8. Significance

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Overview. The Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District meets the criteria for National Register listing at the national level of significance under Criteria A and C for its significance in American social history and reform. The district is locally significant as an intact rural crossroads containing significant examples of Quaker architecture and cemetery design amidst a remarkably unaltered agricultural setting.

Criterion A. The Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District is nationally significant under Criterion A because individuals who came to Farmington, worshipped here, and in many cases were buried at this crossroads influenced national policy completely out of proportion to their numbers through leadership roles in three nationally important reform movements: the movement to protect Native American sovereignty, the movement for woman's rights, and abolitionism and the Underground Railroad. The district also meets the requirements established in the Multiple Property Document for Historic Resources Associated with the Underground Railroad, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Central New York (Section F) for sites associated with freedom seekers who stayed in central New York (F-1-b), sites related to helpers on the Underground Railroad (F-1-c), and sites related to abolitionism (F-2).

Farmington Quakers were extraordinarily influential because Farmington was a both a geographic and an intellectual and spiritual crossroads, located along what folklorist Carl Carmer called the "psychic highway" of upstate New York, an area that contemporaries called the "burned over district" because it was so thoroughly swept by the fires of religious revivalism and reform. Between the Revolution and the Civil War, Quakers converged on Farmington from New England, eastern New York, and Pennsylvania, spreading out from Farmington into Ontario, Michigan, and the west. Spiritually attuned to ideals of equality, Farmington Quakers made this district a center for Quakers and reformers (both African American and European American) from throughout the northeastern U.S. and Canada, creating here a crucible for debates about freedom for Native Americans, African Americans, and women, a microcosm of national ferment that led eventually to the Civil War.

Specifically, Quakers and other reformers at Farmington led movements that had national implications from the nineteenth century to the present in three areas:

1) **the movement to protect Native American sovereignty**, from the Canandaigua Treaty of 1794 to the late nineteenth century. When Philadelphia Quakers arrived to support the great Canandaigua Treaty between the U.S. and the Haudenosaunee in 1794, they stayed with Farmington Friends. In 1838, after the Senate ratified the fraudulent Treaty of Buffalo Creek, Seneca leaders appealed to Friends in the 1816 meetinghouse at Farmington. Quakers successfully helped arrange a compromise treaty by which the Seneca kept the Allegany and Cattaraugus homelands, preventing a "Trail of Tears" like the one that occurred later that year when thousands of Cherokee were forced to move to Oklahoma.

2) **the woman's rights movement**. In 1848, people associated with the Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse District helped organize the country's first woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York. Without these Quakers, there would have been no Seneca Falls convention. As early as 1838, Quakers at Farmington had agreed that men's and women's meetings would be recognized on an equal basis (instead of women's meetings deferring to men's meetings). In 1847, Farmington was the center of a new antislavery political party called the Liberty League, in which, for the first time known in history, women voted and also received votes to become presidential nominees. In October 1848, Friends met at the 1816 meetinghouse to organize a new meeting of Congregational Friends, abolishing separate men's and women's meetings and welcoming men and women "on terms of perfect equality." Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony—all major national woman's rights leaders--spoke in the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse. [1]

3) **the Underground Railroad and abolitionism.** Farmington Quakers operated a major Underground Railroad node, which sheltered nationally known freedom seekers such as Austin Steward, William Wells Brown, and

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[1][Thomas M'Clintock], *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.

Mary and Emily Edmondson. They worked closely with Underground Railroad activist William Chaplin in Washington, D.C. Farmington Quakers helped organize the antislavery Liberty League party, which nominated Gerrit Smith for President in 1847 and William R. Smith of Farmington for Governor of New York State in 1852. They were core leaders of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, who invited nationally known leaders such as William Lloyd Garrison of the American Anti-Slavery Society; Frederick Douglass, editor of the *North Star*; and lecturers such as Charles Remond to speak in the Farmington meetinghouses. Quaker women associated with Farmington were key organizers of antislavery fairs, which drew support from women in Boston, London, and elsewhere.

Criterion C. The Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse District meets Criterion C because of the architectural importance of both the 1816 meetinghouse and the 1876 meetinghouse. The 1816 meetinghouse is one of the earliest and largest meetinghouses west of the colonial settlement line, representing a typical two-cell Quaker meetinghouse plan of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, built to accommodate separate men's and women's meetings for business. The 1876 meetinghouse is typical of post-Civil War Quaker churches, influenced by evangelical Christianity, built with its gable end to the street.

Dominated by two Quaker meetinghouses and a cemetery and surrounded by fields of grain, woods and rolling hills, the Farmington Quaker Crossroads District retains its rural quality, with a high degree of integrity in location, design, setting, feeling, and association. Like all traditional Quaker meetinghouses, both the 1816 and 1876 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouses incorporate values of simplicity, symmetry, and community. Although the east wall blew off the 1816 meetinghouse in a windstorm in February 2006, the building retains an estimated eighty percent of its original fabric. The 1876 meetinghouse remains virtually unchanged from its original construction, except for an addition to the rear. The cemetery reflects its transition from the simplicity of an early Quaker burial ground, with plain rectangular grave markers, to the more worldly gravestones, landscaping, and funerary art of rural cemeteries in the middle and late nineteenth century. Nineteenth century Quakers who returned to Farmington—from Lucretia Mott to Susan B. Anthony--would certainly recognize this complex of structures as part of the world in which they lived.

Introduction

Ideals of equality, freedom, and liberty are part of our core identity as Americans. As every school child knows, the Declaration of Independence assures the world 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."

Yet definitions of equality, freedom, and liberty are not static. In particular, between the Revolution and the Civil War, Americans confronted a profound tension between the idea that liberty denoted submission to God's rule (a concept that dominated colonial American thought) and an emerging emphasis on individual rights. In so doing, they asked questions that challenged the very basis of their society, questions about individuals vs. institutions, competition vs. cooperation, hierarchy vs. equality. What did equality mean? Who had liberty in America? Did freedom extend to women, to people of color, to the poor? If people were essentially isolated competitive individuals, what about community responsibility? What about stable institutions? What about social order?

As historian Eric Foner noted in *The Story of American Freedom* (1998), freedom is "the oldest of clichés and the most modern of aspirations." The story of American freedom, Foner argued, is "is not a mythic saga with a predetermined beginning and conclusion, but an open-ended history of accomplishment and failure, a record of a people forever contending about the crucial ideas of their political culture." To some, freedom meant political or economic freedom. To others, it meant personal liberty. Still others emphasized the right to act according to moral and ethical values. These definitions in turn often conflicted with each other. The Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse District represents a key chapter in that "extended conversation over time," a conversation that Americans have had since this country's beginning and continue to have about the meaning of freedom in America and around the world.[2]

Because of its particular time and place, Upstate New York New York before the Civil War was a crucible of religious and reform movements, including woman's rights, abolitionism, Native American rights, utopian communities, temperance, peace, anti-capital punishment, vegetarianism, and religious revivals. It was no accident that two of the fastest-growing world's religions—Mormonism and Seventh Day Adventism--began here, and that long-established religions experienced major transformations.

After the Revolution, Americans poured out of overcrowded eastern farms, drawn to rich former Haudenosaunee farmlands in upstate New York, attracted as well by rapidly-falling creeks that provided waterpower for new factories. Poised at the cutting edge of developments in transportation, industrialization, urbanization, marketing, and immigration, upstate New York transformed itself between the Revolution and the Civil War in changes so dramatic that historians, normally restrained in their language, called them "revolutions." As Americans confronted these upheavals in the material conditions of their lives, they reaffirmed ties of family, work, church, and community to create a sense of order in the midst of potential chaos. They also sought meaning through a commitment to core values. But they did not always agree on what those values were. Religion and politics became arenas for debate about key issues of what it meant to live in a country founded on the ideal that "all men are created equal."

In part because of its geographic location and in part because of its concentration of Quakers, Farmington became a special focus of these tensions. Three movements in particular challenged Quakers in Farmington to deal with issues of individual rights vs. community responsibility: 1) the movement for Seneca Indian land rights; 2) the early woman's rights movement; and 3) the movement to abolish slavery.

The Farmington Quaker Crossroads District was closely associated with nationally and internationally important reformers in these three movements, including **Susan B. Anthony** (Quaker and major woman's rights leader, who spoke in the 1816 meetinghouse in 1873, at the time of her trial for voting), **William Wells Brown** (freedom seeker from Kentucky, who lived in Farmington from 1844-46, wrote his autobiography there, and almost certainly spoke in one or more of the meetinghouses), **Josephine Brown** (African American author, lived in Farmington as a girl), **Eliab W. Capron** (member of Farmington Quaker meeting, editor of the *National Reformer* and , and signer of Declaration of Sentiments at Seneca Falls woman's rights convention), **William Chaplin** (major Underground Railroad activist and editor, whose capture in Maryland in 1850 became a focal point of national abolitionist activity), **Griffith Cooper (**minister of Farmington Quaker meeting, Hicksite, Indian rights activist, and Underground Railroad supporter), **Frederick Douglass** (one of the nation's most important abolitionist editors, lecturers, and freedom seekers who spoke many times in

[2] Eric Foner, *Story of American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), xiii-xxii.

the Farmington meetinghouse), **Mary and Emily Edmondson** (escaped from slavery after being captured on the *Pearl* in 1848 and lived in Farmington before receiving help from Harriet Beecher Stowe to attend Oberlin College), **William Lloyd Garrison** (outspoken editor of Boston-based *Liberator* and anchor of American Anti-Slavery Society, who spoke in the Orthodox meetinghouse in Farmington in 1842), **Joseph John Gurney** (British Quaker abolitionist, who spoke in both Orthodox and Hicksite meetinghouses in Farmington), **Joseph C. Hathaway** (Farmington Orthodox Quaker, lecturer, Underground Railroad supporter, President of Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, President *pro tem* of first national women's rights convention in Worcester, 1850), **Elias Hicks** (national Quaker reformer, who spoke in Farmington), **Thomas M'Clintock** (Quaker abolitionist, Clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1839-43, [which met annually in the 1816 meetinghouse in Farmington], Vice-President of American Anti-Slavery Society, editor of papers of George Fox, supporter of Seneca Falls woman's rights convention, Underground Railroad supporter, organizer of Congregational Friends in Farmington, 1848), **Myrtilla Miner** (set up nationally known school for African American girls in Washington, D.C., based in part on Farmington model), **Lucretia Mott** (nationally known Quaker minister and reformer, spoke many times in the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse), **Lindley Murray Moore** (Clerk of Farmington Quarterly Meeting and President of Haverford College, 1848-52), **Amy Post** (member of Farmington Quarterly meeting, major woman's rights activist, abolitionist, and Underground Railroad supporter), **Seneca leaders, individual names not known** (attended meeting at 1816 Farmington meetinghouse in June 1838 to work with Quakers to protest 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek), **Gerrit Smith (**nationally known abolitionist leader, nominated for President by the Liberty League, meeting just north of Farmington in 1848), **William R. Smith** (member Farmington Orthodox Friends, nationally important Underground Railroad activist, mentioned in Josiah Henson's autobiography, ran for Governor of New York State as the Liberty League candidate in 1852), **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** (major woman's rights leader, organizer of Seneca Falls convention, gave her second major woman's rights speech in 1816 Farmington meetinghouse), and **Austin Steward** (nationally important freedom seeker and African American leader, lived in Farmington from 1815-1818 and most likely helped build 1816 Farmington meetinghouse).

Also important, although less well known, were **Caroline C. and William G. Barker** (members, Farmington Hicksitte Quakers, signers of Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments), **Minerva BlackSmith, Widow Little Beard, Susan BlackSmith, Jo-no-que-no, Gar-near-no-wih, O-no-do, De-wa-does, and Gar-e-was-ha-dus, and others** (clan mothers among the Tonawanda Senecas, who defended their lands in a petition to President John Tyler, written with the help of Quaker Amy Post), **Darius and Otis Comstock** (Farmington Quakers, major Underground Railroad supporters), **Daniel and Mary Anthony** (members of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, abolitionists and woman's rights supporters, Susan B. Anthony's parents), **Elias J. and Susan Doty** (Farmington Hicksite Quakers, signers of Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments), **Jacob Ferris** (Quaker abolitionist lecturer from Galen, Farmington Quarterly meeting), **Sunderland P. Gardner** (Farmington Hicksite Quaker minister for 42 years, who preached widely throughout the U.S. and Canada), **Cassandra Green Hathaway** (Farmington teacher, abolitionist, and woman's rights activist), **Esther Hathaway** (Farmington Orthodox Quaker abolitionist and Underground Railroad, friend of Frederick Douglass), **Phebe Hathaway** (Farmington Orthodox abolitionist organizer and Underground Railroad supporter, friend of Frederick Douglass), **Anson S. Lapham** (Farmington Hicksite Quaker, founder of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College), **Pliny Sexton** (Farmington Hicksite Quaker, abolitionist, Underground Railroad activist, attended national woman's rights conventions), **Asa B. Smith** (Farmington Quaker, abolitionist, Underground Railroad activist), **Catharine Fish Stebbins** (born in Farmington, Quaker abolitionist, signer of Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments, friend of Sojourner Truth) , and **Maria E. Wilbur** (Farmington Orthodox Quaker, signer of Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments).

This essay tells the story of the national significance of Farmington Friends and their meetinghouses. Focusing first on the history of Quakers in Farmington, this essay then explores the importance of Farmington Friends and their allies in three nationally significant reform movements: Native American rights, woman's rights, and abolitionism and the Underground Railroad. Finally, it describes the architectural significance of the two major buildings in this Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse District, the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse and the 1876 Farmington Friends Church, in the context of other relevant buildings across the country.[3]

Quakers in Farmington, 1789-1930

Nationally important Quaker reformers and their allies worked in the context of Farmington's importance, far beyond what anyone would predict from its size, as a magnet for Quaker settlement and organization throughout the northeastern U.S. and Canada. Much

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[3] Special thanks to Charles Lenhart for his extremely careful, thorough, and detailed research for this essay, as well as to Christopher Densmore, Margaret Hartsough, and others for their research assistance.

as photographers of a present-day landscape, if we use a short focal point to focus our lens on the reform landscape of the past, we can bring sharply into view those communities important to pre-Civil War reformers. Among them, highlighted most clearly, would be Farmington.

Quaker Organization

Quakers organized themselves into meetings, reflecting both time and space. Preparative meetings were small local neighborhood groups that usually met twice weekly. Once a month, two or more preparative meetings would gather into a monthly meeting for both worship and business. In Farmington, three preparative meetings (Macedon, Palmyra, and Farmington—and perhaps a fourth in Williamson) met in Farmington Monthly Meeting. Four times a year, several monthly meetings gathered in a quarterly meeting. Annually, several quarterly meetings met in a yearly meeting. 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, between 1803 and 1838, twenty-five new Quaker meetings owed their initial origin to Farmington Monthly Meeting. Farmington became the site not only of monthly meetings but also of Farmington Quarterly Meeting and, after 1834, of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite), which met annually in June in the 1816 Farmington Quaker meetinghouse, bringing to Farmington Quakers from all over western New York, Ontario, and Michigan. In addition, people migrated to Farmington as settlers and as visiting preachers from New England, eastern New York (including Long Island, the Hudson Valley, and the area east of Albany), and southeastern Pennsylvania. [4]

This organizational system made Quakers particularly effective reformers, as both reform ideas and reformers themselves followed these paths. When Quakers in one monthly meeting found inspiration to join one or another reform movement, they shared their leadings with Quakers in other meetings, not only through publications but also through these regular gatherings, often at Farmington. Abolitionist lecturers would go from one Friendly meeting to another. So would people who followed the Underground Railroad.

Farmington Quakers, 1788-1850. The State of Massachusetts purchased all the land west of Seneca Lake in 1788 by treaty with the Six Nations in July 1788. They conveyed it immediately to Nathaniel Phelps and Oliver Gorham, who in turn began to sell it to individual settlers. Among these were the Comstock and Aldrich families, who came to Farmington in 1789-90 from Adams, Massachusetts, part of the great Yankee migration into Haudenosaunee territory after the Revolution. Adams Friends Meeting disowned these families for leaving without permission, but when Pennsylvania Quakers arrived in 1794 to supervise the Canandaigua Treaty, they reported that Farmington Quakers were holding meetings in good order and recommended that they be brought under the care of Easton meeting, in Saratoga County. In 1803, Farmington became a monthly meeting in its own right.[5]

Quakers dominated life in Farmington. 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." 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 that

> Farmington Quarterly Meeting included all the Friends in western New York (who were numerous), and was held a part of the time at Scipio. 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. [6]

In 1796, Friends constructed a double log house (half to be used as a meetinghouse and half to be 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

[44] Pamphlet prepared by Farmington Friends Meeting, 1996.
[5] J.H. French, *Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of New York State* (Syracuse: R.P. Smith, 1860); Bertha Bortle Beal Aldridge, *Laphams in America* (1953), 52.
[6] John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (New York: S. Tuttle, 1842), reprint Heritage Books, 1999, 408.

ground also be created "for Friends and friendly people." When this building burned in 1803, Friends constructed a frame building in 1804, 44 feet by 32 feet, covered with cedar boards.[7]

By 1816, so many Quakers had migrated to Farmington that local Quakers decided to build a new meetinghouse, 47 by 60 feet, across the street from the old building. This is the meetinghouse that still stands today.

In the 1820s, Friends across North America and Great Britain were embroiled in controversies arising in part from pressure coming from waves of revivalism sweeping the country. Collectively known as the Second Great Awakening, revivals engulfed many eastern U.S. churches every few years, 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.[8]

Religious upheavals in the larger culture had a profound impact within Quakerism. Preaching, singing, and enthusiastic religious expression were all associated with revivals. Theologically, revivalists emphasized the inherent sinfulness of human beings, preached that Christ died on the Cross as atonement for human sins, and advocated the Bible as the revealed Word of God. Many Quakers were profoundly affected by evangelical values and absorbed these beliefs into their 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. [9]

Opposition to evangelical values became associated with Elias Hicks, Long Island Quaker preacher. He was, wrote 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. [10]

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 McCumber, walked out of the Farmington Monthly Meeting in the 1816 meetinghouse. This was a local manifestation of the great separation of Friends throughout North America into Orthodox and Hicksite branches. 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).[11]

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[7] Pamphlet prepared by Farmington Friends Meeting, 1996.
[8] 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* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), reprint 2006. See also Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millenium: The Burned-over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986).
[9] 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* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 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.
[10] Sunderland P. Gardner, *Memoirs*, quoted in Town of Farmington Rootsweb.
[11] Elias Hicks, *Journal*, quoted in typescript, Macedon Historical Society; Aldrich, Lewis, comp., George S. Conover, ed. /Conover, *History of Ontario County*. Syracuse, New York: D. Mason & Co., 1893. Theological differences among Orthodox and Hicksite

Although Hicksites retained official control of the 1816 meetinghouse, Orthodox Friends continued to use it for large gatherings. In 1839 and 1841, British Friend Joseph John Gurney traveled through the U.S. Gurney, son of a wealthy Norwich banker, an aristocrat and a philanthropist, was also an abolitionist. He visited dignitaries in Washington, including the British ambassador, Senator Henry Clay, Senator John C. Calhoun, and Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, trying to convince them that U.S. slavery could successfully be abolished, as British slavery had been abolished in the West Indies. When he went west across upstate New York, Gurney stopped in Farmington. There 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 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," he noted in his journal. " I think they were good times," he added, "the truth being triumphant, and Christ fully preached." [12]

Gurney spent the evening 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 that "I give this brief description of our friend because it characterizes the effect produced by divine grace in the midst of the hardy discipline of these rough regions." When Elizabeth Cady Stanton visited England on her honeymoon in 1840, she and her husband Henry B. Stanton stopped to visit Joseph John Gurney. "We spent a few days with John Joseph Gurney at his beautiful home in Norwich," Stanton remembered in her autobiography. "He had just returned from America, having made a tour through the South. When asked how he liked America, he said, 'I like everything but your pie crust and your slavery.'" [13]

All Quakers, whether Orthodox or Hicksite, shared certain ideals and traditions: a commitment to simplicity, equality, and quietness. But they also disagreed deeply about key beliefs. Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers agreed to disagree about core values such as the atonement of Christ and the importance of the Bible. But Hicksites themselves embraced considerable diversity and maintained only an uneasy internal alliance. As Thomas Hamm suggested, Hicksites

> embraced three persuasions of Friends. One, probably the most numerous, was conservative and viewed Orthodox Friends as innovators, leading Quakers away from traditional beliefs. A second persuasion consisted of Friends who, on a number of doctrinal questions, probably were closer to Orthodox Quakers than they were to Elias Hicks. . . . .The third group of Hicksites was made up of incipient liberals. These Friends, especially strong around Philadelphia, in upstate New York, and in parts of Ohio, were open to ideas from the larger American society. . . . They were also suspicious of authority that tried to limit their freedom in ministry or association. Given such diversity, conflict among Hicksites was inevitable.[14]

Among the Hicksites in Farmington Monthly Meeting, Farmington Quarterly Meeting, and Genesee Yearly Meeting, quietist and activist Friends were almost equally balanced. Disagreements over working with "the world's people,," especially disagreements about radical abolitionism, divided Farmington Friends (Hicksite) through the 1840s, escalating after the American Anti-Slavery Society initiated its campaign of 100 conventions at Utica, New York, in 1842 (in a meeting chaired by J.C. Hathaway, an Orthodox Quaker from Farmington).

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.

[12]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.

[13] Joseph John Gurney, *A journey in North America, described in familiar letters to Amelia Opie* (Norwich [England]: J. Fletcher, 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.

[14] Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 43-44.

Questions of authority also divided Friends. If all people had access to the Inner Light, did ministers or elders have a right to make decisions for others? Many Friends thought not. In 1843, Friends in Michigan Quarterly Meeting requested Genesee Yearly Meeting to abolish separate meetings of ministers and elders. Palmyra Preparative Meeting made the same request to Farmington Monthly Meeting. But 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.[15]

This moral earthquake unsettled not only Quakers but the whole antislavery movement. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society castigated Friends for not upholding their own testimony against slavery. “The Society, as a body,” they charged, “is false to its own standard of duty.” They congratulate themselves that, unlike antislavery societies, they “have created no dangerous excitement in the public mind, ending in tumults and riots; but that their appeals have been received with respect, and listened to with patience.” Baltimore Yearly Meeting advised Friends everywhere to pause and reflect before “entering into associations founded upon principles, or governed by motives, inconsistent with the mild, forbearing, and peaceable spirit of the gospel.” Yet, to abolitionists, this position was “cowardly, time-serving, and slavish,” pro-slavery to the core.[16]

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 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. "I am astonished," Ferris said. "Is this the Society of Friends that attempts to put down a *member,* because he speaks against the sin of slavery?" “It is to me, absurd that, at this day and age, Friends should talk about keeping to the quiet. Have they not, since the first rise of the society, agitating the public? Their testimonies were calculated to do so; and, I believe, the agitation has been productive of great good to the world.”[17]

In New York Yearly meeting, Quakers Isaac Hopper, 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. Eliab W. Capron, Cooper’s son-in-law, resigned in 1844.[18]Amy Post lasted longer in Rochester Monthly Meeting. 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." Not all Quakers felt comfortable with such a reform center in their midst. Conservatives within 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 stationary 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 immage will disturb their quiet, at least I hope it will."[19] Amy Post found support from a traveling preacher, who received a message from the Spirit: "The language of

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[15] 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.

[16] “Society of Friends,” *Liberator*, March 24, 1843.

[17]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.

[18] Christopher Densmore, “The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: The Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-1860,” *Quaker History* 82:2 (Fall 1993): 85-86.

[19]Amy Post to Abby Kelley, December 4, 1843, Abby Kelley Foster Papers, American Antiquarian Society; 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.

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, 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).[20]

After five years of struggle and debate, the issue 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. 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." While we have no transcript of this 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 that "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 that "Christians should be known more by their likeness to Christ, than by their notions of Christ."[21]

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."[22]

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.[23]

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

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[20] 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; Potter to Amy Post, October 7, 1843, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester.

[21] A. Day Bradley, "Progressive Friends in Michigan and New York," *Quaker History* 52 (Autumn 1963): 95-101; 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 Iowas, 1847-1856,* ed. by Earle D. Ross (Ames: Iowa State University Press, c. 1962); *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.

[22] 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.

[23] Manuscript Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting of Men, June 12-16, 1848, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore; *Address,* 5, 8; Benjamin Gue, "Journal," 40.

> 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, 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."[24]

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."[25]

One of the leaders of those who left was Thomas M'Clintock, of Junius Monthly Meeting in Waterloo, New York. With his wife Mary Ann and his five children, he had come to Waterloo in 1836 from Philadelphia to run a drugstore. The family quickly became anchors for the local Quaker meeting and engines of reform in Waterloo. After the June 1848 meeting at Farmington, M'Clintock 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.[26]

In October, this group met again. They adopted the name "Congregational Friends," and they 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.[27]

They were 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

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[24] Daniel Anthony to Susan B. Anthony, July 16, 1848, Susan B. Anthony Papers, Schlesinger Library.
[25]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.
[26] *An Address to Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting and Elsewhere* (Seneca Falls: Milliken and Mumford, 1848), 2.
[27]*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.

> 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. [28]

This group met annually at the Junius Meetinghouse in Waterloo. 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.

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." [29]

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*. It is hereafter to be exclusively devoted to religious purposes." When Joseph Dugdale, 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, 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."[30]

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, 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." Gardner preached more than 2261 sermons during his long ministry throughout the U.S. and Canada.[31]

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.[32]

Hicksite Friends held services in the 1816 meetinghouse on first and fifth days every week for many years. Each June, Genesee Yearly

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[28] Call to Congregational Friends Meeting, *Frederick Douglass Paper,* May 26, 1854.
[29] 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.
[30] *North Star*, August 31, 1849.
[31] 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.
[32] Sunderland P. Gardner, "Journal," June 11, 1854, http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Valley/2822/memoirs08.html.

Meeting gathered 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 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." [33]

The old Orthodox meetinghouse burned in 1875 and was replaced the next year by the current 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 and evolving theological trends within Orthodox Quakerism.

Between 1870 and 1890, Orthodox Friends experienced a renewal in the form of a holiness movement that "swept away," as historians Thomas Hamm and Hugh Barbour argued, "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 (as Joseph John Gurney had suggested) 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." [34]

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 into essentially 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, ministers "exhort and beg the sinner the come to Jesus."[35]

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, Friends gradually abandoned regular weekly and monthly meetings in the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse. Beginning in 1914, however, they began to hold annual "Quaker Days" there, inviting people from around the U.S.

By 1927, remaining Friends sold the land and building to John Van Lare, a local farmer, who moved the meetinghouse 325 feet north for use as a barn to store potatoes and celery. It continued to be used as a barn until about 2003, when Lyjha and Gillian Wilton purchased it. In June 2006, they donated it to the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, a private not-for-profit foundation. The Stanton Foundation worked to raise money to document and restore the building, to donate to an appropriate not-for-profit facility (perhaps the National Park Service) for use as an interpretive center for Farmington's nationally significant history, as it relates to religion and reform in upstate New York before the Civil War, especially Quakers and Seneca Indian rights, the early woman's rights movement, and abolitionism and the Underground Railroad.

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 and Hicksite Friends in Farmington became part of New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, rejoined into one official body.[36]

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[33] Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity,* (Palmyra, New York: Palmyra *Courier-Journal*, c. 1930). 257.
[34] 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.
[35] 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.
[36] 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.

Discussion

I. Criterion A: The Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District is nationally significant under Criterion A because individuals who came to Farmington, worshipped here, and in many cases were buried at this crossroads influenced national policy completely out of proportion to their numbers through leadership roles in three nationally important reform movements: the movement to protect Native American sovereignty, the movement for woman's rights, and abolitionism and the Underground Railroad.

Farmington Quakers and Reform Movements

In spite of (or perhaps, as historian Nancy Hewitt has argued, because of) the splits within Quakerism, Quakers released their energies into the larger world in the 1840s and 1850s. Friends affiliated with Farmington (whether Orthodox, Hicksite, or Congregational Friends) had an influence much larger than their numbers alone would suggest. They were especially important in three movements of significance to the country as a whole. [37]

1. **Native American sovereignty.** Farmington Friends consistently supported fair treatment for Native Americans. In June 1838, Seneca leaders met with the joint Indian Committee of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore Yearly Meetings of Friends in the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse to organize the movement to retain Seneca lands in western New York after the fraudulent 1838 treaty of Buffalo Creek.

2. **Woman's rights movement.** Friends helped organize the first woman's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, and continued to be a major influence on the early woman's rights movement through the nineteenth century. Susan B. Anthony (with her parents) was a member of Rochester Monthly Meeting (part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting). Anthony spoke in the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse, as did Lucretia Mott (several times) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who gave one of her earliest woman's rights speeches there and who also joined the Congregational Friends, organized in the meetinghouse in October 1848.

3. **Abolitionism and the Underground Railroad.** Farmington Friends in Farmington Monthly and Quarterly Meetings (Orthodox, Hicksite, and Congregational Friends) were leaders in abolitionism and the Underground Railroad, creating communities in Farmington, Rochester, Waterloo, and elsewhere where white and black reformers found common ground. Major abolitionist leaders such as William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass spoke in the Farmington meetinghouses.

1. Native American Sovereignty

"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."

The Case of the Seneca Indians, in the State of New York, Illustrated by Facts
(Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1840), 31.

Canandaigua Treaty: 1794

At the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783, the U.S. and Great Britain failed to include any mention of the Six Nations (Haudenosaunee) in the Treaty of Paris. At Fort Stanwix the following year, in a treaty that was manipulated by New York State without due input from the U.S. government, the Haudenosaunee gave up their land in western New York. Native Americans in the Northwest Territory continued to fight against the new U.S. government, and many Haudenosaunee people considered joining them.

In 1794, recognizing the need to bring a peaceful resolution to these land conflicts to prevent potentially disastrous warfare in western

[37] Hewitt, Nancy. A. "The Fragmentation of Friends: The Consequences for Quaker Women in Antebellum America," in Elisabeth Potts Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard, eds., *Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women Over Three Centuries*. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989, 93-108.

New York, President Washington sent Colonel Timothy Pickering to negotiate a settlement with the Six Nations. Sixteen hundred Indian people, including eight hundred Senecas, as well as Cayugas, Oneidas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, and Mohawks, met with Colonel Pickering in Canandaigua in the fall of 1794. At the request of both Haudenosaunee and U.S. officials, Quakers from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, headed by William Savery, also attended the meeting.

Farmington Friends, too, were present at Canandaigua. On September 27, William 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. They stayed overnight with Farmington Friend Abraham Lapham.[38]

The U.S. government and the Haudenosaunee signed the Canandaigua treaty on November 11, 1794, giving the Seneca the land they had lost at Ft. Stanwix and guaranteeing the Haudenosaunee the right to remain sovereign in their lands forever. This treaty remains in effect today.[39]

Philadelphia Quakers visited Farmington Friends, found them meeting in good order, and recommended that they be taken under the care of Easton Friends' Meeting (near Albany) as a regularly established meeting. This was the first time that a Friends Meeting was officially established in Farmington.

Treaty of Buffalo Creek: 1838

In June 1838, Seneca leaders appeared in the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse, asking for Quaker help in opposing a treaty that the Senate had just ratified on June 11, 1838. This treaty, "one of the major frauds in American Indian history," according to historian Laurence M. Hauptman, would force the Seneca to give up their ancestral lands in western New York and remove as a people to lands in Kansas. But, argued the leaders, the treaty was fraudulent. The Cherokee and other southeastern peoples would be 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.[40]

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. Griffith M. Cooper was particularly important.

On June 17-19, 1838, Seneca leaders met with sixteen members of this joint committee at Genesee Yearly Meeting at Farmington. We do not know the names of these leaders, but names of forty-nine enrolled Seneca leaders are listed in *The Case of The Seneca Indians in the State of New York Illustrated by Facts,* published by the Quakers in 1840. A photograph of one of these men survives. Governor Blacksnake ("The Chainbreaker") from the Allegany homelands would have been almost 100 years old in 1838. He died in 1859, aged 117 to 120.[41]

Seneca leaders told the Quakers that the treaty had not been signed by a majority of lawful leaders, that many who did sign it were "bribed by large sums of money," and that some of the names on the treaty were forgeries. They also presented an address from

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[38] William Savery, *The Life of the Life, Travels, and Religious Labors of William Savery*, compiled by Jonathan Evans (Philadelphia 94.

[39] G. Peter Jemison, "Sovereignty and Treaty Rights: We Remember," Speech at Canandaigua Treaty Celebration, November 11, 1994, *Akwesasne Notes New Series* (Fall, 1995), Vol 1:3-4: 10-15; "Canandaigua Treaty," Canandaigua Treaty Commemoration Site, www.canandaigua-treaty.org/.

[40] 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.

[41] *The Case of the Seneca Indians, in the State of New York, Illustrated by Facts* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1840), 246. For a photo of Governor Blacksnake, see Continuation Sheet: Important People Associated with the Farmington Quaker Meetinghouses. For a discussion of his life and work, see Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 166-174.

sixteen leaders of the Tonawandas. "Brothers," it read in part, "We want the President to know that we are for peace, and that we ask only the possession of our rights. True, we are small in number, but we only ask for justice. We want to be allowed to live on our land in peace. *We love Tonawanda.* We have no wish to leave it. It is the residue of the land of our fathers. Here we wish to lay our bones in peace."[42]

In a written address, the Quakers assured the leaders that they believed all they had said, that they "felt much sympathy with your people—we have heard with great pain of the wrongs and injuries which have been heaped upon you. We have seen your tears, and we have wept for you. We have remembered the kindness of your fathers to our fathers when you were a strong people." Their best advice was to "remain peaceably and quietly on your land, keep as much as possible at your homes, till your ground, take care of your stock, provide for your families—let your children be taught useful learning. As much as possible live peaceably with all men." [43]

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. [44]

The Quakers persisted in their opposition. Assured by 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 took sworn testimony from Seneca leaders in a council at Buffalo in January 1840. They presented this new documentation in a memorial to President Van Buren, dated January 29, 1840. Of the forty-one leaders who supposedly signed the treaty, they argued, six were never enrolled as leaders, and six more swore they never had signed it. Only twenty-nine leaders, out of a total of 75, actually signed the treaty, clearly not a majority. Of those who signed, only fourteen did so openly. The rest did so in homes or taverns, chased down by the commissioner or his agents after the formal council. Many signed while drunk. Many were bribed. The report contained copies of contracts signed by leaders who agreed to sign the treaty in return for payments of substantial sums of money and life use of their farms. Quakers labeled these "Bribery Contracts." Out of 2505 Seneca men, women, and children, only 146 had declared themselves willing to move. Nevertheless, the Senate ratified the treaty and President Van Buren signed in on April 4, 1840.[45]

Quakers also took their case directly to European Americans in western New York. Griffith Cooper's son-in-law, Eliab W. Capron, wrote to the *Liberator* in 1842, explaining their actions. 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."* One petition went to Congress in February 1841 from Rush, a township near Rochester. Six more went from Cayuga County. They worked closely with Maris B. Pierce, a Cattarugus Seneca chief, educated at Dartmouth, who worked as a federal interpreter and who spoke in schools and churches throughout western New York. "We pulled the wires, and these *'worlds people'* danced to them," Capron wrote. [46]

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[42] *The Case of the Seneca Indians, in the State of New York, Illustrated by Facts* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1840), 41.
[43] *The Case of the Seneca Indians*, 44.
[44] *The Case of the Seneca Indians, in the State of New York*, 31;
Quoted in *U.S. Supreme Court*, *U S v. NEW YORK INDIANS,* 173 U.S. 464 (1899173, 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.

[45] *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 Dispossesson and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 175-212.
[46]"Friends in Commotion," E.W.C. to William Lloyd Garrison, Walworth, N.Y., October 28, 1842, *Liberator,* December 2, 1842; petition from Rush, New York, February 5, 1841, National Archives, Box 74; petitions from Cayuga County, National Archives, HR 27A-H1.6; Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests*, 205.

With a new Whig administration in Washington and with the end of the costly Second Seminole War in Florida, “forced removal of Indians was a discredited policy” by 1842, as historian Laurence Hauptman pointed out. As a result, the U.S. government negotiated a compromise treaty in 1842, by which both the Allegany and Cattaraugus homelands, but not Buffalo Creek or Tonawanda, were returned to the Seneca.[47]

The Tonawanda band of Seneca were not part of these negotiations, and their homeland was not included in the treaty. Tonawanda Senecas still operated under traditional clan government, with women as clan mothers (as they continue to do in the early twenty-first century), and these clan mothers worked with Tonawanda leaders to protect their land. On March 14, 1842, eight Seneca women on the Tonawanda homeland (representing more than 200 Seneca women) petitioned President John Tyler. “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.[48]

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."[49]

Quakers had been involved in Seneca affairs beginning in the 1790s and they continued their connection long after the 1842 treaty. Beginning in the 1790s, they had established a school at Allegany and worked with the prophet Handsome Lake, who encouraged the revival of traditional Haudenosaunee religious practices, abstinence from alcohol, and adaptation to European-style farming. Handsome Lake fell out of favor with both Quakers and his half-brother Cornplanter, when he accused several Indian women of witchcraft. After 1828, Orthodox Quakers continued to maintain a school at Tunessasa on the Allegany homelands, while Quakers from New York Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) established a school at Cattaraugus, partly in response to appeals from Seneca Chief Red Jacket, where teacher Aden Corey taught mechanical arts and agriculture. Griffith M. Cooper later took charge of this school. By the 1840s, Quakers and Senecas turned this school into a school for girls, where they taught domestic arts. In 1855, this became the Thomas Indian School, named after Quaker Philip Thomas of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, first President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who had been adopted into the Seneca people.[50]

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[47] “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.

[48] Minerva 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 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.

[49] "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.

[50] The classic work on Handsome Lake is Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Knopf, 1973). Christopher Densmore, “New York Quakers and the Seneca Indians,” Paper delivered at Conference on New York History, June 1995.

While Friends never tried to convert Senecas to Quakerism, these schools at Tunessasa and Cattaraugus promoted a profound change in Seneca social structure. Historically, women as clan mothers had appointed leaders, controlled the use of land, worked the fields, and distributed food. Men had been hunters, diplomats, and warriors. With the loss of the Seneca land base as European Americans moved into western New York, many people—both Senecas and European American allies—argued that these traditional roles no longer functioned well. They urged Senecas to convert to a European-American model, in which men (rather than women) worked the fields and women worked in the household. Quakers on the official Indian Committees of the Yearly Meetings set up schools at Tunessas and Cattaraugus in part to promote this change. Carrying this model one step further, part of the Seneca people established a formal Seneca Nation in 1848, with a Constitution modeled after the U.S. Constitution. Annual voting for leaders was limited to men. Laurence Hauptman argued that Quakers in the 1840s worked with dominant Whig politicians to implement these policies, since "Friends felt the Indians could not survive as separate enclaves in the dominant white world and must learn to cope with the larger society."[51]

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 communed in some other chosen form--neither of these being the test of acceptance." [52]

The manuscript petition from traditional women at Tonawanda, found among Amy Post's papers, suggests that, unlike Quaker men representing official Indian committees, Post may have developed ties with clan mothers there, promoting the retention of Tonawanda lands. [53]

After the Civil War, Sunderland P. Gardner served on the Committee of Indian Concerns of Genesee Yearly Meeting and on the Central Executive Committee on the Indian Concern. After 1869, these committees worked with President Grant to administer Indian affairs west of the Mississippi River, with Hicksites responsible for the Northern Superintendency in Nebraska. [54]

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[51] Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests*, 195.
[52] Lucretia Mott to Edmund Quincy, August 24, 1848, printed in *Liberator*, October 6, 1848.
[53] Various people interpret Quaker work among the Seneca before the Civil War in different ways. Did Quakers make a difficult transition easier, protecting Seneca people from worse travesties against them and further loss of land to the dominant white culture, or did they participate in an unnecessary erosion of Seneca power and traditional culture? For one position, see Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossesion and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999).
[54] Betty Polster, *Genesee Friend: Life and Times of Sunderland Pattison Gardner* (Argenta, B.C.: Argenta Friends' Press, 1993), 24-25.

2. Farmington Quakers and the Woman's Rights Movement

"Men's and women's meetings stand on the equal footing of common interest and common right."
Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, *Discipline*, 1842.

"All men and women are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights among; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."
***Declaration of Sentiments*, Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention, 1848.**

On July 19-20, 1848, about three hundred people met in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Seneca Falls, New York, in the first woman's rights convention ever held in the U.S. One hundred of them (68 women and 32 men) signed a Declaration of Sentiments, patterned after the Declaration of Independence, asserting the "all men and women are created equal." By the late nineteenth century, the Seneca Falls convention had become an icon for women's rights. Today, if people know anything at all about the U.S. women's rights movement, they recognize the term "Seneca Falls."

Elizabeth Cady Stanton is rightly given credit for organizing the Seneca Falls convention. She was the catalyst and primary generator of the meeting. But equally important were Quakers affiliated with Farmington Quarterly Meeting. Just as there would have been no convention without Elizabeth Cady Stanton, so there would have been no convention without these Quakers. Most important were those who had supported the reorganization of Genesee Yearly Meeting in June 1848, abolishing separate meetings of ministers and elders. This group would meet again at Farmington in October to form the new Congregational Friends. In the meantime, however, they found another opportunity to express their ideals of equality. They helped organize the first woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, and they helped write the Declaration of Sentiments that made that convention echo so powerfully around the country.[55]

Quaker beliefs and life experiences made the idea of women's rights 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 . . . all such may be honored as stand in the life of the truth." 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 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.[56]

At the same time, women within Quaker meetings remained clearly subservient to men's meetings. 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.

In 1838, Genesee Yearly Meeting, in the 1816 meetinghouse in Farmington, changed that long-standing tradition and took a dramatic step toward the equality of women and men. Acting on a minute sent in 1836 from Junius Monthly Meeting of Friends in Waterloo, Genesee Yearly Meeting 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." [57]

Some of this innovation may have been due to the influence of Quakers from Philadelphia on Genesee Yearly Meeting after the mid-1830s. Beginning at least as early as 1835, Lucretia Mott, for example, came regularly from Philadelphia to speak at Genesee Yearly

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[55] This narrative follows the basic story described in Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2003).
[56] *The Friend, or Advocate of Truth* 4:20 (1831), 153.
[57] Genesee Yearly Meeting Minutes, June 11, 1838; *Discipline of Genesee Yearly Meeting* (Rochester, New York, 1842), 11.

Meeting at Farmington. 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." Her sister, Martha Coffin Wright, moved to Cayuga County, New York, in the 1830s, married lawyer David Wright, and moved to Auburn, New York, where Lucretia Mott visited her regularly during the summer. Lucretia and her husband James also visited James' sister, Abigail Mott Moore, and her husband Lindley Murray Moore, Orthodox Quakers in Rochester. In 1835, Mott spoke at Genesee Yearly Meeting in Farmington on the subject of women's education. Hannah Pierce, a 28-year-old Friend, recorded her 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, 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."[58]

Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock and their five children also 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. Angelina 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.

It was abolitionism that galvanized Quaker women in Farmington Monthly and Quarterly Meeting to begin organized public work. As early as 1838, Orthodox Quaker women in Farmington organized a female antislavery society. They raised money for abolitionism and sent petitions to Congress and New York State for the abolition of the slavery trade in the District of Columbia and the suppression of the slave trade in the United States. "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," reported Margaret Macomber in their second annual report in 1839. [59] In Waterloo, women and men seem to have met together in the same antislavery society. They sent some petitions signed by men, some sent by women, and some signed by women and men together. In Rochester, three separate antislavery societies organized. The one that included Quakers also included non-Quakers, both black and white.[60]

Many Quaker abolitionists in Waterloo, New York, were also involved in the Waterloo Woolen Mill. In 1840, two of them took a special way of showing their commitment to the cause. Knowing that William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the Boston-based *Liberator*, was going to London to the World Anti-Slavery convention, Thomas M'Clintock and Richard P. Hunt sent him five yards of olive colored woolen cloth, so that he could have a new suit, made entirely from material free from the labor of slaves. In thanks, Garrison wrote M'Clintock that

> 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."[61]

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[58]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.
[59] Margaret A. Macomber, "Farmington Female A.S. Society," 7th Mo. 13th, 1839, *Friend of Man,* [August 1839].
[60] Judith Wellman, Nancy Hewitt.
[61] William Lloyd Garrison to Thomas M'Clintock, May 1, 1840.

In 1842, Garrison himself came to western New York and stayed with the M'Clintock family in Waterloo. He also visited Rochester and Farmington and almost certainly stayed with Quaker families in each of those communities.

Garrison came as part of a new initiative by the American Anti-Slavery Society called the one hundred conventions. With him came Abby Kelley, Quaker-born abolitionist lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society, along with Frederick Douglass, Charles Remond, and others. One result of their visit was the organization of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society in November 1842. Nine of the original officers of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society were women, and the first major activity of the group was an antislavery fair organized by five Quaker women, including Amy Post and Sarah A. Burtis from Rochester, Abby Kelley from Lynn, Massachusetts, Phebe Hathaway from Farmington, and Mary Ann M'Clintock from Waterloo. All except Abby Kelley were from Farmington Quarterly Meeting. The women felt overwhelmed and rushed for time, and several members of their Rochester sewing circle left because the women invited black members to join them. But they persevered, and they managed to collect all kinds of goods for sale from as far as away as Utica, Boston, and even England and Ireland. They held the fair in Rochester on George Washington's birthday, February 22, 1843, and the results far exceeded their expectations. Much to their surprise, they 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 af*fair*."[62]

Women of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society continued to organize annual antislavery fairs. They spread to many communities throughout western New York and kept these women in touch with each other throughout the region and with other women nationally and internationally, as they appealed for help from women in Boston, England, and Ireland.

Although these fairs involved women from many different denominations, including African American women in some communities, Quaker women from Farmington Quarterly Meeting were at the core of this organization. In 1848, for example, they advertised in the *North Star* for goods to be sold at the fair:

> We hope no one will feel too poor, nor any too rich, to enlist in this holy cause. The Christian's influence, in whatever situation, is always salutary, and will certainly produce its good effects. We ask for the aid of men and of women; --we call on the old and the young, the farmer, the mechanic, and the merchant. We ask all and every one to give us their help, to devote what they can spare, either of money or of the fruits of their labor, to the work of restoring men and women to themselves, to their manhood, to the rights and blessings with which they were endowed by our Creator.

Of the twenty-eight women who signed this notice, at least nineteen are known to be affiliated with Quaker meetings that were part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting (either Orthodox or Hicksite).[63]

The money they raised gave these women considerable power within the abolitionist movement. In 1846, they invited Frederick Douglass to come to upstate New York as an abolitionist agent. "No man has ever been amongst us," Amy Post reported, "who in our opinion is better qualified for usefulness in the antislavery field." The following year, Douglass established his newspaper, *The North Star*, in Rochester, with the strong support of these Quakers.[64]

These fairs became a crucible for the early woman's rights movement. Women involved with them were connected to the American Anti-Slavery Society throughout the country. In turn, that network linked them directly to major events and people associated with the developing woman's rights movement nationally, including Angelina and Sarah Grimke, Abby Kelley, and Lucretia Mott.

In upstate New York, many political abolitionists, opposed to the American Anti-Slavery Society, also supported women's rights. Many of these were loosely allied with abolitionist Gerrit Smith. Gerrit Smith was a wealthy landowner, cousin of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, from Peterboro, New York. In 1847, a handful of political abolitionists broke away from the main abolitionist party, the

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[62] J.C. Hathaway to Abby Kelley, February 16, 1843, Abby Kelley Foster Papers, American Antiquarian Society.
[63] *North Star*, March 24 and 31, 1848; November 10, 1848. See also January 14, 1848; August 31, 1849. For further discussion of these fairs and their importance in the early woman's rights movement, see Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention* (Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2003).
[64] Amy Post to Maria W. Chapman, May 1, 1846, Garrison Papers, Boston Public Library.

Liberty Party, to form a new group called the Liberty League. They 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. [65]

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 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."[66]

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 connected with this Quaker network through Jane and Richard Hunt and Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock in Waterloo. All of these were connected to Farmington Quarterly Meeting, through their membership in Junius Monthly Meeting at Waterloo.

Stanton's link to these Quakers of Farmington Quarterly Meeting 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." [67]

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 political, legal, and social rights.[68]

Mott visited Friends in Waterloo immediately after the great divide at Genesee Yearly Meeting in Farmington in June 1848. Jane Hunt, hostess of the gathering, 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 to call a

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[65] *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.*
[66] 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.
[67] William Howitt to Lucretia Mott, June 27, 1840, quoted in James Mott, *Three Months in Great Britain* (Philadelphia, 1841), 4.
[68] Nancy Hewitt, "Feminist Friends: Egalitarian Quakers and the Emergence of Woman's Rights in America," *Feminist Studies* 1986 12 (1): 27-50.

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, and the M'Clintock family was certainly key to its creation.

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 (and possibly Elizabeth Smith) signed, and from Farmington Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), Susan and Elias Doty, Caroline and William Barker, and Eliab W. Capron (former Hicksite) signed. [69]

Elizabeth Cady Stanton gave her first speech after the Seneca Falls convention at Junius meetinghouse in Waterloo in September. On Friday, October 6, she repeated this speech in the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse at the organizational meeting of the Congregational Friends. Benjamin Gue noted 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."[70]

Stanton recalled in her autobiography that

> 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 is, 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."[71]

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[69] For more details on the convention, see Judith Wellman, "Declaring Woman's Rights," Chapter 8, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention*.
[70] 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.
[71] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815-1897* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), reprint (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 151. Christopher Densmore located another version of this story in a letter by Elizabeth Cady Stanton to *The Freethinkers Magazine* 13 (1895), 49-50, part of a collection of material for an article on "Henry Bonnell and the Waterloo Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress." In this account, Stanton placed this incident at the Junius Friends Meetinghouse in Waterloo: "Among the first speeches I made in those early days was one at Junius meeting-house. At the close I invited remarks and objections to what I had said. A profound silence reigned over the large audience for some minutes, when Henry Bonnell arose and said in

Clearly, Stanton worked closely with Orthodox Friends in Farmington, too, for in November 1848, Phebe Hathaway wrote to her about employing a woman's rights agent in western New York: "Thou wilt be glad to hear she [Lucy Stone] can come to this state so much sooner than she expected," she noted. "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."* [72]

By 1852, Stanton 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." [73]

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.[74]

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.

In 1873, Susan B. Anthony, who retained her membership in Rochester Monthly Meeting all of her life, spoke in the 1816 Farmington Quaker meetinghouse, as part of her campaign to generate support for her right to vote before her trial in the Canandaigua courthouse.

In 1886, 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 the first petition to the Canadian government for the right of Canadian women to vote.[75]

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undulating tones, 'All I have to say is, if a hen can crow, let her crow.'" Stanton noted that she was not sure how to take this statement, but then Bonnell assured her that "I am thoroughly with thee on this question!"

[72] 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.

[73] 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.

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

[75]Arthur Garrat Dorland, *A History o 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.

3. Farmington Quakers, Abolitionism, and the Underground Railroad[76]

"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]."

Joseph John Gurney (British Quaker), *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie* (Norwich [England]: J. Fletcher, 1841), 309.

From at least 1815 until the Civil War, a core group of Quaker families—both Orthodox and Hicksite--made Farmington a major node of abolitionism and the national Underground Railroad network.

The first documented reference to Underground Railroad activity in Farmington came in 1815, when Austin Steward escaped from slavery 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 Ontario Manumission Society, chartered by the State of New York in 1812 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.[77]

Austin Steward was born in slavery in Virginia in 1793. Brought to Sodus and Bath, New York, by 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 Mr. Comstock for the season, and from that time onward lived with him nearly four years.
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> 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

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[76] Much of this material is adapted from the nomination for the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse to the National Park Service's Underground Railroad Network to Freedom, accepted in September 2007.

[77] "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. 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.

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.[78]

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 with Otis Comstock and Amy Smith Comstock and attended Farmington Academy before moving to Rochester in September 1817, where he set up a meat market and grocery store, selling goods 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.[79]

In all likelihood, Austin Steward helped building the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse. He was then living with Otis and Amy Comstock. Otis Comstoc's brother, 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 Austin Steward--were involved in the construction of this meetinghouse.

In 1825, Darius Comstock, still a member of Farmington Monthy 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." When Joseph Pickard, a local barber, was arrested by two slave-catchers from Kentucky, "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.'"[80]

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

By the 1830s, both Hicksite and Orthodox Friends in Farmington Monthly and Quarterly meetings operated not only the Underground Railroad but also worked extensively in antislavery organizations at both the state and national level. They organized the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society (affiliated with the American Anti-Slavery Society), promoted female anti-slavery fairs, sent anti-slavery petitions to Congress, supported anti-slavery lecturers and publications (especially the *North Star)*, and sustained the Underground Railroad. Some of them also helped organize an antislavery political party, the Liberty League. All of these worked closely with African American abolitionists and freedom seekers, especially Frederick Douglass, Charles Remond, Austin Steward, William Wells Brown, and the Edmondson sisters. They also worked with Quaker and non-Quaker European American abolitionists at a regional and national level, including Lucretia and James Mott, William Lloyd Garrison, Abby Kelley, Joseph Dugdale, Isaac Hopper, William Chaplin, Myrtilla Miner, and others.

Core leaders among Orthodox Friends in Farmington included the Hathway, Comstock, Wilbur, and Smith families. So committed were Farmington Friends that they challenged New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) to take a strong antislavery position. As

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[78]Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman,* ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 111-113, and www.docsouth.edu.

[79]Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave;* Preston Pierce, Ontario County Historian, http://www.raims.com/education/SlaveryIssueAug04.htm.

[80]"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

Christopher Densmore noted in "The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: the Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-60," "most of the anti-slavery measures adopted by the Yearly Meeting [Orthodox] were first recommended to it by Farmington Quarter." [81]

Among Farmington Quarterly Meeting (Hicksite), the core group of 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.

Although Orthodox Friends rallied around abolitionism, Hicksite Friends split apart over the radical tactics and goals of members associated with the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Liberty League. In the beginning, Friends seemed to agree. In June 1835, Hicksite Quakers attending Genesee Yearly Meeting at Farmington heard "very good discourses" on slavery from several ministers, including perhaps Lucretia Mott, a recognized minister, active in abolitionism, peace, prison reform, and Indian rights, who attended from Philadelphia.[82]

On October 3, 1835, several men from the Farmington area signed a call to the organizing meeting of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in Utica at the Bleecker Street Presbyterian Church on October 21, 1835. Signers included L. Hathaway and R. Hathaway, Asa B. Smith, William R. Smith, and J.C. Hathaway (all Orthodox Friends from Farmington Monthly Meeting), and twenty men from Palmyra (many of whom were probably Quakers from Palmyra Preparative Meeting of Farmington Monthly Meeting).[83]

The following year, on November 9, 1836, Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Friends (Orthodox) adopted a strong abolitionist statement, 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 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.[84]

Clerks who signed this minute were Lindley Murray Moore for the men's meeting and Abigail Lydia Mott Moore for the women's meeting. Abigail Mott Moore was James Mott's sister and Lucretia Mott's sister-in-law. Lindley Murray Moore, her husband, later

[81] Christopher Densmore,"The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: the Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-60," *Quaker History* 82:2 (Fall 1993), 82.
[82] Journal of Hannah Pierce, Sixth Mo. 15th, 1835.
[83] "To the Friends of Immediate Emancipation in the State of New York," *Liberator*, October 3, 1835 (5:40).
[84] *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, as "An Address from Farmington (N.Y.) Quarterly Meeting of (Orthodox) Friends to its Members on Slavery."

became president of Haverford College.[85]

In March 1837, one hundred men in Farmington formed a men's antislavery society, whose president was J.C. Hathaway. Thirty-two women formed a women's antislavery society, whose president was J.C. Hathaway's sister, Phebe Hathaway. Both were affiliated with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Quakers Otis Clapp of Palmyra and Asa B. Smith of Farmington/Macedon, became agents for *The Colored American*, edited by Samuel B. Cornish in New York City, and 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 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."[86]

Farmington women formed one of the most active of the twenty female antislavery societies in New York State, and they 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 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."[87]

In November and December 1840, J.C. Hathaway, W.C. Rogers, W.O. Duvall, Lorenzo Hathaway, Esek Wilbur, Gideon Ramsdell, P.D. Hathaway, and Pliny Sexton (who all listed themselves as from Farmington, Ontario County, perhaps reflecting their affiliation with Farmington Quarterly Meeting, since Duvall was from Port Byron, Rogers from Utica, Ramsdell from Perinton, P.D. Hathaway from Cambria, and Sexton from Palmyra) made an antislavery lecture tour through western New York (including Monroe, Genesee, Livingston, Allegany, Erie, Niagara, and Orleans Counties). "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?" [88]

Farmington Quarterly Meeting (Orthodox) appointed a Committee on Slavery, which in 1842 published a pamphlet urging Friends 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

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[85] Thanks to Charles Lenhart for identifying the relationship between Abigail Mott Moore and James Mott.

[86] *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.

[87] Wellman, "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.

[88] *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, November 12, 1840; December 31, 1840.

dealing in, or consuming the produce of the labor of slaves, we are not encouraging the system of slavery."[89]

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 antagontistical 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? [90]

In 1842, the American Anti-Slavery Society organized a series of conventions across the northeast, countering efforts of the Liberty Party to promote political abolitionism. In November, 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.[91]

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 (including the *Liberator*), support traveling agents, and refrain from voting.[92] 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 also became a mainstay of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society.[93]

After the Rochester convention, William Lloyd Garrison lectured 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*.[94]

From Farmington, Garrison traveled to Waterloo, where he stayed with Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock, anchors of Junius Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting. Thomas M'Clintock was then Cloerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting and had been since 1839. Garrison spoke twice on Sunday and again on Monday evening in the court house, 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." So impressed was Thomas M'Clintock with Garrison (and vice versa) that M'Clintock became a manager of the national American Anti-Slavery Society the following year, a position he held for six years before becoming a Vice-President in 1848. [95]

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[89] Christopher Densmore, "The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: The Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-60," *Quaker History* 1993 82 (2): 84.
[90] *Wayne Sentinel*, February 10, 1841. Found by Charles Lenhart in the King's Daughter Library, Palmyra, New York.
[91] William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, November 21, 1842, No. 47, Garrison Papers, III (1973): 108-110.
[92]"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.
[93]Nancy Hewitt, *Women's Activism,* 108; *Liberator,* February 3, 1843.
[94]*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.
[95]William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, November 21, 1842, No. 47, Garrison Papers, III (1973): 108-110; Judith Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 110.

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.[96]

At its fifth annual meeting on December 23 1848, the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society met at the new Concert Hall on State Street in Rochester, following the antislavery fair. J.C. Hathaway from Farmington was Chair. Eight of the forty-five members of the Executive Committee had ties to Farmington Monthly Meetings (either Orthodox or Hicksite). William Barker, member of Farmington M.M. (Hicksite) spoke. At least eleven more speakers were from Rochester and were either members or former members of Rochester Monthly Meeting.[97]

The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society was affiliated with the American Anti-Slavery Society, which advocated "moral suasion" and opposed all formal political activity, including voting. Many abolitionists, however, were political activists. In 1840, they organized an abolitionist third party, the Liberty Party.

On June 8, 1847, a small group split away from the Liberty Party, to meet 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 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."[98]

Among the vice-presidents of this convention was William R. Smith of Farmington Monthly Meeting. The official paper of the Liberty League was the *Albany Patriot*, edited by William Chaplin, who was then in Washington, D.C., part of a major Underground Railroad network. The Liberty League nominated Gerrit Smith for President in 1847. In the coming years, William R. Smith, William Chaplin, and Gerrit Smith would be inextricably bound together in two major Underground Railroad events.

This group changed its name several times over the next few years. By 1852, it again called itself the Liberty Party. Meeting in Syracuse in September, it asserted that " the Liberty Party cannot consent to fall below, nor, in any degree, to qualify, its great central principle, that all persons - black and white, male and female - have equal political rights, and are equally entitled to the protection and advantages of Civil Government." It nominated William Goodell for President and William R. Smith, Farmington Quaker, for Governor of New York State.[99]

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[96] See, e.g., "Fifth Annual Meeting of the Western N.Y. Anti-Slavery Society," *North Star*, December 19, 1848.
[97] *North Star,* December 29, 1848.
[98] William Goodell, *Address of the Macedon Convention* and Gerrit Smith, *Letters of Gerrit Smith* (Albany: S.W. Green, 1847); *National Era*, June 24, 1847.
[99] "National Liberty Party," Gerrit Smith Broadside and Pamphlet Collection, Syracuse University, http://library.syr.edu/digital/collections/g/GerritSmith/482.htm.

Farmington and the Underground Railroad, up to 1848

In this context of abolitionist organizing and fund-raising, key Quaker families from within Farmington Quarterly Meeting carried on Underground Railroad work, without regard for divisions among Friends, united by their concern for helping freedom seekers escape from slavery. Underground Railroad work was clearly linked to specific families, often across generations. Within Farmington Monthly Meeting, the Darius Comstock and Otis and Amy Comstock families were important in the early period. Darius Comstock's daughter Hannah married Asa B. Smith, and both Asa B. and Hannah Comstock Smith carried on the Underground Railroad tradition, as did their son William R. Smith, along with Joseph C. and Esther Hathaway and Phebe Hathaway in Farmington Monthly Meeting (Orthodox). Within Farmington Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), the Elias and Susan Doty family (probably associated with Macedon Preparative Meeting), the Pliny Sexton family (associated with Palmyra Preparative Meeting), and the Griffith M. Cooper family were important, along with Esek and Maria Wilbur.

Within the larger Farmington Quarterly Meeting, Junius Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), twenty-five miles east of Farmington in Waterloo, New York, was a major center of Underground Railroad activity, with the M'Clintock and Hunt families operating documented safe houses. Rochester Monthly Meeting, about fifteen miles west of Farmington, was another important Underground Railroad node, where the Post, Anthony, Fish, and DeGarmo families worked with African Americans Frederick Douglass, J.P. Morris, and other non-Quakers.

Because of the work of these few reform families in Farmington, nationally important freedom seekers and abolitionists made Farmington a regular stop. Some called Farmington home for a period of time. Major freedom seekers who lived in Farmington included Austin Steward, William Wells Brown, and Mary and Emily Edmondson. Nationally known reformers who visited Farmington included William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, Frederick Douglass, all of whom spoke in either the Orthodox or Hicksite meetinghouses. Farmington residents were connected to national leaders in the American Anti-Slavery Society and to national antislavery newspapers, including the *Colored American,* the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, the *Liberator*, the *North Star*, and *Frederick Douglass' Paper.* Farmington Quakers had documented connections to families—both African American and European American--in key Underground Railroad nodes both east of Farmington (in Syracuse, Skaneateles, Sherwood, Waterloo, and Canandaigua), north (in Williamson, Macedon, and Pultneyville), and west (in Rochester, New York, and Adrian, Michigan). They also established important connections to William Chaplin, Myrtilla Miner, and their Underground Railroad activities in Washington, D.C.

Underground Railroad incidents occurred regularly in upstate New York in the late 1830s. Not until l842, 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.[100]

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

Joseph C. Hathaway, Quaker living at Pumpkin Hook (formerly New Salem), just north of the two meetinghouses, reported the second incident to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*:

> A few days ago, a fugitive from Virginia gave me a call, on his 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 on 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.*[101]

In the same letter, Hathaway described a Geneva barber who was shocked to discover his former master sitting down in the barber chair for shave. "He shaved him with a trembling hand; and the moment he left the shop, hurried out of the back door, and immediately fled to Canada." Finally, as Christopher Densmore has noted, Hathaway wrote later that summer about a man who, "after seeing reward posters offering $600 for his capture, had not dared to seek assistance until near the end of his journey. Without any assistance, he had traveled, presumably on foot, at least the entire breadth of Pennsylvania and half of New York State, before boarding the Underground Railroad."[102]
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 Lord

Among the lecturers supported by the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society was William Wells Brown. Brown (1814-1884) was born in Lexington, Kentucky, and escaped from slavery in 1834. He worked for two years on a steamboat in Lake Erie, helping freedom seekers get to Canada, and then moved first to Buffalo, New York, where his daughters Clarissa and Josephine (1839) were born. In 1844, Brown moved with his family to Farmington, where they lived for three years while Brown worked as an antislavery agent for the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. J.C. Hathaway, President of the Society, described Brown as "an eloquent and efficient laborer in the antislavery field." Hathaway noted that "he has secured many warm friends, by his untiring zeal, persevering energy, continued fidelity, and universal kindness."[103]

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[101] *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 5, 1842. Thanks to Christopher Densmore for finding this. Preston Pierce website.
[102] Christopher Densmore, "Quakers and Abolition in Western New York," http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://ublib.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/FARMINGT.JPG&imgrefurl=http://ublib.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/Quaker_Meeting_Houses.html&h=514&w=793&sz=294&tbnid=dCU6316iR1JUKM:&tbnh=92&tbnw=142&hl=en&start=22&prev=/images%3Fq%3DFarmington%2BOntario%26start%3D20%26svnum%3D10%26hl%3Den%26lr%3D%26sa%3DN.
[103] *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 7, 1846, noted in "William Wells Brown in Buffalo," *Journal of Negro History* XXXIX:4 (October 1954), http://www.buffalonian.com/history/articles/1801-50/1836WELLsbROWNBUFFALO.html. C. Peter Ripley et al, eds., *The Black Abolitionist Papers: Vol. II: Canada, 1830-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), summarized on docsouth; William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave. Written by Himself.* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1847), ix.

While in Farmington, Brown worked on his autobiography, *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave*. He published it, with an introduction by J.C. Hathaway in 1847. Hathaway's introduction to Brown's *Narrative* emphasized Brown's effectiveness as a lecturer and appealed to readers to take action:

> Reader, are you an Abolitionist? What have you done for the slave? What are you doing in his behalf? What do you purpose to do? There is a great work before us Who will be an idler now? This is the great humanitarian movement of the age, swallowing up, for the time being, all other questions. . . .
>
> Are you a Christian? This is the carrying out of practical Christianity; and there is no other. . . .
>
> Are you a friend of the missionary cause? This is the greatest missionary enterprize of the day.
>
> It is not for a single generation alone, numbering three millions--sublime as would be that effort--that we are working. It is for HUMANITY, the wide world over, not only now, but for all coming time, and all future generations.[104]

In 1847, Brown moved to Boston, where he began to lecture for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. From 1849-54, Brown lectured in Britain before moving back to Boston. He wrote *Clotel*, the first novel written by an African American, as well as three volumes of history.[105]

Frederick Douglass also had strong ties with Farmington, and he spoke at least once (and probably several times) in one or both of the Quaker meetinghouses. When Douglass moved to Rochester to edit the *North Star* in 1847, he immediately became part of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. At their fourth annual meeting in Minerva Hall, Rochester, December 12, 1847, the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society 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.[106]

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 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."[107]

The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society hired J.C. Hathaway and Charles Lenox Remond as agents to tour the region with Frederick Douglass, who presumably would sell subscriptions to the *North Star* to help pay his way, during the winter and spring of 1848. "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 and Wednesday, February 22 and 23, 1848.[108]

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[104] J.C. Hathaway, "Preface," William W. Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave. Written by Himself* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1847), ix-x.
[105] "William Wells Brown in Buffalo," *Journal of Negro History* XXXIX:4 (October 1954), http://www.buffalonian.com/history/articles/1801-50/1836WELLsbROWNBUFFALO.html.
[106] "Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society," *North Star*, January 7, 1848.
[107] "Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society," *North Star*, January 7, 1848.
[108] *North Star*, February 11, 1848.

Hathaway's and Remond's agency was short-lived, as noted in the "Fifth Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society," *North Star* in December:

> At the commencement of the year which is now closed, the Committee made arrangements to raise funds and employs lecturing agents in the field. The sum of $260 was pledged, the greater part of which has been paid, and the services of Joseph C. Hathaway and Charles L. Remond, two well-known advocates of the cause, secured as lecturers. It was hoped and confidently expected that, with the sums pledged, these agents might be able to collect enough in places they lectured in, to be sustained. In this we were disappointed and after a fair trial, we were under the painful necessity of dismissing them from the service of the Society. Frederick Douglass, ever ready to do all in his power to keep others from a bondage beneath which he has suffered grievously, offered to labor in this vicinity when his time could be spared, and has occasionally held meetings in the neighboring towns, by which much has been done to awaken the people to a sense of their position and duty."[109]

Douglass did continue to speak regularly in Farmington and neighboring towns, and the experience shaped his career. He noted in his 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.[110]

We know from a contemporary diary reference that Douglass visited Farmington on August 13, 1848, and spoke in "the meetinghouse," although whether this was the Orthodox or Hicksite meetinghouse is not clear. Welcome Herendeen, an Orthodox Quaker, 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.[111]

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."[112]

Douglass was not the first freedom seeker to speak in Farmington that year. In April, a man whom everyone supposed was a fugitive from slavery appeared in Farmington, probably at the Orthodox meetinghouse, since Welcome Herenceen was an Orthodox Friend and the incident occurred at Sunday meeting. As 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 occurences. This forenoon went to meeting. Wen 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

[109] *North Star*, December 29, 1848.
[110] Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 269-70, docsouth website.
[111] Typescript from Journal of Welcome Herendeen, August 13, 1848. Many thanks to Helen Kirker for sharing this reference.
[112] *North Star*, August 21, 1848.

> 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][113]

Farmington, the Split in Genesee Yearly Meeting, and the Congregational Friends, 1848

Many Quaker activists were Orthodox. "Of the two branches of the Society of Friends in New York State," suggested Christopher Densmore, "the Orthodox were most ready to make public statements against slavery."[114]

Hicksite Quakers, on the other hand, found themselves profoundly split over whether or not to work with the world's people on issues that might lead to confrontation and violence in the larger world. Activist Hicksites were vocal and numerous. They included James and Lucretia Mott in Philadelphia; Isaac Hopper, Charles Marriott, and James Gibbons in New York City; and many Quakers from Farmington Quarterly Meeting, including Griffith M. Cooper, Eliab W. Capron, Elias and Susan Doty, and Pliny Sexton of Farmington Monthly Meeting; Isaac and Amy Post, the Hallowell, Anthony, Fish, and DeGarmo families of Rochester Monthly Meeting; and almost all of Junius Meeting in Waterloo, including Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock. Ultimately, abolitionism--intertwined with issues of hierarchy vs. individual conscience--led to a break within Hicksite Quakerism itself, as activists withdrew to form the Congregational Friends in the 1816 meetinghouse at Farmington in October 1848.

Quakers who worked with "the world's people" in radical abolitionist activities were not always welcome among Friends who valued a more quietist perspective, and reform work took its toll on harmony within Quaker meetings. Many Quakers objected to non-Friends speaking in Quaker meetinghouses, and some even objected when their own members introduced abolitionism. Even so worthy an abolitionist as Frederick Douglass found himself excluded from some Quaker meetinghouses. In August 1843, when Frederick Douglass and fellow black abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond went to speak in Mendon, New York, just outside of Rochester, they found the Friends' meeting house, "closed against us," so they spoke in a local church to "one of the most crowded audiences I ever saw," reported Remond.[115]

Egalitarian Quakers continued to believe that practical work to abolish slavery was imperative. As a result, 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." Cooper accepted this gracefully, assuring Friend Philip Thomas that

> 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 [probably Palmyra Preparative Meeting] or at least ¾ 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.[116]

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[113] Typescript from Journal of Welcome Herendeen, April 16, 1848. Many thanks to Helen Kirker for sharing this reference.
[114] Christopher Densmore, "The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: The Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-60," *Quaker History* 1993 82 (2): 81-82.
[115] Remond to Garrison, August 30, 1843, *Liberator*, September 23, 1843; E.W. Capron to Garrison, January 21, 1843, *Liberator*, February 10, 1843 [?].
[116] 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

In 1845, Isaac and Amy Post withdrew from Rochester Monthly Meeting and Farmington Quarterly Meeting and began to hold "free meetings," open to people of like mind, whether Quaker or not.[117]

Daniel Anthony, also a Rochester Quaker, reflected the tension in a letter to his daughter, Susan, on June 4, 1848. "O what use is preching & all this pretended or blind devotion, [. . .] so long as this horable business of traffic in the bodies of men, women & children is sanctioned & actually carried on by those making the highest pretentions to goodness." Anthony noted that "if a member be attentive active in proclaiming the evils of Slavery he is disowned at once as a disturber of the quetude of their religious proceedings." [118]

Pliny Sexton, silversmith, hardware merchant, and banker from Palmyra, was another one of this group of reformers from Farmington Monthly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite). In addition to his work on the Underground Railroad, Sexton was an active woman's rights supporter.[119]

These activists—most of them both abolitionists and woman's rights reformers—formed the core of those who withdrew from Genesee Yearly Meeting in 1848 to form the Congregational Friends, who met annually at Junius Monthly Meeting in Waterloo from 1849 through the 1870s. With them met such nationally-known figures as Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Charles Remond, and Susan B. Anthony.

Farmington, the *Pearl*, the Edmondson Sisters, and William Chaplin, 1848-1850

After 1849, Farmington Monthly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite) no longer played a key role as the center of abolitionist lecturing and organizing, but abolitionist Friends in Farmington (both Orthodox, Congregational, and Friends released from Hicksite meeting) and beyond followed their conscience. They withdrew from meetings, held services in their homes, and continued their Underground Railroad work as they had always done. When Susan Doty (1807-1852)--abolitionist, Underground Railroad supporter, signer of the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments, and former member of Farmington Friends Meeting (Hicksite)—died of consumption in Macedon on May 30, 1852, Frederick Douglass noted that

> few anti-slavery lecturers have ever visited Farmington without being cheered and strengthened by the sympathy and zealous co-operation of our dear, departed friend; and many have been the fugitives from American oppression and cruelty that have received succor at her hands. - Her life was a constant protest against the coldness and indifference of the community to the anti-Slavery cause; and was a practical assert of the brotherhood and equality of the human race. It was her's to follow duty, whithersoever it led, even to the cutting off of the right hand, and the plucking out of the right eye; devotedly attached to the Society of Friends, and highly esteemed in that Society. When the doors of its meetinghouse were closed against the slave in the person of his advocate, she felt that they were closed against her; and she for years preferred to worship God in her own house, with her husband and children, to filling her seat in the place appointed for religious devotion, but which the poor slave was excluded. She is gone from us with the blest assurance of a home in the realms of bliss. The end of the upright is peace.[120]

Some of the most dramatic and nationally significant Underground Railroad events were yet to come, challenging the ability of Farmington Quakers to meet the needs of freedom seekers and their helpers and thrusting local people into the very heart of national debates about slavery and abolition, into debates in Washington, D.C., itself. On April 13, 1848, a ship called the *Pearl* was captured in Chesapeake Bay with eighty people on board—three whites (Captain Edward Sayre, Daniel Drayton, who had chartered the ship, and the cabin boy) and seventy-seven African American freedom seekers. 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

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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.

[117] Joseph Post to Edmund and Julia Willis, September 17, 1845, Post Family Papers, University of Rochester.

[118] Daniel Anthony to Susan B. Anthony, June 4, 1848, Susan B. Anthony Papers, Schlesinger Library.

[119] Website, Ontario County Historian; *Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Worcester, October 23d and 24th, 1850* (Boston, Massachusetts: Prentiss and Sawyer, 1851).

[120] Obituary, Susan Doty, written by Frederick Douglass, *Frederick Douglass Paper*, June 10, 1852.

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. [121]

Upon their release from slavery, the Edmondson sisters came to Farmington. Their hope was to become teachers who could return to Washington, D.C., to teach in African American schools. On 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.[122]

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.

The Edmondson sisters in fact accomplished their goal. From Farmington, they went to New York Central College, a biracial college that admitted both men and women students, in McGrawville, and then, under the sponsorship of Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, they went to Oberlin College. Mary died at Oberlin in 1853, of tuberculosis, but Emily went to Washington, D.C., to teach at Myrtilla Miner's school before her marriage. Myrtilla Miner, from Madison County, New York, opened a school for young women of color in 1851, shortly after visiting Macedon. On July 31, 1851, she wrote from Macedon, that she intended to begin her school in September, with the support of men such as Samuel J. May, Unitarian minister from Syracuse, William L. Chaplin (who had been in Farmington that fall), and William Smith, most likely the William R. Smith of Macedon (a Farmington Orthodox Quaker).[123]

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

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[121] 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).
[122] *North Star*, October 26, 1849.
[123] Josephine Pacheco, *The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Myrtilla Miner to the Family of Mr. Peter Robertson, Friendship, N.Y., July 31, 1851, Plainfield, New Jersey, Collection, Clements Library, University of Michigan. http://www.clements.umich.edu/womened/PlainNJFriendsRead.html.

> 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.[124]

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.

On August 10, 1850, William Chaplin himself was arrested and imprisoned in Rockville, Montgomery County, Maryland, as he was helping two men—enslaved by Robert Toombs and Alexander Stephens, prominent Georgia congressmen--escape from slavery in Washington, D.C. Chaplin faced lengthy imprisonment unless his bail of $20,000 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. On August 21, 1850, they held a convention that included between thirty and fifty fugitive slaves and from 1500-2000 others at Cazenovia, New York. Among them were the Edmondson sisters (who sang), Frederick Douglass, Gerrit Smith, and J.C. Hathaway. [125]

A famous daguerreotype of the convention, taken by Ezra Greenleaf Weld, abolitionist Theodore Weld's brother, captured one of the few contemporary images of these reformers.

The convention appointed a committee chaired by James C. Jackson of Glen Haven, with Samuel J. May and Charles A. Wheaton of Syracuse, Secretaries, and Gerrit Smith, Treasurer, to raise funds for Chaplin's release. Agents such as Asa Wing went from church to church in Oswego County, collecting small amounts of money—from dimes to dollars—on Chaplin's behalf. The Edmondson sisters, freedom seeker James Baker, Samuel J. May, and others, including Farmington abolitionist William R. Smith, held meetings in small towns across central New York, to raise money for Chaplin's release.[126]

J.C. Hathaway, William R. Smith, and Asa B. Smith did more than give speeches on Chaplin's behalf. According to Josiah Henson (whose brother Chaplin was attempting to rescue), the Smiths mortgaged their farm to help pay Chaplin's bail. "The Hathaways, benevolent Quakers of Farmington, New York, Asa B. Smith, and William R. Smith, his son, of the same town, paid the bail," noted Henson, "which they desired Mr. Chaplain to forfeit, as they knew that the result of a trial would be that he would be hung. I will here add that the Smiths had to sell their farms, and were pecuniarily ruined for the time, and it is with pleasure that I make this record of their generosity in the Anti-Slavery cause." William R. Smith also wrote a lengthy description and defense of Chaplin's work, published in 1851 by the Chaplin committee. [127]

In Farmington itself, Phebe Hathaway came up with another idea. One thousand women would show their support for Chaplin, not by raising money for his bail but by donating ten cents each for a silver pitcher to honor his courage. The *New York Tribune* noted that New York City silversmiths Jones, Ball, and Poor made this pitcher for "a Committee of Ladies in Western New-York," inscribed:

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[124] Stanley Harrold, *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828-65*, 154.

[125] *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.

[126] *North Star*, September 5, 1850.

[127] Josiah Henson, *Uncle Tom's Story of His Life. An Autobiography of the Rev. Josiah Henson, From 1789 to 1876,* ed. John Lobb (London: Christian Age: 1876), 152-53. http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henson/henson.html. The story may (or may not) be more complicated than this. Ralph Volney Harlow, one of Gerrit Smith's biographers, does note that William R. Smith lost his house over Chaplin's bail but thinks that William R. Smith may have committed Gerrit Smith for paying more of Chaplin's bail than Gerrit Smith had intended. Further research in local mortgage records may help us sort out these financial dealings. Ralph Volney Harlow, *Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer* (New York: Henry Holt, 1939), 290-95; *The Case of William L. Chaplin* (Boston: Chaplin Committee, 1851), copyright by William R. Smith.

To
WILLIAM L. CHAPLIN, IN PRISON,
from
ONE THOUSAND OF HIS FRIENDS.
A Testimonial of their high regard for his Character.
August 8th, 1850.

On the other side, it read:

"Blessed is he that considereth the poor;
the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble" Ps. Xll.1.[128]

Chaplin never received this pitcher in prison, but Elizabeth J. Smith (probably from Farmington) presented it to him on behalf of the "Chaplin Pitcher Committee," along with a book containing all one thousand names, when he married Theodosia Gilbert at Glen Haven, Cayuga County, in August 1851.[129]

By 1854, William R. Smith had moved to Wilmington, Delaware, home of one of the Underground Railroad's most active workers, Quaker Thomas Garrett. Whether Smith moved to Wilmington specifically to assist with Underground Railroad work is unknown, but that is certainly a clear possibility. Garrett worked closely with Harriet Tubman, and it is possible, even likely, that Tubman used the Farmington route.[130]

c. Farmington, Abolitionism, and the Underground Railroad in the 1850s

By the 1850s, Farmington was a well-established part of the Underground Railroad network, a regular stop on the route that came to Farmington through Seneca Falls and Waterloo in the east (where African Americans, Wesleyans, and Quakers kept safe houses) or from Canandaigua in the south. From Farmington, freedom seekers went north through Macedon, Palmyra, Williamson (to the home of Griffith and Elizabeth Cooper), and Pultneyville (where they found help from Captain Throop and Samuel C. Cuyler). Or they went west to Rochester, where Frederick Douglass, J.P. Morris, or Amy Post helped them reach Canada via steamer.

Frederick Douglass was a regular visitor to Farmington. In 1851, he wrote to Amy Post that "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 [sic], 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 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.[131]

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

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[128] Reprinted in the *Syracuse Standard*, September 14, 1850, Onondaga Historical Association.
[129] Undine, *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, Coral Grove, August 13, 1851.
[130] Deed, William R. Smith, 1854, Ontario County Clerks Office.
[131] 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.

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 Toronto. . . .In a few days, I left for St. Catharine's, where I have ever since remained.[132]

Although, wrote Douglass, working on the Underground Railroad "was like an attempt to bail out the ocean with a teaspoon," "I can say, I never did more congenial, attractive, fascinating, and satisfactory work."

> The thought that there was *one* less slave, and one more freeman,--having myself been a slave, and a fugitive slave--brought to my heart unspeakable joy. On one occasion I had eleven fugitives at the same time under my roof, and it was necessary for them to remain with me, until I could collect sufficient money to get them on to Canada. It was the largest number I ever had at any one time, and I had some difficulty in providing so many with food and shelter, but as may well be imagined, they were not very fastidious in either direction, and were well content with very plain food, and a strip of carpet on the floor for a bed, or a place on the straw in the barn loft. [133]

Douglass described the main route with which he worked:

> 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.[134]

The agents along this route were heavily dominated by Quakers and African Americans. 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 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.

In terms of fund-raising, British as well as American sympathizers provided money. As Douglass noted, "so numerous were the fugitives passing through Rochester that I was obliged at last to appeal to my British friends for the means of sending them on their way, and when Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter and Mrs. Croffts took the matter in hand, I had never any further trouble in that respect."[135]

Douglass recounted one incident that revealed the key role that Quakers in both Rochester and Farmington, as well as the importance of sympathizers who were not otherwise known as abolitionists, played in the Underground Railroad:

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[132] 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).
[133] Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times* (Boston: DeWolfe and Fiske, 1892), 272, http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/dougl92/menu.html.
[134] Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 272-73.
[135] Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times*, 273.

> 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 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.[136]

At Farmington, the young man most likely stayed with J.C. Hathaway, Phoebe Hathaway, William R. Smith, Asa B. Smith, or Elias and Susan Doty.

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.[137]

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[136] Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times,* 273.

[137] 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.

II. Criterion C: Farmington Quaker Historic District is eligible for the National Register at a national level of significance because the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse, the 1876 Farmington Quaker Church, and the North Farmington Friends Cemetery embody the distinctive characteristics of their type and period.

The Farmington Quaker Crossroads District is dominated by two historic structures: the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse and the 1876 Farmington Quaker Church. These two building are very different in character because they reflect two very different periods of Quaker development, with different forms of worship and different theological values. Both of them, however, reflect core Quaker values of simplicity, integrity, and community.

Like other buildings, Quaker meetinghouses reflect both function and value. On the one hand, they reflect enduring features of Quaker practice (including a commitment to consensus and to speaking out of the silence of a "gathered meeting") and enduring Quaker testimonies (including simplicity, integrity, and community). On the other hand, as Catharine Lavoie suggested in a study of Quaker meetinghouses within Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, "meetinghouse designs continued to evolve over the course of time to adapt to changing patterns of Quaker faith and practice."[138] They reflected changing styles of worship (whether to have special ministers and whether to have programmed meetings—with sermons, hymns, and Bible readings--or unprogrammed meetings--in which people spoke out of the silence), changing theology (evolving interpretations of Jesus, the Inner Light, and the Bible), and changing interactions with the world. The two historic meetinghouses within the Farmington Quaker Crossroads District represent both the continuity of Quaker testimonies and changing styles of worship and theology that divided Quakers in Farmington (and throughout the country) in the nineteenth century.

A. *1816 Farmington Friends Meetinghouse*

The 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse reflected Quaker worship styles and values dominant in Quaker culture in the U.S. and Upper Canada in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is one of only four known meetinghouses still standing that were built by 1816 in the area west of the colonial settlement line. The earliest was the White Brick Meetinghouse, built for Miami Monthly and Quarterly Meeting in Waynesville, Ohio, 1811. Yonge Street Meetinghouse, in Newmarket, Ontario, Canada, was built in 1812. Ohio Yearly Meeting Meetinghouse, in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, was built in 1814. It is the only one comparable in size to the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse. ((No photo is available for the White Brick Meetinghouse, but for photos of the Yonge Street Meetinghouse and the Ohio Yearly Meetinghouse Meetinghouse, see Continuation Sheet: Photos: Comparable Buildings.)[139]

The 1816 Farmington Quaker meetinghouse is extraordinarily large. It is 47 feet wide by 60 feet long, with six-bays, about the side of two English-style barns. Its size reflected its importance as a meeting place not only for Farmington Monthly Meeting (which in turn encompassed Farmington, Macedon, and Palmyra Preparative Meetings) but also for Farmington Quarterly Meeting (which met here four times a year, encompassing meetings for a wide region in western New York), and Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite), which attracted several hundred people from all over western New York, Canada, and Michigan annually in June after 1834.

Consistent with values of simplicity, the meetinghouse was extremely plain, unadorned, even stark, never painted, inside or out. It was built of "whitewood," with a post-and-beam frame, clapboarded exterior walls, shingled roof, a porch that once ran along the east and south sides, two front doors (the right side used by men and the left used by women), and a small addition (now gone), used for meetings of ministers and elders.

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[138] Catharine Lavoie, "Historic American Buildings Survey Recording of Friends Meetinghouses within the Region of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting," *Silent Witness: Quaker Meetinghouse in the Delaware Valley, 1695 to the Present* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, c. 2003), 3.
[139] Robynne Rogers Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canadian: Faith and Community Among Younge Street Friends, 1801-1850* (Montreal: McGill, 2007).

Inside, a gallery ran around three sides (the long east side and the shorter north and south sides). It held crowds that gathered for the large quarterly and yearly meetings. Stairways at each end of the meetinghouse led to the gallery. Plastered walls were unpainted. Two stoves heated the room.

Simple wooden benches were used for seating. They 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 would be expected to share 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 help members behave appropriately (to avoid sleeping in meeting, to speak only at appropriate times, and so forth).

The second distinction was based on sex. Men and women sat on separate sides of the meetinghouse. A divider down the middle of the room created two rooms when Quakers met with a concern for business but allowed one room for worship. Men and women conducted business separately, with a clerk for men and one for women. They separately reviewed requests for membership, marriage, transfers to other meetings, or behavioral transgressions, 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."

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 meetinghouse in Buckingham, 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.[140]

While some Philadelphia Quakers migrated to western New York and joined Farmington Quarterly Meeting, Quakers who settled the immediate Farmington area and built the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse migrated from New England. No chronology of interior plans has yet been developed for New England meetinghouses, but it is likely that they also developed a similar two-cell plan in the second half of the eighteenth century.[141]

The original six Farmington families came directly from Adams, Massachusetts. The Adams, Massachusetts, meetinghouse, built in 1782, apparently included unequal spaces for women and men. Some of the Adams (and Farmington) families, however, had roots in Apponegansett Friends Meeting in South Dartmouth (near New Bedford), Massachusetts, and Smithfield Friends Meeting in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. The Apponegansett Friends meetinghouse, built in 1790, incorporated the equal two-cell plan, the same plan adopted by Farmington Friends in their 1816 building. Many Quakers in Scipio, Cayuga County (the other major center of Friends' meetings in central and western New York) had also migrated from South Dartmouth, Massachusetts, and their meetinghouses, too, reflected the influence of the Apponegansett meetinghouse. (For images of the Adams, Apponegansett, and one Scipio Friends meetinghouses, see Continuation Sheet: Photos: Comparable Buildings).

In 1834, Scipio Friends (Orthodox) constructed a new brick meetinghouse, called the North Street Meetinghouse (NR listing, 2006). With its broad gable end facing the street, it was patterned after meetinghouses in Philadelphia and represented a dramatic break in exterior design from traditional New England-style meetinghouses that had been built earlier in both Scipio and Farmington. Although never as significant as Farmington for national reform activity, this meetinghouse became an important regional reform center. One of its members, Emily Howland, called it a "storm center of reform." Because of its importance to abolitionism and woman's rights, the entire hamlet of Sherwood, New York, dominated by Quaker families associated with this meetinghouse, will be nominated to the National Register as a historic district in 2007.

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

[141] 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.

Other churches on the National Register associated with abolitionism in upstate New York include the Wesleyan Church in Syracuse, New York; the Bristol Hill Church (Congregational) in Fulton; the Sennett Federated Church (Congregational and Baptist); and the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls. Of these, only the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls was strongly associated also with the woman's rights movement, and only the North Street meetinghouse was associated also with woman's rights and Seneca land rights.

B. *1876 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse/Church*

The 1876 Farmington Quaker Church was quite different, both in plan and elevation, from the 1816 meetinghouse. Although still a simple rectangle in form, it had one door on the gable end, facing the street, with modest decoration in the form of a drip molding over the second story window.

These architectural innovations reflected new forms of worship and theology. Most notably, the old two-cell meetinghouse plan with two doors on the broad side of the building was no longer needed, as the meeting abandoned the old practice of men and women meeting separately. Among mainstream Protestant denominations, this switch from a meetinghouse plan to an axial plan "swept the nation" in the first half of the nineteenth century, argued historian Carl Lounsbury. Only Quakers, primitive Baptists, and a handful of others resisted this change. [142]

After the Civil War, however, Orthodox Quakers, responding to ideas of holiness and sanctification, began to build churches on this axial plan, similar to those of mainstream Protestant groups. Inspired by the large general meeting held at Farmington in 1871, Orthodox Friends in Farmington expressed their openness toward practices and ideas common in other evangelical Protestant churches in their new building. Pews in the new meetinghouse faced toward a raised platform with lectern and altar at the front, reflecting the importance of a minister and planned (or "programmed") services, with Bible readings, sermons, and, after 1900, organ music. While interior furnishings remained simple, the congregation did paint the sanctuary, and the pews did have cushions. No longer were modest decorations viewed as detractions from spiritual reflection. The addition of a kitchen and Sunday School room in the mid-twentieth century enhanced the use of this building for a wide range of spiritual and social activities. Because this Orthodox Quaker meeting (like many Quaker meetings in this period) adopted practices common to many mainstream Protestant churches, Quaker meetinghouses of this type, worshipping with programmed meetings, are often called Quaker churches.

The form and plan of the 1876 Quaker meetinghouse is typical of many Quaker meetinghouses built in the upstate region after the Civil War. For other examples, see the Skaneateles meetinghouse, built in 1873, still standing on West Genesee Street (now used as a Lutheran Church) and the Poplar Ridge meetinghouse (built in 1883), still used for Quaker meetings in Poplar Ridge, Cayuga County, just east of Route 34B. (See Continuation Sheet: Photos: Comparable Buildings.)

C. North Farmington Friends Cemetery Association

The Friends Cemetery is a distinctive component of the Farmington Quaker Crossroads Historic District and contributes significantly to the district's overall historic setting, feeling and association. Established in 1796, the eight-acre cemetery appears to have received its first burials along County Road 8, immediately north of the first two meetinghouses. Extant markers in this area consist primarily of simple small rectangular stone tablets arranged in rows parallel with the road. A number of burials are now either unmarked or marked by broken stones. Inscriptions in this section, where legible, reflect early nineteenth century burial dates. The simplicity of these early grave sites is typical of unostentatious Quaker customs of the period. It is unlikely that the burial ground was landscaped in its early years although today it is augmented by stately evergreen trees which appear to have been introduced in the late nineteenth century. As the cemetery expanded eastward, monuments began to reflect the increasingly secular tastes of the mid-nineteenth century. While the majority of the monuments are simple rectangular marble tablets, other forms appear including arched-top tablets, truncated obelisks, and a rare elliptical tablet. Inscriptions are finely carved with block lettering, script and in some instances bas relief. After the split between the Hicksite Friends and the Orthodox Friends in 1848, a

[142] Carl Lounsbury, "God Is in the Details The Transformation of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Early Nineteenth-Century America," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 13:1 (2006): 1-21.

separate area east of the original burial ground appears to have been cleared to receive Orthodox burials. These burials are marked in much the same way as those in what thereafter remained the western Hicksite section. A number of very old and gnarled ornamental cedar trees remain in the Orthodox section and appear to be old enough to represent original plantings. The romantic effect of these plantings reflects the influence of the rural cemetery movement of the second half of the nineteenth century and seems to suggest a further departure from the plainness of early Quaker burials. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, larger granite monuments typical of lawn cemeteries were selected for new burials. These monuments appear throughout the cemetery as unused lots were taken up. There are no divisions between the Hicksite and Orthodox sections of the cemetery today. The two sections are maintained as a single cemetery and linked by unpaved lanes lined by flowering bushes and groups of trees. Views out of the cemetery offer vistas of agricultural fields and nearby hilltops as well as framed views of both extant meeting houses. Intact buildings in the cemetery include a late nineteenth century privy on an early twentieth century concrete block foundation, a simple, late nineteenth century maintenance building with a clapboard exterior and a late-nineteenth century receiving vault. Burials within the cemetery chronicle the lives of the Farmington Quakers who were engaged in the defining issues of the nineteenth century. African American participants in these struggles were buried here as well, including suspected freedom seekers Harriet Howard and Selby Howard of Maryland. Continuing research may reveal the presence of additional freedom seekers accepted by the Quaker community in life and in death.

Conclusion

The Farmington Quaker Crossroads District represents not only a geographic crossroads but also a crossroads of ideas. As the site of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, Genesee Yearly Meeting, and the organizational meeting of Congregational Friends, these Farmington Quaker meetinghouses brought together a generation of Americans with roots all over the northeastern U.S., Canada, and Michigan. Carrying the legacy and the challenge of their Revolutionary fathers and mothers, they debated the essential meaning of the Declaration of Independence: "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."

Quakers and reformers affiliated with these Farmington meetinghouses influenced three major reform movements in the nineteenth century, and their influence was so significant that it extends to the present day. The first was their work with Native Americans. Especially important for Farmington Quakers was the issue of Seneca Indian land rights. Following their earlier work with Seneca Indians at Allegany, as well as their mediation on behalf of Haudenosaunee at the Treaty of Canandaigua, Quakers met with Seneca leaders in the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse in June 1838 to devise plans for the Seneca to retain ownership of their lands in western New York after the fraudulent 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek. Quakers helped document Ogden Land Company trickery and then worked with Seneca people, congressional representatives, and two Presidents to promote the compromise Treaty of 1842, by which Senecas kept their homelands at Cattaraugus and Allegany (but not those at Buffalo Creek or Tonawanda).

Quakers were also extremely important in the early woman's rights movement. Quakers had always been sympathetic to women's rights, and Farmington Quarterly Meeting took the lead promoting the rights of women both within Friends' meetings and the larger world. In 1838, Quakers meeting in the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse abolished distinctions between men's and women's meetings, the first Quakers anywhere to do so. In 1847, they participated in the antislavery Liberty League convention, at which women voted for the first time for presidential nominees and in which women for the first time received votes as presidential nominees (one vote each for Lucretia Mott and Lydia Maria Child). In 1848, Quakers meeting at the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse organized the Congregational Friends, in which men and women met together rather than separately, a practice later adopted by all Friends' meetings. In 1848, Quakers from Farmington Quarterly Meeting helped organize the nation's first woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, and at least one-quarter of the one hundred signers of the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments came from Farmington Quarterly Meeting. There would have been no Seneca Falls woman's rights convention without Quakers from Farmington Quarterly Meeting.

The Seneca Falls convention precipitated the organized woman's rights movement nationally. Before Seneca Falls, there was no organized woman's rights movement. After Seneca Falls, national newspapers took notice of the Declaration of Sentiments, and women and men began to generate petitions, hire lecturers, and organize conventions. The earliest conventions, beginning in Rochester in August 1848, were located in areas where Congregational Friends were strong. In 1850, the first national woman's rights convention was held in Worcester, Massachusetts, and two members of Farmington Monthly Meeting, J.C. Hathaway and Pliny Sexton, attended. Hathaway was President *pro tem*. Nationally important woman's rights leaders, including Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony, spoke in the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. All three of these women (including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who considered herself a Congregational Friend) were Quakers.

Farmington was also a key node in the abolitionist movement and the Underground Railroad. Austin Steward, who escaped from slavery in 1815 and lived in Farmington for four years, almost certainly helped build the 1816 meetinghouse. Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and other abolitionists spoke in the meetinghouses. Members of Farmington Monthly and Quarterly Meetings organized some of the earliest female and male antislavery organizations, antislavery fairs, and a free produce store. Key officers in the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society were members of Farmington Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, as were abolitionist lecturers and organizers of the anti-slavery political party, the Liberty League. From the 18-teens to the Civil War, Farmington was also a center of Underground Railroad work. Beginning in the late 1840s, members of Farmington Quaker meetings worked with an Underground Railroad network that extended into Washington, D.C., maintained by William Chaplin. Key Quakers associated with the Underground Railroad in Farmington itself included Joseph C. and Esther Hathaway, Phebe Hathaway, Asa B. and Hannah Comstock Smith, William R. Smith, Esek and Maria E. Wilbur, and Cassandra Hamlin, Elias and Susan Doty, Griffith and Elizabeth Cooper, and Pliny Sexton. The M'Clintocks and Hunts in Waterloo, New York, were part of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, and their homes are documented Underground Railroad sites. (The M'Clintock and Hunt houses are both listed on the National

Register and National Park Service's Underground Railroad Network to Freedom. The 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse is also listed on the Network to Freedom.)

Amy and Isaac Post, the Anthonys, DeGarmos, and Fish families worked on abolitionism, woman's rights, and the Underground Railroad with Frederick Douglass in Rochester. Many African Americans are associated with abolitionism in Farmington, included freedom seeker Austin Steward, William Wells Brown and his daughter Josephine, Mary and Emily Edmondson, and Charles Remond. European American abolitionists included William Lloyd Garrison, William Chaplin, Myrtilla Miner, and Gerrit Smith.

Struggling over issues of slavery and freedom, Quakers and their reform allies in Farmington tried to balance individual rights and community stability. They never disagreed about the basic value of absolute human equality. They did, however, disagree on how they should work toward implementing equality. The question revolved around agitation. Toward the end of his life, Frederick Douglass advised, "Agitate! Agitate!! Agitate!!!" Jacob Ferris, member of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, agreed: "It is to me, absurd that, at this day and age, Friends should talk about keeping to the quiet . . . . agitation has been productive of great good to the world." But Sunderland P. Gardner, Farmington minister to the quietist branch of Hicksite Friends, disagreed. "Wrong may be wrongfully opposed, and war may be opposed in a warlike spirit." Disagreement over agitation produced a "moral earthquake," within Friends' meetings and in reform movements, especially abolitionism, as a whole. Farmington Friends were at the cutting edge of this debate.[143]

Architecturally, the Farmington meetinghouses represent two different periods of Quaker building, incorporating two different styles of worship (the earlier one a two-cell meetinghouse plan appropriate for separate meetings of ministers and elders and separate meetings for men and women and the later style reflecting an axial church plan, suitable for "programmed" meetings with a paid minister, typical of mainstream Protestant churches). Both, however, incorporate the simplicity, integrity, and sense of community inherent in the Quaker worship and values from the seventeenth century to the present.

In terms of its importance to the national story of Native American rights, woman's rights, and abolitionism, the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse is particularly significant. No public building still standing in New York State and few in the country better represents the continuity of reform work over a long period of time; the intertwined origins of the movements for Native American rights, African American rights, and woman's rights; the constant ongoing relationships between African Americans and European Americans within abolitionism and the Underground Railroad; and the conflict as well as cooperation that characterized the national abolitionist movement.

One of the only buildings comparable thematically to the 1816 Farmington meetinghouse is the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York. The Wesleyan Chapel, however, represents abolitionism and woman's rights from its construction in 1843, while the Farmington Meetinghouse deals with them from 1816 forward and also includes their relationship to Native American issues. Similarly, the African American Meetinghouse in Boston (where Maria W. Stewart, African American teacher and writer, gave the first public political lectures by an American-born woman, abolitionists organized the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and William Lloyd Garrison published the *Liberator*) incorporates themes of abolitionism and woman's rights but not of Native American rights. The Longwood Quaker Meetinghouse in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, was the site of meetings of Congregational Friends, but that building did not represent the continuity of debates over religion, reform, and freedom over such a long period of time.

Both Farmington meetinghouses represent the ways in which spiritual ideas informed and intersected with political values.
By their work in national movements for Native American rights, woman's rights, and abolitionism and the Underground Railroad, Quakers in Farmington forged for themselves and others a new and larger meaning of democracy.

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[143]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.

Today, walking into the Farmington Quaker Crossroads District seems to collapse our sense of time. Dominated by two Quaker meetinghouses and a cemetery, surrounded by fields of grain, marshes, and wooded areas, it carries us in a time warp to the world of the nineteenth century. As we walk toward these meetinghouses and stroll through the quiet cemetery, we hear the echoes of Seneca leaders, Frederick Douglass, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others who spoke in these meetinghouses and gathered here in this place. Some of them lie buried here as well. They devoted their lives to the cause of freedom, respect, and independence—for themselves and others. And they challenge us to reflect on their legacy, on the contested meanings of freedom and equality, not only in their lives but our own.