quakers immediately adopted Douglass as a key leader of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. At their annual meeting, held in Minerva Hall, Rochester, December 12, 1847, they elected Joseph C. Hathaway of Farmington as President, William C. Nell of Rochester (working with Douglass on the North Star) as Secretary, and Frederick Douglass as a member of the Business Committee, along with Phebe Hathaway and R.G. Murray, both of Farmington Monthly Meeting; Sarah D. Fish and Mary Hallowell, Rochester M.M.; Nelson Bostwick; and Charles L. Remond, of Boston. Both Nell and Remond were African Americans who had been associated with the American Anti-Slavery Society in Boston. All of these except Nelson Bostwick were either African Americans or European American Quakers.¹⁹¹

189. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 268-69, www.docsouth.edu.

190. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 269-70, www.docsouth.edu.

191. “Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society,” *North Star*, January 7, 1848.

In conjunction with the annual meeting, women associated with the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society organized another antislavery fair. Of the twenty-three women who signed their names to the announcement of the fair in 1847, at least eleven (Sarah D. Fish, Mary H. Hallowell Rhoda DeGarmo, Mary B. Fish, Mary Ann McClintock, Sarah L. Hallowell, Amy Post, Susan R. Doty, Phebe Hathaway, Catharine Stebbins, Sarah A. Burtis) were of Quaker background.

Douglass and his family helped break down social and educational barriers against African Americans in Rochester, and he generously gave credit to local Quakers who supported him. “This change has not been wholly effected by me,” he noted.

From the first I was cheered on and supported in my demands for equal rights by such respectable citizens as Isaac Post, Wm. Hallowell, Samuel D. Porter, Wm. C. Bloss, Benj. Fish, Asa Anthony, and many other good and true men of Rochester. . . . I know of no place in the Union where I could have located at the time with less resistance, or received a larger measure of sympathy and cooperation, and I now look back to my life and labors there with unalloyed satisfaction, and having spent a quarter of a century among its people, I shall always feel more at home there than any where else in this country.¹⁹²

One reason that Douglass felt so much at home in Rochester was the support he received from Quakers affiliated with Farmington Quarterly Meeting and Genesee Yearly Meeting. Of the six people Douglass mentioned here by name, four (Isaac Post, William Hallowell, Benjamin Fish, and Asa Anthony) were Quakers. In fact, Douglass felt so much at home in Rochester that he maintained a residence on Hamilton Street for the rest of his life, even after he moved to Washington, D.C. Douglass’s daughter Rosetta Douglass Sprague and her family lived in Douglass’s Rochester home, but Douglass also used it as his official voting residence. When he died, he was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery in Rochester.

Abolitionist activities promoted by the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society expanded rapidly in the first half of 1848, generating an energy that led directly to the first woman’s rights convention, held in Seneca Falls in July. J.C. Hathaway and Charles Lenox Remond toured the region during the winter and spring of 1848, as agents of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. Frederick Douglass often went with them to lecture and sell subscriptions to the *North Star*, “Friends of the Slave!” they advertised. “Will you come to these meetings, prepared to speak, to hear, and to ACT? . . . By bold, united, and decisive action, all may yet be well with our slave-cursed country. At any rate, we can discharge our duty, and thereby maintain our integrity. Angels can do no more and we should do no less.” They were scheduled to speak in Farmington on Tuesday, George Washington’s birthday, and Wednesday, February 22 and 23, 1848. We do not know which Meetinghouse they spoke in (or if they actually spoke in Farmington at all).¹⁹³

192. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 269-70, www.docsouth.edu.

193. *North Star*, February 11, 1848.

On March 3, 1848, Griffith Cooper (formerly a minister of Farmington M.M., Hicksite), J.C. Hathaway (Orthodox), and Giles B. Stebbins (Hicksite) held an anti-slavery meeting in Williamson (just north of Farmington).¹⁹⁴

On March 31, 1848, women held an antislavery fair in Rochester. Quaker women dominated the organizing group. Of the twenty-eight women who signed this notice, at least twenty-one are known to be affiliated with Quaker meetings that were part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting (either Orthodox or Hicksite).¹⁹⁵

Then, on April 13, 1848, an event occurred in Washington, D.C., that reached directly to the heart of Farmington. A ship called the *Pearl* was captured in Chesapeake Bay as it tried to sail with seventy-seven enslaved African Americans to freedom. William Chaplin, who had worked closely with Farmington abolitionists when he was a western New York agent for the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, had organized this escape effort, and Farmington Friends rallied to his aid. All African Americans on the *Pearl* were sold into slavery. Most were never heard from again. Two teenage girls, however, Mary Edmondson and Emily Edmondson, became celebrities when their father Paul Edmondson successfully raised funds, with the help of churches in New York City (including Henry Ward Beecher of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn), to buy them out of slavery. Upon their release from slavery, the Edmondson sisters came directly to Farmington. At least one of them lived with William R. Smith and Eliza Smith in Macedon. On October 26, 1849, five women from Farmington (four of them Quakers and one married to a Quaker) announced in the *North Star* that they had created a school for African American girls who wish to become teachers, starting with the Edmondson sisters. That school building still stood on Victor Road in the early twentieth century.¹⁹⁶

A few days afterward, a man whom everyone supposed was a fugitive from slavery appeared in Farmington at Sunday meeting. Welcome Herendeen noted in his diary:

First day, 4th Mo. 16th, 9 o'clock in the evening: This day has been above the level for strange occurrences [sic]. This forenoon went to meeting. When I arrived there was a man standing out by the shed, a very Black Colored man. He was dressed in white calico with a cotten [sic] handkerchief [sic] tied around his head. He was the noblest looking Negro that I ever saw. Tall I should think he was 6 feet high well

194. *North Star*, March 3, 1843.

195. *North Star*, March 24 and 31, 1848; November 10, 1848. See also January 14, 1848; August 31, 1849.

196. "Circular Of the Provisional Committee, for the Promotion of Education among the Colored People, in such of the Slave States are, or may be accessible," *North Star*, October 26, 1849. For more on the *Pearl*, see Stanley Harrold, *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828-1865*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 116-145; Josephine Pacheco, *The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Mary Kay Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl: The Heroic Bid for Freedom on the Underground Railroad* (New York: Harper, rep. 2008); Winifred Conkling, *Passenger on the Pearl: The True Story of Emily Edmondson's Flight from Slavery*. (Algonquin Young Readers, 2015).

proportioned and built as trimly as could be. He had on a cotten frock which made him look better. His walk was strate and graceful his air lofty and commanding he was not inclined to say much said he did not feel like talking. The common opinion was that he was a runaway from slavry. His silence seemed to indicate fear of being captured. There was a great many conjectures concerning him his actions were so mysterious. When meeting commenced he walked into meeting, took the second seat behind the stove. He sat in silence for about 1/2 hour then he arose folded up his hands and stood silent for a few minuets and then he spoke. He said that he supposed that his manners appeared strange to most if not all present. He stated that he was under the influence of the Holy Spiret which made known to him the states and conditions of all men that he did not wish to get acquainted with any person by the shaking of the hand or by conversation. He thought that the Africans were the chosen people of God. He went to tell where Heaven was situated. He went on in this strane for about 15 munets when Aser B. Smith requested him to take his seat. He imeadetly left the house. He was evidently a Reglious fanatic with a shattered mind. [spelling as in typescript from original]¹⁹⁷

In June, two more meetings—one in Farmington and one in Macedon—solidified commitment both to abolitionism and women’s rights, sent shock waves across the nation, and set the stage for the country’s first woman’s rights convention. The first focused on abolitionists within Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. After five years of struggle and debate, issues of abolitionism and power within Quaker meetings came to a final, irrevocable confrontation at Genesee Yearly Meeting in June 1848. On the warm and balmy Sunday of June 11, hundreds of people gathered in the 1816 Farmington Quaker meetinghouse, so many that the meetinghouse was filled to overflowing and people had to stand outside.

Orthodox Quaker Welcome Herendeen, twenty-five years old, attended this meeting recorded in his diary for June 11:

It has been a fine clear day. Went to Yearly Meeting twice today. This forenoon there was at the meeting house the most perfect Jam that I ever was in. The Meeting house would not hold near all the people this afternoon was not half so bad. Lucretia Mott gave about as smart a sermon as I most ever heard. Her principals were most of them very exceptional however.¹⁹⁸

Hicksite Benjamin Gue confirmed Herendeen’s assessment. He noted that several men, “not very talented,” spoke, and then Lucretia Mott delivered “one of the best sermons I

197. Typescript from Journal of Welcome Herendeen, April 16, 1848. Research by Helen Kirker and Diane Robinson.

198. Welcome Herendeen, Journal, June 11, 1848. Research by Diane Robinson and Helen Kirker.

ever listened to.” While we have no transcript of Mott’s sermon, it likely contained much of the same material as a talk she delivered the following week in Rochester. Practical Christianity, she said, was more important than “all creeds and forms of worship.” She deplored the manner “in which these were exalted and separated from a life of goodness.” Quoting William Penn, she concluded, “Christians should be known more by their likeness to Christ, than by their notions of Christ.”¹⁹⁹

The following day, June 12, “commenced the great struggle which ended in the separation of the society.” John Searing and Margaret Brown made a brief report “To Genesee Yearly Meeting of Men & Women Friends” from “a part of the Committee” which transmitted to Michigan Quarterly Meeting “the report and conclusion of last year.”

The committee deeply deplored the feeling that appears to prevail in the minds of some friends in Michigan either to separate themselves from society or compel the latter to yield its order, its discipline, its long established institutions! When we reflect upon the disaster and desolation, that always attend efforts to control or distract religious society, that operate so powerfully upon the great cause of pure and vital Christianity, we feel that the efforts now making to relax the discipline, and abandon the institutions that time and change have left us, are not in accordance with truth.”²⁰⁰

Sympathizers of Michigan Quarterly Meeting argued that the Clerk had violated “the sacred rights of conscience, rights of inestimable value, not only to the Society, but to the world at large.” “Friends who loved true order and could not unite with the arbitrary measures which had been adopted” agreed to meet the afternoon of the next day. “A large body of men and women friends” withdrew from Genesee Yearly Meeting to gather on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday for “deeply interesting and feeling” conferences. Significantly, they seem to have met as one group, not divided into separate meetings of men and women.²⁰¹

199. Benjamin Gue, “Journal”, typescript at New York State Library, 40-41. Gue’s diary was also published as *Diary of Benjamin Gue in Rural New York and Pioneer Iowa, 1847-1856*, ed. by Earle D. Ross (Ames: Iowa State University Press, c. 1962); A. Day Bradley, “Progressive Friends in Michigan and New York,” *Quaker History* 52 (Autumn 1963): 95-101; *An Address to Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting and Elsewhere* (Seneca Falls: Milliken and Mumford, 1848); *New York Tribune*, June 16, 1855. For a hostile view of the Congregational Friends, see “A New Society,” *The Friend*, June 30, 1849. [Frederick Douglass], “Lucretia Mott Speaks at Rochester, N.Y., June 18, 1848,” *North Star*, June 23, 1848, quoted in Christopher Densmore, “Quaker History and Woman’s Rights Tour, Friends General Conference Gathering at Rochester, New York, July 3-5, 2000. Many thanks to Christopher Densmore for all his work on the Congregational Friends.

200. Men’s Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 1847. The committee’s statement as reported here is virtually identical to the report from the Women’s Meeting Minutes. Exclamation points appeared in the Men’s Meeting Minutes only. I have standardized spelling and punctuation.

201. Manuscript Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Men, June 12-16, 1848, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore; *Address*, 5, 8; Benjamin Gue, “Journal,” 40.

Daniel Anthony, one of the dissenters, reported to his daughter Susan B. Anthony, teaching in Canajoharie, New York,

Farmington Yearly meeting at thier [sic] last getting together divided— That portion of its members who take the liberty of holding up to view the wickedness of War—Slavery Intemperance—Hanging &c . . . That portion of the society who are not exactly satisfied to confine their operations for ameliorating the conditions of man within the compass of an old shriveled up nutshell [. . .] and who are of opinion that each individual should have a right to even think as well as act for himself & in his own way to assist in rooling [sic] on the wheel of reform has left the more orthodox—wise and self righteous part of the society to attend to nothing but matters of pure & undefiled religion.

As for himself, Anthony declared, “I am a member of that Society which has for its Teretory [sic] no less sphere than all creation & for its members every rational creature under Heaven.”²⁰²

Lucretia Mott was clearly in sympathy with those who walked out. “Three yearly mgs. will be formed this autumn on radical principles,” she reported to English Friend Richard D. Webb, “—doing away with select mgs. & ordaing. ministers, men and women on perfect equality. What a wonderful breaking up there is among sects.” “The high handed measure of those in power,” she wrote later, “must eventually open the eyes of the people to the impropriety and danger of conferring such power on our fellow mortals.”²⁰³

This group issued *An Address to Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting and Elsewhere* and called for another meeting at Farmington on October 6-7, 1848. On June 18, Welcome Herendeen recorded a less than laudatory perspective in his journal, “The Hixites held their yearly meeting last week. They had warm discussions for 2 or 3 days on there old fuede. One party has left the society. They are to have a convention next 10th mo up to the meeting to organize.”²⁰⁴

Most of those Quakers affiliated with Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends were associated with the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, which in turn was part of the American Anti-Slavery Society. As such, they viewed the Constitution as a proslavery document and advocated the dissolution of the Union under the slogan “No Union with Slaveholders.” They opposed all formal political activity, including voting. Many abolitionists, however, were political activists. In 1840, they organized an abolitionist third party, the Liberty Party.

202. Daniel Anthony to Susan B. Anthony, July 16, 1848, Susan B. Anthony Papers, Schlesinger Library.

203. Lucretia Mott to Richard D. Webb [etc.], September 10, 1848, Garrison Papers, Boston Public Library; Mott to George W. Julian, November 14, 1848, Mott Papers, Swarthmore.

204. *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, August 31, 1848; Welcome E. Herendeen’s Journal, “18th, 5-1/2 p.m. First day [June 18, 1848], typescript, courtesy of Helen Kirker and Diane Robinson.

On June 8, 1847, a small group split away from the Liberty Party, including a few Farmington Quakers, meeting at Macedon Lock, New York, just north of Farmington, to form yet another antislavery party called the Liberty League. (Macedon Lock was so close to Farmington that Gerrit Smith's biographer actually thought the meeting was in Farmington.) Unlike the earlier Liberty Party, which advocated only one idea—the abolition of slavery—the Liberty League took a stand on all major issues, including an immediate end to the Mexican War, and end to tariffs and all restraints on trade, free settlement of public lands, exclusions from office of slave owners and anyone who advocated liquor licenses, and the land reform measures of a group called the National Reform Association. The Liberty League viewed itself as a permanent party, advocating “the TRUE and the RIGHT,” and “THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.” They insisted that the Constitution was an antislavery document, and they wanted to use it for the “widest, sternest, deadliest war against slavery.”²⁰⁵

Among the vice-presidents of this convention was William R. Smith of Farmington Monthly Meeting (Orthodox). Undoubtedly other Farmington Friends were also present at this convention. The official paper of the Liberty League was the *Albany Patriot*, edited by William Chaplin, the same man who was then in Washington, D.C., part of a major Underground Railroad network. The Liberty League nominated Gerrit Smith for President in 1847.

Notably, the Liberty League also advocated woman suffrage, the first political party in the U.S. to do so. By resolution, they invited women in attendance to vote for the party's nominees for national office. This is the first known instance in U.S. history that a political party included women as voters at its national convention. Again for the first known time in history, women received votes for president of the United States. Lucretia Mott and Lydia Maria Child received one vote each as the Liberty League's candidate for President.²⁰⁶

One year later, in June 1848, a month before the Seneca Falls woman's rights convention, the Liberty League met again in Buffalo. There, they included a demand for “universal suffrage in its broadest terms, females as well as males being entitled to vote.” This was the first known endorsement by any political party of woman suffrage. The convention gave Lucretia Mott five votes for vice-president (out of 84). Finally, in *The Liberty Party of the United States, to the People of the United States* (probably written by presidential candidate Gerrit Smith), delegates heard a plea for woman suffrage. “Neither here, nor in any other part of the world,” they argued, “is the right of suffrage allowed to extend beyond one of the sexes. This universal exclusion of woman . . . argues, conclusively, that, not as yet, is

205. William Goodell, *Address of the Macedon Convention* and Gerrit Smith, *Letters of Gerrit Smith* (Albany: S.W. Green, 1847); *National Era*, June 24, 1847.

206. *National Era*, June 24, 1847. For the platform of the Liberty League, see William Goodell, *Address of the Macedon Convention and Letters of Gerrit Smith* (Albany: S.W. Green, Patriot Office, 1847), <http://library.syr.edu/digital/collections/g/GerritSmith/447.htm>.

there one nation so far emerged from barbarism, and so far practically Christian, as to permit woman to rise up to the one level of the human family.”²⁰⁷

Since Gerrit Smith was Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s cousin, it is quite likely that she heard about the Liberty League’s endorsement of woman suffrage just before she introduced woman suffrage at the Seneca Falls convention itself.

In July 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton became part of this Quaker network through Jane and Richard Hunt and Thomas and Mary Ann M’Clintock in Waterloo. All of these had Quaker roots, and Thomas and Mary Ann M’Clintock were key leaders in Genesee Yearly Meeting.

Stanton’s link to these Quakers came through Lucretia Mott. She had first met Mott at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, where Stanton had gone on her honeymoon with her husband Henry Brewster Stanton, one of the country’s best-known abolitionist lecturers. Although Mott attended the convention as an official delegate from an American anti-slavery society, the convention refused to seat her or any other women delegates, because she was a woman and also a Hicksite, someone of “heretical notions” to many Orthodox British Friends. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, however, was enthralled. She thought Mott was “a peerless woman” and found “great delight” in her company. Supporters called Mott “the *Lioness* of the Convention.”²⁰⁸

This network of Quaker women was powerful in the larger world of reform. As Nancy Hewitt has argued, these Quaker women came to the woman’s rights movement from a different perspective than did many other Protestant women. With values forged in a rural Quaker milieu, they brought a strong and coherent egalitarian ethos to the early woman’s rights movement that sustained the demand for women’s rights in the larger world. Most of them had sustained bruises from struggles over reform within Genesee Yearly Meeting. As Hewitt argued, as Genesee Yearly Meeting split apart, the reform energies of these Quakers into the world.²⁰⁹

Mott visited Friends in Waterloo immediately after the great divide at Genesee Yearly Meeting in Farmington in June 1848. Jane Hunt, Philadelphia Quaker married to Richard P. Hunt, from a Quaker family in Westchester County, hosted the gathering. She invited Elizabeth Cady Stanton to join them, to visit once more with her friend Lucretia Mott. Also present were Mary Ann M’Clintock and Lucretia’s sister, Martha Wright. There, remembered Stanton, “I poured out the long-standing torrent of my discontent and challenged the rest of the party to do and dare anything.” What they decided to do was

207. Report on the Liberty League convention from the *Liberator*, June 23, 1848, copied from the *New York Commercial Advertiser; Proceedings of the National Liberty Convention, Held at Buffalo, N.Y., June 14th and 15th, 1848* (Utica: S.W. Green, 1848), 14.

208. William Howitt to Lucretia Mott, June 27, 1840, quoted in James Mott, *Three Months in Great Britain* (Philadelphia, 1841), 4.

209. Nancy Hewitt, “Feminist Friends: Egalitarian Quakers and the Emergence of Woman’s Rights in America,” *Feminist Studies* 1986 12 (1): 27-50.

to call a convention to discuss “the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman.” They needed to meet quickly, before Mott left central New York, so they reserved the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel for Wednesday and Thursday, July 19 and 20, only ten days away.

Quaker involvement in the coming convention did not stop with writing the call. The M’Clintock family, especially Elizabeth M’Clintock, worked with Stanton to put their plans into operation. They wrote letters of invitation to major reformers, including Lydia Maria Child, Sarah Grimkes, and Maria Weston Chapman. None of these women came, but Elizabeth M’Clintock persuaded Frederick Douglass to attend and to bring five Quakers from Rochester, all supporters of the new Congregational Friends’ group. The following Sunday, Stanton met at the home of Thomas and Mary Ann M’Clintock in Waterloo to review ideas for a Declaration. Stanton brought a draft, but for more ideas, they reviewed reports of temperance, peace, and antislavery societies. “All alike,” Stanton declared, “seemed too tame and pacific for the inauguration of a rebellion such as the world had never before seen.” So, “after much delay, one of the circle took up the Declaration of 1776, and read it aloud with much spirit and emphasis, and it was at once decided to adopt the historic document, with some slight changes such as substituting “all men” for ‘King George.’” Everyone, recalled Stanton, pronounced it to be “just the thing.” Although Stanton probably pulled the document together, the group as a whole, in true Quakerly fashion, generated ideas. Almost certainly, it was someone from the M’Clintock family who “took up the Declaration of 1776.”

At the convention itself, at least twenty-five Quakers—more than any other religious group—signed the Declaration of Sentiments. All of them except James and Lucretia Mott were from Farmington Quarterly Meeting. Four members of the M’Clintock family, the single largest nuclear family group, signed the Declaration, and Elizabeth and Mary Ann M’Clintock, Jr., “beautiful women, with dignified and self-possessed manners not often seen in women brought up as they were in a country town,” played particularly active roles as ushers, secretary of the convention, speakers, and members of the publications committee. Five Quaker women signed the Declaration of Sentiments from Rochester, along with Frederick Douglass. From Farmington Monthly Meeting (Orthodox), Maria E. Wilbur signed, and from Farmington Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), Susan and Elias Doty, Caroline and William Barker, Elizabeth D. Smith, and Eliab W. Capron (former Hicksite) signed.²¹⁰

These events in June and July—the split in Genesee Yearly Meeting, the Liberty League convention, and the Seneca Falls women’s rights convention—energized Farmington Friends.

On August 13, 1848, Frederick Douglass visited Farmington once more, along with Martin Delaney, who was working to help raise money for the *North Star*, and two more speakers.

210. For more details on the convention, see Judith Wellman, “Declaring Woman’s Rights,” Chapter 8, *The Road to Seneca Falls*.

They spoke in “the meetinghouse,” although whether this was the Orthodox or Hicksite meetinghouse is not clear. Welcome Herendeen recorded in his journal:

First Day, August 13, 1848. This afternoon attended an Abolition meeting at the meeting house. It was a spirited one. It was addressed by Frederick Douglas, M.R. Delainey Glen and John Whitrool. Frederick and Deiny wanted all of those that voted to vote for VanBuran as the best thing that they could do to stop the extension of slavery.²¹¹

Douglass commented on the same meeting in the *North Star*. “If there had been nothing else to contribute to our pleasure,” he noted, “the company of Joseph C. Hathaway, a faithful friend of the slavery and co-laborer in the cause of the oppressed, and his excellent wife (Esther Hathaway) and family of interesting children, added to whom was the noble hearted Anna Adams, these of themselves were sufficient.”²¹²

In October, reformers who had walked out of Genesee Yearly Meeting in June came back to the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse. Elizabeth Cady Stanton spoke in 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, at the organizational meeting of Congregational Friends on Friday, October 6, 1848. Quaker Benjamin Gue wrote in his diary that he went to a woman’s rights meeting held that evening “in the large meeting house,” “attended by Elizabeth C. Stanton of Seneca Falls, she circulated a petition praying the Legislature to allow women of legal age to exercise the right of the Elective Franchise, which I signed.” Stanton later bound her speech in blue ribbon and gave it to her daughters. It still exists.²¹³

Stanton wrote in her autobiography that, soon after the Seneca Falls woman’s rights convention, “I was invited to speak at several points in the neighborhood. One night, in the Quaker Meeting House at Farmington, I invited, as usual, discussion and questions when I had finished. We all waited in silence for a long time; at length a middle-aged man, with a broad-brimmed hat, arose and responded in a sing-song tone: ‘All I have to say –, if a hen can crow, let her crow,’ emphasizing ‘crow’ with an upward inflection on several notes of the gamut. The meeting adjourned with mingled feelings of surprise and merriment. I confess that I felt somewhat chagrined in having what I considered my unanswerable arguments so summarily disposed of, and the serious impression I had made on the audience so speedily dissipated. The good man intended no disrespect, as he told me afterward. He simply put the whole argument in a nutshell: ‘Let a woman do whatever she can.’”²¹⁴

211. Typescript from Journal of Welcome Herendeen, August 13, 1848.

212. *North Star*, August 21, 1848.

213. For a transcript of this speech, see Ann Gordon, ed., *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, Vol. I, *In the School of Anti-Slavery, 1840-1866* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 94-123; *The Diary of Benjamin F. Gue in Rural New York and Pioneer Iowa, 1847-1856* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1962), 40.

214. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More* (1898), 151.

Stanton found many supporters in Farmington for woman's rights. One of them was Phebe Hathaway, Farmington Quaker abolitionist (Orthodox, and one of the organizers of the 1838 Farmington Female Anti-Slavery Society). Hathaway lived near her brother J.C. Hathaway in Pumpkin Hook. In November, Hathaway wrote to Elizabeth Cady Stanton about hiring Lucy Stone as a woman's rights lecturer for New York State.

Thou wilt be glad to hear she [Lucy Stone] can come to this state so much sooner than she expected. Perhaps thou hast written her before this, and told her something definite relative to the plans of the society. I have written her but once, and then little more than to ask her if she would be willing to enter this field, and if so, upon what terms. I suppose she wishes to know definitely what her work is to be, and as nearly as possible *where*.²¹⁵

Congregational Friends published *The Basis of Religious Association*, written by Thomas M'Clintock, to explain their purpose. Local meetings would not be subject to the authority of any other meeting, they agreed. There would be no separate meetings of men and women or ministers and elders. There were to be no creeds and no rituals. Instead, they would focus on practical philanthropy. "The true basis of religious fellowship," they agreed, "is not identity of theological belief, but unity of heart and oneness of purpose in respect to the great practical duties of life."²¹⁶

By 1852, Stanton considered herself a member of the Congregational Friends. She had heard an "infamous report" that she had joined the Episcopal Church, she wrote to Martha Wright, "feel about it very much as if I had been accused of petty larceny." "I am a member of Junius meeting and not of the Episcopal Church. . . . If my theology could not keep me out of any church my deep and abiding reverence for the dignity of womanhood would be all sufficient."²¹⁷

Quakers affiliated with Farmington, both Orthodox and Hicksite, continued their women's activism. J.C. Hathaway, Orthodox Friend from Farmington, and Pliny Sexton, Hicksite Friend from Palmyra Preparative Meeting of Farmington Monthly Meeting, both became supporters of woman's rights at the national level. J.C. Hathaway served as secretary and president *pro tem* of the first national woman's rights convention held at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1850, and Pliny Sexton attended it.²¹⁸

215. Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Amy Post, September 24, 1848, Gordon Ann D. Gordon, ed., *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I: In the School of Anti-Slavery, 1840-1866* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 123-24; Phebe Hathaway to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, November 11, 1848, Gordon, ed., 132.

216. *Basis of Religious Association. Adopted by the Conference Held at Farmington, in the State of New York, on the Sixth and Seventh of Tenth Month, 1848 in Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends* (Auburn, New York: Henry Oliphant, 1850), 44-48.

217. ECS, *Eighty Years and More*, 151; Benjamin Gue, *Diary of Benjamin F. Gue in Rural New York and Pioneer Iowa, 1847-56* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1962), 40; Stanton to Martha Wright, [c. 1852], Garrison Papers, Smith College.

218. *Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Worcester, October 23d and 24th, 1850* (Boston, Massachusetts: Prentiss and Sawyer, 1851).

Amy Post, Elizabeth M'Clintock, Margaret Pryor, Catharine Fish Stebbins, and other people formerly affiliated with Farmington Monthly or Quarterly Meeting continued to work in the woman's movement, allied with the National Woman Suffrage Association, for the rest of their lives, a bridge to African American reformers such as Frederick Douglass, Charles Remond, and Sojourner Truth, as well.

Congregational Friends remained open to anyone who agreed with their core values of liberty of conscience and practical reform. In 1854, the call to their annual convention noted that

The platform is . . . broad and comprehensive, admitting the most perfect Liberty of conscience . . . an assembly in which Christians, Jews, Mahammedans, and Pagans, men and women of all names and no name, may mingle the sympathies and feelings of a common nature, and labor together for the promotion of human welfare, with no other law . . . but the LAW of LOVE . . . in question of truth and good for themselves and equally for their fellow beings.²¹⁹

This group met annually at the Junius Meetinghouse in Waterloo from 1849 into the 1880s. They changed their name, first to the Progressive Friends and then to the Friends of Human Progress. Several other similar groups also formed—in Michigan; Green Plain, Ohio; Longwood, Pennsylvania; and Collins, New York. These Congregational Friends were committed abolitionists. They also became some of the earliest and longest-lived supporters of the woman's rights movement.²²⁰

Many Quakers, however, were shocked by the radical individualism of these Congregational Friends. One observer noted that the group in Longwood, Pennsylvania, was made up of “long-haired men and short-haired women” who would be “better off in an asylum.”²²¹

In Farmington, the quietists who remained in Genesee Yearly Meeting made their feelings clear. “The large meeting-house of the Hicksite Quakers is closed against anti-slavery and all other reformatory meetings,” noted Frederick Douglass in the *North Star* in August. “It is hereafter to be exclusively devoted to religious purposes.” When Joseph Dugdale,

219. Call to Congregational Friends Meeting, *Frederick Douglass Paper*, May 26, 1854.

220. For minutes of several meetings of Congregational/Progressive Friends in Junius before the Civil War, see “Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, 1849-61, http://tritych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/HC_QuakSlav/id/10270/rec/1. See also Christopher Densmore, “Participants at Friends of Human Progress Meetings, Waterloo, N.Y., 1849-71;” “North Collins Friends of Human Progress, 1857-1930s,” “Friends of Human Progress, Waterloo: Bibliography of Printed Proceedings and Announcements,” <http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/>.

221. Albert Wahl, “The Progressive Friends of Longwood,” 27, quoted in Ryan P. Jordan, “Slavery and the Meetinghouse: Quakers, Abolitionists, and the Dilemma Between Liberty and Union, 1820-65,” Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2004, 151. Albert John Wahl, *American Republican*, September 25 and October 2, 1855, cited in “The Congregational or Progressive Friends in the Pre-Civil War Reform Movement,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1951, 94-95.

a Congregational Friend from Ohio, “a man of spotless purity of character, and of deep devotion to the cause of freedom,” asked to speak in the meetinghouse in August 1849, not only did Quakers refuse, but “one of the professed followers of Elias Hicks went so far as to nail up the doors and windows.”²²²

On November 22, 1849, Sunderland P. Gardner, a local farmer and gifted preacher, took over as the dominant minister among Farmington Friends (Hicksite), a position he retained until shortly before his death in 1893. Gardner became one of the best-known and best-loved ministers among quietist Friends throughout the northeastern U.S. and Canada. While not an activist, he was an abolitionist and a believer in ongoing revelation. His beliefs reflected dominant Hicksite values and meshed remarkably closely with those of Thomas M’Clintock, Lucretia Mott, and other activist Friends. Jesus, he said, “was the son of God in the same way that others may become the sons of God, by being led by the Spirit of God. And in this sense they are joint heirs with Jesus Christ. But he did not constitute an equal part in the God-head, he was not omniscient, nor is there any omniscience save that of the One God, the Almighty Father.” While the Bible was “a precious book,” its doctrines were not “the Light.” “Its study should occupy some of our most serious thoughts,” but it is “the testimony and not the substance of the Spirit. . . a thing to be used not worshipped.” “A preacher of extraordinary ability,” Gardner came to be known, noted his obituary, as “the ablest and most prominent preacher in the order of Friends in the United States.” He preached more than 2261 sermons during his long ministry throughout the U.S. and Canada.²²³

In April 1851, African American abolitionist Henry Johnson, from Canandaigua, spoke in Farmington, most likely in the Orthodox Meetinghouse. His successful visit may have given hope to abolitionists that they might once more use the 1816 Meetinghouse, also.²²⁴

In May 1851, they had a chance to test this possibility. Irish abolitionist George Thompson came to Farmington with William Lloyd Garrison as part of their tour throughout the northern U.S. Elias Doty, “a warm-hearted and most active friend of the slave,” (recently dismissed from Farmington Friends, Hicksite) drove Thompson and Garrison from Canandaigua to Farmington. They arrived about dark, and “found many friends ready to welcome the great champions of human freedom, Messrs. Garrison and Thompson. A pleasant evening was passed in conversation with the anti-slavery friends.”

“This place has long been noted for the number and spirit of the abolitionists residing there,” noted a correspondent for the *Liberator*.

222. *North Star*, August 31, 1849.

223. Hugh Barbour, Arthur Worrall, and Christopher Densmore, *Quaker Cross-Currents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (1995), 139-40; Betty Polster, *Genesee Friend: The Life and Times of Sunderland Pattison Gardner*, Canadian Quaker Pamphlet No. 39 (Argenta, B.C.: Argenta Friends Press, 1993). Thanks to Jane Zavitz-Bond for sharing this. “A Noted Quaker: Sketch of the Life of the Late Sunderland P. Gardner,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, February 17, 1893.

224. Preston Pierce, “Liberian Dreams, West African Nightmare: The Life of Henry W. Johnson, Part I. *Rochester History* LXVI:4 (Fall 2004).

At this time, there are two Societies of 'Friends' there. Unfortunately for humanity, they are divided upon the subject of slavery, and have, in consequence, two houses of worship, a large and a smaller one. The living society is the smaller one; the spirit of slavery hovers around the large house, and hardens the hearts, blinds the eyes, and stops the ears of the 'friends' who worship there.

Abolitionists had hoped to use the 1816 Meetinghouse, since it was "far more commodious than the small church." But on Sunday morning, they discovered that someone had forcibly removed the doors of the "pro-slavery Friends' Meetinghouse." Abolitionists, "as opponents of all violence," condemned the "foolish and wicked act." They decided not even to ask to use the 1816 Meetinghouse, for fear they would be accused of having stolen the doors.

Instead, they met in "the lesser house." A correspondent for the *Liberator* described the scene:

It was a sultry day, and the house crowded to suffocation, and the peculiar style of its architecture rendered it not particularly comfortable. The windows were opened, but every inch of room within the building was crowded, the platforms without were thronged, and the opened windows filled with people.

"It showed the intense anxiety of the people to hear the discussion of the subject," concluded the author, "and the utter uselessness of all attempts to stay the process of the investigation of slavery."²²⁵ Never again would reformers use the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse.

To ensure that no reformers entered the building, quietist Quakers in 1849 did what Quakers everywhere do in times of crisis: they appointed a committee. Its purpose was "to preserve order, in and about our meeting house and prevent the intrusion of strangers upon our yearly meeting of men or women friends." In 1850, this committee consisted of Edward Herrendeen, Isaac Colvin, Seth W. Bosworth and Walter Lawrence. Subsequent yearly meetings continued to appoint men to serve on this committee. In 1861, Edward Herrendeen and Seth Bosworth were assigned "to preserve order in and around the Meeting House during the several settings of the meeting." In 1862, meeting in Pickering, Ontario, they appointed eight men to fill this position.²²⁶

225. "Meetings in Central New York," Waterloo, May 13, 1851, published in *Liberator*, May 30, 1851.

226. Men's Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 10-14, 1850, p. 64; June 10-13, 1861, p. 101; June 9-1, 1862, p. 106. Research by Diane Robinson.

FARMINGTON FRIENDS: THE 1850S AND THE CIVIL WAR, A CHALLENGE TO THE PEACE
TESTIMONY, 1851-63

Quietist Hicksites seem to have been largely successful in restoring the harmony they sought within their meetings. On June 11, 1854, Sunderland P. Gardner noted in his journal that

First-day public meeting very large We had a favored time to the end of the Yearly Meeting. It is truly a great favor for which we ought to be grateful, when so large a body of Friends come together and go through with the weighty matters pertaining to the church, and not one thing occurs to break the harmony and good order which should characterize a Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, but all speaking the same language, minding the same things. Such was the Yearly Meeting of Genesee in 1854.²²⁷

In the 1850s and early 1860s, Farmington Friends Meeting (Hicksite) remained a vital and energized group. Hicksite Friends held services in the 1816 meetinghouse on first and fifth days every week for many years. In 1855, the New York State census noted that the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse held 2000 people. About 275 people regularly attended meetings.²²⁸

In 1888, when he was forty-five years old, Ellery G. Allen remembered the energy of these Hicksite Friends:

When I was a boy and used to attend meetings there with father and mother the high seats were well filled with broad brimed [sic] hats and Quaker bonnets. Abraham Willson and Aunt Abigail Willson, Hugh Pound & wife, William Clark & wife, Stephen Hatfield & wife, James Haight and Aunt Euphamy - Seth Bostworth & wife Asher Pound, Joseph Converse & wife - Walter Lawrence and wife and many others that I might name all sat on the high seats. Sunderland sat on one of Lower seats.²²⁹

And each June, Genesee Yearly Meeting continued to gather at Farmington, bringing Friends from all over western New York, Canada, and Michigan. One local resident, Thomas Cook, remembered that the sliding panels were raised during these meetings in order to accommodate the crowds. Prominent Quakers sat on the facing benches, the high seats, on the west side of the meetinghouse, men on one side and women on the other

227. Sunderland P. Gardner, "Journal," June 11, 1854, <http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Valley/2822/memoirs08.html>.

228. State of New York, Manuscript census, 1855, located in Ontario County Archives. Research by Kathy Hendrix.

229. Ellery G. Allen, March 18, 1888, to Margaret Allen. Thanks to Marjory Allen Perez for sharing this letter; 1880 U.S. Census.

side. “This conference lasted nearly a week,” wrote Cook, “always holding over Sunday, which was the second Sunday in June and was the great day when the young man took his best girl for a ride.”²³⁰

By 1849, quietists had closed the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse entirely to reformers. Although barred from the Meetinghouse, Farmington reformers were not to be silenced. As they left the 1816 Meetinghouse, they expanded their work on a regional and national scale.

The new Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends later changed its name to the Friends of Human Progress and then the Progressive Friends. In 1855, Friends in Collins, New York, also began to meet annually as the Friends of Human Progress. In both groups, men and women met together rather than separately. Friends dominated both groups. Lists of attendees reads like a duplicate of people who were mainstays of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society and the Underground Railroad. They were also key supporters of the country’s first women’s rights conventions—beginning with Seneca Falls in July 1848, Rochester in August 1848, and Worcester, Massachusetts in 1850. The Anthonys (Susan B. Anthony came to the Junius meeting in 1857 and 1861 and to Collins, also), Barkers, Bonnells, Coopers, Deans, Dells, Dotys, DeGarmos, Fishes, Jenkins, M’Clintocks, Lucretia and James Mott, Posts, Pryors, Schooleys, Stebbins, and Wilbur families attended regularly. Others from Quaker background traveled regularly from eastern New York, Michigan, and northern Ohio, including the Hallocks from the Hudson River valley, Dugdales from Green Plain, Ohio, Trumans from Philadelphia, and Rowland Robinson from Vermont. Both meetings were also open to reformers who had not earlier been members of Friends’ meetings. Frederick Douglass attended regularly. So did Rev. Samuel J. May (Unitarian minister from Syracuse), Elizabeth Cady Stanton (who called herself a Congregational Friend in 1852), Charles Lenox Remond, Oliver Johnson, Parker Pillsbury, Sojourner Truth, Frances Dana Gage, Gerrit Smith, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson.²³¹

Year after year, they wrote addresses and petitions to deal with reforms of all kinds—abolitionism, women’s rights, divorce, temperance, peace, and spiritualism. In 1849, for example, they sent anti-slavery petitions to Congress and anti-capital punishment petitions to the New York State legislature, and they circulated petitions for women’s rights. In 1850, they sent an address to the Peace Conference assembled in Frankfurt, Germany, and wrote (with the help of Elizabeth Cady Stanton) and an *Address to the Women of New York*.²³²

230. Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, (c. 1930). 257.

231. No official membership lists of Friends of Human Progress in New York State remains (and probably none was ever compiled). For a list of known attendees, see Christopher Densmore, “Participants at Annual Meetings of Friends of Human Progress (Waterloo, New York), 1849-71, and Densmore, “Friends of Human Progress (North Collins Meetings), 1855-1930s, <http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/>.

232. *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, Held at Waterloo, N.Y.* (Auburn: Oliphant’s Press, 1849) 5; *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, Held at Waterloo, N.Y., 1850* (Auburn: Henry Oliphant, printer, 1850), 8, 12-18.

Committed to universal human rights and a firm belief in the Inner Light that shone from all people, they expressed this focus in poems as well as prose. In 1850, for example, they affirmed

Mankind are one in spirit and an instinct bears along,
Round earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right and wrong.
Whether conscious or unconscious, humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean sundered fibres, feels the gush of joy or shame;
In the gain or loss of one race, all the rest have equal claim.²³³

Their commitment to the Light within all people led many of this group to embrace the new spiritualist movement when it emerged in Wayne County, just north of Farmington, in 1848. Isaac Post published the first spiritualist pamphlet, and spiritualists infused meetings of Progressive Friends from that point forward.²³⁴

They exchanged epistles with similar meetings of Friends in Green Plain, Ohio; Michigan Yearly Meeting; Conference of Friends of Marlborough and Nine Partners; Half-Yearly Meeting of Friends of the Congregational Order, Dublin, Indiana; Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends; Friends of the Kennet Square, Pennsylvania; and other gatherings of like-minded Friends. As Chuck Fager has shown, Congregational Friends formed the roots of what would by 1900 become Friends General Conference, one of Quakerism's two main national conferences in the 21st century U.S.²³⁵

Whether they left voluntarily or were dismissed, reform-minded Quakers left Genesee Yearly Meeting *en masse* to join the new Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends. In so doing, reformers finally abandoned efforts to reform Quakerism and moved onto regional and national stages in the larger world. The energies of Farmington Friends could no longer be contained within Friends' meetings alone.

In August 1850, Farmington Friends (mostly Orthodox) participated in a Fugitive Slave Convention in Cazenovia, New York. This convention directly challenged the proposed federal Fugitive Slave Act by publically honoring people who had escaped from slavery. About 2000 people, including fifty who had escaped from slavery themselves, attended

233. *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, Held at Waterloo, N.Y., 1850* (Auburn: Henry Oliphant, printer, 1850), 8. No source has yet been located for this poem, but it was quoted once more in Bernard Lucas, *Christ for India, Being a Presentation of the Christian Message to the Religious Thought of India* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 29, <https://archive.org/details/christforindian019001mbp>. Christopher Densmore identified this stanza as written by James Russell Lowell, "Present Crisis," first printed in the *Boston Courier*, December 11, 1845 as a protest against slavery and the U.S. war with Mexico. Part of this became a well-known hymn "Once to Every Man and Nation,"

234. Isaac Post, *Voices from the Spirit World Being Communications from Many Spirits* (1852), reprint Adamant, 2001.

235. For a brief overview of the significance of Congregational or Progressive Friends, see Chuck Fager, "Progressive Friends: The Top Ten Reasons Why They're The Most Interesting Quakers We Never Heard Of," *Quaker Theology*, Summer-Fall 2013 (No. 23), <http://quaker.org/quest/QT-23-Progressive-Friends-Top-Ten-Reasons-Fager-Quaker-Theology-Number-23.html>.

this meeting “of runaway slaves.” They adopted a “Letter to the American Slaves from Those Who Have Fled from American Slavery,” probably written by Frederick Douglass. As special guests, they invited three people. The first was William Chaplin, who had moved from upstate New York to Washington, D.C., to work on the Underground Railroad in Washington, D.C.. The other two were people enslaved by prominent southern politicians: Garland White, enslaved by Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia, and Allen, enslaved by Senator Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. All three were caught as they fled from Washington, D.C. through Maryland. This was not the first time that Chaplin’s plans ended in disaster. In April 1848, Chaplin had organized the unsuccessful escape of 77 African Americans on the Pearl. Trying to flee slavery on the Pearl, Mary and Emily Edmondson had been recaptured and later purchased with money raised by their father. They went immediately to Farmington. by His role in that plan remained hidden, but he had recently tried to help two people escape from enslavement by prominent Congressmen in Washington, D.C. Unfortunately for Chaplin and his supporters, all three of these men were captured while heading north through Maryland.

The Cazenovia convention turned into a movement of support for paying Chaplin’s bail, an astounding \$20,000. J.C. Hathaway played a prominent role in this convention, as did Mary and Emily Edmondson. All three are featured in a daguerreotype taken by local abolitionist photographer E.C. Weld. Most likely, this daguerreotype was designed to show William Chaplin that, although jailed, he was not forgotten. This convention resulted in an abolitionist tour of upstate New York, to raise money for Chaplin’s bail. Farmington women, including Phebe Hathaway and Elizabeth D. Smith, organized a campaign, asking 1000 women across upstate New York to donate a dime each for an engraved silver pitcher for William Chaplin. Elizabeth D. Smith presented this pitcher to Chaplin and his bride Theodosia Gilbert on their wedding day in October 1850. In 1852, William R. and Eliza Smith mortgaged their farm and nursery (“Hillside”) in Macedon to help pay Chaplin’s bail. The Smiths moved first to Wilmington, Delaware, to set up an abolitionist newspaper in this southern state, and then to Iowa.²³⁶

In 1851, many abolitionists who had supported the position of William Lloyd Garrison, that the Constitution was a pro-slavery document, changed their minds and began to argue that the Constitution was antislavery. More and more abolitionists found political action reasonable. As people such as Frederick Douglass and William R. Smith became political abolitionists, the old Western²³⁷ New York Anti-Slavery Society dissolved, replaced briefly by a new New York State Anti-Slavery Society. Impelled by an infusion of new political abolitionist energies, Gerrit Smith successfully ran for Congress in 1852 on the National Abolition Party. People such as Amy and Isaac Post remained firmly in

236. Hugh Humphreys, *Great Cazenovia Fugitive Slave Convention* (Madison County Historical Society, 1990?); Judith Wellman, “Glen Haven,” *Uncovering Sites Relating to the Underground Railroad, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Auburn and Cayuga County* (Auburn, 2003), <http://www.cayugacounty.us/Portals/0/history/ugrr/report/index.html>.

237. For further discussion of this, see Nancy Hewitt, “Feminist Friends: Agrarian Quakers and the Emergence of Woman’s Rights in America,” *Feminist Studies* 12:1 (1986).

the Garrisonian camp, however. In 1854, these grassroots political parties coalesced into a new national party, the Republican Party, which ran its first presidential candidate, John C. Fremont, in 1856.

In the 1850s, women's rights activists held national conventions every year except one (1857), as well as dozens of state and local women's rights meetings. In October 1850, two Friends from Farmington (J.C. Hathaway, Orthodox, and Pliny Sexton, Hicksite) traveled to the first national woman's rights convention in Worcester, Massachusetts. Hathaway became president pro tem of this convention. Subsequent national conventions in Worcester (1851), Syracuse (1852), Cleveland (1853), Philadelphia (1854), and New York City (1858-60) attracted support from many reform Quakers. Congregational Friends meeting in Waterloo adopted an address on women's rights, promoted by Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and many others.

Debates over the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), Dred Scott decision (1857), and John Brown's raid and death (1859) drew the whole country, including Quakers, into debates about the country's future. In December 1860, South Carolina became the first southern state to secede from the Union, and war broke out in April 1861.

The 1850s and early 1860s marked the high point of Hicksite Quakerism in Farmington and throughout much of the country. On the eve of the Civil War, that vitality was about to change, as older people died and younger people moved west. The Civil War delivered a major blow to Hicksite Quakers in Farmington and across the nation, as they confronted a conflict between their historic peace testimony and their anti-slavery commitment.

The Civil War delivered a major blow to Hicksite Quakers in Farmington and across the nation, as they confronted a conflict between their historic peace testimony and their anti-slavery commitment. The Civil War marked the beginning of the end of Hicksite Quakerism, as the younger generation no longer found traditional Quaker dress, Quaker speech, and Quaker discipline appropriate in a changing world.

One of the core tenets of Quakers was the peace testimony: opposition to all war and commitment to living in "that life and power that taketh away the occasion for all wars," as founder George Fox noted. In spite of this commitment to peace, some Farmington Quakers served in the Revolutionary War. Isaac Hathaway III, from Tiverton, Rhode Island (grandfather of abolitionists J.C. Hathaway and Phebe Hathaway) served as a private from Berkshire County, Massachusetts. Lemuel Durfee served in the army in 1777-78. After the War, in 1784, he married Isaac Hathaway III's sister Prudence in Tiverton, Rhode Island. Eli Seymour, stepfather of Palmyra abolitionist Pliny Sexton served in a Connecticut revolutionary regiment from 1780 to 1783. He became one of Major Edmund

Andre's guards. After the war, he converted to Quakerism and moved to Palmyra, where he is buried.²³⁸

Like Eli Seymour, Griffith M. Cooper, too, had served in the military before becoming a convinced Friend. His father and two brothers had long and active careers in the U.S. Navy, and Griffith Cooper served as a naval officer during both the war against Algerian pirates in the late eighteenth century and in the War of 1812. "After the war," however, noted his obituary, "he became a convert to the doctrine of peace, and a member of the society of Friends, a metamorphosis which has no parallel in the history of our navy." He became a major advocate for abolition, Seneca Indian land rights, and peace. "He died, as he had lived, an opponent of both war and slavery." He was buried in 1864 in the Quaker cemetery at the corner of Route 21 and Pearsnall Road.²³⁹

In general, however, Quakers continued to oppose all fighting. In Farmington as elsewhere, they paid a price for their commitment to peace. When they refused to serve in the local militia or to pay fines for their absence, they were subject to loss of property, imprisonment, or both. Meetings for sufferings kept a list of those Quakers who suffered financially or personally for commitment to their beliefs. Quaker minutes regularly recorded the number (although not the names) of those who either served in the military, paid taxes, went to jail, or purchased alternates. In First Month 1820, as Christopher Densmore has noted, they listed property taken from eleven Friends, totaling \$105.00, "mostly sheep but also including furniture, hats, shoes and a heifer." In 1841, Farmington Quarterly Meeting noted "Friends have suffered by distraint of property for military demands \$12.67 cts for \$12.00 demanded and one friend has been imprisoned 12 days for a military demand of \$3.75 cts. Genesee Yearly Meeting noted in June 1842 that "Farmington Quarterly Meeting reports \$8.15 taken for a military demand of \$5.75, and that two friends have been imprisoned in the county jail 18 days each for a demand of 3 dollars each."²⁴⁰

Sunderland P. Gardner of Farmington and Charles Bonnel of Waterloo went to jail rather than pay fines. In 1806, Farmington Monthly Meeting paid \$150 "for a tax in lieu of military service." When Charles Bonnel refused to pay war taxes, he was fined, imprisoned, and had his property impounded. In 1826, Gardner, a Mason, shared his

238. Virginia Moscrip and Marjorie Dows, "Tombstone Inscriptions Abandoned Cemetery at "Hathaways" Corners; Copied October 9, 1966, <http://ontario.nygenweb.net/farmingtonsmallcems.htm>; DAR records for Wilma Hathaway Colman; William Field Reed, *Descendants of Thomas Durfee of Portsmouth, R.I.*, <http://books.google.com/books?id=kElKAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA318&lpg=PA354&ots=thwELFjZJn&dq=%22William+Gatchell%22+Herendeen&output=text>; George Dudley Seymour, comp., *A History of the Seymour Family* (1939), 193-94. Thanks to Charles Lenhart, Diane Robinson, and Cynthia Schwab for this research.

239. Griffith M. Cooper, Obituary, *Liberator*, December 23, 1864. Found by Charles Lenhart; Judith Wellman, Marjory Perez, with Charles Lenhart and others, "Cooper Family," *Uncovering Sites Relating to the Underground Railroad, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Wayne County, N.Y., 1820-1880* (Lyons, New York: Wayne County Historian's Office, 2009).

240. Diane Robinson, List of Revolutionary War Soldiers, Farmington, email, July 31, 2014; Christopher Densmore, email October 16, 2013; Minutes, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 7th of 4th mo (April 7), 1841, p. 310-13; Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 10, 1842, p. 65.

quarters in the Canandaigua jail with members of the Masonic order who had been arrested for kidnapping William Morgan. For Gardner, refusal to participate in war meant also meant a refusal to participate in politics. Although intensely interested in current affairs, he did not vote. In contrast, Charles Bonnel joined the Whig party and cast his first votes for John Quincy Adams in 1824. As a strong abolitionist, he joined the Republican Party when it was organized in 1856. Nathan Aldrich, too, became a major Republican advocate.²⁴¹

In the late 1830s, Quakers in Farmington were disturbed by the Patriot's War (an ill-organized effort by local volunteers to attack Canada, hoping to bring it into the U.S.). On the fourth day of first month, Mary Durfee reported in her diary, "Hear of distresses in Buffalo, and at Navy Island, where the Canadian Patriots are stationed. Report says 1000 men are killed by drifting over the falls of Niagary! Do we live in a christian land? I say it is barbarous savage & cruel."²⁴²

The Civil War brought a crisis to many Quaker families, in Farmington as elsewhere. Their peace testimony conflicted with their absolute commitment to abolish slavery. Genesee Yearly Meeting was clear in its opposition to taking up arms. "We were shown, and the young in particular were reminded, that it was only as our minds were imbued with this spirit of love," noted the Minutes, "that we would be prepared to faithfully bear our testimony against War in this day of commotion in the land; and while the billows of suffering are rolling towards our shores." They were buoyed in their resolve by epistles from Friends in other yearly meetings. From New York, they were admonished to remember that "in the midst of the tremendous strife in which our beloved country is engaged, a deep exercise was felt that Friends might bar their testimonies to the pure principles of peace without wavering" so that Quakers "might come forward as gold purified in the fire." Friends in Baltimore reported "lively testimonies" against the "horrors of war." Many of their number had been arrested for refusing to support the war, and at least one, Job Throckmorton, died as a result. "Most of our meetinghouses," they noted, had been appropriated by either Federal or Confederate troops for military purposes. Facing such moral conflict, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting admitted, "many of our members, led by a spirit of enthusiasm, have shown themselves not sufficiently imbued with a love of our testimony for Peace to restrain them from entering into the conflict."²⁴³

241. "A Noted Quaker," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, February 17, 1893; Minutes, Easton Quarterly Meeting, May 11, 1806, page 251, research by Christopher Densmore; Judith Wellman, "Rachel Dell Bonnel," Women's Rights National Historical Park, <http://www.nps.gov/wori/historyculture/rachel-dell-bonnel.htm>; Aldrich genealogy, research by Diane Robinson.

242. Mary Durfee, Diary, January 4, 1838, transcribed by Marjorie Allen Perez, Wayne County Historian's Office. Mary Durfee probably referred to the *Caroline* affair, in which a ship from the Royal Navy seized the steamship *Caroline*, set it afire, and sent over Niagara Falls. Only one U.S. sailor, an African American, Amos Durfee, was killed. Alexander McLeod was later tried for Durfee's murder and acquitted.

243. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held at Farmington, N.Y., 1863* (Rochester: *Daily Democrat and American*, 1863), 7.

Such was also the case in Farmington. Many Farmington Quakers chose to join Union troops rather than maintain the traditional peace testimony. Nathan Aldrich, grandson of the pioneer of the same name, was a staunch Republican and strong supporter of the war. Whenever a call came for new troops, he urged young men in Farmington to join, “teaching love of freedom and hatred of slavery and treason.” Among those who responded was Charles Biddlecom, 147th regiment, who served in some of the bloodiest of many bloody battles in the war, including Grant’s Virginia campaigns. Orin J. Herendeen, captain of Company H, New York 126th, lost his life at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863. Henry M. Harrington, son of Quakers Edward Herendeen and Harriet Cadworth Herendeen, was another young man who continued military service after the Civil War. He died at Little Big Horn in the conflict between Sioux and General Custer’s 7th Cavalry.²⁴⁴

Two men affiliated with Quaker families in Farmington and Rochester (Farmington Quarterly Meeting) took their commitment to abolitionism and equal rights directly into their military service. John Lapham Bullis, born in Macedon, spent most of his career working with African American soldiers. He enlisted as a private in the 126th New York Infantry. Captured twice (once at Gettysburg), he became captain of the 118th Infantry of the United States Colored Troops. He continued to serve as an officer of U.S. colored troops after the Civil War. His work with Black Seminole Scouts on the Texas-Mexico border earned him national attention. He retired as a brigadier general in 1903.²⁴⁵

Daniel Anthony, brother of the world-famous women’s rights advocate Susan B. Anthony, moved to Kansas in 1854, part of the abolitionist effort to keep Kansas a free state. He became the premier journalist and newspaper editor in Leavenworth, Kansas. When the Civil War began, Anthony quickly enlisted in the army as a lieutenant colonel in the First Kansas Cavalry. In June 1862, he issued a command forbidding anyone to assist in returning fugitive slaves to their “masters.” When he refused to rescind this order, he was arrested and relieved of his command. The case went to Congress. When Anthony was reinstated, he promptly resigned. With his sister, Susan B. Anthony, Daniel Anthony retained his membership in Rochester Monthly Meeting of Friends from 1853 (when they

244. Aldrich Family Genealogy, research by Diane Robinson: “126th Regiment, NY Volunteer Infantry, Civil War Newspaper Clippings,” <http://dmna.ny.gov/historic/reghist/civil/infantry/126thInf/126thInfCWN.htm>; *Documents of the Assembly of the State of New York* (Albany, 1912), 499, http://books.google.com/books?id=wow7AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA499&lpg=PA499&dq=owen+herendeen+gettysburg&source=bl&ots=WdbsDhYn-8&sig=9V5wMGal0GE6TN_ikoLhUIlAzBg&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Id0pVNeOJuWIsQTr7oLYDw&ved=0CCAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=owen%20herendeen%20gettysburg&f=false; Katherine M. Aldridge, *No Freedom Shrieker: The Civil War Letters of Charles Freeman Biddlecom* (Paramount Market Publishing, 2011); “Seminole-Negro Indian Scouts,” <http://www.buffalosoldier.net/SeminoleNegroIndianScouts.htm>.

245. Texas State Historical Association, ‘John Lapham Bullis,’ <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fbu19>; “Descendants of Edward Herendeen and Harriet Cadworth Herendeen,” Genealogy prepared by Charles Lenhart.

transferred from Easton Monthly Meeting) until he died in 1905. His obituary noted, “he was no hypocrite.” Susan B. also kept her membership until her death in 1906.²⁴⁶

At least one young Friend chose another option. When he was drafted, Pliny T. Sexton, a member of Farmington Monthly Meeting and son of abolitionists Pliny and Hannah Sexton, hired Franklin Bogart, a local African American, as a substitute when he was drafted. In return, Sexton took care of Franklin Bogart’s family while Bogart was in service.²⁴⁷

Debates about military service infused discussions of men Friends at Genesee Yearly Meeting from 1861 until the end of the war. In June 1861, at Farmington, they noted three instances of Friends who paid a military tax exemption, as Plinty T. Sexton did. In June 1862, meeting at Pickering, Ontario, they noted that two men were “bearing arms” and ten had paid either military fines or taxes. In June 1863, again at Farmington, Friends recorded eight instances of men who had enlisted, two who had joined the militia, and one more who complied with the military requisition in an unspecified way. In June 1864, meeting at Pickering, they recorded “seven instances of bearing arms, three of hiring substitutes and 18 of paying a tax in lieu of personal military service.” Back at Farmington in June 1865, they listed “3 instances of bearing arms one of which has been hereof reported, one of enlisting as a surgeon in the army and 4 of voluntarily contributing to aid in furnishing substitutes.”²⁴⁸

Farmington Friends who joined the military (or hired replacements) represented a movement away from Quaker testimonies in other ways, also. Young Friends were leaving Friends’ meetings, abandoning “plainness of speech, behavior, and apparel,” and adopting the ways of the world. In 1863, the minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting reflected deep concern about the loss of the younger generation. They admonished youth “to remember whence the many blessings by which they are surrounded, have come, and as their minds recognize in their author a God of love, of justice, and mercy, to become willing to devote the morning of their day to His service, and thus save themselves many hours of sorrow and suffering.”²⁴⁹

At the end of the war, minutes of men Friends recorded a short poem suggesting a spirit of forgiveness, followed by a brief but heartfelt hope:

246. New York Yearly Meeting, James Hazard Index, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, <http://www.swarthmore.edu/academics/friends-historical-library.xml>; Frank Blackmar, ed., *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History* (Chicago: Standard Publishing Company, 1912), Vol. I, Vol. III, 54-55, transcribed by Carolyn Ward, http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1912/a/anthony_daniel_r.html; http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1912/a3/anthony_daniel_read.html.

247. Note from Peter Evans, Wayne County Historian, based on Hoffman essay (1978, vol. IV); James Hazard Index, New York Yearly Meeting, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.

248. Minutes, Men Friends, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 10-13, 1861, p. 102; June 9-12, 1862, p. 107; June 16-18, 1863; June 13-16, 1864, p. 117; June 12-15, 1865, p. 121;

249. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held at Farmington, N.Y., 1863* (Rochester: *Daily Democrat and American*, 1863), 6.

Teach me to feel another's love
To hide the fault I see
That mercy I to others show
That mercy show to me.

Hope conflict has ceased.

Because younger Friends were not replacing those who died or moved away, the period of the Civil War marked a watershed among Hicksite Friends. It was the beginning of a decline that would never be reversed. In 1893, the year that Sunderland P. Gardner died, Farmington Friends Monthly Meeting (Hicksite) changed into the Executive Committee of Farmington Friends (Hicksite). By 1927, the meeting was entirely laid down.

The Civil War was a watershed for Quakers across the nation in another way, too. As Chuck Fager noted in *Remaking Friends*, the Civil War was a “game-changing event in American Quakerism.” While Quakers maintained their official commitment to the traditional peace testimony, they recognized that individuals might interpret that commitment in different ways. There were no large-scale disownments of people who served in the war. Quakers, including those in Farmington, tacitly agreed to shift adherence to the peace policy from “a group-enforced norm to a matter of individual judgment.”

After the Civil War, most Quaker meetings retained as members people who had fought in the war. They also rarely chastised people for other offenses, either, such as marrying out of meeting or abandoning Quaker plain dress and speech. Essentially, by emphasizing the primacy of individual conscience over group discipline, they thoroughly undercut the traditional power of ministers and elders. By the end of the century, committees for Ministry and Counsel, made up of members chosen for specific terms of service rather than for life, had largely replaced select meetings of ministers and elders. Respect for individual leadings and an emphasis on the authority of local meetings had replaced traditional hierarchical structure. In effect, the Civil War led Hicksite Friends to espouse the core tenets of the Congregational/Progressive Friends who had left their meetings only two decades earlier.²⁵⁰

Farmington Meetinghouse, Its Last Enhancements: Doors, “Shutters,” Paint, and Veranda, 1842-1863

From 1842 to 1851, confrontations over reform, led to disputes over who controlled the Meetinghouse itself. Three references illustrate ways in which these disagreements affected the physical structure:

250. Chuck Fager, *Remaking Friends: How Progressive Friends Changed Quakerism and Helped Save America* (Durham, N.C.: Kimo Press, 2014), 89, 108.

- 1846—Doors of the 1816 Meetinghouse were “bolted and barred” against anti-slavery activists.²⁵¹
- 1849, August—Doors and windows were nailed shut: “One of the professed followers of Elias Hicks went so far as to nail up the doors and windows.”²⁵²
- 1851, May—Doors were removed. No one has yet discovered who removed them, whether Friends hoping to make sure that George Thompson and William Lloyd Garrison could speak in the building or foes who wished to prevent that meeting.

The loss of reformers in 1848 led to a resurgence of strength among the quietists. From 1849 to 1863, in control of Genesee Yearly Meeting, quietists shifted their energies from battling dissidents to celebrating their own internal cohesion. Part of that shift in energy included new attention to maintaining and enhancing the 1816 Meetinghouse. Throughout the 1850s, Genesee Yearly Meeting continued to improve the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse. Unlike the committee building in 1841-2, all repairs and additions to the Meetinghouse were authorized and supervised by men Friends, without mention in minutes of women Friends.

From 1849 to 1863, Genesee Yearly Meeting reflected its strength by repairing and upgrading the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. Minutes of the men’s meeting of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, as well as Treasurers’ reports (which began in 1848) reflect these physical changes. Key work included:

- 1849—general repairs, \$40.00
- 1851—replacing “dores,” paid to William Lawrence, \$7.00
- 1853—“servaces,” perhaps installing blinds, paid to Daniel Haight, \$8.00
- 1855—repair of interior shutters, paid to Joseph Green, \$99.41
- 1856—painting the Meetinghouse, paid to Seth W. Bosworth, \$85.00 plus \$2.77 for paint and oil
- 1862-63—veranda and south and east sides, \$290, between June 1862 and April 1, 1863, \$200 paid to Sherman Brown, June 1862, and \$90 paid Edward Herendeen, January 1864.

FO On 6th mo. 11 (June 11), 1849, the first annual meeting after reformers walked out in June 1848, the treasurer recorded, “Received of the Treasurer of Yearly Mtg for the repairing Farmington Meeting house according to the direction of the Yearly meeting

251. J.C. Hathaway to *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, July 16, 1846, published August 6, 1846.

252. *North Star*, August 31, 1849.

\$40.00.” We do not know what these repairs were. Nor is there any record of who actually received this money or did this work.²⁵³

In 1851, Friends in charge of the Meetinghouse acted quickly to repair the damage done when the doors were removed the night before George Thompson and William Lloyd Garrison were to speak in Farmington. In June, a committee from men’s meeting asked Genesee Yearly Meeting to “direct its treasurer to pay the treasurer of Farmington Meeting the sum of \$7 for expenses recently incurred in repairing the Meeting House in which our Yearly Meetings are held.” On July 10, 1851, the Treasurer recorded, “paid Walter Lawrance [sic] \$7.00 by direction of the Yearly Meeting for two dores [doors].”²⁵⁴ Photographs in 1892 show six panel doors on the exterior of the Meetinghouse, perhaps dating from 1851, at least one of which may still be extant.²⁵⁵

Walter Lawrence, who installed the new doors, was a Friend and a farmer from Macedon, with a farm worth \$9000, according to the 1850 U.S. census. Born in New Jersey about 1790, Walter Lawrence was listed in 1812 as a member of Cornwall Meeting in eastern New York. About 1813, he married Susannah Johnson, born about 1794, a member of Cornwall Meeting. By 1826, Walter and Susannah were living in Farmington, where their sixth child, Walter, was born. In 1827, Susannah and Walter were received into Farmington Monthly Meeting by certificate from Shrewsbury (New Jersey) Monthly Meeting. They were listed as “Friends,” i.e. Hicksites, on the list compiled in 1832.²⁵⁶

In the mid-1850s, secure in their ownership, Friends in Genesee Yearly Meeting spent more money to upgrade the 1816 Meetinghouse. After 1851, they added window shades with wooden fixtures and labels. These showed a patent date of 1851, but they may have been installed in 1853, when men’s meeting of Genesee Yearly Meeting directed the treasurer to pay \$8.00 to David Haight “for extra care of the meeting house during the time of holding the Yearly Meeting this year.” On June 7, 1853, the treasurer recorded: “Paid to David haight [sic] by direction of the Yearly Meeting for servaces [sic] about the House \$8.”²⁵⁷

This work upgraded the 1816 Meetinghouse for continued use by Genesee Yearly Meeting. In 1853 (or perhaps 1854), the yearly meeting considered moving the location of its annual meetings (probably to Pickering, Ontario, where they held Half Yearly Meeting), but concluded, “Way not open to make any changes.” Instead, they appointed Edward

253. “Treasurer’s Book,” 1848-1886, 6th mo 11, 1849. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. Research by Diane Robinson.

254. Manuscript minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 1851; Treasurer’s account book, 7th month 10, 1851. Research by Christopher Densmore.

255. Men’s Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 1851; “Treasurer’s Book,” 1848-1886, 7th mo 10 [1851]. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. Research by Christopher Densmore and Diane Robinson.

256. 1850 U.S. census; “Descendants of Walter Lawrence,” genealogy prepared by Charles Lenhart; James Hazard Index to Records of New York Yearly Meeting, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, <http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/friends/hazard/fhlresults.php>.

257. Men’s Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 1853, p. 73; Treasurer’s notes, June 7, 1853.

Herendeen, Seth W. Bosworth, Joseph Green, William Clark, and Joseph M. Howland as a committee “to have such alterations and improvements as may be beneficiary made in the partitions that separate the mens [sic] from the women’s apartment in this house and draw on the treasurer of this meeting for the amount of the expense thus incurred.”²⁵⁸

This work occurred in 1855. In January, the treasurer noted, “1855 1st mo 25th Paid to one of the Committee [sic] appointed by the Yearly Meeting to fix the Shetters [?] to the House 10.00” (Figure 19). This note was crossed out.

It was followed on April 26, 1855, by another note about money spent for work on the “shetters” or “shutters”: “1855 4th mo 26 Paid to Joseph Green \$99.41 cts for Repairing and altering Shetters [sic or Shutters] to Meetinghouse.”²⁵⁹ (Figure 19)

Minutes of men’s meeting for Genesee Yearly Meeting reported on June 14, 1855, that the work had been completed:

The committee appointed last year to have some alterations made in the partitions and other parts of this house for the accommodation of the Yearly Meeting reported that they have attended thereto, and had drawn on the treasurer for \$99.41 the amount of the expenses incurred.²⁶⁰

At the same time, Genesee Yearly Meeting agreed to paint the 1816 Meetinghouse. Men’s Meeting agreed to this plan and, once more, appointed a committee to oversee the work:

the proposition to paint the Meeting House at the expense of the Yearly Meeting was agreed to and the following committee was appointed to give the necessary attention thereto, and draw on the treasurer of this meeting for the expenses. Edward Herrendeen, Sunderland P. Gardner, Seth W. Bosworth, and Gordon or Gardner G. Smith.²⁶¹

The following year, on December 2, 1856, Genesee Yearly Meeting paid Seth Bosworth, “one of the Yearly meeting committee,” \$85.00 “for painting Farmington Meeting House,” plus \$2.77 for paint and oil.²⁶² (Figure 19)

Still feeling expansive and powerful in the decade leading up to the Civil War, Genesee Yearly Meeting received a bequest of \$400 from the will of Caleb Carmalt, Clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting in the 1850s. Yearly Meeting agreed to use \$200 “to make the improvements proposed on the Farmington Meeting House” and \$152.50 for repairs on the Pickering Meetinghouse. In June 1862, the treasurer paid Sherman Brown \$200,

258. Men’s Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 1853, p. 77. Research by Diane Robinson.

259. “Old Quaker Meeting House Moved to Meet Changed Farm Needs,” *Niagara Falls Gazette*, May 9, 1927; “Treasurer’s Book,” 1848-1886, June 7, 1853, and April 26, 1855. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. Research by Diane Robinson.

260. Men’s Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 14, 1855, p. 80. Research by Diane Robinson.

261. Men’s Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 14, 1855, p. 80. Research by Diane Robinson.

262. Treasurer’s account book, December 2, 1856.

probably for work on the Farmington Meetinghouse. In October 1862, the treasurer paid \$152.50 to Nicholas Brown for painting and repairs of the Meetinghouse in Pickering, Ontario. It is possible that this Nicholas Brown was the same carpenter who lived in Farmington in 1816 and may have worked on the original 1816 Meetinghouse. Born in 1785, Nicholas Brown died in Pickering, Ontario, Canada, in 1868, aged 83.²⁶³

Most likely, the \$200 that Sherman Brown earned for his work was for the last addition ever made to the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse, a veranda or piazza. A committee representing Farmington Quarterly Meeting, with Edward Herendeen as clerk, took charge of the project and gave a final report to Genesee Yearly Meeting on 15th of Sixth Month, 1863. Minutes of the yearly meeting reprinted a report sent from Farmington Quarterly Meeting to Genesee Yearly Meeting. It noted that work had been completed by April 1, 1863:

The following information was forwarded in the Reports from Farmington Quarterly Meeting, namely:

The Committee appointed to the care of making the repairs on the Meeting House, at Farmington, made the following report, viz:

“We, the Committee to make repairs at Farmington Meeting House, report that we have attended to our appointment, and have built a veranda on the east side and south end of said house, being over one hundred feet in length, roof shingled, and ceiled under the rafters, with tin eave troughs and conductors, all painted, or to be. The expense is two hundred and ninety dollars. We have drawn from the Treasurer two hundred dollars.

Signed, on behalf of the Committee, by

“EDWARD HERENDEEN
“Mendon, 4th Mo. 1st, 1863”

The Report being satisfactory to this Meeting, it is directed to be forwarded to the Yearly Meeting.²⁶⁴

The “Committee to settle with the Treasurer” recommended that Genesee Yearly Meeting raised \$150 in 1863, of which ninety dollars would defray expenses on the Farmington Meetinghouse. Asa L. Schooley signed the report, on behalf of the Committee. In January

263. “Treasurer’s Book,” 1848-1886, June 8, 1862, and October 2, 1862. Friends Historical Library. Nicholas Brown information from Ancestry.com, http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?gl=ROOT_CATEGORY&rank=1&new=1&sso=3&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=ms_f-2_s&gsfn=nicholas&gsfn_x=XO&gsln=brown&gsln_x=XO&msydy=1860&msypn__ftp=pickering+ontario&cpxt=0&catBucket=rstp&uidh=awc&msydp=10&cp=12. On June 15, 1864, the treasurer noted another payment to Sherman Brown “for Canada by the direction of the Yly Mt. 36.25.” Although this not does not mention physical repairs, it seems likely that this may have been used on the Pickering Meetinghouse, as were earlier payments to the Browns.

264. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held at Farmington, N.Y., 1863* (Rochester: *Daily Democrat and American*, 1863), 4.

1864, the treasurer reported that he had indeed paid Edward Herringdeen “\$90.00 on [one?] of the committy [sic] to build the piaza around Farmington Meeting House.”²⁶⁵ (Figure 19) This veranda marked the high point of the institutional life of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. Never again would Quakers make major changes in the 1816 Meetinghouse.

FARMINGTON FRIENDS, 1863-1927

After the Civil War, as Hicksite Friends declined in Farmington, Orthodox Friends experienced a renewal in the form of a holiness movement that “swept away,” as historians Thomas Hamm and Hugh Barbour noted, “most of the distinguishing marks of traditional Quakerism.” Sanctification, the idea that humans could become perfect, learning to live without sin, was not a new idea to Quakers. Traditionally, however, Quakers believed that sanctification was a gradual process. Holiness proponents, however, believed that sanctification was instantaneous, following conversion, a result of “love released by power of the atoning blood of Christ.”²⁶⁶

In 1867, Friends in Indiana had established “general meetings” to educate people about basic Quaker principles. In 1870, holiness preachers began to use these general meetings to spread ideas about sanctification, turning them essentially into religious revivals. In August 1871, Farmington became the site of the first of these general meetings in New York State. Twenty-nine ministers, both women and men, held a five-day service in Farmington, with an estimated 6000 people present. As many as 1000 people crowded into the 1816 Farmington Quaker meetinghouse, while others met on the hill behind it. As one newspaper reported, in one long unbroken sequence of impassioned appeals (very different from the meetings that characterized traditional Quakerism), ministers did “exhort and beg the sinner the come to Jesus.”²⁶⁷

Although slavery was abolished after the Civil War, Orthodox Friends continued to welcome reform speakers. On June 1, 1873, Susan B. Anthony spoke in Farmington in the Orthodox Meetinghouse. Most likely, she gave a version of her famous speech, “Is It a Crime for a U.S. Citizen to Vote?” Two weeks later, on June 15, 1873, Matilda Joslyn Gage spoke in the Orthodox Meetinghouse. Both women were crisscrossing Ontario County, as

265. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held at Farmington, N.Y., 1863* (Rochester: *Daily Democrat and American*, 1863), 7-8. “Treasurer’s Book,” 1848-1886, January 1864, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore; Manuscript minutes, Men’s Meeting, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 15, 1863, p. 111. Research by Diane Robinson⁵, 1.

266. Thomas Hamm and Hugh Barbour et al, “Evangelicals and Hicksites, 1870-1917,” Hugh Barbour, Arthur Worrall, and Christopher Densmore, *Quaker Cross-Currents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 199-200.

267. Thomas Hamm and Hugh Barbour et al, “Evangelicals and Hicksites, 1870-1917,” Hugh Barbour, Arthur Worrall, and Christopher Densmore, *Quaker Cross-Currents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 201.

they had done in Monroe County earlier, generating support for Anthony's right to vote before her trial in the Canandaigua courthouse.²⁶⁸

In 1875, the 1804 Orthodox meetinghouse burned. It was replaced the next year by a new Farmington Friends Meetinghouse, constructed by D.C. Brundage and still used today. This building is very different in form and plan from the 1816 meetinghouse because it reflected new styles of worship (with sermons, hymns, and Bible readings), influenced by religious revivals.

Genesee Yearly Meeting continued to meet in Farmington for several years. Beginning in 1872, Farmington Quarterly Meeting began to meet in Second Month (February) in Macedon Center instead of meeting always in Farmington.²⁶⁹

Although it did not take up questions of racial equality, Genesee Yearly Meeting did address both women's rights and temperance. In 1888, Quakers held a quarterly meeting in Macedon, adding a temperance conference, also. "Incidents were related of the evils of intemperance, which were listened to with close attention by many young people present," noted one observer.²⁷⁰

In 1886, at its annual conference at Farmington, Genesee Yearly Meeting decided to merge separate meetings of men and women into one joint meeting, following the pattern that Congregational Friends had established at Farmington in 1848. As a result of this decision, Canada Half Year's Meeting, held at Bloomfield in 1887, sent the first petition to the Canadian government for the right of Canadian women to vote. In deciding to united women's meetings and men's meetings, Genesee Yearly Meeting was far in advance of other yearly meetings. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting did not make this change until 1924.²⁷¹

At the same time, signs of decline were everywhere. One observer noted that Macedon Friends' meeting "is composed mostly of aged ones who are quite feeble; insomuch that they have thought best to lay down the meeting held in the middle of the week." The anonymous author was "was sorry for it For it seems to me every meeting, however

268. Susan B. Anthony, "Diary," June 1?, 1873; *Geneva Gazette*, May 30, 1873; "Historian's Newsletter," Ontario County, January 1985. Research by Mary Ellen Sweeney and Diane Robinson.

269. Minutes, Women Friends, Genesee Yearly Meeting, Sixth month, 13th day, 1872, noted, "Also the subject of changing the holding of Farmington Quarterly Meeting from Farmington to Maccendon [sic] Center in 2d month claiming the attention of the meeting was united with," p. 212. Research by Reginald Neale.

270. Friends' Intelligencer and Journal, Volume 45, 106, <http://books.google.com/books?id=ha4qAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA107&dq=William+Barker+Mendon+NY&lr=#v=onepage&q=William%20Barker%20Mendon%20NY&f=false>.

271. Arthur Garrat Dorland, *A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1927), 177, quoted in Betty Polster, *Genesee Friend: Life and Times of Sunderland Pattison Gardner* (Argenta, B.C.: Argenta Friends' Press, 1993), 33; Chuck Fager,

small, when laid down is weakening the structure. If the little ones are not kept up, soon there will be no large one.”²⁷²

That prediction proved true. While Orthodox Quakerism experienced a revival after the Civil War, Hicksite Quakerism declined in Genesee Yearly Meeting, as it did throughout the U.S. As the younger generation of Quakers left Farmington, Hicksite Friends lost both numbers and strength. As Hicksite Quakers declined, the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse began to be used for large gatherings of the general community. In 1876, for example, the *Geneva Courier* reported that more than two thousand Republicans met in the “Salem Quaker meeting House.” (Salem was the original name of Pumpkin Hook.) It was the largest Republican meeting ever held in Farmington, complete with a torchlight procession more than half a mile long, with marchers and men on horses. For several years in the 1890s, Farmington Grange also held displays and meetings in the 1816 Meetinghouse.²⁷³

Decline of Hicksite Friends in Farmington was marked by the loss of two key ministers. In January 1892, John J. Cornell, who had been a minister in his home meeting of Mendon, part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, moved to Baltimore. He returned to Farmington for Genesee Yearly Meeting in June, “As I bade them farewell and told them I proposed to change my membership to Baltimore,” he recounted in his memoirs, “the scene was deeply affecting. I had for about forty years been closely identified with all its movements and for the past twenty been one of its counselors [sic], and it was harder parting than I had thought, and yet amid it all there was the conviction that the move was a right one.” Commemorating Cornell’s departure, local photographer Edwin J. Gardner took photographs of Friends gathered inside the Meetinghouse, as well as three photographs of the exterior.²⁷⁴

Sunderland P. Gardner, Farmington’s best-known minister, was increasingly frail. In 1888, Ellery G. Allen reported to his aunt Margaret Allen in Saratoga County, “I have been to Quaker meeting today, but as Sunderland is not very well and not there it was a silent meeting. The society is getting very feeble and when Sunderland is gone I think the meetings will be discontinued - Nearly all the old friends are gone and the young people are not attracted by plain manner of services.”²⁷⁵

272. Friends’ Intelligencer and Journal, Volume 45, 106, <http://books.google.com/books?id=ha4qAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA107&dq=William+Barker+Mendon+NY&lr=#v=onepage&q=William%20Barker%20Mendon%20NY&f=false>.

273. “Farmington, A Great Meeting on Tuesday,” *Geneva Courier*, October 25, 1876. *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, August 7, 1895, noted “The premium list and programmes are out for the sixth annual fair of Farmington grange, to be held in the Hicksite Friends’ meetinghouse, on Thursday and Friday, September 12th and 13th.” Farmington Grange, *Program*, 1897, donated to 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse by Sheldon family.

274. John J. Cornell, *Autobiography of John J. Cornell, Containing and Account of his Religious Experiences and Travels in the Ministry* (Baltimore: Friedenwald Company, 1906), 180-81.

275. Ellery G. Allen, Farmington, March 18, 1888, to Aunt Margaret Allen, Greenfield, Saratoga Co., New York. Thanks to Marjory Allen Perez for sharing this letter.

In 1890, Sunderland P. Gardner, as the last remaining Trustee of Farmington Preparative Meeting of Friends, deeded both the Meetinghouse and surrounding five acres of land on the northwest corner of the intersection to Henry Green, Joseph Fitts, and William Green as Trustees of the newly organized Farmington Executive Meeting of Friends.²⁷⁶

Sunderland P. Gardner died in 1893, when he was 91 years old. He was celebrated as “the ablest and most prominent preacher in the order of Friends in the United States.” His funeral was held in “the ancient Hicksite meeting house, in Farmington.” Rev. Isaac Wilson, from Canada, officiated.²⁷⁷

Decline of Hicksite Friends in Farmington coincided with reorganization of many Hicksite meetings elsewhere along the lines of Congregational/Progressive Friends. The first Yearly Meeting to incorporate these new ideas was Illinois Yearly Meeting, when it approved its *Discipline* in 1878. One author of the *Discipline*? None other than Joseph Dugdale, who had been barred from the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse when he tried to speak there in 1849. As Chuck Fager suggested,

We can see several of the main features of Progressive Quakerism in the Illinois Discipline:

the centrality of individual religious experience; the “downsizing” of the Bible; the drastic narrowing of the basis for disownments; the emphasis on the “practical”; and the specific exclusion of disputes over what Progressives dismissed as “technical theology” as the basis for disciplinary action.²⁷⁸

In 1882, the movement—emphasizing individual leadings rather than hierarchical discipline and practical righteousness rather than theological agreement—expanded through a conference of a new Union for Philanthropic Labor, supported by people from Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio Yearly Meetings. Notably absent were representatives from Genesee, New York, or Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.²⁷⁹

In 1893, the year that Sunderland P. Gardner died in Farmington, the Parliament of World Religions at the Chicago World’s Fair brought widespread attention to new energies emerging at a grassroots level from old Hicksite meetings. In 1894, a general conference was held in Chappaqua, New York, dealing with religion, education, and social action. This conference became, in Chuck Fager’s estimation, the lift-off point for what would become, in 1900, Friends General Conference, linking individuals and meetings organized on this new order into a national body.²⁸⁰

276. Sunderland P. Gardner to Henry Green, Joseph Fitts and William Green, Trustees of Farmington Executive Meeting of Friends, December 29, 1890, Liber 195, page 148, Ontario County Clerk’s Office.

277. “A Noted Quaker,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, February 17, 1893.

278. Chuck Fager, *Remaking Friends* (2014), 118-120.

279. Chuck Fager, *Remaking Friends*, 128-29.

280. Chuck Fager, *Remaking Friends*, 130-31.

Although Hicksite Quakers still eschewed “hireling ministers,” Friends General Conference (as well as many yearly meetings) did hire a general secretary and staff to carry out their work. The first paid secretary of Friends General Conference was Henry Wilbur. Wilbur was born in the early 1850s in Easton, New York, the meeting that had taken the first Farmington Quaker Meeting under its care in 1803. He supported temperance, women’s rights, peace, and equality in race relations, and he had spent many years as head of the National Federation of Religious Liberals and as a supporter of Progressive Friends at Longwood, Pennsylvania.²⁸¹

As the site of the organizational meeting of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends and the introduction of Thomas M’Clintock’s *Basis of Religious Association*, the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse had been the birthplace of many of the ideas that sustained the new Friends General Conference. But the winds of the new Friends General Conference never settled in Farmington itself. Although the “quaint old Meetinghouse” was “not in a state of decay,” the children’s children of the first pioneers, “while loyal at heart, have not the old-time perseverance of their grandsires, and services at the old meeting place, with its shutters or sliding panel, have become a rarity.” The 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse continued to be used once a year for commemorative meetings, but it never again housed an active local Quaker meeting.²⁸²

The old Hicksite Meetinghouse remained, a beloved landmark, however. In 1916, Friends celebrated the 99th anniversary of the 1816 Meetinghouse, and “a Hicksite sister and an orthodox sister sat side-by-side in their ‘drab’ and ‘bonnet.’” A year later Quakers held a large centennial celebration of the first formal use of the Meetinghouse in 1817. Six hundred people joined Elizabeth Stover of Canada, clerk of New York Yearly Meeting; Isaac Wilson, who had preached at Sunderland P. Gardner’s funeral, Barclay Spicer, and others. All three of Gardner’s sons attended, and two of them, Oscar B. Gardner and Anson L. Gardner, presented historical talks. On the last day, Albert Lawton of New York City gave the final address, titled “The Life and Influence of Sunderland P. Gardner.” Only a few of the old guard remained. Only one woman (probably Sarah Peckham) wore the traditional Quaker gray bonnet, and automobiles had replaced horse-drawn vehicles.

The 100th anniversary gathering was held on October 6 and 7, the sixty-ninth anniversary of the organizational meeting of Congregational Friends. Loss of the Congregational Friends in 1848 had marked the beginning of the end of Farmington Friends (Hicksite). No one noted the irony.²⁸³

281. Chuck Fager, *Remaking Friends*, 132-38.

282. “Friends, a Hundred Years Ago, Certain Harbingers of Rain,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 9, 1917.

283. “Services Are Held Once a Year in Old Meeting House,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 13, 1916; *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, September 28, 1917; “Friends, a Hundred Years Ago, Certain Harbingers of Rain,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 9, 1917; “Farmington,” *Fairport Herald*, October 10, 1917; R. Barclay Spicer, “The Farmington Centenary,” *Friends’ Intelligencer*, Vol. 74 (1917), http://books.google.com/books?id=yYLTAAMAAMAJ&pg=PA665&lpg=PA605&ots=7rVjHAKOjU&focus=viewpor t&dq=%22Barclay+Spicer%22+%22North+Collins%22&output=text#c_top. Found by Christopher Densmore.

Beginning about 1914, Quakers held services in the 1816 Meetinghouse once a year, on the first Sunday in October and continuing for four days. Isaac Wilson, Sunderland P. Gardner's old friend from Baltimore, always gave the sermon. People from all over New York State and the country looked forward to these annual visits, when, noted one observer, the building was "packed to overflowing," and "old scenes and memories were revived and lived again."²⁸⁴

By 1924, however, it was clear that Quakers could no longer maintain the 1816 Meetinghouse. The end was inevitable. The Meetinghouse was still in good condition, but Friends felt they had little choice but to sell the old building. On October 4, 1924, the Half-Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, meeting at Farmington, authorized the Farmington Executive Committee to find someone to purchase the property. Members of the Executive Committee—Henry P. Greene (a member of Farmington Meeting since 1867, appointed to the Executive Committee on July 24, 1890) and two sons of Sunderland P. Gardner—Oscar B. Gardner (appointed September 23, 1909), and Anson L. Gardner (appointed April 27, 1924) met in Canandaigua on March 6, 1926, and agreed to sell the property. After renting the building briefly to Albert Cotton, they sold it to John Van Lare, a farmer whose property adjoined the 1816 Meetinghouse.²⁸⁵

In October 1926, almost four hundred people attended the last meeting for worship in their beloved building, "still dear in the hearts of the older people who have worshipped there for years," "more cherished than ever." "Throughout the day, there was a note of sadness," reported one journalist. Someone suggested that there should be "a movement to preserve the old building as a landmark." "Seemingly," commented the reporter, "all that is needed is the initiative on the part of somebody. Whether such a movement will be undertaken, only time will tell."²⁸⁶

The group met in "the north half of the building," "the section in the olden days used by the women of the congregation." They had a wood fire "in the old fashioned heaters mounted high on pedestals" to clear the air of humidity. Every bench on the main floor was filled, along with benches in the galleries on two sides. Among those who came Ellery G. Allen, eighty-four years old, who had been attending that meeting for seventy-eight years. Speakers sat in a pew facing the congregation, and some of the congregation sat on the raised benches behind the speaker. "There was no formality in the service, no announcements, no music, no Scripture reading." After a few moments of silence and a fervent prayer, Isaac Wilson, "a splendid looking man of eighty-seven years," stood "erect, with close cropped gray beard, wearing a red flower in his buttonhole," and began to speak

284. "Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House," "Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927. This article contains an expanded version of information also found in "Old Quaker Meeting House Moved to Meet Changed Farm Needs," *Niagara Falls Gazette*, May 9, 1927.

285. *Fairport Mail*, April 1, 1926.

286. "Inspiring Religious Service Held in Old Hicksite Meeting House in Farmington Probably Is the Last," *Fairport Mail*, October 7, 1926.

in a “pleasant conversational way” about the “attainment of heaven.” “Why not every day a communion, that intimate connection with the divine?” he asked. “We do not say there is no other heaven,—but we do hope and believe that heaven has its commencement here.” David White, from Indiana, and Rev. E. Partington, Orthodox Friends’ minister, spoke briefly before the congregation, “according to an old time custom,” shook hands to signal the end of the service.²⁸⁷

“The little community of Farmington to-day gazes with reverence and a feeling of awe at the old meeting house that is filled with memories of a century ago,” noted one reporter. “To many of the older residents the moving of the building seems like the loss of a friend. But few of the members of the Society remain in this vicinity, although the Orthodox Friends still have meetings in their meetinghouse across the way. But the last chapter has been written in the history of the Hicksites in Farmington.”²⁸⁸

It was the last public Quaker service held in the 1816 Meetinghouse. On March 22, 1927, Henry Green, Oscar Gardner, and Anson Gardner, Trustees of Farmington Executive Meeting of Friends, transferred the Meetinghouse and its surrounding five acres to John and Kate Van Lare, who owned the farm just north of the Meetinghouse. The Van Lares paid \$1000 for the five acres and the old building, with the money going to the North Farmington Friends Cemetery. “This old Meetinghouse,” wrote Clara Gardner, sixty-six years old and wife of local farmer Charles Gardner, “now stands alone in solemn silence, awaiting her destiny.”²⁸⁹

The deed described the same property that Sunderland P. Gardner had conveyed to Henry Green, Joseph Fritz, and William Greene on September 20, 1890:

Commencing at a stake and brick at the east end of a stone wall in the south east corner of Fred Wehrlin’s (formerly May E. Tay’s) farm; then north twenty-nine and three-fourths degrees east seven chains and six links to a stake; and brick standing one rod westerly from the northwest corner of Friends Meeting House shed; thence north forty-seven and one-half degrees east five chains and four links to a stake and brick; then south thirty-eight and one-fourth degrees east to the center of the highway leading from Friends Meeting House past the dwelling house now occupied by Joseph Herendeen, thence southerly along the center of

287. “Inspiring Religious Service Held in Old Hicksite Meeting House in Farmington Probably Is the Last,” *Fairport Mail*, October 7, 1926.

288. “Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House,” “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927. Courtesy Rochester Public Library.

289. Henry Green, Oscar Gardner, and Anson Gardner, Trustees of Farmington Executive Meeting of Friends to John and Kate Van Lare, March 22, 1927, Liber 345, page 216, recorded March 23, 1927, Ontario County Clerk’s Office; “Friends, a Hundred Years Ago, Certain Harbingers of Rain,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 9, 1917; “Inspiring Religious Service Held in Old Hicksite Meeting House in Farmington Probably Is the Last,” *Fairport Mail*, October 7, 1926. Information on Clara Gardner from 1920 U.S. census. Minutes of Farmington Friends Executive Committee, Sixth month 12th, 1927, research by Christopher Densmore.

said highway to the center of the highway leading past Friends' Meeting House westerly to New Salem; then along the center of said highway to a place opposite to and south of the place of beginning; thence northerly to the place of beginning; and containing FIVE ACRES of land.²⁹⁰

Trustees of Farmington Friends Executive Committee added a few provisions to the deed, to protect the property from uses that Friends might think unseemly. No dances were to be held in the Meetinghouse. No alcoholic beverages were to be kept, sold, or given away on the premises, "except as permitted by law." And no animals were to be slaughtered in the Meetinghouse, "except for general farm purposes." Finally, Henry Green, Oscar B. Gardner, and Anson L. Gardner were to be allowed their choice of three seats from the Meetinghouse.²⁹¹

On 6th month 12, 1927 (June 12, 1927), the three trustees of Farmington Friends Executive Committee held its last meeting. The minute recording this meeting concluded:

We have taken due care to place proper restrictions in the deed of the above mentioned property in order to honor and protect those vital principles or rectitude, which were so conscientiously supported by our beloved Society; and with due consideration for the feelings and interests of the meeting across the way.

There being no other business, with regrets we lay down this meeting and adjourn to meet no more.

Oscar B. Gardner, Clerk.²⁹²

Farmington Meetinghouse, Moving the Meetinghouse, 1927

When John Van Lare purchased the Meetinghouse on March 22, 1927, it was virtually intact. It was "not in a state of decay," noted a reporter at the time of the centennial in 1917. Descriptions of the last meeting for worship in the Meetinghouse, in October 1926, suggest that it retained all of its essential original elements—galleries, benches (including raised benches on the east side), dividing panels, and "old fashioned heaters mounted high on pedestals." Clara Gardner reported that it remained "a very plain and quaint structure

290. Sunderland P. Gardner had conveyed to Henry Green, Joseph Fritze, and William Greene on September 20, 1890, Liber 195, page 148; Henry Green, Oscar B. Gardner, and Anson L. Gardner, to John and Kate Van Lare, March 22, 1927, Liber 345, pp. 216-18.

291. Henry Green, Oscar B. Gardner, and Anson L. Gardner, to John and Kate Van Lare, March 22, 1927, Liber 345, pp. 216-18. Deed research by Alaine Espenscheid.

292. Research by Christopher Densmore and noted in email September 14, 2009.

and has never been changed since it was built. No paint of any kind was used on its interior.”²⁹³

An article in the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* on May 10, 1927, gave many details about the 1816 Meetinghouse:

- “The old Friends’ Meeting House, a landmark of Quakerism in Farmington and this section for the past 110 years, is being moved to its new location about 325 feet west of the site where it was built, to be used for storage purposes.”
- “The building was purchased by John VanLare, who resides on the farm next to the building, and who purchased both building and five acres of land last month. The mover of the building, George Bender, of No. 183 Leighton avenue, Rochester, expects the meeting house will be on its new foundation within ten days. The building weighs about 400 tons, is 60 x 46 feet in dimensions with 24-foot posts, that it is 24 from top [sic] of wall to eaves.”
- “Much of the timber in the Old Meeting House is of the finest whitewood, many of the boards being 30 inches wide and entirely free from knots, and most of it in an excellent state of preservation.”
- “The building was divided in the center, one side being for the worship of the brothers and the other side for the worship of sisters.”
- “At the southeast end of the main building, was a smaller building used for committee meetings, the men and women having their committee meetings separately.”
- “The shades at the window of the building would delight many collectors, as they evidently were placed in position before the Civil War, the labels showing that they were patented in 1851. The fixtures on the shades re unlike the metal fixtures made today, these being made entirely of wood.”
- “The entire building on the front surrounded by a porch, torn down recently in preparation for moving.”
- “On the inside of the meeting house is a large balcony on three sides.”
- “The balcony was entered by stairs from both ends.”

293. “Friends, a Hundred Years Ago, Certain Harbingers of Rain,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 9, 1917; “Inspiring Religious Service Held in Old Hicksite Meeting House in Farmington Probably Is the Last,” *Fairport Mail*, October 7, 1926.

- “The interior of the new building never was painted, and its simplicity and quaintness has remained through its 100 years of existence.”²⁹⁴

In May 1927, John Van Lare hired George Bender, of No. 183 Leighton Avenue, Rochester, to remove the porch and small annex at the rear of the Meetinghouse (the old committee building). Bender moved the Meetinghouse, estimated to weigh 400 tons, 325 feet north of its original location. Gus Wehrlin, son of Fred Wehrlin, whose farm lay just west of the Meetinghouse, was then about ten years old. He recalled watching the 1816 Meetinghouse being moved to its new site.²⁹⁵

Van Lare began to change the 1816 Meetinghouse into a storage barn for celery and potatoes. The best documentation for these changes comes both from an analysis of materials in the Meetinghouse itself and from a photograph, most likely taken in the summer of 1927, now in the collections of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore (Figure 32).²⁹⁶

This photograph suggests that every other window on the second story was removed, all windows on the original west façade were lowered, and a garage-door sized opening was added to the old north (then west) side. These exterior changes related to concomitant interior changes, as Van Lare moved all the first floor joints up to create the basis for a new second floor. First floor windows were lowered, perhaps to make them more accessible to people standing on what was now a dirt floor. Second story windows were lowered to make them at a height appropriate to the new second floor (rather than high enough to clear the sloped seating areas that once filled the galleries, as they once had done).

A photograph taken about 1958 showed the 1816 Meetinghouse as it appeared after its conversion, covered with asphalt shingles, with only three windows on each floor of the broad side of the building (Figure 33).

294. “Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House,” “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927. This article contains an expanded version of information also found in “Old Quaker Meeting House Moved to Meet Changed Farm Needs,” *Niagara Falls Gazette*, May 9, 1927.

295. “Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House,” “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927; “Old Quaker Church Now Celery Storage,” *Rochester Times-Union*, May 18, 1927; “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” [Rochester newspaper], May 9, [1927]; Clipping, [Rochester newspaper, 1927; Oral interview with Gus Wehrlin, Helen Kirker and Charles Lenhart, 2007.

296. *Niagara Falls Gazette*, May 9, 1927; “Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House,” “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927, courtesy Rochester Public Library; “Old Quaker Church Now Celery Storage,” *Rochester Times-Union*, May 18, 1927; “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” [Rochester newspaper], May 9, [1927]; Clipping, [Rochester newspaper, 1927.

1816 FARMINGTON QUAKER MEETINGHOUSE, 1927-2014

In 1928, a committee headed by Lewis F. Allen, John Scribner, A.M. Baker, Oscar Gardner and Anson Gardner began to raise money to erect a monument in memory of Farmington Friends. Among the contributors was president-elect Herbert Hoover, whose mother had been a Quaker minister from Norwich, Ontario, Canada, part of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends.²⁹⁷

On October 6, 1929, five hundred Friends from New York State and Canada, joined by others, came to Farmington for the yearly meeting and dedicated a granite monument in front of the 1876 Orthodox Meetinghouse (Figure 34). Commemorating the earliest settlement of Friends in western New York, its brass plaque read:

The earliest
Friends Meetinghouse
west of Utica
was built of logs
near this spot by pioneers
1796

A frame structure 1804
was replaced 1876
by the present building

A larger meeting house
built opposite this site
accommodated the yearly meetings
and was used for worship
1816-1926

Erected by public spirited
citizens and the State of New York
1929²⁹⁸

Local historian Lewis F. Allen gave a talk on the early history of Friends in Farmington, but Isaac Wilson, historically the center of Quaker preaching after Sunderland P. Gardner's death, was too ill to attend.²⁹⁹

In 1937, Farmington Friends began again to hold annual meetings in October, intended to replace the yearly meetings once held on the first Sunday in October in the 1816

297. "Farmington News," *Shortsville Enterprise*, October 18, 1928; *Shortsville Enterprise*, February 21, 1929. See also "Herbert Hoover Joins in Quaker Memorial," *Shortsville Enterprise*, March 14, 1929, reprinted from *Canandaigua Times*; "Hoover Contributor to Fund for Erection of Farmington Market," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 1929 [Tuesday, ?].

298. Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, 258.

299. "Quakers Hold Impressive Dedication Service Sunday," *Shortsville Enterprise*, October 10, 1929.

Meetinghouse. On October 10, 1937, they held their first “Home-coming Day,” As invitations, they printed cards, “really worthwhile souvenirs.” On one side was a photo of Sarah Peckham, last Farmington Friends to wear a bonnet. The other side carried a picture of the monument erected in 1929.³⁰⁰

These celebrations helped transform the history of Farmington Friends from a story that set Quakers apart as a distinctive sect to a history of pioneers that included the whole Farmington community. The story of early pioneers became a legend that bound members of the community together in this unique place, reinforcing the community’s strong and coherent vision of itself. Subsequent local celebrations carried out this theme. In July 1939, J. Sheldon Fisher, of the Rochester Historical Society, and Lewis F. Allen of Farmington led a tour of historical sites in Farmington. In August 1939, Farmington Friends’ Church celebrated the sesquicentennial of Quakers and the founding of Farmington with a union church service, inviting Methodist churches from Victor, Macedon, and South Perinton. This may have been the same time that the local Grange presented a historical exhibit in the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. Two years later, on August 4, 1941, the theme of inclusivity dominated another celebration. About 300 people from the Victor Council of Churches, the Methodist Churches of South Perinton and Macedon Center, and Farmington Friends’ Church gathered in the 1876 Friends’ Church to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the first Quaker meetinghouse in Farmington. These celebrations continued until at least 1946, when James Padgham gave a talk at the sesquicentennial, August 4, 1946.³⁰¹

Genesee Yearly Meeting continued to be a transnational meeting, encompassing meetings in both the U.S. and Canada. In 1955, it merged with Orthodox and Conservative Friends to become part of Canada Yearly Meeting. Orthodox Friends in Farmington became part of New York Yearly Meeting of Friends. With the formation of New York Yearly Meeting, both Hicksite and Orthodox Friends rejoined into one official body. True to their local heritage, Orthodox Friends remained one of four programmed Quaker meetings in New York Yearly Meeting, with services similar to other Protestant denominations, including sermons, Bible readings, and hymns.³⁰²

By the terms of her will on March 21, 1968, Kate Van Lare gave all of her property to her children Gertrude Van Lare and Raymond Van Lare. (For further details of this will and of the transfer of property relating to the 1816 Meetinghouse, see Alaine Espenscheid,

300. “Farmington Friends’ Church,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, October 6, 1937.

301. “Tour of Farmington’s Historical Spots,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 2, 1939; “Notes Used by Narrator on Farmington Tour,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 2, 1939; “Sesqui-Centennial to Be Observed in Farmington,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 23, 1939; Margaret Hartsough remembered that the Grange developed an exhibit in the 1816 Meetinghouse about this time; “Quakers Hold ‘Sesqui’ Rites in Farmington on Sunday,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 7, 1941; James Padgham, “Farmington Friends Meeting, 1796-1846,” typescript read by James Padgham at sesquicentennial, August 4, 1946. Originally published in *The Farmington Friend* on September 7, 1946. Republished in *The Farmington Friend*, March 3, 1975.

302. Hugh Barbour, Arthur Worrall, and Christopher Densmore, *Quaker Cross-Currents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (1995), 134.

“Chain of Title, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse” and the chronology attached to this report.)

Many local people and a few historians kept alive an awareness of the importance of the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. In 1995, Christopher Densmore led a tour of Quaker sites that included the 1816 Meetinghouse for Friends General Conference, meeting in Rochester. Douglas Fisher, son of historian J. Sheldon Fisher, continued to promote the Meetinghouse, as did Helen Kirker, Clerk of Farmington Friends.

The 1816 Meetinghouse continued to be used as a barn until 2004, when Lyjha and Gillian Wilton purchased from Martha Powers the Meetinghouse and the twenty-five acres on which it stood. In February 2006, a windstorm blew one wall off the Meetinghouse.

A group of local citizens organized to save the Meetinghouse, with support from Francis Caracillo of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, a private not-for-profit foundation that had played a crucial role in preserving and restoring the Elizabeth Cady Stanton house in Seneca Falls. In June 2006, Gillian and Lyjah Wilton donated the Meetinghouse to the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. In August 2006, Farmington Friends donated a corner tract of land across from the 1876 Meetinghouse as a new home for the 1816 Meetinghouse. That summer, the local support group hired John G. Waite Associates to assist in restoring the Meetinghouse. On April 25, 2007, with help from Mark Peckham of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, the Meetinghouse was formally listed on the National Register of Historic Places at the national level of significance. In September 2007, the National Park Service listed the Meetinghouse on its Underground Railroad Network to Freedom.

In May 2009, the local support group incorporated as the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum, a 501c3 not-for-profit corporation. In November 2011, Wolfe Brothers House Movers moved the Meetinghouse kitty corner across the road to its new location. In April 2014, Peter Trieb repaired rotted sills so the Meetinghouse could be lowered onto its new foundation.³⁰³

The new 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum unwittingly took up the challenge offered by people at the last Quaker meeting held in the 1816 Meetinghouse. In 1926, someone suggested “a movement to preserve the old building as a landmark.” “Seemingly,” noted the reporter, “all that is needed is the initiative on the part of somebody. Whether such a movement will be undertaken, only time will tell.”³⁰⁴

Unlike earlier historical groups, however, the primary purpose of the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum was not to tell the story of Farmington as a pioneer settlement of western New York. Instead, it highlighted Farmington’s nationally significant

303. Martha Powers to Lyjah and Gillian Wilton, May 4, 2004, Liber 1118, 33, Ontario County Archives and Records.

304. “Inspiring Religious Service Held in Old Hicksite Meeting House in Farmington Probably Is the Last,” *Fairport Mail*, October 7, 1926.

work for equal rights, especially the history of Quakers and Seneca Indians, women's rights, abolitionism, and the Underground Railroad. In the process, it also told the story of Farmington's founders. The mission statement of the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum, adopted in July 2007 and revised in 2012, reads:

The 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum preserves, maintains, and interprets the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse as a national site of conscience and a cornerstone of historic movements for equal rights, social justice, and peace, including rights for Native Americans, African Americans, and women, inviting visitors to explore issues of equality and justice in their own lives.

With help from its many supporters, the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse will once again become a community gathering place and a national center for debates about the essential American ideal, "that all men—and women—are created equal."

EVOLUTION DRAWINGS



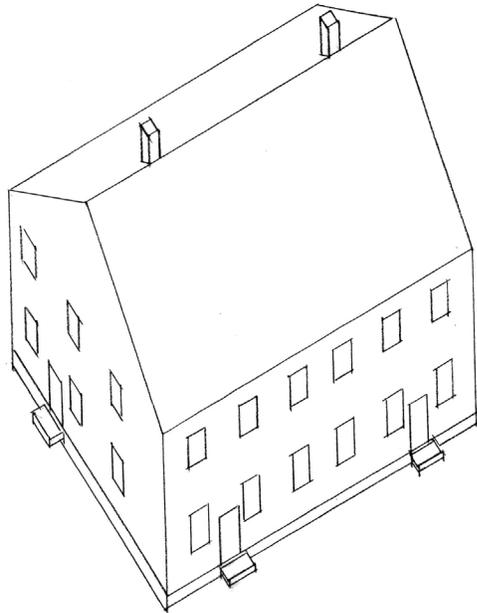


Figure 1. The meetinghouse upon completion in 1817.

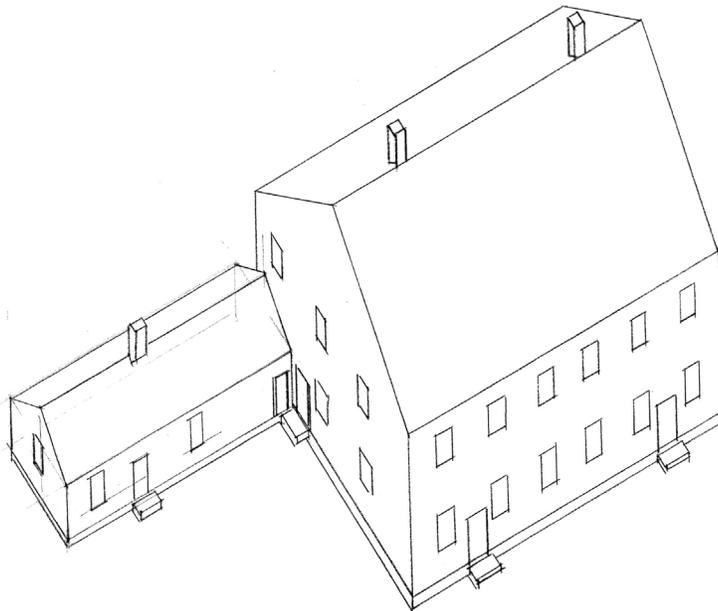


Figure 2. The addition was constructed in 1841.

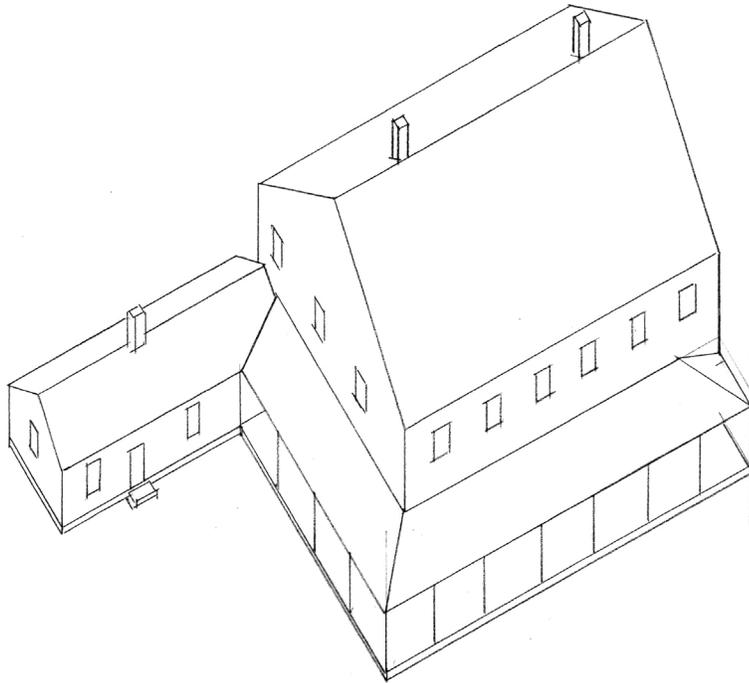


Figure 3. The porch was added in 1863.

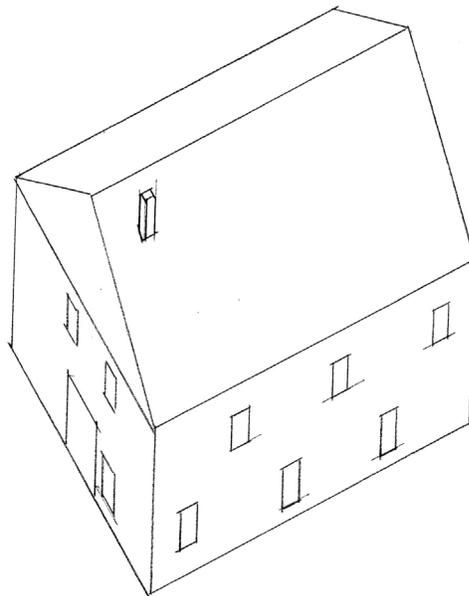


Figure 4. In 1927, the meetinghouse was moved from its original site and converted into a barn.

HISTORIC MAPS AND IMAGES



Figure 5. Map of the Phelps and Gorham purchase.



Figure 6. Detail from *New Century Atlas of Ontario County* (1904), showing Lot 137 with Orthodox and “Hixite” Friends Meetinghouses.



Figure 7. The Friends Meetinghouse, built by Aaron Baker in 1810 on Poplar Ridge Road near Dixon Road. Hicksite Meetinghouse after 1828. Taken down in 1912. Photo courtesy of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.



Figure 8. Hicksite Meeting (Hicksite), Interior, c. 1912. Note high windows behind facing bench, gallery at right, and interior dividers at left. About 1912, Olive Ryon, wife of a local Quaker pastor, posed with Jane Searing, Matilda Jacobs, and an unidentified man on the facing bench, shortly before the building was taken down. By 2005, nothing remained above ground at this site except the gravestones and a stone marker for the building itself. Courtesy of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, and Cayuga County Historian's Office; Howland, "Early History of Friends;" Bradley Mitchell, conversation with Judith Wellman, November 2004; Email from Christopher Densmore, June 13, 2005; Email from Jane Simkin, June 9 and June 17, 2005. Bradley Mitchell identified Matilda Jacobs and Jane Searing. Jane Simkin identified Olive Ryon and Jane Searing.



Figure 9. Apponegansett Meetinghouse, Dartmouth, Massachusetts (near New Bedford), 1890. Ann Gidley Lowry, Quakers and Their Meetinghouse at Apponegansett: Paper Read at Meeting of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, August 14, 1940. [New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1940]. http://tritych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/ref/collection/SC_Houses/id/3402.

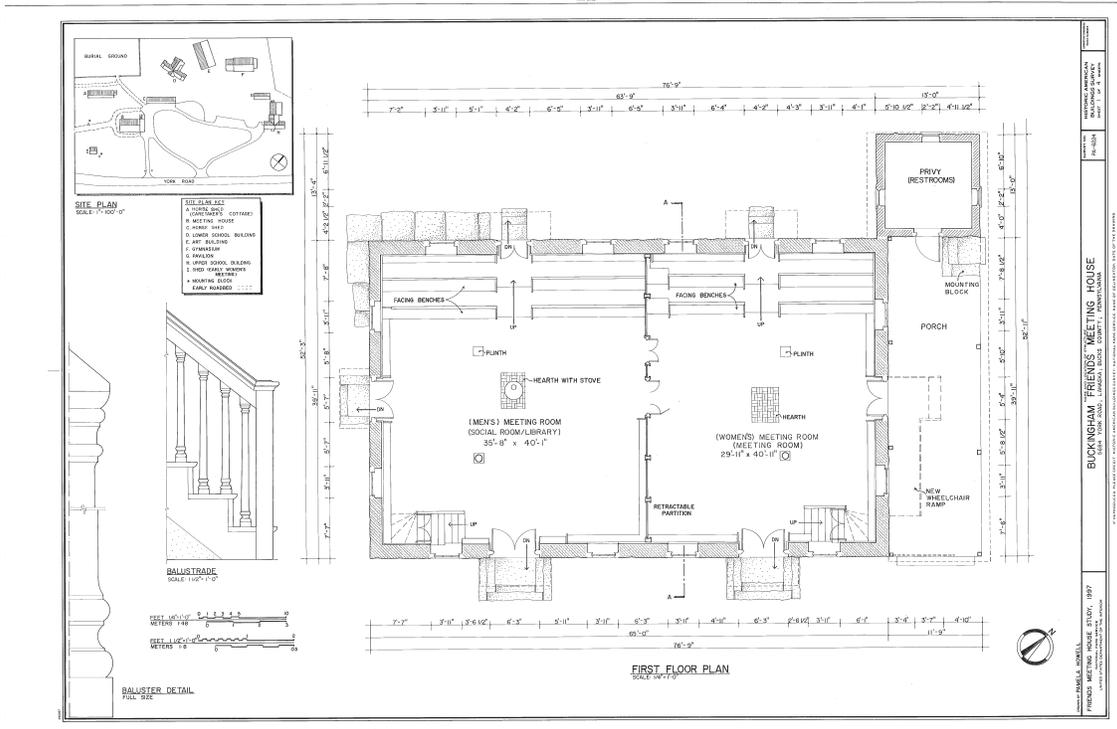
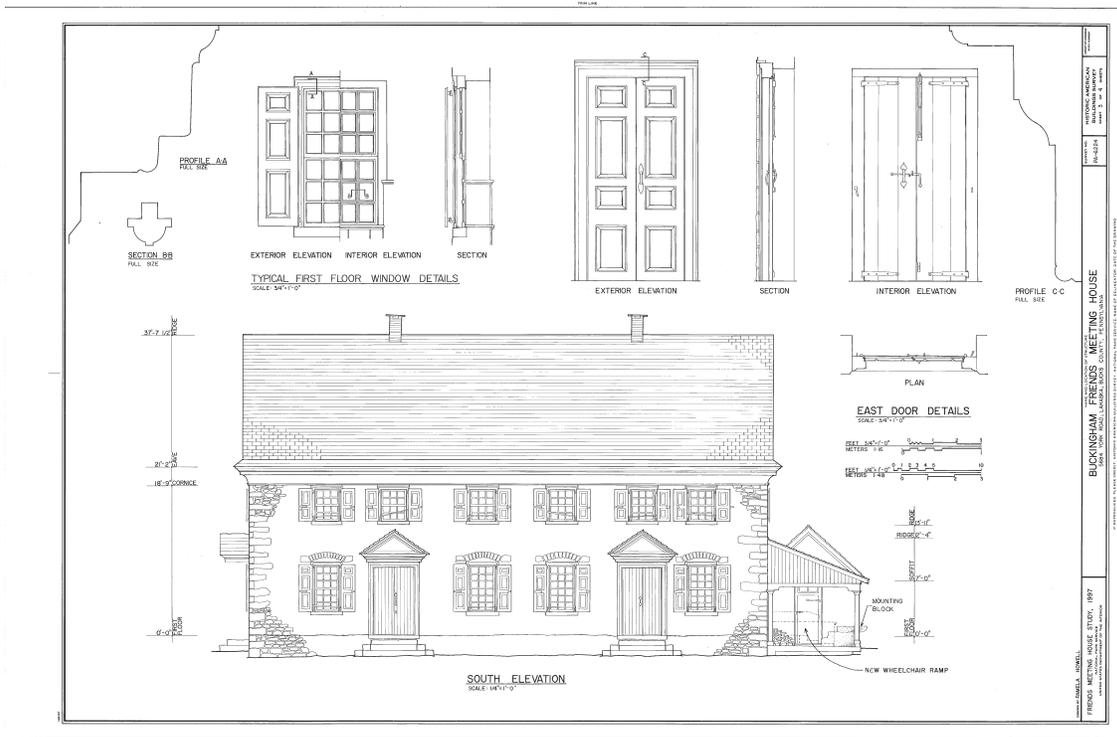


Figure 10. Buckingham meetinghouse (Lancaster, Pennsylvania). The first floor plan is similar to the Farmington plan. Centrally positioned stoves heat each space. HABS PA-6224, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.



Figure 13. The attic of the Buckingham meetinghouse (Lancaster, Pennsylvania). The Farmington attic included two chimneys, similar to the one seen here. The brick is supported on a wood frame set on the roof trusses. HABS PA-6224, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.

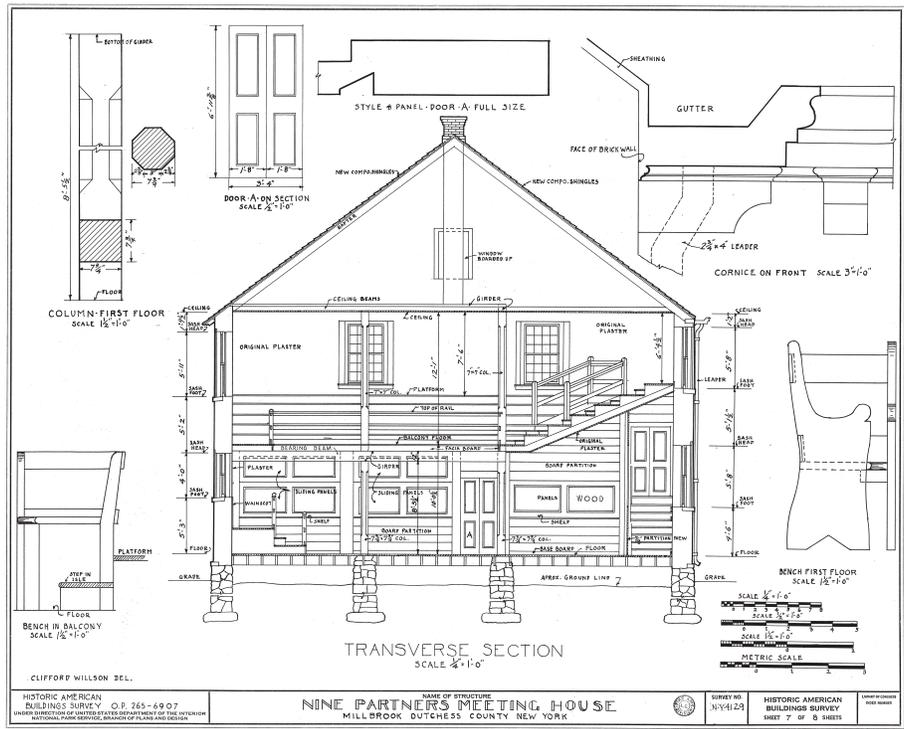
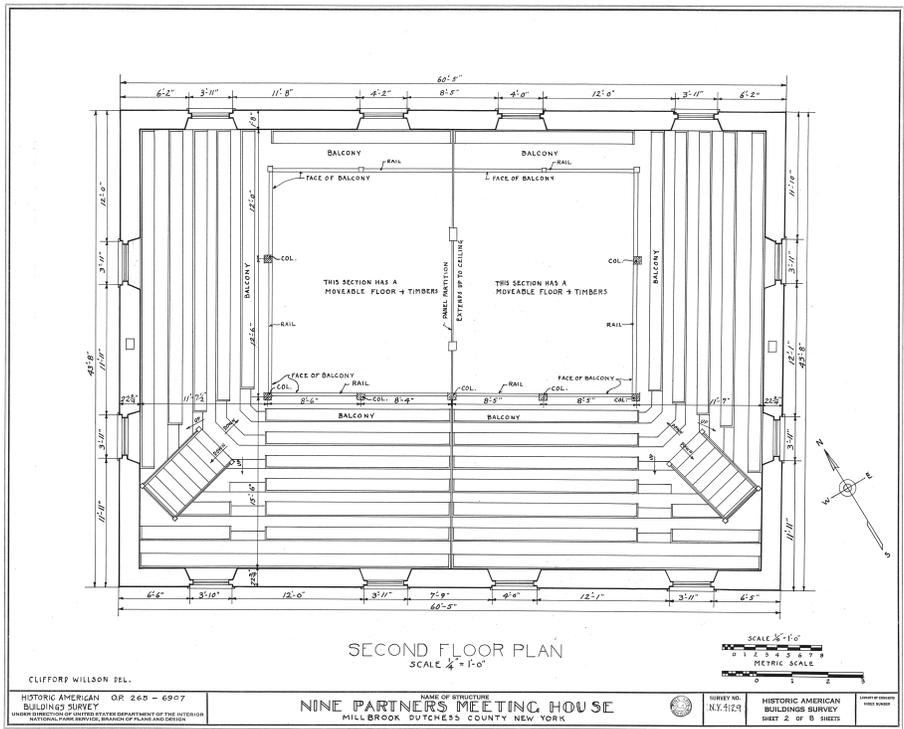


Figure 15. Nine Partners meetinghouse (Millbrook, New York). The upper gallery records the plan of the balcony level. The section drawing shows the sliding panels that divide the large meeting room. HABS NY,14-MILB, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.



Figure 16. Interior of the Nine Partners meetinghouse in Millbrook, New York. Sliding panels, similar to those at Farmington, can be closed to separate the large room into two spaces. Note the stove to the left and the kerosene lamp on the post. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Interior_nine_partners_meeting_house.jpg.

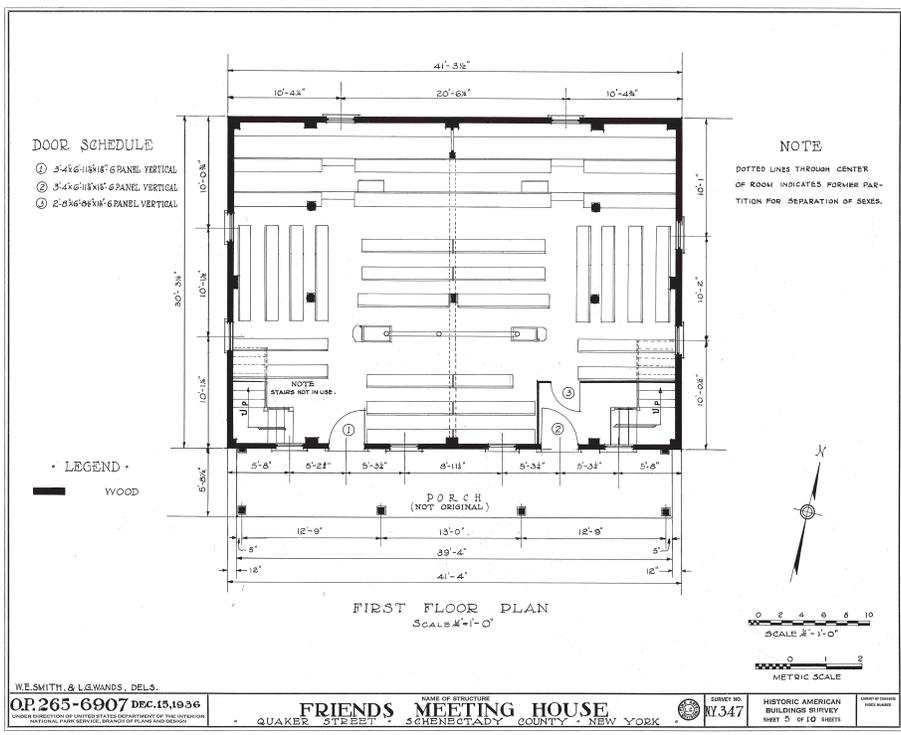
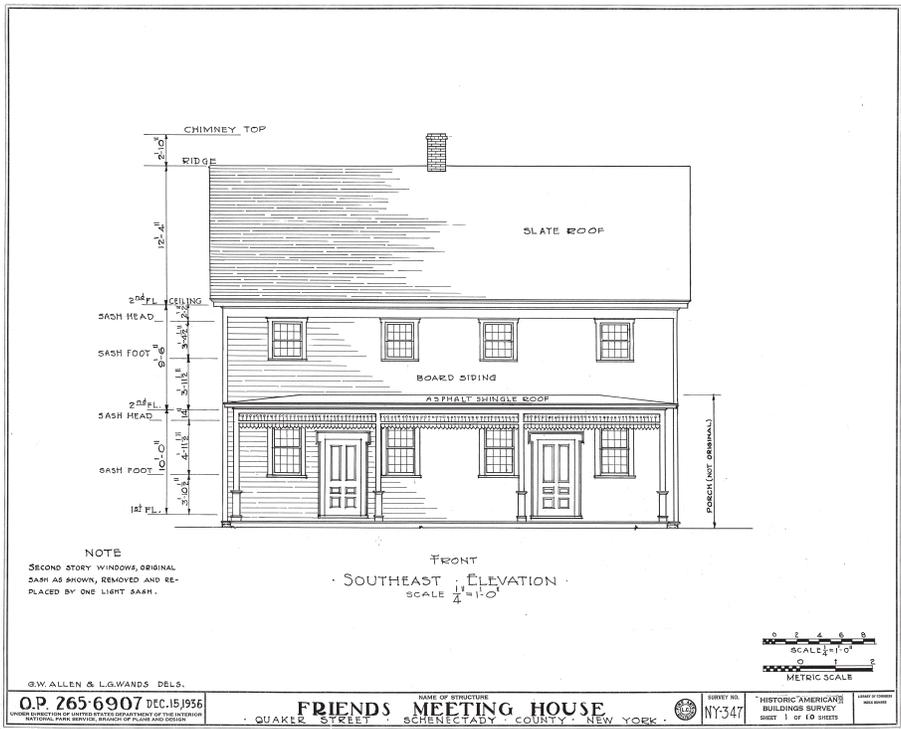


Figure 17. Meetinghouse in Schenectady, New York. Though much smaller in size, the plan of this meetinghouse is similar to the Farmington structure. HABS NY,47-QUAK, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.

1851
 Daniel Gibson
 Isaac G. Cover
 7th mo 10 Paid Walter Lawrence \$7 00
 by direction of the Yearly Meeting
 for two doors

1855 1st mo 25th Paid to one of the Community \$
 Appointed by the Yearly Meeting
 to fix the shutters to the house
 1856

1855
 4th mo 26 Paid to Joseph Green \$99.41 Cts
 for repairing and altering shutters to
 Meeting house

12th mo Paid to Seth W Bosworth one
 of the Yearly Meetings Committee
 for painting Farmington Meeting
 house \$85 00
 for Paint and Oil - 2.77
 87 77

1864 1st mo Paid to Edward Herring \$90 00
 one of the Committee to build the piazza
 around Farmington Meeting house

Figure 19. Records of purchases for the meetinghouse: new doors in 1851; repairing and altering shutters in 1855; paint and oil in 1857; and the veranda/porch in 1864. Treasurer's account book. Research by Christopher Densmore.



Figure 20. The Farmington meetinghouse, circa 1870-1900. Some of the interior pews or benches have been moved onto the porch. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. http://trptych.haverford.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/SC_Houses/id/6/rec/7.



Figure 21. A photograph from a 5 x 8 glass plate negative, taken of the meetinghouse in 1892. Margaret Allen Baker, Farmington Town Historian, gave these to her niece Margaret Hartsough, also a Farmington Town Historian. Reginald Neale scanned them in electronic format in 2014. Neale identifies these images as most likely taken by Edwin J. Gardner. Charles Lenhart has identified Gardner (Jan 22, 1853-Jan 20, 1930), a nephew of Sunderland P. Gardner, noted Farmington Quaker minister, who “does some photographic work for his friends.” (Lewis Aldrich, edited by George S. Conover, *History of Ontario County* (Syracuse: D. Mason, 1893),80). Lenhart identified the date of this photo as 1892, based on the presence of two Quaker men (one with a silver top hat and the other bearded man in a bowler hat), similar to two men who appeared seated in the back row of the Meetinghouse in an interior photograph with John J. Cornell, 1892.



Figure 22. Two photographs of the Farmington meetinghouse, from the same group of 5 x 8 glass negatives as the previous image . The women's fashions indicate that these photographs are slightly later than the 1892 image. Note the roller shade in the second floor left-hand open window.



Figure 23. The meetinghouse circa 1880-1910. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.
http://trptych.haverford.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/SC_Houses/id/30/rec/30.



Figure 24. A postcard of the meetinghouse, showing the addition to the left. Reginald Neale, image 744.



Figure 25. The meetinghouse, circa 1916. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. http://triptych.haverford.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/SC_Houses/id/5/rec/6



Figure 26. The Centennial Celebration at the meetinghouse, 1917. These photographs clearly show the two small attic windows and the entrance doorway in what is now the west elevation. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. http://triptych.haverford.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/SC_Houses/id/19/rec/20.



Figure 27. One of the preceding 1917 images clearly shows some of the detailing of the large six-panel entrance door (above) and the veranda columns. Note the slight step up from the porch to the door opening. The 1917 photographs also show the two small window openings in the attic gable (left). The interior access to the attic was probably located in the meeting room ceiling, near this source of natural light. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. http://triptych.haverford.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/SC_Houses/id/19/rec/20.

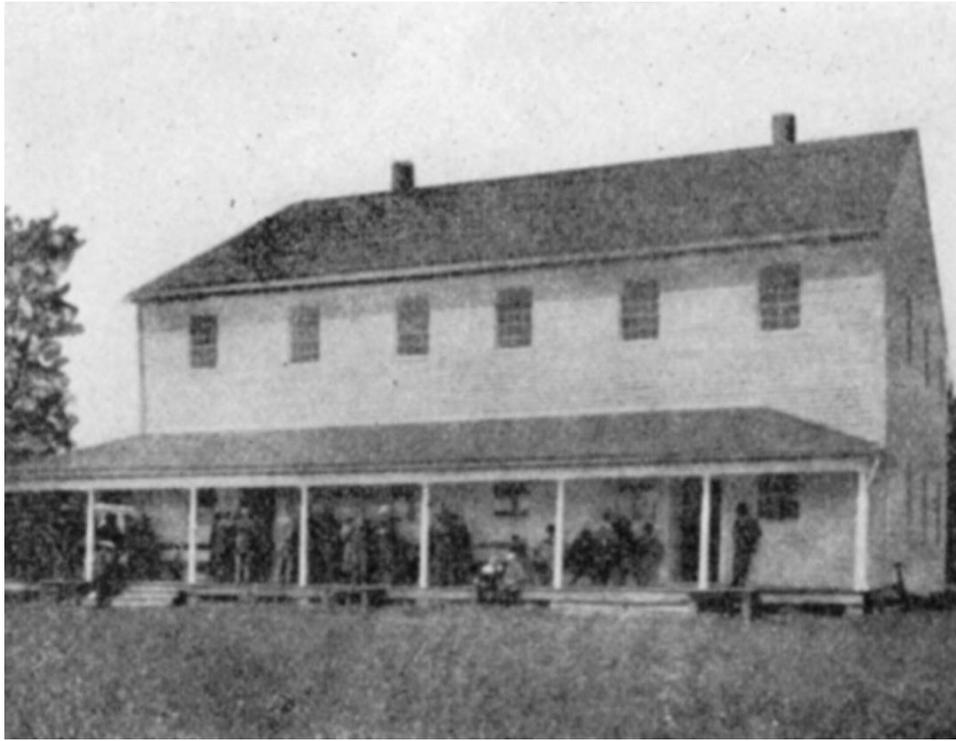


Figure 29. The meetinghouse, circa 1870-1920. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. http://trptych.haverford.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/SC_Houses/id/14/rec/15.



Figure 28. The meetinghouse in 1924, showing one of the six-panel entrance doors. The gentleman in the foreground is identified on an accompanying print as Ed Mott. Reginald Neale, Image 515.



Figure 30. The meetinghouse in 1927, after the 1863 porch was removed. There is a separation between the 1841 addition and the main building. Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle*, n.d. Courtesy Rochester Public Library. Found by Charles Lenhart.



Figure 31. This detail from the above photograph shows the 1841 addition. The addition included two entrances in the front elevation, an indication that the interior was divided into two spaces by a moveable or fixed partition. The single chimney probably served two stoves used to heat the small rooms.



Figure 32. The meetinghouse as a barn, after its move in 1927. Windows were closed, or lowered; a barn door was inserted on the end gable elevation. Note that the two main entry doors remain in place, complete with their handsome architraves. The two small windows are still in the attic gable. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. http://triptych.haverford.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/SC_Houses/id/17/rec/18.



Figure 33. The barn, circa 1958. Additional windows and the original entrance doors were removed. Courtesy Helen Kirker.

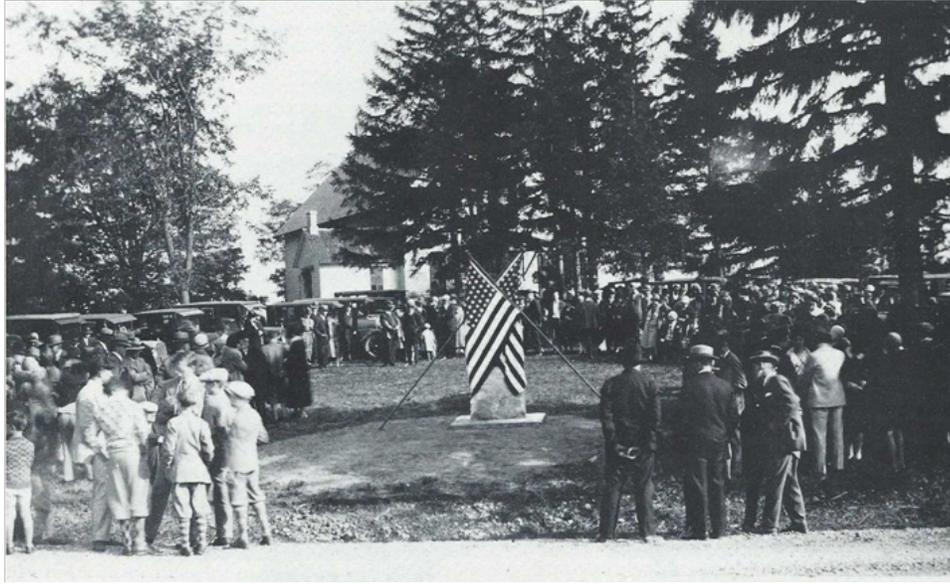


Figure 34. In 1929, a monument was erected in front of the 1876 Orthodox meetinghouse to commemorate the earliest settlement of Friends in western New York. Diane Robinson and Historical Book Committee, *Town of Farmington Bi-Centennial, 1788-1988*, 76.

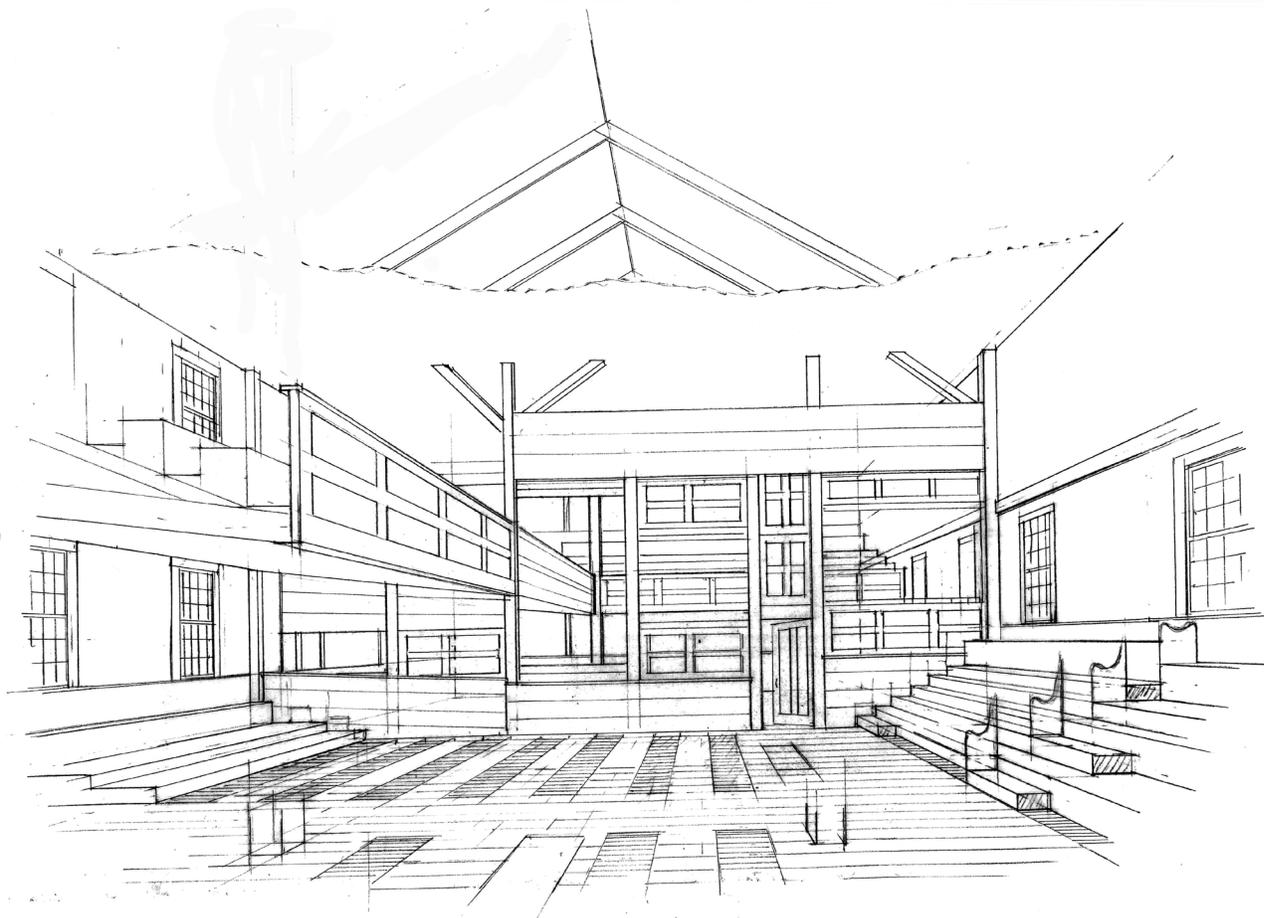


Figure 35. The restored meeting room, looking towards what is now east. Note the central partition with the sliding panels. These panels and the door in the partition survive in the collection of woodwork found in the building. JGWA, 2015.

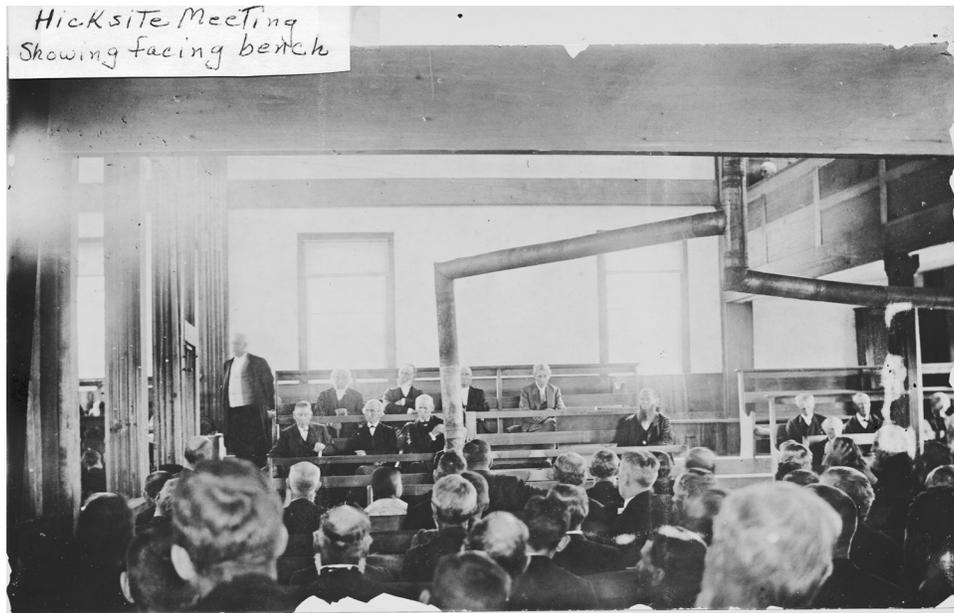


Figure 36. The men's side of the interior of the meetinghouse in 1892, looking towards the facing benches. The central dividing partition, with its series of sliding panels, is clearly seen at the left side of the image. The series of 1892 photographs were probably taken by Edwin Gardner during the Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends in June of that year. See John J. Cornell, *Autobiography of John J. Cornell, Containing and Account of his Religious Experiences and Travels in the Ministry* (Baltimore: Friedenwald Company, 1906), 180-181.

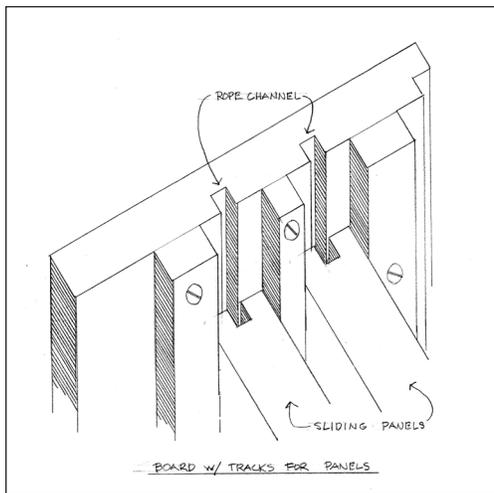
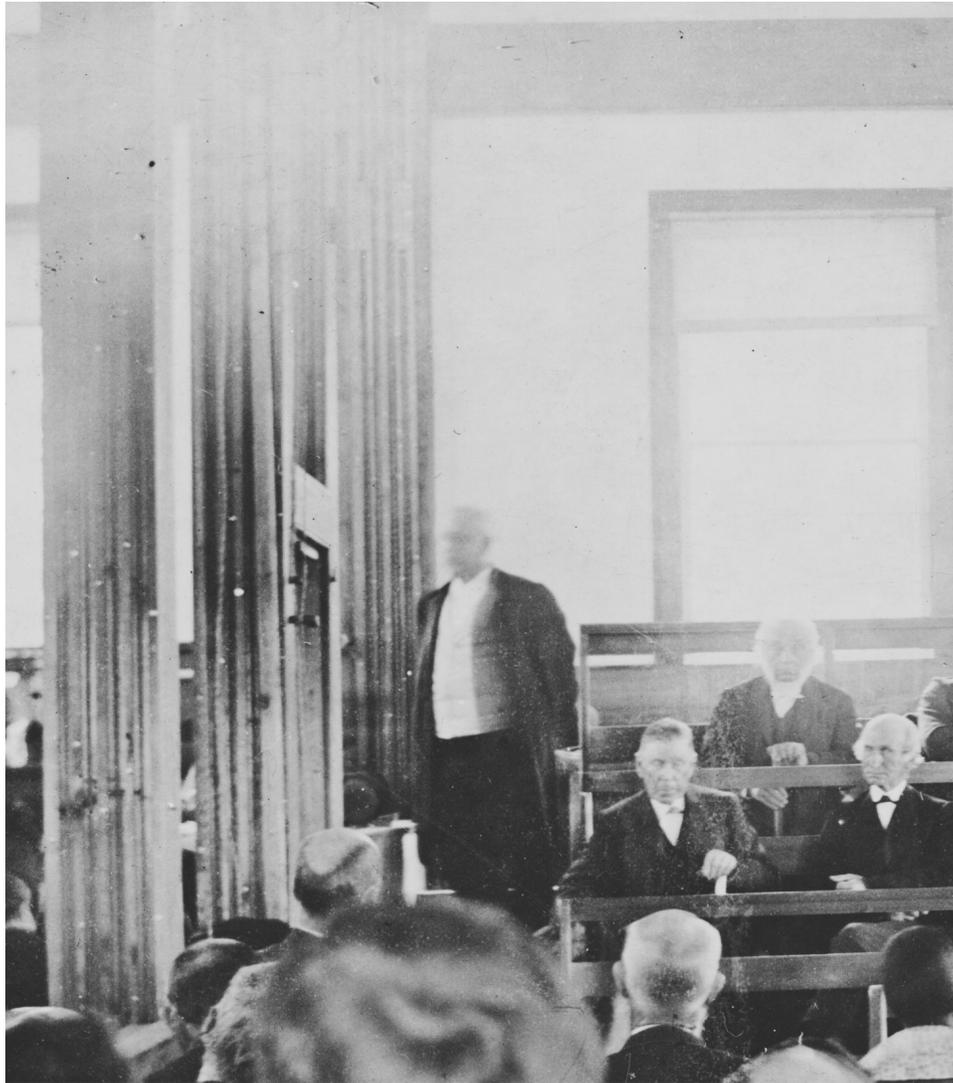


Figure 37. The vertical tracks that supported the moveable panels are clearly seen in the 1892 image. Note the doorway to the left of the standing gentleman. A pintle to support the door hinge is visible on the upper portion of the door jamb.

(Left) This sketch shows the configuration of the wood channel in which the edge of the panels would slide. JGWA, 2015.

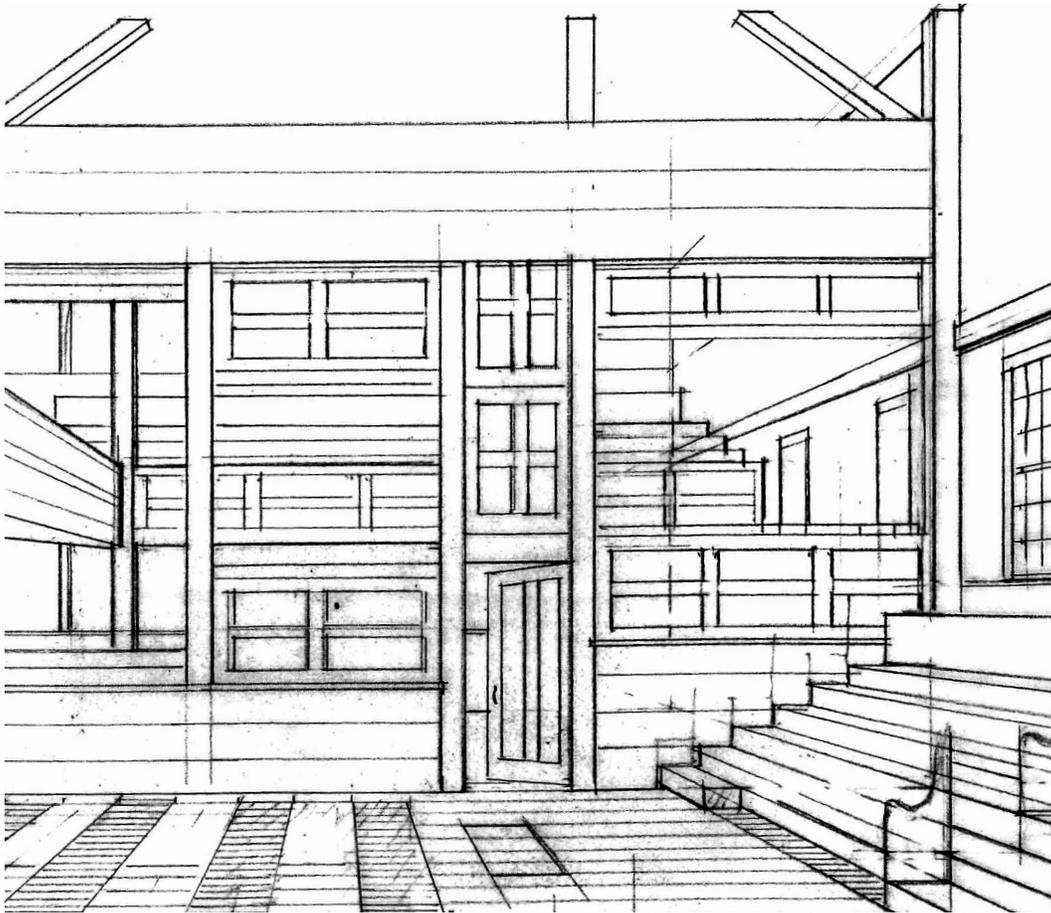


Figure 38. Detail of the sketch of the moveable panels and doorway, looking east. JGWA, 2015.

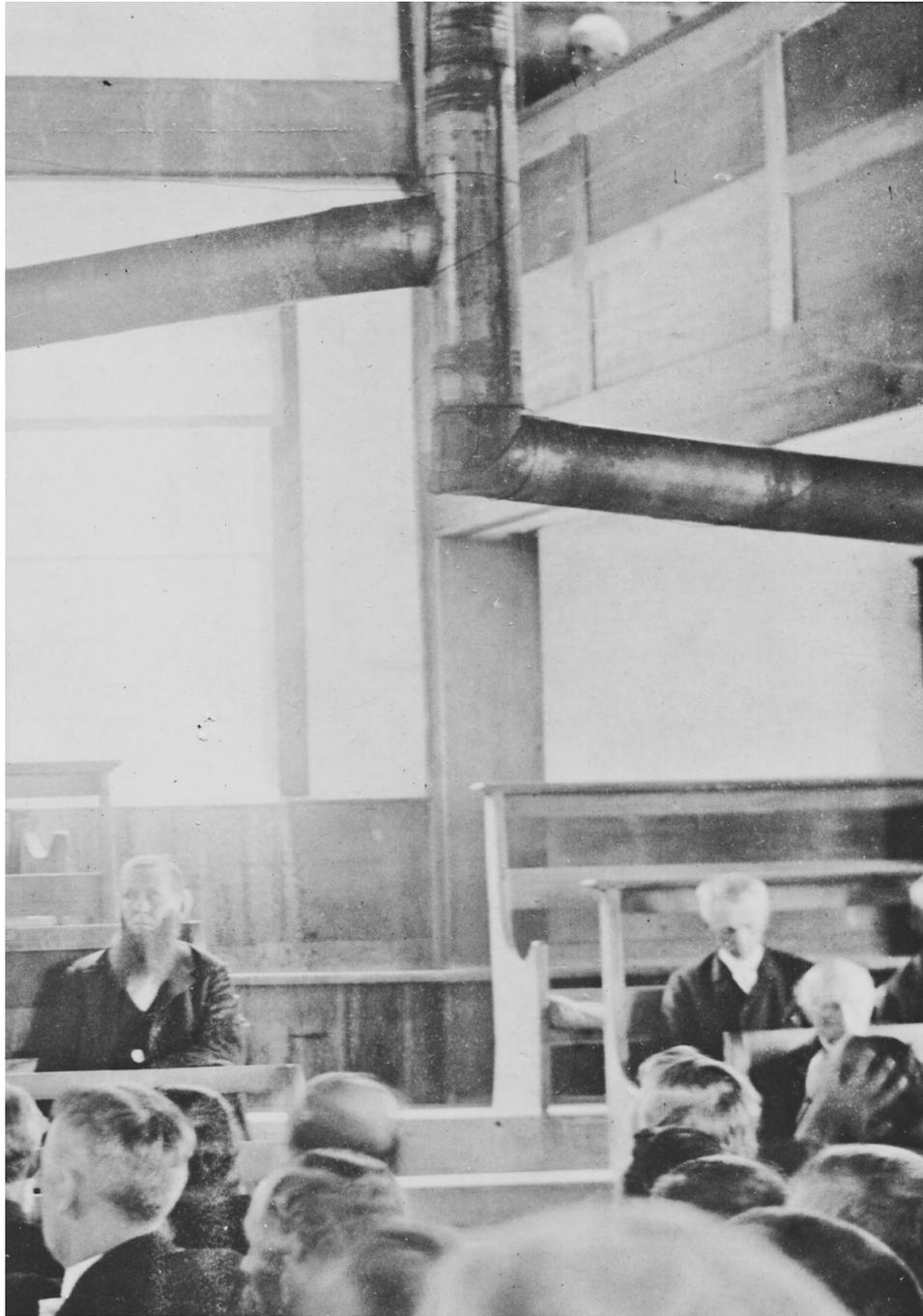


Figure 39. This enlargement shows the arrangement of the stepped platforms and seating that extended along what is now the south side of the meeting room. Note the man peering over the rail of the balcony.



Figure 41. Another view of the interior in 1892. A roller shade covers the upper half of the left window.



Figure 40. A view of the meetinghouse interior appeared in the *Post-Express*, February 24, 1912. The tracks for the sliding panels can be seen on the surface of the vertical post at the left side of the image.

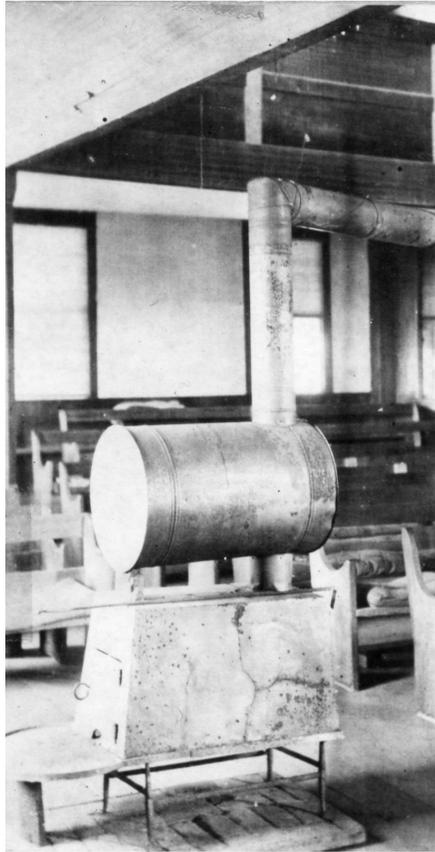
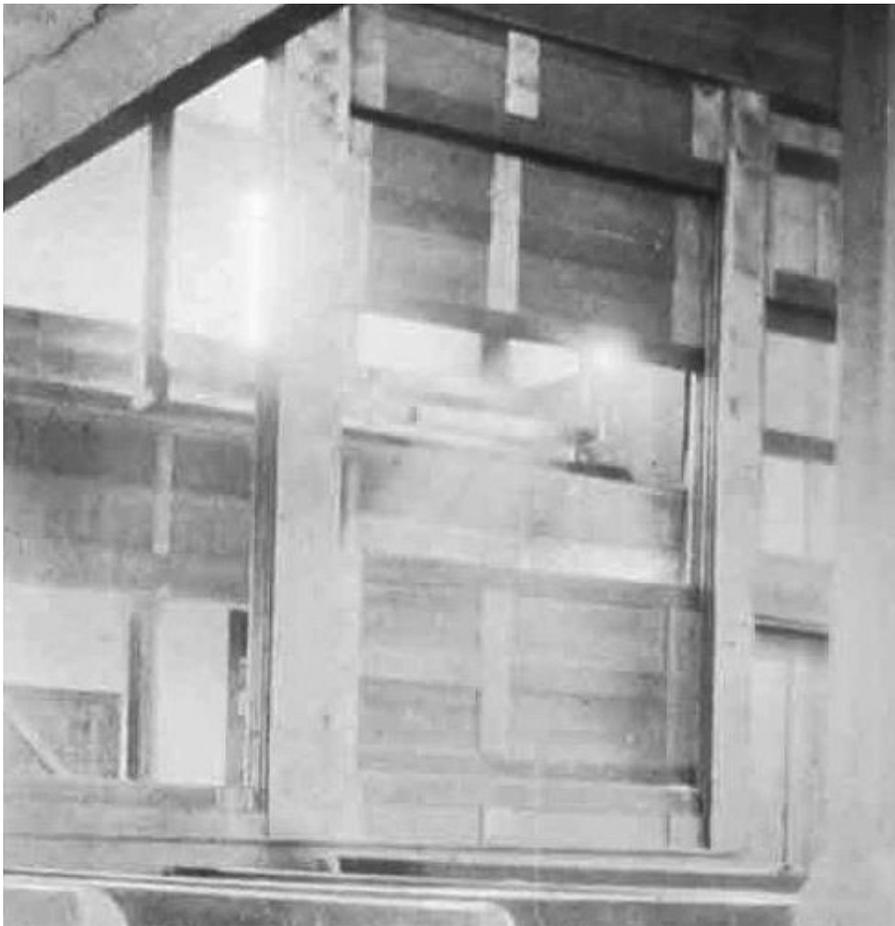


Figure 42. This photograph looks towards the north wall. The northeast corner reveals a portion of the sliding partition positioned below the east balcony. This is one of two stoves used to heat the west half of the meeting room. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. http://triptych.haverford.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/SC_Houses/id/15/rec/16.



Figure 43. This photograph, looking towards what is now the east end of the structure, is the best image of the system of sliding partitions that separated the large meeting room into separate rooms. The bay at the left of this photograph shows the panels in the full opened position, revealing the balcony. In the center bay, the sliding panels are in a partially opened position—two panels moved up and two moved down—with one partially concealed in the dado. Beyond the sliding panels can be seen the paneled face of the balcony. Courtesy Macedon Town Historian. Charles Lenhart, researcher.



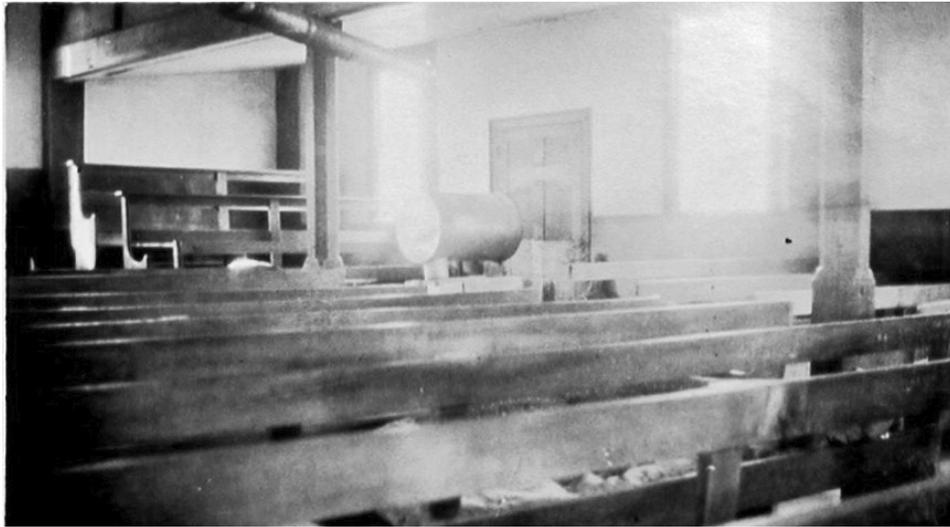


Figure 44. Looking toward what is now the southwest corner of the west half of the meeting room. Note the door to the exterior positioned between the two windows. The stove is the same one seen in Figure 47. Courtesy Macedon Town Historian. Charles Lenhart, researcher.



Figure 45. Sketch looking southwest in the west half of the meeting room, based on the photograph above. The door opens to the exterior. The stovepipe rises to the plaster ceiling, where it enters the attic and the brick chimney located there. The riser platforms along the south wall are shown without the pews in place. JGWA, 2015.

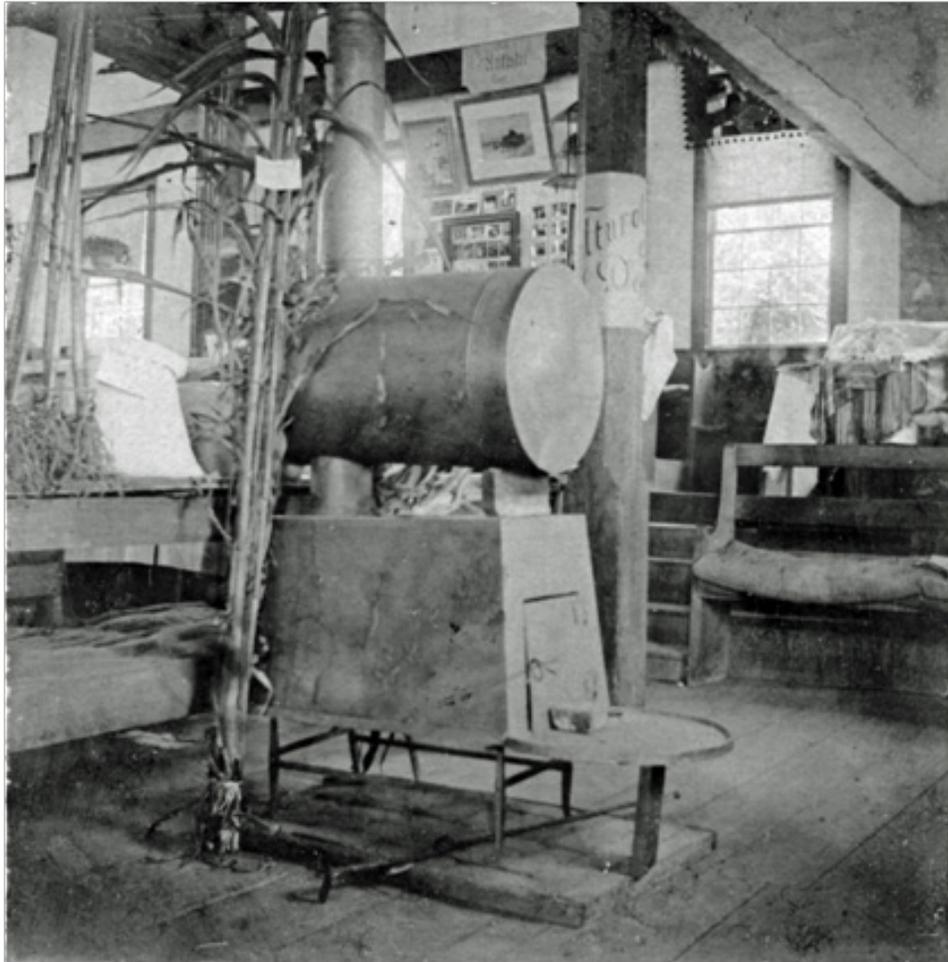


Figure 46. “Grange Fair at Hicksite Meeting House. Margaret A. Baker.” This clear image records what is now the south side of the west half of the meeting room. The six step risers leading to the uppermost level of the facing bench seating can be seen beyond the post that supports the balcony. Note the roller shades at the windows. Reginald Neale, image 743.

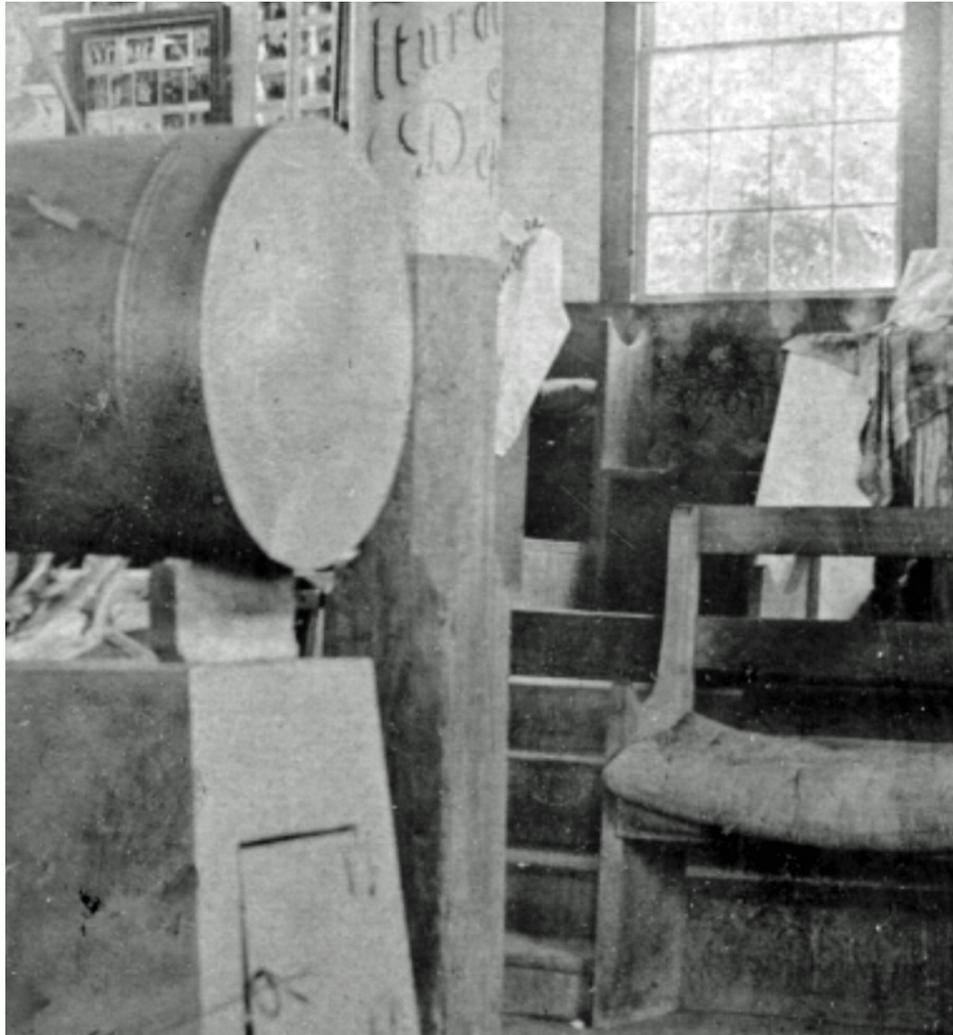


Figure 47. Enlargement of the Grange Fair photograph. Six steps ascended to the highest level of the seating along what is now the south wall. Note the uppermost built-in bench against that wall. Reginald Neale, image 743.

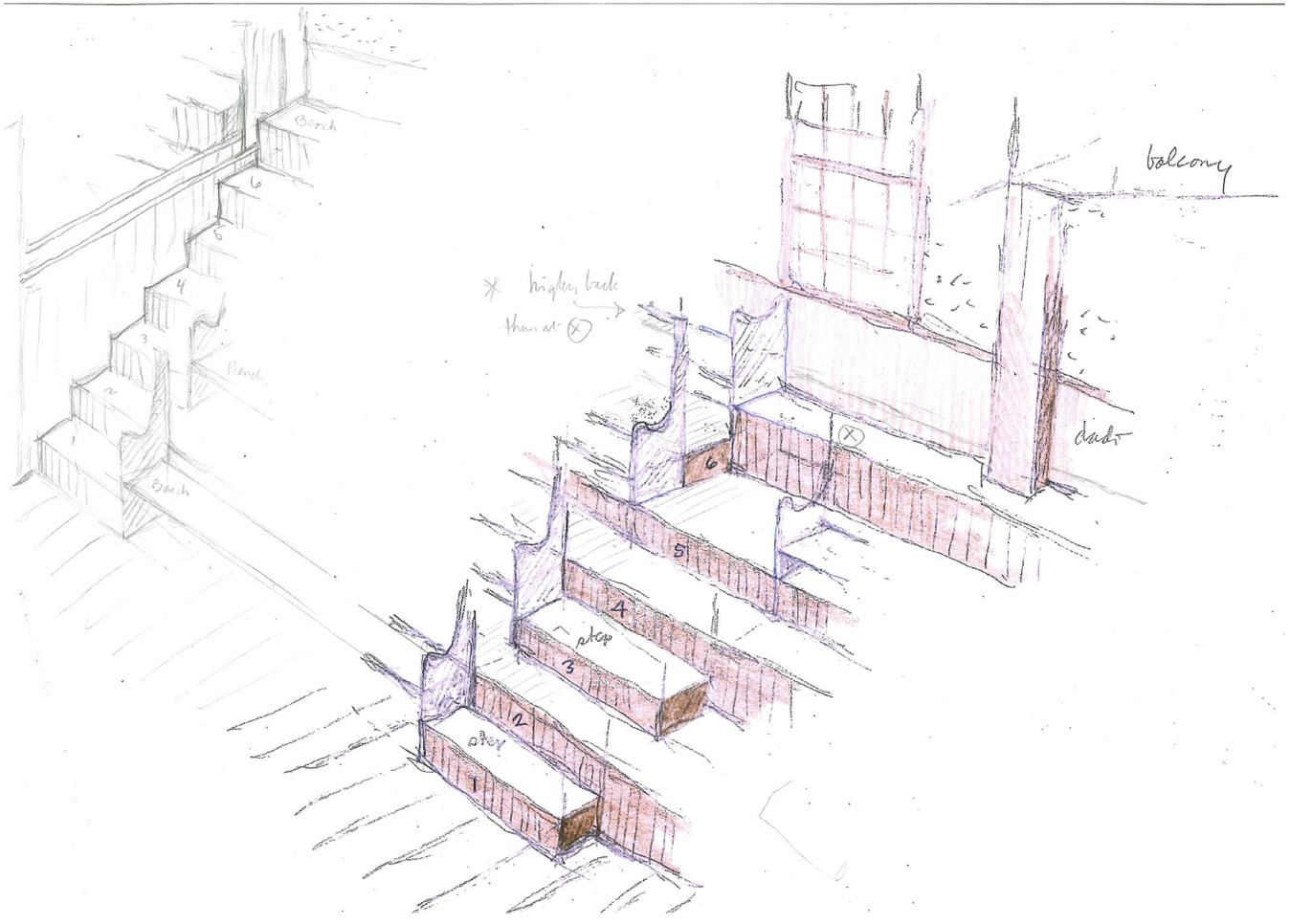


Figure 48. One of several sketches produced to determine the configuration of the stepped platforms along the south side of the meeting room. The drawing is based on evidence provided by several historic photographs, including the Grange Fair image. There are six risers to reach the highest platform.

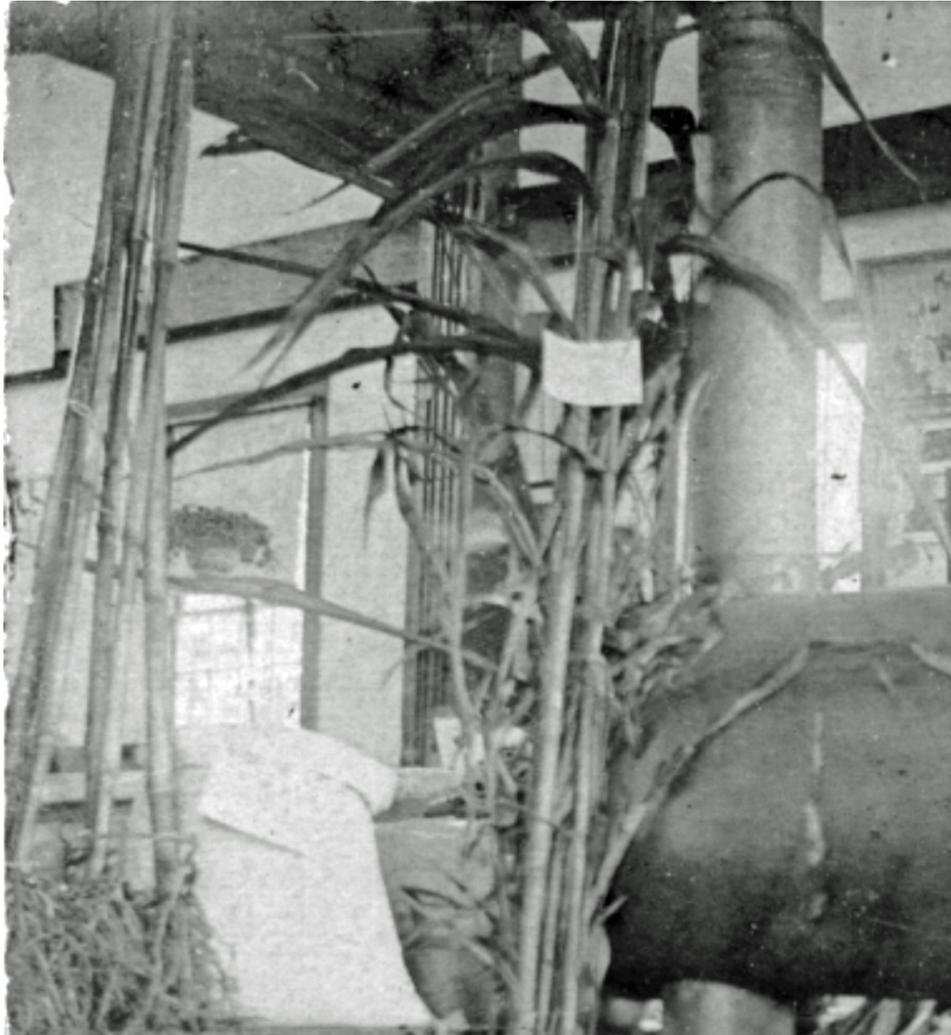


Figure 49. Enlargement of the Grange Fair photograph, showing the vertical track (against what is now the south wall) that supported the sliding panels. A roller shade covered the upper half of the window. Reginald Neale, image 743.

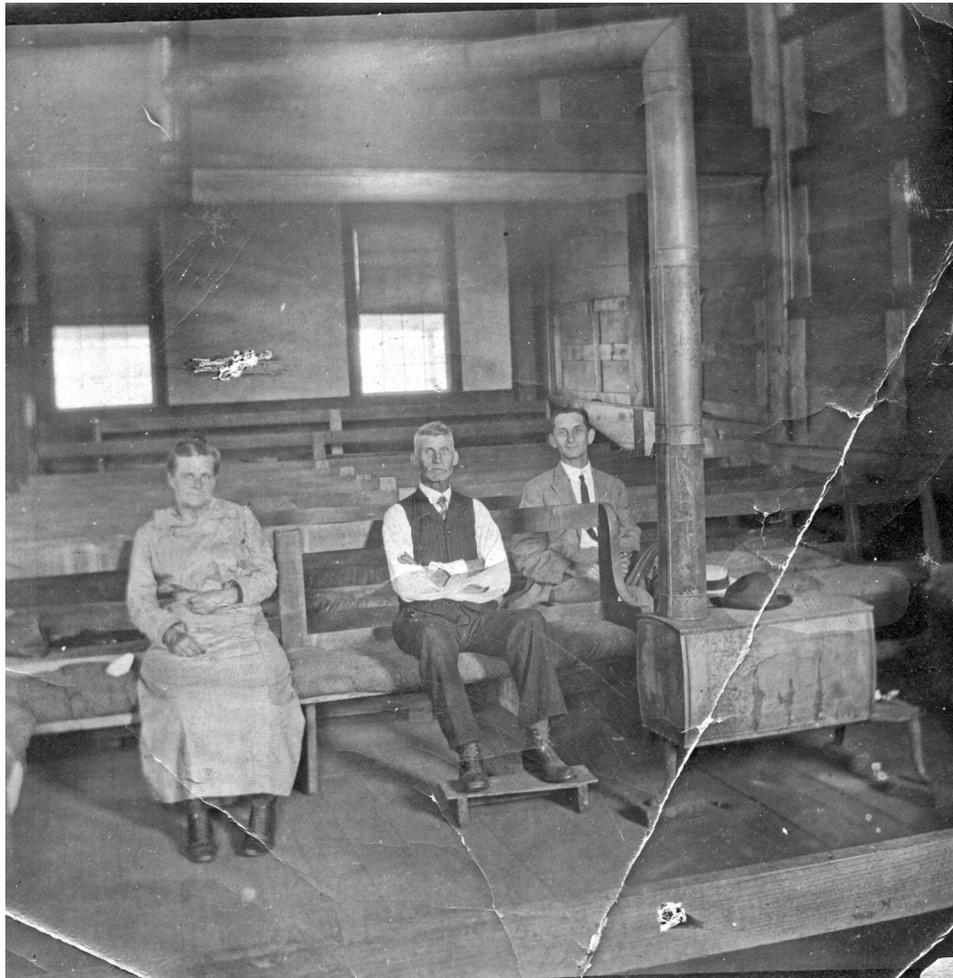
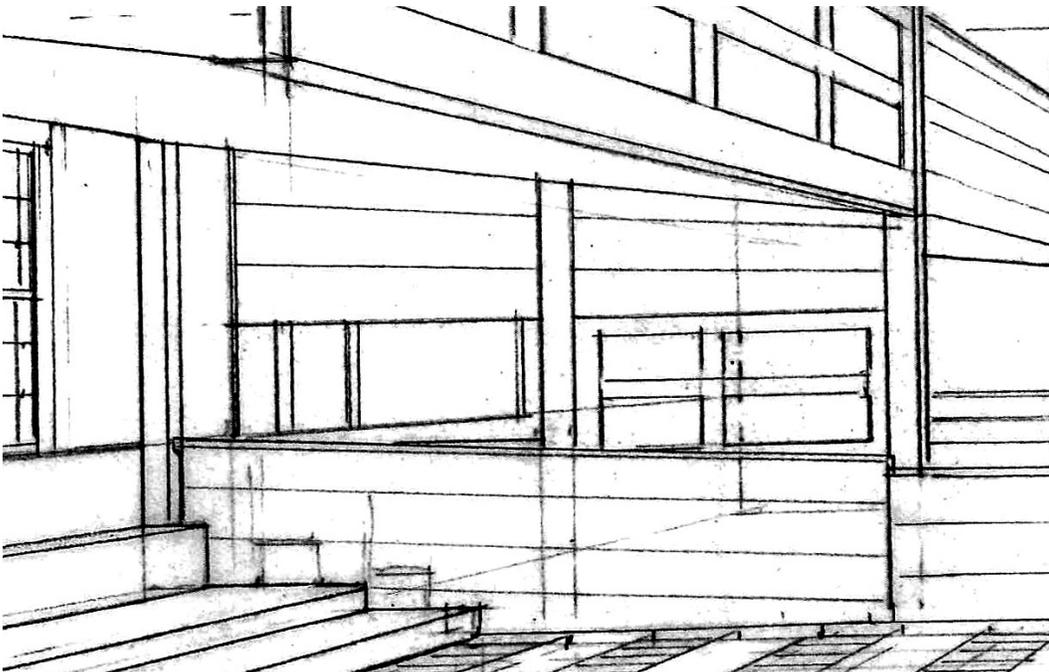


Figure 50. This is the best view of what is now the north wall and northeast corner of the west half of the meeting hall. The sliding panels below the balcony are clearly seen. There are seven rows of pews in front of the two rows of raised pews and the wall bench. The stove differs from the one at the far west end of the space. Note the cushion on the bench and the use of a small footstool. Courtesy Marjory Allen Perez, found in archives of Aunt Laura Allen Preston. Marjory Allen Perez tentatively identified the woman in photo as her grandmother Laura Smith Padgham and man as her husband Albert Padgham.



Figure 51. The preceding photograph is the only known image of the sliding panels beneath what is now the north balcony. The two separate panels appear to slide downward into the pocket built into the dado.



PART II
ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION
AND ANALYSIS

EXTERIOR DESCRIPTION

Since 2011, the Farmington Meeting House has stood at the southeast corner of the intersection of County Road 8 and Sheldon Road, with the front facing Sheldon Road. This is its third location; it was originally built facing east on the west side of County Road 8, where it faced the road; it was then moved further north up the road and turned 90 degrees (with its side wall to the road) in 1927.

The following exterior description is based a series of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century exterior photographs of the intact structure. The compass points used are based on the structure's current orientation.

Overall, the historic photographs record a massive, but simply detailed and well-constructed, structure. The meeting house was six bays wide and three bays deep, two stories high, with a gable roof. Clapboard covered the wood-framed walls, and vertical fascia boards trimmed the four corners. A cove molding and a plain frieze board extended across the top of the front and rear (now north and south) facades; the narrow cornice returned at the gable ends. The gable roof was covered in wood shingles.

Two symmetrically-positioned, narrow brick chimneys rose to the rear of the gable roof ridge.

The foundation of the meeting house is not clearly shown in the historic photographs, and no gutters can be seen in the images.

Front (north) elevation

On the front elevation, the center bay was narrower than the other bays. There was a window opening in each bay of the first and second stories. When the meeting house was converted into a barn, some of these openings were removed and others were lowered to their present location. Two original entrance doorways were positioned between the outer bays of the first story.

Single-fascia architraves trimming the window openings were topped by drip edges. Historic photographs taken after the porch was removed show narrow pilasters forming

the sides of the architraves, supporting an entablature at each door. Each entablature included a plain frieze that projected forward at each end above the pilasters.

The two doorways in the front facade held stile-and-rail doors, each with six vertical recessed panels, installed in 1851. The windows included 12/12 sash in the first-story openings, and 12/8 sash in the second-story openings. While the Treasurer's account book records payment for shutter repair, there is no photographic or physical evidence for shutters.

The first floor level of this elevation has been lost and modern dimensional lumber was installed prior to the building's 2011 relocation.

East elevation

What is now the east gable elevation had three window openings at the second story level. Originally, there were also three first story windows, but the westernmost opening was converted to a doorway when the addition was built. An original doorway between the center and rear bays held a six-panel stile-and-rail door. There were no attic level openings in the gable.

West elevation

Most of the physical evidence of what is now the west gable elevation was lost when the westernmost bay of the meeting house collapsed in a storm in February of 2006; some evidence may be found once the framing that is now stored on the second floor is sorted through.

Historic photographs show an elevation similar to the east facade, with a window opening in each bay and a doorway between the center and rear bays. There were also two narrow window openings in the attic gable. A step at the base of the doorway bridged the gap between the opening and grade.

Rear (south) elevation

No historic images have been found showing the rear elevation, but it is the best preserved elevation of the building. The remaining physical evidence and the historic photographs indicate that there were windows in the four inner first story bays and in the outer bays of the second story. The overhang of the roof included the same shallow cornice found on the east facade; a section of the cove molding of the cornice remains in place.

Porch/Veranda

A one-story, shed-roofed porch was built across the front elevation in 1863, wrapping around what is now the east facade to terminate at a one-story addition. Narrow turned wood columns, topped with flared capitals, divided the porch into seven bays across the

front and four bays along the side. The porch floor was supported by piers (material not known) beneath each column. Wood shingles covered the shed roof of the porch.

Two photographs record the building after the removal of the porch.

Addition

A committee room was built onto what is now the south end of the east elevation in 1841. As seen in historic photographs, the long, narrow, one-story addition was four bays wide and one bay deep, set on a masonry foundation. The ridge of the gable roof aligned with the south end of the east elevation of the meeting house, resulting in the addition extending beyond the rear wall of the main structure.

Although no physical evidence remains, the photograph show finishes similar to those of the meeting house: clapboards and fascia board trim on the facades, and wood shingles on the gable roof. In the front elevation, there was a doorway at the end of the addition (underneath the porch) and another doorway flanked by window openings with 12/12 sash. A narrow chimney was positioned south of the center of the roof. In the south elevation, a single window opening was fitted with a 12/12 sash. No photographic evidence has been found for the rear elevation.

INTERIOR

The following description of the interior of the meeting house is based on existing physical evidence and an important series of interior photographs from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These images record conditions as viewed from the first floor. There are no images of conditions at the balcony level.

Fortunately, when the meetinghouse was modified for use as a barn, a number of important fittings were salvaged and placed in the barn loft or reused.

For the purposes of this study, the interior is described as it existed prior to the barn conversion in 1927. The various directions called out in the descriptions refer to the compass points as they currently exist on site. The front of the meeting house is noted as facing towards the north.

The interior of the large structure consisted of a single large volume (approximately 45' by 59' by 22'-3" high) that included a "u"-shaped balcony extending along the front and side walls (now north, east, and west walls). A clever system of counter-weighted sliding panels set in a framework allowed the large room to be divided into two separate spaces to the east and west for use by the men and women members.

Framing: The post-and-beam wood structure is divided into six bays by seven framing bents. The frame rests on a 1'-0" x 1'-0" wood sill (now set on a concrete block wall on top of a poured concrete foundation). While most of the sill is new, sections of the original sill

were retained whenever possible and scarfed into the new sill. The posts at each corner, the center posts on each wall, and the posts on the west wall that supported the gallery, projected from the wall plane, where they were covered with finely finished boards. These posts, and intermediate posts concealed behind the wall finishes, extend up to the wall plate and provide support for seven roof trusses.

A few of the knee braces that extend diagonally between the sill and posts are still in place. The wood studs between the posts and knee braces are 3" to 4-1/4" in width and depth. In some areas, sections of plaster and/or wood lath are still affixed to the studs. At the top of the posts, corner braces angled up to the plates and the bottom chords of the trusses. The lower sections of these braces, visible beneath the plane of the plaster ceiling, were covered in wood finish boards.

A horizontal wood beam that frames into the wall posts is positioned at what was the upper level of the balcony seating. It forms a visual separation between the lower and upper level of the meeting space. This beam, covered with finish boards, creates a 1'-0" high ledge that projects into the room 6".

Within the original seven roof trusses there are four variations, each depending on the amount of space it was required to span. All of the remaining roof trusses have a bottom chord and two upper chords joined to the plate, connected by purlins. They vary in the support members within each truss. The east truss is the simplest: studs extend between the top chords and bottom chord; presumably, the missing west truss matched it. The trusses immediately east and west of the ends have posts beneath the purlins, like a queen post truss but without the upper tie. The trusses flanking the center are king post trusses, each with a central post connected to side posts with diagonal struts. At the center truss, there is a post below each purlin, and a second set of posts towards the inside of the truss; the north post aligns with the chamfered column supporting the gallery below.

The bottom chords retain notches for ceiling joists, 1'-6" to 1'-10" apart (on center).

Floor: The original floor was made up of tongue-and-groove floorboards, laid east/west. The 6-1/2" to 1'-3" wide, 3/4" thick boards that now make up the barn-era second floor level may be the original first floor surface moved to this location. The log joists that support the floorboards also appear to have been part of the original first floor structure. The joists are 6" to 8" in diameter and are spaced approximately 2'-7" apart. They frame into wood beams that span east/west between the outer wall posts.

At the first floor level, wood risers along the rear (now south) wall provided four levels of elevated seating for "facing benches" reserved for ministers and elders. Benches along the front (now north) wall were set on two levels of risers, lower than those on the rear wall.

Wall finishes: A wood dado made up of finely finished, horizontal tongue-and-groove boards extended along all four walls. The dado on the rear (south) wall, behind the raised seating for ministers and elders, was approximately 6'-0" high. On the other three walls,

the dado was lower, approximately 4'-3 1/2" high. The surviving boards range from 8-1/2" to 1'-5" high. A delicate bullnosed cap trimmed the top of the dado.

Above the wainscot, the walls were simply finished in plaster on split wood lath. None of these surfaces were painted. All of the exposed woodwork has aged to a mellow brown tone.

Divider: A system of movable wood panels (or leaves) formed a partition, extending front to rear (north/south), that divided the interior into two equally-sized spaces whenever men and women needed to meet separately. A double-sided wood dado, similar to the dado on the north, east, and west walls, formed the bottom pocket into which the lower panels would slide. Horizontal tongue-and-groove boards a few feet below the ceiling formed a pocket for the pairs of upper movable panels.

These lower and upper pockets spanned between wood posts that divided the partition into six bays: four equally sized bays to the front (north), then a narrower bay for a doorway and a long bay between the doorway and rear wall (south wall). The sides of the posts were faced with 7-1/2" wide wood boards, each with two channels formed by cut notches and wood fillets.

Two stile-and-rail leaves on small rope pulleys slid up in the tracks, and two slid down. The leaves in the north bays had four recessed panels each; the south bay leaves featured six recessed panels each. Above the doorway were two vertical four-panel leaves.

All of these panels survive because, as part of the barn conversion, they were used to form partitions for an enclosed room on the barn's second floor.

Ceiling: The ceiling was finished in plaster on lath, approximately 22'-3" above the floor. A hatch allowing access to the attic was probably positioned at what would now be the ewest end of the ceiling, near the narrow windows in the west wall that provided natural light to the attic.

Doors: The meeting house originally had four exterior entrances. The two primary doorways were located between the northernmost and southernmost pairs of windows in the front (north) wall. The original single doorways in the side walls were positioned between the south and center windows. The south window in the east wall was converted into an additional doorway when the committee appendage was constructed in 1841.

The spaces below the two stair landings were probably accessed through low doors.

All of the openings were trimmed with a simple 4-1/4" wide single-fascia architrave, trimmed with a flush bead at the opening and an ogee and fillet molding at the outside edge of the architrave. Only a small amount of this material survives.

Front (north) entrance doors: The historic photographs show stile-and-rail doors, each with six vertical recessed panels (three over three), in the east openings. One of these doors may survive in the neighboring Farmington Friends Church. That

door is 6'-10 1/2" high, 3'-11 3/4" wide, and 1-3/4" thick. The six recessed panels (two rectangular over two tiers of four vertical panels) are trimmed with quirked ogee panel moldings on one face, and with raised panels on the other face.

North and south doors: The historic photographs show stile-and-rail doors in these openings, each with six panels (two over two over two).

Door beneath stairs: The configuration of these missing doors has not been determined.

Windows: The original first floor window openings (six in the north wall, four in the south wall, and three each in the east and west walls) rested directly on the bullnosed edge of the wood dado. The rear (south) windows were higher than the other windows to accommodate the raised dado for the seating along that wall. All of these openings were fitted with 12/12 double-hung wood sash. The surviving sash have 8" x 10" panes and 3/4" wide muntins.

When the addition was built, the south window in the east wall was converted into a doorway.

In the second floor, there were six window openings in the north wall and three each in the west and east walls. The south wall had a window opening in the east bay, and presumably one in the west bay (accessed from the gallery). There is no evidence for west windows in any of the other bays. All of the second floor openings held 12/8 double-hung sash.

Based on historic photographs, there were two narrow window openings in the south gable of the attic. No evidence has been found for the configuration of the sash.

Stair: Open-string stairs in the northeast and southeast corners provided access to the balcony. Based on stair fragments and evidence on the walls, the northeast stair began on the north wall, ascending eight risers east to a landing, then turning and ascending eight risers south to the gallery. The risers averaged 8-1/2" high, and the treads 10-1/4" deep. At the bottom of the stringer, a cavetto and fillet molding stepped back to a fascia, trimmed with a flush bead at the bottom edge. The bottom surface of the upper run of the stair was finished in plaster on lath, as was the wall below the lower run. Square newel posts (2-5/8" x 2-5/8") with bullnosed caps, along with 1" x 1" square balusters, supported a rounded handrail that ramped at the landing and balcony level newels. The balusters were set on the diagonal, two per tread.

Balcony: The balcony that extended along the east, north, and west walls was faced with paneled stile-and-rail leaves, similar to the ones used in the divider; none of these panels have been found. There were risers along the north side for five rows of free-standing benches and a sixth fixed row against the north wall. On the west side, there were risers for three rows of benches and a fourth fixed row along the wall; the east side mirrored the north configuration. A complex system of steps of varying heights and depths allowed access to the risers and benches.

The balcony was supported by a series of massive sloped beams, concealed by the plaster ceiling surface forming the bottom surface of the balcony. Closely-spaced lighter sloping beams supported the carpentry for the balcony's stepped risers.

Lighting/electrical: The many windows provided ample natural light. There is no evidence in any of the historic photographs for artificial lighting, and no physical evidence was found for electric lighting before the barn era. During the long period of occupancy, artificially lighting would encompass the use of candles, oil and kerosene lamps, and possibly electric lights.

Heating: The historic interior photographs reveal that the large space was heated by four cast-iron stoves: two east of the sliding partition, and two west of that partition. The sheet metal stove pipes of each pair of stoves joined at a central vertical pipe that rose up to the ceiling and passed into one of the two brick chimneys supported on the attic framing. These chimneys extended up through the gable roof along the rear (south) side of the roof ridge.

The 1841 addition featured a central brick chimney that probably serviced at least one stove; the two doorways in the front elevation indicate that there were two rooms, so there may have been two stoves.

Furnishings and fittings: On the first floor, the Friends sat on wood benches that faced north and south. The pews had curvilinear ends and high, open-slat backs. Similar pews in the gallery faced towards the center of the space.

The seating consisted of two types: built-in benches along the outer walls, with the dado forming the back support; and freestanding benches of at least six types, varying in height and configuration of the back supports.

DRAWINGS
1816 FARMINGTON QUAKER MEETINGHOUSE
AND EXISTING HISTORIC FRAMING

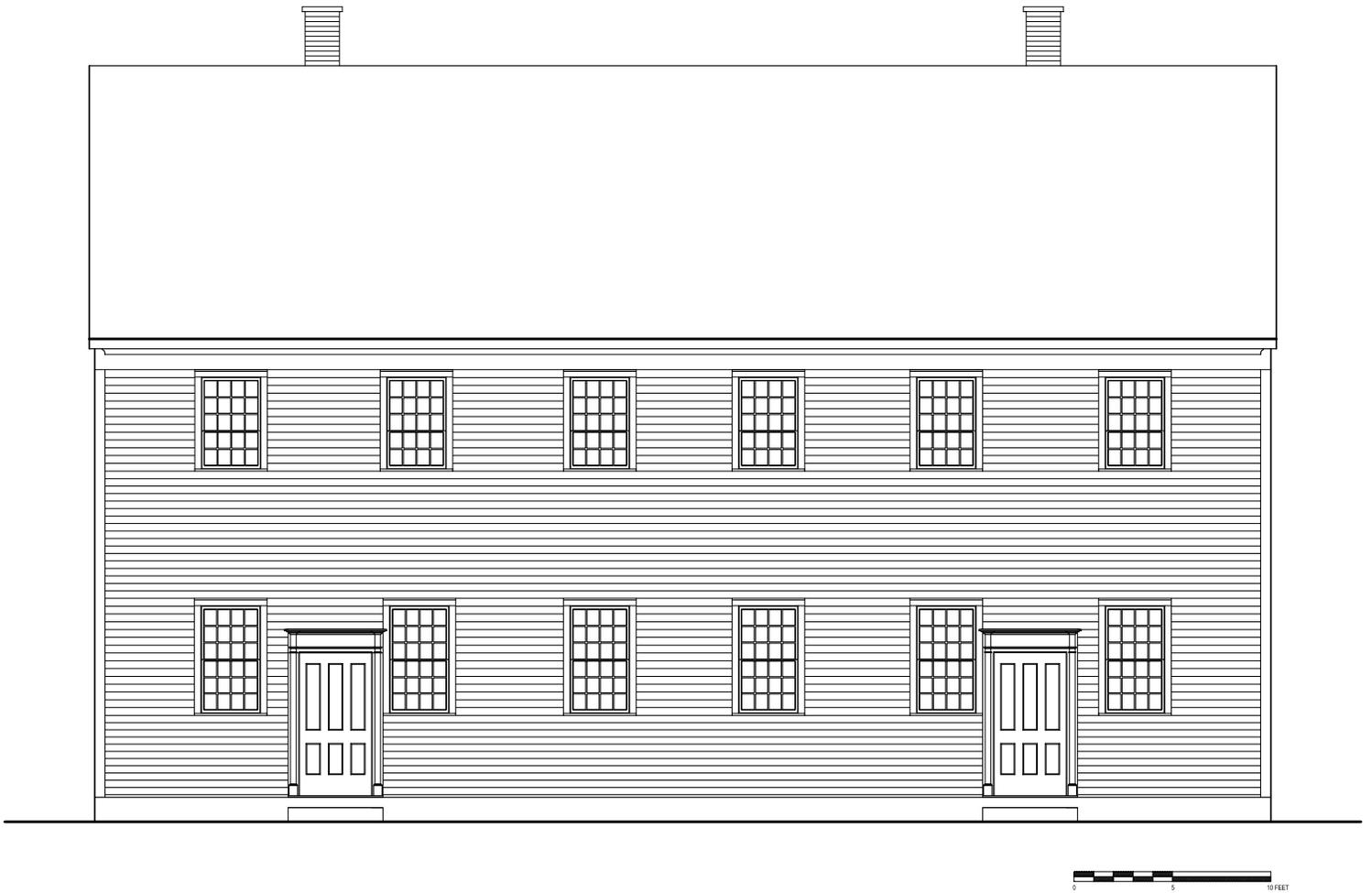


Figure 52. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse: Front (North) Elevation. JGWA, 2015.

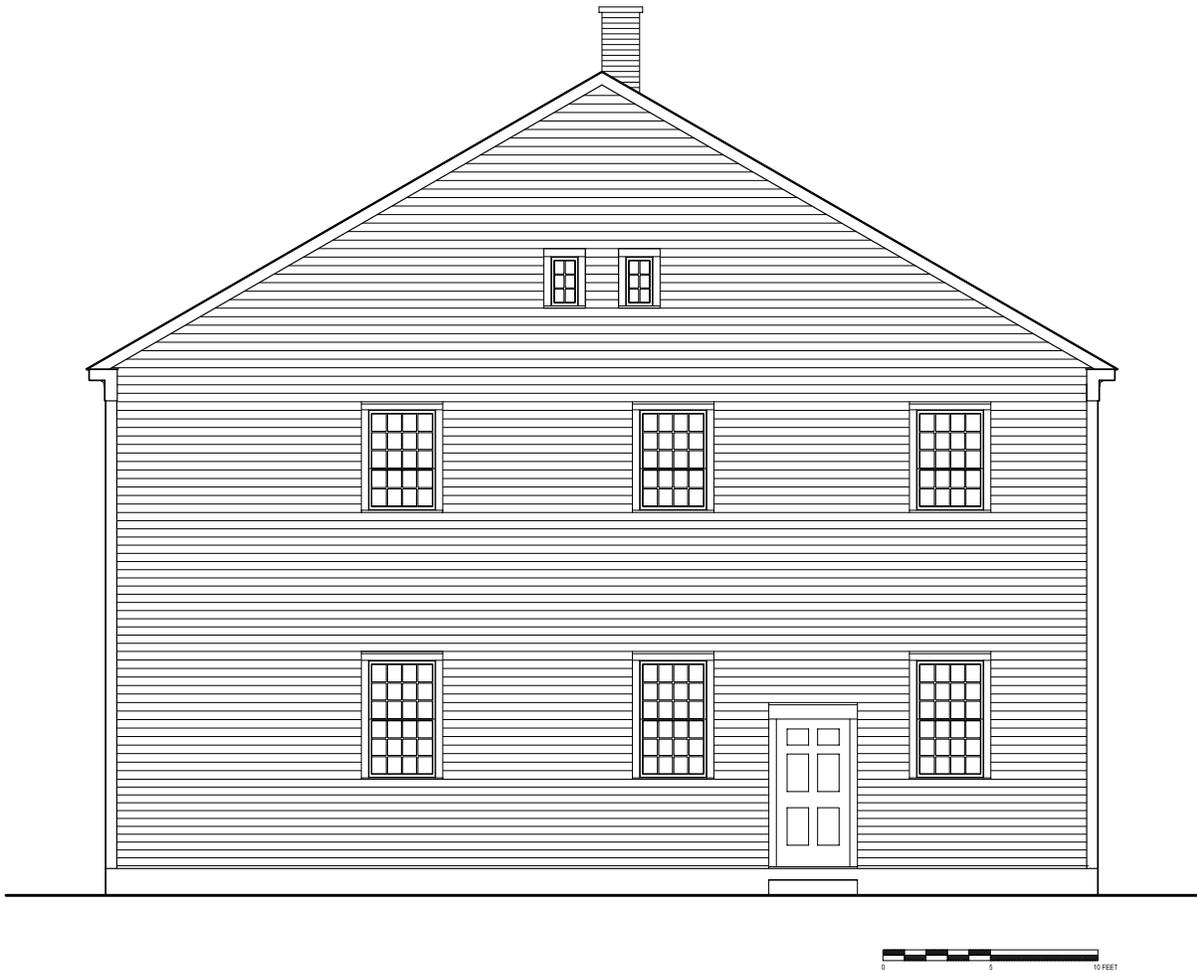


Figure 53. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse: West Elevation. JGWA, 2015.

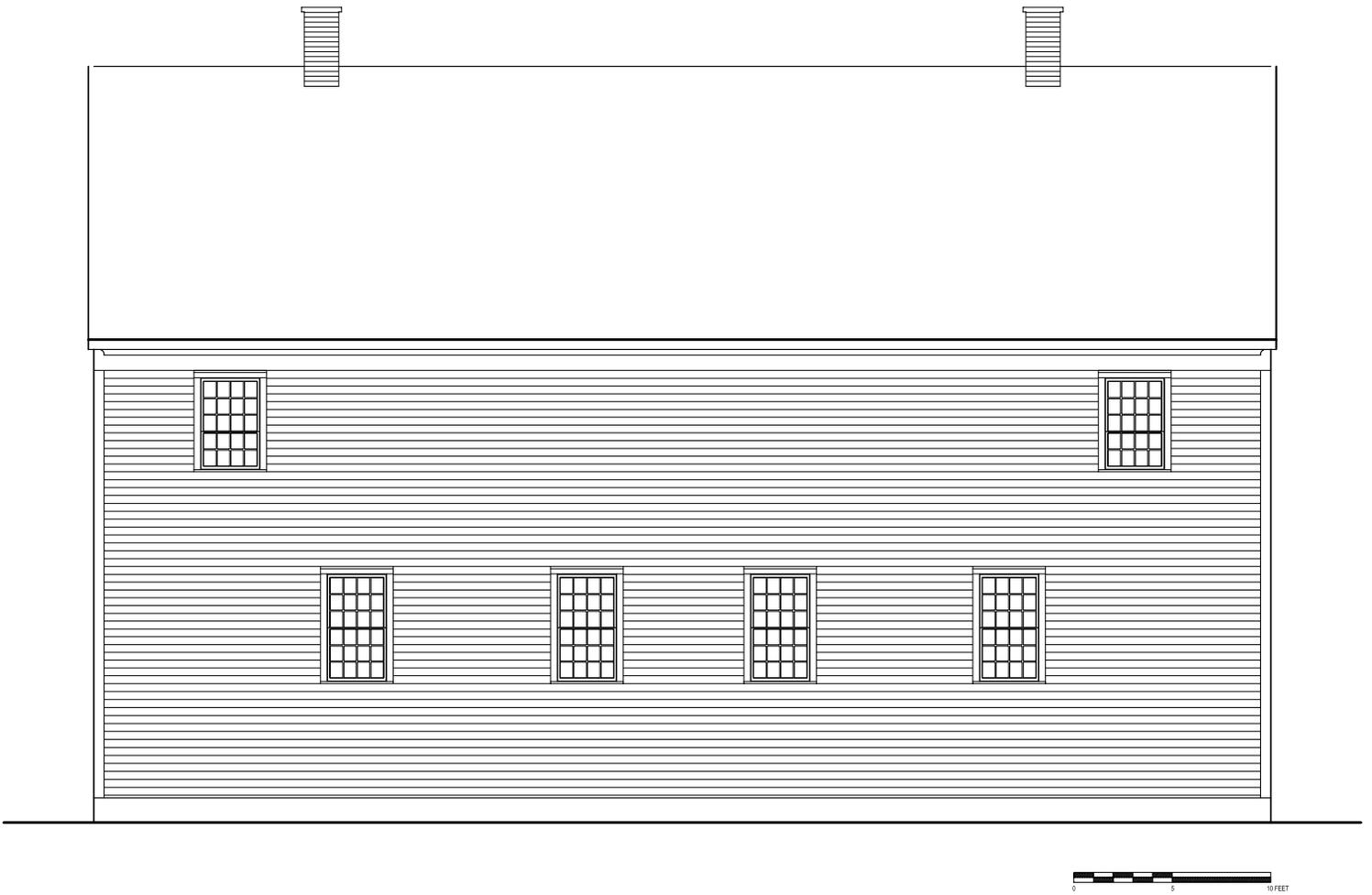


Figure 54. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse: Rear (South) Elevation. JGWA, 2015.

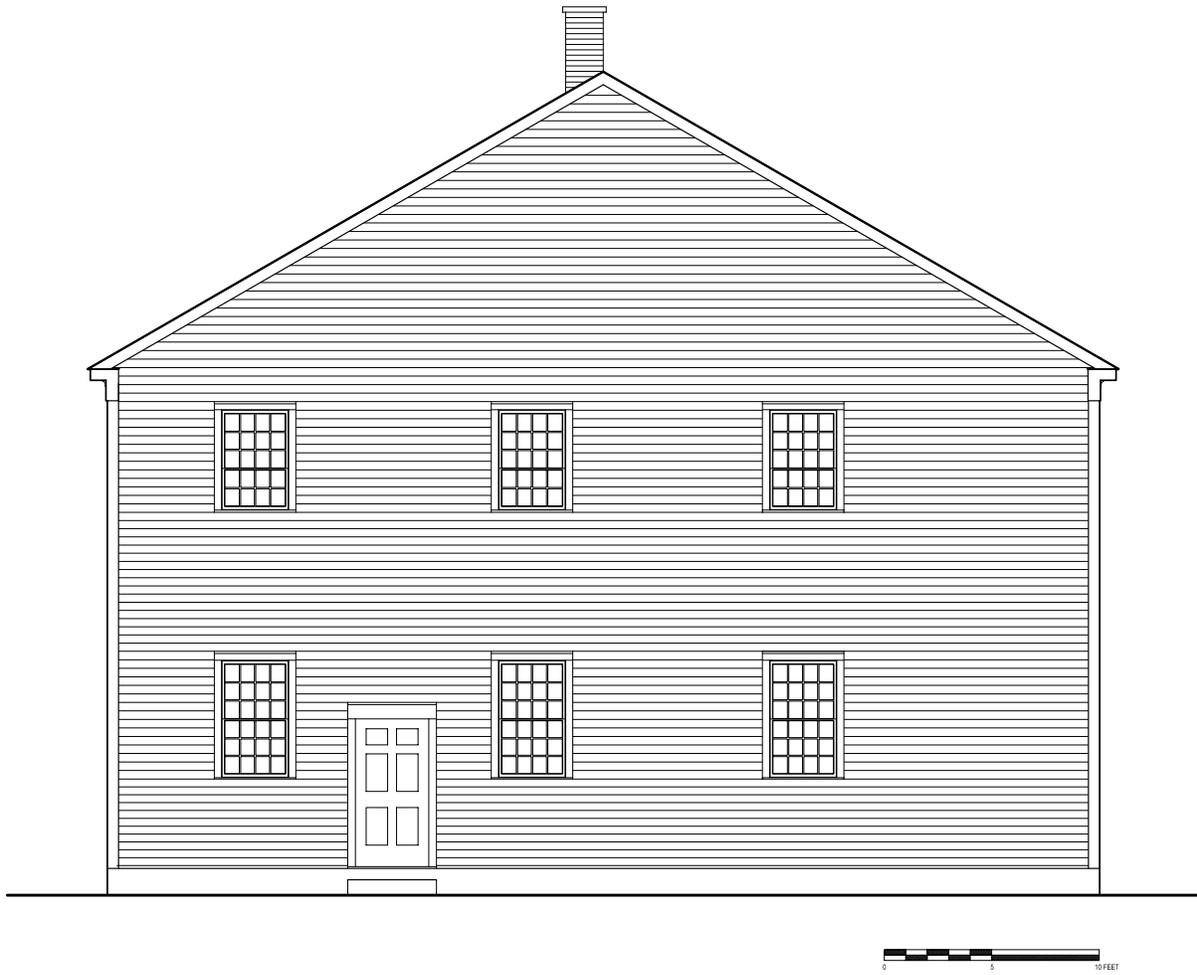


Figure 55. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse: East Elevation. JGWA, 2015.

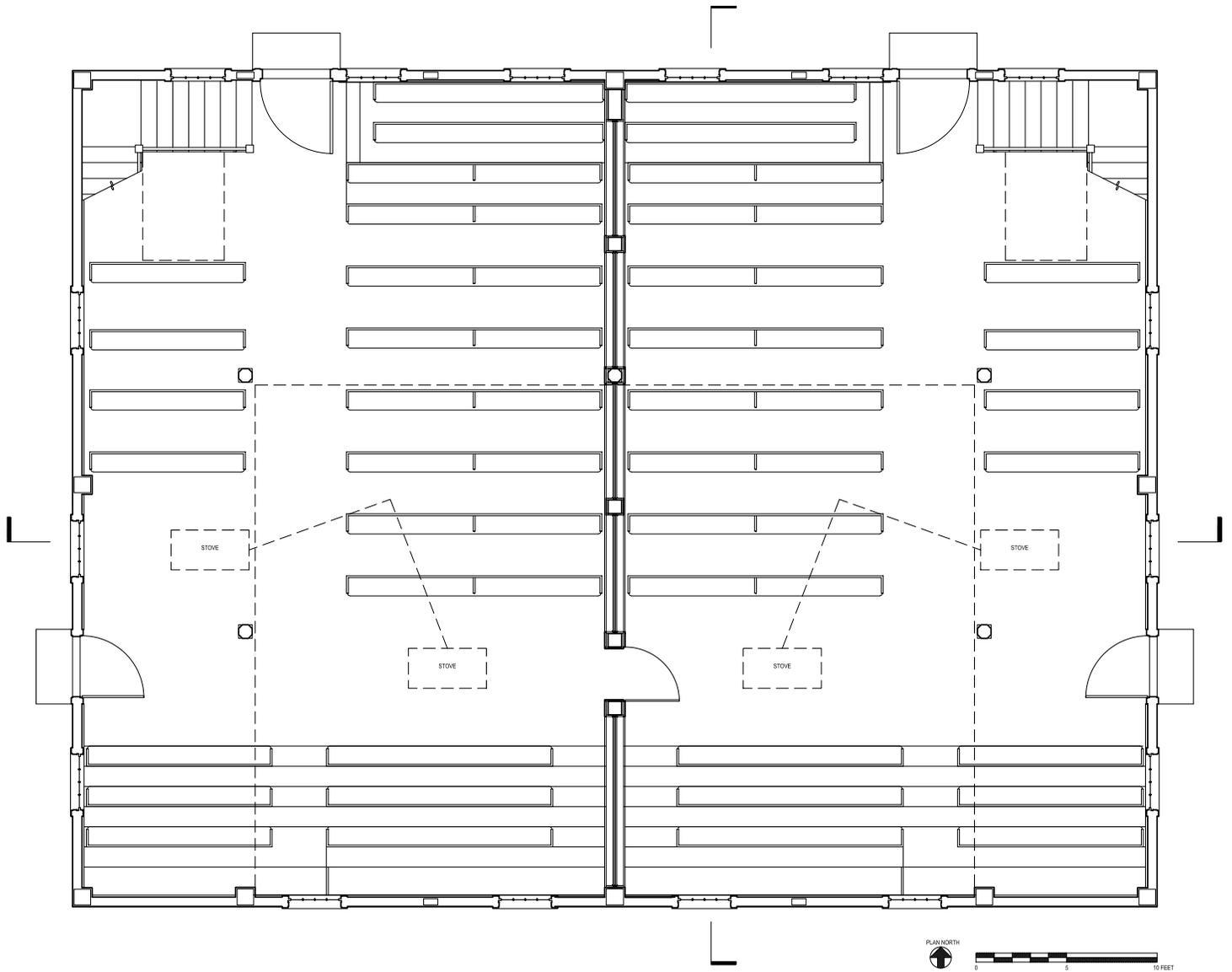


Figure 56. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse: First Floor Plan. JGWA, 2015.

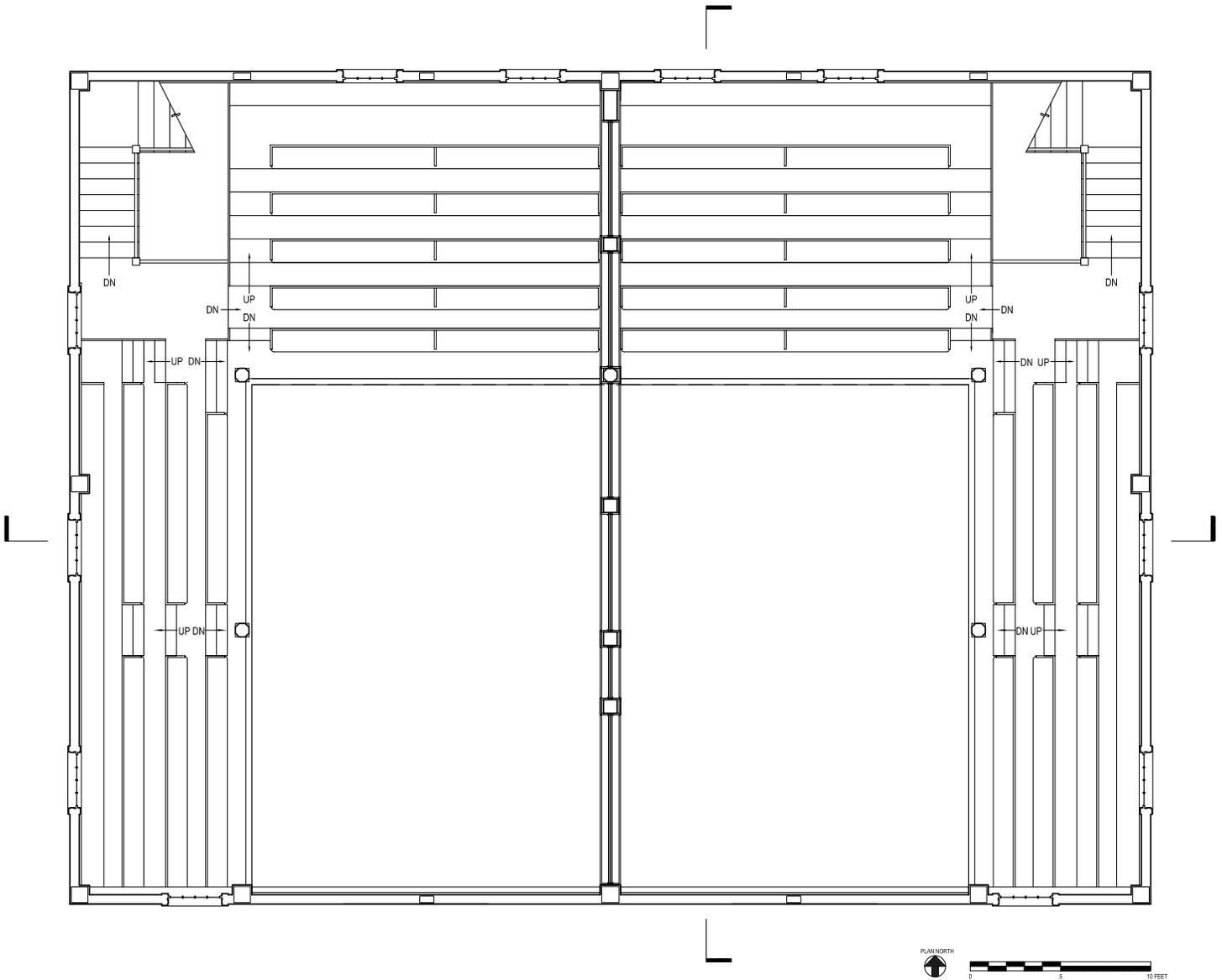


Figure 57. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse: Balcony Plan. JGWA, 2015.

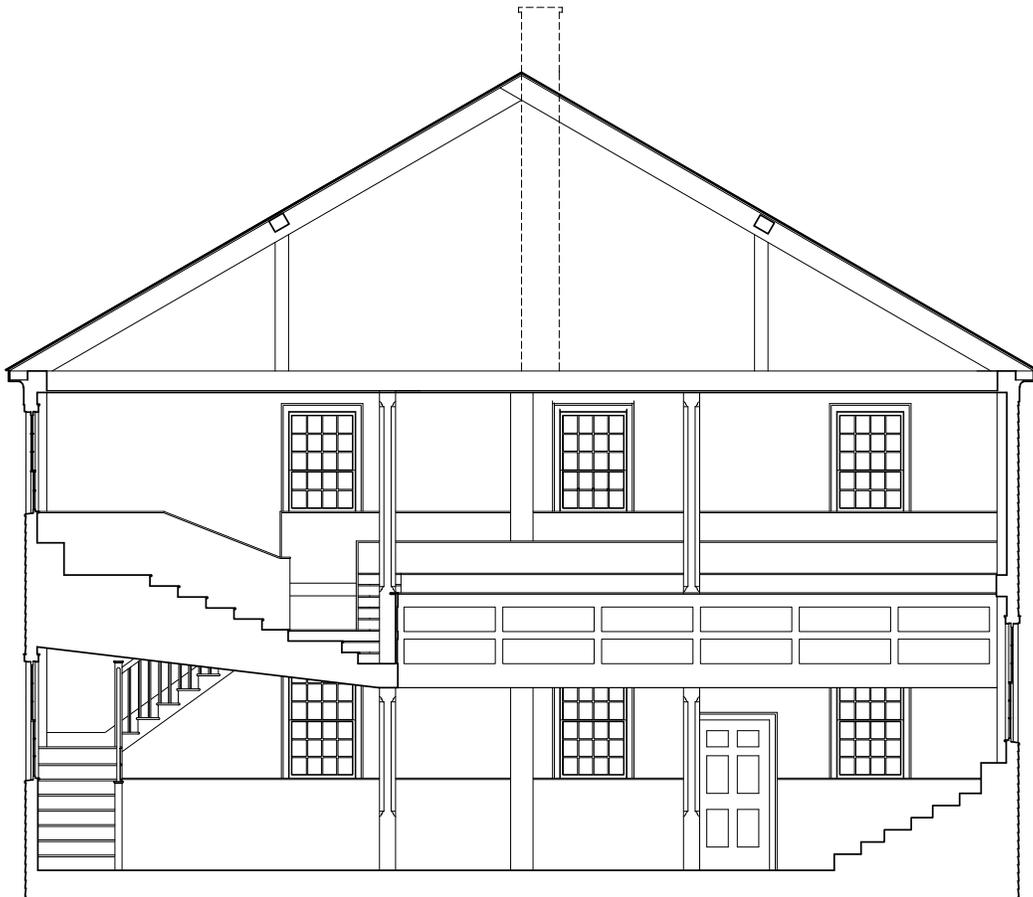


Figure 58. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse: Section looking towards the east balcony. JGWA, 2015.



Figure 59. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse: Section looking north. JGWA, 2015.

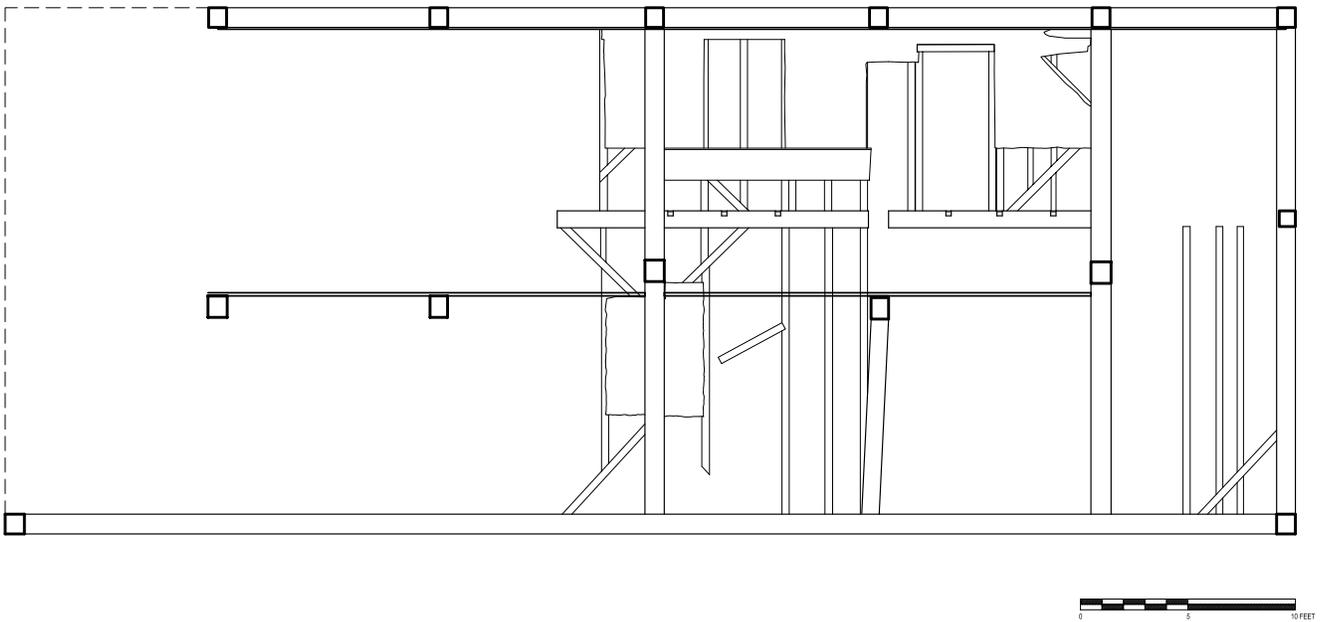


Figure 60. Section looking north (front wall), showing the surviving historic framing for the first and second floors of the meetinghouse. JGWA, 2015.

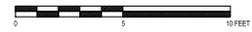
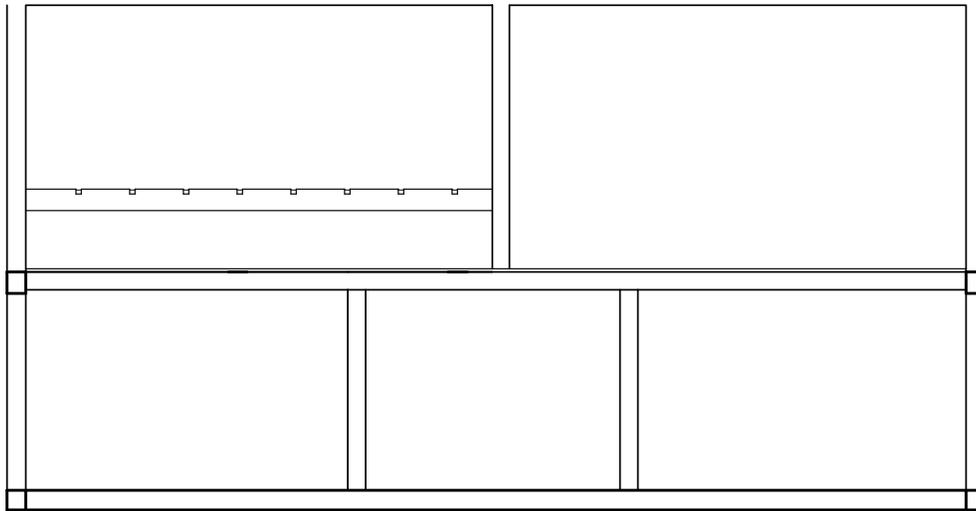


Figure 61. Section looking west, showing the surviving historic framing. JGWA, 2015.

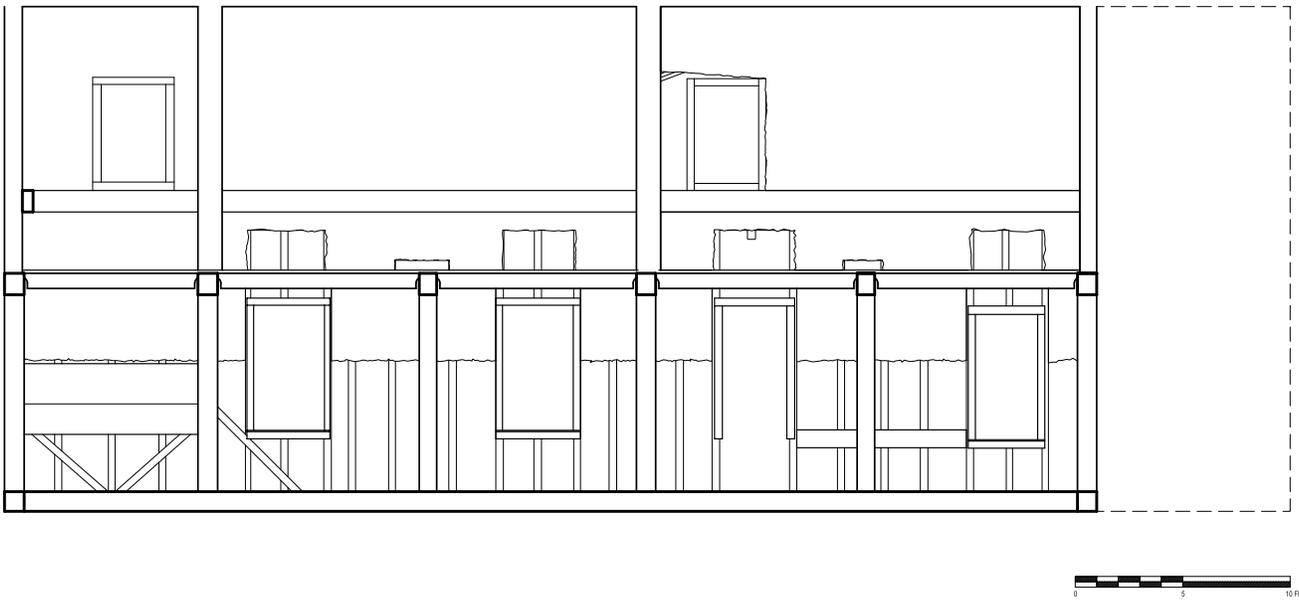


Figure 62. Section looking south (rear wall), showing the surviving historic framing for the first and second floors of the meetinghouse. JGWA, 2015.

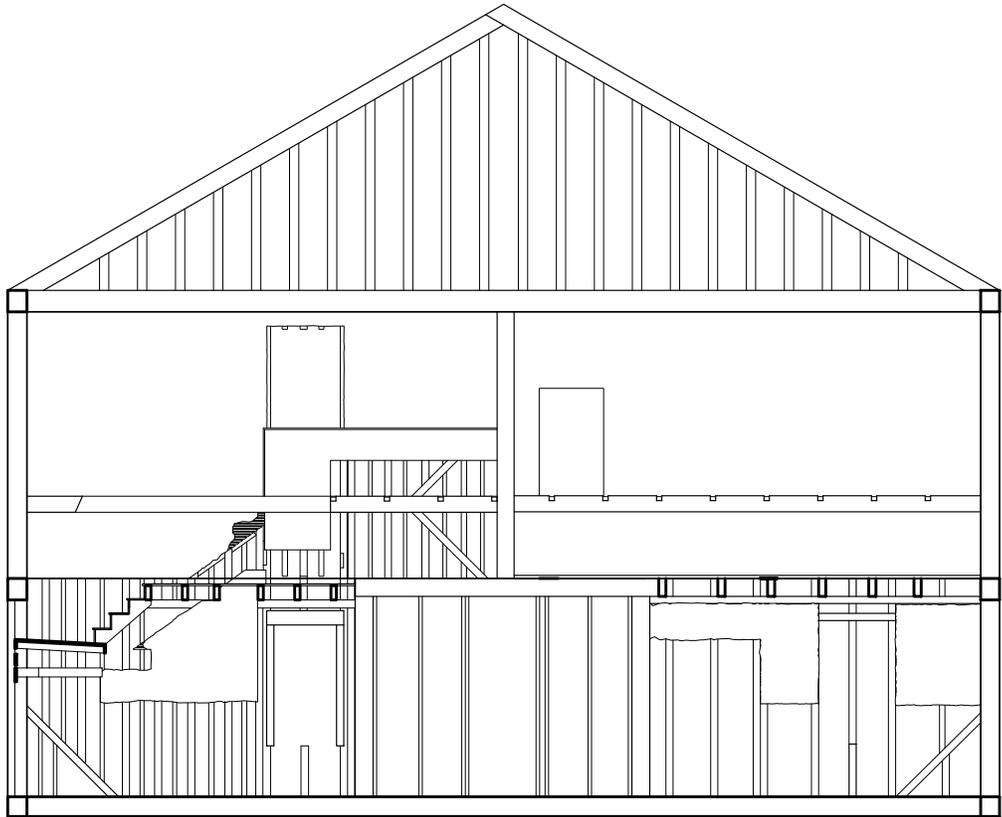


Figure 63. Section looking east, showing the surviving historic framing. JGWA, 2015.

IMAGES, 2008-PRESENT



Figure 64. The meetinghouse in 2008. JGWA, 2008.



Figure 65. Structural stabilization of the meeting house. The upper image records the current west end of the building where the sixth structural bay is missing.



Figure 66. The path of the 2011 move. The dashed outline shows the original location of the meetinghouse. The meetinghouse was relocated to land that was donated for the purpose by the current Quaker Meeting. That meetinghouse and the surrounding cemetery can be seen at the right side of the image. The relocated meetinghouse faces a main road and the newer meetinghouse and cemetery, as it did historically. JGWA, 2012.



Figure 67. The meetinghouse just before (upper image) and just after (lower image) the building was moved in 2011. The upper image shows four of the six “trucks” used to move the building. Each was controlled by the yellow control box at the left. [JGWA, 2011]



Figure 68. View from the southwest of the meetinghouse in its new location, waiting to be lowered onto its new wood sill. JGWA, 2014.

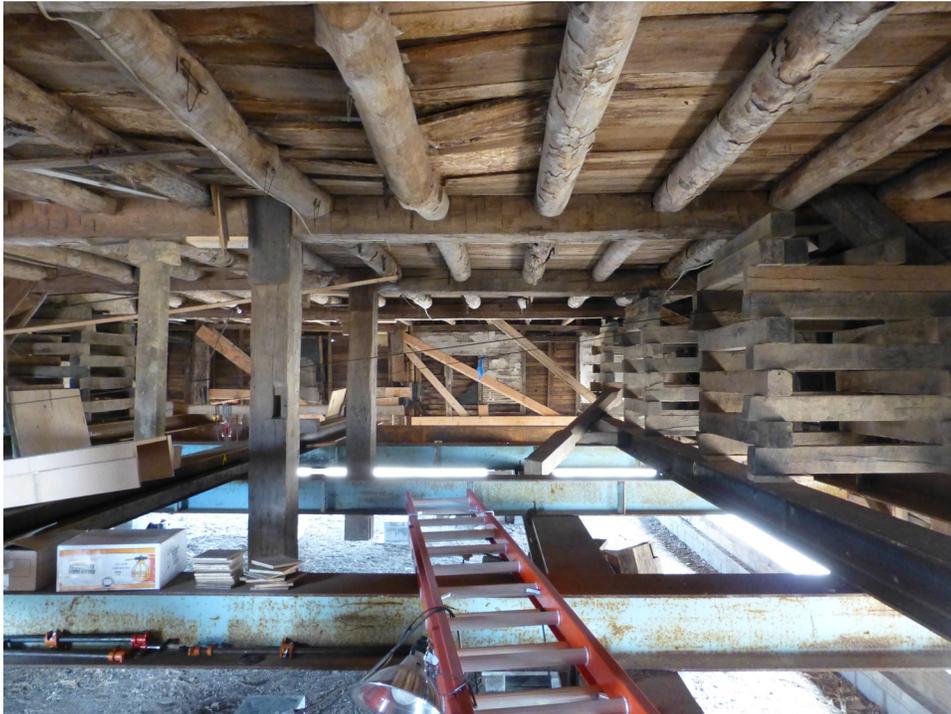


Figure 69. Wood cribbing and steel I-beams were inserted into the lower level of the structure to facilitate the move. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 70. The attic space, with the center truss to the left and a king post truss to the right. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 71. The attic space, looking northeast. The east bent is made up of a lower chord and two upper chords, with studs extending between the chords forming the east gable. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 72. A cove molding trimmed the top of the plain frieze board at the top of the front and rear elevations. In the upper image, the cove is still in place. The lower image shows a section of the cove now stored inside the structure. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 73. The historic wood sill was saved wherever possible, but much of it needed replacement. This image shows a combination of the new and historic material. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 74. The wood sill and stud shown here are original to the building. The wood in the upper right corner of the photograph is new. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 75. A freshly cut mortise in the new sill and the historic stud that will be installed into it once repairs are made. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 76. The lowest section of the post at the southeast corner of the meetinghouse was replaced with new material, but the scarf joint shown in this image allowed the majority of the historic post to be preserved. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 77. View of the first floor front (north) wall. The fragment of the plaster wall surface to the left of the photo retains the best evidence for the height of the wood dado. The vertical outer edges of the two plaster surfaces align with the locations of two of the missing east windows. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 78. First floor, looking northeast (upper image) and southwest (lower image). The ceiling structure in these images is original framing that supported the ground floor of the meetinghouse. This structure was moved upward, along with the original flooring, when the building was converted into a barn. The posts are later additions to support the relocated framing. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 79. First floor, looking east along the south (rear) wall. At the far end of the image, in the northwest corner, a section of original plaster wall surface survives. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 80. First floor, looking east along the south wall. The far southwest corner was the location of one of the two stairs that accessed the original balcony. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 81. First floor. Bay at west end of south wall. The window position was lowered when the meetinghouse was converted into a barn. The lower horizontal edge of the plaster surface marks the location of the original wood dado. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 82. First floor, southeast corner. The wood dado on the rear (south) wall was higher than the dados on the other three walls, to accommodate the risers and seating for “facing benches” reserved for ministers and elders. A section of the wood dado, complete with the upper beaded cap, survives on the south wall. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 83. The log joists and floorboards of the second floor appear to be the original materials from the first floor, moved up when the meetinghouse was converted into a barn. The small chains attached to the fractured log joist date to the barn era. Deterioration of the historic flooring and joists can be seen in the center of this image, but most of the joists are in sound condition. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 84. One of the original chamfered posts that supported the balcony. The handsome treatment of the upper and lower ends of the chamfers is one of the few ornamental details found in the meetinghouse. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 85. Second floor, looking east along the front (north) wall. The two angled beams are supports for the original north balcony. The front edge of the balcony was positioned in line with the two posts seen to the right of the image. The modern walls that project into the space were installed to brace the building for the move and until more permanent repairs can be made. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 86. Second floor, looking southeast. The far east wall retains original plaster and an original window opening. Note the surviving plaster ceiling. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 87. Viewing looking northeast up at the surviving plaster and the framing for the ceiling and roof. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 88. Second floor, looking towards the northeast corner and stairwell. The wood enclosure at the left of the photograph was inserted for the barn. The location of the original stair stringer can be seen in the plaster to the right of the enclosure. The original wood dado (at balcony level) and the location of a window are also shown. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 89. Section of the north wall at balcony level. Note the original wood dado and window opening. This portion of the dado formed the back for the balcony bench built against the north wall. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 90. Section of the south wall, showing typical deterioration of original plaster and a window (moved down from its higher position during the barn era). The horizontal bottom edge of the plaster is the position of the wood dado. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 91. (Above) Second floor, looking east towards the barn office enclosure in the southeast corner. The enclosure is formed from the original sliding panels that provided a separation of the large meeting room into two sections. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 92. (Left) Second floor, looking southwest. The vertical beam in the south wall is the location of the sliding panels that divided the room into two areas. The locations of three ground floor south windows can be seen below the horizontal beams in that wall. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 93. Two of the configurations of the freestanding benches. The benches varied in height and in configuration of the back supports. Note the distinctive end arm support seen on the bench in the lower image. [Upper image: JGWA, 2014; Lower image: 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum]



Figure 94. The upper run of the existing northeast stair, along the east wall. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 95. The east wall below the existing northeast stair. Note the angled edge of the plaster, marking the original location of the stair stringer that rose to the balcony. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 96. A stringer for the northeast stair. Note the fascia at the bottom of the stringer (at the left of the upper photograph), with its flush bead along the bottom edge and ogee trim where it meets the upper part of the stringer. The full length of the stringer is seen in the lower image. This stringer formed the lower run of the stair. JGWA, 2014.

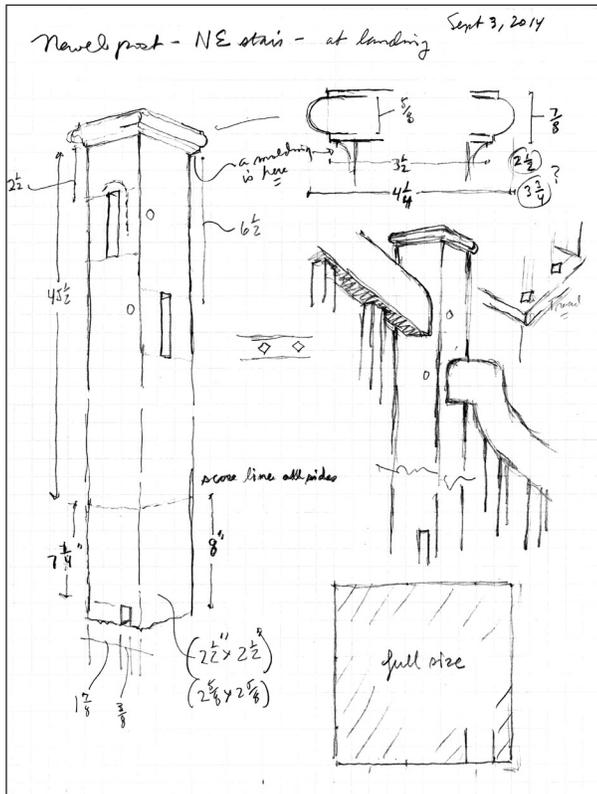
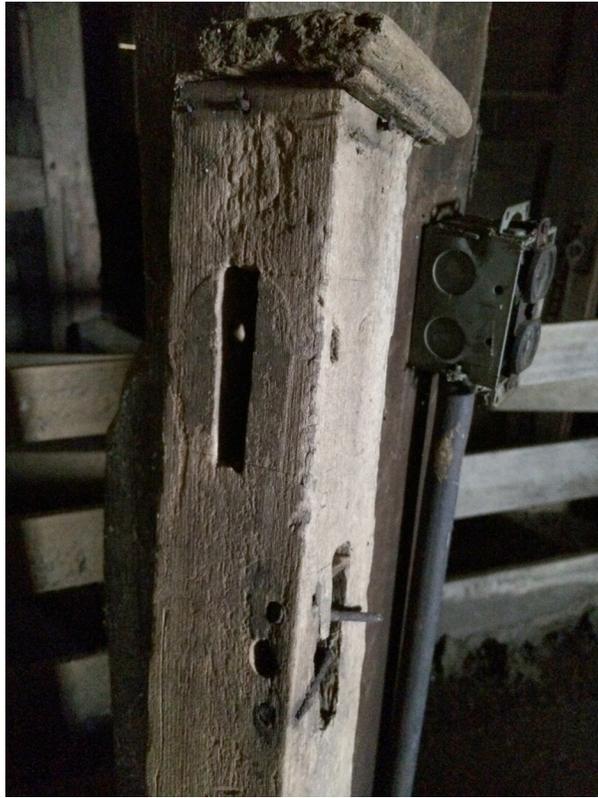


Figure 97. A surviving newel post (upper left) was positioned at the landing between the upper and lower run of the northeast stair.

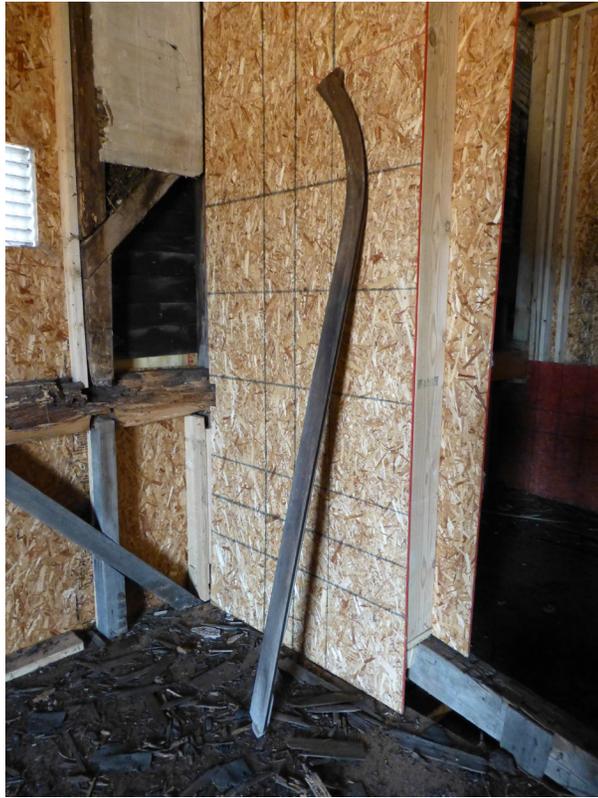


Figure 98. A handrail from the lower run of the northeast stair. Note that it ramps at the upper newel. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 99. A stair tread. There were two balusters per tread, turned diagonally, to support the handrail. JGWA, 2014.



Figure 100. (Left) Mockup of the stringer and handrail of the northeast stair in their original location. JGWA, 2014.

Figure 101. (Below) The original sliding wood panels that formed the north/south divider were used to enclose an office on the second floor of the barn. JGWA, 2014.





Figure 102. One of the 1851 front (north) doors was reused in the neighboring Farmington Friends Church. [1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum]

PART III

CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

EXISTING CONDITIONS

The existing conditions of the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse are poor, but stable. Continued deterioration has been arrested by a series of measures undertaken between 2006 and 2014. These prior phases of work fall into two general categories: that which is temporary in nature; and that which is permanent. The modern roof and exterior walls claddings (aluminum panel roofing and wood panel siding) are intended to protect the remaining historic materials from moisture-based deterioration and to help stabilize the structure.

The modern dimensional wood framing on all levels of the building are likewise intended as a temporary means of stabilizing the structure, and is intended to be removed at a later date. These temporary measures have encapsulated and secured original and later materials, but makes determining underlying conditions difficult.

The relocation of the building, the new poured concrete foundation, and new and restored hand-hewn wood sill are all permanent work that will remain part of the finished restoration.

The following conditions analysis deals with the various building components by category. Because of the unique condition of the building, its temporary encapsulation on the exterior, and its deteriorated state on the interior, these categories of construction typology are used rather than detailed written analysis of each component.

EXTERIOR

The exterior of the building has been clad in modern materials for the stability and weather tightness of the building. Little of the original or early fabric can currently be seen on the exterior of the building.

Roof

Much of the original roof sheathing and later wood shingles are intact below a layer of badly deteriorated asphalt shingles and an exterior cladding of aluminum panel roofing. Several areas of voids existed when initial stabilization work was undertaken and these have been filled with a combination of plywood and modern dimensional wood framing.

As much of the original roof sheathing as possible should be retained. New sheathing should match the original. Wood shingle roofing should be installed to cover the entire structure. The only roof penetration should be the recreated brick chimneys supported by framing in the attic.

Masonry

None of the original masonry survives due to the prior relocation of the building. At present the only masonry on site is the concrete foundation which is less than 10 years old and in excellent condition.

The original brick chimneys that served the cast iron stoves should be reconstructed using bricks of the size, type, and color appropriate to the period of original construction.

A shelf was poured into the concrete foundation to accommodate a veneer of local field-stone. This work has not been done. Stones for this cladding may be gathered in part from the building's 1927 location, as a shallow stone foundation in that location may incorporate pieces of the meetinghouse's original foundation.

Wall Cladding and Trim

Because the building was clad entirely in asphalt siding for part of the time it served as a barn, it is impossible to know precisely how much of the original clapboard siding exists, and in what condition it remains. Some of the original siding is known to exist on the south and east elevations, while the north and west walls have been lost entirely due to collapse.

Parts of the corner board at the southeast may also exist, but the sill boards are entirely missing. A partially intact section of cornice exists on the south side of the building, but is in deteriorated condition, and the underlying outriggers that support the cornice are for the most part missing.

Wall Openings

Many of the original window frames and sash were relocated when the building was reconfigured for use as a barn, however, several were lost entirely at that point, or during subsequent deterioration and partial collapses of the building. Windows that do exist are missing most of their glazing compound and window glass. Several have broken and have deteriorated muntins and sash frames. The window casing (both interior and exterior) is largely missing.

All four of the original doors and door frames are lost and nothing of them currently exists on site.

INTERIOR

Given the conversion of the building, its long-term use as a barn, and an extended period of neglect, it is remarkable that much of the original material survives within the Meetinghouse. In addition, much of the original conditions and arrangement of lost elements can be interpreted from fragmentary materials that remain.

Framing

As is typical with a building of its age and construction type, some deterioration of the *in situ* wood framing of the meetinghouse does exist. Much of the remaining framing is in better condition than might be assumed based on the condition of the building shown in Figure 64. In addition, more of the original hand-hewn wood framing of the meetinghouse is intact than is at first apparent. This is due to two occurrences.

Much of this material, such as the original main level floor framing, has been relocated within the building, or, in the case of the western-most structural bay, has displaced as a result of partial collapse. At this point the salvaged material from the collapse is impossible to fully evaluate, due to difficulty of access, but some of the materials appear to be in sound enough condition for reuse in reconstructing the now missing framing bay.

Plaster Walls and Ceilings

Only portions of the plaster ceiling above the main space at the second floor level remain intact. In addition, some areas of plaster wall surfaces exist on both levels of the building. Most of the remaining plaster is in poor condition, and several areas of cracked, missing plaster, or badly displaced plaster exist across both the walls and ceilings.

Floors

No flooring or floor framing exists at the first floor level of the building. This is because those materials were relocated to the second floor level when the building was converted to a barn. The framing and some of the flooring can be seen from the first floor level where it serves as the existing ceiling. The framing is in good condition with the exception of a small number of locations. In one such location, near the southwest corner of the building, one of the sleepers has split and the original flooring above is largely missing. The void where the flooring is gone is covered with particle board as a temporary safety measure (Figure 83).

Other than the conditions that can be seen from below it is difficult to analyze the condition of the flooring, because a large amount of salvaged building material has been stored on the second floor of the building. In addition to that most of the flooring was covered by particle board for safety during the stabilization phase of the project.

Stairs

Portions of the staircase at the northeast corner of the building survive in place, but are badly eroded as a result of long-term weather exposure caused by roof and wall failures at that corner of the building. Other components of the staircase remain in the building but are no longer in their original locations.

Permanent Furnishings and Other Interior Components

The movable partition that divided the two halves of the interior was fully disassembled during the conversion of the building, but survive in largely sound condition within the building. Several of the original pews also exist. These surviving elements should be kept in their original unrestored condition for use in the building.

RECOMMENDATIONS

During its conversion to use as a barn, the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse was altered considerably, but a substantial amount of historic material survived the conversion and remained in place during the building's new use. In more recent years, advanced deterioration caused by long term neglect further compromised the remaining original fabric of the building. In spite of these two adverse situations, the Quaker Meetinghouse at Farmington retained substantial evidence of its original appearance and a surprising amount of its original material remains in place and in fair condition.

Following a substantial collapse of one of the building's end structural bays, an extensive stabilization and salvage project was undertaken. As a result of this work, the building is fully weatherproof and is no longer deteriorating. Although this emergency work required a level of encapsulation that has obscured virtually all of the existing historic materials on the exterior of the building, these modern coverings are serving to protect the remaining elements from further deterioration, and allow for a more methodical sequencing of repairs than would otherwise be possible.

The symmetrical interior layout of the building and the amount of significant original materials which survive, make it feasible to conserve one side of the interior (the east) to display as much original stabilized and reinstated materials as possible without fully restoring the existing fabric.

This approach would allow for the original but deteriorated elements, such as the east stair, to be reinstated and displayed in existing condition, and for visitors to be able to appreciate the condition in which the building was found, and to see firsthand the evidence that allowed for the accurate restoration of the western half of the structure.

The following recommendations are divided into five phases, or priorities, of work. They have been organized in order of necessity, but also reflect groupings of work that should logically be performed at the same time, and which will be more efficiently completed if

undertaken together. This should not be taken to mean that work cannot be performed in any other order, or even in fewer or a greater number of phases.

The final phasing will be determined, in part, based on the above factors, but these will need to be coupled with the requirements of the owner and available funding. These determinations should be done in consultation with an architect who is experienced in this type of historic preservation project. Construction work should only be carried out after full contract documents and specifications have been prepared by the architect. The selected contractor should have experience in the restoration of historic structures.

PHASE/PRIORITY ONE

- All of the existing materials on the second floor level of the building should be removed and carefully examined by knowledgeable professionals. Non-historic materials, and those that are too deteriorated to reuse and contain no new information should be culled.
- The existing second floor framing should be salvaged and relocated to its original location at the first floor level. As much of the original flooring as possible should be retained and reinstalled on the east side of the building. New flooring should be installed throughout the remainder of the building to allow for full visitor access to the first floor of the building.
- Temporary doors and exterior stoops should be installed to provide safe access to the building for visitors.
- Areas of intact original plaster should be stabilized in place. On the east side of the building, this should be done in order to display the existing plaster, as much as possible, in its current condition. On the western side of the interior, plaster should be stabilized to ready it for future full restoration.
- Existing windows and their frames should be removed for restoration and used as templates for production of additional matching units. These restored and recreated window assemblies could be temporarily installed in order to allow daylight light into the building and help facilitate its interpretation. In addition, funding a single window could serve as a fundraising tool while promoting advancement of the project.

PHASE/PRIORITY TWO

- The frame of the missing westernmost bay of the building should be fully re-created and temporarily clad in roofing and siding similar to that used to temporarily protect the remainder of the building.
- The framing, flooring, and risers of the U-shaped galley should be installed.

- The exterior wall framing (posts and studs) should be fully restored to form appropriate door and window openings. During this work as much of the original framing and plaster as possible should be preserved.
- The temporary exterior cladding should be removed one façade at a time to allow for the evaluation and removal of historic clapboards, casings, cornices, and corner boards. As much of this original material as possible should be retained for possible reuse along with new siding to match the existing.
- Replicated and restored windows and doors and casing should be installed (or reinstalled) in conjunction with the siding.

PHASE/PRIORITY THREE

- The existing temporary roof should be removed and the underlying conditions carefully evaluated. As much of the original roof sheathing as possible should be retained.
- Repairs should be made to any deteriorated roof rafters and purlins.
- The cornice and eave extensions should be recreated based on the existing historic fabric on and within the building.
- The two stove chimneys should be reconstructed and supported either by original or restored support framing within the attic.
- A new wood shingle roof should be installed over the new and preserved roof sheathing.

PHASE/PRIORITY FOUR:

- As much salvaged but unrestored original interior trim as possible should be preserved and reinstalled on the east side of the building. Carefully reproduced or fully restored elements of interior trim should be installed on the west side of the interior, and to finish out areas of the east half of the interior.
- The east stair should be reconstructed to display all of the unrestored original components. The west stair should be carefully recreated to match the detailing of the east feature. The west stair will become the functioning access to the balcony.
- Interior plaster and trim should be fully restored on the west side of the building and further repaired and partially replaced on the east side. The interior dados and window and door casing should be treated in the same manner, with the east and west sides of the building's interior being treated differently.

- The operable panel wall system that separated the two halves of the building's interior should be fully reconstructed, utilizing all of the existing original materials, and restored to operational condition.
- Pews, stoves and other fittings can be replicated and installed as funding becomes available. Again, original unrestored materials should be installed on the east side of the interior.

PHASE/PRIORITY FIVE

- A re-creation of the Elders wing should be constructed to serve as a heated facility containing restrooms and other visitor facilities. This new wing should carefully replicate the exterior appearance of the wing based on photographic and documentary evidence, but the interior should be treated as a new space designed to augment the needs of the meetinghouse as a museum.
- The stone foundation veneer should be installed around the base of both the original and recreated elder's wing.
- Permanent stoops should be installed in place of temporary stoops that were installed to provide safe access to the building's interior.
- Final grading, planting, and seeding should be undertaken once the foundation veneer is completed. The site plan should include elements of lawn and meadow as shown in the site plans filed with the town of Farmington.

STATEMENT OF PROBABLE COSTS

The work included in this cost estimate is grouped together by type and area of work; these groupings do not always reflect the proposed phasing shown in the previous section. Cost will change somewhat if similar work is not grouped together. Therefore, it will be advantageous if like work can be conducted at the same time. The work may be undertaken in a different order, and may be adjusted based on both the interests of the owner and on the availability of funds.

One example of a way to advance work slowly while providing a potential fundraising strategy would be to restore or recreate windows sash, frames, and casings individually or in groups as a way of showing progress while providing a specific funding opportunity for donors.

These costs are estimated based on prior experience and on similar types of work. Cost are based on 2016 construction costs and will likely fluctuate over time.

The following work should only be undertaken once contract documents (plans and specifications) have been produced by an architect or engineer familiar with restoration standards who has worked on buildings of this type in the past. The following cost do not include any soft costs such as architectural, administrative or permitting fees.

INSPECTIONS AND TEMPORARY WORK

Note: The pricing shown for this work does not include Architectural Services.

- Relocation, evaluation, and disposal of unnecessary materials currently stored in the second floor level of the meetinghouse. \$12,000
- Temporary doors and stoops on the north side of the building. \$3,000
- Permanent restoration or reconstruction, and temporary installation of, single windows. (Windows to be permanently installed at a later date) \$4,500
- Removal of existing wall claddings for conditions evaluation and replacement of the exposed siding prior to restoration. \$9,000

Total for Inspections and Temporary Work = \$24,000 (plus cost of individual windows)

FRAME RESTORATION

- The northernmost bay of the meetinghouse, including the wall posts, studs, beams, plates, rafters, and purlins will need to be reassembled using as much of the original material as possible. Missing, or severely deteriorated, materials will need to be replaced to match adjacent original framing. \$58,000
- All of the first floor, and some second floor, wall studs and wall openings at the east wall of the building will need to be reconstructed to match their original configuration reusing original material where possible. New material will need to be added where material is missing or beyond repair. \$23,000
- The beam between the first and second floor level, on both the east and west walls, will need to be extended to match the original material where it is missing. \$18,000
- Both ends of the rafter plates on the east and west walls of the meetinghouse will need repair and/or replacement. \$16,000
- Elements of the current second floor framing and flooring should be relocated to their original location at the first floor level of the building, and the original transverse beams and sleepers installed into the new sill. New material should be fabricated to match the existing where missing. \$38,000
- The original framing that supported the angled gallery floors at the second floor level should remain in place and new framing added to match the existing. The complete stepped floors levels should be reconstructed, based on primary evidence that remains in the building. \$39,000

Total for Framing Restoration = \$192,000

EXTERIOR RESTORATION

- Remove all existing roofing and restore the roof deck, saving as much original sheathing as possible, and matching the original material where the sheathing is missing or badly deteriorated. Provide new wood shingle roofing. \$64,000
- Construct two brick chimneys in the location of the original stove chimneys. These should be supported on the wood frame cradles in the attic. The brick should match bricks of the initial construction period in size, color and type. \$22,000
- Install a veneer of field stone to clad the new concrete base of the building. If possible, use stones salvaged from the foundation of the building when it was used as a barn, as these may have been relocated from the original meetinghouse site. Install stone steps at each of the doors to the building and provide required handrails at each usable door. \$32,000

- Restore as many of the original window sashes and frames as possible and replicate those that are missing based on those that exist. Provide new and/or salvaged doors and door casings for the original four door openings on the exterior of the building. \$155,000
- Restore and reinstall historic clapboards. Group these materials on the east and south sides of the building where they currently exist. \$35,000
- Install new quarter sawn clapboards, corner boards, sill board and cornices to match found or existing original materials to replace missing originals. \$80,000
- Paint all non-masonry elements of the restored exterior. \$8,000

Total for Exterior Restoration = \$396,000

SITE WORK

- The site immediately around the building should be graded with new topsoil and planted with grass. \$10,000
- A treated gravel parking lot should be provided on the extreme east side of the site, with an access road across from the existing meetinghouse parking lot across the street. \$32,000
- Trees should be planted around the parking area, and to create a grove near the seating area to the east of the building. \$16,000
- A seating area with benches and informational signs and an ADA compliant treated gravel access path should be provided near the center of the building site. \$22,000

Total for Site Work = \$80,000

INTERIOR RESTORATION

This work should be done so as to preserve the materials on the east side of the building in an “as found” condition, but returned to their original location wherever possible.

- The staircase in the northeast corner should be rebuilt using as much of the existing stair treads, risers and railing as possible. A reconstruction of the original stair should be built in the northwest corner. \$41,000
- Only the remaining unrestored original pews should be positioned on the east side of the building, and a full contingent of recreated benches installed on the west end of the building. \$37,000

- Plaster restoration on the east side of the building should focus on stabilization of the existing materials. On the west side, original materials should be stabilized and repaired with new lath and plaster and all surfaces whitewashed. \$85,000
 - New dados, window and door casings, and framing enclosures should be created and installed to match original existing materials. Remaining *in situ* and salvaged materials should be concentrated on the east side of the building, with new materials used on the west side. \$62,000
 - The movable partition should be reconstructed using as much of the existing materials as possible. The partition should be made to function fully as it did originally. \$50,000
 - Two stoves and stove pipes should be installed in the west half of the building. \$15,000
- Total for Interior Restoration = \$290,000**

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE 1841 ADDITION

- The exterior of the 1841 addition should be reconstructed using historic documentation and photographs. This work should be done with the same level of attention to detail and longevity of materials as the meetinghouse itself. \$225,000
 - The interior of the new wing should not attempt to recreate an historic appearance since no evidence exists, but should be used for modern facilities such as public restrooms, a shop, and office. \$50,000
- Total for 1841 Addition = \$275,000**

APPENDIX A
CHAIN OF TITLE

1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum – Chain of title – Ontario County Clerk’s office

Date of Deed	Grantor	To Grantee	Liber-page; recorded	Description
1/16/1789	Nathaniel Gorham & Oliver Phelps	Nathan Comstock & Benjamin Russell	2-136; 11/6/1793	Township 11, 3d Range of land granted to them by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts being 36 sq. mi (Farmington)
2/6/1789	Benjamin Russell	Nathan Comstock	2-306; 7/14/1794	½ interest in the above
8/3/1796	Nathan Comstock	Society of the Religious People Called Friends	28-216; 6/5/1817	T 11/3d R Pt of Lot 137 15 A east side of hwy
2/15/1804	Nathan & Otis Comstock	Jared Comstock	13-50; 6/15/1808	north half of Lot 137, Tp 11, 3d range; excpt 15 A conveyed above
1/15/1816	Jared Comstock	Joseph Comstock	41-402; 7/30/1823	part Lot 137, 115 A off North part of said lot
6/16/1817	Joseph Comstock	Sunderland Pattison Jr. & Isaac Smith, T/ees of Monthly Meeting of Society of Friends of Farmington	28-268; 6/16/1817	part of Lot 137; perimeter 152 rods; nw cor. of intersection of hwys
4/22/1837	Sally Comstock Right of Dower by POA	Zephar Smith	62-248; 7/7/1837	part Lot 137, 115 A exc. 152 rods deeded to Society of Friends being same where meetghs is
4/20/1837	Ira Lapham & Gideon Ramsdell as T/ees of Farmington Preparative Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends	Zephar Smith	62/250; 7/7/1837	115 A; exc. 152 rods deeded to T/ees for Farmington monthly meeting
10/12/1847	Zephar and Phidelia Smith	Isaac Lapham	84-90; 10/15/1847	same as above; exc. lands occupied by the Society of Friends Called Hixites; being 100 acres more or less
11/1/1850	Isaac & Hannah Lapham	Mary Ette Lapham	93-262; 11/13/1850	same as above (Hickites)

5/23/1853	Mary E. Tay f/ Mary E Lapham	Sunderland Gardner, Daniel Guel, Joseph Sheldon, Walter Lawrence & Andre Tennis, as T/ees of the Farmington Preparative Meeting of Friends of Farmington	128-363; 2/23/1864	5 A. on NW cor of intersection of hwys
9/20/1890	Sunderland Gardner	Henry Green, Joseph Fritts & William Green As T/ees of Farmington Executive Meeting of Friends	195-148; 12/29/1890	5A; same as above
3/22/1927	Henry Green, Oscar Gardner, & Anson Gardner As T/ees of Farmington Executive Meeting of Friends	John and Kate VanLare	345-216; 3/23/1927	same as above use restrictions
[Meetinghouse moved 325 feet north]				
3/21/1968	LW/T Catherine (Kate) VanLare	Gertrude Van Lare (2/3) & Raymond Van Lare (1/3)	718-952; 4/11/1972	all real property
4/10/1972	Raymond & Gertrude VanLare	Raymond, Aurelia & Phyllis VanLare	718-957; 4/11/1972	Parcel 3; same as 345- 216; w/ other lands
10/21/1987	Farmington Friends and Van Lare Agreement		867-783; 10/21/1987	removing use restrictions
1987	Aurelia Van Lare & Phyllis Husner (f/Van Lare)	Lennie ME Rugg	869-388	Lot 3 of subdiv Map No. 14845 shows existing frame barn
2/27/97	Rugg	Phyllis Husner	977-314	Lot 3 exc Lot 3B conveyed to Valentown, Inc. Map 17085
8/18/1997	Phyllis Husner	Martha Powers	983-629	Lot 3 exc. 3B
5/4/2004	Martha Powers	Lyjha & Wilton Gillian	1118-33	Lot 3A; Map no. 17085

APPENDIX B
CHRONOLOGY

*Compiled by Judith Wellman
and researchers Helen Burgio, Christopher Densmore,
Margaret Hartsough, Donna Hill-Herendeen,
Charles Lenhart, Reginald Neale, Diane Robinson, and others*

1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse

Historic Structure Report

Chronology

1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse

Compiled by Judith Wellman
and researchers Helen Burgio, Christopher Densmore,
Margaret Hartsough, Donna Hill-Herenden, Charles Lenhart,
Reginald Neale, Diane Robinson, and others

Summary

The 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse changed very little over time. From its original construction in 1816-17 until it was converted to a barn in 1927, only a few changes were made:

1. a committee building was added to the left rear of the Meetinghouse in 1841-42;
2. two exterior doors were replaced in 1851;
3. the Meetinghouse was painted, some repairs were made (on interior shutters), and new window shades were added in the mid-1850s; and
4. a porch was added to the south and east sides in 1863.

One Quaker remembered that windows were replaced at least twice. When the Meetinghouse became a barn in 1927, John Van Lare, the new owner, made extensive changes, but these are best documented in a 1927 photo from Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore. We found no detailed written or oral accounts of these 1927 changes.

Introduction

The 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse was built according to traditional Quaker meetinghouse plans and traditional building techniques, common throughout the country from the 1760s to the 1840s. Some of the most valuable information about this Meetinghouse comes from archival photographs and contemporary measured drawings of this building (prepared by John G. Waite Associates), compared both to similar Meetinghouses elsewhere and to traditional construction.

This chronology is designed to complement that physical and visual evidence. It includes every available written reference so far discovered about the physical development of the 1816 Meetinghouse. It also includes contextual information about surrounding land, the meetinghouses across the road, and events that took place in this Meetinghouse, as well as references to events that Farmington people were involved in elsewhere, enough to give context for the uses over time of the Meetinghouse. It leaves out a large amount of historical material relating to reform work by Farmington people that did not take place in Farmington itself. Nor does it generally include details about artifacts from the Meetinghouse.

This work is based in information from books, articles, deeds, manuscripts, oral recollections, and a partial perusal of Minutes from Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends and Farmington Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends. Some of this material was originally collected for a 2008 chronology. Some of the text comes from the 2007 National Register nomination for the Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District or the National Park Service's Network to Freedom nomination, both prepared by Judith Wellman.

This project relied on the work of many extremely knowledgeable and skilled researchers. Charles Lenhart found most of the newspaper articles online through fultonhistory.com, Accessible Archives African American newspapers, and other sources, with further research by Christopher Densmore (who shared information from his research in Farmington records in Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore), Alaine Espenscheid (Geneva lawyer who did the entire deed search), Peter Evans (Wayne County Historian), Sue-Jane Evans (Pultneyville Historical Society), Douglas Fisher (Volunteer, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum), Donna Hill-Herenden (Town of Farmington Historian), Kathleen Hendrix (Secretary, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum), Margaret Hartsough (former Farmington Town Historian), Helen Kirker (President, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum), Reginald Neale (Board member, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum, who shared information he had collected for his book on Farmington), Marjory Allen Perez (former Wayne County Historian), Preston Pierce (Ontario County Historian), Diane Robinson (former Farmington Town Historian and Board member, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum, who shared material from her work on the 1976 history of Farmington), Robert Skellan (who shared photographs and work on Quakers in central New York), Judith Wellman (Coordinator, 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum), and Jane Zavitz-Bond (Curator of Canadian Friends Archives). Brooke Morse of the Ontario County Archives and Records Department supplied electronic copies of deeds. Charles Lenhart and Diane Robinson provided careful proofreading. Judith Wellman compiled this material.

**Information that relates directly to the physical structure of the 1816 Meetinghouse.

Chronology

1789 January 16. Deed from Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps to Nathan Comstock and Benjamin Russell, to Township 11, third range (36 square miles, Town of Farmington and what became the Town of Manchester):

“To all people to whom those presents shall come, Greeting Know ye that We, Nathaniel Gorham of Charlestown in the County of Middlesex and Oliver Phelps of Granvill in the County of Hampshire Esquires for an in consideration of the sum of eleven hundred and fifty-two pounds current money of the Commonwealth aforesaid, to us in hand paid. . . .do freely clearly and absolutely give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, release, convey and confirm unto them the said Nathan and Benjamin and assigns forever one certain tract or parcel of land lying in the State of New York being part of that tract or country of land ceded by the State of New York to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and granted and confirmed to us by th said Commonwealth being Township Number Eleven in the third Range of Townships

(so called) beginning at a point distant sixty miles due North from the line dividing the States of Pennsylvania [sic] and New York and twelve miles due West from the Preemption line so called dividing the said Cession [?] and grant from lands belong to the State of New York, the first bounds being an iron wood post marked with the numbers ten and eleven thence running due West six miles to a black ash tree marked with the numbers last mentioned, thence running due South to a small basswood tree marked with the numbers Ten and Eleven containing thirty-six square miles of land.”¹

Nathan Comstock drew Lot 137, bounded on the east by what is now the east boundary of North Farmington Friends Cemetery extended northward and on the south by what is now Sheldon Road-Allen-Padgham Road. This lot was the first settled area of Farmington and on the eastern edge of the village of New Salem. This deed established the Town of Farmington and included land which Comstock sold in 1796 to Farmington Friends on which to build their 1796 and 1804 Meetinghouses, as well as land that Joseph Comstock sold in 1817 to Farmington Friends on which to build the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse.

- 1789 February 6. Benjamin Russell sold his half of the township to Nathan Comstock for 575 pounds.²
- 1789 Spring. Nathan Comstock and sons Otis and Darius arrived with Robert Hathaway, horse, and cattle. Built a cabin and sowed four acres of wheat. All except Otis Comstock returned to Massachusetts in fall.
- 1790 February. Nathan Comstock (with son Darius), Nathan Herendeen (with son William and sons-in-law Joshua Herrington and John M’Cumber), Nathan Aldrich, Isaac Hathaway, and their families traveled to Farmington from North Adams, Massachusetts. Arrived March 15, 1790.³
1791. Abraham Lapham and Esther Aldrich Lapham, sister of Nathan Aldrich, migrated to Farmington.
- 1791-93 Friends who migrated to Farmington in this initial group came from East Hoosic Monthly Meeting in Adams, Massachusetts. East Hoosic Friends opposed this migration, since it would put these families outside the bounds of a Quaker meeting. From January 13, 1791 to April 11, 1793, minutes of East Hoosic Friends detail their discussions. Christopher Densmore, Curator, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, researched references in East Hoosic Meeting to this issue: ⁴

¹ Ontario County Records, Liber 2, page 136, recorded November 6, 1793.

² Liber 2, page 306, recorded July 14, 1794.

³ Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham’s Purchase and Morris’ Reserve* (Rochester: William Alling, 1852), 219.

⁴ Minutes, East Hoosic Monthly Meeting, 12th of 6th Month 1783 to 10th of 8th Month, 1793, courtesy Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Note: This transcription of selected minutes concerning Friends from East Hoosac [also spelled Hoosuck and Hoosic] Meeting moving to the Farmington area contains errors and

- 1791 January 13. "Received a minute from the preparative meeting informing this that it appears that there are some families and parts of families of friends preparing to remove a great distance from this meeting and also from any other meeting of friends and as it appears to be a weighty matter and it was thought best to repair [?] to this meeting which this meeting taking under solid consideration and appoints [names] to make inspection into the circumstance of the matter and make report of their services at the next meeting. (p. 171)
- 1791 March 10. "The committee who were appointed to make inspection into the matter respecting those friends preparing to remove report that they have found several friends deeply engaged in this mater and although friends have bestowed much labor on them it appears to us that there are several who determined to remove and rather decline to say anything of their motives or make friends satisfaction that there is a real necessity for so doing.
- "And this meeting after a free opportunity of prospect upon [?] the subject think best to appoint some friends to assist the Overseers in laboring with such as may stand in [way/] of advice and counsel in that respect and report of their sense to the next meeting [names]
- "The preparative meeting recommended to this a paper of **acknowledgment from Abraham Lapham which is as followeth:**
- Dear Friends, I have a more full consideration of my conduct in making sale of my outward interest and laying of it out to the Genesee before I had laid the same before the monthly meeting in order for their advice and counsel in that respect which conduct I look upon entirely out of the way hoping that I may be more careful for the future desiring that friends would pass by my offense and continue me under your care, these from your friend, Abraham**
- 1791 April 14. "The committee who were appointed to assist the Overseers in laboring with those friends who propose to remove report they have attended to the appointment and have had opportunities with some to a good degree of satisfaction and this meeting after a deliberated consideration thereon and more care appearing [?] this meeting continues the same committee and report at next meeting.
- 1791 May 12. "The committee who were appointed to assist the overseers in laboring with those friends who propose to remove report they have attended to their appointment and signified that they did not discover anything different ub tge state of the matter from what they reported at the last meeting.
- "And this meeting after a deliberated consideration thereon continues the same committee for further labor if way should open and report to next meeting.

“The committee who were appointed to assist the overseers in laboring with those friends who propose to remove report that way has not opened for any further labor since last meeting.”

- 1792 April 12. 04 12. “The preparative meeting informs this that Abraham Lapham has removed with his family to the Genesee after much labor being bestowed on him to the contrary which being taken under weighty consideration in this meeting and it is thought best that the matter be referred to consideration of the next meeting.
- 1792 May 10. “The case of Abraham Lapham was again [?] and this meeting after a deliberate consideration therein thinks best that some friends being appointed to write to him and inform how far the meeting had proceeded [names] and that they report to this meeting in Eight Month next what satisfaction they have received.
- 1792 October 11. Lapham discussion continued]
- 1792 November 8. [Lapham continued]
- 1793 January 10. “Whereas Abraham Lapham having been a member of our society and in religious fellowship with us but though unwatchfullness and inattention to the leadings of Truth his mind became ensnared and beclouded these [?] concerns of this life which opened the way for him to disregard the affectionate and tender advices and labor of friends who were earnestly engaged for his present and future welfare and to lay before him the dangers that way laid him which nevertheless proved ineffectual to prevent him from violating our Christian discipline in removing with his family of out of the compass of our society and **consequently in a manner disowning** himself from the privileges of membership with us and his case being weightedly considered and it appearing that much labor has been extended to him since his removal from friends with desires that he might be bought to a right sense of his misconduct and also be enabled [~~“honestly”~~ crossed out] to make satisfaction therefor but without the desired effect. **This therefore finds itself under a necessity to testify against his said misconduct and disowns him from being any longer a member until he is favored to see his mistake and honestly to condemn the same which that he may be favored to do is our sincere desire. Signed on behalf and by direction of our monthly meeting of friends held at Easthoosuck this 10th of 1st month 1793 by John Upton, Clk**
- “Isaac Riley and John Upton are appointed to acquaint him of his privilege of an appeal send him a copy of his denial and read the same at the close of a first day meeting and report next meeting.”
- 1793 March 14. “The preparative meeting directed a minute to this signifying that **Jeremiah Smith has removed himself and family out of the compass of our Society although much labor has seasonably been bestowed,** This meeting after deliberate consideration appoints Daniel Allen and Elihu Anthony to prepare a testification and produce it at our next meeting.”
- 1793 April 11. “**Nathaniel Smith disowned “in regard to his removing to a great**

distance and from under the care of friends.”

- 1794 Canandaigua Treaty. Friends from Philadelphia met with Farmington Friends and agreed that they were in good order.

Canandaigua Treaty signed between leaders of the Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) and Timothy Pickering, representation of George Washington and the federal government. Sixteen hundred Indian people attended, including eight hundred Senecas, as well as Cayugas, Oneidas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, and Mohawks. The treaty confirmed peace and friendship and affirmed Haudenosaunee land rights in New York State, guaranteeing the right to remain sovereign in their lands forever. Quakers from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, headed by William Savery, also attended the meeting. Savery noted in his journal that “seeing some persons in the garb of Friends, they informed us they lived about five miles beyond this, and, being glad to see us, invited us to their homes.” Philadelphia Friends held two meetings on First Day, attended by both whites and Indians from throughout the neighborhood. These Quakers affirmed the good order of Quakers in the Farmington area, and recommended that they be put under the care of Easton Meeting, in Saratoga County.⁵

- 1795 Farmington Friends organized under the care of Easton Monthly Meeting in Saratoga County.⁶

before 1796 “Abraham Lapham, who settled in Farmington in 1790 with the Comstocks and the Aldriches, erected the first log cabin in which Quaker religious services were held in this ten wilderness.” “That same pioneer felled the trees of the forest and, in the clearings between the stumps planted the first apple orchards in Wayne county, remnants which, knotted, knarled and hoary with years, still stand on the premises now owned by Fred Martz, and known to many of you as the Zack Van Duzer farm.”⁷

Before 1796 “Previous to the building of this log house, meetings were held at the home of Abraham Lapham. His home was a hospitable home, and Abraham was ever ready to share with those who came beneath his roof. It is said that one time a neighbor called, when the family were about to partake of mush and milk. He asked the caller to eat with them [and then called out?] to his wife Esther, “Esther, put more water in the milk. Let there be plenty for all.”⁸

- 1796 August 3. Deed for 15 acres of land on east side of highway given by Nathan Comstock to the “Society of the Religious people called Friends or Quakers.”

⁵ William Savery, ?; Orsamus Turner; James Padgham, “Farmington Friends Meeting, 1796-1846,” typescript.

⁶ Padgham, James. “Farmington Friends Meeting, 1796-1846.”

⁷ Supreme Court Judge Nathan D. Lapham of Geneva, Speech at Lapham family reunion, 1939, quoted in Floris Lent, “Luster of Lapham Family Equally Brilliant in Times of War or Peace, Annual Reunion, Saturday the 15th,” *Fairport Monroe County Mail*, July 20, 1939.

⁸ *Palmyra-Wayne County Sentinel*, July 18, 1957.

Township 11, range 3, part of Lot 137. Recorded June 5, 1817. This deed gave a roughly triangular piece of land, about 15 acres, bounded on the west by what is now County Route 8 and on the south by what is now Sheldon Road. This is the same land on which Farmington Friends Church now stands, surrounded by the North Farmington Cemetery.

“Know all men by these presence that I Nathan Comstock of Canandaigua district in the County of Ontario and State of New York &c yeoman in consideration of the Love and good will which I have and do bare [sic] unto the society of the Religious people called Friends, or Quakers inhabiting the eleventh and twelfth Townships of the third range in the County of Ontario aforesaid one [of] the Townships adjacent and also for other good causes and considerations me hereunto moveing [sic] have given, granted, and confirmed and by these presents do give, grant, and confirm unto the said religious society of the people aforesaid, all certain piece or parcel [sic] of land lying and being in the eleventh township aforesaid and lies upon the east side of the grantor’s home farm, Bounded as follows (viz), Beginning at the northeast corner upon the east line of lot one hundred and thirty seven where the Brook crosses the line thence westerly up along the middle of said Brook about twenty rods to the highway that leads from said Comstocks to Mud Creek thence south westerly by said highway about forty five rods to another highway that communicates with the aforesaid highway thence south easterly upon the north easterly side of the last mentioned highway about sixty rods thence northerly principally upon the east line of said lot one hundred and thirty seven about sixty rods to the first mentioned corner at the brook containing by estimation fifteen acres of Land. To be appropriated for the use of building a meeting house or School house thereon and burying ground for Friends and Friendly people, and to be put to such further use as the aforesaid society shall think proper but forever to remain without any division or partition.”⁹

- 1796 First Quaker Meetinghouse built on east side of road, near where granite marker now stands on County Road 8, in front of 1876 Meetinghouse.

Friends constructed a double log house (half used as a meetinghouse and half used as a school) on about 15 acres of land, deeded by Nathan Comstock to “The Society of Religious People called Friends or Quakers,” with the provision that a burying ground also be created “for Friends and friendly people.” This land was approximately triangular in shape, bounded on the east by the east line of Lot 137, on the south by the south boundary of Lot 137 (now Sheldon Road) and on the northwest by the road (now County Road 8). This lot was the first settled area of Farmington and also became the site on its western edge of the village of New Salem. The 1796 meetinghouse was popularly considered the first house of worship west of Clinton, Oneida County.¹⁰

⁹ Ontario County Records and Archives, Nathan Comstock to Society of the Religious people called Friends or Quakers, August 3, 1796, Liber 28, page 216.

¹⁰ Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, (Palmyra, New York: Palmyra *Courier-Journal*, c. 1930). 256-57.

- 1799 Farmington Preparative Meeting organized under care of Saratoga Monthly Meeting.
- 1803 Farmington organized as a Monthly Meeting, under the care of Easton Quarterly Meeting. Shortly thereafter, six preparative meetings (Farmington, South Farmington, Macedon, Palmyra, and Williamson) comprised Farmington Monthly Meeting. Preparative meetings in Macedon and Palmyra rivaled Farmington Preparative Meeting in size. In 1804, more than half the members of Farmington Meeting lived in Macedon, and even more lived in Palmyra. Farmington Preparative Meeting included thirty families, but forty-five Quaker families lived in Palmyra.¹¹
- 1803 December. Original meetinghouse burned.¹²
- 1804 January. First meeting after fire held at Palmyra.¹³

January 26-7. "Thence we travelled near sixty miles to the house of our friend, Abraham Lapham, at Palmyra, in the Genesee country; where, on the 26th, we attended the monthly meeting for Farmington (the meeting house having been lately consumed by fire.) Next day, we sat with a committee on the subject of building a new meeting house; and though there were different opinions as to the spot where to set the house, yet a good degree of condescension prevailed, so that they entered into a subscription for the purpose, and were so spirited that six hundred dollars were subscribed on the spot. As this meeting is situated in an inland country, being near two hundred miles from Albany, their market place, and many of the members new settlers, under disadvantages, it seemed right to preserve this account of their generosity, in hopes it may be a means of encouragement to others in similar cases."¹⁴

- 1804 February 15. Nathan and Otis Comstock sold to Jared Comstock the north half of Lot 1837, township 11, third range, "except the friends' Meeting House lot, which is not ment [sic] hereby to be conveyed." Recorded June 15, 1808.¹⁵
- 1804 Friends constructed a new frame building at approximately the same location as the 1796 meeting house, east side of road. "The new meeting-house was covered with clapboards made from split cedar, cut in four foot lengths, shaved to a proper

¹¹ Padgham, James. "Farmington Friends Meeting, 1796-1846"; Lewis Aldrich and George Conover, *History of Ontario County* (Syracuse: D. Mason, 1893).

¹² "Inspiring Religious Service Held in Old Hicksite Meeting House in Farmington Probably Is the Last," *Fairport Mail*, October 7, 1926.

¹³ James Padgham, "Farmington Friends Meeting, 1796-1846."

¹⁴ Rufus Hall, *A journal of the life, religious exercises, and travels in the work of the Ministry of Rufus Hall* (Philadelphia: John and Isaac Comly, 1840), 130-31. Found by Christopher Densmore.
<http://books.google.com/books?pg=PA130&lpg=PA131&dq=%22Caleb+Macomber%22+Farmington&sig=k4VULxIJXV5P9oaQJ6z56kwBoeo&ei=XBMTTZekBIK0lQfGjIWrcw&ct=result&sqi=2&id=fig3AAAAMAAJ&ots=kzRIVsK5jq#v=onepage&q=%22Caleb%20Macomber%22%20Farmington&f=false>

¹⁵ Ontario County Records and Archives, Nathan and Otis Comstock to Jared Comstock, February 15, 1804, Liber 13, page 50.

thickness and fastened with wrought nails. No attempt at ornament was made in the interior, and boards took the place of seats. The dimensions of the new church were 44 ft. by 32 ft. with 20-foot posts. The cost was estimated at \$1300. The nearest saw mill was what was known as “smith’s saw mill,” located at what is now Mertensia. One of the pioneers (Nathan Comstock) drew the timbers over there for sawed lumber for the new building.”¹⁶

Smith’s saw mill was the mill that Jacob Smith built in 1795 near Mertensia. Smith also had a blacksmith shop, and he may have made the wrought iron nails for the 1804 meetinghouse. This 1804 Meetinghouse was located in front of the current 1876 Quaker meetinghouse.¹⁷

- 1810 Farmington Quarterly Meeting included all Quaker meetings in central and western New York. By 1821, there were eight monthly meetings in Farmington Quarterly Meeting (Scipio, Junius, Farmington, Hartland, Eden and Concord) with fifteen preparative meetings attached to them. In 1825, Scipio Quarter was set of from Farmington.¹⁸
- 1812 Ontario Manumission Society chartered by the State of New York to help "those who are illegally held in slavery to the attainment of their personal liberty, and to assist in the education of people of color, whether free or enslaved." Many Quakers associated with Farmington Monthly Meeting served as officers (along with a few non-Quakers), including Darius Comstock, President; Otis Comstock, Treasurer; and Welcome Herendeen and John Pound, Directors. This was probably a branch of the New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, founded in 1785 by twelve Friends and six others.¹⁹

¹⁶ James Padgham, “Farmington Friends Meeting, 1796-1846,” typescript read by James Padgham at sesquicentennial, August 4, 1946. Originally published in *The Farmington Friend* on September 7, 1946. Republished in *The Farmington Friend*, March 3, 1975. Padgham may have relied on A.B. Katkamier, comp., *The History of the Township of Farmington, New York, With Biographies of Prominent Citizens, Compiled from Various Authentic Sources* (Farmington, A.B. Katkamier, December 1897), 40, who noted that “Nathan Comstock drew the timber to Smith’s mill at what is now Mertensia, for the construction of the Friends’ meeting house which burned in 1875.” Katkamier relied for some of his information on Edward Herendeen, born in 1795, who recorded his reminiscences in 1867 in a manuscript not yet located. “Services Are Held Once a Year in Old Meetinghouse,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 13, 1916.

¹⁷ Everts, Ensign, and Everts, *History of Ontario County* (Syracuse: D. Mason, 1878) noted that Ananias McMillan built the first mill in town in 1793. It was a small frame grist mill, constructed for Jacob Smith on Mud Creek in District No. 4, bordering the town of Victor. In 1795, Smith put up a saw mill on the opposite bank of the creek, which operated until 1841. This was undoubtedly where boards were milled for the 1804 meetinghouse. Jacob Smith and his brother and partner Joseph Smith also built a blacksmith shop at this site. Jared Smith, son of Jacob, inherited the 1799 house that his father built just west of the grist mill. In 1878, he noted that boards used in the house were “were nailed on with wrought nails of his father’s manufacture.”

¹⁸ Ricketson’s map of Quakers in New York Yearly Meeting in 1821 shows eight monthly meetings in the quarter (Scipio, Junius, Farmington, Hartland, Eden and Concord) with fifteen preparative meetings attached to them. In 1825, Scipio Quarter was set o from Farmington.” *History of Farmington-Scipio Quakers*, <http://www.quakerwny.com/?q=node/9>.

¹⁹“Ontario Manumission Society,” *Laws of New York*, 1812, Chap 229, noted on website, Preston Pierce. Otis Comstock and his brother Darius Comstock were born in Providence County, Rhode Island, in 1770 and 1768.

1815 Austin Steward escaped from slavery under William Helms to stay with Otis Comstock, born in Providence, Rhode Island, who came with one of the first families to settle in Farmington, and his wife Amy Smith Comstock. Steward found help from the Darius Comstock, President of the Ontario Manumission Society and Otis's brother. Steward lived in Farmington for almost four years and most likely helped build the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. Darius Comstock, along with Welcome Herendeen (both officers of the Ontario Manumission Society) served on the building committee for the new Farmington meetinghouse. We can assume that all able-bodied men in the community—including were involved in the construction of this meetinghouse.²⁰

As soon as I thought it prudent, I pursued my journey, and finally came out into the open country, near the dwelling of Mr. Dennis(**sic**) Comstock, who, as I have said, was president of the Manumission Society. To him I freely described my situation, and found him a friend indeed. He expressed his readiness to assist me, and wrote a line for me to take to his brother, Otis Comstock, who took me into his family at once. I hired to Mr. Comstock for the season, and from that time onward lived with him nearly four years.

When I arrived there I was about twenty-two years of age, and felt for the first time in my life, that I was my own master. I cannot describe to a free man, what a proud manly feeling came over me when I hired to Mr. C. and made my first bargain, nor when I assumed the dignity of collecting my own earnings. Notwithstanding I was very happy in my freedom from Slavery, and had a good home, where for the first time in my life I was allowed to sit at table with others, yet I found myself very deficient in almost every thing which I should have learned when a boy.

These and other recollections of the past often saddened my spirit; but *hope*, - cheering and bright, was now mine, and it lighted up the future and gave me patience to persevere.

In the autumn when the farm work was done, I called on Mr. Comstock for some money, and the first thing I did after receiving it I went to Canandaigua where I found a book-store kept by a man named J. D. Bemis, and of him I purchased some school books.

No king on his throne could feel prouder or grander than I did that day. With my books under my arm, and money of my own earning in my pocket, I stepped loftily along toward Farmington, where I determined to attend the Academy. The thought,

They came to Farmington from Adams, Massachusetts in 1789-90 with their parents, Nathan and Mary Staples Comstock, part of the first group of white families to settle in the Phelps Gorham Purchase in western New York. After his marriage, Darius Comstock moved to Palmyra, New York, and was part of Palmyra Preparative Meeting of Farmington Monthly Meeting of Friends. From genealogy of Comstock Family prepared by Charles Lenhart.

²⁰ Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave and Forty Years a Free Man* (1857), 113-15 and elsewhere. www.docsouth.edu.

however, that though I was twenty-three years old, I had yet to learn what most boys of eight years knew, was rather a damper on my spirits. The school was conducted by Mr. J. Comstock, who was a pleasant young man and an excellent teacher. He showed me every kindness and consideration my position and ignorance demanded; and I attended his school three winters, with pleasure and profit to myself at least.

When I had been with Mr. Comstock about a year, we received a visit from my old master, Capt. Helm, who had spared no pains to find me, and when he learned where I was he came to claim me as "his boy," who, he said he "wanted and must have."

Mr. Comstock told him I was *not* "his boy," and as such he would not give me up; and further, that I was free by the laws of the State. He assured the Captain that his hiring me out in the first instance, to Mr. Tower, forfeited his claim to me, and gave me a right to freedom, - but if he chose to join issue, they would have the case tried in the Supreme Court; but this proposition the Captain declined: he knew well enough that it would result in my favor; and after some flattery and coaxing, he left me with my friend, Mr. Comstock, in liberty and peace!

1816 ** January 15. Jared Comstock sells to Joseph Comstock 115 A off North part of Lot 137. Deed mentions "highway that leads from the [1804] Friends meeting house to the new School house." Also mentions homes of Otis Hathaway, Aldrich Colvins, Isaac Laphams, Darius Comstock. Recorded July 30, 1823.²¹

1816 **By 1816, so many Quakers had migrated to Farmington that local Quakers decided to build a new meetinghouse.

February 15 (2 Mo. 15). Farmington Preparative Meeting came up with a plan to enlarge the current meetinghouse, which they reported the following week to Farmington Monthly Meeting.²²

1816 2 Mo. 22 Farmington Monthly Meeting. Received from Farmington Preparative Meeting the following proposals for the enlargement of the Meetinghouse in that place (*Viz*) This meeting taking into consideration the inconveniences which we have long laboured under on account of the smallness of our Meetinghouse in this place after a time of deliberation and free conference on the subject it is unitedly concluded to propose to the Monthly Meeting to enlarge the house by dividing it and adding 25 feet in length and Sunderland Patison, Darius Comstock, Ira Lapham, Nathan Aldrich and Wellcome Haringdeen are appointed to estimate the cost and inform our next Monthly Meeting the amount. [Note: Nathan Aldrich was one of the first settlers

²¹ Ontario County Archives and Records, Jared Comstock to Joseph Comstock, Liber 41, page 402. Recorded July 30, 1823.

²² References from minutes of Farmington Monthly Meeting were compiled from Reginald Neale's research in these records in the Wayne County Historical Society and Judith Wellman's research in Friends Historical Library.

(1790). Darius Comstock and Welcome Herendeen were sons of the first landowners.]

And the comite appointed to estimate the cost report that they have estimated it at seven hundred dollars which being considered Friends are united with the proposal. Sunderland Pattison, Ira Lapham and Wellcome Haringdeen are appointed to open subscriptions and provide materials for making the proposed alterations and also as trustees to se[e] that the work is completed.²³

**March 28. Trustees of Farmington Monthly Meeting reported that “if the present house be so enlarged as proposed it would be attended with a considerable expense and still would be inconvenient and disagreeable.” They proposed instead to build an entirely new structure, twice as big as the 1804 building, 40 x 60 feet with 22 foot posts, at a cost of \$2250, \$1150 to be raised by “friends of this monthly meeting,” \$700 to come from the sale of the present meetinghouse with one acre of land to “friends for a benevolent purpose,” “reserving the stoves and seats,” and \$400 to be requested from New York Yearly Meeting.²⁴

Although trustees suggested that the old 1804 meeting be sold for \$700, no evidence has so far been found to suggest that this was done.

Trustees also suggested “reserving the stoves and seats” from the 1804 meetinghouse. At least one of the stoves was most likely one that had been used in the Phelps and Gorham land office (opened in Canandaigua in 1789) and now located in Valentown Museum. See photo and discussion of this stove in list of artifacts.

Minutes: “1816 3 Mo. 28 Farmington Monthly Meeting. The trustees appointed to make an addition to the Meetinghouse Report as follows (Viz)

To the next Monthly at Farmington. We who were appointed by the monthly meeting to make an addition to the meetinghouse in this place have consulted together and with a number of Friends on the subject and we believe that if the present house be so enlarged as proposed it would be attended with a considerable expense and still would be inconvenient and disagreeable so friends whom we have consulted and to ourselves [?] we have apprehended it would be better to build a new meetinghouse on a site that is offered within a few rods of the present one sixty by forty feet and 22 feet posts. We have estimated the cost of such an house at twenty two hundred and fifty dollars and we find that friends of this monthly meeting are willing to give for such an house eleven hundred and fifty dollars and that the present house may with one acre of land be disposed of for seven hundred dollars to friends for a benevolent purpose reserving the stoves and seats and we would seghest [suggest?] whether it would not be right to propose to the quarterly meeting the consideration of the subject and if that meeting should think best to ask the remaining four hundred dollars of our Meeting for Sufferings all which we submit to

²³ Minutes, Farmington Monthly Meeting, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, transcribed by Christopher Densmore, Curator, Friends Historical Library.

²⁴ Minutes, Farmington Monthly Meeting, March 28, 1816.

the Monthly Meeting.

Farmington, William [Welcome?] Harindeen, Ira Lapham, Sunderland Pattison, 21st 3d mo 1816.

**April 17. Farmington Quarterly Meeting accepted this proposal.

1816 4 Mo. 17 Farmington Quarterly Meeting. By a minute of Farmington Monthly Meeting it appears that friends of that place find it necessary to have a larger meeting house, and their old one being inconvenient to enlarge they propose building a new one 40 by 60 feet and 22 feet posts, on a site adjoining the meetinghouse lot, estimated cost \$2250, towards which friends of that meeting will pay \$1150 and they are offered for the old house \$700 which leaves the sum of \$400 wanted to compleat the building.

This meeting unites with the proposal, and recommends to the consideration of our meeting for sufferings, requesting assistance in raising the deficient sum. The clerk is directed to forward a copy of the above minute to said meeting.²⁵

July 25. Farmington Monthly Meeting reported in its minutes that the Meeting for Sufferings of New York Yearly Meeting had given Farmington Monthly Meeting the requested \$400.²⁶

Presumably, work began on the meetinghouse sometime late in the spring or early in the summer. Although the original proposal had been to build the new structure “within a few rods of the present one,” they actually constructed the building across the road, on the northwest corner of the intersection.

1816 **Summer and fall. We have no details about who actually built this meetinghouse, but, as Christopher Densmore, Curator of Friends Historical Library, has suggested, “it is fair to say that all members of the meeting ‘built’ it.”²⁷

1816 **Although the original proposal had been to build the new structure “within a few rods of the present one,” they actually constructed the building across the road, on the northwest corner of the intersection.

1817 **January. First meeting took place in the new meetinghouse.

1817 **June 16. Just as land for the first meetinghouse had been given by Nathan Comstock, so land for the new Meetinghouse was also given by the Comstock family, carved out of Lot 137, just west of the north south road (now County Route 8).

Deed from Joseph Comstock to Sunderland Pattison, Jr. and Isaac Smith appointed by the Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends of Farmington” to receive for a payment of sixty dollars conveyance of 152 rods of land at northwest corner of

²⁵ Minutes, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, April 17, 1816.

²⁶ Minutes, Farmington Monthly Meeting, July 25, 1816.

²⁷ Email, May 26, 2006.

highway intersection part of Lot 137, “beginning at a stake standing one chain and sixty-two links north fifty-four degrees west from the north west corner of Friends Meeting House . . . containing one hundred and fifty two rods of land.”²⁸

1817 **“When the building was finished in 1817, it was 60 feet two inches wide by 47 feet deep, made of “the finest whitewood,” with boards up to thirty inches wide, free from knots, with twelve-over-nine sashes [on the second floor and twelve-over-twelve windows on the first floor] and six bays on the east and west sides of the building and three bays on the north and south sides. Some of the building’s features—notably the roof trusses and twelve-over-twelve windows--bore similarities to plates in Asher Benjamin’s *The Country Builder’s Assistant* (1797).”²⁹

**“FARMINGTON meeting-house, built in 1816-17, is in Ontario County, N. Y., some twenty miles southeast of Rochester. It is an immense structure, larger than any other Friends' Yearly Meetinghouse, unless it be that of Philadelphia, and to be compared with no other meeting-house except that of Ohio at Mt. Pleasant. And yet it stands out in the open country, miles from any town or industrial center; and was built for the accommodation of a monthly meeting, long before there was any thought of holding there a yearly or even a quarterly meeting.”

**“The present house stands some fifty yards, and across the road, from the site of two older meeting-houses. The first was of logs. The second was standing at the time of the Separation in 1827, and became the meeting-home of Orthodox Friends. It was later burned down. The present Orthodox Friends' meetinghouse stands on or near its site. A flourishing meeting is kept up there; but in the larger house no meeting is now held except the session of the Half Yearly Meeting once a year.”

“In the old days practically everybody for many miles around claimed Farmington meeting-house as their religious home. To this day there is no other place of worship, but those two meetinghouses, in the town (township) of Farmington.”³⁰

1823 Wayne County separated from Ontario County. Many Quakers affiliated with Farmington Monthly Meeting belonged to Preparative meetings (including Palmyra, Williamson, and Macedon) in Wayne County, as well as North Farmington and South Farmington Preparative Meetings in Ontario County. The town and county line were only a short distance north from the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse.

²⁸ Ontario County Records and Archives, Jared Comstock to Sunderland Pattison, Jr., and Isaac Smith, June 16, 1817, Liber 28, page 268.

²⁹ Measurements by William Brandow and Jessica Malarik, John G. Waite Associates, 2006; “Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House,” “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927; “Old Quaker Church Now Celery Storage,” *Rochester Times-Union*, May 18, 1927.

³⁰ R. Barclay Spicer, “The Farmington Centenary,” *Friends Intelligencer*, Vol. 74 (1917), 666-7, <http://books.google.com/books?id=yYLTAAMAAJ&pg=PA665&lpg=PA605&ots=7rVjHAKOjU&focus=viewport&dq=%22Barclay+Spicer%22+%22North+Collins%22&output=text#top>.

1823 South Farmington Friends built meetinghouse. "It was in 1823 that Welcome Herendeen and Nancy Gardner Herendeen, his second wife, executed the deed conveying this parcel of ground for a consideration of \$1.25 to William Cromwell and Nathaniel Sheldon, as trustees for the Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, for the accommodation of public worship."³¹

1827 Elias Hicks, Long Island Quaker who opposed the new evangelical trends among Quakers, visited Farmington, as part of a tour through the U.S. In Farmington and the surrounding area, he held what he described as "large favored meetings in which truth was exalted over all."³²

"From Galen we proceeded to South Farmington and attended a meeting there on the seventh day at the third hour in the afternoon; and the next day being first day attended the **North Farmington Meeting**. The three following days we had meetings at **Macedon, Palmyra** and **Williamson**. These were large-favored meetings in which truth was exalted over all, and we parted with them in true peace of mind, and proceeded on our journey to Rochester."³³

1828 June 28. 6th month 28. Almost half of Farmington Monthly Meeting of Friends, led by minister Caleb McCumber, walked out of the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. This split had profound implications not only for relationships among Friends both locally and across the country but also for the future of the two meetinghouses.

Orthodox Friends moved back to the 1804 meetinghouse across the road and formed Farmington Friends (Orthodox). The remainder stayed in the 1816 meetinghouse and became Farmington Friends (Hicksite). Orthodox Friends continued to use the 1816 meetinghouse for large meetings, however, since it was twice the size of the 1804 building. Orthodox and Hicksite Friends held separate monthly and quarterly meetings in these two buildings, and Genesee Yearly Meeting began to meet in the 1816 Meetinghouse when it was organized in 1834.

After formation of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite) in 1834, this yearly meeting met in Farmington every June and attracted Friends from western New York, Canada, and Michigan, and elsewhere.

1828 South Farmington Friends also became Hicksite: "In 1828 Elias Hicks came preaching among the Friends and many followed his teaching and this meeting ultimately became Hicksite. Some time later the will of Thomas Bradbury left \$1,000 toward its maintenance. Here too the fund was to revert to heirs when worship was discontinued."³⁴

³¹ Jane Herendeen *Canandaigua Daily Messenger*, August 17, 1928. Found by Diane Robinson.

³² Sunderland P. Gardner, *Memoirs*, quoted in Town of Farmington Rootsweb.

³³ Elias Hicks, *Journal*, quoted in Mary Louise Eldredge, *Pioneers of Macedon*, (1912), 130.

³⁴ Jane Herendeen *Canandaigua Daily Messenger*, August 17, 1928. Found by Diane Robinson.

- 1832 December (12th month). "In 8th month 1828, Ira Lapham, Gideon Ramsdell, Jonathan Ramsdell, Benjamin Hoag Jr, Benjamin Hance Jr., David Willson, Peter Harris and Edward S. Townsend were appointed to receive and hold as trustees until other appointments all Deeds of land belonging to this meeting and to retain such of the "former" trustees as associates as they "might" think proper and report the state of all titles in third month" 1829 "or sooner if the business" was "arranged." Owing to the multiplicity of business in the 3rd Mo. 1829, the subject was overlooked and the committee have never been called upon to report, they are requested to report next month." (interior quote marks are shown as they appear in the original)
- 1834 Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends began to meet annually in the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. Genesee Yearly Meeting included about twenty-five monthly meetings from central and western New York, upper Canada, and Michigan. Meetings continued into the late 19th century. Half-yearly meetings continued to be held here until 1926.
- 1835 May. William R. Smith from Farmington attended the second annual meeting of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society in New York City, and Asa B. Smith and J.C. Hathaway of Farmington were also listed in the minutes.
- 1835 Lucretia Mott spoke in the 1816 Meetinghouse. Mott attended these meetings from 1834 until 1848. Here are extracts from the diary of Quaker Hannah Pierce, of Williamson, New York, who gives a good sense of the rhythm of these meetings. Hannah Pierce subsequently moved to Raisin, Lenawee County, Michigan, where Friends from Farmington established a monthly meeting.

June 11-14.

6th mo. 1835, 11th to 14th "Set out for Farmington to attend yearly meeting. Came to Thomas Lapham's to stay all night.

15th Attended yearly meeting to day, it was quite large. Had the company of a number of friends from other yearly meetings, viz: Priscila Cadwaledor, Hannah Mitchel, Elizabeth Thomas, Lucretia Mott, Priscilla Townsend, Stephen Treadwell, Samuel Comfort, John Wives, and Charles Townsend. Heard very good discourses from several on the subject of slavery, as well as other interesting subjects. Meeting adjourned about 2 o'clock, came to Thomas Fults to stay during the meeting.

16th Lydia P. Mott made a prayer soon after the meeting gathered. Lucretia Mott spoke beautifully on the subject of female education endeavoring to convince them of the advantage arising from a highly cultivated mind, persuading them to not be satisfied with merely a knowledge of the common branches of education, but prove to the world that females are capable of acquiring a knowledge of the higher branches also. L. P. Mott addressed the young sisters very feelingly wishing them to lay aside the trimmings and ornaments with which so many were adorned, and appropriate the money to benevolent purposes." [Lydia P. Mott subsequently established a school for girls in Skaneateles, supported by several Friends from the Farmington area.]

- 17th Attended publick meeting to day, it was large and very good.”³⁵
- 1835 October 3. Several men from Farmington (including L. Hathaway, R. Hathaway, Asa B. Smith, William R. Smith, and J.C. Hathaway, all Orthodox Friends from Farmington Monthly Meeting, and Pliny Sexton, Otis Clapp, Gideon Ramsdell, Elias Durfee, and Elihu Durfee from Palmyra Preparative Meeting of Farmington M.M.) signed a call to the organizing meeting of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society.³⁶
- 1835 October 21. Asa B. Smith and J.C. Hathaway of Farmington the organizing meeting of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, held in Utica at the Bleecker Street Presbyterian Church. Disrupted by “gentlemen or property and standing.”³⁷
- 1836 November 9. Farmington Quarterly Meeting adopted an abolitionist minute, published in pamphlet form and in newspaper articles as *Slavery: An Address from Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Orthodox Friends, to Its Members on Slavery*.³⁸
- 1837 March. One hundred men in Farmington formed a men’s antislavery society, whose president was J.C. Hathaway, affiliated with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Thirty-two women formed a women’s antislavery society, whose president was J.C. Hathaway’s sister, Phebe Hathaway.
- 1837 April 22. Sally Comstock of “the town of Raisin County of Lenawee State of Michigan” sells 115 acres, part of Lot 137 to Zephar Smith, “reserving therefrom 152 rods of land deeded to the Society of Friends being same where **the new meeting house** stands.” Joseph C. Hathaway of Macedon handles the transaction with power of attorney. Zephar Smith and Fidelia his wife give in return nine acres plus seventy dollars.³⁹ [Sally Comstock’s dower rights?]
- 1837 **April 20. Ira Lapham sold 115 acres to Zephar Smith, except for 152 rods of land [where the 1816 Meetinghouse stood]. Gideon Ramsdell and Trustees of Farmington Preparative Meeting of Friends gave a quit claim deed for \$1.00 to Trustees for “Farmington monthly Meeting of the Religious Society.”⁴⁰
- 1837 June 10. The *Coloured American* published a notice that Otis Clapp of Palmyra and Asa B. Smith of Farmington (both members of Farmington M.M., Clapp a Hicksite

³⁵ Hannah Pierce, Diary, <http://lenawee.migenweb.net/diary.html>.

³⁶ “To the Friends of Immediate Emancipation in the State of New York,” *Liberator*, October 3, 1835 (5:40), Reprinted from *Oneida Standard and Democrat* in the *Liberator*, October 3, 1835.

³⁷ Minutes online at www.archive.org/stream/proceedingsofnew00newy.

³⁸ *Liberator*, January 7, 1837.

³⁹ Ontario County Archives and Records. Liber 62, page 248. Recorded July 7, 1837.

⁴⁰ Ontario County Archives and Records. Liber 62, page 250, recorded July 7, 1837.

- and Smith an Orthodox) would act as agents for the newspapers. This is one of the rare examples of European Americans working for African American organizations. People in Farmington regularly sent donations and letters to this newspaper, \$5.00 in September 1837, \$10.00 in December 1838, \$10.00 in January 1839. “We heartily thank them,” noted editor Samuel B. Cornish. “Such kindness not only relieves us from the difficulties into which we have been plunged, but it renewably nerve us to faithfulness in our duty.”⁴¹
- 1838 **April. “Meeting House: The subject which was referred from Farmington Preparative Meeting relative to the New Meeting house and lot claimed the attention of the meeting and it was concluded to appoint the following friends to consider of and report their views upon the subject at next meeting, Viz: Gideon Herendeen, Gideon Ramsdell, Asa B. Smith, William Birdsall, Jonathan Ramsdell, John Van Duzer, John Warren, Peter Harris, John Underwood.”
- 1838 April 14. Thirty-two women in Farmington held the first annual meeting of the Farmington Union Female Anti-Slavery Society. President was J.C. Hathaway’s sister, Phebe Hathaway. (One of twenty in New York State). Affiliated with American Anti-Slavery Society.
- “Although our efforts during the past year have not been as vigorous as would have been desirable, yet we believe an increasing interest has been manifested in the great objects which our Society has in view.
- Regarding the circulation of petitions, and Anti-Slavery Libraries among the most efficient means of extending the principles of abolitionists, a small library, has been purchased by our Society, and our petitions have been circulated through several towns, asking for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the slave trade between the states &c., and though our petitions may now be rejected or “nailed to the table” we ought not to be discouraged but redouble our energy, continue to petition and remonstrate, and we doubt not but with the blessing of Providence, and the aid of those champions of liberty, who are now in our national legislature, ultimate success will be the result.”⁴²
- 1838 June. Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends met at Farmington and dealt with petitions relating to Seneca Indian land rights, slavery, and the acceptance of minutes from meetings of women friends on an equal basis with those of men friends. Thomas M’Clintock became clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting and initiated the most active period of reform activity on behalf of equal rights for women, Native Americans, and African Americans, 1838-1843. Rhoda DeGarmo was clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Women Friends from 1839 through 1844. Mary Ann McClintock was assistant clerk 1839 -1841.

⁴¹ *Seventh Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society*, Preston Pierce’s website; *The Colored American*, June 10, 1837, September 30, 1837; February 17, 1838, from A.B. Smith; December 15, 1838, \$10.00 from George Comstock and friends; January 26, 1839.

⁴² *Friend of Man*, May 23, 1838.

Here are extracts from the diary of Mary Durfee, Friend from Palmyra, who attended first the meeting of ministers and elders and then Yearly Meeting. Mary Durfee later moved to Raisin, Lenawee County, Michigan.

“6th month 9. A pleasant morn'g - attended the select yearly Meeting of Ministers & Elders. - Jemima Keese from Peru – Rachel Hicks from Long Island Benjamin Mather from Pennsylvania, Samuel Comfort from P...a were in attendance. We dined at Arnold Bristoll's. Richard Glazier came home with us. Benjamin Hussey & wife & son & daughter & Erastus Hussey & wife & daughter – staid with us.

10. A very warm morning floating clouds - attended Meeting Richard Glazier, Sarah Underwood & Hannah Sexton held forth truths important. Hannah Tripp, Thorn Hoxie & Betsey. B.H. & wife son & daughter -

11. Attended the yearly Meeting very warm weather – came home in a shower of rain, lightning & thunder - Daniel & Chloe Underwood, B. Hussey & wife & children were here

....

14. warm growing season. attended the meeting & met with the committee again. we get slowly on yet not discouraged. came home late, tired --

15. Attended meeting again. interesting indeed - **exercised, on account of the natives of this country and also the poor oppressed and much injured africans & their decendants. men friends conclude to sent a Memorial to Congress, praying them not to ratify a fraudulent treaty that the _____ [Ogden] Company has obtained by bribing the Indians etc.** rains - we dine at Arnold B.'s many call their too many but I feel easy. we must accommodate. I lodge there.

16, sit with the **committee to petition Congress in behalf of the people of Colour, a concern of women friends -concluded an essay. the com. on the subject of disipline concluded to adopt the several reports for each Meeting to act upon in conjunction.**

17. A warm beautiful day. attended meeting - Benj Mather rose & spoke a few words which seemed to open the door of the celestial treasury & Hannah S. was qualified to proclaim to the people that those exelent blessings in store was free to all in a living powerful manner ---

1838 June 11. United States Senate presented the Treaty of Buffalo Creek. This treaty, “one of the major frauds in American Indian history,” according to historian Laurence M. Hauptman, would have forced the Seneca to give up their ancestral lands in western New York and move as a people to lands in Kansas. The Cherokee and other southeastern peoples were forced to move to Oklahoma later that year in what became known as the “Trail of Tears.” Such a fate seemed imminent for Seneca peoples, as well, unless something could be done immediately to prevent it. Quaker intervention was the key. Quakers in Genesee, New York, Philadelphia, and

Baltimore Yearly Meetings appointed a joint committee to investigate Seneca concerns. Two members from Farmington Monthly Meeting--Griffith M. Cooper and William S. Burling—served as representatives to this committee from Genesee Yearly Meeting.⁴³

*June 16. Women Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting drafted “A Memorial of the Genesee Yearly Meeting of Women friends in the State of New York, held at Farmington, 16th of 6th mo 1838”: “Under a deep feeling, of the wrongs practiced upon our coloured brethren and sisters in wresting from them the greatest of all external blessings, that of Liberty' in the exercize of those noble faculties which are the endowments of one common Creator. We feel in duty bound respectfully to present you our earnest petition on their behalf.”⁴⁴

1838 June 16. Genesee Y.M. of Friends adopted a minute making men’s and women’s meetings equal, for the first time in Quaker history (and probably in any Europe American religious denomination anywhere), so altering the *Discipline* “that men and women shall stand on the same footing in all matters in which they are equally concerned . . . and the words ‘the ultimate judgment to be in the mens [sic] meeting, be erased----.” Although women Friends conducted their business separately from men, men’s meetings traditionally had veto power. “Women’s monthly meetings are not to receive nor disown members without the concurrence of men’s monthly meetings,” read the discipline of New York Yearly Meeting.⁴⁵ Genesee Yearly Meeting decided to do something about this inequity. Acting on a proposal initiated by Junius Monthly Meeting, Genesee Yearly Meeting agreed to revise the Discipline to reflect absolute equality between men’s and women’s meetings, so “that men and women shall stand on the same footing in all matters in which they are equally concerned.” When Genesee Yearly Meeting reprinted the *Discipline* in 1842, they noted that “male and female are one in Christ Jesus,” and “men’s and women’s meetings stand on the equal footing of common interest and common right.”⁴⁶

1838 July 4. 7th mo. 4th. Farmington women connected abolitionism explicitly to woman’s rights. In July 1838, they published an address to the women of western New York. Some people, especially some husbands, thought that the only duty of women was in

⁴³For the text of this treaty, see “Treaty with the New York Indians, 1838,” January 15, 1838, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 501-516, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/new0502.htm>.

⁴⁴ Text of whole petition in Mary Durfee, Diary, Wayne County Historian’s Office. Transcribed by Marjory Allen Perez.

⁴⁵“Women’s Meetings for Discipline,” *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in New-York For the State of New-York, and parts adjacent, revised, in the sixth month, 1810* (New York, 1830), 16-19.

⁴⁶Genesee Yearly Meeting Minutes, June 11, 1838, FHL, Swarthmore; *Discipline of Genesee Yearly Meeting* (Rochester, New York, 1842), 11; Christopher Densmore, “The Quaker Tradition: Sustaining Women’s Rights,” National Women’s Studies Association, 1998, <http://ublib.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/urr/>. Judith Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman’s Rights Convention* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004).

the home, they noted, but “have we no other object to claim our affections?” “Rest assured, dear sisters, that he who would chain you exclusively to the daily round of household duties, is at least in some degree actuated by the dark spirit of slavery, and that this feeling is a relic of barbarism, having its origin in countries where woman is considered emphatically the *property* of another.”⁴⁷

1839 English Orthodox Friend Joseph John Gurney preached in Farmington in 1839. He used the 1816 meetinghouse. In his 1841 account of this trip, Gurney noted, “I know of no district in America, in which the anti-slavery cause, as well as that of total abstinence, are more vigorously maintained by the bulk of the population [than in Farmington].”⁴⁸

1839 January 22. 1st mo. 22. President Martin Van Buren recommended to the Senate that they again approve the Treaty of Buffalo Creek, with the thirteen new signatures added by the Ogden Land Company.

Quakers took Seneca concerns directly to President Martin Van Buren, protesting the treaty in the strongest terms. “To contemplate a forcible removal of the Indians, and the heart-rending scenes that must accompany such removal, is shocking to every sentiment of justice and humanity. To see a great and powerful nation lending its aid to oppress the weak and helpless . . . would do more to weaken the bond of our national union than all the enemies of a just people could ever effect,” they argued. As a result, the Ogden Land Company Commissioner returned to western New York and managed to convince thirteen more people to sign the treaty, making forty-four signatures in all, out of a supposed total of 81 leaders. On that basis, Van Buren recommended to the Senate on January 22, 1839, that they confirm this treaty.

⁴⁹

1839 June 13. Farmington Female Anti-Slavery Society held its second annual meeting. “May we never think it is time to relax our exertions, or to disband our societies, till the end for which we associated shall have been fully accomplished - till there shall not be a slave un these United States, and this country becomes in truth, what it has long hypocritically professed to be, the refuge of down trodden humanity - the asylum of the oppressed.” Margaret Macomber, Secretary.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Wellman, “Women and Radical Reform,” in *Clio Was a Woman*, 118; “Auxiliaries to the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836,” Elizur Wright Papers, Library of Congress; “Address of Farmington Female Anti-Slavery Society, to Females residing in the Western part of the State of New York,” *Friend of Man*, July 4, 1838. From National Register Nomination, Farmington Quaker Crossroad, 2007.

⁴⁸ Joseph John Gurney, *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie* (Norwich [England]: J. Fletcher, 1841), 309.

⁴⁹*The Case of the Seneca Indians, in the State of New York*, 31; National Register Nomination, Farmington Quaker Crossroads. Quoted in *U.S. Supreme Court, U S v. NEW YORK INDIANS*, 173 U.S. 464 (1899)173, U.S. 464 UNITED STATES v. NEW YORK, □ No. 697, March 20, 1899, <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=173&invol=464>.

⁵⁰ *Friend of Man*, July 24, 1839.

1839 November 4. "Copy of Instructions to Griffith M. Cooper and a letter on the occasion 11 mo. 4, 1839." Griffith M. Cooper, Williamson, was an enrolled minister of Farmington Monthly Meeting of Friends, became a paid agent of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs (with Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Genesee Yearly Meetings) in 1839. This Joint Committee worked closely with Seneca people, meeting at the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse in June 1840 and thereafter usually at Cattaraugus. They published a pamphlet on their work with Seneca people every year from 1840 to 1850.

My dear friend Griffith M. Cooper

At our late conference in Baltimore, the following conclusions were come to by the Delegates from the Indian Committee of the four Yearly Meetings of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore to wit

That Griffith M. Cooper on their behalf and at their expense should proceed as soon as practical to the Seneca Indian Settlement and there obtain authentic information so as to enable him officially to answer the following queries –

1st. What were the names of the Chiefs, acknowledged as such by both parties, at the time the amended treaty was finally returned to Washington?

2nd. What Chiefs did actually sign the Treaty, or by Powers of Attorney, really signed by themselves, authorize either to sign it on their behalf? Return their names under both heads.

3rd. What Signatures of Chiefs appear on the treaty, who declare they never in any way authorized them to be attached to it, nor attached them to it themselves.

4th. What are the names of Chiefs, properly elected since the treaty subject was agitated, say 7th mo. 1, 1837? And what are the names of those improperly elected, and when and how were they elected?

The foregoing queries, or the substance of them, were agreed on when we were together at Baltimore. I have this day written to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of War. Of the latter I have requested a list of the names actually appearing on the Treaty – when I get them, if I get them timely, I will send them by letter to Joseph Hillman at Cattaraugus by mail, where thou canst get them. Thou knowest the importance of procuring and sending on to me as soon as possible, the information we want, and therefore I need say nothing on that subject. I am sincerely sensible of the importance of saying nothing, at this stage of our concern prejudicial to the character or conduct of any of the constituted authorities of our County. We are surrounded by innumerable spies on our conduct, and an innocent unguarded expression may by the malignancy of such spies be fatal to our cause. An honest independent character is most liable to make such expressions, and therefore thou hast need to mind the command which we all, "Watch." I find constant need to be on guard, as I am constantly beset with inquiries as to the conduct of the President and other public officers – how they received us – what they said – what are our expectations, etc. If we mind our

business, under right influence, we shall not only be made “Wise as Serpents” but a great deal wiser than all the Serpents and Devils on earth or under it.

With sincere desire for thy preservation and success in the holy cause of truth, humanity, and justice,

I remain thy attached and affectionate friend

Benj. Ferris

Wilmington, Del. 11 Mo 4, 1839

On back of letter is - Copy of a letter to the President of the United States **11 mo. 4, 1839**

Wilmington, State of Delaware
11 mo (Nov.) 4th, 1839

To the President of the United States,

The **Committee of the Four Yearly meetings of Friends** who lately appeared before the President, on behalf of the New York Indians have requested me to express there (sic) acknowledgements to the President for the kind and Courteous manner in which he received and for the patient attention he was pleased to give to their statements. As we are assured that it is the Presidents wish, to act correctly, on the present important occasion, and as we intend to do, all in our power, to further this object, we think it right to state, that we understood the President to say, that if he shall be fully assured that a majority of the Chiefs of the **Seneca nation** have not fairly signed or authorized others to sign the amended treaty, he would not think himself at liberty to ratify that instrument. Under this view, we are desirous to take such measures as may leave no just ground of doubt in the case, and as is our intention to furnish the President with the result of our labours, as soon as practical. With sincere desire for the welfare and happiness of the President, we remain his friend. Signed on Behalf of the said Committee, **Benj Ferris**

NB. I put this in the P O Wilmington Before 1 o'clock **11 mo 4th, 1839** – a true copy⁵¹

1840-60 Friends from Farmington Quarterly Meeting and Genesee Y.M. were core abolitionists and Underground Railroad operators in western New York, affiliated both with the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Liberty League.

1840 January 29. Assured by President Van Buren that, “if he should not be fully assured that a majority of their leaders had not fairly signed that treaty. . . , he should not think himself at liberty to ratify it,” Griffith Cooper, enrolled minister of Farmington Friends, took sworn testimony from Seneca leaders in a council at Buffalo in January 1840. They presented this documentation in a memorial to President Van Buren, dated January 29, 1840. Out of 2505 Seneca men, women, and children, only 146 had

⁵¹ Benjamin Ferris to Griffith M. Cooper, November 4, 1839. Papers of Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Transcribed by Charles Lenhart.

declared themselves willing to move.⁵²

Working with the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, Cooper and others (including Quakers from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York Yearly Meetings of Friends) organized a petition campaign, getting signatures on petitions of support for the Seneca from various communities in central and western New York. With Seneca leaders, they also sent letters and made personal visits to federal and state officials. They worked closely with Maris B. Pierce, a Seneca leader and teacher, educated at Dartmouth, who worked as a federal interpreter and who spoke in schools and churches throughout western New York.

- 1840 March 17. 3rd mo. 17. A state antislavery convention met at Farmington to form a Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. Many Quakers (both Orthodox and Hicksite) attended, but it is not clear whether the meeting was held in the Orthodox or Hicksite meetinghouse.

“Farmington A State Convention, of deep interest, has just closed here. The doings of this Convention are destined to have a powerful bearing on the holy cause of abolition. It was called mainly to consider the expediency of dividing the State Society, and forming a Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. Such a Society has been formed, embracing eighteen counties, on the west end of the State, with the approbation of the Executive Committee of the old Society. Wm. L. Chaplin, a most efficient agent and deservedly popular in Western New York for his eloquent and convincing advocacy of human rights, is the Corresponding Secretary and General Agent. The following is a part of the constitution: 'All persons, male and female, may join the society, and be entitled to all the privileges of membership.' Women were on the committee to nominate officers of the Society. This society goes into operation under most favorable auspices. The field it aims to cultivate, without an exception, is the best in the country. Here mind is free to act and is not bound down by the trammels which bind it in New-England. I have never come in contact with mind better prepared to receive truth. Western New York, in moral and intellectual power, will, ere long, become the Eden of America. A company of nobler spirits I never met than I have met here. These volunteer conventions are bringing forward and disciplining a set of men and women to the work of agitation, who will turn the Church and State upside down. Your heart would leap for joy to see the power of such meetings. Thus the new society is going to work. Another series of volunteer protracted anti-slavery meetings is marked out. Opposition to the division of the old society, and to the formation of the new, what little there was, was based on the supposition that the object was to further NON-RESISTANCE! I was arraigned before the convention, and charged with being an emissary from Massachusetts, sent out here to engraft upon abolition, non-resistance, and to convert the anti-slavery societies of Western New York into Non-Resistance Anti-Slavery Societies!

Etc. Your brother, H.C. WRIGHT⁵³

⁵² *The Case of the Seneca Indians*, 23, 33. For an overview of these debates, with their political context, see Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 175-212).

- 1840 April 4. 4th mo. 4. Senate ratified the Treaty of Buffalo Creek, in spite of Seneca testimonies about fraudulent signatures, and President Van Buren signed it.⁵⁴
- 1840 May 1. 5th mo 1. William Lloyd Garrison thanks Thomas M'Clintock and Richard P. Hunt for sending him cloth made free from the labor of slaves. Garrison's comments on M'Clintock (then Clerk of Genesee Y.M.) are so laudatory that seem perhaps to have been meant for public consumption:
- I regard you as one of those whose countrymen are all the rational creatures of God, whether they are found on 'Greenland's icy mountains,' or on 'India's coral strand'—whether their complexion be white, red, or any other color—whether they are civilized or savage, Christians or heathens, elevated in point of intelligence and power, or sunken in degradation and helplessness. When this spirit shall universally prevail among men, there will be no more wars, no more slavery, no more injustice. Then will be held the jubilee of the human race; and every thing that hath breath shall praise the name of the Lord."⁵⁵
- 1840 May 2. Tonawanda Seneca leaders drafted petition, to be sent to Genesee Yearly Meeting at Farmington in June.
- 1840 May 28. Joint Committee met in New York City. "At this meeting we were informed that a delegation from the Seneca nation desired to have an interview with Friends at Farmington, during the week of Genesee yearly meeting, whereupon a committee of sixteen of our number was nominated to attend to that service."⁵⁶
- 1840 *June 17. 6th mo. 17. Minutes of a meeting between about eight Seneca leaders (Jacob Shongo from Allegany; Seneca White, Henry Two Guns, and William Tony(?) from Buffalo Creek; and Samuel Gordon from Cattaraugus), two interpreters (Peter Wilson, Cayuga, and Cephas Two Guns, Seneca; plus most likely Jimmy Johnson from Tonawanda, who arrived on June 18, with representatives of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, held in the 1816 Meetinghouse and at the home of Quaker Hugh Pound on June 17-19, 1840.

At a meeting of the Delegates from the joint committees of the four Yearly meetings of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore held at Farmington Meeting house 6 MO. 17, 1840.

Present William Wharton, Philip E. Thomas, Joseph Warner, Nathaniel Starbuck,

⁵³ *Liberator*, April 10, 1840.

⁵⁴ *The Case of the Seneca Indians*, 23, 33. For an overview of these debates, with their political context, see Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 175-212.

⁵⁵ William Lloyd Garrison to Thomas M'Clintock, May 1, 1840.

⁵⁶ *Case of the Seneca Indians*, 41.

Geo. M. Justice, Deborah Wharton, Rachel Hicks, ?Inst., Maria Torrington, Dorothy Golden, Benj. Ferris, Ab. Bell, John Gillingham, Dobel Baker, Griffith M. Cooper, and William S. Burling. And we had also, the company of Joseph Hillman from Cattaraugus, Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock from Waterloo, and Caleb and Rachel Barker from Poughkeepsie.

Also present, five Indian Chiefs, to wit, Jacob Shongo from Allegany, Seneca White, Henry Two Guns, and William Tony(?) from Buffalo, and Samuel Gordon from Cattaraugus – with two interpreters to wit, Peter Wilson and Cephas Two Guns.

Philip E. Thomas informed the Indians that we were here as Delegates from the four Yearly meetings of Friends from Genesee, New York, Philad. and Baltimore, and that if the Indians had anything to communicate, we were prepared to hear them.

The Indians, then, by Peter Wilson, their Interpreter, gave a statement, setting forth the ways through which they had been wronged by the fraudulent manner in which a treaty for their removal, and Contracts for the sale of their lands, had been got up and imposed upon the public authority of the General Government, and the Government of Massachusetts together with an account of their distresses in consequence of those acts – etc, etc.

After hearing the communications from the Indian Delegates, and making such replies and observations as the occasion seemed to require, the Committees adjourned to meet again tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock at the house of Hugh Pound.⁵⁷

1840 June 18.

6 MO. 18, 1840 The Delegates again met pursuant to adjournment.

On deliberate and weighty attention to the present trying circumstances of the natives in the State of New York, it was unanimously agreed that those who have been under our case be advised quietly to remain on their present Reservations, that they demean themselves in a peaceable unresisting manner, tranquilly waiting the events that may be permitted to overtake them, under the assurance that Friends deeply sympathize with them and their trials, and that we stand disposed to do all in our power for their relief, by representation to the General Government and by such other means as may be afforded us.

To draft an address to the Indians, embodying the substance of the above minute, Philip E. Thomas, B. Ferris, Ab. Bell, Deb Wharton, and Rachel Hicks, ?Inst were appointed.

It being apprehended that it might be useful to address the House of Representatives of the United States on behalf of the Seneca nation of Indians, it

⁵⁷ Minutes of 1840 Meeting at 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, Papers of Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Transcribed by Charles Lenhart.

was concluded to appoint a Committee to draft a memorial to that body, for which purpose the following Friends were named to wit – Wm. Wharton, Jn. Gillingham, Philip E. Thomas, Dobel Baker, Ab. Bell, Wm S. Burling, G. M. Cooper and B. Ferris.

Several important facts, connected with the execution of the amended treaty and of the Contracts for the sale of the Indian Lands, and which ought to claim the attention of the Government of Massachusetts, being stated, the following Friends were appointed to attend to this concern, in order that such representations may be laid before the Governor and Council(l) of that State or may be proper and expedient, to wit – Philip E. Thomas, Nathl. Starbuck, Ab. Bell, Dobel Baker, and B. Ferris.

Then agreed to meet tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock, at the house of Hugh Pound and (??) agreed that the Indians be invited to meet us at 9 o'clock.

Before reading the minutes of adjournment, it was mentioned by tone of the Committees, that the Governor of the State of New York had manifested a friendly disposition towards the Indians of that State – and it was deemed expedient to appoint a Committee to wait on that Office on their behalf, or to address him by writing, as to the Committee may seem most proper, to wit – Nathaniel Starbuck, Ab-. Bell, Dobel Baker, and such others as they may select for the purpose.

Then adjourned according to the agreement –

1840 June 19.

6 MO. 19, 1840/ The Delegates met pursuant to the above adjournment.

The Committee appointed to propose an Address to the Indians produced an Essay, which was approved, and afterwards read to them by an Interpreter. Several of our Friends were made to them. A written copy of our address was then delivered to Seneca White a Chief from the Buffalo Reservation.

The Committee also produced a draft of instructions to the Friends appointed to wait on the Governor of New York, which with some alterations was approved.

An Address to the governor of Massachusetts was also read, and referred for revision to A. Bell, Dobel Baker, Nathl. Starbuck and Benj. Ferris, who are appointed to wait on the Governor and present it to him.

The Friends to prepare a memorial to the H. of Rep. of the U.S. not having had time to complete that service, the Committee continued and they are authorized to present it when prepared. Then adjourned.

Extracted from the Minutes of the joint Delegation.

Benj, Ferris, Clerk

Note: The two Farmington Quakers who attended were Griffith M. Cooper from Williamson and William S. Burling from Canandaigua. Hugh Pound provided his residence for part of the meeting.

- 1840 November and December. 11th and 12th mo. Several men who listed their residence as Farmington—all Quakers (J.C. Hathaway, W.C. Rogers, W.O. Duvall, Lorenzo Hathaway, Esek Wilbur, Gideon Ramsdell, P.D. Hathaway, and Pliny Sexton) made a lecture tour through western New York. “Let the old and the young, the grave and the gay—men, women, and children—all who claim to be human, come up to the rescue of suffering humanity! The *object* is noble, the *means* righteous, and we earnestly ask your attendance and co-operation. Will you not come?”⁵⁸
- 1841 In 1841, the *Friend of Man* published names of the Board of Directors of Canada missions, founded by Hiram Wilson in 1838. Of the twenty-four men from across New York State, eight of them were Quakers. Five of these were affiliated with Quakers in Farmington Quarterly Meeting (Orthodox Friends Lindley Murray Moore, Lyman A. Spalding, Joseph C. Hathaway, William R. Smith, and Hicksite-affiliated Richard P. Hunt), and three more were from Scipio Quarterly Meeting (Joseph Talcott, David Thomas, and James C. Fuller).⁵⁹
- 1841 **"A proposition for erecting a suitable building for the accommodation of committees during the sitting of our Yearly meeting, having been introduced by THE WOMEN [emphasis added] Friends, it was united with and referred to Farmington Quarterly Meeting to have a proper building erected and draw on the Treasurer of this Meeting for the needful funds to defray the expenses."⁶⁰
- 1841 **"The building "for the accommodation of committees during the sitting of this Yearly Meeting has been completed," and the report of the committee appointed by Farmington Quarter for erection of the building report the cost as \$333, including stoves, and report receiving \$49 from the women's meeting and \$284 from the men's meeting to cover the expense. The report is signed by George Pryor, Gideon Morey, Mary Ann M'Clintock and Margaret Prior."⁶¹

Notes from Christopher Densmore: “So, was it for Ministers and Elders? I think not. The Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders was held the day before the sessions of the Yearly Meeting and without further information I would assume that they used the meetinghouse proper. In 1842, committees using the new building may have included:

The representatives who met to propose a clerk and assistant clerk

A committee to prepare essays of epistles to be sent to the other yearly meetings

⁵⁸ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, November 12, 1840; December 31, 1840.

⁵⁹ “The Canada Mission,” *Friend of Man*, March 16, 1841; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, January 21, 1841.

⁶⁰ Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1841.

⁶¹ Minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1841.

A committee to consider requests for assistance in building new meeting houses

A committee to review the accounts of the Treasurer

A joint committee to review the book of discipline

The committee that had charge of building the building for committees

The committee on the Indian Concern

And I haven't looked at the minutes of the women's meeting. So NOT for Ministers and Elders but for committees.

Email from Christopher Densmore, August 2009.

- 1842 Palmyra Preparative Meeting of Farmington Monthly Meeting proposed to open meetinghouses to public meetings held by abolitionists and friends of the slave.

“Being satisfied that in some parts of this monthly meeting our meeting houses have been closed against the friend of the slave, and also against the slave himself, and feeling that so doing is wrong in every possible light we can view it and a very great reproach to our profession of Christianity, we wish the monthly meeting to take the subject into consideration, and if way opens, refer the subject to a committee.”

The proposition from Palmyra Preparative Meeting was deferred one month and then “the subject was dismissed for the present.”

- 1842 UGRR in Farmington. Underground Railroad incidents occurred regularly in upstate New York in the late 1830s. Not until 1842, however, the same year as the major regional organization of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, did documented cases for Farmington appear. In that year, Richard Valentine, an African American working for Colonel Blossom, landlord of a hotel in Canandaigua, enlisted the help of Lazette Worden, sister-in-law of William Henry Seward, Governor of New York, to help a woman and her two children escape from slavery through Farmington. Valentine had himself been enslaved by Mr. DeZeng in Geneva, New York, before 1827, when slavery was still legal in New York, and had escaped with the help of DeZeng's wife. Richard Valentine married a Seneca Indian woman whom people called Mrs. Valentine David, who worked in the Worden household. As Frances Worden Chesboro, then a young girl, later recalled:

It was a bitter cold morning, when Richard Valentine appeared in our kitchen looking for everything he considered necessary to the comfort of a fugitive and her two children, my Father, Mother, our faithful Elsie and I eagerly listening. Elsie from the kitchen stoves soon supplied sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a trio that seemed to have dropped from the clouds in the night and during the day my mother shaped out innumerable garments and though I was but a child I was kept sewing far into the night to furnish warm clothing for this family. Before Spring I heard Richard tell my Father the woman had heard her Master was in pursuit and the order given to procure

conveyance and take the family to Farmington, a Quaker settlement north of us in the direct road of “The Underground Railroad” leading into Canada. By the time the Master reached Canandaigua the good Quakers had his prey safe over “the line.”⁶²

1842. Farmington Quarterly Meeting (Orthodox) a Committee on Slavery, which in 1842 published a pamphlet urging Friends to support the Free Produce Movement, buying only goods produced without from the labor of slaves.

Groceries and cotton produced without slave labor were available, they reported, in Farmington, Macedon, Palmyra, and Rochester. They might also have added Waterloo, where Quaker druggist Thomas M’Clintock advertised that he sold goods “free from the labor of slaves.” In 1845, New York Yearly Meeting followed the lead of Farmington Quarterly Meeting in recommending the Quakers buy only free produce. Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite) also took up the cause in its *Discipline* in 1842, asking Friends to consider “whether by dealing in, or consuming the produce of the labor of slaves, we are not encouraging the system of slavery.”⁶³

- 1842 January 21. Eliab W. Capron published an article in the *Liberator* called “Friends in the ‘Quiet,’” about the opposition of some Quakers to abolitionist lecturers (specifically Jacob Ferris, a Quaker from Galen) in the meetinghouse.

- 1842 March 14. Petition from Seneca women at Tonawanda to President Tyler, reporting unanimous refusal to leave. Found in Amy and Isaac Post Family Papers, University of Rochester and also in the National Archives and Records Administration.

“We are astonished to hear that the Tonawanda Reservation, we have to give up,” they wrote. “We the women of the Tonawanda have exerted our influence, in trying to have our Chiefs to be united in their mind in their councils & they have done so,—not one of our Chiefs here, have signed the Treaty.” You may be astonished to hear this from us,” the women acknowledged, “as we have never done so [sent a petition] before. We think much, and are attached to these places, which the Great Spirit has given to his Red children of the Country.” In 1857, the Tonawandas negotiated a separate treaty with the U.S. government, keeping their traditional homelands.⁶⁴

⁶² [Frances Worden Chesbro], untitled manuscript, Seward Collection, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, 4-8. Thanks to Kate Clifford Larson for finding this. Wellman, Farmington Quaker Crossroads, National Register Nomination, 2007.

⁶³ Christopher Densmore, “The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: The Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-60,” *Quaker History* 1993 82 (2): 84; Wellman, Farmington Quaker Crossroads, National Register Nomination, 2007.

⁶⁴Minerva BlackSmith and others to John Tyler, Tonawanda, March 14, 1842, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester. Christopher Vecsey and William A. Starna, eds., *Iroquois Land Claims* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 9-10. For a less sanguine view of Quakers and the 1842 treaty, see Laurence M. Hauptman, “The State’s Men, the Salvation Seekers, and the Seneca: The Supplemental Treaty of Buffalo Creek, 1842,” *New York*

Amy Post, member of Rochester Monthly Meeting (part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting), took a special interest in this cause. She had a manuscript copy of this petition from Tonawanda Seneca women in her personal files, suggesting that she may have helped write it. She continued to maintain her interest in individual Indians throughout her life. An obituary noted that "she was especially interested in the condition of the Indians on the state reservations, and an Indian named Blind John has annually visited her house from the Cattaraugus Reservation." Fellow Quakers often wrote to Amy and Isaac Post using Iroquois phrases. John Ketcham spoke of "the great Council fire of the A.A.S. Society in N. York," for example. Oliver Johnson closed one letter with "let the chain of friendship between us be kept bright."⁶⁵

1842 April. Seneca leaders (including Israel Jemison, Cattaraugus) presented a proposal to the federal government to give up part of each reservation, rather than lose both Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda.⁶⁶

1842 Palmyra Preparative Meeting send minute to Farmington Monthly Meeting, asking to open meetinghouse to "friend of the slave."

Being satisfied that in some parts of this monthly meeting our meeting houses have been closed against the friend of the slave, and also against the slave himself, and feeling that so doing is wrong in every possible light we can view it and a very great reproach to our profession of Christianity, we wish the monthly meeting to take the subject into consideration, and if way opens, refer the subject to a committee.

The proposition from Palmyra Preparative Meeting was deferred one month and then "the subject was dismissed for the present."

1842 May 5. J.C. Hathaway, Farmington abolitionist and Orthodox Quaker (whose house still stands about half a mile from the Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District), reported in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* about his experience with a person who had escaped from slavery in Virginia.

A few days ago, a fugitive from Virginia gave me a call, on hi way to a free country. He is no doubt safe, ere this, from American kidnappers. He arrived about 10 o'clock, and remained until after dinner; during which time, we had

History (January 1997): 51-82. Other treatments include Christopher Vecsey and William A. Starna, eds., *Iroquois Land Claims* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988); Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999) and Stephen J. Valone, "William Seward, Whig Politics, and the Compromised Indian Removal Policy in New York State, 1838-1843," *New York History* 2001 82 (2): 106-134. For the treaty itself, see "Treaty with the Seneca, Tonawanda Band," November 5, 1857, <http://www.firstpeople.us/FP-HTML-Treaties/TreatyWithTheSenecaTonawandaBand1857.html>.

⁶⁵ "Mrs. Amy Post at Rest," *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 30, 1889; John Ketcham to Amy and Isaac Post, June 1, 1842, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester Library; Oliver Johnson to Isaac Post, June 7, 1842, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester. National Register Nomination, Farmington Quaker Crossroads.

⁶⁶ Lawrence Hauptmann, 208.

an opportunity of making many inquiries relative to the condition of our southern brethren in bonds. We urged him much to remain over night with us; but he was impatient to set foot upon a soil where he could feel assured he was free. He was a fine-looking fellow, of about nineteen, evidently possessing much native shrewdness. The Virginian, whose victim he was, staked him against \$1000 in a *cock-fight*; and for fear his master might lose his wager, and he be sold to the South, he thought best to use the physical and intellectual powers God had given him, in finding a country where an immortal being is considered of too much value to have his destiny hang upon a *chicken's foot*.⁶⁷

1842 May 20. Federal government ratified Compromise Treaty of 1842, negotiated in part by John C. Spencer of Canandaigua, who was then Secretary of War, by which both the Allegany and Cattaraugus homelands, but not Buffalo Creek or Tonawanda, were returned to the Seneca.⁶⁸

1842 October 28. 10th mo. 28th. Eliab W. Capron sent a letter to the *Liberator* describing a tense meeting among Farmington Friends (Hicksite), and therefore held in the 1816 Meetinghouse, between those who wished to welcome abolitionist speakers and those opposed. The main speaker on behalf of abolitionists was most likely Capron's father-in-law, Griffiths Cooper. Friends sympathized fully with our "Indian brothers," he explained, who were "likely to be robbed of their *property*, by a powerful and unprincipled company of Speculators." They invited Seneca leaders and warriors into their meeting houses and circulated petitions on their behalf, both among Friends and among the world's people, obtaining signatures "from *all kinds* of religious and political parties, civil and *military officers*." "We pulled the wires, and these '*worlds people*' danced to them," Capron wrote.⁶⁹

“WALWORTH, N.Y. 10th mo. 28th, 1842.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Knowing that thee takes a deep interest in all that is calculated to effect the great cause of universal liberty and equal rights, I hasten to give thee a history of the proceedings of our Farmington Monthly Meeting of (Hicksite) Friends.

At the previous monthly meeting, a proposition came up from Palmyra preparative meeting, to have the monthly meeting appoint a committee, to take into consideration the subject of opening the meeting-houses for temperance and abolition lectures.— Some *weighty* friends were for treating this, after the manner that anti-slavery petitions are treated in Congress— i.e. *reject it entirely*, or send it back to the preparative meeting, where it originated. But they found some bold spirits, who

⁶⁷ J.C. Hathaway to *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 5, 1842.

⁶⁸ "Treaty With The Seneca, 1842," May 20, 1842, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, Treaties, Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington : Government Printing Office, 1904), 537-542, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/sen0537.htm>. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests*, 196.

⁶⁹ "Friends in Commotion," E.W.C. to William Lloyd Garrison, Walworth, N.Y., October 28, 1842, *Liberator*, December 9, 1842.

were not to be intimidated by the old admonition to *'keep in the quiet,'* and, after a warm discussion of about three hours duration, the subject was laid over to the last monthly meeting. It was supposed, by many, that at the meeting yesterday, they would proceed to the appointment of a committee, without any discussion; but, in this, they were mistaken— for the spirit of pro-slavery always stands in its own light— they always plead their cause best when they say nothing. But no sooner did the clerk announce that the subject of the committee was next in order, than one Friend expressed his opinion, *that it was not a fit subject for a committee,* and that the monthly meeting ought *not to receive such a proposition.* Of course, this called forth a reply; and thus commenced a debate, which gave very significant evidence that some had *get out of the quiet.* During this discussion, the cloven foot of pro-slavery was very clearly revealed. One Friend [William Burling?], who has been very active in Indian concerns, and is now a member of the Indian committee, took the old pro-slavery ground in good earnest. 'Now, Friends, said he, 'I think we had better drop this exciting subject; we have a *great* sympathy for the slave; it is not against *him* that we shut our doors, but against *abolitionists.* *We all know that their masters could not liberate them if they would;* and if they could, they would be in a deplorable condition.' He went on, at considerable length, to show that the primitive Friends were *Christian* slaveholders, and that when we denounced slaveholders as no christians, the primitive Friends must come under the head of anti-christians. This of course, he thought sufficient reason why the Friends should say nothing against slavery. Some accused the abolitionists of trying to get a *picked* committee. Another prominent actor in the Indian affairs proposed 'that as the abolitionists had been accused of trying to get a committee, (here he was interrupted with '*your kind* of abolitionists')— 'well, then, *our kind* of abolitionists understand it, Friends, as *our kind* of abolitionists are accused of trying to get a picked committee. I propose that our opponents appoint *every one* of that committee from their own number, so that we only get one.' And now, Friends, said he, 'let me ask, why this great difference between a *red* man, and a *black* man? Why is it a *crime* to admit those into our houses, who are pleading the cause of the slave, while we admit those who plead for the Indian? (Here some Friends seemed quite uneasy, particularly one or two of those who were members of the Indian committee.) A short time since, when my Indian brothers were likely to be robbed of their *property,* by a powerful and unprincipled company of speculators, their *chief* and WARRIORS were invited into our houses, to tell of their wrongs, and plead for their brethren; Friends were not then told to '*keep in the quiet*'— to '*keep out of the mixture.*' No— if not in word, it was in deed— AGITATE, AGITATE! Let *all* people know their wrong; spread their evidence before *every* body. We have struggled for four years to relieve our *red* brethren. We have circulated petitions to be signed, as well out of the Society as in it; we asked— and received names for these petitions from *all kinds* of religious and political parties, civil and *military officers.* Did Friends tell us then to '*keep in the quiet*'— to '*keep out of the world by mixtures*'? Some Friends had said that it was all done in the Society, but this was not so.— We pulled the wires, and these '*worlds people*' danced to them. Now, Friends, what *was* all this for? Why, for the very thing abolitionists are now pleading for, namely— *universal right to all men.* I have been calumniated more for the part I have taken in behalf of the oppressed red men, and that, too, by *Friends* who are now in this room, than for all other acts since I was twenty-one years of age; and that, too, for protesting against robbing them of their *property* : and I do not expect to escape for protesting against robbing a portion

of our fellowmen of *themselves*. Now, my Friends, if you wish to keep this subject from going to a committee, you can have it discussed *here*, and will have it. You *cannot* get rid of it. **You may as well undertake to get rid of death, as to get rid of the subject of slavery.** Our refusal to move on this subject is a reproach upon the name of Friends. It is no secret—the dark southern corners of this country point to us in triumph, and say, '*we have the Quakers on our side.*' One of the anti-discussion, anti-committee men, and *clerk of the meeting*, said, '**He knew there was a medium by which some could get the proceedings of the meetings before the world, and that medium was the Anti-Slavery Standard.**' He considered it a medium of *slander*. Of course, then, all subscribers are supporting a paper 'calculated to spread disunion among Friends, as was said of our friend I.T. Hopper; but I think that this meeting would have more business on its hands than it could well attend to, if it should pursue the same course in regard to all supporters of the Standard. It is a paper that slander and misrepresentation will not induce us to give up, so long as it continues to publish the truth, 'without concealment— without compromise.' And if it places our *sect* in a light that is not very enviable, all I can say is, *reform*, and seek to act so that the truth shall not make us ashamed [sic]. The meeting finally adjourned, after saying that 'the subject was postponed for the present.' That '*present*' I trust and hope, will be of short duration. It is time some action was had that would decide whether this meeting is willing to bow to slavery or not. This we shall soon see.

Thine for liberty and equal rights,

E.W.C. [Eliab W. Capron]⁷⁰

- 1842 November. 11th mo. William Lloyd Garrison spoke at Farmington (Orthodox Meetinghouse). "Very few Quakers were present," noted Garrison, "owing to a strong prejudice against us." Although Farmington Quakers may not have turned out for Garrison's speech, at least several Farmington Quakers subscribed to Garrison's paper, the *Liberator*.⁷¹
- 1842 November. 1842. Formation of Western New York Anti-Slavery Society at Rochester. At Rochester, the convention organized a region-wide Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, endorsing moral suasion, urging the immediate abolition of slavery; the complete social, political, and religious equality of free people of color; and the withdrawal from every church, political party, or government that supported slavery in any form. "Recognizing the inspired declaration that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' and in obedience to our Saviour's golden rule, 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,'" they urged citizens of New York State to send petitions to Congress, hold antislavery fairs, circulate antislavery books and newspapers

⁷⁰ E.W.C., "Friends in Commotion," *The Liberator*, December 9, 1842.

⁷¹ *Liberator* subscription list, Garrison Collection, Boston Public Library; William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, November 21, 1842, No. 47, Garrison Papers, III (1973): 108-110.

(including the *Liberator*), support traveling agents, and refrain from voting.⁷² Samuel D. Porter, from Bethel Church, Rochester, was elected President, but Quakers—all of them from Farmington Quarterly Meeting--dominated the list of officers. At least twenty of the thirty-four Vice-Presidents and members of the Executive Committee were Quakers, including Isaac Post and Sarah Hallowell from Rochester Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), as well as Margaret Pryor, Richard P. Hunt, and Thomas M'Clintock from Junius Monthly Meeting (Hicksite) in Waterloo. J.C. Hathaway of Farmington Orthodox Friends also became a mainstay, acting as chair and agent, of the biracial Western New York Anti-Slavery Society.⁷³ Nine of the original officers of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society were women.

The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society became the primary support for abolitionist activity in central and western New York throughout the 1840s, sustaining abolitionist lecturers, the *North Star* and *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, an antislavery petition campaign, a reading room in Rochester, and in some cases even political organizing. This core coalition combined Quaker women and men (both Hicksite and Orthodox) from Rochester, Farmington, and Junius Monthly Meetings of Friends (all from Farmington Quarterly Meeting) with non-Quaker women and men, both black and white. With the Liberty Party, this became not only an important engine of abolitionism in western New York but also a forge of the early woman's rights movement.⁷⁴

- 1843 Major debates within Farmington and Genesee Yearly Meeting centered around the use of Quaker meetinghouses for abolitionist speakers, the involvement of Quaker abolitionists in the American Anti-Slavery Society (and other abolitionist organizations that included "the world's people"), and whether or not to keep traditional meetings of ministers and elders.

In 1843, Michigan Quarterly Meeting informed Genesee Yearly Meeting: "This Meeting considering the Meeting of Ministers and Elders no longer beneficial to us, have discontinued it, and we cannot feel a duty to resume that Meeting. And we are desirous of having the discipline so revised as to make that order no longer obligatory on us. The women's meeting concurring." Palmyra Preparative Meeting made the same request to Farmington Monthly Meeting.

Many Friends in Farmington Monthly Meeting and elsewhere objected to so radical a transformation of traditional Quaker structure. The debate created what the *Pennsylvania Freeman* called a "moral earthquake" in many Quaker meetings, especially in Genesee Yearly Meeting, Green Plain Meeting in Ohio, Indiana Yearly Meeting, Michigan (where many people from Farmington had settled), and Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. This matter continued to occupy Genesee Yearly Meeting between

⁷²"Convention at Utica," *Liberator*, December 23, 1842; "Interesting Report of the Anti-Slavery Convention," "Utica Convention," and "The Abolition Convention," *Liberator*, December 30, 1842; "American Anti-Slavery Society," *Liberator*, January 6 [5], 1843.

⁷³Nancy Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 108; *Liberator*, February 3, 1843.

⁷⁴ See, e.g., "Fifth Annual Meeting of the Western N.Y. Anti-Slavery Society," *North Star*, December 19, 1848.

- 1843 to 1848, when the reformers left Genesee Yearly Meeting to form the Congregational Friends.⁷⁵
- 1843 Thomas M'Clintock left as Clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting and became a Manager (1843-47) and then a Vice-President of the American Anti-Slavery Society.
- In New York Yearly meeting, Quakers Isaac Hopper, Charles Marriott, and were disowned for their abolitionist sentiments. Griffith Cooper, minister in Farmington Monthly Meeting, was released from the ministry in 1843 for supporting Hopper.⁷⁶
- 1843 William Wells Brown, who had escaped from slavery in Kentucky and lived in Buffalo for several years, became an agent (with J.C. Hathaway) for the Western New York ASS. Brown lived in Farmington for three years while he wrote his autobiography, which includes a preface by J.C. Hathaway. Brown later moved to Boston and England. He published *Clotel*, the first novel written by an African American (about the interracial liason between a President and his African American mistress, patterned after the story of Sally Hemings).
- 1843 January 24 [?] 1st mo. 24 [?]. Giles B. Stebbins, William Wells Brown, and J.B. Sanderson (the latter were both African Americans) spoke at the Orthodox Meetinghouse, Farmington.
- 1843 February 22, 2nd mo. 22. First antislavery fair, organized by five Quaker women (Amy Post and Sarah A. Burtis from Rochester, Abby Kelley from Lynn, Massachusetts, Phebe Hathaway from Farmington, and Mary Ann M'Clintock from Waterloo) as the first activity of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. Held in Rochester, but all except Abby Kelley were from Farmington Quarterly Meeting. They invited black members to join their sewing circle in Rochester and collected goods for sale from as far as away as Utica, Boston, England and Ireland. They held the fair in Rochester on George Washington's birthday, February 22, 1843, and raised \$300. J.C. Hathaway (Farmington Orthodox Friend) wrote to Abby Kelley that "Considering the shortness of the time to prepare in, and the dreadful dull and 'hard times' it was quite a magnificent affair."⁷⁷
- 1843 August, 8th mo. Frederick Douglass and fellow black abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond tried to speak in Mendon, New York, just outside of Rochester, and they found the Friends' meeting house, "closed against us." They moved to a local church to "one of the most crowded audiences I ever saw," reported Remond.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ A. Day Bradley, "Progressive Friends in Michigan and New York," *Quaker History* 52 (1963): 96; Pennsylvania *Freeman*, September 14, 1848, quoted in Albert J. Wahl, "The Progressive Friends of Longwood," *Friends' Historical Association Bulletin* 42:1 (1953), 14.

⁷⁶ Christopher Densmore, "The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: The Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-1860," *Quaker History* 82:2 (Fall 1993): 85-86.

⁷⁷ J.C. Hathaway to Abby Kelley, February 16, 1843, Abby Kelley Foster Papers, American Antiquarian Society.

⁷⁸ Remond to Garrison, August 30, 1843, *Liberator*, September 23, 1843; E.W. Capron to Garrison, January 21, 1843, *Liberator*, February 10, 1843 [?].

1843 November 30. "Communications. FARMINGTON QUARTERLY MEETING. Extract from the Farmington Quarterly meeting forwarded the annexed report of their committee on slavery, which engaged the feeling attention of the meeting, and Friends were encouraged to attend to their scruples in regard to this deeply-interesting subject.

"In the early history of the society, its members faithfully refused to countenance sinful customs and manners, originating in flattery to those in power, and often suffered the loss of goods, and imprisonment in loathsome dungeons, in adherence to this testimony. Is it not our duty, to be not only equally faithful in our testimony against sinful customs, growing out of slavery, but against slavery itself; a sin which involves the commission of nearly every wrong, ever inflicted on an injured and suffering people. The same principle of refusing participation in evil, has led to the prohibition of dealing in prize goods. Are not slave labor goods obtained with far greater and more extensive injustice, and with perpetual, instead of occasional wrong? It was against the sin of slavery that the Society of Friends were long since called to bear a faithful testimony, even to the excluding of all from membership, who held slaves; and at the present day, our members are not permitted to hold or work slaves. But while we are clear on this point, are not many of us freely partaking of the wrong, by purchasing of the oppressor its fruits? Our members who formerly held slaves, generally treated them with comparative lenity; but the oppression we encourage, by the pay we furnish, is often in the severest forms, and attended with the most cruel exactions. Are we not, then, solemnly called upon to cease from this participation, by refusing as much as in us lies, to purchase all productions known to be from this great system of unrequited toil? It was the language of the apostle,—'Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, and which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them that have reaped, have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth.' Let us therefore, fear least we also be found partaking of the unpaid gains of an oppression, it is believed, but rarely equalled among the most cruel nations of the earth, and which numbers more than two millions of victims.

"Have we not reason to believe that all the slave labor goods bought by members of this Yearly meeting, are sufficient to keep hundreds of slaves in constant toil? And how much less answerable are we for thus purchasing, than if that number of slaves were actually held by our own members to supply our wants?

"It is with these views that we earnestly desire the most solemn deliberation on the subject. If we endeavor, in compliance with the apostolic injunction, to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them;' to relieve those who may be laboring under the oppressive and debasing influence of slavery, in our own portion of the country, to bear our testimony against it on every proper occasion, by our words and our actions, and by a refusal of all participation in this enormous wrong—actuated as we ever should be, by the love which our Saviour enjoined towards our fellow-beings, and which was compared to the love we should feel to the Lord our God; may we not hope for the heavenly blessing promised to those who minister to the poor and

the outcast, and who undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free,—
 ‘Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall spring forth
 speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord shall
 be thy reward.’

‘Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done
 it to me.’⁷⁹

- 1844 Eliab W. Capron, son-in-law of Griffith and Elizabeth Cooper, resigned from
 Farmington M.M.
- 1845 January 6. “Anti-Slavery meeting [was] held here last week by W. W. Brown, J. B.
 Sanderson, and myself, and well attended by Anti-Slavery friends and *inquirers* into
 the views of those who are pleading for the captive. On the evening of January 24,
 we met at the **house of the Orthodox Friends**, and found a good audience ready to
 listen to what we might say.” Adjourned to meet in Wesleyan Methodist Church.
 Giles B. Stebbins.⁸⁰
- 1845 January 25, 1st mo. 25. Conference with Seneca leaders and Quakers at Cattaraugus,
 in which Quakers urged Seneca to adopt a European American model of family and
 work, with women working in the house and men adopting the role of farmers.
 Seneca adopted Philip Thomas of Baltimore Yearly Meeting’s Indian Committee.⁸¹
- 1845 January 30. *National Anti-Slavery Standard* published a letter from William Wells
 Brown about an anti-slavery convention in Farmington, probably in Orthodox
 Meetinghouse: “We are at present engaged in **holding a series of Conventions; the
 persons attending these meetings are J. C. Hathaway, G. B. Stebbins, J. B.
 Sanderson, G. M. Cooper, and myself. We held a Convention at Farmington.**”
 William Wells Brown.⁸²
- 1845 August. A called meeting of Genesee Yearly Meeting, “convened in the meeting-
 house at Farmington” and, dominated by reformers who would organize the Yearly
 Meeting of Congregational Friends in 1848, urged various branches of Indiana
 Yearly Meeting to remain in community with each other.

Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting

“From a called meeting of Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting, convened in
 the meeting-house at Farmington, in the State of New-York – Epistle to
 Green Plain Quarterly Meeting and such other branches of Indiana Yearly

⁷⁹ Found in Accessible Archives and transcribed by Charles Lenhart.

⁸⁰ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, January 16 [?], 1845.

⁸¹ Buffalo Express [?], July [?], 1845, clipping in Orsamus Marshall Papers, State University of New York at
 Oswego.

⁸² *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, January 30, 1845.

Meeting, as are under proscription on account of faithfulness in the maintenance of our testimony on the subject of slavery.

DEAR FRIENDS, - Being together on occasion of attending our Yearly Meeting, and having the company of our beloved friends, Joseph A. Dugdale and wife, and having had also presented to the meeting an epistle from you, our minds have been introduced into near sympathy with you in the circumstance of trial which attend you. And as sufficient unity has not been prevalent in this Yearly Meeting, to hear and respond to your epistle in a meeting capacity, we feel our minds engaged to address you in this way, if haply the mutual love of you and us may minister to each other's consolation and encouragement.

We have noticed with concern, within several years past, the progress of a spirit in our religious society calculated to sever the bonds of unity and brotherly affection. And in its results, unless by the interpositions of Divine favor, arrested, to bring about a renewal of the painful scenes of 1827 and '28, which rent into incongruous fragments those social organizations by which before we were formally recognized as one people. The former difficulty had reference to conflicting views on doctrinal subjects; the present regards, as the ground of its complaint and dissatisfaction, the *action* of brethren and sisters in works of benevolence – their conscientious efforts, by the power of truth and love, peacefully to break the fetters of slavery from the bodies and minds of fellow-beings who are the victims of wrong and cruelty. Thus a curb is attempted to be put to the very springs of those beneficent offices by which a common Father has designed his children should minister to each other's joy, and this, too, astonishing as is the fact, by those who professionally acknowledge that our testimony against slavery is among the most important that have been given the society to bear.

In what, then, does this spirit find a pretext for its love-destroying operations? While in most instances, we fear, the cause lies in a want of feeling with the crushed slaves of our country, it impugns the actions of brethren and sisters, in their efforts to relieve suffering humanity, because not confined to the forms and limits of its own prescription. Hence it arraigns the motive, while to the act and its object no wrong can be pretended to attach, and is fruitful in charges based in error. – Invading the rights of conscience, it seeks to place the dictum and prescriptions of men above the Divine law in the mind.

We are prepared to sympathize with you under the trials to which you have been subjected by the prevalence of this spirit within your borders, having had affecting experience of its operation among ourselves. But, beloved brethren and sisters, we desire you may not be dismayed or discouraged under these trials. Our Father's care over his children is not diminished. He is still the same Fountain of love, of life, of strength, he ever has been. All the perfections of his Divinity are present in their eternal fullness, to direct and preserve those who look to Him and put their trust in Him. And we desire that you, with us, may have our confidence thus placed eyeing the unfoldings

of His wisdom and power. Then will may be made, not only for a continuance, but even an increased participation of those benefits and enjoyments which, in Divine economy, result from religious association, when regulated by the perfect principles of righteousness and truth. Man's nature, as in the plenitude of wisdom it has formed by the Divine Architect, *demand*s such association., and doubtless he has established principles or laws by which it can be maintained to the benefit, strength, and consolation of all. And where these ends are not secured, it must be because of a departure from these perfect laws of the Creator, or the introduction of those of man's imperfect wisdom.- And infidel to the Divine laws, this he is too apt to do, as though God had not been sufficiently provident for the government of his intellectual and moral creation.- And in this officious interference, the beneficent operation of the principles he has established is impeded, the rightful exercise of conscience to its only Lord is assailed, the harmony of society interrupted, and wounding and disaffection introduced into the family, and the beauty of the words of God is marred.

In the progress of mind, in the Divine order, these things are being more and more manifest, and the design of our Heavenly Father, we are convinced, is, that his children should advance, under guidance of his wisdom and goodness, and arrayed in increasing brightness with all the attributes of his own Divine nature, show forth to the nations, in a life of practical goodness and purity, a light that will attract all minds to the Fountain whence it flows, and lead all to bow in obedience and adoration to the King immortal, invisible, the only true God, who is blessed for evermore.

Your excellent communication received last year, although refused a reading in our Yearly Meeting, has been perused by many, and has met a cordial response, and melted with sympathy many a feeling mind. May the spirit of kindness and forbearance actuate both you and us in all our movements. As Jesus was led as a lamb to slaughter, and as a sheep dumb before his shearer, so he opened not his mouth, let us also be possessed of that quiet, patient, and resigned state of mind, that manifests a willingness to suffer. For why should we despair when there is so much to encourage? Why should we lament when there is so much cause for joy? – joy, that pure principles of truth, love, and mercy, are breaking forth like the beams of the morning from their sectarian enclosures, and illuminating as it were the whole earth. And it is the faithful in heart, those who are willing to bear the scoffs and scorn of the world, and who can remain unmoved through good and evil report, that are the fitted instruments to advance this glorious reform in the earth.

We feel it more and more incumbent on us to support all our testimonies.

Having adverted to the company of our friend, Joseph A. Dugdale, with us, we may here add, that, by his meek and gentle spirit, and his faithful labors of love among us, he has won the hearts of many. May he be preserved by that all-sufficient arm which so manifestly upholds him through all his trials.

In conclusion, dear friends, we would say, Hold all your meetings in the power of God. Be Steadfast, always abounding in the love of the Gospel, which will subdue every foe, and crown our path with peace, and may the God of love be with you all. Farewell

We are your affectionate friends,

John H. Robinson
 Asa D. Wright
 Lewis Burtis
 Erastus Hanchett
 Gideon Gifford
 Daniel Underwood
 Asa Wilson
 John S. Mott
 Nathaniel Potter
 George Pryor
 Isaac Lapham
 Webster Laing
 Griffith M. Cooper
 Joseph Griffin
 Gordon T. Smith
 William H. Gatchel
 Joseph Post*
 Daniel W. Chase
 Samuel B. Coleman
 Daniel Pound
 Asa Smith*
 Oliver Durfee
 Timothy Howland
 Isaac S. Lapham*
 Joseph Merritt
 Thomas M'Clintock
 Samuel Keese, and
 Hannah Keese,
 (being here with minutes
 from another yearly
 meeting:)
 Welcome Gatchel
 Lorenzo Mabbett
 Henry Howland
 Wm. N. Van Alstine
 Hicks Halstead
 Asa Palmer
 Jonathan L. Shotwell
 Benjamin Tripp
 Ashor Pound
 Stephen Shear
 Henry Bonnel
 Reuben Mosher

William Gatchel*
 Elihu Durfee
 Nathan G. Herendeen
 Stet White
 George Spalding
 Isaac Jacobs
 Elias DeGarmo
 Elias Doty
 Azaliah Schooley
 Ezek Wilbur
 Pliny Sexton
 John Colvin
 Rhoda De Garmo
 Betsey Hoxie
 Sarah A. Burtis
 Lucy Durfee
 Maria E. Wilbur

Milicant Gifford
 Huldah Curtis
 Sarah L. Hallowell
 Amy Wilson
 Susan R. Doty
 Sedate Wright
 Susanna Jacobs
 Lydia Ann Wilson
 Judith Robinson
 Huldah Gatchel
 Mary Spalding
 Ann Pound
 Mary Ann Coleman
 Ann Van Alstine
 Ann T. Jacobs
 Phebe R. Thayer
 Mary A. M'Clintock, jr.
 Harriet Ann Gatchel
 Mary W. Post*
 Elizabeth Smith*
 Mary Bonnel
 Mary Ann M'Clintock
 Catherine Bunker
 Mary H. Hallowell

Philip W. Miller*	Julia L. Willis
Sanford S. Coggeswell*	Catherine Willis
Isaac Post*	Rebecca Plumly*
Joel Pound	May Bunker
Barnabas Coleman	Lucinda Bunker
Edmund P. Willis	Isabella Hance
William R. Hallowell	Rosanna Green
Elihu Coleman	Lucinda Bunker
Edmund P. Willis	Isabella Hance
William R. Hallowell	Rosanna Green
Elihu Coleman	Eliza D. Van Alstine
Charles Bonnel	Sarah E. Titus
Deanna Bonnel	Amy Post*
Elizabeth W. M'Clintock	
Sarah G. M'Clintock	

*Those marked thus are not members of Genesee Yearly Meeting. [Note is from the article.]⁸³

1845 October 27. 10th mo. 27. Griffith Cooper wrote to Philip Thomas (from Baltimore, who worked with Cooper on Seneca Indian land rights) accepting philosophically his “release” as a minister of Farmington Friends Meeting (Hicksite).

I am at peace with all men. The difficulty is among Friends themselves—I will have nothing to do with religious feuds. The members of my Preparative Meeting [Williamson Preparative Meeting] or at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of them signed and forwarded to the last Monthly Meeting a remonstrance against discussion in the Meeting of Ministers and Elders in relation to myself. This was done without my knowledge. So it appears I have not lost caste at home the place to know a man.⁸⁴

NR nomination: Many abolitionist Quakers began to leave their meetings by the 1840s. Some, such as Isaac Hopper in New York City, were disowned. When Griffith M. Cooper, an Underground Railroad activist and recorded minister in Farmington Monthly Meeting (Hicksite)--“one of our most radical ministers,” noted Lucretia Mott--defended Hopper, Farmington Meeting of Ministers and Elders “released” him as a minister, “women friends uniting.”

1846 **July 10. Charles Lenox Remond addressed anti-slavery meeting in Wesleyan Methodist Meetinghouse in Farmington.

⁸³ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Aug 21, 1845.

⁸⁴ Minutes of Farmington Monthly Meeting, September 22, 1842, October 27, 1842; Lucretia Mott to Richard and Hannah Webb, March 23, 1846; Griffith M. Cooper to Philip E. Thomas, October 27, 1845, all quoted in A. Day Bradley, “Progressive Friends in Michigan and New York,” *Quaker History* 52 (1963), 97. Thanks to Christopher Densmore for his work on Farmington Monthly and Quarterly Meeting and its importance to antislavery.

Orthodox meetinghouse undergoing repairs. 1816 Meetinghouse “bolted and barred” against anti-slavery meetings.

“We held a meeting on the 10th, at Farmington, which was addressed by our friend, Charles Lenox Remond. It was an interesting one. The house was much crowded, and a number went away, who could not gain admittance. It was held in the Wesleyan Methodist meeting-house, which is not a large building, but is *always open* to Anti-Slavery. The orthodox Friends’ meeting-house, where we commonly hold our meetings, was undergoing repairs, and not in a *useable* condition. The Hicksite Friends’ house, the largest, and most commodious building in town, is *bolted and barred* against Anti-Slavery meetings, notwithstanding the *majority* of the owners and occupants are opposed to having it shut.”⁸⁵

- 1847 June. New political party, the Liberty League, met at Macedon Locks, just north of Farmington. Women at the convention voted for presidential nominees, the first time known in U.S. history. NR nomination—The Liberty League met at Macedon Lock, just north of Farmington, and nominated Gerrit Smith for President. William R. Smith, Farmington Friend, was a vice-president of this convention, and undoubtedly other Farmington Friends were present at this meeting also.

Among its other actions, the Liberty League supported women’s right to vote. Although the Seneca Falls woman’s rights convention is generally considered the first official public demand for voting rights for women, the Liberty League meeting at Macedon Lock in June 1847, by resolution, invited women in attendance to vote for the party’s nominees for national office. This is the first known instance in U.S. history that a political party included women as voters at its national convention. Again for the first known time in history, women received votes for president of the United States. Lucretia Mott and Lydia Maria Child received one vote each as the Liberty League’s candidate for President.⁸⁶

1847. Frederick Douglass set up the *North Star* in Rochester, supported by the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society.

The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society warmly patronized the *North Star*, resolving “That we most cordially welcome our distinguished friends and well tried fellow laborers, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, M.R. DELANY and WM. C. NELL, editors and publisher of the “NORTH STAR,” and pledge them our co-operation, aid and support during the war.” “We hail with joy the appearance of the “NORTH STAR,” they announced, “trusting that in its light many a bondman shall find his liberty; and that its rays will

⁸⁵ J.C. Hathaway to Sydney Howard Gay, Farmington, 7th mo. 26, 1846, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, August 6, 1846.

⁸⁶ *National Era*, June 24, 1847. For the platform of the Liberty League, see William Goodell, *Address of the Macedon Convention and Letters of Gerrit Smith* (Albany: S.W. Green, Patrio Office, 1847), <http://library.syr.edu/digital/collections/g/GerritSmith/447.htm>.

even pierce the prison-house, exposing to the gaze of the world, the dark and damning deeds which are there committed, until not a slave shall be found upon American soil.”⁸⁷

1847-1850s. Douglass spoke often in nearby towns (including Farmington) of western New York near Rochester, and such talks helped shape both his oratorical and editorial styles. He noted in his 1893 autobiography that

I did not rely alone upon what I could do by the paper, but would write all day, then take a train to Victor, Farmington, Canandaigua, Geneva, Waterloo, Batavia, or Buffalo, or elsewhere, and speak in the evening, returning home afterwards or early in the morning, to be again at my desk writing or mailing papers. There were times when I almost thought my Boston friends were right in dissuading me from my newspaper project. But looking back to those nights and days of toil and thought, compelled often to do work for which I had no educational preparation, I have come to think that, under the circumstances it was the best school possible for me. It obliged me to think and read, it taught me to express my thoughts clearly, and was perhaps better than any other course I could have adopted. Besides it made it necessary for me to lean upon myself, and not upon the heads of our Anti-Slavery church. To be a principal, and not an agent. I had an audience to speak to every week, and must say something worth their hearing, or cease to speak altogether. There is nothing like the lash and sting of necessity to make a man work, and my paper furnished this motive power.⁸⁸

1847-1850s. Frederick Douglass emphasized the importance of Quakers (affiliated with Farmington Quarterly Meeting) and others in creating an atmosphere in Rochester, New York, in which African Americans felt comfortable.

There were barriers erected against colored people in most other places of Instruction and amusements in the city, and until I went there they were imposed without any apparent sense of injustice or wrong, and submitted to in silence; but one by one they have gradually been removed and colored people now enter freely all places of public resort without hindrance or observation. This change has not been wholly effected by me. From the first I was cheered on and supported in my demands for equal rights by such respectable citizens as **Isaac Post, Wm. Hallowell**, Samuel D. Porter, Wm. C. Bloss, **Benj. Fish, Asa Anthony**, and many other good and true men of Rochester. . . . I know of no place in the Union where I could have located at the time with less resistance, or received a larger measure of sympathy and coöperation, and I now look back to my life and labors there with unalloyed satisfaction, and having spent a quarter of a century among its people, I shall always feel more at home there than any where else in this country.

⁸⁷ “Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society,” *North Star*, January 7, 1848. NR nomination.

⁸⁸ Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 269-70, www.docsouth.edu.

- 1847 **October 12. Zephar and Phidelia Smith sold land as described in 1837 deed to Isaac Lapham for \$3000, “excepting lands occupied by the Society of Friends Called Hixites”; “commencing at center of the highway leading from the Friends meeting house to Isaac Lapham where the line of Lot No. 137 and lot no. 138 cross the said highway thence southerly along the east side of said lands to the highway leading from New salem to Friends Meeting House thence easterly along the center of said highway to the four corners of the road near said Meeting house thence northeasterly along the center of the first mentioned highway to the place of beginning **excepting the lands occupied by the society of Friends called Hixites** the above deeded premises contain one hundred acres be the same more or less.”⁸⁹
- 1847 Fall. Douglass spoke in the Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, in the 1816 meetinghouse. **“Our next meeting was held in Farmington, and in what house, do you think? In friends’ Meeting-house – a house which has been hermetically sealed against Anti-Slavery meetings for more than five years.** A change has come over those in authority in that region, which promises much to the cause of the slave and the character of that society. There are a number of the truest friends of the slave connected with that society, whose hearts will leap up with delight at this pleasing indication.”⁹⁰
- 1848 February 11. 2nd mo. 11. Charles Lenox Remond, J.C. Hathaway, and Frederick Douglass scheduled to speak in Farmington on February 22 and 23.⁹¹
- 1848 February 22, 2nd mo. 11. J.C. Hathaway (Farmington) and Thomas M’Clintock (Waterloo, part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting) sign a call with others Quakers (including Lucretia and James Mott) for an Anti-Sabbath Convention to be held in Boston, Massachusetts.
- 1848 March, 3rd mo. WNYASS held an anti-slavery meeting in Williamson (just north of Farmington), home of Griffith Cooper (formerly a minister of Farmington M.M.), in which Cooper, J.C. Hathaway, and Giles B. Stebbins (all affiliated with Farmington Monthly or Quarterly Meetings) took prominent roles.⁹²
- 1848 March 31. *North Star*, 3rd mo. 31 and elsewhere. Women’s Anti-Slavery Fair held in Rochester, dominated by Quaker women who affiliated with Farmington Quarterly Meeting. Of the twenty-eight women who signed this notice, at least twenty-one are known to be affiliated with Quaker meetings that were part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting (either Orthodox or Hicksite).⁹³

⁸⁹ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 84, page 90. Recorded October 15, 1847.

⁹⁰ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 7, 1847.

⁹¹ *North Star*, February 11, 1848.

⁹² *North Star*, March 3, 1843.

⁹³ *North Star*, March 24 and 31, 1848; November 10, 1848. See also January 14, 1848; August 31, 1849.

1848 April 13. 4th mo. 13. The *Pearl* was captured in Chesapeake as it tried to sail with 77 enslaved African Americans to freedom. All African Americans were sold into slavery. Most were never heard from again. Two teenage girls, however, Mary Edmondson and Emily Edmondson, became celebrities when their father Paul Edmondson successfully raised funds, with the help of antislavery agent William Chaplin and Henry Ward Beecher of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, to buy them out of slavery.⁹⁴ Upon their release from slavery, the Edmondson sisters came to Farmington. At least one of them lived with William R. and Eliza Smith, Macedon.

1848 In April, a man whom everyone supposed was a fugitive from slavery appeared in Farmington at Sunday meeting. As Welcome Herendeen noted in his diary:

First day, 4th Mo. 16th, 9 o'clock in the evening: This day has been above the level for strange occurrences. This forenoon went to meeting. When I arrived there there was a man standing out by the shed, a very Black Colored man. He was dressed in white calico with a cotten handkercheif tied around his head. He was the noblest looking Negro that I ever saw. Tall I should think he was 6 feet high well proportioned and built as trimly as could be. He had on a cotten frock which made him lcoock 9?) better. His walk was strate and graceful his air lofty and commanding he was not inclined to say much said he did not feel like talking. The common opinion was that he was a runaway from slavry. His silence seemed to indicate fear of being captured. There was a great many conjectures concerning him his actions were so mysterious. When meeting commenced he walked into meeting, took the second seat behind the stove. He sat in silence for about 1/2 hour then he arose folded up his hands and stood silent for a few minuets and then he spoke. He said that he supposed that his manners appeared strange to most if not all present. He stated that he was under the influence of the Holy Spiret which made known to him the states and conditions of all men that he did not wish to get acquainted with any person by the shaking of the hand or by conversation. He thought that the Africans were the chosen people of God. He went to tell where Heaven was situated. He went on in this strane for about 15 munets when Aser B. Smith requested him to take his seat. He imeadetly left the house. He was evidently a Reglious fanatic with a shattered mind. [spelling as in typescript from original]⁹⁵

1848 June 11-12. Division in Genesee Yearly Meeting. Yearly Meeting laid down Michigan Quarter (refusing to condone its abolition of separate meetings of ministers and elders) and attached its monthly meetings to Pelham Quarter. Some two hundred Friends (about half those who attended Genesee Yearly Meeting) walked out of the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse to meet separately, while the Yearly Meeting was still in session. This group issued *An Address to Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting and*

⁹⁴ For more on the *Pearl*, see Stanley Harrold, *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828-1865*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 116-145; Josephine Pacheco, *The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

⁹⁵ Typescript from Journal of Welcome Herendeen, April 16, 1848. Many thanks to Helen Kirker for sharing this reference.

Elsenhire and called for another meeting at Farmington on October 6-7, 1848.⁹⁶

June 11. Hundreds of people gathered at the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse for Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. Benjamin Gue, a local newspaper editor, recorded in his diary that several men, "not very talented," spoke, and then Lucretia Mott delivered "one of the best sermons I ever listened to."

June 12. Sixth Month 12th. "commenced the great struggle which ended in the separation of the society." John Searing and Margaret Brown made a brief report "To Genesee Yearly Meeting of Men & Women Friends" from "a part of the Committee" which transmitted to Michigan Quarterly Meeting "the report *and conclusion* of last year." The committee deeply deplored

the feeling that appears to prevail in the minds of some friends in Michigan either to separate themselves from society or compel the latter to yield its order, its discipline, its long established institutions! When we reflect upon the disaster and desolation, that always attend efforts to control or distract religious society, that operate so powerfully upon the great cause of pure and vital Christianity, we feel that the efforts now making to relax the discipline, and abandon the institutions that time and change have left us, are not in accordance with truth."⁹⁷

Sympathizers of Michigan Quarterly Meeting argued that the Clerk had violated "the sacred rights of conscience, rights of inestimable value, not only to the Society, but to the world at large." "Friends who loved *true* order and could not unite with the arbitrary measures which had been adopted" agreed to meet the afternoon of the next day. "A large body of men and women friends," probably about two hundred people, met on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday for "deeply interesting and feeling" conferences. Significantly, they seem to have met not as separate men's and women's meetings, but as one group.⁹⁸

Daniel Anthony, one of the dissenters, reported to his daughter Susan B. Anthony, teaching in Canajoharie, New York, that

Farmington Yearly meeting at thier [sic] last getting together divided--That portion of its members who take the liberty of holding up to view the wickedness of War--Slavery Intemperance--Hanging &c . . . That portion of the society who are not exactly satisfied to confine their operations for ameliorating the conditions of man within the compass of an old shriveled up nutshell [. . .] and who are of opinion that each individual should have a right to even think as well as act for himself & in his own way to assist in rooling [sic] on the wheel of

⁹⁶ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, August 31, 1848.

⁹⁷Men's Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 1847. The committee's statement as reported here is virtually identical to the report from the Women's Meeting Minutes. Exclamation points appeared in the Men's Meeting Minutes only. I have standardized spelling and punctuation.

⁹⁸Manuscript Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Men, June 12-16, 1848, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore; *Address*, 5, 8; Benjamin Gue, "Journal," 40.

reform has left the more orthodox--wise and self righteous part of the society to attend to nothing but matters of pure & undefiled religion.

As for himself, he reported that "I am a member of that Society which has for its Teretory [sic] no less sphere than all creation & for its members every rational creature under Heaven."⁹⁹

Lucretia Mott was clearly in sympathy with those who walked out. "Three yearly mgs. will be formed this autumn on radical principles," she reported to English Friend Richard D. Webb, "--doing away with select mgs. & ordaing. ministers, men and women on perfect equality. What a wonderful breaking up there is among sects." "The high handed measure of those in power," she wrote later, "must eventually open the eyes of the people to the impropriety and danger of conferring such power on our fellow mortals."¹⁰⁰

1848 6th mo 11-12. Division in Genesee Yearly Meeting.

Division among Friends. We received not long since, from our friend, Thomas McClintock, a pamphlet containing a brief narration of the events which led to the recent division in the Genesee Yearly meeting of friends. The cause of the division in fact was the "laying down" of a Monthly Meeting in Michigan which for the last year or two has infringed – so it was contended by the dominant party – upon the discipline of the Society, in neglecting to hold the stated meetings for Ministers and Elders. The proceedings of the Genesee Yearly Meeting in relation to the Michigan Friends was conducted, according to the report before us, without due regard to the rights of the minority, and in spite of the protest of many weighty members who asked that the case should receive more thorough consideration, and be conducted more in accordance with the customs and principles of Friends. But though the alternative was distinctly stated to be a division of the Yearly Meeting, it was chosen by the dominant party rather than the adoption of the more liberal and pacific course advocated by the minority. An esteemed correspondent at Rochester has sent us the subjoined letter from a Friend in Michigan which will be read with interest by a large portion of our readers among Friends. It will be observed that the letter touches only upon the question of the appointment of Elders, and that without reference to the division in the Genesee Meeting. It sets forth, however, the motives which governed the Friends of Michigan in their course in regard to meetings for Elders, the action upon which led to the division. It is, we believe, an open secret that beneath the apparent cause of this division lie others which have exercised a strong influence upon the members on both sides. The question of Slavery, and the position of that Yearly Meeting in regard to all movements of reform have long been disturbing elements among its members, and undoubtedly had much to do with the recent division. The want of sympathy and unanimity in the meeting on all these subjects probably (Unreadable) the division, which no one of them, perhaps, would

⁹⁹ Daniel Anthony to Susan B. Anthony, July 16, 1848, Susan B. Anthony Papers, Schlesinger Library.

¹⁰⁰ Lucretia Mott to Richard D. Webb [etc.], September 10, 1848, Garrison Papers, Boston Public Library; Mott to George W. Julian, November 14, 1848, Mott Papers, Swarthmore.

have alone produced.

DEAR FRIEND;- Thou observed in thy letter that it is a day of great treading down, and endeavouring to destroy our beautiful order, some in one way, and some in another, especially in the growing opposition by some select meetings, thereby tending to sap the foundation; that from long observation thou had become convinced that there is nothing more calculated to separate and divide than an (unreadable) ministry; that if there ever was a time in the early days of Friends for faithful Elders to set with and advise ministers, that was (unreadable) necessary in the present day. On the last mentioned subject, I suppose we sincerely differ in sentiment, therefore cannot respond to all those views. (unreadable) it is a (?)ay in which many are endeavouring to destroy our beautiful order, I should render thus – that it is a day in which the inward order is so generally and lamentably departed from, that the outward order to many has become a snare. The Almighty declared through his prophet to a backsliding society of former time, that he would curse even their blessings. The blessings which he bestowed on them being by them perverted, were there according to an i(unreadable) law of consequences, turned into a curse. Thus it has happened to our Israel and the opposition thou speaks of to select meetings, is nothing more or less than an honest, and I trust through Divine aid, an effectual effort to take away one of the principle causes of the curse, which has been brought upon the Society by the perversion of that beautiful order an outward discipline, which was given us as a means for our good; but by forsaking the inward and misapplying the outward, it has become the means of much harm, and (unreadable) one of the means appointed for a blessing, has been turned into a (unreadable).

I do not say the appointment of Elders, as thou appointment is now construed, and the holding of (unreadable – possibly select) meetings as now instituted, was ever a blessing to society, or ever had their origin in the Divine will and council; but in the will and council of man, who loving power, sought out among other inventions,(unreadable) summary way to (unreadable) it, and if we are admitted, which cannot well be denied to judge of causes by their effects, we shall p(unreadable)ive instead of an unsound ministry being the principal cause of the division, it was chiefly commenced and pr(unr4eadable)ed by means of unsound elders, who, because of their unsoundness could not receive, but rose in opposition to a sound ministry; and **I have long been, and am at present, fully persuaded that the separation in the Society was chiefly occasioned by the growth of an aristocratic body of principles and practices, of which, select meetings was the head. So also I am persuaded that did sound principles and practices at present prevail influencing the members and council of the Society, as our high and holy profession signifies and sets forth, thou elders as now appointed, and select meetings as now instituted, would not live through another Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends.** The unsound ministry now complained

The rest of this article has a lot of blurred words and biblical references that make

the rest of this hard to transcribe.¹⁰¹

- 1848 After June. After the June 1848 meeting at Farmington, Thomas M'Clintock, clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting from 1838-43, wrote *An Address to Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting, and Elsewhere*, explaining their actions. There were two reasons for the break, he emphasized.

One was the imperative need for practical reform. The other was the necessity for individuals to follow their own spiritual leadings. "For many years," he wrote, "we have failed to realize that unity, the existence of which was indispensable to enable us, as a body, to advance the great principles of righteousness embraced in some of the most needful reforms of this age. . . such as the mighty sins of War, Slavery, Intemperance, &c., which are afflicting the human family, cursing the Divine principles of man's nature, alienating man from his God and from his brother.

Furthermore, Friends have struggled with the "growth among us of a spirit of proscription and intolerance. A spirit which has been unwilling to concede to every equal brother and sister those rights which it claimed for itself--the rights of conscience, and action in conformity to apprehended immediate Divine requiring."¹⁰²

- 1848 July 9. 7th mo. 9. Meeting at home of Jane and Richard P. Hunt. Five women (four Quakers—Jane Hunt, Mary Ann M'Clintock, Lucretia Mott, and Martha Wright—plus Elizabeth Cady Stanton) attended. They wrote the Call for a woman's rights convention, to be held at the Wesleyan Chapel on July 19-20, 1848.
- 1848 July 11. 7th mo. 11. Call published in the *Seneca County Courier*.
- 1848 July 14. 7th mo. 14. Elizabeth Cady Stanton took "the cars" to the M'Clintock home in Waterloo, where she and several members of the M'Clintock family finished drafting the Declaration of Sentiments. After perusing reports of peace, temperance, and antislavery societies, "one of the circle" took up the Declaration of Independence, and they all decided that this was the model they wanted to use for the declaration of women's rights.
- 1848 July 19-20. 7th mo. 19-20. First women's rights convention, Wesleyan Chapel, Seneca Falls. At least 25 of the 100 signers of the Declaration of Sentiments were Quakers. All but the Motts and Martha Wright were or had been affiliated with Farmington Quarterly Meeting and Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. This is the largest known group of religious people at the convention. Rhoda Palmer, member of Junius M.M., thought that all the members of that meeting attended the women's rights convention. Several more Quakers came with Frederick Douglass from Rochester (Amy Post, Sarah Hallowell, Mary Hallowell, Catharine Fish Stebbins). Several more came from the Farmington-Macedon area. William and Caroline Barker, Eliab W. Capron, and Elias and Susan Doty were affiliated with Farmington M.M. (Hicksite). Maria E. Wilbur was a member of Farmington M.M. (Orthodox). We do not know

¹⁰¹ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, August 31, 1848.

¹⁰² *An Address to Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting and Elsewhere* (Seneca Falls: Milliken and Mumford, 1848), 2.

which meeting Elizabeth D. Smith belonged to.

1848 August 1-2. 8th mo. 1-2. Women's rights activists, dominated by Quakers, held a second woman's rights convention in Rochester, attended by both African Americans and European Americans, which adopted the Declaration of Sentiments, introduced working women's issues as primary concerns, and (for the first time) invited a woman (Abigail Bush) to preside.

1848 *August 13. 8th mo. 13. Douglass visited Farmington and spoke in "the meetinghouse," although whether this was the Orthodox or Hicksite meetinghouse is not clear. Hicksite Quaker Welcome Herendeen recorded in his journal:

First Day, August 13, 1848. This afternoon attended an Abolition meeting at the meeting house. It was a spirited one. It was addressed by Frederick Douglass, M.R. Delaney Glen and John Whitrool. Frederick and Deiny wanted all of those that voted to vote for VanBuran as the best thing that they could do to stop the extension of slavery.¹⁰³

Douglass commented on the same meeting in the *North Star*. "If there had been nothing else to contribute to our pleasure," he noted, "the company of Joseph C. Hathaway, a faithful friend of the slavery and co-laborer in the cause of the oppressed, and his excellent wife (Esther Hathaway) and family of interesting children, added to whom was the noble hearted Anna Adams, these of themselves were sufficient."¹⁰⁴

1848 August 24. 8th mo. 24. Lucretia and James Mott reported on recent visit to Cattaraugus homelands.

There is some evidence to suggest that Quaker women established informal ties among Seneca people on a different basis than these formal policies. Lucretia Mott visited the Seneca people at Cattaraugus in June 1848, for example, right after she left Genesee Yearly Meeting at Farmington. She recorded her thoughts in a letter to the *Liberator*. In drawing up a Constitution, noted Mott, the Seneca were "imitating the movements of France and all Europe, in seeking larger liberty--more independence." While two white missionaries (probably Laura and Asher Wright) worked to convert people to the "bread and wine" of Christians, other Senecas adhered to the "sacred festivals of their fathers." "We might be found equally discountenancing each form," noted Mott, "and recommending our Quaker non-conformity." Instead, "we commended them to the 'Great Spirit,' believing that those who danced religiously, might be as nearly perfect, as were those who

¹⁰³ Typescript from Journal of Welcome Herendeen, August 13, 1848. Many thanks to Helen Kirker for sharing this reference.

¹⁰⁴ *North Star*, August 21 [24?], 1848.

communed in some other chosen form--neither of these being the test of acceptance."¹⁰⁵

- 1848 October 6-7. Tenth Month, 6-7. Seceders from Genesee Yearly Meeting met again at Farmington in the 1816 meetinghouse to organize a new yearly meeting of Congregational Friends. They adopted the *Basis of Religious Association*, written by Thomas M'Clintock, a "biblical scholar of some renown" (according to Lucretia Mott), editor of eight volumes of the writings of George Fox, leader of the Hicksite separation in Philadelphia Y.M. in 1828, and Clerk of Genesee Y.M., 1838-43.

Local meetings would not be subject to the authority of any other meeting, they agreed. There would be no separate meetings of men and women or ministers and elders. There were to be no creeds and no rituals. Instead, they would focus on practical philanthropy. "The true basis of religious fellowship," they agreed, "is not identity of theological belief, but unity of heart and oneness of purpose in respect to the great practical duties of life."¹⁰⁶

The adoption of the *Basis* marked the formal beginning of the Congregational or Progressive Friends (later the Friends of Human Progress), which met annually at the Quaker meetinghouse in Junius from 1849 into the 1880s. Several other similar groups also formed—in Michigan; Green Plain, Ohio; Longwood, Pennsylvania; and Collins, New York. These Congregational Friends were committed abolitionists. They also became some of the earliest and longest-lived supporters of the woman's rights movement. Many Quakers, however, were shocked by the radical individualism of these Congregational Friends. One observer noted that the group in Longwood, Pennsylvania, were made up of "long-haired men and short-haired women" who would be "better off in an asylum."¹⁰⁷

- 1848 October 6. Elizabeth Cady Stanton spoke in 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, on Friday, October 6, 1848. Quaker Benjamin Gue wrote in his diary that he went to a woman's rights meeting held that evening "in the large meeting house," "attended by Elizabeth C. Stanton of Seneca Falls, she circulated a petition praying the Legislature to allow women of legal age to exercise the right of the Elective

¹⁰⁵ Lucretia Mott to Edmund Quincy, August 24, 1848, printed in *Liberator*, October 6, 1848. From National Register nomination, Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District.

¹⁰⁶ *Basis of Religious Association. Adopted by the Conference Held at Farmington, in the State of New York, on the Sixth and Seventh of Tenth Month, 1848 in Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends* (Auburn, New York: Henry Oliphant, 1850), 44-48. *Farm.Meeting.08.16.2014*

¹⁰⁷ Albert Wahl, "The Progressive Friends of Longwood," 27, quoted in Ryan P. Jordan, "Slavery and the Meetinghouse: Quakers, Abolitionists, and the Dilemma Between Liberty and Union, 1820-65," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2004, 151. Albert John Wahl, *American Republican*, September 25 and October 2, 1855, cited in "The Congregational or Progressive Friends in the Pre-Civil War Reform Movement," Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1951, 94-95. From Judith Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls* (Illinois University Press, 2004).

Franchise, which I signed.”¹⁰⁸

Stanton wrote in her autobiography that, soon after the Seneca Falls woman's rights convention, “I was invited to speak at several points in the neighborhood. One night, in the Quaker Meeting House at Farmington, I invited, as usual, discussion and questions when I had finished. We all waited in silence for a long time; at length a middle-aged man, with a broad-brimmed hat, arose and responded in a sing-song tone: 'All I have to say –, if a hen can crow, let her crow,' emphasizing 'crow' with an upward inflection on several notes of the gamut. The meeting adjourned with mingled feelings of surprise and merriment. I confess that I felt somewhat chagrined in having what I considered my unanswerable arguments so summarily disposed of, and the serious impression I had made on the audience so speedily dissipated. The good man intended no disrespect, as he told me afterward. He simply put the whole argument in a nutshell: 'Let a woman do whatever she can.'”¹⁰⁹

- 1848 November 11, 11th mo. 11. Phebe Hathaway, Farmington Quaker abolitionist (Orthodox, and one of the organizers of the 1838 Farmington Female Anti-Slavery Society) wrote to Elizabeth Cady Stanton about hiring Lucy Stone as a woman's rights lecturer for New York State.

Thou wilt be glad to hear she [Lucy Stone] can come to this state so much sooner than she expected. Perhaps thou hast written her before this, and told her something definite relative to the plans of the society. I have written her but once, and then little more than to ask her if she would be willing to enter this field, and if so, upon what terms. I suppose she wishes to know definitely what her work is to be, and as nearly as possible *where*.”¹¹⁰

- 1849 June. Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends held in Waterloo (Junius Monthly Meetinghouse). Almost all those who attended were from Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. This is a lengthy letter, but included here because it gives a good sense of the values of these reformers.

NEW LISBON, O, 7th month 9th, 1849.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Being on my home-bound way from New York State, where I have been attending a deeply interesting Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, a notice of which has been published in the *Tribune*, together with an "Address to Reformers," several Friends have expressed a wish to see the letter and address in the

¹⁰⁸ For a transcript of this speech, see Ann Gordon, ed., *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, Vol. I, *In the School of Anti-Slavery, 1840-1866* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 94-123; *The Diary of Benjamin F. Gue in Rural New York and Pioneer Iowa, 1847-1856* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1962), 40.

¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More* (1898), reprint Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993, 151.

¹¹⁰ Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Amy Post, September 24, 1848, Gordon Ann D. Gordon, ed., *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony, Vol I: In the School of Anti-Slavery, 1840-1866* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 123-24; Phebe Hathaway to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, November 11, 1848, Gordon, ed., 132.

Era. Wilt thou be so good as to give them an insertion, and very much oblige thy friend and many others.

Hastily, but with very kind consideration and regard, JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, of *Selma, Clark county, O.*

---- WATERLOO, SENECA CO., *June 7, 1849.* * * * * *

Within the last few days, there has been held, at the Quaker meeting-house near this village, a large meeting, composed mainly of members of or seceders from the Society of (Hicksite) Friends. It was called for the purpose of forming a new religious organization, of a more liberal and reformatory character than that of the old sects. The movement originated in a conscientious dissatisfaction with the frigid indifference or unyielding hostility to the reforms of the age manifested by the leaders of the Quaker Society. Year after year had the earnest opponents of Intemperance, Slavery, and War, sought to procure such action on these questions as they thought was required by the principles which the Society had so long professed. Many of their number had been disowned for no cause save their activity in reformatory associations, while others were subjected to the constant pressure of religious bigotry and intolerance. Among those disowned for this cause was the venerable Isaac T. Hopper of New York, the late and deeply-lamented Charles Marriott, and Nicholas Hallock of Milton, and Joseph A. Dugdale of Ohio, both able ministers of the Society.

The call for the Convention, whose sessions have just been concluded, was issued by a Conference of members of the Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. It proposed, as a substitute for the old Quaker organization, whereby the Yearly Meeting is endowed with ecclesiastical power over the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, that each local congregation should manage its own internal and disciplinary affairs on such a plan as may be best adapted to its own peculiar circumstances; while the General or Yearly Meeting, being free from the necessity of intermeddling with merely local affairs, and from the difficult, not to say unworthy, effort to enforce a rigid uniformity in respect to theological opinions and shibboleths, should be devoted to the culture of a wider charity, a more enlightened and earnest sympathy with the Reforms of the Age, a more generous hospitality for new ideas, and a spirit of brotherly cooperation in every work of practical righteousness and benevolence. **Retaining the essential *principles* of Quakerism, it proposed to abolish what is known as the "Select Meeting," or the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and to render the organization more democratic by placing all its members upon one level of rights and prerogatives, leaving each individual to exert the influence which *character* alone can confer. The practice of recommending (ordaining) ministers, and seating them above their brethren, it also proposed to abolish, leaving each individual free to speak or be silent, according to his highest perceptions of duty. Proposing no theological test, it was designed to form a union of all those, of whatever sect, who desired to cooperate in works of charity and benevolence, on a basis which should allow the widest freedom of speech in respect to all subjects on which there might be an honest difference of opinion.**

The call was responded to by a large number of persons, mostly members of the Genesee Yearly Meeting, but including a few from other parts of the country, and some who were not Quakers. Among those in attendance from abroad, were Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, (the most eloquent Quaker minister in the United States, if not in the world,) Nicholas Hallock, of Milton, and Joseph A. Dugdale and Ruth Dugdale, of Ohio. **Contrary to the usual practice of Friends, the sessions of the Yearly Meeting were not private, but open to anybody who chose to attend; and men and women, instead of meeting separately, came together in the same room on terms of perfect equality.** The meeting was organized, according to the usual Quaker practice, by the appointment of no other officers than Clerks. No question was put to vote, but everything was done by general consent, the Clerks, after listening to all that was said by the members, recording what appeared to them to be the prevailing wish of the Meeting. The Clerks were, Thomas McClintock, of Waterloo, a well-known minister, and long regarded as one of the ablest writers in the Society of Friends, and Rhode De Garmo, of Rochester. Epistles of sympathy were received from various meetings and individuals in different parts of the country, which afforded proof that the movement is confined to no locality, but has sprung from a common want among those who desire to make their religious organizations more truly subservient to the progress of practical piety and philanthropy. The name assumed by the meeting, after considerable discussion, is that of Congregational Friends.

The discussions of the meeting were conducted with great kindness of spirit, earnestness of manner, and, on the part of some, with much ability and eloquence. Lucretia Mott delighted everybody by her simplicity of manner, her clear perception and fearless utterance of truth, and her devotedness to the Right. Besides attending the regular session of the Convention, she addressed a crowded meeting at the court house, in this village, on Tuesday evening, and another (to vindicate the Rights of Women) at Seneca falls, on the evening of Wednesday.

The subjects brought before the meeting were of a practical nature. Intemperance, Slavery, War, Licentiousness, Land Monopoly, the Rights and Wrongs of Woman, Priestcraft, Sectarianism, Capital Punishment, &c., all received some share of attention. A general Address, (written by Thomas McClintock,) setting forth the views of the meeting in relation to these subjects, and defining the position of Congregational Friends in respect to questions of Theology, was unanimously adopted. Congress was memorialized for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and the inter-State Slave Trade, and against the extension of Slavery to California and New Mexico. The Legislature of New York was memorialized in opposition to Capital Punishment.

The spirit of the meeting and its position toward Reformers of all classes is exhibited in the following Address, which was unanimously and even enthusiastically adopted. The contrast between this and the proceedings of other religious bodies in relation to Reforms is noteworthy. Instead of opposing and baffling them, it extends to them the helping hand, recognising them as so many departments of the great field of Christian effort:

ADDRESS TO REFORMERS.

To all earnest and devoted laborers in the various Humanitary Reforms so conspicuous in the present day, the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends sendeth greeting:

BELOVED FRIENDS: Assembled, in obedience to the call of Duty, for the promotion of pure and undefiled religion throughout the world, our souls have been stirred by an earnest desire to strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of those who, in the midst of obloquy and reproach, are struggling, through the various Reformatory Associations of the present day, to abolish the giant evils which have so long cursed and degraded the human family. Having broken the ties of party and sect, under a solemn conviction that they are incompatible with the freedom of the soul and a mighty obstacle to the progress of the human race in knowledge and goodness, we have been drawn together for our spiritual strength and elevation, and by a common sympathy in every work of practical righteousness, and a common desire to find a basis of union for all the friends of God and Humanity - a common platform, in which, they may meet in perfect harmony with the laws of their being and the equal relations which our Father in heaven has established for them. Such a basis of universal fellowship we have sought, not in creeds and forms, but in love to God, and, in those principles of FUNDAMENTAL MORALITY which are the elements of all true religion, and which are so clearly set forth in the precepts and so beautifully illustrated in the life of Christ. While your associations are devoted each specially to one or another of the various branches of Reform, ours is designed to embrace them all in one common brotherhood, and to open a channel through which those engaged in one department may help those who are toiling in another, and receive and impart the strength which is derived from communion with God and with kindred spirits. Standing upon this platform, we rejoice to greet you as fellow-laborers with us in the great work of Human Redemption and Salvation, and to tender you our hearty God-speed in the work to which you have been called.

In the field of moral no less than in that of physical effort, there is an absolute necessity for a division of labor - a necessity arising on the one hand from the magnitude and variety of the work to be accomplished, and on the other from the great diversity of gift in the different classes of the human family. The attention of one class may be particularly called to the evils of Intemperance; another may be inspired to do battle with the gigantic sin of Slavery; a third to denounce and expose the atrocities and crimes of War, and another for the abolition of the Gallows and the adjustment of the whole penal code to the Christian law of Forgiveness; another may be called of God to arrest the tide of Sexual Impurity; the province of others may be to seek a remedy for the blighting evils of Poverty, to protest against the tyranny of Wealth, the monopoly of Land, or to harmonize the relations of men in Industrial Associations; another class may be impelled to labor for the restoration to Woman of the inalienable rights of which she has so long been despoiled; others may seek the overthrow of a despotic and mercenary Priesthood, to call mankind away from reliance upon empty forms and the observance of holy days, and to consecrate all time to the service of God; and still another class may devote their energies to Physiological Reform or to the sacred work of Education. But, as all moral evils spring from the same root, so is the work of abolishing them essentially ONE

WORK. Here we exhort the friends of Reform, in whatever portion of the moral vineyard they are called to labor, to remember that they are one Brotherhood, and should therefore be of one heart and one mind. We are deeply impressed with the conviction that not only is an earnest devotion to one philanthropic enterprise consistent with a hearty interest in every work of Reform, but that our usefulness and efficiency in our several spheres will be proportioned to our just appreciation of the labors of others to our diligence in cultivating the spirit of Universal Unity. The narrow bigotry which leads us to form an exaggerated estimate of our own immediate labors, and to undervalue the toils and sacrifices of others not less devoted than ourselves to the welfare of mankind, is at war with the whole genius of reform, and a mighty hindrance to our moral and spiritual growth. The friends of Humanity, of every class, should sedulously cultivate the spirit of harmony and mutual cooperation so beautifully described by one of the prophets of Israel: "They helped every one his neighbor; and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage. So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote the anvil, saying, It is ready for the soldering; AND HE FASTENED IT WITH NAILS THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE MOVED." - *Isaiah* xli, 6,7.

We admonish you, beloved fellow-laborers, to be steadfast and immovable in your adherence to fundamental principles, to Right and Truth in opposition to the maxims of a worldly expediency. Be true, under all circumstances, to your highest convictions, to the voice of Duty in your own souls. Let no temporary good, no impatience for immediate results, tempt you to swerve from the line of strictest Rectitude. Remember that duty is yours, while consequences are God's. Enter into no compromise with the evils which you seek to exterminate. While you deal kindly and patiently with those who set themselves in opposition to the cause of Reform, seeking to win them to the right way in the spirit of love, we exhort you also to be bold and fearless in proclaiming the Truths you are set to defend. Let your rebukes of sin be tempered with kindness, but give no place to that false charity which shrinks from the utterance of an important truth from the fear of giving offence.

We entreat you also to be faithful to the Truth in dealing with the corrupt parties and sects which lend their influence to sustain injustice, oppression, and crime. The Church which sanctions or apologizes for Slavery and War, or which neglects or refuses to take the side of the oppressed and down-trodden, is controlled by the spirit of practical infidelity and atheism. The Ministry which is zealous for creeds and forms, but utters no efficient testimony against the popular sins of the age, is not a Christian, but an infidel Ministry; and we counsel you, by your reverence for God, and your love for man, to lend it no support. Be not deceived by the potent wiles, nor awed into submission by the anathemas of such a Church and such a Ministry. Though the hosts of sect and party are encamped on every side, be not dismayed nor disheartened, for in the conflict with unrighteousness "one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." The advocates and apologists for Sin may seek to overwhelm you with the waves of popular indignation; you may be denounced as heretics, fanatics, and infidels; but remember for your consolation that such has been the fate of Reformers in all past ages, and that even Jesus of Nazareth, in whom was no guile, was charged with blasphemy, and doomed to suffer an

ignominious death upon the cross.

In thus addressing you, we obey the holiest impulses of our nature, which are ever prompting us to deeds of charity and benevolence, and to manifestations of sympathy of all who are sincerely concerned for the welfare of man. The religious association in which we are united assumes no ecclesiastical authority, neither does it, as such, set up any claim to your veneration as a Divinely constituted body. Your reverence is due to the manifestations of the Divine Will in your own hearts, not to organizations, which, however holy in their origin and purposes, are but the instrumentalities adapted to the present condition and wants of mankind.

A deep sympathy for you under the manifold trials and discouragements which throng your pathway, and an ardent desire that you may prove faithful even unto death, constrains us, as your equal brethren, to offer you these words of admonition and cheer. Receive them, we pray you, in the spirit of Love, and so far as they shall be found to accord with your own highest convictions, let them be duly impressed upon your minds and hearts.

Finally, dear friends, be vigilant in the work to which you are called; and may the God of Truth inspire you with wisdom and strength, and crown your labors with glorious success. Signed, on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, held near Waterloo, Seneca county, New York, from the 4th to the 6th of the Seventh month, 1849.

THOMAS McCLINTOCK, RHODA DE GARMO, *Clerks.*

This, I believe, is the first time that any religious body in the land has spoken in terms of encouragement to the family of Reformers, recognizing their labors as designed and calculated to redeem the race from ignorance and sin, and hasten the triumph of pure Christianity. If the Church generally would give equally strong evidence of her sympathy with humanity, she would not have cause to mourn that her altars are deserted by the earnest and devoted Reformers of this hopeful age. Yours, REVILO.¹¹¹

1849 **August. Doors of 1816 Meetinghouse nailed shut to keep out reformers. "The large meeting-house of the Hicksite Quakers is closed against anti-slavery and all other reformatory meetings. It is hereafter to be exclusively devoted to religious purposes. This house was applied for, a few weeks since, by JOSEPH DUGDALE, a man of spotless purity of character, and of deep devotion to the cause of freedom, and not only was a refusal given to this application, but one of the professed followers of Elias Hicks went so far as to **nailed up the doors and windows.**"¹¹²

1849 October 26. 10th mo. 26. Five women from Farmington (four of them Quakers and one married to a Quaker) announce in the *North Star* that they have created a school

¹¹¹ *National Era*, Washington, D.C., July 26, 1849.

¹¹² F[rederick] D.[ouglass], "The Labors of the Past Week," *North Star*, August 31, 1849.

for African American girls who wish to become teachers, starting with the Edmondson sisters.

NR nomination: October 26, 1849, the *North Star* published a “Circular Of the Provisional Committee, for the Promotion of Education among the Colored People, in such of the Slave States are, or may be accessible.” Five Farmington women signed the Circular. Four of them—Phebe Hathaway, Maria E. Wilbur, Anna P. Adams, and Hannah C. Smith—were Quakers and one—Cassandra G. Hamblin, born a Congregationalist in Sennett, New York, had come to Farmington as a widow with two young children and two years later, in 1851, would marry John Bolles Hathaway, a local Quaker. Cassandra Hamblin operated a select school (locally known as the “Bird’s Nest”) in Pumpkin Hook, Farmington, and she served as Secretary of the Committee. “The Edmondson Sisters, Mary and Emily, you know by reputation,” read the Circular.

Their brief history is singular and affecting. It is enough to say, that they were for seven months in the hands of slave-traders, in Washington, Baltimore, Alexandria, and New Orleans - that their virtuous and christian character afforded them a shield of complete defence - That by a rare impulse of social sympathy, twenty-two hundred and fifty dollars were raised for their redemption! They are of a good family - are now in this neighborhood, under the most favorable circumstances to be thoroughly taught, possessing highly respectable capacities, with most exemplary industry, and a rare deportment for propriety; they are anxious to acquire information that will, in every way, render them competent and effective, as teachers and examples among their people in the District of Columbia. This Committee propose to take charge of them - to advise them, and to raise whatever means may be required in the course of their education. Others of equal promise will, no doubt, soon offer themselves. Indeed, we are well informed, that any number of persons adapted to the object we have in view, can at any time be selected at Washington or Baltimore.¹¹³

In 1850, the census listed a 26-year-old woman, a “mulatto” named Sarah Chaplin, born in “Merryland,” living in the household of William R. Smith, grandson of Darius Comstock, first President of the Ontario Manumssion Society. Was this one of the Edmondson sisters, living under a pseudonym? The census reported no comparable sister living anywhere else in the area.¹¹⁴

- 1849 November 22. Sunderland P. Gardner, a local farmer and gifted preacher, took over as the dominant minister among Farmington Friends (Hicksite), a position he retained until shortly before his death in 1893. Gardner became one of the best-known and best-loved ministers among quietist Friends throughout the northeastern U.S. and Canada. While not an activist, his beliefs reflected dominant Hicksite values and meshed remarkably closely with those of Thomas M’Clintock, Lucretia Mott, and other activist Friends. Jesus, he said, “was the son of God in the same way that

¹¹³ *North Star*, October 26, 1849.

¹¹⁴ From National Register nomination, Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District.

others may become the sons of God, by being led by the Spirit of God. And in this sense they are joint heirs with Jesus Christ. But he did not constitute an equal part in the God-head, he was not omniscient, nor is there any omniscience save that of the One God, the Almighty Father.” While the Bible was “a precious book,” its doctrines were not “the Light.” “Its study should occupy some of our most serious thoughts,” but it is “the testimony and not the substance of the Spirit. . . a thing to be used not worshipped.” Gardner preached more than 2261 sermons during his long ministry throughout the U.S. and Canada.¹¹⁵

1850 Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Friends (Orthodox) publish *Address of Farmington Quarterly Meeting to the Monthly Meetings Constituting It, and to the Members of the Same Generally. "Are there not at this moment slaves toiling for us."*¹¹⁶

1850s Frederick Douglass described the main UGRR route from the South to Rochester and then to Canada:

The underground railroad had many branches; but that one with which I was connected had its main stations in Baltimore, Wilmington, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, and St. Catharines (Canada). It is not necessary to tell who were the principal agents in Baltimore; Thomas Garrett was the agent in Wilmington; Melloe [J. Miller] McKim, William Still, Robert Purvis, Edward M. Davis, and others did the work in Philadelphia; David Ruggles, Isaac T. Hopper, Napolian, and others, in New York city; the Misses Mott and Stephen Myers, were forwarders from Albany; Revs. Samuel J. May and J. W. Loguen, were the agents in Syracuse; and J. P. Morris and myself received and dispatched passengers from Rochester to Canada, where they were received by Rev. Hiram Wilson. When a party arrived in Rochester, it was the business of Mr. Morris and myself to raise funds with which to pay their passages to St. Catharines, and it is due to truth to state, that we seldom called in vain upon whig or democrat for help. Men were better than their theology, and truer to humanity, than to their politics, or their offices.¹¹⁷

This general route include people who kept safe houses in Farmington:

On one occasion while a slave master was in the office of a United States commissioner, procuring the papers necessary for the arrest and rendition of three young men who had escaped from Maryland, (one of whom was under my roof at the time, another at Farmington, and the other at work on the farm of Asa Anthony just a little outside the city limits,) the law partner of

¹¹⁵ This text from Judith Wellman, “1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, Network to Freedom Nomination,” 2007. Hugh Barbour, Arthur Worrall, and Christopher Densmore, *Quaker Cross-Currents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 139-40; Betty Polster, *Genesee Friend: The Life and Times of Sunderland Pattison Gardner* (Canadian Quaker Pamphlet No. 39 (Argenta, B.C.: Argenta Friends Press, 1993). Thanks to Jane Zavitz-Bond for sharing this.

¹¹⁶ [Mount Pleasant, Ohio]: Published by the Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, 1850.

¹¹⁷ Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 272-73.

the commissioner, then a distinguished democrat, sought me out, and told me what was going on in his office, and urged me by all means to get these young men out of the way of their pursuers and claimants. Of course no time was to be lost. A swift horseman was dispatched to Farmington, eighteen miles distant, another to Asa Anthony's farm about three miles, and another to my house on the south side of the city, and before the papers could be served, all three of the young men were on the free waves of Lake Ontario, bound to Canada. In writing to their old master, they had dated their letter at Rochester, though they had taken the precaution to send it to Canada to be mailed, but this blunder in the date had betrayed their whereabouts, so that the hunters were at once on their tracks.¹¹⁸

1850s In Rochester, Amy Post, until 1845 a member of Rochester Monthly Meeting and Farmington Quarterly Meeting, estimated that 150 people passed through her house one year in the 1850s. Quite likely, many if not most of these came through Farmington.¹¹⁹

1850s Rev. Alexander Helmsley escaped from slavery, walking from somewhere in the south through Otsego County, Farmington, and Rochester before settling with his family in St. Catharine's, Ontario.

I traveled some two hundred miles, most of the way on foot into Otsego county, N.Y., where I gave out through fatigue. I was sick when I got there. Here I was joined by my wife and children. I remained here until navigation opened,--we were forty miles from the canal at Utica. Then, from visions of the night, I concluded that I was on dangerous ground, and I removed with my family to Farmington. . . .From Farmington, I went on directly to Rochester, where I remained but one night. . . . We embarked from Rochester on board a British boat, The Traveller, for Toronto. . . .In a few days, I left for St. Catharine's, where I have ever since remained.¹²⁰

1850 January. "Great Anti-Slavery Convention at Syracuse." Frederick Douglass and J.C. Hathaway were vice-presidents. The issue of the Constitution as a pro-slavery or anti-slavery document was thoroughly debated by many nationally and locally important abolitionists, including J.C. Hathaway of Farmington (Vice-President) and Calvin Fairbanks (who would be jailed for assisting the Hayden family to escape from slavery in Kentucky and who had been attending abolitionist meetings organized by Farmington people).¹²¹

1850 August 10. Chaplin was captured in Maryland while attempting to free two people

¹¹⁸ Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 273.

¹¹⁹ Amy Post, "The Underground Railroad," William F. Peck, *Semi-Centennial History of the City of Rochester* (Syracuse, New York: Mason and Company, 1884), 458-62.

¹²⁰ Benjamin Drew, *The Refugee: or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada. Related by Themselves* (Boston: J.P. Jewett, 1856), 32-40, reprint (Toronto: Prospero, 2000).

¹²¹ *North Star*, January 25, 1850.

enslaved by members of Congress (Alexander Stephens and Robert Toombs).

William Chaplin, the man responsible for hiring the *Pearl* and helping to raise money for the Edmondson sisters' freedom, was editor of the *Albany Patriot*, the official paper of the Liberty League. The *Patriot's* earlier editor, Charles Torrey, had died in a Maryland prison for his work assisting freedom seekers, and Chaplin was inspired to continue his work, funded in part by Gerrit Smith. Daniel Drayton never betrayed William Chaplin. After the failure of the *Pearl* rescue, Chaplin redoubled his efforts to get people out of slavery. As historian Stanley Harrold argued,

No white person active against slavery in Washington during these years more willingly exposed himself to physical, mental, and emotional stress than Chaplin. Following the capture of the *Pearl*, he increased his already impressive engagement with desperate African Americans in the city and its vicinity. . . .He became—with the possible exception of Bigelow—the most active white conductor of the area's underground railroad.¹²²

It is probable that many people who escaped from slavery with Chaplin's help went through Farmington, where J.C. and Esther Hathaway, Phebe Hathaway (J.C. Hathaway's sister), William R. Smith and his parents Asa B. Smith and Hannah Comstock Smith, and Elias and Susan Doty, all members of Farmington Quaker meetings (both Orthodox and Hicksite) could be depended upon for assistance. From Farmington, people could travel north to the home of Griffith M. Cooper (until 1842 a minister in Farmington Friends' Meeting, Hicksite) and then to the shore of Lake Ontario at Pultneyville where Samuel C. Cuyler could put them on board the steamer of Captain Throop. Or they could travel west to Rochester, where Frederick Douglass, Amy Post (a member of Rochester Friends' Meeting and Farmington Quarterly Meeting until 1845), and others would arrange for them to board steamers for Canada. Later events certainly suggest that the special tie between Chaplin and Farmington, affirmed when the Edmondson sisters came to Farmington, continued.

Chaplin faced lengthy imprisonment unless his bail of \$20,000 from Maryland and \$6000 from Washington, D.C., could be raised. Abolitionists went immediately to work. Farmington abolitionists took a leadership role in securing Chaplin's release. Immediately Joseph C. Hathaway of Farmington, with Theodosia Gilbert, visited Chaplin in jail in Maryland.¹²³

1850 August 21-22. As many as 2000 abolitionists (including between thirty and fifty people who had escaped from slavery themselves) held a convention at Cazenovia, New York. Among them were the Edmondson sisters (probably then living in Farmington), Frederick Douglass, Gerrit Smith, and J.C. Hathaway. Joseph C. Hathaway, William R. Smith and Eliza Smith (all from Farmington Monthly Meeting of Orthodox Friends) were three of the five members of the Chaplin committee. Phebe Hathaway was a member of a committee of women to raise money for a silver pitcher for Chaplin. J.C. Hathaway was also a vice-president of the convention. Anne

¹²² Stanley Harrold, *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828-65*, 154.

¹²³ Judith Wellman, Farmington Quaker Crossroads, National Register Nomination, 2007.

Adams was a secretary. The Edmondson sisters, were also present. Ezra Greenleaf Weld's famous daguerreotype of the convention included President Frederick Douglass, Gerrit Smith, J.C. Hathaway, and the Edmondson sisters and captured one of the few contemporary images of these reformers.

This convention strengthened the coalition between the Gerrit Smith Liberty League cohort and adherents of the American Anti-Slavery Society who formed the core of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society (including Quakers affiliated with Farmington). The following year, both Frederick Douglass and J.C. Hathaway would convert to political abolitionism, and the WNYASS died out.¹²⁴

- 1850 October 20. J.C. Hathaway and Frederick Douglass spoke in the City Hall in Rochester on William Chaplin.

On Sunday evening, 20th inst., an immense concourse of our citizens was convened in the City Hall, to listen to Mr. Hathaway of Utica N.Y., [sic] and Frederick Douglass, in relation to the case of W.L. Chaplin, a citizen of this State incarcerated in Montgomery jail Maryland; and also to review the clauses of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Mr. Hathaway had visited Mr. Chaplin in the prison house at Washington and had beheld the sufferings, and heard related the circumstances attending the arrest of that noble man, from his own mouth.¹²⁵

- 1850 October. 23-24. J.C. Hathaway (Orthodox Quaker from Farmington) and Pliny Sexton (Hicksite Quaker from Palmyra Preparative Meeting of Farmington M.M., Hicksite) attend first national woman's rights convention in Worcester, Massachusetts. J.C. Hathaway was Secretary and President pro tem.¹²⁶

- 1850 November 1. Isaac & Hannah Lapham to Mary Ette Lapham same as land described in 1847. Refers to "society of Friends called Hickites [sic]."¹²⁷

- 1850 November 27. A manuscript entitled "An enumeration [?] of articles packed at Edward Herendeens—Farmington 27th of 11th mo 1850 for the Black people of Upper Canada to be given them free of all expense" listed items such as:

10 pare of [?] gray pants about 28 yards
 2 white blankets
 5 knots of stocking yarn
 10 men's shirts cotton & 6 women's 38 yards
 1 old shimmy

¹²⁴ *North Star*, September 5, 1850. For details of Chaplin's arrest and rescue, see Stanley Harrold, *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828-65*, 146-73.

¹²⁵ *North Star*, October 31, 1850.

¹²⁶ *Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Worcester, October 23d and 24th, 1850* (Boston, Massachusetts: Prentiss and Sawyer, 1851).

¹²⁷ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 93, book 262. Recorded November 13, 1850.

10 second handed vests cloth worth 4/
 2 mens vests cloth worth 6/
 8 coats
 5 woman dresses second handed
 8 aprons cloth
 15 Waring Quilts for women cloth
 8 Comfortables about 112 yards worth
 24 scanses of cotton threads
 1 old shawl
 1 old vest
 Batting for the 8 comfortables

[The above list is a selection from the entire list.] Total estimated value of these items was \$64.00.¹²⁸

1851 Douglass changed his position from the idea that the Constitution was a pro-slavery document to arguing that the Constitution was anti-slavery and that abolitionists should vote. In so doing, he lost the support of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society American Anti-Slavery Society and William Lloyd Garrison (and the Quakers allied with this position).

Among my friends in this country, who helped me in my earlier efforts to maintain my paper, I may proudly count such men as the late Hon. Gerrit Smith, and Chief Justice Chase, Hon. Horace Mann, Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, Hon. Charles Sumner, Hon. John G. Palfry, Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Rev. Samuel J. May, and many others, who though of lesser note were equally devoted to my cause. Among these latter ones were Isaac and Amy Post, William and Mary Hallowell, Asa and Hulda Anthony, and indeed all the committee of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. They held festivals and fairs to raise money, and assisted me in every other possible way to keep my paper in circulation, while I was a non-voting abolitionist, but withdrew from me when I became a voting abolitionist. For a time the withdrawal of their coöperation embarrassed me very much, but soon another class of friends were raised up for me, chief amongst whom were the Porter family of Rochester. The late Samuel D. Porter and his wife Susan F. Porter, and his sisters, Maria and Elmira Porter, deserve grateful mention as among my steadfast friends, who did much in the way of supplying pecuniary aid.¹²⁹

1851 **May. Doors of 1816 Meetinghouse removed.

“DEAR LIBERATOR: After the adjournment of the glorious Convention E. Syracuse, Messrs. Garrison and Thompson concluded to remain in this region and visit some places, at the request of the anti-slavery friends. Leaving the noble city of

¹²⁸ “Memorandum of the articles sent to Canada, 1850,” from research by Diane Robinson.

¹²⁹ Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 268-69, www.docsouth.edu.

Syracuse and its kind-hearted citizens, we started on Saturday for Farmington, Ontario county. This place has long been noted for the number and spirit of the abolitionists residing there. At this time, there are two Societies of 'Friends' there. Unfortunately for humanity, they are divided upon the subject of slavery, and have, in consequence, two houses of worship, a large and a smaller one. The living society is the smaller one; the spirit of slavery hovers around the large house, and the hardens the hearts, blinds the eyes, and stops the ears of the 'friends' who worship there. At Canandaigua, friend **Elias Duty**, a warm-hearted and most active friend of the slave, met us and conveyed us to **Farmington**, some ten miles distant. We arrived about dark, and found many friends ready to welcome the great champions of human freedom, Messrs. Garrison and Thompson. A pleasant evening was passed in conversation with the anti-slavery friends.

“On Sunday morning, word came that, during the night, **the doors of the pro-slavery Friends' Meetinghouse had been-forcibly taken off and carried away.** As opponents of all violence, the anti-slavery people concerned the act. [condemned the act?] We were in hopes that the society who worship there would open the house for our meeting, as it was far more commodious than the small church; but the anti-slavery people, on learning that the doors were carried off, decided not to occupy the house, even if it were offered, for the charges of being accessory to the foolish and wicked act would instantly be made against them.

“At the appointed hour, they assembled in the lesser house. It was a sultry day, and the house crowded to suffocation, and the peculiar style of its architecture rendered it not particularly comfortable. The windows were opened, but every inch of room within the building was crowded, the platforms without were thronged, and the opened windows filled with people. It showed the intense anxiety of the people to hear the discussion of the subject, and the utter uselessness of all attempts to stay the process of the investigation of slavery.”¹³⁰

1851 ** On July 10, 1851, the Treasurer of Genesee Yearly Meeting was directed to pay \$7.00 for unspecified repairs to the meetinghouse. The Treasurer's account book records 7m 10, “paid Walter Lawrance [sic] by direction of the Yearly Meeting for two dores [doors].”¹³¹

1851 **Sometime in 1851 or later, Friends placed shades on the windows, with fixtures made entirely of wood and labels that showed they were patented in 1851. “The shades at the windows would delight many collectors. They were evidently hung before the Civil War, for labels show they were patented in 1851. The fixtures are entirely of wood.”¹³²

1851 June 26. Frederick Douglass published an account of a “cold water convention” to

¹³⁰ “Meetings in Central New York,” Waterloo, May 13, 1851, *Liberator*, May 30, 1851.

¹³¹ Manuscript minutes, Genesee Yearly Meeting, June 1851; Treasurer's account book, 7th month 10, 1851. Research by Christopher Densmore and Diane Robinson.

¹³² “Old Quaker Meeting House Moved to Meet Changed Farm Needs,” *Niagara Falls Gazette*, May 9, 1927.

promote both temperance and dress reform, held by abolitionists and woman's rights advocates James C. Jackson, Mrs. Jackson, William Chaplin, and Theodosia Gilbert, proprietors of Glen Haven Water Cure. Among those who attended were J.C. Hathaway of Farmington and Elizabeth Cady Stanton of Seneca Falls. Hathaway gave a toast to Theodosia Gilbert: "'Theodocia Gilbert of Glen Haven Water Cure—the first American woman to advocate and adopt woman's apparel in accordance with comfort, convenience, and the laws of life and health, she is entitled to the thanks of woman and all the sons of woman.'"

- 1851 July 4. William R. Smith and J.C. Hathaway (both of Farmington Monthly Meeting, Orthodox) published a report from the Chaplin Committee in *Frederick Douglass Paper*.
- 1851 July 31. Myrtilla Miner announced, after a visit to Macedon, that she intended to start a school for young African American women in Washington, D.C. Was she influenced by the presence of the school for the Edmondson sisters in Macedon, established by Quakers from Farmington Monthly Meeting?
- 1851 August 12. Report sent by five women (at least four of whom were affiliated with Quakers from Farmington/Macedon) on the presentation of the silver pitcher to William Chaplin at Glen Haven.¹³³
- 1851 September 17-18. J.C. Hathaway, formerly allied with Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society, became secretary of the Liberty Party convention meeting in Buffalo. Antoinette Brown also attended this convention and spoke.
- 1851 September 30 and October 1. New York State Liberty Party met in Syracuse and nominated William R. Smith, Macedon (member of Farmington Friends Meeting, Orthodox) for Governor.
- 1852 Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote to Martha Wright that she considered herself a Quaker, a member of the Congregational Friends.

She had heard an "infamous report" that she had joined the Episcopal Church, she wrote to Martha Wright, "feel about it very much as if I had been accused of petty larceny." "I am a member of Junius meeting and not of the Episcopal Church. . . .If my theology could not keep me out of any church my deep and abiding reverence for the dignity of womanhood would be all sufficient."¹³⁴

- 1852 April 15. Frederick Douglass published the Constitution of the new NYS Anti-Slavery Society. William R. Smith of Farmington/Macedon was a Vice-President. Daniel Anthony, (formerly of Genesee Y.M. of Friends, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, father of Susan B. Anthony) was on the Executive Committee. Gerrit Smith was President. Frederick Douglass was corresponding secretary. This group

¹³³ *Frederick Douglass Paper*, August 21, 1851.

¹³⁴ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More*, 151; Benjamin Gue, *Diary of Benjamin F. Gue in Rural New York and Pioneer Iowa, 1847-56* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1962), 40; Stanton to Martha Wright, [c. 1852], Garrison Papers, Smith College.

strengthened the coalition forged in the past four years between the Gerrit Smith circle in central New York and the Quaker/Unitarians/Douglass circle in Rochester and the Finger Lakes.¹³⁵

1853 **May 23. Mary E. Tay (formerly Mary E. Lapham) sells for \$50 five acres on the northwest corner of intersection of highways [the same land owned by Friends since 1817] to Sunderland Gardner, Daniel Guel, Joseph Sheldon, Walter Lawrence & Andre Tennis, as Trustees of the Farmington Preparative Meeting of Friends, “commencing at a stake and brick standing at the east end of a stone wall in the south east corner of Mary E. Tay’s Farm. Thence north twenty nine and three fourths degrees east seven chains and six links to a stake and brick standing one rod westerly from the north west corner of **Friends Meeting house shed**. Thence north forty-seven and a half degrees east five chains and four links to a stake and brick thence south thirty-eight-and one-fourth degrees east to the centre of the highway leading from Friends Meeting house past Isaac Laphams. Thence southerally along the centre of said highway to the center of highway leading from Friends Meeting house to New Salem. Thence along said highway opposite to the place of beginning to contain five acres of land more or less. . . .¹³⁶

1854 June 6. Yearly Meeting of Congregational or Progressive Friends met in Waterloo. Call for the Yearly Meeting appeared in *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*, May 26, 1854

The Waterloo Yearly meeting of this body will convene in the Friends' Meeting House, three miles from the village of Waterloo, Seneca County New York, on first-day (Sunday) the 4th of the Sixth month, (June) 1854, at 11 o'clock A. M., and continue several days, or as long as may be deemed expedient.

The object of this Society is the promotion of truth and practical goodness. Convinced that in the development of his powers, both intellectual and religious, man is, and has been in all ages, a progressive being; and recognizing also the inherent adaptedness of the elements of the human mind to the perception and practice of truth and all righteousness, the aim has been to organize a religious association which will perfectly admit and encourage the unperverted action of man's divinely endowed faculties in its efforts to attain the true, the good and the beautiful. The platform is accordingly broad and comprehensive, admitting the most perfect Liberty of conscience - a platform on which every member of the human family that has a heart the advancement and elevation of the race, may step and find unrestricted exercise for the highest prompting of a benevolent nature, and the normal expansion of his reason conscience and spiritual powers - an assembly in which Christians, Jews, Mahammedans, and Pagans, men and women of all names and no name, may mingle the sympathies and feelings of a common nature, and labor together for the promotion of human welfare,

¹³⁵ *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*, April 15, 1852.

¹³⁶ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 128, page 363. Recorded February 23, 1864.

with no other law to bind them in their associate capacity but the LAW of LOVE, and the affinities and courtesies which are the natural concomitants of earnest minds, in question of truth and good for themselves and equally for their fellow beings. Confidence in the power of the adequacy of this principles for the maintenance of order and harmony in associated bodies, and several year's experience has furnished strong and beautiful confirmation. Such an association it will be seen, is strictly un-sectarian, the bond of Union consisting not in unnatural creeds of man's device, but in principles which find a response in universal human nature, and hence affording a basis for a true universal church - emphatically the Church of humanity, whose mission and privilege will ever be to do good and receive good. All sincere inquiries after truth who may be attracted by the principles of our organization, and who, "weary of the strife's of sect, are looking for higher and purer manifestations of the religious sentiment," are affectionately invited to meet with us at the time above specified and give us the benefits of their counsel and cooperation. At our last Yearly Meeting the following were appointed a Committee of Arrangements to have in charge the procuring of accommodation for strangers who may feel inclined to attend, viz.: William S. Dell, Margaret Schooley, Phebe Dean, all in the vicinity of the meeting house; Rhoda Palmer, two miles from Geneva, in the direction of the place of meeting; George Pryer, village of Waterloo.¹³⁷

1854 June 11. Sunderland P. Gardner noted in his journal that

First-day public meeting very large. . . .We had a favored time to the end of the Yearly Meeting. It is truly a great favor for which we ought to be grateful, when so large a body of Friends come together and go through with the weighty matters pertaining to the church, and not one thing occurs to break the harmony and good order which should characterize a Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, but all speaking the same language, minding the same things. Such was the Yearly Meeting of Genesee in 1854.¹³⁸

1855 **Three Quaker Meetinghouses in Farmington [Orthodox and Hicksite in North Farmington and South Farmington Meetinghouse]. Largest [1816 Meetinghouse] held 2000 people. Regular attenders—275; members—87.¹³⁹

1856 **June 10 (10th of 6th month). "The committee to the care of the subject of Painting the meeting house at Farmington report that they have been together and were united in recommending that the house be painted and have ascertained the cost to be about 100 Dollars which being united with the subject is refered [sic] to the yearly meeting."

¹³⁷ *Frederick Douglass Paper*, May 26, 1854.

¹³⁸ Sunderland P. Gardner, "Journal," June 11, 1854, <http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Valley/2822/memoirs08.html>.

¹³⁹ Manuscript census of the State of New York, 1855. Research by Kathleen Hendrix.

- 1861 June ?. “subject of raising money to defray the expenses of painting and making other repairs to the house at Pickering C.H.? came before this meeting resulting in recommending to the Yearly Meeting the propriety of raising the sum of \$200 and placing it at the disposal of the members of that meeting to be used for the purposes mentioned.”¹⁴⁰
- 1863 **June. “The following information was forwarded in the Reports from Farmington Quarterly Meeting, namely:
- “The Committee appointed to the care of making the repairs upon the Meeting House, at Farmington, made the following report, viz:
- ‘We, the Committee to make repairs at Farmington Meeting House, report that we have attended to our appointment, and have built a veranda on the east side and south end of said house, being over one hundred feet in length, roof shingled, and ceiled under the rafters, with tin eave troughs and conductors, all painted, or to be. The expense is two hundred and ninety dollars. We have drawn from the Treasurer two hundred collars.
- ‘Signed, on behalf of the Committee, by Edward Herendeen. Mendon, 4th Month [April] 1st, 1863.’”¹⁴¹
- 1863 ** June. “The Committee to examine and settle the Treasurer’s accounts, report what sum may be necessary to raise the present year, and propose the name of a Friend for Treasurer, report as follows: Farmington, 6th mo. 15th, 1863
- “The committee to settle with the Treasurer have met and examined his accounts, and find a balance in his hands of forty-six dollars, and are united in recommending the raising of one hundred and fifty dollars the present year, of which ninety dollars to be appropriated to defraying expenses on Farmington Meeting house. Thirty-six 25-100 dollars to pay the discount on money sent to Canada, and propose William Clark for Treasurer the ensuing year.” On behalf of the Committee, Asa L. Schooley.”¹⁴²
- 1871 August. Farmington was the site of the first general “holiness” meetings in New York State. This was a religious revival, and twenty-nine ministers, both women and men, held a five-day service in Farmington, with an estimated 6000 people present. As many as 1000 people crowded into the 1816 Farmington Quaker meetinghouse,

¹⁴⁰ Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, 1834-1868. Friends Historical Library. Swarthmore.

¹⁴¹ *Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held at Farmington, N.Y.* (Rochester: Press of A. Strong & Co., Daily Democrat and American Office, 1863), 4.

¹⁴² *Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held at Farmington, N.Y.* (Rochester: Press of A. Strong & Co., Daily Democrat and American Office, 1863), 7-8.

- while others met on the hill behind it.¹⁴³
- 1872 “Probably it was at the latter date [1872] that a great number of torchlight marchers gathered at the Hicksite churchyard as a central meeting place. It is said that their wagons and riding horses were left in the church sheds [Orthodox or Hicksite church sheds, or both?] while the marchers formed in a line that extended from the four corners along the south road as far as the residence of William Holtz, near the gravel pit.” [More on history of the flag from presidential election of 1860 to 1930s.] “Of late years, its sole use has been to decorate the walls of the hall during Memorial Day exercises.”¹⁴⁴
- 1873 June. Susan B. Anthony, who retained her membership in Rochester Monthly Meeting all her life, spoke in the Orthodox Farmington Quaker meetinghouse, as part of her campaign to generate support for her right to vote before her trial in the Canandaigua courthouse.¹⁴⁵
- 1875 Old 1804 meetinghouse burned.
- 1876 New Orthodox Meetinghouse built by D.C. Brundage on east side of county road 8. 36 x 60 feet. Cost \$5000.¹⁴⁶
- 1876 “A great Republican meeting, the largest ever held in Farmington, took place in that town, on Tuesday afternoon and evening. The place was the Salem Quaker meeting House; and there were present, at the meeting, over two thousand persons.”¹⁴⁷
- Late 19th c.**“Those remaining in the newer building became the Hicksite Society which as strong for many years; but as times and customs changed, the plainness of dress, **unpainted seats, bare floors and walls, and hen-feathered cushions** were no longer attractive to young people.”¹⁴⁸
- 1886 June. Genesee Yearly Meeting, in their annual conference at Farmington, decided to merge separate meetings of men and women into one joint meeting, following the pattern that Congregational Friends had established at Farmington in 1848. As a result of this decision, Canada Half Year’s Meeting, held at Bloomfield in 1887, sent

¹⁴³ Thomas Hamm and Hugh Barbour et al, “Evangelicals and Hicksites, 1870-1917,” Hugh Barbour, Arthur Worrall, and Christopher Densmore, *Quaker Cross-Currents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 199-201.

¹⁴⁴ Lewis Allen, “History of Old Flag of Farmington Grange,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, April 8, 1937.

¹⁴⁵ Susan B. Anthony, Diary, June ?, 1873. Microfilm Stanton-Anthony Papers.

¹⁴⁶ James Padgham, “Farmington Friends Meeting,” August 4, 1946. Typescript.

¹⁴⁷ “Farmington, A Great Meeting on Tuesday,” *Geneva Courier*, October 25, 1876.

¹⁴⁸ Jean P. Parker, “History of the Farmington Friends,” n.d.

- the first petition to the Canadian government for the right of Canadian women to vote.¹⁴⁹
- 1890 **September 20. Sunderland Gardner sells for \$1.00 five acres (same as described in 1853 deed and earlier) to Henry Green and Joseph Fritts of Farmington and William Green of Macedon as Trustees of Farmington Executive Meeting of Friends, “commencing at a stone and brick at east end of stone wall in the south-east corner of George Lapham’s farm; thence north . . . to a stake and brick standing one rod west from the north-east corner of Friends Meeting House shed . . . center of the highway leading from Friends Meeting House past the dwelling house now occupied by Mary Estes”¹⁵⁰
- 1893 Sunderland P. Gardner died. “The funeral services will be held at the **ancient Hicksite meeting house**, in Farmington, Friday morning, at 11 o’clock. Rev. Isaac Wilson, a well-known Friend preacher, of Canada, will officiate in accordance with the expressed wish of the deceased.”¹⁵¹
- 1895 Grange meeting held in 1816 Meetinghouse.¹⁵²
- 1910 June 13 (6th month 13th). Meeting at Coldstream, Ontario. “The subject of the care and disposal of the property, belonging to monthly or Executive Meetings which are in the process of being discontinued, claiming our attention, we suggest to our Yearly Meeting that the following addition be added in our book of discipline. When a monthly or Executive Meeting becomes so reduced in membership that it is deemed advisable by the Half Yearly Meeting to discontinue it, the Monthly or Executive is authorized to dispose of such property as it may have in its possession, place the money obtained from the sale thereof in the bank as a trust-fund for the use of the burying grounds, subjected however to the following provisions, viz, should the Half Yearly Meeting decide it not advisable to dispose of the Monthly or Executive property, it shall appoint trustees to receive the title of the property from the monthly or Executive Meeting and when the title has been secured the Half-Yearly Meeting shall become responsible for the care of all the said property, including the burying-ground, and pay all expenses incurred in the care of the same.”¹⁵³
- 1915 South Farmington Friends meeting laid down. "It is told of the last member, week after week he tied his horse here on the first day of the week and sat staunchly alone

¹⁴⁹ Arthur Garrat Dorland, *A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1927), 177, quoted in Betty Polster, *Genesee Friend: Life and Times of Sunderland Pattison Gardner* (Argenta, B.C.: Argenta Friends’ Press, 1993), 33.

¹⁵⁰ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 195, book 148. Recorded December 29, 1890.

¹⁵¹ “A Noted Quaker,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, February 17, 1893.

¹⁵² *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, August 7, 1895.

¹⁵³ Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings, Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1834-1896, continued as Representative Committee, 1870-1917, and as Executive Comm., 1931-47. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.

- through the proper hour of meeting, hoping to secure holdings. But in 1915 the secretary received a letter from Henry Greene, of the North Meeting, saying that Friends had relinquished all claims and that old Friends having died, it had been thought best to lay this meeting down. The meeting had maintained its unique form until the last."¹⁵⁴
- 1916 October 8. Ninety-ninth anniversary celebration of Farmington Meetinghouse held. "Meetings are now held once a year. On Sunday last a Hicksite sister and an orthodox sister sat side by side in their "drab" and "bonnet" and made a picture not soon to be forgotten. Into the past have faded the sermons and the meetings, but the hospitality, the hearts and the doors thrown wide open to receive new friends and old cannot fade from the mind."¹⁵⁵
- 1917 October 6 and 7. To the Centenary on the 6th and 7th of Tenth month came some six hundred people, mostly from within the old-time driving distance (and now again in driving distance by motor). The **ample yards of both meeting-houses** were filled with closely-parked cars, not to mention some horse-driven vehicles that found a place as best they could." "In the larger house no meeting is now held except the session of the Half Yearly Meeting once a year."¹⁵⁶
- "a very large attendance."¹⁵⁷
- "Meetings have been held for several years semi-annually in the Hixite Church, which is about to celebrate its centennial."¹⁵⁸
- 1917 **"Victor. Oct. 8—Sunday morning dawned with a dismal drizzle of rain, to usher in the long anticipated centennial birthday part of the quaint old Quaker church of North Farmington, which has mildly looked out with its **many-eyed windows** upon the sunshine and shadows of a hundred years. We often say of an **interesting old landmark**, if it could speak, what stories it could tell, and this old meeting house is no exception, although it is **not in a state of decay**, yet the old clan who in bygone days devotedly worshipped there, who have during the past few years gradually lessened in numbers as one by one of the old stock have answered the call, "Come across to the border land," and the children and the children's children, while loyal at heart, have not the old-time perseverance of their grand sires, and services at the

¹⁵⁴ Jane Herendeen, *Canandaigua Daily Messenger*, August 17, 1928. Found by Diane Robinson.

¹⁵⁵ "Services Are Held Once a Year in Old Meetinghouse," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 13, 1916. "The information in this article was furnished by Mrs. Anah B. Yates, of East avenue, who attended the meeting on Sunday."

¹⁵⁶ R. Barclay Spicer, "The Farmington Centenary," *Friends Intelligencer*, Vol. 74 (1917), 666-7, <http://books.google.com/books?id=yYLTAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA665&lpg=PA605&ots=7rVjHAKOjU&focus=viewport&dq=%22Barclay+Spicer%22+%22North+Collins%22&output=text#top>.

¹⁵⁷ "Farmington," *Fairport Herald*, October 10, 1917.

¹⁵⁸ "Friends Will Celebrate 100th Birthday of Quaint North Farmington Church," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, September 28, 1917.

quaint old meeting place, with its **shutters or sliding panel**, have become a rarity, and only the half-yearly meeting has for several years been observed.” . . . “To show how the old stock are passing on, there was but one of the quaint “old gray bonnets,” worn at this centennial celebration, and the march of progress was wonderfully manifested by the absence of the old one-horse shay, and the presence of many scores of honking automobiles.”¹⁵⁹

1926 April 1. “Albert Cotton is moving from the old Hicksite Meeting house to the E. M. Mott tenant house.”¹⁶⁰

1926 October. “What is felt by many as the last religious service held in the old Hicksite Friends meetinghouse at Farmington was held Sunday, when Rev. Isaac Wilson, of Baltimore, made his annual visit there and delivered a most interesting and inspiring sermon.

“The custom has been of late years of having a service in this historic old building once a year, with sermon by Mr. Wilson. A great many—people from this immediate section, and even from distant parts of the state, plan on this annual visitation with much anticipation. It holds relatively the same place with many people as the Palmyra fair in the scheme of their annual events. Sunday was no exception as far as attendance and interest was concerned, for upwards of 400 people were present. The old frame building, erected more than 100 years ago, still dear in the hearts of the older people who have worshiped [sic] there for years, seemed evidently more cherished than ever as they were seen in groups here and there recalling former days and associations. Across the road in the little churchyard by the orthodox Friends church lie the remains of the ancestors of many who were present Sunday, in graves now unmarked, save perhaps by a large stone brought from an adjoining field. According to custom, burials were made in graves close to each other, without regard to families, the line of graves being used in the order of deaths among the parishioners.

“Throughout the day there was a note of sadness as here and there was recalled some trait of character of the sturdy Quakers who worshiped there, coupled with the knowledge that the building has been sold to a nearby farmer resident, who, it is reported, plans to use it for storage purposes. As the Herald-Mail reported talked with this one and that one after the service, a genuine regret was noticed that this is to be the case, and that the day perhaps noted the last service of the kind to be held there. **The suggestion was made of a movement to preserve the old building as a landmark, and seemingly, all that is needed is the initiative on the part of somebody. Whether such a movement will be undertaken, only time will tell.**”

“The central figure in the service Sunday was the venerable Rev. Isaac Wilson, now 87 years of age, a man revered and honored by everybody who ever knew him, and

¹⁵⁹ “Friends, a Hundred Years Ago, Certain Harbingers of Rain,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 9, 1917.

¹⁶⁰ *Fairport Mail*, April 1, 1926.

truly a man of God, to whose remarks every person of the more than 400 gave reverent attention, and whose remarks, delivered in his simple, plan, yet convincing and really inspiring manner, carried conviction to all within hearing of his voice.

“In the first place, the atmosphere of this service Sunday was one of genuine reverence and worship. The hour had been set for 11 o’clock. The representative of this paper reached the church perhaps ten minutes before the hour. At that time less than a dozen persons were inside the historic building. The yard was well filled with automobiles, and the assembling people were passing the greetings of the day to one and another, for most everybody there seemed to know some of the others present. By 11 o’clock everybody had found their way into the church. **Only the north half of the building was used, the section in the olden days occupied by the women of the congregation. The other half, in former days occupied by the men, was not in use, but the movable sectional partition that used to separate the two sections was there. A wood fire in the old fashioned heaters mounted high on pedestals served to clear the atmosphere of its humidity,** though no great amount of heat was needed, as the day was plenty warm.

“Referring to the ‘atmosphere’, as the watch pointed to 11 o’clock not a sound could be heard in the building. **The main floor was filled, every bench, and the benches in the gallery on two sides of the room, likewise were filled.** For some minutes there was not a sound. Henry Greene, one of the old standbys of the congregation, had been showing people to their seats, but just at the hour of 11, he ceased for a time, and later showed the late comers to seats. The people had come there for a service of worship. There were no curiosity seekers and had there been, they would soon have found themselves in a much different role.

“There was no formality in the service, no announcements, no music, no Scripture reading, as we are wont to find in the usual church of today. Those who took part were seated in a pew facing the congregation, though the exigencies of the situation compelled some to sit in the raised pews at the rear of the speaker. The first word spoke in what be termed the ‘service’ was by a young man who offered fervent prayer. Silence reigned for a few minutes, when Mr. Wilson, a splendid looking man of 87 years, standing erect, with close cropped gray bear, wearing a red flower in his buttonhole, arose, and without formal introductory remarks, spoke in his pleasant conversational way of the attainment of heaven, making it plan that no new way is needed to reach heaven, just the simply plain way as marked out by the Savior.

“Basing his remarks on a quotation from Whittier, ‘Compare our lives with Thine,’ Mr. Wilson urged a comparison of lives with that of the Savior to see if there can be found any evidence of usefulness and service, and in doing so, stressed prayer and communion. “Why not every day a communion, that intimate connection with the divine?” said he, continuing with ‘our purpose should be to make the human more divine, not less human, but a development into honest manhood. I have erased the mark between the sins of omission and the sins of commission.’ Briefly he trace the life of the Savior, beginning at 12 years when he found within himself something that took exception to the ideas and expressions of those about him, then his experience in the wilderness, ‘led by the human spirit, tempted by the divine evil spirit and protected by the divine spirit. The simplicity of the Gospel leaves denominationalism

to the direction of human hands, and we do not say there is no other heaven, but we do hope and believe that heaven has its commencement here.’

“Following Mr. Wilson, David White, of Indiana, spoke a few minutes, also Rev. E. Partington, pastor of the Orthodox church across the way. There was no formal dismissal of the congregation, but according to an old time custom the sign that the service was at an end so far as the active participants were concerned was given by their shaking hands of each other. The company quietly dispersed.

“Every community from within 25 miles of the church was represented, quite a number from Fairport being noticed, and there were people from distant points, even outside the state. The venerable Mr. Noxon of Honeoye Falls, who had been attending these meetings for years, now past 90 years of age, was in attendance. Another of the ‘old guard,’ Ellery G. Allen, now 85 years of age, said he had been attending that church for 78 years.

“There was a second meeting in the afternoon at 2:30, and many there in the morning brought their lunches and remained for the afternoon service. Mr. White spoke in the Orthodox church in the evening.

“The log cabin in which this church originally worshipped was situated near where the Orthodox church now stands. It was burned down in December, 1803. A new frame church was built in 1804. It was covered with clapboards made from split cedar, cut in four-foot lengths, shaved to a proper thickness and fastened with wrought nails. Sawed lumber was then very difficult to purchase and building was done with the means at command. No attempt at ornament was made in the interior, and boards took the place of seats. On Feb. 22, 1816, the growth of membership had caused an inconvenience to all from the limited capacity of the place of worship, and it was concluded to enlarge it, but after due consideration this was dropped and a new building being resolved on and built within the year. It was erected at a cost of \$2,250, the building that now stands on the west side of the road, in which the service was held last Sunday.

“The society worshipped in concord until the spring of 1828, when Elias Hicks, an able speaker, came among them and presented new doctrines, subversive of former teachings and contrary to the ideas of many. Quite a body of Quakers accepted the new doctrine and as a result a separation took place on June 28, 1828, and the two branches became known as the Orthodox and Hicksites.”¹⁶¹

1927 **March 22. Henry Greene, Oscar Gardner, and Anson Gardner sold for \$1.00 to John VanLare and Kate VanLare, husband and wife, as “tenants by the entirety,” same land as described in 1890 deed.

¹⁶¹ “Inspiring Religious Service Held in Old Hicksite Meeting House in Farmington Probably Is the Last,” *Fairport Mail*, October 7, 1926. The above is a transcription of the entire article, since it gives such a good description of the last meeting for worship held in the 1816 Meetinghouse.

“WHEREAS Henry Greene, Oscar B. Gardner, and Anson L. Gardner have been duly appointed Trustees of Farmington Executive Meeting of Friends, as follows: July 24, 1890, September 23, 1909, and April 27, 19234, respectively, and

WHEREAS, as a meeting of the Farmington Executive Meeting of the Society of Friends duly called according to adjournment on the 6th day of March, 1926, the following preambles and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, Farmington Half-Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends held at Farmington, N.Y. October 4, 1924 authorized the Farmington Executive Meeting of the Society of Friends to sell and convey the property hereinafter described, and

WHEREAS, as a Farmington Executive (formerly monthly) Meeting of the Society of Friends in pursuance of authority vested in them and pursuant to the statutes in such case made and provided, and by the rules, regulations, and discipline of said Society, duly called and held at Canandaigua, N.Y., on the 6th day of March, 1926, NOW, THEREFORE, IT IS

RESOLVED, that the Trustees of Farmington Executive Meeting of the Society of Friends sell, transfer, and convey the premises hereinafter described,

Land as described above, with stakes and bricks and reference to “Friends Meeting House shed,” except farm is now owned by Fred Wehrlin and dwelling house now occupied by Joseph Herendeen, with provisions:

“It is covenanted and agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows:

1. That no dancing, dances or dancing parties shall be conducted or allowed in the meeting house now upon said premises, and no hall shall be erected or used for those purposes upon said premises.
2. That no spirits or alcoholic liquors of any kind shall be manufactured, sold, given away or kept on said premises, including beer, wine, cider, spirituous or salt liquors, except as permitted by law.
3. That no slaughtering of animals shall be done upon said premises, or any portion thereof, except for general farm purposes.
4. That in case of the violations of any of the covenants herein contained to be kept upon the part of the grantees, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, the said premises hereby conveyed shall revert to and become the property of the North Farmington Friends Cemetery Association, and the grantors and their successors or assigns reserve and shall have all legal rights for the enforcement of the said restrictions, and the carrying of the terms hereof.

The parties of the first part reserve the choice of three seats in said Meeting House. . . .

Signed by Henry Greene, Oscar B. Gardner, Anson L. Gardner.¹⁶²

1927 **April. Committee of Friends composed of Henry Greene (for sixty years a member of Farmington Friends’ Meeting), Supervisor Oscar Gardner of Farmington (son of Sunderland P. Gardner, Farmington Hicksite minister for sixty years) and Anson L. Gardner of Canandaigua sold this meetinghouse and five acres of land to John Van Lare, who owned the farm just north of the meetinghouse. Van Lare hired **George**

¹⁶² Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 345, page 216. Recorded March 23, 1927.

Bender of Rochester to remove the porch and small building at the rear and move the building (which weighed about 400 tons) 325 feet north of its original site, closer to Van Lare's farm, where he used the meetinghouse to store celery. Probably at this time, Van Lare also lowered the second story windows and filled in the gallery level to make a full second floor. [See photo from Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.]The small annex that was once connected to the meetinghouse remained near its original site and became a dwelling.¹⁶³

1927 Gus Wehrlin, then about ten years old, recalled watching the 1816 Meetinghouse being moved to its new site.¹⁶⁴

1927 **May. The following paragraphs all come from the same source, so footnote is at the end of this section.

“The 119-year-old Friends’ meeting house at Farmington, near here, landmark of a once-flourishing Quaker community, has been moved from its site to an adjacent farm and changed to meet the needs of farm storage.” **“The church was finished in 1817 at a cost of approximately \$2,250. For years it was carefully cared for and furnished. The shades at the windows would delight many collectors. They were evidently hung before the Civil War, for labels show they were patented in 1851. The fixtures are entirely of wood.” “At many meetings, it is recalled, the seats of the lower floor and balcony were filled and the worshippers occupied the aisles and stairways.”**¹⁶⁵

May. “The old Friends’ Meeting House, a landmark of Quakerism in Farmington and this section for the past 110 years, is being moved to its **new location about 325 feet west of the site where it was built, to be used for storage purposes.”

“The building was purchased by John VanLare, who resides on the farm next to the building, and who purchased both building and five acres of land last month. The **mover of the building, George Bender, of No. 183 Leighton avenue, Rochester, expects the meeting house will be on its new foundation within ten days. **The building weighs about 400 tons, is 60 x 46 feet in dimensions with 24-foot posts, that it is 24 from top [sic] of wall to eaves.”**

“Much of the timber in the Old Meeting House is of **the finest whitewood, many of the boards being 30 inches wide and entirely free from knots, and most of it in an excellent state of preservation. The building was divided in the center, one side being for the worship of the brothers and the other side for the worship of sisters. At the southeast end of the main building, was **a smaller building used for committee meetings, the men and women having their committee meetings separately.”**

¹⁶³ “Old Quaker Church Now Celery Storage,” *Rochester Times-Union*, May 18, 1927; “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” [Rochester newspaper], May 9, [1927]; Clipping, [Rochester newspaper, 1927.

¹⁶⁴ Oral interview with Gus Wehrlin, Helen Kirker and Charles Lenhart, 2007 [?].

¹⁶⁵ “Old Quaker Meeting House Moved to Meet Changed Farm Needs,” *Niagara Falls Gazette*, May 9, 1927.

“The **shades at the window of the building** would delight many collectors, as they evidently were placed in position before the Civil War, the labels showing that they were patented in 1851. The fixtures on the shades re unlike the metal fixtures made today, these being made entirely of wood. The entire building on the front surrounded by a porch, torn down recently in preparation for moving. On the inside of the meeting house is a large balcony on three sides.”

“**The balcony was entered by stairs from both ends.** This building was started in 1816 and completed in 1817 at a cost of about \$2,250. Mr. Van Lare bought the building in March of a committee of Friends consisting of Henry Greene, and Oscar Gardner of Farmington goes back to the time of the Phelps and Gorham purchase.”

“In 1816 the building that is being moved this week was started and completed the following year. **The interior of the new building never was painted,** and its simplicity and quaintness has remained through its 100 years of existence.”

“For many years past the old meeting house has been the scene of meetings only about once a year.” “Meet Annually Now. For the past thirteen or fourteen years, on the first Sunday in October the yearly public meeting have taken place, and Isaac Wilson of Baltimore, 87 years old, a famous Quaker preacher, has come here to preach. Friends from all parts of the country come to these yearly meetings, the building being packed to overflowing. Old scenes and memories were revived and lived again. These yearly meetings . . .business and committee meetings on Wednesday another public meeting took place. The yearly meetings closed on Thursday afternoon.”¹⁶⁶

1927 June 12. Sixth Month 12.

“The last minute of Farmington Executive Meeting (Hicksite), the final form of Farmington Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), was held 6th Month 12, 1927. The building had already been sold for \$1000, with the money going to the North Farmington Friends Cemetery Association. The minute concludes:

‘We have taken due care to place proper restrictions in the deed of the above mentioned property in order to honor and protect those vital principles or rectitude, which were so conscientiously supported by our beloved Society; and with due consideration for the feelings and interests of the meeting across the way.

‘There being no other business, with regrets we lay down this meeting and adjourn to meet no more.

‘Oscar B. Gardner, Clerk.’¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ “Famed Quaker Meeting House in Farmington Built 110 Years Ago, Will Be Storage House,” “Decline of Friends Society Brings Site Change,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 10, 1927. This article contains an expanded version of information also found in “Old Quaker Meeting House Moved to Meet Changed Farm Needs,” *Niagara Falls Gazette*, May 9, 1927.

¹⁶⁷ Research by Christopher Densmore and noted in email September 14, 2009.

- 1928 Raising money for monument. "Rev. Eleizer Partington, Lewis F. Allen and Anson Gardner, the latter from Canandaigua, gave short talks on the society of the community in regard to erecting a large boulder or monument, bearing a bronze tablet, to be dedicated in the future in memory of the Old Friends' Meetinghouse in North Farmington. The attendance of the two meetings was very large and the majority enjoyed picnic dinners on the lawn and yard around the church building [Orthodox Meetinghouse?] At the close of the sessions it was announced that there was already a nice sum of money given by the Friends attending the meeting, toward the memorial fund. Lewis F. Allen, John Scribner, A.M. Baker, Oscar Gardner and Anson Gardner are the acting committee."¹⁶⁸
- 1929 "A contribution has been received by the committee for the Hicksite Memorial fund, being raised in the Township of Farmington, from President-elect Herbert Hoover. Mr. Hoover's mother was a famous Quaker preacher, and he has contributed to several different Friends' causes of late."¹⁶⁹
- 1929 "On October 6, 1929, Quakers and others erected a bronze tablet on a granite block (a contributing feature in this district) to mark the location of the old meetinghouse, inscribed as follows:

The earliest
Friends Meetinghouse
west of Utica
was built of logs
near this spot by pioneers
1796
A frame structure 1804
Was replaced 1876
By the present building

A larger meeting house
Built opposite this site
Accommodated the yearly meetings
And was used for worship
1816-1926
Erected by public spirited
citizens and the State of New York
1929

President Herbert Hoover was one of the contributors to this monument. He was himself a Quaker, and his mother was a famous Quaker minister.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ "Farmington News," *Shortsville Enterprise*, October 18, 1928.

¹⁶⁹ *Shortsville Enterprise*, February 21, 1929. See also "Herbert Hoover Joins in Quaker Memorial," *Shortsville Enterprise*, March 14, 1929, reprinted from *Canandaigua Times*; "Hoover Contributor to Fund for Erection of Farmington Marker," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, October 1929 [Tuesday, ?]

¹⁷⁰ Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, 258.

1929 October. "With impressive ceremonies, a huge boulder tablet, marking the approximate spot on which was erected the first Friends, or Quakers, meeting house in Western New York in 1796, was dedicated in the town of Farmington on Sunday. The little churchyard was filled with fully 500 members of the Society of Friends from Western New York and Canada, who had gathered to witness the unveiling and to attend the yearly meeting conducted each first Sunday in October."

Description of ceremony. "A complete history of the Society and its early pioneers was read by Lewis F. Allen, in which he said that the first religious meetings of the Friends took place in the homes of the early pioneers. Later a log cabin was built especially for their meetings, near the site of the boulder which was dedicated on Sunday."

"In 1816 the building that two years ago was sold to John VanLare, a farmer whose property adjoins the site of the old church, was built. It was moved and today is used as a **storage house for farm produce."

"For many years past, on the first Sunday of October, the yearly public meetings have been conducted. Friends from all parts of the country come to the yearly meetings and old scenes and memories are revived and lived over again. Many who attended Sunday's meeting, however, were disappointed when it was learned that Rev. Isaac Wilson, one of the few remaining old-time Quaker orators, of Baltimore, was unable to attend because of illness and advanced age."¹⁷¹

1930 **Thomas Cook described Genesee Yearly Meetings once held in 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. Cook remembered that the sliding panels were raised during these meeting in order to accommodate the crowds. Prominent Quakers sat on the facing benches, the high seats, on the west side of the meetinghouse, men on one side and women on the other side. "This conference lasted nearly a week," wrote Cook, "always holding over Sunday, which was the second Sunday in June and was the great day when the young man took his best girl for a ride."¹⁷²

1937 October. "Cards, really worthwhile souvenirs, carrying on one side the picture of Sarah Peckham and on the other a picture of the marker of the location of the church built in 1796, and a program of the services for Sunday, October 10, have been mailed to many. October 10 is being called 'Home Coming Day' and is planned to take the place of the old Quaker meeting held for many years early in October, at the old meeting house, which stood, until a few years ago, across the road from the present Friends' Church."¹⁷³

1938 **"It was seventy-give years ago that I was big enough to sit with my father. As I got sleepy he tucked me up on the seat with my head in his lap, but later I was able to

¹⁷¹ "Quakers Hold Impressive Dedication Service Sunday," *Shortsville Enterprise*, October 10, 1929.

¹⁷² Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, (Palmyra, New York: Palmyra *Courier-Journal*, c. 1930). 257.

¹⁷³ "Farmington Friends' Church," *Shortsville Enterprise*, October 6, 1937.

- keep myself awake by **counting the panes in a window. These panes were replaced by others sixty years ago [1878] and are now again replaced by new ones.**¹⁷⁴
- 1938 “May this building [1816 Meetinghouse? Wesleyan Church?], under the democratic ownership of the Grange, ever open its doors to Truth and Liberty, the foundation elements of our commonwealth.”¹⁷⁵
- 1939 July 29. Tour of Farmington sponsored by the Rochester Historical Society and led by Lewis Allen. “The visitors were guided by J. Sheldon Fisher, curator of the Rochester Historical Society, while Lewis F. Allen of North Farmington presented the historical background of each spot visited, which also included [in addition to North Farmington cemetery, schoolhouse and various other sites in Pumpkin Hook, 1832 Herendeen house, red mill at Pumpkin Hook] the Isaac Hathaway home at Hathaway Corners; the site of the Pioneer home of Nathan Herendeen, who migrated from Massachusetts in 1790, and the site of the South Farmington Friends’ Church that was sold and removed in 1915, after standing for nearly 100 years.”¹⁷⁶
- 1939 August. “The Sesqui-Centennial of the coming of Friends to the township of Farmington, in 1789, will be observed at an outdoor union service to be held at the Farmington Friends’ Church on Sunday next, August 17. Joining with this church will be the congregations of the Victor, Macedon Center and South Perinton Methodist Churches.”¹⁷⁷
- 1941 August 4. “‘Go-to-meeting’ clothes were donned Sunday (Aug. 4), for the observance of the 150th anniversary of the building of the first Quaker Church in this vicinity. Nearly 300 persons attended services Sunday morning in the Friends’ Meeting House in Farmington where the all day sesqui-centennial rites were held by the Victor Council of Churches, including the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, the Methodist Churches of South Perinton and Macedon Center and the Farmington Friends’ Church.” Etc. ¹⁷⁸
- 1955 Genesee Yearly Meeting merged with Orthodox and Conservative Friends to become part of Canada Yearly Meeting. Orthodox Friends in Farmington became part of New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, which reunited Hicksite and Orthodox Friends.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ *Caledonia Advertiser*, July 7, 1938.

¹⁷⁵ *Caledonia Advertiser*, July 7, 1938.

¹⁷⁶ “Tour of Farmington’s Historical Spots,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 2, 1939; “Notes Used by Narrator on Farmington Tour,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 2, 1939.

¹⁷⁷ “Sesqui-Centennial to Be Observed in Farmington,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 23, 1939.

¹⁷⁸ “Quakers Hold ‘Sesqui’ Rites in Farmington on Sunday,” *Shortsville Enterprise*, August 7, 1941.

¹⁷⁹ Hugh Barbour, Arthur Worrall, and Christopher Densmore, *Quaker Cross-Currents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 134.

- 1968 March 21. Last will and testament of Catherine (Kate) Van Lare. Gives all property to her children Gertrude Van Lare and Raymond Van Lare.

Last Will and Testament of “Catherine G. Van Lare, also known as Kate Van Lare”

FIRST: pay debts and funeral expenses.

SECOND: Gives two-thirds of her real property to her daughter Gertrude R. Van Lare and one-third to her son Raymond C. Van Lare, “subject, however, to the right of my said daughter, Gertrude R. Van Lare, to live in my farm dwelling house (in which she now resides) for so long as she shall desire.”

THIRD: Gives to son Raymond C. VanLare, “all persona property which appertains to or is used in connection with my farm or its operations, including but not by way of limitation, tools, equipment, machinery, wagons, tractors, trucks, motor vehicles, seed, sprays, fertilizers, chemicals, all crops growing or stored on my real property or elsewhere, except hay and ensilage. The said personal property shall not include articles of furniture and personal property found within my farm dwelling house and bank accounts specifically bequeathed in paragraphs FOURTH, FIFTH and SIXTH of this, my WILL.

FOURTH: I give and bequeath to my said daughter, Gertrude R. VanLare, all of my clothing, jewelry, personal effects, household goods, furniture, furnishings, and all other tangible personal property not otherwise specifically bequeathed.“

FIFTH and SIXTH not in copy.

Witnessed by Maurice F. Strobridge of Newark, New York, and Frances D. Van de Mortel of Phelps, New York.¹⁸⁰

- 1972 April 10. Raymond & Gertrude Van Lare to Raymond C., Aurelia and Phyllis Van Lare. Three parcels. One is the same as described in Liber 345, book 216. Others include twenty-four acres north of the Meeting House and three acres of “bush lot” across the road, adjoining the cemetery.¹⁸¹
- 1987 October 21. Farmington Friends and Van Lare agree to remove 1927 deed restrictions on property.¹⁸²
- 1987 December 11. Aurelia Van Lare and Phyllis Van Lare Husner to Lennie ME Rugg and Valerie Walton Rugg, for \$1.00, Lot 3 as noted on “Preliminary Subdivision Plan Lands of Aurelia R. Van Lare and Phyllis J. Van Lare Husner, prepared from a

¹⁸⁰ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 718, page 952. Recorded April 11, 1972.

¹⁸¹ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 718, page 957. Recorded April 11, 1972.

¹⁸² Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 867, page 783. Recorded October 21, 1927.

- survey completed on March 10, 1987, by Douglas E. Kent . . . which map was filed in Ontario County Clerk's Office on July 13, 1987 (Map No.14845). "Together with all of Parties of the First Part's right, title, and interest in and to the rights reserved by Aurelia R. Van Lare and Phyllis J. Van Lare Husner in a deed to Daniel A. Cumming and Judy A. Cummings his wife dated November 26, 1985, and recorded in Ontario County Clerk's Office December 16, 1985, in Liber 846 of deeds at page 914." (See maps.) This map shows "frame barn," i.e. the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, as well as a small house on corner lot that may be the 1841 committee room of the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse.¹⁸³
- 1987 December 11. Alexandra Burkett (referee) and Phyllis J. Van Lare Husner, plaintiff, and Lennie ME Rugg and Valerie Walton Rugg, Harold J. Jennings, Gertrude R. Van Lare, ITT Mortgage Company and Harold Hopper, defendants. Re mortgage recorded December 11, 1987, in mortgage book Liber 621, page 735. Phyllis Husner bought subdivision lot number 3 of lot 137 at auction for \$50,000.¹⁸⁴
- 1987 February 27. Alexandra Burkett as referee and Phyllis Husner conveyed Lot 3 except Lot 3B conveyed to Valentown, Inc. Map 17085.¹⁸⁵
- c. 1988 *Original committee room, renovated to become part of a small house, burned on its original site, lot 1 of 3B.
- 1989 House built on Lot 2 of 3B.
- 1989 House formerly owned by the Victor Methodist Church was moved from Victor to the lot just south of the 1816 Meetinghouse. Noted as "proposed hse" on map 14,845 dated October 14, 1988. In 2007, it was owned by Keith H. Trammel at 176 County Route 8.¹⁸⁶
- 1989 Ranch house built on northwest corner of County Road 8 and Allen-Padgham Road (190 County Road 8). Owned in 2007 by Peter Drock.¹⁸⁷
- 1997 February 14. Phyllis J. Van Lare Husner paid Ruggs \$50,000 on mortgage for Lot No. 3, Map 14,845. [Same action as December 11, 1987?]¹⁸⁸
- 1997 August 18. Phyllis Husner to Martha Powers, Lot 3 as shown on map 14,845, except Lot 3B on Map 17085 prepared October 14, 1988. (See maps.)¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 869, page 388.

¹⁸⁴ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 977, page 314.

¹⁸⁵ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 977, page 314.

¹⁸⁶ Information from Town Historian Margaret Hartsough.

¹⁸⁷ Information from Town Historian Margaret Hartsough.

¹⁸⁸ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 977, page 314.

- 1990 Ranch house built second from corner at 186 County Road 8. Owned in 2007 by Michael Nisbet. Original 1816 Meetinghouse stood between these two houses, according to Town Historian Margaret Hartsough.
- 2004 **May 4. Martha Powers to Lyjha & Gillian Wilton, Lot 3A; Map no. 17085. This included the twenty-five acres containing the 1816 Meetinghouse.¹⁹⁰
- 2006 **February. A windstorm blew off the east wall of the building.
- **April? Farmington Town Board mandated that the building was unsafe and should be demolished.
- **July. Lyjah Wilton donated the meetinghouse to the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, a 501c3 organization based in Seneca Falls, New York. A group of concerned citizens, with the assistance of architect John G. Waite, began to develop plans and raise money to document, stabilize, and restore the building.
- 2006 **August 9. John G. Waite Associates visited the 1816 Meetinghouse to gather information for Condition Assessment Report.
- **August. Southeast corner of Meetinghouse stabilized. Roof covered with a tarp, with financial assistance from the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Heritage New York Women's History Trail, New York State Council on the Arts, the Chace Fund of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, and many private donors.
- December. Entire meetinghouse covered with a net, at request of Farmington Town Board, to prevent pieces of the meetinghouse from blowing off into the road.
- December 21. Conditions Assessment Report submitted to 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse group.
- 2007 **April 25. Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District listed on National Register of Historic Places
- 2007 September. Listed on National Park Service's Network to Freedom.

¹⁸⁹ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 983, page 629.

¹⁹⁰ Ontario County Archives and Records, Liber 1118, page 33.