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William Hobson and the Founding of Quakerism in the Pacific Northwest

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WILLIAM HOBSON AND THE FOUNDING OF QUAKERISM IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose of the Dissertation

The purpose of this dissertation is to describe the life and ministry of William Hobson and his influence in the founding of Quakerism in the Pacific Northwest. Hobson, a Quaker from North Carolina, pioneered in Iowa from 1848 onward and began his active ministry sometime before 1859. He made two journeys to California and the Pacific Northwest in the exercise of his calling during the years 1870-1875, and settled in the Chehalem Valley of western Oregon in 1875. A community of Friends immediately began forming in the locality as a result of his wide and enthusiastic correspondence with Quakers in other parts of the Far West and east of the Rocky Mountains.

2. Importance of the Study

The town of Newberg, Oregon, was laid out near Hobson's home and still retains much of its early Quakerly character. It is the center of Friends institutions in the Pacific Northwest, being the headquarters of Oregon Yearly Meeting, the seat of its leading educational institution, George Fox College, the location of the Yearly Meeting publishing

house, Barclay Press, and the site of a gracious retirement home, Friendsview Manor.

As the founder of Quakerism in the Pacific Northwest, William Hobson's later years have received considerable attention from Western researchers and others interested in the Chehalem Valley settlement. No detailed study has ever been made, however, of his life and ministry before coming to the Far West. Little was known of his work in Iowa and less of his childhood and youth in North Carolina. The cumulative effect of generations of social conditioning represented in his lengthy Quaker ancestry has been taken into account by no writer. Consequently, the character and motives of the man who founded Quakerism in the Pacific Northwest have been relatively unknown. An indication of this is that one writer, after studying only the later years of William Hobson, described him as a "strange man."[1]

In view of the contribution which Quakerism has made to the culture of the Pacific Northwest, it appears to the author of this dissertation that William Hobson is worthy of a biographical study. Account needs to be taken of the times in which he lived, the environmental conditioning of his childhood and youth, his work as a pioneer Friends

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1. Lela Morrill, "The History of Friends in Oregon," (Unpublished Bachelor's thesis, Albany College, 1938. Typescript copy at Headquarters of Oregon Yearly Meeting of Friends, Newberg, Oregon), p. 4.

minister in Iowa, and especially his relation to the significant religious awakening which transformed much of nineteenth century American Quakerism.

Because Western Quakerism stands in a tradition different from that of William Hobson, he seems strange to some. The historical discontinuity resulting from revivalism has to be bridged before he can be understood and appreciated. He then appears not as a strange person, but a normal, nineteenth century Friend who was trying to preserve the ancient values of Quakerism and also make way for a new spirit. A century of revivalism having now had opportunity to demonstrate both its strength and weakness in American Quakerism, it appears to this writer that a study of the life of William Hobson may be helpful in reminding Quakerism of the value of the traditions which were so lightly cast aside at the close of the nineteenth century.

A further reason for this study is the necessity of correcting certain errors that have come into circulation about William Hobson. These appear in the work of some previous writers, due, it appears, through failure properly to criticize sources, and by not giving appropriate attention to the data contained in Hobson's often tediously written diaries.

3. Definitions

The word "founding" is chosen to describe Hobson's contribution to Quakerism in the Northwest rather than "establishing." His contribution was the primary work of a pioneer. Having lived on the frontier all of his life, he was well qualified to forge into the wilderness, there to wrest sufficient existence from it for basic human needs, while inspiring others to join him in laying the groundwork of a religious fellowship. The founding of Quakerism in the Pacific Northwest was accomplished in Hobson's settlement of pioneers at Newberg, Oregon. The establishment of Friends work on a firm basis by the formation of Oregon Yearly Meeting was dependent on leaders later than Hobson.

The words "conservative" and "conservatism" used in this study apply to the views and order of Quakerism as they existed before modifications resulting from revivalism occurred, and are applied throughout this study to those valuing and upholding the old traditions. "Liberal" and "progressive" stand for those who were ready for changes, and who welcomed evangelistic measures in the nineteenth century. This usage has been in existence among Friends for the past one hundred years, and has no relation to twentieth century theological labels. Other definitions of peculiar Friends expressions are made in the course of this study as the need arises.

4. Previous Research in the Field

No previous work exists covering the entire life of William Hobson and no doctoral dissertation has previously been written covering any phase of his life or ministry. Part of his religious work in Oregon was summarized by Ione Juanita Beale Harkness in a Master's thesis for the University of Southern California in 1925, entitled "Certain Community Settlements of Oregon." This thesis contains evidence of rather hasty use of the Hobson diaries in some respects, and makes a few unjustifiable conclusions which the author of this dissertation has noted with exceptions where appropriate.

A Master's thesis by A. C. Stanbrough, for the University of Oregon, date unknown, entitled, "History of Pacific College," contains brief mention of William Hobson's ministry. It is a careful and critical study, but is concerned only with the later years of Hobson's life.

A Bachelor's thesis written by Lela Morrill for Albany College, 1938, entitled, "The History of Friends in Oregon," contains valuable information about William Hobson's later ministry. It makes use of original sources and is well organized, but suffers somewhat in point of historical perspective and critical approach. The author nonetheless handles the subject matter sensitively.

Various articles concerning William Hobson have appeared in the journals of historical societies and in religious periodicals. These are referred to in this dissertation as occasion arises.

5. Methodology of the Dissertation

The chronological method has been followed in this study, in which the major changes in William Hobson's life have been taken as blocks for determining the division into chapters and subheadings. The attempt has been made to relate William Hobson to the significant events of American Quaker history of the nineteenth century.

As a part of the preparation for writing this dissertation, the author has traveled to and studied the regions in which William Hobson lived and worked in North Carolina, Iowa, Kansas and Oregon. All available public records bearing upon Hobson were consulted in this process, and exhaustive measures were taken to secure letters, personal papers and any other pertinent documentary evidence.

A small collection of William Hobson's letters covering a little-known period of his life were found in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle, a relative of the family living at Conrad, Iowa. Other letters and personal papers of Hobson's owned by Leota Walton, New Providence, Iowa, a granddaughter of William Hobson, proved helpful.

By far the most important primary sources have been the brief autobiography written by Hobson covering the period of his youth, and the diaries which he kept in his later years. These are filled with many details not of interest to this dissertation, but have been studied closely for evidences of his religious thinking and activities. Because of their value as an important source for the writing of Pacific Northwest history, these diaries were recently gathered together by Edward P. Thatcher, Science Librarian, University of Oregon, and microfilmed to insure their preservation there for future study. A positive copy of this microfilm is available in the Quaker Room, Library, George Fox College, Newberg, Oregon. Through the kindness of Laura Blair, granddaughter of William Hobson, the author of this study has had the use of the original diaries and all of William Hobson's extant personal papers.

The collections of Quaker records in the following libraries were consulted: Chenery Library, Boston University; Widener Library, Harvard University; The Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.; Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College and the Quaker Collection at Haverford College, Pennsylvania; the Quaker Room at Guilford College, North Carolina; State Historical Society of Iowa and William Penn College, Iowa; Friends University, Kansas; University of Oregon and George Fox College, Oregon. These materials,

consisting mainly of journals, diaries and official minutes of the various Meetings of Friends to which William Hobson belonged, have been very helpful in filling in the mosaic of his life.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUNDS OF AMERICAN QUAKERISM: 1820

Biography has been a fruitful method in the study of Quakerism, for its history is the story of its leaders as they sought to carry the movement forward in response to what was felt to be the movings of the Spirit of God within them. This was particularly the case with William Hobson and the founding of Quakerism in the Pacific Northwest.

In biography, however, it is imperative to keep close contact with the times in which the subject under study has lived, for if there is truth in the observation that "history is biography writ large," there is equal truth in the view that history itself limits and shapes human existence. Every personality reflects the conditions of its existence by the responses it has made to or against them.

At the outset of the study of William Hobson's life and influence, it is therefore important to take an over-all view of the conditions and forces which were shaping life in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century and particularly in the state of North Carolina. In order to confine such a survey within reasonable limits, only the circumstances important to an understanding of the early years of William Hobson are here taken into account.

1. Life in the Era of Good Feeling

William Hobson was born in the pioneer Quaker home of Stephen and Mary Hobson in the Yadkin Valley of North Carolina on February 4, 1820. The date of his birth places him in the early part of that decade and a half of intense national unity which became known as the Era of Good Feeling.

The period was ushered in by the conclusion of hostilities between England and the United States at the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814. With the war behind and the nation's place in the world recognized, its citizens were free to take up the development and expansion of their own country. They turned to this task with a unity and fervor heretofore unseen and with every hope of success because,

> with the Peace of Ghent, . . . every serious difficulty under which the young republic had labored dropped out of sight. With national union achieved, a balance between liberty and order secured, a trifling national debt, and a virgin continent waiting the plow, there opened a serene prospect of peace, prosperity, and social progress.[1]

i. National Growth

The disputed boundary between the United States and Canada had been left by the Treaty of Ghent for settlement by a later commission. A Boundaries Convention in 1818 settled the question by selecting the 49th parallel between the

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1. Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, The Growth of the American Republic (2 vols.; 4th ed. rev. and enlarged; New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), I, 432.

Rocky Mountains and the Great Lakes as the northern boundary of the United States.[1] Persistent nibbling at Florida by the United States from 1810 onward had eventually convinced Spain of the wisdom of selling Florida before it was seized, and that valuable tract was ceded by sale to the United States in 1819.[2] By the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 the western boundary of the country had been extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, and by the Florida Treaty of 1819 Spain had recognized that boundary between its possessions and the United States territories as running along the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the 42nd parallel and thence to the Pacific Ocean.[3]

Oregon Country, eventually to prove such an attraction to William Hobson, was in 1820 the vaguely known land north of the 42nd parallel from which Spain had in 1819 relinquished its claims, which Russia was encroaching upon by its fur traders and fishing interests, and to which the United States and Britain both laid formal claim. Due to the complexity of the problem, the United States and Britain agreed in 1818 to joint occupation of the Oregon Country until either side by one year's notice abrogated the agreement.[4]

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1. Edward Channing, A History of the United States (6 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905-1926), V, 331.

2. Morison and Commager, I, 455.

3. Channing, V, 338-39.

4. Ibid., V, 504.

Certain striking military victories in the otherwise little profitable War of 1812 had aroused national pride, and this combined with an interest in exploiting the resources of the country to produce a strong nationalistic spirit during the Era of Good Feeling. In the Supreme Court, Chief Justice John Marshall was laying the legal basis for this tendency in his famous decisions between 1801 and 1835, which weakened the states and strengthened the powers of the Congress and Supreme Court.[1] The executive branch of the government gave further impetus to the nationalistic spirit when President Monroe declared in 1823 that the western hemisphere was closed to future colonization by any European power. His announcement symbolized the emergence in the western hemisphere of a nation strong enough to prevent further European interference.[2]

ii. The Great Migration

A comparison of the distribution of population as revealed by the 1790 census with that of 1820 illustrates strikingly what had happened in the United States in the quarter century following the federal union. In 1790, approximately ninety-five per cent of the 3,929,827 inhabitants of the country lived on the Atlantic slope, and just

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1. Morison and Commager, I, 436.

2. Ray Allen Billington, American History before 1877 (Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1959), p. 141.

above five per cent were found west of the Appalachians. By 1820, however, only seventy-three per cent were living on the Atlantic slope, and twenty-seven per cent of a population of 9,638,131 were west of the mountains.[1]

The lure of economic opportunity was unquestionably the major cause of the great movement of American population. Especially heavy emigration took place from seaboard states of the South early in the century, where bad land management was already contributing to hard times.[2] The magnitude of the hope which the West seemed to offer is evident in the hardships which the moving population endured in order to reach it. Another cause worth mentioning was a certain adventurous restlessness in many Americans, which "could not tolerate the sign of smoke from a neighbor's cabin,"[3] and kept them on the move to the vanguard of settlements.

By 1820, the state of Indiana had a population of 148,178, and Illinois held 55,211. Missouri was settled up its rich Missouri River Valley and along the Mississippi

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1. Channing, V, 48.

2. The importance of slavery as a cause of the migration of great numbers of Quakers and other idealists from Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina in the early nineteenth century will be discussed later in this study.

3. Ralph Volney Harlow, The Growth of the United States, Vol. I: The Establishment of the Nation through the Civil War (Rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1943), p. 311.

River with 66,586 people.[1] These must be recognized as thinly populated settlements, but the figures and distribution of population indicate the fluid, moving quality of the American people.

Since the westward movement will be dealt with in more detail in connection with William Hobson's migrations, it is here emphasized only sufficiently to note it as one of the predominant movements of the times.

iii. Economic Structure

By 1820, economic specialization in separated regions of the United States was far enough advanced to foreshadow an end to the Era of Good Feeling and the beginning of a period of sectional rivalry.

In New England, the presence of abundant water power, capital accumulated from commercial ventures, and an ample labor supply led to the growth of a predominantly industrial economy, occupied largely with the production of textiles from Southern cotton.[2]

Economic development in the states lying south of the Ohio River and Pennsylvania was limited mainly to agriculture. The rich alluvial valleys along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts were easy to work and the growing season long.[3]

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1. Morison and Commager, I, 790.

2. Billington, p. 132.

3. Harlow, I, 316.

Tobacco was an important crop prior to 1815, but yielded to cotton after that date. The widespread growth of short staple cotton had been made possible by Eli Whitney's cotton gin. The result was its cultivation on great plantations, accompanied by the slavery system which became more and more a fixed institution of the South.[1]

In the Old Northwest, a prosperous agricultural region of small farms developed. There the economic system was based upon free labor and a more democratic social order as a result of the Ordinance of 1787, which forever prohibited slavery in that territory. Relatively small farms were the rule in the states north of the Ohio River, 160 acres being about all that could easily be handled.[2]

In all three major sections of the country, continued growth and economic expansion depended upon a solution of transportation and economic problems. Specialization in cotton in the South meant the dependence of that region on the others for basic foodstuffs. Lack of roads and means of transportation hampered the economy of the South and Northwest seriously, and the demand for "internal improvements" became loud and frequent.

iv. Transportation and Communications

Pittsburgh early became one of the great gateways to the West. The Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join there

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1. Ibid., p. 317. 2. Ibid., p. 322.

to become the Ohio, and down that river travelers and goods moved in a constant flow toward points along the frontier.[1] The famous National Turnpike between Cumberland, Maryland, and Wheeling, on the Ohio, was completed by the federal government in 1818. Its stone surface permitted traffic to move at a rate of ten miles per hour, and the road became for a time the main route to the Ohio River.[2] It was pushed across southern Ohio and Indiana as far as Vandalia, Illinois, by successive federal appropriations from 1822 to 1832, and was the most important route to the West prior to 1840.[3]

The most famous of several routes from the South to the West was the Kentucky Road, or Wilderness Road, which crossed the mountains at Cumberland Gap and continued through Kentucky to Louisville and Cincinnati. As late as 1828, it was still a rough and hazardous route.[4]

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1. James Truslow Adams, The March of Democracy, Vol. I: The Rise of the Union (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 264.

2. Ibid.

3. Morison and Commager, I, 440.

4. Journals of traveling Quaker ministers, negotiating this route between Richmond, Indiana, and North Carolina points, seldom had a good word to say of it. Thomas Shillitoe, in 1828, remarked: "On second-day morning, about half a mile out of Mount Vernon, [Kentucky] we had a considerable mountain to ascend, and, to make it more easy of access, bodies of trees were laid from the foot to the summit; a heavy fall of rain in the night, and a very large drove of fat hogs which preceded us, had occasioned the road to be very slippery; on reaching about half way up the mountain, our carriage ran back, our horses turned around, and turned the carriage off the road into a hole about three feet deep, amongst the rocks;

The opening of the Erie Canal for its entire length in 1825 had immediate and great significance for both the East and the West.

> It provided a comparatively easy and uninterrupted mode of transportation from the Hudson to Lake Erie. It facilitated the movements of western emigrants and provided a commercial outlet for the surplus products of their farms. . . . The cost of transportation of one ton of merchandise from Buffalo to New York City was reduced from one hundred dollars to less than eight dollars.[1]

The success of the Erie Canal prompted the construction of others. Cleveland, Ohio, and Portsmouth, on the Ohio River, were joined by canal in 1833,[2] and a canal connecting Chicago and the Mississippi River, begun in 1836 and completed a dozen years later, contributed greatly to the economic development of settlers in Northern Illinois.[3]

The steamboat was by 1820 showing real promise as an aid to transportation and communications, especially inland, where it tied together important river towns. Channing estimates that as many as sixty steamboats had been operating on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers by 1820, but due to their flimsy construction and the perilous navigating conditions

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I was favoured to escape unhurt, although in the carriage." Thomas Shillitoe, "Life of Thomas Shillitoe," The Friends Library: Comprising Journals, Doctrinal Treatises, and Other Writings, ed. William Evans and Thomas Evans (14 vols.; Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1839), III, 461. This work is hereinafter referred to as Friends Library.

1. Channing, V, 13. 2. Ibid., p. 18. 3. Ibid.

on the rivers, they were short lived. By 1835, however, steamboats were carrying passengers from Wheeling to New Orleans, a 1,908 mile journey for thirty-five dollars each.[1]

The railroad developed slowly as a means of joining the cities and regions of the United States. In 1830, the entire country could boast no more than twenty-three miles of railway.[2] The Baltimore and Ohio was begun in 1828, but was not completed to the Ohio River before 1850.[3] Nevertheless, as it was opened section by section to the West, travelers gladly used it in preference to stage travel over the Cumberland Road.[4] Morison and Commager point out that

> American Railroads were not created to connect important cities, but to increase the distributing radius of individual cities, around which they were disposed like sticks on a fan, each system having its own gauge, lest rivals use the line.[5]

Although Samuel F. B. Morse was tinkering with his telegraph in 1832, several years passed before it was usable. By 1847, however, the cities of America from the East Coast to the Mississippi River were connected by the telegraph.[6]

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1. Ibid., p. 23. 2. Adams, I, 315.

3. Frederic L. Paxon, History of the American Frontier: 1763-1893 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), p. 266.

4. Journal of the Life and Religious Services of William Evans, a Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends, ed. Charles Evans (Philadelphia: [Publisher not given], 1870), p. 274. This work is hereinafter referred to as Journal of William Evans.

5. Morison and Commager, I, 498.

6. Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Political and Social History (6th ed.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952), p. 433.

v. Cultural Diversity

All stages of civilization were to be found in the United States in the 1820's. The cities of the East were obviously the main centers of social progress and culture, but cities in the new states beyond the Appalachians, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Cleveland, St. Louis and New Orleans, could also boast of settled comforts and considerable social advancement. The farther one traveled away from these cities of the West, however, the more the influences of civilization faded. Conditions typical of the frontier then came into evidence--the rude, tiny homes, the grinding existence of toil, the loneliness, poverty, frequent lack of education and sometimes near-barbarism.

Sharp lines cannot be drawn separating the frontier from settled American life in the period under discussion. Not even the Appalachian Mountains are a safe line of demarcation, for "frontier" conditions were to be found on both sides of the mountains in 1820. In fact, as late as 1918, travelers in the Yadkin Valley of North Carolina complained of the frontier character of the roads.[1] The best that can be said is that a large region of the United States was in process of development, and diverse conditions of culture obtained in all but the long-settled East.

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1. Francis Charles Anscombe, I Have Called You Friends: The Story of Quakerism in North Carolina (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1959), p. 333.

vi. Religious Life

American religion in the period under discussion was particularly marked by ill feeling. The Presbyterian churches of the West had been rent a decade earlier by schisms because of the emotional excesses of the frontier revivals.[1] Alexander Campbell's doctrines were increasingly convincing during the 1820's, and, according to Sweet's estimate, were attracting as many as 10,000 Baptists from churches in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio into the Disciples congregations.[2] A division occurred among the Methodists in 1830 as a result of the refusal of the General Conference of 1828 to form a more democratic polity.[3] In New England, the slowly-widening rift between the Unitarians and Congregationalists was made acute by William Ellery Channing's sermon at the installation of Jared Sparks in a Unitarian church in Baltimore, 1819. Of great significance for this study was the separation which split Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1827-1828. This division had far-reaching reverberations throughout the Society of Friends in America.

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1. William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (3rd ed., rev. and enlarged; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), pp. 232-34.

2. Ibid., p. 237.

3. Ibid., p. 238.

Although there was much evidence of religious disharmony in this decade of American life, many cooperative enterprises were undertaken with great success. The Second Awakening, which was powerful from 1800 to 1810, sparked a missionary movement which had for its object the evangelizing of the western settlements, the American Indian, and even the "heathen" of other lands. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810, and the American Home Missionary Society, 1826, were organizations whose accomplishments indicate a cooperative spirit in the American churches. Likewise, the American Bible Society, 1816, and the American Tract Society, 1826, both organized to relieve the religious ignorance and illiteracy of the western settlements, indicate the vision and unity of American Christians.

The main thrust of American religion in this period was being carried on by those churches which recognized the importance of the West, notably the Methodists and Baptists. Their circuit riders and farmer-preachers were always at the vanguard of the frontier, and did not neglect the islands of near-barbarism in such isolated places as the mountainous regions of Kentucky and Tennessee. Their main motive was soul-saving, rather than the carrying of civilization, but the latter resulted as certainly as the first. They brought "the uplifting influence of the Christian Gospel to bear

upon the great mass of the religiously illiterate,"[1] to accomplish which "something more than the usual church methods suitable to a settled society was necessary."[2]

vii. Quakerism in America: 1820

(1) Distribution and Numbers.--Quakerism had its beginnings in America in 1656 with the arrival from England of the first "Publishers of Truth," as the Friends missionaries called themselves. They met with immediate hostility and persecution in all of the colonies except Rhode Island, which they were able to use as a base for a permanent foothold in New England. Their numbers greatly increased there, in spite of fines, imprisonments and four executions in Boston.[3] Sandwich Monthly Meeting, the first in America, appears to have been established in 1658.[4] In 1661, there was a large gathering of Friends on Rhode Island which lasted four days and was held annually thereafter.[5] It continues to the present under the name of New England Yearly Meeting.

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1. William Warren Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture: 1765-1840 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), p. 137.

2. Ibid.

3. Allen C. Thomas and Richard Henry Thomas, A History of the Friends in America (4th ed. rev.; Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1905), pp. 64-67.

4. Rufus M. Jones, Isaac Sharpless and Amelia M. Gummere, The Quakers in the American Colonies (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1911), p. 142.

5. Ibid., p. 54.

Quakers established themselves strongly in New Amsterdam after 1663, Governor Stuyvesant's earlier persecutory policy having been modified in that year by the Directors of the West India Company, apparently from economic foresight.[1] There was a half-year's meeting at Oyster Bay on Long Island in 1671, and New England Yearly Meeting in 1695 authorized a "general meeting" to be held at Flushing, Long Island. New York Yearly Meeting was regularly held thereafter.[2]

Converts were made by Quakers in Maryland as early as 1658.[3] In 1672, George Fox, then on his journey through the American colonies, appointed a meeting with Friends in Maryland which was attended in large numbers and continued several days. This was the beginning of what afterward met under the name of Baltimore Yearly Meeting.[4]

Virginia was visited by Quaker missionaries in 1658 and converts won.[5] There they met hostility almost as severe as that in New England, but the growth of the movement is suggested by the laws which were passed particularly against them in 1660 and 1662.[6] Under direction of George Fox, a Yearly Meeting was set up there in 1673.[7]

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1. Thomas and Thomas, p. 73.
2. Ibid., p. 76.
3. Jones, Sharpless and Gummere, pp. 266-67.
4. Thomas and Thomas, pp. 80-81.
5. Ibid., pp. 79-80.
6. Elbert Russell, The History of Quakerism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), p. 45.
7. Ibid., p. 114.

Quakers appeared along the Raritan River of New Jersey in 1664 and were visited by George Fox in 1672. An increase in their numbers occurred after one of the proprietors of New Jersey sold his half of the province to Friends. In 1677, over two hundred Quakers arrived there and founded Burlington. By 1681, their numbers were 1,400. A Monthly Meeting for the ordering of the business affairs of the church was established in 1678, and a Yearly Meeting in 1681.[1]

William Edmundson found at least one Friend in the Carolinas when he visited there in 1671.[2] The first religious meeting of record in what is now North Carolina was held by Edmundson on that journey. He was successful in making converts, and when George Fox visited there in the following year, he found a warm response on the part of many inhabitants.[3] Quakers were there in sufficient numbers by 1698 to warrant setting up a Yearly Meeting which has since been held regularly.[4]

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1. Thomas and Thomas, pp. 84-85.

2. Ibid., p. 86.

3. Journal of George Fox; Being an Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love, in the Work of the Ministry, of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Who Departed this Life, in Great Peace with the Lord, the 18th of the 11th Month, 1690, ed. Wilson Armistead (2 vols.; 7th ed.; London: W. and F. G. Cash, 1852), II, 120-21. This work is hereinafter referred to as Journal of George Fox.

4. Thomas and Thomas, p. 87.

Pennsylvania represented the culmination of Friends influence during the Colonial Period. Its story is too well-known to require retelling here. Founded in 1681 by William Penn as an "holy experiment," its wise and liberal principles of government attracted all classes of those persecuted for conscience. In less than three years, over seven thousand people had settled in the colony, the majority of whom were Friends.[1] The first Monthly Meeting was organized in 1682, and a Quarterly Meeting also the same year.[2] From 1683, Yearly Meetings were held both at Philadelphia and across the Delaware River at Burlington in the earlier settlement. The two were joined in 1686, however, and for the following seventy-five years were held alternately in the two cities.[3]

Although there was significant growth of Quakerism along the Atlantic Coast during the colonial period and important migrations occurred, such as that from Nantucket Island to Virginia and North Carolina, it was not until after the American Revolution that further establishment of Yearly Meetings took place. In the years following the Revolution, Friends joined their countrymen streaming through the mountain passes of the Alleghenies to the West. The Eastern communities of Friends then suffered serious losses through the removal of whole Meetings westward. In 1812,

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1. Ibid., p. 92. 2. Russell, p. 118. 3. Ibid.

Baltimore Yearly Meeting set off Ohio Yearly Meeting,[1] and the migration having continued unabated, Ohio Yearly Meeting itself set off Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1821.[2]

No accurate statistics are available of the numbers of Friends in America during the first half of the nineteenth century. Careful records were maintained of individuals, families, marriages, deaths and actions of business, but few statistics were kept, and then for limited purposes. After the schism of 1827-1828, an estimate of the numbers of Hicksite Friends in America was reached as follows: "New York, 12,532; Philadelphia, 18,485; Baltimore, 4,000; Ohio, 9,000; and Indiana, 3,000."[3] An estimate of orthodox Friends based on educational reports was published in the British Friend in 1843 as follows: "New England, 10,000; New York, 11,000; Philadelphia, 8,686; Baltimore, 800; Virginia, 500; North Carolina, 4,500; Ohio, 18,000; Indiana, 30,000."[4]

Since it appears that the number of Hicksite Friends

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1. Ibid., p. 275. 2. Ibid., p. 277.

3. Ibid., pp. 393-94. Russell's estimate for New York and Philadelphia yearly meetings of Hicksite Friends is cited from Jeremiah H. Foster, An Authentic Report of the Testimony in a Cause of Issue in the Court of Chancery of the State of New Jersey, etc. (2 vols.; Philadelphia: J. Harding, 1831), I, 263 and II, 176, respectively. The statistics for Baltimore and Ohio Hicksite Friends are cited from Samuel M. Janney, History of the Religious Society of Friends, from its Rise to the Year 1828 (4 vols.; Philadelphia: T. Elwood Zell, 1859-1869), IV, 346 and 306, respectively.

4. Ibid., p. 393.

had not changed materially between 1830 and 1840,[1] it is likely that the total membership of Friends in America in the fourth decade of the century may be placed at between 120,000 to 130,000, with slightly more than half of that number still living east of the Allegheny Mountains.

(2) Doctrines.--American Quakers of the 1820's had nothing exactly corresponding to a creed to guide their beliefs. Friends had begun to produce statements of doctrine as early as 1658, but most of these were in answer to charges rather than carefully thought-out statements of faith. The letter which George Fox wrote in 1671 to the governor of Barbadoes, defending Quakers against false reports, has always been widely accepted as representing Friends views.[2] Equally influential in the thinking of Quakers was the work published by Robert Barclay in 1678, entitled, An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, Being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the People Called Quakers. Barclay's Apology was still quite influential in American Quakerism of the 1820's.

From that document and other statements by Friends, it is clear that many of their beliefs were in accord with the principles of orthodox Christianity. For the purpose of this study, therefore, it will be sufficient to take note

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1. Ibid.

2. Thomas and Thomas, pp. 53-54.

only of the differences between Quaker views and those generally held by Christians.

The doctrine of the immediate and universal experience of divine Light was a major tenet of early Quakerism. Only after turning away from human helpers was George Fox able to hear the inward voice of Christ which brought an end to his seeking, and pointed the way to triumph over all sorrows and temptations. He had come through a long and painful experience in seeking light among his religious contemporaries, and he ever afterward pointed men to the best source of help, Christ speaking within, which would gently lead men into life and peace in the Spirit if obeyed.[1] Fox declared,

> Now the Lord God opened to me by his invisible power, 'that every man was enlightened by the divine Light of Christ;' and I saw it shine through all; and that they that believe in it came out of condemnation to the light of life, and became the children of it.[2]

In his Apology, Barclay explained the doctrine of the inward Light and defended it against the charge that it was mere Socinianism, pointing out that it was not a natural light, but a visitation of divine Light given to every man.[3] Under Barclay's handling, the doctrine suffered from being

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1. Journal of George Fox, I, 56. 2. Ibid., I, 70.

3. Robert Barclay, An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, Being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the People Called Quakers (Stereotype ed.; Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store, 1908), pp. 142-43. This work is hereinafter referred to as Apology.

forced into a somewhat Calvinistic mold, but he argued as strenuously as Fox for a universal illumination within men which alone was sufficient for salvation if not resisted.

Dependence upon the immediate leading of the Light, or the Spirit, resulted in Quaker religious meetings being held on the basis of silence. Fox and his followers believed that

> nothing should come between the soul and God but Christ, and that to make the worship of a whole congregation depend upon the presence or absence of one man was contrary to the idea of true worship.[1]

In the belief that true baptism and communion were also inward and of the spirit, Quakers shunned the outward ordinances. They claimed to see no continuing command for them in the Bible, and feared also that the use of them tended to dependence upon the outward sign rather than the inward reality.[2]

Their view of the Scriptures involved Fox, Barclay, Penn and other early Friends in much dissension. Consistent with their belief in the supremacy of things spiritual over things external, they maintained the primacy of the Spirit above the writings themselves. This does not signify a low regard for the Scriptures, for Fox declared,

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1. Thomas and Thomas, A History of the Friends in America, p. 56.

2. Ibid.

> I had no slight esteem of the Holy Scriptures, but they were very precious to me, for I was in that Spirit by which they were given forth: and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them.[1]

In his Apology, Barclay sought to place a check upon wild subjectivism by declaring that there could be no discrepancy between the Scriptures and the inward voice of the Spirit, and that any who claimed a revelation contrary to the Scriptures must be considered as under a delusion.[2] Nevertheless, Barclay flatly called the Scriptures "a secondary rule."[3] From its beginnings, therefore, Quakerism took a step away from biblical literalism, and its leaders were inclined to spiritualize things they found in the Bible, such as the sacraments, while others took them more literally. Amid the turmoil of religious polemics in England of the mid-seventeenth century, when Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, sectaries and adherents of episcopacy claimed scriptural support for their positions, it was perhaps inevitable that some would seek finality in God alone.

Although the Scriptures were regarded as a secondary rule, they were nonetheless held to be a rule, and consequently were highly valued. Parents were encouraged to read them in their homes with a suitable pause afterwards, and to

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1. Journal of George Fox, ed. Wilson Armistead (7th ed.), I, 71.

2. Apology, p. 89.

3. Ibid.

instruct their children in their teachings. Many parents performed this task very faithfully; some were poorly qualified to do so, and many neglected it. Others hesitated, fearing that they might interfere with the working of the Spirit in the lives of their children.[1] It should be remembered, also, that many homes in America were still without copies of the Bible in the 1820's, for the era of Bible societies and cheap Bibles was only well begun at that time. Moreover, the influence of Robert Raikes' Sunday School movement had not yet penetrated Quakerism, and there was no studying of the Bible in connection with the activities of any American Monthly Meeting of Friends.[2] Consequently, it can be said that the Bible was not central in the life of Quakerism up to 1820, and indeed that there was considerable ignorance of its message.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century increasing tension developed in American and British Quakerism over the question of religious authority. Some were inclined to rest authority in the Scriptures, while others emphasized the inward Light. Both groups sought to uphold the more balanced position of earlier Friends, but it appears that both were deviating from it. Rufus M. Jones aptly described this elliptical

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1. Thomas and Thomas, p. 121.

2. Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism (2 vols.; London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1921), II, 885.

state of affairs in these words,

> Nobody in the Society of Friends had adequately faced the implications and the difficulties involved in the doctrine of the inner Light, and nobody on the other hand reached any true comprehension of the relation of historical revelation to the Light within the individual soul. Individual Friends used one or the other source of authority as suited their convenience or bent of mind. For a whole generation the Society had tacked, like a ship sailing against the wind, in a curious zig-zag, back and forth from Scripture to inner Light and from inner Light to Scripture.[1]

During the same period, ideas were filtering into Quakerism from two sources which the society was unable to reconcile, and which eventually led to the disastrous schism of 1827-1828. On one hand were the rationalistic influences of the Enlightenment, by which many Friends felt obliged to square their view of Christianity with reason. On the other hand were the influences of a growing evangelicalism[2] as represented in Methodism and to some degree in the Church of England. Among Friends, defenders of the rationalistic views were inclined to shelter under the subjectivism inherent in the inward Light principle. However, Quakers of

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1. Ibid., I, 457.

2. Quakers from George Fox onward were evangelical, in that they regarded Christ as the divinely unique Savior, who becomes a living, dynamic and transforming reality within the lives of men. This was their evangel to seventeenth century England. The growing "evangelicalism" here referred to was characterized by the tendency to make the scriptures the sole and absolute authority and to employ sharper theological definitions than those used by early Friends.

evangelical bent feared the effects of rationalism, and calling for biblically-oriented teaching in the society, they began to formulate doctrines along more rigidly biblical lines.[1] The doctrines most seriously concerned in this diverging of viewpoints were those of man and his salvation and the doctrine of Christ.

Those rejecting the rising tide of rationalism held essentially the same view of man as that set forth in Barclay's Apology. There man was represented as under the dominion of the "seed of the serpent," and consequently fallen, darkened and corrupt.[2] Barclay rejected the term "original sin,"[3] and denied the imputation of guilt to infants, "until by transgression they actually join themselves therewith."[4] However, Barclay explicitly affirmed that all men eventually do come under sin, inasmuch as they are Adam's posterity.[5]

Salvation consists in not rejecting Light and the Seed of God.[6] By affirming a universal gift of divine Light, Barclay was confident that he had upheld the righteousness of God, for a fair offer of salvation is made to every man and a just condemnation falls upon those who resist.[7] On

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1. Howard Brinton, Friends for 300 Years (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), p. 189.

2. Apology, p. 97. 3. Ibid., p. 109. 4. Ibid., p. 97.

5. Ibid., p. 99. 6. Ibid., p. 132. 7. Ibid., p. 147.

the other hand, he was especially concerned to deny the will of man as a cause of salvation, and labored to show that conversion depends wholly upon the grace of God. In so doing, Barclay came finally to stress passivity as man's essential role in conversion, and thus came very close to adopting the Calvinistic mechanics of salvation. He wrote,

> As the grace and light in all is sufficient to save all, and of its own nature would save all; so it strives and wrestles with all in order to save them; he that resists its striving, is the cause of his own condemnation; he that resists it not, it becomes his salvation: so that in him that is saved, the working is of the grace, and not of the man; and it is a passiveness rather than an act; though afterwards, as man is wrought upon, there is a will raised in him, by which he comes to be a co-worker with the grace. [Italics supplied.][1]

Barclay illustrated man's passive role as being like that of a patient, to whom

> the Lord, this great physician, cometh and poureth the remedy into his mouth, and as it were layeth him in his bed; so that if the sick man be but passive, it will necessarily work the effect: . . . Who will say, that, if cured, he owes not his health wholly to the physician, and not to any deed of his own; seeing his part was not any action, but a passiveness?[2]

Passivity was therefore Barclay's solution to the problem of effecting salvation in a fallen being. He was intent both upon upholding salvation solely by grace, and upon rejecting the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith wherein

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p. 148.

righteousness was only imputed and good works little emphasized. In opposing Arminianism, Pelagianism, Semi-Pelagianism and Socinianism, Barclay retained so pessimistic a doctrine of man that the later solution of the Methodists--justification by faith--could not, or did not, occur to him. The only good that Barclay's "natural man" was capable of was passivity. Although he supposed that he had thereby removed man's will completely from the picture, it is psychologically unrealistic to suppose that a conscious person can be passive under the influence of anything as substantial[1] as Barclay represented the inward Light to be, without actually willing to be so.

Barclay was attempting to steer between the Scylla of Antinomianism on the one hand and the Charybdis of salvation by works on the other, all the while evading the charge of Pelagianism, Semi-Pelagianism and Arminianism. The unfortunate result of his emphasis on passivity was that he inclined the entire Friends movement to a century and more of Quietism, wherein inactivity, waiting and keeping still were held to be of primary importance.[2]

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1. Barclay called it a "vehiculum Dei, or the spiritual body of Christ," Apology, p. 137, and "a real spiritual substance which the soul of man is capable to feel and apprehend," Apology, p. 138.

2. Rufus M. Jones correctly traced Quaker Quietism to the Apology, but it was Barclay's solution to the problem of human nature, which produced Quietism, rather than that

Efforts to produce religious results came to be regarded as "creaturely activity." Whereas early Friends were zealous and active in the propagation of their faith, throughout the eighteenth century Quietism began to weigh more and more heavily upon the society, so that Quakers gave up vigorous efforts to convert those about them.[1]

The weakness of Quietism became especially evident in the era of westward expansion. "Whatever man or family removes to any new country . . . makes a large remove toward barbarism," Horace Bushnell declared in a pamphlet issued in behalf of home missions,[2] and conditions in the frontier settlements of America would seem to bear this out. Frontier society found itself isolated from many of the moral, spiritual and cultural influences of the civilized East.

Barclay foisted the doctrine of depravity upon Quakerism in the first place. The teaching, in a milder form, is to be found in the Journal of George Fox, ed. Wilson Armistead (7th ed.), I, 58-59; 68-69; 84-85; 130.

1. While Barclay's doctrine of passivity was the primary cause of Quietism, other contributing causes were (1) lingering effects of Ranterism, which depended upon strongly felt leadings of the moment rather than plans and preparations; (2) the religious inertia which followed the passing of the first generation of Quakers from the scene, and (3) the growing influence of the Continental Catholic mystics of the eighteenth century. See Russell, History of Quakerism, pp. 229-33.

2. Horace Bushnell, Barbarism, the First Danger: A Discourse for Home Missions (New York: [Publisher unknown], 1847), cited from Bushnell's pamphlet by William Warren Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, p. 129.

Under such conditions, Bushnell further observed, men were "likely to look upon the indulgence of low vices and brutal pleasures as the necessary garnish of their life of adventure."[1] Quietism, with its emphasis on inactivity and stillness, was not what was needed on the frontier. The preachments of the Methodists, Baptists, Disciples and frontier Presbyterians were vastly more successful than those of the traveling Quaker preachers in reaching the consciences of frontiersmen and precipitating decisions to amend their barbarous ways.[2]

Of Quietism, Elbert Russell has rightly observed,

> The Quietist attitude was unsuited for great spiritual building, adventure or conquest. Its distrust of human nature--not merely of human sinfulness but of its frailties, finiteness, and natural faculties--tended to produce religious hesitancy and paralysis and consequently hobbled the energies of the Society. It dared not trust God's Spirit to inspire long-term plans nor to organize for vigorous spiritual conquest nor make use of all the faculties of the human mind nor trust the fruits of study and education.[3]

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1. Bushnell, pp. 6-7, cited by Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, p. 135.

2. That revivalism was not the complete answer to moral problems of the expanding West is evident from the disciplinary records of the churches. Not only the Friends, but also Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians were much occupied with disciplining their members for lying, dishonest dealings, stealing, fighting, drunkenness, adultery, fathering or bearing a child out of wedlock, and more. See the discussion of this subject in Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, pp. 137-46.

3. Russell, p. 239.

More optimistic views of man than Barclay's were being preached in American Quakerism of the early nineteenth century. Elias Hicks, who figured so prominently in the schism of 1827-1828, diverged considerably from Barclay in his view of man, sin and salvation. Hicks rejected the view that the entire race was tainted by inherited sin. Adam indeed fell, as a result of turning from the Light within him, but without effect upon any other man. Hicks held the race to be fallen, but as the result of bad example. Sin originates in every man's self-will in turning away from the Christ within, he believed.[1] He was a Quietist par excellence, but he would have men be still that they might thereby come to know God's will.

Hicks opposed the idea of imputed righteousness as vigorously as Barclay. Christ's obedience on the cross was imputed to no man, Hicks taught, and the only obedience that ever saved any man was his own obedience to the will of God as revealed within. Man has the capacity of recognizing the will of God and responding to it, and his true destiny lies in following the Light within.[2]

The doctrine of Christ was also deeply involved in the divergence of views which eventually split the Society of Friends in America. Here again, the views and teachings of

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1. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 452-53.

2. Ibid., p. 453.

Elias Hicks were central in the controversy. He carried the doctrine of the inward Light to what seemed to him its logical end, depreciating all things external, including the historical Jesus. Allen C. Thomas, a historian who always treated both sides of the Hicksite controversy fairly, has represented Hicks' Christology as follows:

> He taught that Jesus was superior to the rest of mankind because he had a greater work to perform, just as a man with five talents needs greater power than he who has but one. Beyond this he taught that God placed Jesus on an equality with man. In his scheme Jesus was a man liable to sin, yet free from it on account of his obedience, so that at the time of his baptism in the Jordan he became the Son of God, going through an experience in this respect that all of us must go through. In his view, Jesus Christ died because he was killed by wicked men, just as any other prophet was martyred. While Hicks taught that his willingness to suffer was a pattern for us, he denied that the Father had sent the Son into the world to suffer, and he maintained that when the trial came Jesus had no alternative, he must be faithful and suffer, or lose his standing with the Father and not be saved with God's salvation. That the death of Christ is of any value to us beyond the example of it, Hicks denied.[1]

(3) Testimonies.--Closely allied to the beliefs of Friends were the "testimonies" which they maintained. These testimonies represented the externalization of their beliefs, and the inevitable result was that they set Friends apart as peculiar in the eyes of society. From the earliest days of

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1. Thomas and Thomas, A History of the Friends in America (4th ed.), pp. 125-26.

the movement, the feeling was strong among the leaders that theirs was the special task of publishing God's "pure and naked truth" anew,[1] and there was no blinking of the fact that they were to be a "peculiar people." As this feeling grew, the testimonies became increasingly important as badges and distinguishing marks. Their observance was evidence that one had become, or was, a practicing Quaker, and since suffering was often involved in the maintenance of the testimonies, they thus "became winnowing tests of the real quality of the membership," as Rufus M. Jones has expressed it.[2]

The testimony on behalf of a free ministry and against assessed tithes and "priests' wages" was being upheld as strenuously in the 1820's as it had been in the seventeenth century. In support of this testimony, William Penn set forth two reasons in his preface to Fox's Journal:

> The one is, that they [Quakers] believe all compelled maintenance, even to gospel ministers, to be unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's command, who said, "Freely you have received, freely give;" at least, that the maintenance of gospel ministers should be free, and not forced. The other reason of their refusal [to pay tithes] is, because those ministers [of the established church] are not gospel ones, in that the Holy Ghost is not their foundation, but human arts and parts.[3]

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1. Barclay, Apology, p. 12.

2. Jones, I, 146.

3. Journal of George Fox, I, 14.

The financial and physical suffering endured as a result of their refusal to pay assessments in support of church establishments deepened and intensified Friends' hatred of what they called a "hireling ministry." More and more importance became attached to the testimony, and a great amount of time and care was expended in upholding it. Appeals were constantly made to authorities for relief from distraints, and the faithfulness of members regarding the testimony was annually reviewed.[1]

A very significant effect of the testimony was that it became one of the causes which served to isolate Friends from other religious groups--in the earlier days from all established churches, and in later times from all denominations having a paid ministry. The result was that the society tended to become ingrown and little affected by movements of thought and action sweeping through other churches.

The Methodists must be excepted from the foregoing statement, however, for since their ministers received only "a passing support,"[2] Quakers considered it hardly proper to call them "hirelings." On this basis, Friends contributed to the building of a Methodist meetinghouse in New Jersey in 1783,[3] the earliest instance the writer has observed of this

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1. Jones, I, 152.

2. The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury, ed. Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts and Jacob S. Payton (3 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1958), I, 447.

3. Ibid.

particular affinity between Methodism and Quakerism in America--an affinity of considerable importance to the present study.

The testimony to plainness of speech[1] was still strenuously maintained throughout the period under discussion, and was being defended in doctrinal treatises.[2] It was the mark of a Quaker, and to address another as "thee" or "thou" was all the testimony one need give to having become religious in the Friends way. The "plain language" was spoken in every serious Quaker home. Children learned it as a matter of course, and its religious value became so deeply instilled that "to say 'you' to one person was felt to exhibit all the perversity of swearing."[3]

Plainness of dress was as important to Friends of this era as plainness of speech. In fact, those who failed in one point usually failed in the other, and were charged in disciplinary actions with "departing from plainness in dress and address." As in speech, so also in the somber styles and colors of the Quaker garb, a testimony was being given against the world's vanities and ways. It was a cross,

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1. That is, use of the singular pronoun when addressing one person.

2. See Elisha Bates, The Doctrines of Friends: Or, The Principles of the Christian Religion, as Held by the Society of Friends (Leeds: Anthony Pickard, 1829), pp. 279-80.

3. Jones, I, 172.

usually entered upon by newcomers to the society only after deep struggle and abandonment.[1] To children growing up in the society it often meant being the butt of ridicule.[2]

The witness against war and the bearing of arms is the one testimony most characteristic of Quakerism in all periods of its history, and the one which best stood the test of time. As developed in the society, it rested upon the conclusion that violence done to a fellow creature was a denial of the Christian gospel of love. Fox himself laid the groundwork for it in 1650 with the statement: "I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars."[3]

As the implications of the position emerged, Friends came to the settled opinion that they could not participate in war or preparations for war in any form. It was a corporate witness, for the whole society was involved and not merely males of military age. Consistent Friends refused to pay taxes for support of war; refused to illuminate their windows in celebration of military victories, and conversely, felt they could not enter into public fasts or mourning upon occasions of military defeats.[4] The testimony therefore

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1. Ibid., pp. 177-78. 2. See page 78.

3. Journal of George Fox, ed. Wilson Armistead (7th ed.), I, 94.

4. Jones, I, 159.

raised many deep problems in the relation of Quakers with their community, but the response insisted upon by the society of its members was that of suffering, rather than fighting.

The difficulties Quakers had in maintaining these testimonies is suggested by the immense amount of time and care expended in dealing with members who failed to measure up to the standard.[1] Page after monotonous page of the minute books of this era report cases of treating with such offenders. Obviously, the cost involved in observing the testimonies was higher than many members were willing to pay. This need not conceal the fact, however, that the majority appear to have made a sincere and earnest effort to live outwardly what they believed inwardly.

(4) Worship and Ministry.--The meetinghouses which Quakers erected in America during the colonial period and which migrating Friends built in ante bellum days were well suited to their ideals of worship. Austerely plain and architecturally simple, they symbolized the belief of a symbol-disowning people that worship was direct, simple, without intermediaries of any kind and without material sacraments or visible aids of worship.

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1. Other testimonies of lesser importance than those discussed above will be dealt with as occasion arises in the course of this dissertation.

As they gathered for worship in any given Quaker meetinghouse during the Era of Good Feeling, worshipers were confronted not by the conventional platform and pulpit of Protestantism, but by the "gallery," or "facing benches." These stretched across the room in two or three rows, one slightly above another, and were filled with solemn men and women--the elders and ministers of the society. Facing the gallery was the assembled congregation. A low partition separated the sexes in the gallery as well as the congregation. All save visitors were dressed in the austere styles and the blacks and grays of a society bearing a testimony to plainness in dress.

Worship was entered upon in silence, the participants seeking thereby to divest their minds of things temporal and to open themselves to the direct movings and leadings of the Spirit. Music or singing was never heard, since it was unthinkable that many persons would be divinely led to sing the same song, and all activity <u>not</u> led of the Spirit was creaturely and carnal, ministering death rather than life.[1] In congregational singing, moreover, it was feared that some would participate in a hymn which avowed purposes or feelings they did not possess, and thus involve themselves in untruthfulness. For the same reason, group prayers were shunned, and no Friend was ever called upon to offer prayer

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1. Barclay, <u>Apology</u>, pp. 291, 302-03.

or a testimony, lest the sovereign prerogatives of the Spirit be abridged. Prayer was to be always "in the Spirit," and hence not to be entered into in response to any external directions.[1]

The Scriptures were highly regarded by Friends, as has been noted, but they were never read publicly in meeting before 1860.[2] The immediate voice of God speaking within was held to be the essential and most beneficial word of God. Studied expositions of the Bible were unheard of in the period under discussion, and if attempted by the ministers would have been rejected as "creaturely." There was very little formal study of the Scriptures by Quakers before 1832, when a few "First-Day Scripture Schools" began to be set up in America under the promotion of Hannah Chapman Backhouse, an English Friend on a religious visit in America.[3]

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1. Robert Barclay, A Catechism and Confession of Faith, Approved of and Agreed unto by the General Assembly of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Christ Himself Chief Speaker in and among Them (Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Rakestraw, 1834), p. 44. This work is hereinafter referred to as Catechism.

2. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 885.

3. While traveling in New England in 1832, Hannah Chapman Backhouse assembled parents and children at the meeting-houses and addressed them solemnly on the great importance of acquaintace with the Scriptures. With the memory of the Schism of 1827-1828 fresh in their minds (see page 53), New England Friends united with her concern and many First-Day Scripture Schools were set up. Extracts from the Journal and Letters of Hannah Chapman Backhouse, [ed. Jane G. Fox and John Hodgkin] (London: Richard Barrett, 1858), pp. 144-45. This work is hereinafter referred to as Journal and Letters of H. C. Backhouse.

No pastor led the worship of a Friends meeting in the 1820's, for the proper Head of the meeting was held to be the Spirit of God. Resident ministers or visiting ministers might be present and one or more might speak, or perhaps none. So great was the dread of ministering "in the flesh" that a meeting might be carried out entirely in silence, often to the disappointment of those hoping to hear the message of a visiting minister. On the other hand, worshipers sometimes received more than they might have desired. Charles Osborn, a widely-traveled minister of ante bellum days, recorded in his journal, "I sat in silence for a long time: at length feeling ability to utter a few words, I stood up, and proceeded with prayer and resignation, and was led on for near three hours."[1]

William Evans, while on a religious journey in 1841, described the Quaker ministry to an innkeeper as follows:

> We do not appoint any to preach. We believe it right to meet together in silence to wait upon our Almighty Creator, to receive ability to worship Him in spirit and in truth; and that the Lord Jesus Christ who is the Head of His church, gives the gift for the Gospel ministry to whom He pleases; and such whom He sets apart for that service, preach as they are moved to it by Him; but we often hold our meetings in silence. I also told him that we took no pay for preaching; that we followed some business

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1. Journal of that Faithful Servant of Christ, Charles Osborn, [ed. unknown] (Cincinnati: Printed by Achilles Pugh, 1854), p. 121; hereinafter referred to as Journal of Charles Osborn.

> for a livelihood; maintained ourselves, and when travelling, paid our own expenses.[1]

From the days of George Fox, it was held that education and training at universities did not necessarily qualify for the ministry. The original call, the field of service and the message to be spoken were all more important than education, and they were matters which God could be depended upon to open in due time. According to this theory of ministry, the words of such a minister become divinely given words and worthy of acceptance as from God.[2] They were, accordingly, listened to with much solemnity. The theory did not always work out, however, and if a minister's words were judged by the elders to be unsound in doctrine, he could expect to hear from them after the meeting closed.

Another function of Friends ministry very effective in this period was that of family visiting. An itinerant minister frequently visited every family in the Monthly Meeting before feeling free to move on, and these "religious opportunities" or "sittings" served to help make up for the lack of a settled pastoral ministry. With the family gathered together, the group sat down in silence until the visiting minister felt free to speak his message to them, or to a

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1. Journal of William Evans, p. 234.

2. Jones, I, 209.

certain one in particular.[1] The religious value of these occasions is witnessed to in many of the journals and memoirs of nineteenth century Friends.

That all was not well with the worship and ministry of Friends in the 1820's is suggested by the frequent complaint of traveling ministers regarding the low state of religious life in the meetings. Astonishing numbers of Friends were disowned for moral delinquencies,[2] and it has already been noted that the society found it difficult to inspire its members to live up to the testimonies. In partial explanation, it has been pointed out that the ministry had become largely hortatory, contenting itself with exhortations to follow the inward Light, to observe the testimonies and "dwell deep."[3] A further lack pointed out by Elbert Russell is that

> There was almost no teaching ministry in the meetings and little doctrinal instruction elsewhere. The Bible was, of course, not read in meeting, for fear it would become a lifeless form, or that the regular reading of the Bible would interfere with the leading of the Holy Spirit. . . . The younger generation was thus without Biblical knowledge or doctrinal guidance.[4]

(5) Social Concerns.--Seventeenth century Quakerism was above all else a religion of life and action. Unlike

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1. Ibid., p. 231.
2. Russell, History of Quakerism, p. 280.
3. Ibid., p. 281.
4. Ibid.

contemporary Anglicanism, its primary note was firsthand religious experience, and in contrast to Puritan intellectualism, it distrusted rigid doctrinal systems. A religious experience involving actual righteousness was what counted with Fox,[1] and he had turned away from both the Church of England and from Puritanism because moral consistency was not foremost with them.[2]

This was the experience which Fox declared "took away the occasion of all wars," and it also aroused in him a sensitivity to the sufferings of other men. It is true that Quakers had direct experience of the inhumanity of men to men and thus the more readily sympathized with others, but their leading principle was also involved, for to treat men brutally was to quench the Light within themselves and to ignore the spiritual potentialities of others.

Contemporary Calvinism reckoned far the greater part of the human race under predestination to damnation. Fox and his followers saw it differently. All men were indeed under death, for sin,[3] but there was also a divine potentiality in man which Fox variously called the "seed of God in man,"[4] "the tender thing in them,"[5] "the light,"[6] "the divine light

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1. Journal of George Fox, I, 84.
2. Ibid., pp. 50-53. 3. Ibid., p. 69. 4. Ibid., p. 57.
5. Ibid., p. 60. 6. Ibid., p. 67.

of Christ,"[1] "the truth in the heart,"[2] and "that inward light."[3] A higher value is placed upon life as it is lived in this world when it is believed that all men are objects of divine love and that the means is close at hand for any man to be brought into the liberty and joy of the sons of God. All the elements of society which mar and destroy men thus become hindrances to God's will, whether they be degrading prisons, drunkenness, denial of civil rights or the violence of armed conflict. Quakers thus felt an obligation to cry out against the injustice of the English courts, deceitful merchandise and cheating in the markets,[4] inhumanity of the prisons of England, against war, against the mistreatment of the Indians in America, and eventually, human slavery.

The issue of slavery is the main social problem with which this study is concerned. A small group of Friends at Germantown, Pennsylvania, is believed to have lifted the first official protest of any religious body against slavery, in 1688. Quakers in Pennsylvania continued agitating the subject for a generation, but no official action was taken.[5] In the eighteenth century, the quiet but unremitting witness

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1. Ibid., p. 58. 2. Ibid., p. 71. 3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 73.

5. Thomas and Thomas, A History of the Friends in America, pp. 113-14.

of men such as Anthony Benezet and John Woolman produced a gradually increasing sensitivity, so that by 1780, Friends in America had practically ceased the holding of slaves.[1]

Southern Quakers in America were not clear of slaveholding quite as early as those in the North, but in North Carolina, the Yearly Meeting of 1780 made provision for disownment of those still holding slaves. In 1788, a few members were still under dealings for slaveholding, and were disowned.[2] More was involved in North Carolina than the mere willingness to free slaves, for about forty manumitted negroes were rounded up and resold into bondage under authority of a new law passed by the assembly of 1777.[3] In the years that followed, Quakers memorialized the assembly on behalf of a more reasonable manumission law, without effect. Rather, the laws became more rigid.[4]

The result was that when the Ordinance of 1787 opened the Northwest Territory to settlement under the perpetual exclusion of slavery, Southern Quakers began leaving en masse. Joseph Hoag traveled on a religious visit to Camden, South Carolina, in 1813, and finding the place depopulated

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1. Ibid., pp. 114-15.

2. Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History ("Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," ed. Herbert B. Adams, Vol. XV; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), pp. 211-13.

3. Ibid., p. 209.

4. Ibid., pp. 219-24.

of Quakers was given the following reason by a Methodist minister:

> They all moved off in a body, except a few who had since died, and one old man. The Quakers told us for several years, that if we did not use our slaves better they would quit the country, for they could not endure to see it; but we did not believe them until we saw them go, and sorry enough we are that they are gone, for they were good inhabitants.[1]

Slavery as a continuing social problem in North Carolina and as a cause of the migration of Southern Quakers will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

(6) The Schism of 1827-1828.--Reference has already been made to the controversy which sundered American Quakerism in the third decade of the nineteenth century. The limits of the present study prohibit entering into a detailed description of the complicated causes of the schism or an extended description of the event itself. Excellent studies are available, and to these the reader is referred.[2]

A result of the schism of significance to this dissertation, however, was the acceleration of evangelical tendencies among Orthodox Friends. They were deeply alarmed at

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1. Journal of the Life of Joseph Hoag, ed. Amos Battey, et al. (London: A. W. Bennett, 1862), p. 185.

2. See Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 435-87; Thomas and Thomas, A History of the Friends in America (4th ed.), pp. 119-42; Bliss Forbush, Elias Hicks: Quaker Liberal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956); Elbert Russell, History of Quakerism, pp. 280-328.

the bold denial by Elias Hicks and his followers of beliefs long held sacred by the society. Among these was rejection of the Bible as an authoritative rule, and the denial of the divine nature of Christ and of his atonement. Hicks had spoken and written plainly and Orthodox Friends were thoroughly aroused to the necessity of safeguards.

Increased knowledge of the Bible seemed to them a most obvious need, and as has already been noted, First-Day Scripture Schools found ready acceptance in New England.[1] Further, the schism stimulated literary activity and a new interest in a teaching ministry, as the Orthodox sought to justify their position. In 1829, representatives of their branch met from all the Yearly Meetings and produced a thoroughly evangelical doctrinal "testimony." They had had the active support of English Friends before and after the controversy, and the continued efforts of these Friends from abroad accelerated the growing evangelicalism of the Orthodox group.[2]

The Hicksite controversy produced separations not only in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, but in New York, Ohio, Baltimore and Indiana Yearly Meetings. Except in Indiana, the separations were accompanied by much bitterness. New England, Virginia and North Carolina Yearly Meetings supported

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1. See previous discussion, p. 46.

2. Russell, pp. 322-23.

the Orthodox bodies and did not divide.[1] Particular reactions of North Carolina Quakerism to the Hicksite controversy will be noted later in this study.

2. North Carolina in Its Natural Setting

The division of North Carolina into three sharply differentiated geographic areas is obvious upon examination of any relief map. These regional divisions have been so significant in the history of the state that they are of first importance in a consideration of the natural setting.

i. The Coastal Plain

About two-fifths of North Carolina consists of the Coastal Plain, extending west "from the Atlantic Ocean to the 'fall line' of the Roanoke, Tar, Neuse, and Cape Fear rivers--a distance varying from 100 to 150 miles, and ranging in elevation from sea level to approximately 400 feet."[2] Offshore, a chain of sand banks roughly parallels the coast, enclosing the waters of five sounds. The inlets from the ocean to the sounds are shallow and treacherous, contributing to the loss of many ships and the naming of the coastline, "The Graveyard of the Atlantic."[3]

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1. Thomas and Thomas, p. 141.

2. Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 17.

3. Ibid.

The lack of seaports meant the relative isolation of North Carolina from Europe. The Coastal Plain was therefore settled not directly from Europe, but by an overflow of the English from other colonies, seeking better land. This they found in the rich, black, alluvial valleys of the Carolina tidewater.[1] Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome have observed of this region:

> Its relatively level and light soil was easy to cultivate. Its predominant forest tree, the pine, was easy to cut, which made it relatively simple to clear land for cultivation. The pine also furnished the basis for one of North Carolina's greatest industries prior to 1870, that of producing naval stores. Abundant and well distributed rainfall and a mild climate made the region well adapted to agriculture, while the lack of water power and the scarcity of mineral resources retarded the development of manufacturing.[2]

The isolation of the fertile Coastal Plain from colonial shipping and commerce led to the use of the region for farming, and an extensive agricultural economy based on slave labor was there developed.[3]

The four rivers of the Coastal Plain, the Roanoke, Tar, Neuse and Cape Fear, were navigable by light craft for 100 miles from their mouths, and farther in the case of the Cape Fear. They were of little value for water power in the

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1. William K. Boyd, History of North Carolina: 1783-1860, Vol. II; The Federal Period (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1919), p. 84.

2. Lefler and Newsome, p. 18.

3. Boyd, II, 84.

Coastal Plain, but provided important highways of commerce in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[1]

ii. The Piedmont Plateau

This region extends for about 200 miles west of the Coastal Plain, and occupies approximately half of the area of the state. It is a low plateau, "ranging in elevation from gently rolling country about 400 feet in height to rugged hills of 1500 feet."[2] The plateau gradually slopes to the east until it reaches the granite ledge known as the "fall line," over which the rivers previously mentioned flow into the plain.[3] The contrast of the Piedmont with the plain is evident in the following description:

> The soil of this region is of many types, but red clay predominates, and this makes the land more difficult to farm than the more porous soil of the Coastal Plain. The climate is mild but colder than that of the Coastal Plain; frosts are earlier, winters more severe, and the growing season from a week to a month shorter. . . . The streams of the Piedmont are narrow, shallow, and swift--not well adapted to navigation and commerce, but excellent for the development of power.[4]

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1. W. C. Kerr, "Physiographical Description," Handbook of North Carolina, Embracing Historical and Physiographical Sketches of the State, comp. L. L. Polk (Raleigh, N. C.: North Carolina, Office of Department of Agriculture, 1879), pp. 122-23; hereinafter referred to as Handbook of North Carolina.

2. Lefler and Newsome, p. 19.

3. Boyd, II, 84.

4. Lefler and Newsome, p. 19.

Neither of the two important rivers of the Piedmont flow through the Coastal Plain. These rivers, the Yadkin and the Catawba, rise in the mountains of western North Carolina, flow eastward about 90 miles, then take a southerly direction and flow into South Carolina.[1] Both rivers were improved about 1820 so as to connect their navigable portions, and they became useful for "commerce, almost to the foot of the Blue Ridge."[2] Early settlers, not being able to use the rivers for distance transportation,

> developed a system of land transportation along the river valleys, and communication was largely along northeast-southwest lines, and not east-west to the Coastal Plain. The Piedmont, or 'Back Country' was not settled by people moving upstream from the Coastal Plain, but by Scotch-Irish, Germans, Welsh, and others moving along the valleys from Virginia, Pennsylvania and South Carolina.[3]

The Piedmont therefore came to be a mixed region from at least two standpoints. Its population was diverse in national origin and religious interests, and its economy was based on small farms and rural industries.

The Yadkin valley of this region was the birthplace and boyhood home of William Hobson, and will therefore be given more detailed attention later in this study.

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1. Kerr, Handbook of North Carolina, p. 123.
2. Ibid.
3. Lefler and Newsome, p. 19.

iii. The Mountain Region

Western North Carolina is composed of approximately 6,000 square miles of high mountains and valleys, a rugged and beautiful region containing the highest peaks of the southern Appalachian system.[1] It remained in a primitive state until beyond the time with which this study is concerned, and was never significantly populated by Quakers.

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1. Ibid., p. 20.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY YEARS OF WILLIAM HOBSON: 1820-1847

1. Ancestry

The seeds of Quakerism planted in the tidewater regions of North Carolina by William Edmundson and George Fox[1] had a steady growth, producing the only significant religious life in the colony prior to 1700.[2] In that year, ministers of the Church of England arrived, and Quakers entered into a long battle against the establishment of Anglicanism. Failing, they suffered the usual distraints for refusal to pay the assessed church taxes.[3] Nevertheless, they continued a potent force in the religious life of the Coastal Plain until the end of the proprietary period in 1729.[4]

A new planting of Quakerism began in the Piedmont Plateau about the middle of the eighteenth century. This was not an expansion of coastal Quakerism, but rather was the result of a strong wave of migration flowing out of Pennsylvania, down the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and eventually into North Carolina. The movement tarried in the northern

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1. See page 24.
2. Lefler and Newsome, pp. 125-26.
3. Weeks, p. 167.
4. Lefler and Newsome, p. 126.

counties of Virginia for about fifteen years, then poured down the Appalachian valleys into the Piedmont region of North Carolina.[1] It is among these migrants that the earliest ancestors of William Hobson are found.

i. The Hobson Family

(1) Shenandoah Valley.--In 1732, Alexander Ross and Morgan Bryan, heading a group of Friends from Pennsylvania and Maryland, secured from Lieutenant Governor William Gootch and the Council of Virginia patent rights to a tract consisting of 100,000 acres along Opequan Creek, a tributary of the Potomac River, in what is now Berkeley County, West Virginia.[2] Among the seventy grantees in the group was one George Hobson, who received nine hundred and thirty-seven acres on a branch of Mill Run. He was the great-great-great grandfather of the subject of this dissertation, and is the most distant ancestor for whom documentary evidence is available.[3]

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1. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, pp. 96-97.

2. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 388.

3. The patent issued to George Hobson begins as follows: "GEORGE the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. TO ALL TO WHOM these Presents shall come Greeting KNOW YE that for divers good Causes and Considerations but more Especially for the Consideration mentioned in an Order of our Lieut Governor and Council of our Colony & Dominion of Virginia bearing Date the three and twentieth Day of April one thousand seven hundred and thirty five granting leave to Alexander Ross and Morgan Bryan to Survey in

Two Friends meetings were established among these settlers along Opequan Creek, and these were organized as constituent meetings of Hopewell Monthly Meeting in 1735.[1] Unfortunately, the membership of this meeting and all of its activities from 1735 to 1759 are lost to history, since the records were destroyed in a fire at the clerk's home in 1759.[2] Therefore, it is not certain that all seventy of the families brought in by Alexander Ross were Quakers, or that George Hobson and his wife, Elizabeth, belonged to Friends.

George and Elizabeth Hobson made a deed on November 2, 1743, giving their son George Hobson, Jr. six hundred acres of their patent land. A few months later, March 5, 1744, George Hobson, Jr. and his wife, Hannah, conveyed a certain part of this land back to the original patent holder.[3] The

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such manner as they should think fit one thousand Acres of Land for each Family of seventy Families by them brought into our said Colony and settled upon the Lands in the said Order mentioned and to Sue out Patents for the same WE HAVE Given Granted and Confirmed and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors do give Grant and Confirm, unto George Hobson one certain Tract or Parcel of Land containing nine hundred and thirty seven Acres lying & being on a branch of Mill Run & bounded as followeth to wit--[Description of the parcel follows]." State of Virginia, Richmond, Va., Land Office, Book 16, p. 388.

1. Weeks, p. 98.

2. William Wade Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy (6 vols.; Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1936), VI, 359. This work is an exact index of the genealogical entries in the minute books of many of the Friends meetings in the Eastern United States.

3. Joint Committee of Hopewell Friends, assisted by John W. Wayland, Hopewell Friends History: 1734-1934 (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Pub. House, Inc., 1935), p. 29.

purposes of this transaction are now, of course, unrecoverable, but the legal records provide an important link in the chain of genealogical relationships. The will of the elder Hobson was probated on December 6, 1748, in which he made bequests to his son George, Jr., and a grandson, Stephen.[1]

(2) Migration to North Carolina.--This Stephen Hobson next appears in the records of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting of Friends in central North Carolina. The birth records of that meeting state that on Second Month, 15th, 1763,[2] there was born to Stephen Hobson (whose parents the record states to have been George and Hannah Hobson, Frederick County, Virginia),[3] and Anne Hobson a son whom they also called Stephen.[4] It is clear that Stephen Hobson I left the home of his birth some time between 1748 (when he was mentioned in his grandfather's will, being then six years of age) and 1763, having joined the stream of migrants then settling in the Piedmont country of North Carolina.

It would appear that economic pressures were mainly responsible for the shift in population of Pennsylvania

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1. Ibid.

2. Dates cited in this dissertation will preserve the form in which they appear in any given document. Those from Friends records will appear as above, that being the custom of the period.

3. Now Berkeley County, West Virginia.

4. Hinshaw, I, 356. The name Stephen recurs so frequently in the family that it will hereafter be distinguished by Stephen I, Stephen II, etc.

Quakers, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, German Moravians and others, who swarmed down the Appalachian valleys into the South. By 1700, the coastal regions of the colonies were populated to the head of navigation, or "fall line" of rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. German and Scotch-Irish immigrants had to push on to the frontiers to find land, and older settlers, leaving their lands worn out by poor farming methods, joined the newcomers in search of fertile ground.[1] As for the Quakers, a certain gregariousness characterized them during the entire period in which their "testimonies" marked them off as "peculiar," inclining them to live and migrate in groups. The love of adventure and new experiences no doubt also moved Quakers, as it did other Americans. At least, this seems back of criticisms which the more conservative Friends leveled at every new migration in Friends history. When the first wave of emigrating Quakers spilled out of Pennsylvania into Northern Virginia, John Churchman, an eminent minister of Friends in the eighteenth century, visited them in 1741, and concluded that the love of hunting and a roving existence had largely motivated the migration.[2] Economic pressures, the natural gregariousness of a "peculiar" people, and the lure of

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1. Faulkner, American Political and Social History (6th ed.), p. 69.

2. Weeks, p. 99.

adventure no doubt all combined in the first migration of American Friends which resulted in the planting of Quakerism in central North Carolina.

About thirty families from the North had settled in what was then Orange County, North Carolina, when Cane Creek Monthly Meeting was established by authority of Eastern Quarterly Meeting in 1751.[1] The meeting grew rapidly, and others took root in the region. In 1751, Cane Creek Meeting authorized a meeting for worship at New Garden, about twenty-five miles to the northwest, and in 1754 set up a mid-week meeting at Deep River, several miles farther beyond New Garden. New Garden was made a full-fledged Monthly Meeting in 1754. It eventually became the leading Meeting of the state and set off many others, one of which was Deep River, established as a Monthly Meeting in 1778.[2] It in turn established, among others, Deep Creek Preparative Meeting, fifty miles farther to the west in southern Surry County. By 1793, enough solid, concerned Friends were living in the Deep Creek community so that it was made a Monthly Meeting by action of Deep River Quarterly Meeting.[3] There were,

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1. Ibid., pp. 103-04. 2. Ibid., p. 109.

3. Minutes, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting, 4-6-1793. In the period under study, men and women conducted their business separately and kept separate minutes. References to "Minutes" in these footnotes will always be to the men's minute books, and if it is necessary to cite actions of the women's meeting, the designation will be "Women's Minutes." Actions of Monthly Meetings are

of course, many other Friends meetings in the Piedmont country of North Carolina, but the above are the meetings with which this study is concerned.

(3) Yadkin Valley Pioneers.--According to the records of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, Stephen Hobson II was married in Ninth Month, 21st, 1785, to Rachel Vestal.[1] Two years later, he and his wife and infant son, William, were granted certificates of removal to Deep River Monthly Meeting.[2] They are found as active and respected members[3] of Deep Creek Monthly Meeting soon after it was set up on Fourth Month, 6th, 1793.[4] This may mean that they moved directly to the Yadkin Valley from their home near Cane Creek, since Deep Creek Preparative Meeting was under the care of Deep River Monthly Meeting in 1787, and the certificates would have been sent there and held until the establishment of Deep Creek as a Monthly Meeting in 1793.

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cited by date in this dissertation, since most of them are recorded in old, unnumbered volumes and on unnumbered pages. The above minutes, and other records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting used in this study, are on deposit in the Quaker Room, Guilford College, Guilford College, North Carolina. Deep Creek Monthly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as DCMM.

1. Hinshaw, I, 397. 2. Ibid.

3. Minutes, DCMM, 9-7-1793. In this action of the meeting, Stephen II was appointed as a representative to quarterly meeting. In the Minutes, DCMM, 12-6-1794, he was appointed to hand a paper of denial to an erring member "for taking too much strong drink and fighting."

4. Minutes, DCMM, 4-6-1793.

Eight children were born to Stephen Hobson II and his wife, Rachel, one of whom was also named Stephen.[1] Stephen II and his family seem to have prospered in their new home in the Yadkin Valley. When he died at forty years of age, in 1803, his will arranged for the disposition of seven hundred and eighty-seven acres of land and the division of $814.00 among the children. He reserved the home plantation of two hundred and thirty-two acres to his widow, Rachel, "in order to enable her to raise and educate my children in a becomeing [sic] manner."[2] To his infant son, Stephen III, he willed the home plantation after his mother's death or remarriage. Considerable other properties, such as pewter, household goods, livestock, a sawmill and implements are disposed of in the will.[3]

The widowed mother of Stephen Hobson III remarried on Tenth Month, 11th, 1810, and according to the terms of the will, the home plantation thus passed to him. This inheritance may well have been the basis for the considerable fortune which he was able by shrewd management to accumulate in his lifetime.

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1. Hinshaw, I, 975.

2. Will of Stephen Hobson, Superior Court, Surry County, Dobson, North Carolina, Record of Wills Number 3, p. 60.

3. Ibid. There is no foundation in the will for the statement that Stephen Hobson III inherited the entire estate of 8,000 acres, as asserted by Earl H. Davis, Hobson: Descendants of George and Elizabeth Hobson (Long Beach, Calif.: Privately printed, 1957), p. 154.

ii. The Bond Family

In their seventeenth years, Stephen Hobson III and Mary Bond appeared before the Monthly Meeting at Deep Creek and declared their intentions to marry. Committees were appointed to inquire into their clearness for marriage and report to the following Monthly Meeting accordingly.[1] Both the Hobson and Bond families had been members of the Meeting from its beginning years.[2]

The earliest ancestor of Mary Bond traceable in the records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting is Edward Bond, her grandfather, who was received into the membership of New Garden Friends Meeting by request, Fourth Month, 28th, 1759.[3] He was married on Eighth Month, 16th, 1764, to Ann Mills.[4] They were original members of Deep River Monthly Meeting when it was established in 1778.[5] Nine children were born to them, of whom this study is concerned only with a son, John, born Sixth Month, 16th, 1769.[6]

(1) John Bond.--The Deep River Monthly Meeting records show the marriage of John Bond to Mary Huff on Twelfth Month, 8th, 1791.[7] Ten children were born to them, of whom Mary

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 11-1-1817.
2. Minutes, DCMM, 9-7-1793.
3. Hinshaw, I, 527.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 773.
5. Ibid., p. 777.
7. Ibid., p. 800.

Bond, born First Month, 16th, 1800,[1] became the wife of Stephen Hobson III and the mother of William Hobson.

John Bond became a widely-traveled and much loved minister of Friends in North Carolina. His development and usefulness in the ministry is reflected in the Minutes of Deep Creek Monthly Meeting. His name first appears in the record the year the Meeting was established, the occasion being an appointment, along with Stephen Hobson II, to represent the Meeting at the ensuing sessions of Deep River Quarterly Meeting.[2] The Monthly Meeting of Second Month, 7th, 1801, saw him appointed as an overseer.[3] In 1804, the Meeting approved his accompanying a minister on a visit, "he [Bond] being a friend in unity among us," as the record reads.[4] In 1809, he was recommended to the station of elder and a committee was appointed "to see if Friends are in unity thereto."[5] Friends apparently were, for the next Meeting approved the recommendation.[6] In 1813, the following minute appears in the record:

> Deep Creek preparitive Meeting Recommends our freind John Bond as A Minister with which this meeting Eunitedly approves and Directs the Clerk to furnish Him with a Copy of this Minute Directed to the Quarterly Meeting and Sign it on Behalf of this Meeting.[7]

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1. Ibid., p. 973.
2. Minutes, DCMM, 9-7-1793.
3. Minutes, DCMM, 2-7-1801.
4. Minutes, DCMM, 11-3-1804.
5. Minutes, DCMM, 4-4-1809.
6. Minutes, DCMM, 5-6-1809.
7. Minutes, DCMM, 10-2-1813. The use of sic to call attention to errors is not practical in reproducing extracts

In the years following, many "minutes for service" were issued by the Meeting to him, authorizing him to travel in North Carolina as a minister in good standing. In 1815, he journeyed to Ohio and Indiana territory,[1] and in 1826 to Virginia and Tennessee.[2] He apparently continued as an active minister late in life, minutes for travel being issued to him as late as 1839.[3]

(2) Influence on William Hobson.--John Bond apparently left no journal, and only one fragment of his preaching survives. In a description of his childhood religious experience, William Hobson observes that at about age twelve he well knew the meaning of a text upon which his grandfather, John Bond, often preached, "That Wisdom's ways were ways of pleasantness and all her paths are paths of peace."[4] The example and teaching of his grandfather was "a great favor and blessing to me," he relates.[5]

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from records in this period, which were often quite faulty in spelling. A careful attempt will be made in this dissertation to reproduce such writing letter-by-letter as it appears in the original. Cases of obvious repetition, however, are noted by the use of sic.

1. Minutes, DCMM, 7-1-1815. 2. Minutes, DCMM, 7-1-1826.

3. Minutes, DCMM, 2-7-1835; 8-1-1835; 4-6-1839.

4. "Journal of the Life of Wm. Hobson," p. 10. (Hobson's quotation of Proverbs 3:17 is not quite accurate.) This work is hereinafter referred to as "Journal."

5. Ibid., p. 4.

2. The Childhood of William Hobson

i. Economic Limitations of the Yadkin Valley

North Carolina was known as "the 'Rip Van Winkle' state" in the early decades of the nineteenth century, because of its undeveloped and backward economic condition.[1] Archibald D. Murphey, a leading citizen and member of the legislature in 1819, cited the great lack of roads, navigable rivers, ports, and means for the movement of commerce as the main reasons for the depressed economy. That lacking, commerce remained scattered instead of concentrating at a few points where cities could grow up.[2] Boyd points to the importance of these same economic factors.

> Among the influences contributing to . . . [the depressed economy] was that of trade and commerce. Easy exchange of domestic products was impossible; in fact, the North Carolina farmers and merchants were to a large extent dependent on distant markets. Trade relations were determined by geography.[3]

The conditions which caused North Carolina to be called the "Rip Van Winkle State" prevailed especially in Surry County, the ancestral home of the Hobsons and Bonds. It was

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1. Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina: History of a Southern State, p. 298.

2. Archibald D. Murphey, "Memoir on the Internal Improvements Contemplated by the Legislature of North Carolina," North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), pp. 200-201.

3. History of North Carolina, II, 83.

geographically isolated by the Yadkin River which ran in an easterly direction about ten miles north of Yadkin, then took a sharp southerly turn for many miles. The river was fordable, but at some risk after a rain, judging from the following traveler's report:

> Sixth-day, 14th of eleventh month, we went to Deep-creek; on our way we had to ford the river Yadden [Yadkin], said to be a quarter of a mile across, which we found very deep: fording these rivers, which are rendered dangerous by the rains, often puts my faith in the superintending care of an Almighty Power closely to the test.[1]

The settlers of the Yadkin Valley were thus cut off in a real way from the larger settlements to the east and the villages to the north. Commercially they could look to Salisbury, approximately thirty miles to the south, but the Quakers were tied religiously to the settlements across the Yadkin to the east, notably New Garden, seat of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

The Brushy Mountains traversed southern Surry County[2] in an approximately east and west course, their low spurs and swells giving the land a rolling character, of about 1,200 feet elevation above sea level. The moderate climate

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1. Shillitoe, "Life of Thomas Shillitoe," Friends Library, III, 464.

2. Surry County was divided in 1850, the Yadkin River becoming the southern boundary. William Hobson's birthplace was thereafter in Yadkin County, south of the Yadkin River. This accounts for some discrepancies in his diaries which occasionally mention his birth in Surry County and again in Yadkin County.

of the valley was good for the growing of fruit and grain products.[1]

The roads of the state, and especially of the Yadkin Valley, were then so notoriously poor that few farmers attempted to grow more than a subsistence. Most of the roads were mere paths, wandering through the woods and across fields, and were barely passable in wet and rainy weather.[2] Since the bad roads meant high transportation costs for farmers and high-priced mercantile goods, the residents of this entire region developed a self-sufficient, resourceful economy characteristic of frontier communities everywhere.[3]

The census of 1820 indicates that ninety-eight per cent of North Carolina's population was rural. Throughout much of the state, poor farming methods had led to exhaustion of the soil with the result that North Carolina at that time had the lowest per capita income of any state of the union. The "back settlements," comprising in part the Yadkin Valley, were especially poor and undeveloped.[4] Lefler and Newsome estimate the situation as follows:

> No state was less developed or had more serious problems relating to agriculture, transportation, commerce, manufacturing, finance, education and

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1. North Carolina State Board of Agriculture, North Carolina and Its Resources (Raleigh, N. C.: M. I. & J. C. Stewart, 1896), p. 412; hereinafter referred to as North Carolina and Its Resources.

2. Lefler and Newsome, p. 300.

3. Ibid., p. 301.

4. Ibid., p. 299.

> emigration than North Carolina. Nature's resources of climate, soil, and forest made it easy for the people of the state to provide a scanty, live-at-home subsistence for themselves and their farm animals, but conditions were such that it was difficult for them to produce enough to live much above the level of mere subsistence. The state was poor, backward, divided--an unattractive place in which to live because of the limited opportunity for advancement.[1]

The rolling terrain of the Piedmont meant that its settlers were not limited to farming and the meager existence agriculture could provide. Many small rural industries developed in the Piedmont, utilizing the water power of the narrow, rushing streams.[2] The use which Stephen Hobson III made of water power to run a small industrial complex will be noticed later in this study.

ii. Parents: Stephen Hobson and Mary Bond

In the Monthly Meeting at Deep Creek following that in which Stephen Hobson III[3] and Mary Bond declared their intention of marriage, the following action was recorded:

> The friends appointed in Case of Stephen Hobson Reports the find nothing to hinder his proceeding in mariage with Mary Bond; the are therfore left at their liberty to Accomplish

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1. Ibid., p. 298.

2. North Carolina and Its Resources, p. 24.

3. This is the last Stephen Hobson to have frequent mention in this dissertation. The use of the Roman numeral III beside his name will henceforth not be used, it being understood that Stephen Hobson is the father of William Hobson.

> their Mariage according to the good order used among friends Jonathan Adams and William Hinshaw are appointed to attend the mariage and see if it be orderly acomplished and Report to next Meeting acordingly; and bring the Mariage Certivicate to be Recorded.[1]

Sometime in that same Twelfth Month, 1817, they were married. It was a marriage "in meeting" after the Friends custom of the times without officiating minister of any kind. The event was reported at next Monthly Meeting, First Month, 3rd, 1818, and is recorded in the Women's Minutes as follows:

> The friends appointed to attend the mariage of Stephen Hobson with Mary Bond Reports it was orderly Accomplished.[2]

As was seen,[3] the upper Yadkin Valley of North Carolina had been the home of a generation of Hobsons and Bonds before Stephen and Mary Hobson established a home there. They settled near the village of Yadkin (now Yadkinville), approximately thirty miles west of the Moravian settlement of Salem, and within sight of the rugged escarpment of the Blue Ridge Mountains twenty miles to the northwest.

The two-room log house in which William Hobson was born, Second Month, 4th, 1820, still stands. It is located near a branch of Forbush Creek, a tributary of Deep Creek. Now somewhat modified, it was originally two large rooms, one

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 12-6-1817.

2. Women's Minutes, DCMM, 1-3-1818.

3. See pages 66-67.

above the other and connected by a stairway. An ancient fireplace still rises at one end of each room.[1] Five other children were also born here to Stephen and Mary Hobson.[2]

The Hobson "Journal" has little to say about the physical character of the home Stephen Hobson provided for his family in the Yadkin Valley. Journals of traveling ministers who visited homes in the Piedmont region occasionally mention their rude, cold, open character--logs unchinked, no windows and no light within unless the door was left open.[3]

It is likely, however, that the Hobson home was of a more comfortable nature than some in the Yadkin Valley. The evident resourcefulness and industry of Stephen Hobson, plus the absence in the Hobson "Journal" of any suggestions of financial distress, both point to something more than the ordinary, crude frontier dwelling.

About a half mile from the house was the Hobson grist mill, using the water of a tributary of Forbush Creek for its power. The stream was small, but produced sufficient head to keep the mill going through the day and sometimes well into the night.[4] The enterprising character of Stephen

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1. Thero S. Hobson, of nearby Boonville, N. C., is authority for the statement that this was the home of Stephen Hobson. A descendant of the Hobsons farms the land upon which the building rests. Interview, June 26, 1961.

2. David, born 2-20-1822; Anna, 6-28-1824; Jesse, 7-14-1826; Stephen, 10-27-1828; Caleb, 1-4-1831. Hinshaw, I, 975.

3. Journal and Letters of H. C. Backhouse, pp. 183-84.

4. Hobson, "Journal," p. 28.

Hobson is suggested by the fact that before he was thirty-five years of age he had built up a flourishing cluster of small industries centering about his grist mill, which undoubtedly meant that his family escaped some of the economic distresses which plagued North Carolinians during these hard times. Near the mill was a blacksmith shop, a linseed oil press, a shoemaking and repair shop, a store offering some of the staples essential to the life of a rudely settled region, and some kind of an establishment in which Stephen's son, William, learned to full, color and dress cloth.[1] This primitive industrial complex was completely under the family's ownership and care, although usually with the assistance of some hired help "both in doors and out doors,"[2] as the "Journal" records. About 1840, Stephen Hobson went into the iron-making business, using his sons in the hauling of wood, burning coal, digging ore or working in the forge.[3]

Mary Bond Hobson was twenty years of age when her first child, William, was born, and she died at age thirty-one, about eight months after the birth of her sixth child.[4] The "Journal" records that both she and her husband "were well concerned members of the Society of Friends Who took much care to train their children 'in the way they should go.'"[5]

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1. Ibid. 2. Ibid., p. 31. 3. Ibid., p. 40.

4. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, I, 975.

5. Hobson, "Journal," p. 1.

Recalling in his forty-eighth year the influence of his mother, William Hobson wrote,

> I remember she was very often reading in the New-Testament with her little children around her, And much of the Alphabet was Taught her children by her from the Testament. . . . I never knew her to appear mad. When I was a small child I thought it wrong for any one to get mad; for I never saw my mother in an ill humor, at any time."[1]

As a "well-concerned Friend" it is to be expected that she was plain in dress and appearance, which the "Journal" confirms:

> She was a remarkably plain woman in her attire. And made no other sort of clothing but plain for any one that I recollect of. She and father both taught that it was inconsistent to make or trade in such as we could not recommend the use of.[2]

His mother's testimony to plainness made a strong impression upon her son, for even in his childhood years he became quite disturbed about some things his father had for sale in the store.

> There were some dry goods I felt very uneasy in selling. Although my father had some care not to get things which were very gay yet I could not see that the Truth owned any deviation from entire plainness. And it did not appear consistent to sell or make such as I could not commend the using.[3]

Adhering to plainness meant using the plain language also. This resulted in his eight and nine year old playmates calling him "Stiff-Quaker," but many of them who were

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1. Ibid., p. 2. 2. Ibid., pp. 3-4. 3. Ibid., p. 27.

not Friends seemed to respect him enough to use the plain language in addressing him.[1]

Since "one-third of the adult whites were illiterate" in North Carolina as late as 1840,[2] it seems likely that Stephen and Mary Hobson provided educational advantages in their home that many other homes of the times lacked. "My father and mother both took much time to assist us in getting our lessons well," Hobson relates, "we bringing our books home at nights as regularly as our dinner basket."[3]

William Hobson's description of his parents as "well concerned Friends" is borne out by the responsibilities assigned them by the Monthly Meeting. His mother was an overseer,[4] to whom came some of the tasks assigned to dependable members, such as visiting and encouraging Preparative Meetings belonging to the Monthly Meeting;[5] preparing certificates for migrating Friends,[6] and attending the sessions of Quarterly Meeting.[7]

The appointments given Stephen Hobson by Deep Creek Monthly Meeting from 1827 to 1841 suggest that he may have

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1. Ibid., pp. 8-9. 2. Lefler and Newsome, p. 304.
3. Hobson, "Journal," p. 5.
4. Women's Minutes, DCMM, 2-3-1827.
5. Women's Minutes, DCMM, 3-1-1828.
6. Women's Minutes, DCMM, 9-4-1830.
7. Women's Minutes, DCMM, 2-2-1828.

been one of the more educated persons of the Meeting, as far as education went in those times, or that he had a recognized concern for education. First Month, 3rd, 1827, he was appointed to assist the clerks in correcting and transcribing the Monthly Meeting minutes.[1] In 1835, he and four others were chosen to have care of a school operated by the Monthly Meeting.[2] Next spring the committee reported its work carried out, and it was continued in the same responsibility until otherwise directed.[3] In 1841, he was appointed to a committee to recommend names of non-Friends students for New Garden Boarding School,[4] and was also reappointed to the committee responsible for care of the Meeting school.[5]

William Hobson records in the "Journal" that his father "kept a Library of Friends Books at his house."[6] This was in consequence of a recommendation from the Yearly Meeting of 1829, held at New Garden, that each Monthly Meeting should provide and care for a library.[7] Stephen Hobson's appointment by Deep Creek Monthly Meeting to have charge of

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 1-3-1827. 2. Minutes, DCMM, 9-5-1835.

3. Minutes, DCMM, 4-[date missing]-1836.

4. Minutes, DCMM, 2-6-1841. 5. Minutes, DCMM, 12-4-1841.

6. "Journal," p. 25.

7. Minutes, North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1829. North Carolina Yearly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as NCYM.

its library and keep it in his house[1] meant that the books were close at hand for his children to read. Young William Hobson read the volumes avidly, he reports.[2]

Stephen Hobson was appointed to be an elder in 1825,[3] and for the next seventeen years was busy at tasks assigned him by the Monthly Meeting. His appointments as representative to Quarterly Meeting are too numerous for notation, and he was often busy at such other responsibilities as laboring with erring members;[4] visiting those desiring membership;[5] visiting and encouraging Preparative Meetings,[6] and assisting ministers going on religious journeys,[7] besides the educational responsibilities already mentioned.

That Stephen Hobson was well-regarded throughout the Friends Meetings of the Yadkin Valley is suggested by his frequent appointment by Westfield Quarterly Meeting as a representative to North Carolina Yearly Meeting.[8] When Westfield Quarterly Meeting was laid down as a result of most of its members moving West, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting was once more attached to Deep River Quarterly Meeting,[9] and

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 1-2-1831 [1830]. 2. "Journal," pp. 22; 25.
3. Minutes, DCMM, 7-2-1825. 4. Minutes, DCMM, 7-4-1835.
5. Minutes, DCMM, 11-7-1840; 10-2-1841.
6. Minutes, DCMM, 4-4-1835. 7. Minutes, DCMM, 3-1-1834.
8. Minutes, Westfield Quarterly Meeting, 8-19-1826; 8-18-1827; 8-15-1829; 8-20-1830.
9. Minutes, Deep River Quarterly Meeting, 4-18-1833. Deep River Quarterly Meeting will hereinafter be cited as DRQM.

Stephen Hobson was then frequently named by them as a representative to Yearly Meeting.[1]

iii. Educational Experiences of William Hobson

Public education in North Carolina was still in the future during the childhood years of William Hobson. The state constitution of 1776 had directed that a school or schools be established by public funds, but the mandate was vague, and disagreement as to its meaning dragged on for decades. The popular view held that government was for the restraint of the lawless, rather than constructive social improvement. The home, not the state, was long considered responsible for schooling, and public education was extended no further than as a charitable measure on behalf of orphans.[2] Among the masses, apathy, and even hostility, existed toward education. The capacity barely to read was considered sufficient by many.[3]

North Carolina Quakers had shown concern throughout the eighteenth century that their children be able to read and write, primarily in order to understand the Scriptures.[4] In spite of frequent exhortations by the Yearly Meeting to its

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1. Minutes, DRQM, 10-5-1835; 10-18-1836; 10-13-1842.

2. Boyd, History of North Carolina, II, p. 90.

3. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

4. Zora Klain, Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina (Philadelphia: [Publisher not given], 1924), pp. 58-60.

subordinate Meetings, deficiencies in education persisted well into the nineteenth century.[1] The movement to inaugurate libraries in the Monthly Meetings, already referred to, represented a determined step by North Carolina Yearly Meeting to remedy the situation. As Zora Klain observed, "From libraries to schools is but one step."[2]

The "Journal" of William Hobson reports only two brief periods of school attendance in his childhood. The first was a two-months school, taught by "a pious woman friend," whom Hobson regarded highly. He was about seven years of age when he attended this school and learned to read.[3] In the second school, he forged ahead of the rest in learning to spell, he reports in the "Journal,"[4] which may well be true, as his writings seldom show a misspelled word. His capitalization and punctuation are erratic, however.

The "Journal" is vague as to the location of the schools. The first may have been under the care of the Monthly Meeting, since it was taught by a Quaker.[5] The second, which was a four-months school, was not under Friends, and occasioned Hobson considerable childish distress due to "the world's ways" which prevailed there. He would not join the children's play in the ring, since it involved "singing

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 244.
3. Hobson, "Journal," p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 6.
5. Ibid., p. 4.

lies," and, as he writes, "I never wilfully told a lie, even in fun." He wept when the teacher taught the older scholars "the world's compliments."[1]

The limited education available to Hobson in the Yadkin Valley of the 1820's was supplemented by reading the Scriptures and the books in the library at the Hobson home. Among these were Fox's Journal; Sewel's History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers; Barclay's Catechism, and others. Barclay's Catechism so suited him that he read it many times.[2] Another book which deeply moved him in childhood was Thomas Evans' Examples of Youthful Piety. This somber little book was widely circulated among American Friends in the nineteenth century and was deemed especially appropriate reading for children. It recounts the religious experiences of small children and their piety and spiritual bravery in the hour of death.[3] It is very gloomy reading indeed, but William Hobson relates

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1. Ibid., pp. 7-9. What Quakers meant by "the world's compliments" is suggested by the following: "It appeared to me, we should observe truth and simplicity in all our conversation, and take care not to use, for the sake of politeness, any mere compliments. . . . I feel desirous that I may, by example, bear my testimony to the truth, though in this I may appear unpolished for so doing. In my estimation there is no polish like the simplicity of the gospel." Journal of Charles Osborn, p. 54.

2. Hobson, "Journal," p. 22.

3. Thomas Evans, comp., Examples of Youthful Piety, Principally Intended for the Instruction of Young Persons (3rd ed.; Philadelphia: Printed for the author by J. Rakestraw, 1839).

that this book "served as a stimulus to greater vigilance in me."[1]

iv. Early Responsibilities

When his mother died, William, at eleven years of age, was mature enough to observe his father's deep loneliness. At times, his son overheard him in prayer, "pouring forth his supplications or praises to the 'God of all comfort' which made a solemn impression upon me," he observes.[2] His mother's death left much of the care of the five smaller children upon William, then a mere child himself. The father often being away, William ran the household as a cooperative enterprise.

> We divided Business. We divided our time. Each one knew his portion of stock to feed &c. Each one knew his individual patch in fathers garden. Each one had pretty much his own way with his own little garden. . . . I being the older brother was rather director of matters in fathers absence.[3]

Stephen Hobson married again in a little over a year, and although William loved and respected his young stepmother, it was his opinion that she was "not every way well qualified to have the chief care of matters."[4] She died within fourteen months of her marriage, leaving an infant son.[5]

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1. "Journal," pp. 9-10.
2. Ibid., p. 9.
3. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
4. Ibid., p. 30.
5. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

About that time, when William was thirteen years of age, his father put him to tending the grist mill.[1] In the five years that he served his father as a miller, there was seldom any time that neighbors were not on hand with grain to grind.[2] He kept a memorandum of his time spent at the grist mill, and, computing his labor at fifty cents per day, concluded with satisfaction that "I was not more cost than profit in my raising."[3]

v. Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

The "Journal" of William Hobson contains not a single reference to Deep Creek Meeting, nor the slightest suggestion as to the appearance of the meetinghouse or its surroundings. Charles Osborn mentions a meeting which he appointed there, Third Month, 14th, 1814. "The house, though middling large was crowded,"[4] he observed. "It was a mixed multitude as to profession."[5]

If the meetinghouse were like most of those in which North Carolina Quakers worshiped, it was probably not very comfortably furnished. William Evans, traveling in the state in 1841, declared,

> I am persuaded that the open, comfortless condition of most of their meetinghouses,--nearly all without any means of warming them, or drying of wet clothes of those who ride or walk

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1. Ibid., p. 20. 2. Ibid., p. 28. 3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. Journal of Charles Osborn, p. 84. 5. Ibid.

> in the rain or snow,--has the effect to keep their meetings smaller than they would be, were proper care taken to make them fit places for . . . worship.[1]

Of Contentnea Meeting, farther east in North Carolina, Evans wrote, "The house being very open, and no fire, I suffered so from the cold, that when speaking I could hardly prevent my teeth from striking together."[2] William Forster, an English Friend traveling in North Carolina in 1824, had the same opinion of a meeting held in New Garden Quarter: "It was held in a poor, cold house, without door or window, and very open between the logs."[3]

Friends meetinghouses were not alone, however, in their unpretentious character. "The average ante-bellum church, like the average home and the average school, was a humble building," according to Guion G. Johnson.[4] Few Baptist places of worship in the state were suitable for use in winter, and even as late as 1859, North Carolina Presbyterians were lamenting the disgraceful state of many of their churches.[5]

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1. Journal of William Evans, pp. 259-60.

2. Ibid., p. 259.

3. Memoirs of William Forster, ed. Benjamin Seebohm (2 vols.; London: Alfred W. Bennett, 1865), II, 17.

4. Guion G. Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), p. 436.

5. Ibid.

The laconic minutes of Friends Meetings of this period yield little information as to the spiritual life of the congregations, and the Minutes of Deep Creek Meeting are no exception. William Evans mentions a worldly spirit at Deep Creek in 1841, and a "low state of the life of true religion among many."[1] There may be some truth in this observation, judging from the stream of disciplinary cases the Meeting had before it. However, Evans was inclined to describe North Carolina Quakerism in overly pessimistic terms, despite the fact that there was usually a good attendance at his appointed meetings.[2]

There was no lack of ministry at Deep Creek Meeting, for beside resident ministers, there was a constant succession of itinerant preachers from other American and British meetings. Among those visiting Deep Creek Meeting in William Hobson's youth were William Evans and Charles Osborn (mentioned above); Mahlon Hockett of North Carolina;[3] Hannah C. Backhouse, "from old England";[4] Benjamin Cox of Indiana;[5] Asenath Clark of North Carolina;[6] Anna Thornburg and Deborah

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1. Journal of William Evans, p. 241.
2. Ibid., pp. 241-255.
3. Minutes, DCMM, 10-[date missing]-1834.
4. Minutes, DCMM, 5-18-1835.
5. Minutes, DCMM, 10-2-1841.
6. Minutes, DCMM, 6-3-1843.

Pennington;[1] Benjamin Seebohm and Robert Lindsey of England,[2] and many others.

In nearly every Monthly Meeting, Deep Creek Friends had some disciplinary case before them, judging by the appearance of the Minutes. These afford some indication of the rough frontier morality of the Yadkin Valley and the moral problems which Quakers were struggling to solve. Members being dealt with in a disciplinary way could usually retain their membership by presenting a paper condemning their misconduct. Rigid discipline was administered, however, and refusal to present a "paper of condemnation" resulted in disownment by the Meeting.

Disownments for marrying "not according to discipline" led all other disciplinary actions at Deep Creek,[3] as was the case throughout America in this period.[4] In the South there was reason back of the strict marriage rule, however. Marriage "out of Meeting" was often into slaveholding families, a step regarded by Friends as fatal to principles and morals.[5] So many were cast out of the church for marrying other than Friends that it is a wonder the society survived at all. The itinerant ministers were evidently securing

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 1-6-1844. 2. Minutes, DCMM, 11-6-1847.
3. Minutes, DCMM, 1830 to 1840.
4. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 429-30.
5. Journal of the Life of Joseph Hoag, p. 265.

enough convincements to keep the membership in balance.

Examples of disciplinary actions at Deep Creek include those involving fighting;[1] dancing;[2] attending muster;[3] use of profane language,[4] departing from plainness;[5] neglecting meetings;[6] being intoxicated and handling cards;[7] distilling and trading in spiritous liquor;[8] "giving way to pashion & insulting a man and telling untruths";[9] "taking too much Strong drink and taking of his cloathes in an angry manner in order to fight";[10] "being Intoxicated for Fighting and for having a child laid to his charge in an unmarried state";[11] "keeping unseasonable Company with a woman so as to have a Child laid to his charge, and also for dancing,"[12] and many others.

Quakers were, of course, not the only denomination attempting to care for the religious needs of the Yadkin Valley. Presbyterianism had been strongly established throughout the North Carolina Piedmont by Scotch-Irish migrants from the North, and James McGready's zealous and persuasive

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 10-7-1837. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. 5. Minutes, DCMM, 3-3-1827.
6. Minutes, DCMM, 12-1-1838. 7. Minutes, DCMM, 10-9-1833.
8. Minutes, DCMM, 5-7-1825.
9. Minutes, DCMM, 4-[date missing]-1836.
10. Minutes, DCMM, 6-6-1818. 11. Minutes, DCMM, 8-3-1830.
12. Minutes, DCMM, 2-17-1818.

preaching had started a revival among them late in the eighteenth century.[1] Baptists were well distributed throughout North Carolina.[2] The Moravians were strongly established just across the Yadkin River to the east, and their ministers were accustomed to holding meetings in the homes along Deep Creek.[3]

Of all Christian denominations in the Yadkin Valley, the Methodists were possibly more firmly rooted than any. Francis Asbury traveled the Yadkin Circuit as early as 1783,[4] and visited it regularly for the next two decades.[5] The Moravians mention a large camp meeting of the Methodists in 1810, located at Walnut Grove on the Yadkin.[6] The meager support given the Methodist itinerant preachers has already been pointed to as a common meeting place between Methodists and Quakers.[7] Similar affinities will be noted

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1. Sweet, Story of Religion in America (3rd ed.), p. 227.

2. Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, p. 57.

3. Records of the Moravians of North Carolina: 1752-1822, ed. Adelaide L. Fries (7 vols.; Raleigh, N. C.: State Historical Society of N. C., 1922-1947), VI, 2532, 2565, 2760.

4. Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury, ed. Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts and Jacob S. Payton, I, 438.

5. Ibid., I, 480, 508, 573, 595, 641; II, 10, 35, 47, 123, 208.

6. Records of the Moravians of North Carolina, VII, 3111.

7. See pages 41-42.

later in this study, but in the Yadkin Valley of the 1820's, Quakers were still maintaining a certain detachment toward camp meetings and revivalism.[1] The relations between Methodists and Quakers was cordial, but Quietism would have to wane before Friends were fully ready for "Enthusiasm."

As has been noted, there was no schism in North Carolina Yearly Meeting during the Hicksite controversy. Elias Hicks never ministered there, and his preaching, at least of his later years, probably would not have been well received. In the zig-zag of Friends between the Scriptures and the inward Light as final authority, North Carolina Friends were by 1820 already inclined to give the Scriptures first place. The Hicksite controversy prompted North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1827 to address an epistle of advice to all its subordinate Meetings, couched in the tones of the growing orthodoxy of that decade. The epistle expressed the Yearly Meeting's concern that all be kept in the truth "as it is in Jesus." It cautioned against reading any of the "pernicious books" being industriously circulated; called attention to Fox and Barclay's regard for the Scriptures and to Christ's

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1. The usual response by Friends of this period to revivals and camp meetings is suggested in a traditional story told in the North Carolina Piedmont: The son of an elderly Deep River Friend came to him with a confession: "Father, I went to camp meeting last night." "Thee did?" "Father, I got converted." "Served thee right for going." Related by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, "Joe Cannon's Carolina Background," The North Carolina Historical Review, 23(1946), 477.

full lordship and mediation. It specifically attacked a volume of sermons by Elias Hicks as denying the divinity of Christ and his propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and ended by exhorting all parents to instruct their children in the doctrines of the Christian religion as contained in the Scriptures.[1]

Stephen Hobson was a representative to North Carolina Yearly Meeting in the year the epistle warning against Hicksism was sent down.[2] Whatever his part, if any, in the formulation of it may have been, his accord with it is clear, for his children were reared in an atmosphere steeped in the principles upheld by the epistle.[3] It seems obvious that there was some sort of osmotic absorption of Methodist evangelicalism in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Quakers and Methodists there were on cordial terms,[4] even though the former had reservations about the enthusiastic character of revivals and camp meetings. The assimilation of Methodist theology was easy because of the common elements in

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1. An Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held at New Garden, Guilford County, North Carolina (Greensborough, N. C.: T. E. Strange [Date of publication not given]).

2. Minutes, Westfield Quarterly Meeting, 8-18-1827.

3. Hobson, "Journal," pp. 17, 21, 23, 32.

4. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, pp. 293-95.

Quakerism and Methodism, as Frederick B. Tolles has pointed out.[1] The interest of both in experiential certainty, in immediate leadings of the Spirit, in Arminian viewpoints (in spite of Barclay), and in the possibility of perfection, are cases in point.[2] Further, the relatively isolated, backwoods environment of many of the Piedmont Meetings provided an insulation from the currents of rationalistic thought affecting Quakers in such centers as Philadelphia and New York and allowed for the full sway of evangelicalism in North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

vi. Religious Experience

The children in the pious Hobson household were reared on a religious diet distilled from the Bible, Fox, Penn, Barclay, Evans' Examples of Youthful Piety, and other Quaker writers.[3] A steady moral walk was the objective,[4] in which by heeding the inward Guide, one was kept in the narrow way that leads to life.[5]

Hobson writes that about the time he went to the second school, being about age nine,[6] he

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1. Frederick B. Tolles, Quakers and the Atlantic Culture (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 104.

2. Ibid., pp. 104-06.

3. Hobson, "Journal," pp. 2, 32.

4. Ibid., p. 3.

5. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

6. Ibid., pp. 7, 9.

> felt under much obligation to live a righteous life before my schoolmates. I felt at this time the force of Christ's words, 'Ye are the Salt of the earth.' . . . I was much established in the Truth and was willing to suffer persecution for righteousness sake.[1]

After his mother's decease, he began reading Evans' Examples of Youthful Piety with the result that

> I became so watchful, that at times I lived several days together in the sweetness of innocency in which I was not conscious of doing anything wrong: but sought with all my heart that the Lord's will might be done . . . I did experience great joy in this state; My soul was full of thanks unto my Savior who had taken away my sins. And so sanctified me that I could offer offerings in righteousness.[2]

It then occurred to him that a life of isolation from evil associates was the solution to the problem of temptation.

> For a short time, I was near believing it to be the voice of my True Guide: But earnestly desiring to know if this manner of life, would be in my heavenly Fathers will and being thus turned inwardly to the Light, Oh what joy sprang in my soul for the brightness of that Light which then I saw in which a life of seclusion appeared very far from my Makers will concerning me.[3]

Other troubles soon beset him, however. His father put him to running the grist mill, and the associations with other boys and men proved a setback. They were fond of play and foolish talk while waiting for their grist, and William

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1. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
2. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
3. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

concedes that "very few were more naturally inclined that way than myself."[1] As a result of these associations at the mill, he relates, "I was for years endeavoring to gain the mastery over my fallen propensities."[2] The evidence of "fallen propensities," he finally confesses, was in the enjoyment of playing marbles and other sports with the boys.[3] While at play, pangs of conscience would strike him for such vain use of his time.

> So I would gladly get myself back to the Mill, and see if it was doing as well as I could make it. And amidst the clatter of Cornmeal Seive; and the humm & buzz of many wheels &c. I would pray often vocally to be forgiven this time also. And the Lord knowing my my [sic] weakness and my sincere repentance was gracious still to forgive me for my childish folly. . . . And then I would begin to thank and praise him for his continued goodness to me. I often did this vocally yet so no one would hear me. . . . I hoped sometime to be able to follow my guide so well as not to be daily sinning.[4]

The tones of Evangelicalism can be heard in Hobson's description of his childhood religious experience, as well as the echo of Quietism. Such expressions as "my True Guide," "turning inwardly to the Light," "established in the Truth," and "that Light," all have the sound of Quietism. "Repentance," "forgiveness," and "sanctified," on the other hand, while not absent in the quietistic era, have the ring

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1. Ibid., p. 21.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 22.
4. Ibid., pp. 23-25.

of Methodism and the evangelical revival. It should be remembered that Hobson wrote his "Journal" in 1868, when Methodist influence in Quakerism was approaching its height, which may have colored his description of experiences and events then thirty years past.

vii. Sense of a Religious Calling

It was while he was attending the second school, at about age nine, that William Hobson began to feel he might be required to "speak unto the people as a preacher."[1] It will be remembered that this was the non-Quaker school, in which he earned the appellation "Stiff Quaker."

> One time I vividly recollect standing with others before the fire at the Schoolhouse bearing reproach for Christs sake. And some said let Wm Hobson alone. He will be a preacher sometime. And it struck me with great fearfulness lest they would find it out on me. for I knew it was my calling.[2]

A few years later, after the episode in which he rejected the idea of a secluded life, the impression came that

> if I would be obedient to him [the Lord] he designed to continue my life amongst men until he should qualify me and use me as an instrument to do some considerable good in the world . . . This impression still lives with me [1868]; and if I do not fill the purpose, I believe the fault will be found in me.[3]

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1. Ibid., p. 6.
2. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
3. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

3. The Youth of William Hobson

i. New Garden Boarding School

In the sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting held at New Garden in 1830, a concern arose regarding the inadequate education of Friends children. Accordingly, the epistle of advice which went down to subordinate meetings that year asked for reports on schools. At the next Yearly Meeting, a compilation of the reports indicated that there was not a school within the limits of the Yearly Meeting that was under Friends control, and that most of those Quaker youth who were in schools were being taught by non-Friends.[1]

A committee was appointed to propose a plan for improvement of education, which reported the following day, suggesting a subscription be taken for establishment of a boarding school. To this the Yearly Meeting agreed.[2] Jeremiah Hubbard, a respected teacher near New Garden Meeting, and Nathan Hunt, a sagacious and influential minister, gave the proposed school strong support. By 1834, it was chartered and had a working plan and set of rules for students.[3]

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1. Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, Guilford: A Quaker College (Greensboro, N. C.: Printed for Guilford College by J. J. Stone & Company, 1937), pp. 11-12.

2. Minutes, NCYM, 11-10,11-1831.

3. Gilbert, Guilford: A Quaker College, pp. 14-15, 26.

A beautiful tract of one hundred acres of near-virgin forest was purchased near New Garden meetinghouse in 1834,[1] and the building was erected in 1837. It was a two-story brick structure, forty by one hundred and twenty feet, with a dining room and kitchen adjoining.[2] By fall, all was in readiness for the first students. Dougan Clark and his wife, Asenath, were engaged as superintendents. He had been a Methodist preacher for three years, but joined Friends in 1817.[3] She was a daughter of Nathan Hunt.[4] The faculty, consisting of Rowland Greene, Jonathan L. Slocum, Catherine Cornell and Harriet Peck, had been carefully chosen in order to insure a "guarded," Quakerly education for the students.[5]

Twenty-five boys and twenty-five girls were accepted for the first session, which opened Eighth Month, 1st, 1837.[6] That night, Nathan Hunt spoke briefly to them on the beauty of silent worship and of his joy at the actual opening of New Garden Boarding School in its fine new building.[7]

"When I was near 18 years old father sent me to Friends Boarding School at New garden N. C., for the term of 3 months," William Hobson records, "After which I was at the mill on the farm and at School alternately for 3 years."[8]

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1. Ibid., p. 26. 2. Ibid., p. 33. 3. Weeks, p. 301.
4. Gilbert, Guilford: A Quaker College, p. 31.
5. Ibid., p. 32. 6. Ibid., p. 36.
7. Ibid., pp. 36-37. 8. "Journal," pp. 28-29.

The original records of the school are more explicit. The New Garden Boarding School Register: 1837--Feb. 1842, lists William Hobson as a student for the thirteen week winter term which began Eleventh Month, 12th, 1837.[1] This was the second term of the school after its opening. He was also a student in the winter quarters of 1838 and 1840.[2]

In his "Journal," Hobson mentions that, "after I was 21 I went to the Boarding School 9 months on my own footing."[3] The records of boys at the school do not appear complete for this period of attendance, and his name appears only in the New Garden Boarding School Day Book, where charges are made to his account for books and supplies from First Month, 15th, 1841 to Third Month, 4th, 1841.[4] His combined periods of attendance at New Garden Boarding School thus total eighteen months, according to his "Journal" and the partially complete records of the school. He was apparently a diligent student, and formed the habit of rising an hour and a half or two hours early in order to study when all was quiet.[5]

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1. New Garden Boarding School Register: 1837--Feb. 1842, pp. 8-9. The New Garden Boarding School records are deposited in the Quaker Room, Library, Guilford College, Guilford College, N. C.

2. Ibid., pp. 20-23; 38-39.

3. "Journal," p. 41.

4. New Garden Boarding School Day Book, 1838-1841, pp. 447; 458; 462.

5. Hobson, "Journal," pp. 42-43.

His scholarship record in the first term of attendance there is rated second from the top of a five-point scale.[1] The next two terms of attendance are rated at the top of the scale.[2]

No catalogs were printed by the school before 1854, so it is difficult to tell much about what was studied. A letter by Harriet Peck, Eleventh Month, 29th, 1839, mentions examinations given the boys in "Geography, Astronomy, Arithmetic, Spelling, Algebra, Geometry, Philosophy, Chemistry and the Scriptures."[3] Hobson himself mentions studying Composition and Geology.[4]

Addison Coffin, one of Hobson's fellow students at the school, later made the following observation about him:

> He was a student at Guilford College [then New Garden Boarding School] in 1840-41; and was noted for his unflinching conscientious performances of duty; was a marked character not only amusing his fellow students, but at his home among rude mountaineers with whom his early life was spent, yet few would have selected him as the one among his fellows who would be called of the Lord to a special work that was to influence the coming generations.[5]

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1. New Garden Boarding School Register: 1837--Feb. 1842, pp. 8-9; 47.

2. Ibid., pp. 20-21; 29; 38-39.

3. Gilbert, Guilford: A Quaker College, p. 57.

4. "Journal," pp. 43-45.

5. Addison Coffin, "Early Settlements of Friends in North Carolina--Traditions and Reminiscences," pp. 189-90. Typescript prepared for the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1952. Quaker Room, Library, Guilford College, Guilford College, N. C.

ii. Attitude toward Slavery

Due to the rigidity of North Carolina laws, the opposition of Friends to slavery assumed a form there which occurred nowhere else. North Carolina Yearly Meeting itself became a slave holder during the years from 1808 to the Civil War. Those wishing to manumit their slaves, but who were frustrated by the law, assigned their slaves to the Yearly Meeting. The result was virtual freedom for the negroes, and many were then either transmitted to free states or out of the country under auspices of the American Colonization Society.[1]

Benjamin Lundy, who enlisted William Lloyd Garrison in the abolition cause,[2] made his first public speech against slavery at Deep Creek meetinghouse in 1824. He had just entered North Carolina at the time, in the hope of organizing anti-slavery societies.[3] He describes the day as follows:

> I shall never forget the incidents of that meeting. It was held by the side of a fine spring, in a beautiful shady grove near the Friends' Meeting House at Deep Creek, after the meeting for worship had closed. The audience signified their approbation of the lecture, by appointing another meeting for me to be held in the meeting

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1. Weeks, pp. 224-29.

2. The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, ed. [Thomas Earle] (Philadelphia: William D. Parrish, 1847), p. 25.

3. Ibid., pp. 22-24.

> house on a subsequent day. The second meeting having been publicly advertised, was attended by many persons besides members of the Society of Friends, and before its adjournment, an anti-slavery or abolition society was organized.[1]

The "Journal" of William Hobson passes the entire subject of slavery by without mention. By 1835, slavery was becoming less important to North Carolina Quakers, according to Stephen B. Weeks, due to the migration of the more rigid opponents, and the fear of those remaining that their religious testimony would become compromised in the atmosphere of growing bitterness.[2] Nathan Hunt expressed his fear of abolitionism in a letter dated Second Month, 1st, 1839, as follows: "It is my serious judgment that Friends cannot safely join in the popular doings of the ultra Abolitionists, but do all they can in their own simple way."[3]

How to further their anti-slavery sentiments without endangering other vital religious testimonies was thus the peculiar problem of Southern Friends. Jeremiah Hubbard, speaking for North Carolina Quakers, condemned the militancy of Garrison and the professional abolitionists in a letter to English Friends in 1834.[4] By no means were all Friends united in this viewpoint, however. Some were joining

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1. Ibid., p. 22. 2. Weeks, p. 229.

3. Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt, [ed. unknown] (Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt & Son, 1858), p. 121. The letter was addressed to G.[eorge] H.[owland], of New Bedford, Mass.

4. Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 241-42.

radical abolition societies.[1] Joseph Sturge came to America from England in 1841,[2] seeking to arouse American Quakers to more active anti-slavery agitation.[3] He found John Greenleaf Whittier a strong supporter,[4] but he could not shift Stephen Grellett, who held the same view as Nathan Hunt.[5]

The "free labor question" was being agitated among Quakers of this period, as offering a means of opposition to slavery consistent with their principles.[6] John Woolman had long before questioned the consistency of using the products of slave labor,[7] whereby slaveowners were enriched and the system perpetrated. The only indication of William Hobson's feeling toward slavery during his youth was expressed in regard to this question, when he was a student at New Garden Boarding School. He and a group of other students apparently felt that the school was inconsistent in its testimony against slavery, for in the term of school beginning Eleventh Month, 26th, 1838, they addressed a petition to the

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1. Ibid., p. 140.

2. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 584.

3. Memoirs of Joseph Sturge, ed. Henry Richard (London: S. W. Partridge, 1864), p. 222.

4. Ibid., p. 224.

5. Ibid., p. 231.

6. Levi Coffin, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin (3rd ed.; Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1898), pp. 265-70.

7. The Journal and Essays of John Woolman, ed. Amelia Mott Gummere (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), pp. 246, 282, 365.

committee managing New Garden Boarding School. In the petition, they castigated slavery in strong terms and called for the school to cease using products, such as sugar, which were produced by the labor of slaves.[1] William Hobson, being then seventeen years of age, was one of the signers.

iii. Place in North Carolina Quakerism

The name of William Hobson first appears in the Minutes of Deep Creek Monthly Meeting on Tenth Month, 5th, 1839, where it is recorded that William Hobson Jnr.[2] was appointed to attend the ensuing Quarterly Meeting. Regular appointments appear thereafter, examples of which are frequent appointments to assist the clerk in correcting and transcribing

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1. "A Petition to N. G. B. S. Committee." The undated petition is filed between leaves of the Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting for Sufferings, 4-11-1842. It can be dated no closer than Eleventh Month, 26th, 1838, the beginning of the term in which all the signatories are found registered as students. New Garden Boarding School Register 1837-Feb. 1842, pp. 20-21.

2. There were two William Hobsons in Deep Creek Monthly Meeting from 1820 to 1843. The elder William Hobson was received into membership in 1816. Minutes, DCMM, 9-7-1816. He married out of unity in 1831, and offering a paper of condemnation, was retained in membership. Minutes, DCMM, 1-2-1831. In 1839, when another William Hobson appears in the Minutes, the clerk avoided confusion between the two by adding the designation "Sr." after the elder's name and "Jnr." or "Jr." after the younger, although they were not father and son. The elder William Hobson was disowned in 1843 for neglecting meetings and furnishing a marriage entertainment for his daughter, who had married out of unity. Minutes, DCMM, 1-7-1843. The remaining William Hobson thereafter becomes clearly identified in the Minutes as the subject of this study.

the Minutes,[1] to attend a marriage and marriage entertainment to see if it were conducted in an orderly way,[2] to determine the number of members using ardent spirits,[3] to confer with those desiring membership,[4] and the like.

An appointment by the Monthly Meeting to be its representative at Quarterly Meeting resulted in a further appointment by the latter body as a representative to the Yearly Meeting of 1839.[5] This is a certain indication that the young William Hobson, then age nineteen, was attaining a place of respect and responsibility in North Carolina Quakerism. The Yearly Meeting was in the practice of putting its younger members to work, for in the sessions at New Garden, Eleventh Month, 1839, young Hobson was appointed to a committee "to draw up Essays of Epistles to all the Yearly Meetings with which we correspond."[6] This was the sort of work usually assigned him in Yearly Meeting sessions.[7]

Attendance at Yearly Meeting always gave opportunity to hear and meet leaders prominent throughout Quakerism. William Evans, Benjamin Cox and Lindley M. Hoag were among the

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 4-4-1840; 6-6-1840; 6-4-1842.
2. Minutes, DCMM, 11-18-1841. 3. Minutes, DCMM, 8-8-1844.
4. Minutes, DCMM, 12-6-1845. 5. Minutes, DRQM, 10-17-1839.
6. Minutes, NCYM, 11-4-1839.
7. Minutes, NCYM, 11-8,12-1841.

visiting ministers in the sessions of 1841,[1] and during his stay in North Carolina, Hoag deeply stirred William Hobson, as Addison Coffin relates:

> When William[2] M. Hoag first visited North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1839 or 40,[3] he went to Deep Creek in company of Dr. Nereus Mendenhall and held a religious meeting in the old meeting-house. His style of eloquence was well calculated to attract . . . the minds of young thinking people, . . . William Hobson was at that meeting listening with deep interest to the wonderful flow of eloquence and spiritual life, which seemed to give new inspiration to all present; during the sermon the speaker paused for a few moments, then uttered this remarkable prophecy: 'There is one sitting here, who shall pour oil on his feet, and go forth and plant the gospel in distant lands.'[4]

The Minutes of Deep Creek Monthly Meeting do not record any action whereby William Hobson was recognized as a minister, or appointed to be an elder or overseer. On the other hand, he was sent by the Monthly Meeting on at least one errand which usually fell to those in such offices.

> Agreeable to the direction of our last Yearly meeting this meeting [appoints] John Hutchens William Tulbert William Hobson and John Bond to visit all the meetings that constitutes

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1. Minutes, NCYM, 11-8-1841.

2. This was a slip, as Coffin correctly calls him Lindley M. Hoag later in the paragraph.

3. Coffin misses the correct date by a year, as the Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting list Lindley M. Hoag as present in the annual sessions of 1841.

4. Addison Coffin, "Early Settlements of Friends in North Carolina--Traditions and Reminiscences," p. 190. Hobson no doubt applied the prophecy to himself and related this incident to Coffin.

> this monthly meeting and to labour therein as truth may open the way and also with deficient members for the removal of all the deficiencies that are prevailing amongst us and report their Care therein when complied with.[1]

iv. Special Interest in Agriculture

Stephen Hobson "was much for having us to learn to do many things," William records, "That we might be handy to do any thing that Occasion might require through life."[2] Stephen Hobson being an entrepreneur who engaged in a number of successful enterprises, his children had ample opportunity to develop a number of skills.

"But of all Business to make a living by I most desired to farm it," William Hobson wrote.[3] As a youth growing up on his father's farm, he and his brothers had been able to grow good crops on the relatively poor soil, and had grown healthy and fond of outdoor life, as well.[4] His "Journal," diaries and letters all exhibit a growing interest in soil, topography, climate and crops. His special love for agriculture eventually proved one of the factors which caused him to look for better farming opportunities in the newly opened lands of Iowa.

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 9-6-1845.
2. "Journal," p. 40.
3. Ibid., p. 28.
4. Ibid., p. 33.

4. Marriage

i. Sarah Tulburt

At New Garden Boarding School, "boys and girls were separated not only by rule but by the arrangement of the building."[1] Their lodging rooms on the second floor were separated by guest rooms; they ate in separate compartments of the dining room, and were taught in separate classes.[2] Nonetheless, they found ways to become acquainted, for William Hobson met Sarah Tulburt there,[3] and a few years later, married her. She was not a Friend when a student, but the earlier rescinding of the school's rule against receiving non-Friends[4] permitted her enrollment in Eighth Month, 5th, 1840,[5] and again Seventh Month, 15th, 1842.[6] These two terms constituted about six months attendance, but the records for girls are very incomplete, and she may have attended other terms.

She had been born in Surry County, North Carolina,

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1. Gilbert, Guilford: A Quaker College, p. 42.
2. Ibid., pp. 42-45.
3. See Letter of Laura Blair, Newberg, Oregon, Feb. 7, 1961, to the present writer.
4. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, p. 300.
5. New Garden Boarding School Register: 1837--Feb. 1842, p. 60.
6. Ibid., pp. 54-55.

Sixth Month, 10th, 1818,[1] and her family was living in the Deep Creek community by First Month, 6th, 1844. The Women's Minutes of Deep Creek Monthly Meeting for that date record her request to become a member, and a committee was appointed to visit her.[2] At next Monthly Meeting, they reported having "an opportunity with her to good satisfaction,"[3] and she was accordingly received into membership.

On Sixth Month, 1st, 1844, William Hobson and Sarah Tulburt presented their intentions of marriage to the Monthly Meeting (men). Levi Reece and Joel Adams were appointed to inquire into William's "clearness of engagements with others" and report to next meeting.[4] On Seventh Month, 6th, 1844, the pair declared their intentions to the Women's Meeting, and Mary Patterson and Ann Benbow were appointed "to make the necessary inquiry in to the womans clearness of marriage ingagements with others."[5]

On Eighth Month, 3rd, 1844, both committees reported back favorably to their separate meetings, and the couple was "left at liberty to accomplish their marriage according

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1. Gerald Wilson Cook, The Descendants of Claiborne Howard: Soldier of the American Revolution (Cholon, Vietnam: Privately printed, 1960), p. 33.

2. Women's Minutes, DCMM, 1-6-1844.

3. Women's Minutes, DCMM, 2-3-1844.

4. Minutes, DCMM, 6-1-1844.

5. Women's Minutes, DCMM, 7-6-1844.

to the good order used among Friends."[1] Four days later they gathered with their friends and families in the meetinghouse and "did in a solemn manner openly declare that the took each other for husban and wife and as a further Conformation there of did to these presents set their hands," as the marriage certificate reads.[2]

ii. The Home on Logan Creek

Since William Hobson did not continue his "Journal" beyond events in his twenty-first year, it contains no mention of his courtship, marriage or first home in North Carolina. A Diary entry of Ninth Month, 13th, 1889, remarks that his home when he left to come West was "on Logans Creek in Surry Co., N. C." He owned the ground where the home was located,[3] the land possibly having been given to him by his father.[4]

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 8-3-1844; Women's Minutes, DCMM, 8-3-1844.

2. Marriage Records, DCMM, p. 117.

3. See Letter of William Hobson, Westfield, Ind., 12-12-1847, to Wm. and Mary Tulburt. The original is in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle, Conrad, Iowa.

4. Diary, 1-8-1882. No other diary is cited in this dissertation other than that of William Hobson.

CHAPTER IV

SOUTHERN QUAKERS IN THE GREAT MIGRATION: 1787-1850

The position of Quakers in North Carolina became increasingly difficult in the years after they ceased holding slaves. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 made slavery of ever greater importance to the economy of the South, and Quakers came to be regarded by their neighbors as a threat to the economic and social order. As the slavery system became more firmly fixed, Southerners looked with disdain upon those who supported themselves by their own manual labor. Not least in importance to Friends was the rearing of their children in such an environment.[1]

The organization of the Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787 seemed to Quakers a providential solution, since involuntary servitude was forever excluded. The new country contained a wealth of natural resources and offered compensation for the losses migration involved. Indians and distance were the only real obstacles, and these could be dealt with as necessity arose.[2] A real exodus of Quakers from the South thus began.

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1. Russell, p. 272.

2. Weeks, p. 245.

Stephen B. Weeks has thoroughly studied the emigration of Southern Quakers, and compiled statistics based on certificates of removal granted to heads of families. Not all of the records were available to him, but he lists 2,178 certificates granted by Southern Monthly Meetings from 1801 to 1860, of which probably 1,400 represent entire families. Seventy-five per cent of these came from North Carolina.[1]

Quakers were not the only Southern emigrants opposed to slavery, of course, and slavery was not the only cause of the Quaker exodus from North Carolina. The geographic limitations and the economic handicaps of the state have already been mentioned. The lure of better farming lands and better trade routes along the great inland rivers attracted many, and no doubt the interest in new experiences and adventure also had a share in drawing North Carolina Friends to the routes leading northwestward. Motivation is complex, and all of the above reasons were present, in varying degrees, as causative factors in the migration of Friends.

1. Routes and Conditions of Travel

North Carolinians emigrating to Indiana and western Ohio had the choice of several routes through the Blue Ridge and Appalachian mountains. All involved travel in rough, thinly settled country, following "roads" sometimes steep

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1. Ibid., pp. 268-72.

and strewn with boulders and tree stumps or hub deep with mud.[1]

The shortest route was the Kanawha Road. According to Levi Coffin, who knew it well,

> It . . . led through a mountainous wilderness, most of the way. Crossing Dan River, it led by way of Patrick Court-House, Virginia, to Maberry's Gap, in the Blue Ridge mountains, thence across Clinch mountain, by way of Pack's ferry on New River, thence across White Oak mountain to the falls of the Kanawha, and down that river to the Ohio.[2]

The more famous "Wilderness Road" crossed the Blue Ridge by Ward's Gap, then passed via Wytheville and Abingdon to Cumberland Gap, then by way of Corbin and Lexington, Kentucky to Cincinnati.[3] It was the favored route for loaded wagons,[4] and in 1822 required five weeks from North Carolina to the Quaker settlements in Indiana.[5]

Another possible road to the Northwest was the Magadee route, said to have carried as much traffic as all the others. It utilized the Virginia turnpike part of the way and crossed other routes, thereby offering the option of crossing the Ohio River at Wheeling or Gallipolis.[6]

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1. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 400.

2. Levi Coffin, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin (3rd ed.), p. 34.

3. Weeks, p. 246.

4. Levi Coffin, p. 76.

5. Ibid., p. 79. Levi Coffin traveled the road in that year.

6. Weeks, p. 247.

The first settlers heading for the West traveled by horseback and pack horses. By the period with which this study is concerned, the routes were passable for wagons. It was sometimes necessary partially to unload and make two trips in climbing the mountains, and to have helpers ready to chock the wheels when descending.[1] Wild turkeys and other game provided food and sport for travelers, and the youthful found the new life and changing scenes immensely stimulating. There was little danger from wild animals, but travelers were sometimes harassed by armed ruffians in search of runaway slaves.[2]

Addison Coffin describes in graphic and amusing terms the appearance of his party as they migrated to Indiana in 1852.

> We presented a novel sight; our team was not very showy, the wagon was full of provisions, trunks, bales and bundles; the young folks were full of life and fun, they had never been far from home, and had not seen mountains, or large rivers, consequently, were full of wonder and delight. All walked except mother, and even she did quite often. I walked beside the horse all the time. Around the camp fire at night there was life, fun, and story telling. The tent was set with open end to the fire, mother and the girls slept in it, while Sam, the negro boy, rolled in his blanket, lay across the opening at their feet as watchman. Phineas and I slept in the wagon, and I kept the horses eating all night when they wished more food. Though things all moved on like clockwork, it was rather an anxious time with mother, for had

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1. Ibid.

2. Levi Coffin, pp. 77-80.

> anything befallen me, my company would have been in rather bad shape among the mountains.
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> Many times the fording of rivers, and large creeks was amusing and full of excitement, there was not room for all in the wagon, so mother, one girl, and Sam would go first in the wagon, then Sam would unhitch the horses, and bring them back, then the rest would go, two on a horse.[1]

2. Migration of William Hobson

Far across the continent in the Chehalem Valley of Oregon and toward the end of the century, Hobson sat down one Sixth Day evening and penned the following lines:

> It is just 42 years to day since I left my home on logans Creek in Surry Co. N. C. to move westward with a wife & 2 small Children. The youngest a little more than 8 months old. Also my wifes sister Rachel went with us.[2]

This is the only reference by which his emigration may be dated, and it places the beginning of the journey on Ninth Month, 13th, 1847.

i. To Indiana

(1) Motivation.--Nowhere in his writings does Hobson explicitly list the factors which moved him to undertake the long journey westward. One who preferred to make a living by farming[3] could hardly be satisfied laboriously scratching

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1. Addison Coffin, Life and Travels of Addison Coffin (Cleveland, Ohio: William G. Hubbard, 1897), pp. 104-05.

2. Diary, 9-13-1889. Hobson's writing was quite irregular in capitalization and punctuation. Periods are often used for commas, and apostrophes are absent.

3. See page 108.

the red hills of the Yadkin Valley when word was constantly coming back from newly-settled friends and relatives regarding the rich, easily worked soils of Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. Hobson's diaries abound with evidences of agricultural interests, and there is frequent recognition in his mature writings that a happy and useful life has an inevitable material and economic basis. In the absence, therefore, of any expressed indications that religion or slavery actually moved him to emigrate, economic factors have to be recognized as primary in his motivation.

Slavery had important bearings on his desire to leave North Carolina, for the same reasons that it caused other Friends to leave. A continuing hatred of slavery is suggested by a concern Hobson expressed in a letter he addressed back to North Carolinians soon after arriving in Indiana. "I would like to hear from you . . . [as to] what report was carried up to the Yearly Meeting in regard to voting for slave holders."[1]

A brother-in-law of Hobson, James Tulburt, and his wife, Rachel (Benbow), had preceded William Hobson to Indiana, having journeyed to Westfield in the spring of 1847. Members had been leaving Deep Creek Meeting for the West for forty years, and the absence of familiar friends, neighbors

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1. See Letter of William Hobson, Westfield, Indiana, 12-12-1847.

and relatives in the community and church may have contributed to the weakening of ties in North Carolina.

Something else that may possibly have loosened the ties of Deep Creek Meeting upon the Hobsons occurred in late 1846 and early 1847. The following action is recorded in the Minutes:

> Deep Creek Monthly Meeting proproses the removal of Stephen Hobson from the station of an Elder--The clerk is Directed to forward a Copy of of [sic] this minute [to the] ensuing Quartly Meeting and sign it on behalf of this.[1]

Two months later the overseers lodged a specific complaint against Stephen Hobson:

> Deep Creek preparative Meeting Complains of Stephen hobson for Demolising a bridg leading from Benjamin Hutchens Coal yard to the forge for hireing a slave for refuseing the the [sic] Council of Friends for useing Rough and unbecomeing language Wm. Tulburt Wm. Dobbins Thomas Benbow Daniel Huff are appointed to visit him on the occasion and report their care to next Meeting.[2]

Failing to obtain satisfaction (a paper of condemnation) from Stephen Hobson, he was disowned by action of the next Monthly Meeting, First Month, 7th, 1847.[3] Deep River Quarterly Meeting met seven days later, and when word came before it of the manner in which Stephen Hobson had been dealt with, a committee of prominent and influential members was appointed to investigate, Allen U. Tomlinson and Nereus

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1. Minutes, DCMM, 10-3-1846. 2. Minutes, DCMM, 12-5-1846.
3. Minutes, DCMM, 1-7-1847.

Mendenhall being among them.[1] They were able to secure the desired paper from Stephen Hobson, condemning his "improper expressions" used toward a Friend. The Quarterly Meeting of Fourth Month, 15th, 1847, therefore reversed all the proceedings of Deep Creek Monthly Meeting regarding Stephen Hobson and directed that he be restored to his former station and place in the Meeting.[2] It was done, but apparently begrudgingly. In subsequent Minutes of Deep Creek Monthly Meeting, Stephen Hobson was never appointed to responsibilities befitting his station as an elder.

It seems hardly possible that William would have excused his father for hiring a slave, but he may have felt that his father was roughly handled by those he had served as a respected elder for two decades. The Quarterly Meeting, at least, thought so. These events may have had only a slight bearing, or none, upon William Hobson's migration, but it is strange that in his forty-six page manuscript "Journal" he mentions Deep Creek Monthly Meeting not once.

(2) Journey to Westfield, Indiana.--On the thirteenth of Ninth Month, 1847, Hobson, his wife, Sarah, their two small children, and Sarah's sister, Rachel, moved out in their heavily loaded wagon in the direction of the Blue

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1. Minutes, DRQM, 1-14-1847. Both had distinguished careers in North Carolina Quakerism.

2. Minutes, DRQM, 4-15-1847.

Ridge. No season in the southern Appalachians is more beautiful than the early fall, and they must have marveled often at the ever-varied scenes and colors as their wagon made its slow way up to the passes and down the western slope. Little record was left of the journey, and the route they followed is unknown. It was a five hundred and thirty-eight mile journey, according to Hobson's computation, which cost them a total of about $13.00.[1]

The Tulburts were expecting them, for a letter by James Tulburt to his parents reads, "I suppose Wm. & his family & Rachel are on the road by this time. We expect to see them in the lane here in about 4 weeks--tired enough."[2]

The journey required no more than twenty-six days, for upon arriving at Flatrock, Indiana, Hobson addressed a letter to his parents dated Tenth Month, 4th, 1847, twenty-seven days after the trip began, and they had spent one day attending Indiana Yearly Meeting.[3] The letter included a glowing report of the new country, as follows:

> I will just say now that it is a highly favored portion of the world and . . . it is so near all good and so much of it, that when we get here it makes me think of Stock being turned into a

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1. See Letter of William Hobson, Flatrock, Ind., 10-6-1847, to Wm. and Mary Tulburt. The original is in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle.

2. See Letter of James Tulburt, Westfield, Ind., 8-29-1847, to Wm. and Mary Tulburt. The original is in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle.

3. See Letter of William Hobson, Westfield, Ind., 10-6-1847.

> great pasture that is good all over; that its difficult to satisfy ourselves what part of it we had rather stay in . . . Now when we think of old Surry it seems so little as almost to be lost sight of.[1]

(3) Survey Journey to Iowa.--That he already had his mind on Iowa is indicated by one sentence in the above-mentioned letter. "I think that I will at least go and see some of the reserve before I confine myself to any business."[2] This he apparently attended to immediately before severe winter weather set in, for by Twelfth Month, 12th, 1847, he was back from Iowa, and sending a report to North Carolina, urging them to move West, as follows:

> I have been to Iowa and I think it is the right place for me to settle in. Besides I believe it to be one of the easiest places for people to fix to live well in a short time that is to be found; . . . I request that such of you as shall move to the west may not let any thing you hear about Iowa prevent you from going and seeing it for yourselves.[3]

He counseled North Carolinians not to be discouraged at the added journey from Indiana to Iowa.

> It is mostly good road in the summer or fall and Provision is cheap I put my horse to a mans wagon and went out in eleven days. I bore half the expense for horse food and ferriage and sometimes lodged in a house It only cost me about two dollars Besides our own victuals which we carried with us.[4]

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1. Ibid. 2. Ibid.

3. See Letter of William Hobson, Westfield, Ind., 12-12-1847.

4. Ibid. Hobson underrates the difficulties. See pp. 123-25, for a description of travel across Illinois in the 1850's.

That winter Hobson obtained a three-months public school for which he was paid $40.00 for teaching.[1] James Tulburt was teaching the Friends school at the Westfield Friends meetinghouse. Hobson taught five days each week, but Seventh Day rather than Fifth, so as to be able to attend Fifth Day meeting.[2] Tulburt did not have that problem, as Friends schools were dismissed for the midweek meeting.[3]

ii. To Iowa: 1848

(1) Journey to Lee County, Iowa.--William and Sarah Hobson had sent to North Carolina for their certificates of membership, but the certificates arrived at Westfield Monthly Meeting, Fourth Month, 6th, 1848, only in time to be endorsed and forwarded west.[4] The Tulburts report the leave-taking of the Hobsons in a letter dated Fourth Month, 9th, 1848. "Wm. Hobson and family and Rachel [Sarah Hobson's sister] are preparing to start to Iowa next fourth day (This week)."[5] It thus appears that Hobson spent only six months

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ethel Hittle McDaniel, The Contribution of the Society of Friends to Education in Indiana (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1939), p. 43.
4. William Wade Hinshaw Index to Quaker Meeting Records, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. This card index is based on abstracts prepared for projected but unpublished volumes of Hinshaw's Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy.
5. See Letter of James Tulburt, Westfield, Ind., 4-9-1848, to Wm. and Mary Tulburt. The original is in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle.

in Indiana, and when his three-months school was ended made preparations for the journey on to Iowa. James Tulburt was not yet sure that they should accompany the Hobsons. He wrote,

> Wm's account of that country is that it is as much better than Indiana as Indiana is better than Carolina; and it seems that no other country will satisfy him. I suppose that in Iowa choice prairie and timber can be had at Congress price, on which a man may open a large farm in two or three years, . . . This seems to be the greatest advantage of that country over this.[1]

The Hobsons set out on their journey to Iowa in the spring of 1848 without the Tulburts, William being determined to go alone, if necessary. He wrote,

> I think I shall do better to go there if none but my own family goes with me than to stay any where else. But I should be better satisfied to have some of my old acquaintances & relations near me.[2]

He left no written description of the journey across Illinois, but others who traveled between the Indiana and Iowa Quaker settlements have left vivid accounts. William Evans covered the route in the summer of 1851, three years after Hobson, and wrote,

> This afternoon we crossed the Wabash River in a scow, . . . a few miles from the river we came to an arm of one of the great prairies [of Illinois]. Viewing the expanse appeared like looking out to sea; there being no object in the distance to rest the eye on, for miles, but grass. The thought of being out on such an

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1. Ibid.

2. See Letter of William Hobson, Westfield, Ind., 12-12-1847.

> extensive plain, which seemed to have no limit, . . . was rather dreary.[1]

Next morning, Evans and his companion, Joseph Elkinton, pursued their lonely journey.

> We got along pleasantly; the road being generally plain and good; dined at a poor tavern, . . . Crossed the Big Vermillion Creek twice, once on a bridge and once we forded it; and in the prairie, which we then entered, we had several sloughs to go through, where the draft is hard for the horses. . . . [and] we cannot discover to what depth we may sink.[2]

Five days later, they were nearing the Mississippi River, and Evans recorded,

> Set out early this morning with the assurance that the road was good; but we found it far otherwise. The small bridges were in bad condition, and many of the marshy places were difficult for the horses to draw through. On a prairie ten miles over, there was a space two miles wide, we were told, very much covered with water, and no road visible in many places, so that we could not be certain we were in the right track; but, by the compass, we kept a west course, and finally got through the swampy ground, into a plain road, much to our relief.[3]

After a lunch of tea, meat and bread at a log cabin, they pushed on.

> Our horses had a hard draft, through the mud and high grass; and if any accident had happened us, we should have been in great difficulty, as there was no house within several miles. It was cause of gratitude, that we

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1. Journal of William Evans, p. 514.

2. Ibid., p. 515.

3. Ibid., p. 518.

> were favored to escape in safety, from such a dreary place; where we could not see what we were driving into, whether holes or inextricable sloughs.[1]

Elkinton kept his own record of that day's travel, and wrote,

> The road was awful for a considerable distance we rode thro high grass covered with water & it seemed marvelous indeed to me that we were enabled to get along & come to the road as we were favored to do.[2]

There being no bridge across the Mississippi River before 1856,[3] all travelers had to ferry across on crude flatboats "upon which a team and wagon could be driven, and which was then propelled across the river by use of several poles and oars."[4] This was the means by which Evans, the Hobsons and all emigrants set foot upon Iowa soil in the days of the pioneers, except in winter, when it was possible to cross on the ice.

The destination of the Hobsons was Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting, for their certificates when received from

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1. Ibid., p. 519.

2. Joseph Elkinton, "An Account of a Visit Paid to Some of the Meetings Belonging to Indiana Yearly Meeting." Pages of this MS are unnumbered. The entry is dated 7-31-1851. Manuscript Collection, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

3. William J. Petersen, The Story of Iowa (4 vols.; New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1952), I, 531. Vols. I and II are written by Peterson; Vols. III and IV are biographies collected, written and edited by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

4. Ibid., p. 523.

North Carolina by Westfield Monthly Meeting were endorsed to Pleasant Plain Meeting and dated Fourth Month, 6th, 1848, a few days before the trek began.[1] The James Tulburts followed them that same year, their certificates being sent by Westfield Monthly Meeting Eleventh Month, 9th, 1848.[2] The community of Pleasant Plain was located about fifty miles due northwest from the Mississippi River town of Burlington.

(2) The Iowa Frontier: 1848.--The American frontier cannot be represented as a thinly drawn, advancing line, to the west of which was barbarism and to the east civilization. Whenever a region was opened for settlement by the United States, pioneers penetrated it in varying depth, and conditions of frontier character prevailed over wide areas. Such was the state of Iowa in 1848. The river towns along the Mississippi and such centers as Fort Des Moines and the present Iowa City were settled communities, while in between were vast reaches of rolling prairies and timber bottoms, filling up with settlers, but unconnected by roads and ties of communications.

The settlement of Iowa began in 1833, when Indians were cleared from eastern Iowa following the defeat of Black Hawk.[3] These first settlers were squatters, since the

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1. William Wade Hinshaw Index to Quaker Meeting Records.
2. Ibid.
3. Peterson, I, 292.

United States did not begin to survey Iowa lands until 1836, nor was land offered for sale before 1838.[1] The area achieved territorial status July 4, 1838,[2] and the Territory of Iowa was hardly established before agitation began for independent statehood. Since the census of 1840 revealed a population of 43,000, it was evident that admission to the Union could not be long delayed, despite opposition of Southern congressmen.[3] A constitution drawn up by the Convention of 1844 was accordingly accepted by Congress, and Iowa became a state December 28, 1846.[4]

Indians were no great problem on the Iowa frontier after 1845. The central part of the state held about 2,200 Indians of the Sauk and Fox tribes up until that time. They were a large, stately race of hunters, living in wigwams or lodges.[5] Their bitter enemies to the north were the militant Sioux, and the United States had established a forty-mile wide strip between them known as the Neutral Ground. It proved an unworkable arrangement.[6] Through a treaty with the United States in 1842, the Sauk and Fox tribes gave up rights to their lands in Iowa and agreed to move to Kansas

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1. Ibid., p. 298.
2. Ibid., pp. 312-13.
3. Ibid., pp. 336-37.
4. Ibid., p. 346.
5. Dan E. Clark, "The Indians of Iowa in 1842," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 13(1915), 260.
6. Roscoe L. Lokken, Iowa: Public Land Disposal (Iowa City, Iowa: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1942), pp. 35-36.

by 1845. The Sioux surrendered their tracts in northern Iowa in 1851, at which time all Indians were dispossessed of lands in Iowa.[1] The Sioux, nonetheless, continued to visit their old grounds and commit depredations against settlers. Sioux outlaws in 1857 massacred thirty-two men, women and children at Spirit Lake, in northern Iowa.[2]

Extremes of climate are prominent features of the Iowa environment, and proper shelter was the first concern of every pioneer. Benjamin Seebohm and Robert Lindsey, then on their American journey from England, visited the settlements of Iowa Quakers and mentioned the difficulty of keeping warm in the drafty pioneer cabins at sub-zero temperatures.[3] From records of the early settlers, William J. Petersen describes an Iowa winter.

> The pioneers looked forward with genuine concern to the long winter months. Distances to mill, store, or postoffice were long and the means of transportation were cumbersome and slow. The bleak Iowa prairies afforded no protection from the raging blizzards that swept across the wilderness between the Mississippi and the Missouri, burying fences, cattle sheds, and log cabins, and obliterating the ordinary landmarks that served as guides for the early settlers. Tales of untold

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1. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

2. Dan E. Clark, "Frontier Defense in Iowa, 1850-1865," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 16(1918), 336-39.

3. Louis T. Jones, "The Quakers of Iowa in 1850," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 12(1914), 272.

> suffering have been handed down by those luckless Iowans unfortunate enough to be caught in a blizzard on the thinly populated prairies.[1]

Temperatures as low as forty-seven degrees below zero have been recorded in Iowa and as high as one hundred eighteen degrees above zero.[2]

Citing the report of an unnamed settler, Lokken lists the following sequence in frontier homemaking:

> After a cabin was erected, rails for fences were made and plowing was begun. 'The plowing of the prairie is a laborious process', he said, 'requiring three or four yoke of oxen, but the timber land is very easily plowed after it is cleared.'[3]

Travel in the new state was by no means easy. The rough roads damaged carriages, sometimes leaving one stranded far from any habitation,[4] and at times of high water carriages often foundered in deep ruts. Horses often fell down, while attempting to pull vehicles through the hazardous sloughs and bayous.[5] Travelers new to the state felt

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1. William J. Petersen, "When Blizzards Blow," The Palimpsest, 2(1961), 49.

2. William J. Petersen, "Comparative Data for the State," The Palimpsest, 2(1961), 80.

3. P. 69.

4. Louis Thomas Jones, The Quakers of Iowa (Iowa City, Iowa: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1914), p. 58.

5. Louis T. Jones, "The Quakers of Iowa in 1858," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 12(1914), 409-11; 413; 415; 417; 422.

a sense of loneliness when first viewing the vast, uninhabited reach of prairie.[1]

(3) Disposal of Public Lands in Iowa.--Surveying of public lands in Iowa was begun in 1836, and was continued westward through the state until the work was completed many years later. Settlers obtained the land mainly "by one of four methods--public land sales, private entries, preemption, and Federal grants for various purposes."[2] It has been noted that "squatters" occupied lands in Iowa before they were surveyed. Once a given survey was completed and offered for sale, such settlers had to act quickly and take advantage of the provision that permitted them to pay for the land and secure it ahead of the day of sale.[3] To protect preemptors who had not been able to purchase their land in advance, Iowa settlers usually attended such sales in a body, thereby discouraging "claim jumpers" who might attempt to bid on improved land and secure it cheaply.[4] Land remaining unsold after public auction was subject to private sale at the public land offices.[5]

(4) Temporary Settlement near Richland, Iowa.--The first extant letter of William Hobson after arriving in Iowa is dated Sixth Month, 26th, 1849, over a year after the trek

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1. Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, p. 68.

2. Jacob A. Swisher, "Land for Sale," The Palimpsest 27(1946), 271-72.

3. Ibid., pp. 274-75. 4. Ibid., p. 275. 5. Ibid., p. 281.

across Illinois. The letter is addressed to William and Mary Tulburt, in North Carolina, and reports the Hobsons happily settled near the prairie village of Richland, Keokuk County, Iowa. He had purchased three parcels of prairie and timbered land, totaling one hundred and sixty-seven acres, for which he had paid $209.58.[1] He had also taken three choice forties of land by pre-emption, the whole cost of the lands being $330.00.[2] He was busy cutting rails and fencing his ground, attempting the while to improve the cabin which had come with the land. He wrote,

> Our Cabin is large but rough and dirty. I have commenced on it to knock out all the chunks and daubing and do it over again the way I want it . . . Where there are no trees in the way we can see folks . . . coming and going at a distance of several miles. . . . It is common in this country for a man to build his house on the highest spot he owns & commonly by the roadside.[3]

The letter is full of praise for his newly acquired land. Its rich soil, valuable timber and excellent water were beyond comparison with North Carolina's poor timber and soil, he declared, and since claims were being taken up fast, he urged his Yadkin Valley relatives to hasten their coming while land was still available nearby.[4]

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1. See Original Entry Book 1, page 28 and Book G, page 349, Jefferson County Recorder's Office, Fairfield, Iowa.

2. See Letter of William Hobson, Richland, Iowa, 6-26-1849, The original is in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

3. Quakerism in Iowa

i. Patterns of Early Settlement

The first Friends settler to appear in Iowa was one Isaac Pidgeon, who "located a claim on what is now Little Cedar Creek, about a mile and a half to the south of the present town of Salem in Henry County,"[1] in 1835. The same summer another Friend, Aaron Street, and his family joined the Pidgeons. Along with another recently arrived Quaker, these men laid out the town-site of Salem, Iowa. In 1836 and 1837, other Friends families from Indiana joined that settlement. The names of some were Hockett, Frazier, Hammer, Hoskins, Hinshaw, Stanton, Cook and Mendenhall.[2]

In 1838, the same year that Iowa achieved territorial status, the first Monthly Meeting was set up. Its opening minute reads, "Salem Monthly Meeting of Friends, first opened and held in Salem, Henry County, Iowa Territory, on the 8th day of the 10th Month 1838."[3] So many settlers were now arriving in the community that a group of Friends at Cedar Creek, four miles to the northwest, requested permission to have an Indulged Meeting,[4] in 1839. Permission was not then

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1. Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, p. 39.

2. Ibid., pp. 39-43.

3. Cited from the Minutes, Salem Monthly Meeting of Friends, 10-8-1838, by Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, p. 44.

4. The "Indulged Meeting" was then the usual first step in the formation of an officially organized body of Friends.

given by Salem Monthly Meeting, but a Preparative Meeting was set up there by January, 1841.[1]

Emigrants crossing into Iowa at the river towns of Keokuk, Fort Madison and Burlington entered the rich region of the Des Moines and Skunk river valleys, which extended northwestward into the heart of the state. Salem lies in this region, about twenty-five miles from the Mississippi River. The expansion of Quakerism in Iowa quite naturally developed farther up these promising and fertile valleys.[2]

About twenty-five miles northwest of Salem, the second settlement of Quakers in Iowa took place. This was the community of Pleasant Prairie, which name was soon changed to Pleasant Plain. Having obtained permission of Salem Monthly Meeting to have an Indulged Meeting Second Month, 3rd, 1841,[3] they were granted full Monthly Meeting status by Western Quarterly Meeting, Indiana, Eleventh Month, 12th, 1842. It thus became the second Monthly Meeting west of the Mississippi River, and was opened officially Twelfth Month, 28th, 1842.[4] From a study of the early Minutes of this

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1. Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, pp. 49-50. The Preparative Meeting was the next step in Quaker organization after an Indulged Meeting. A Monthly Meeting might be composed of several Preparative Meetings.

2. Ibid., p. 49.

3. Ibid., p. 50.

4. Minutes, Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting, 12-28-1842. The above Minutes, and other records of Iowa Yearly Meeting used in this study, are in the vault of Oskaloosa Friends Church, Oskaloosa, Iowa. Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as PPMM.

Meeting, Jones writes:

> From the very first, certificates of membership began to pour into this new Monthly Meeting from all parts of the East and South. During the nine years from 1842 to 1850 one hundred and fifty members came from various Quaker centers in Ohio, Indiana, North Carolina and Tennessee.[1]

By the time William Hobson arrived in the Pleasant Plain community, the Monthly Meeting had two Indulged Meetings of its own, one being Richland, about six miles farther northwest.[2]

ii. First Quarterly Meeting

The continuing rise of Friends settlements to the northwest and the growth of the two Monthly Meetings in Iowa led to their requesting Western Quarterly Meeting in Indiana for the establishment of their own Quarterly Meeting. Indiana Yearly Meeting of 1847 allowed the granting of the request, and the date of Fifth Month, 20th, 1848, was set for the opening of the first Quarterly Meeting west of the Mississippi. Salem Friends had erected a new brick meetinghouse large enough to accommodate the Quarterly Meeting, said to be one of the best in Indiana Yearly Meeting.[3] The presence of William Hobson at this occasion is almost certain, due to his interest in its opening as expressed in a letter, dated

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1. Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, p. 52.
2. See Letter of William Hobson, Richland, Iowa, 6-26-1849.
3. Louis T. Jones, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

Twelfth Month, 12th, 1847,[1] his later habit of attending it,[2] and the fact that he left Indiana in ample time to have been present for the opening.

iii. Early Ministry of Friends in Iowa

By Third Month, 1851, there were three Monthly Meetings in Iowa, and requests were before the Quarterly Meeting for the setting up of two more.[3] "Friends are moving to Iowa fast," William Hobson wrote in a letter to North Carolina relatives. "Our last Quarterly Meeting was very large."[4] Ministers were not essential to worship in the Iowa Friends Meetings of this period, but there was apparently no lack of vocal ministry. "It is rather remarkable that so many ministering friends should settle in so new a place," Hobson continued, "we have now upwards of 25 belonging to our Quarter Who either frequently or some times appear in public."[5]

Not only were there many resident ministers in Iowa, but traveling ministers from the Eastern Yearly Meetings of America and from England visited the new Friends settlements. English Friends Robert Lindsey and Benjamin Seebohm

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1. See Letter of William Hobson, Westfield, Ind., 12-12-1847.

2. See Letter of Evan Marshall, Henry County, Iowa, 12-22-1850, to Wm. Tulburt, and Letter of William Hobson, Richland, Iowa, 3-23-1851, to Wm. Tulburt. The originals of these two Letters are in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. To "appear in public" meant to speak in a meeting gathered for worship.

visited Iowa in the dead of winter, 1850, and Lindsey's Diary is a valuable source of information about the log and frame meetinghouses of Iowa, the hospitality of Iowans despite rough conditions of living, the conditions and costs of travel and the state of religion.[1] Lindsey describes a day's labor as follows:

> A fine bright winter's morning. The thermometer at 10° above zero. At 10 o'clock attended the usual first day morning meeting at Oakley held at the house of Laurie Tatum. Nearly all their members, & some of their neighbors were present, & it was a satisfactory meeting. At 6 in the evening we had an appointed meeting in a schoolhouse 3 miles from here, which was very crowded, & the forepart of it in consequence thereof a good deal unsettled; but thro' patient waiting a precious calm was mercifully vouchsafed, & dear Benjamin was strengthened to labor among them in right authority, & the meeting concluded to good satisfaction.[2]

Despite the hostility of nature, Seebohm and Lindsey completed a circuit of Friends Meetings that took them through central Iowa in the months of January and February. They were at Richland for the First Day morning meeting and reported the house "filled to overflowing."[3] A few days later, their work completed, they headed their carriage east

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1. See Louis T. Jones, "The Quakers of Iowa in 1850," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 12(1914), 262-86, wherein Jones edits the portion of Lindsey's Diary which pertains to Iowa, and Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, pp. 56-66.

2. Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, p. 59.

3. Ibid., p. 62.

across the bleak prairies of Illinois, having sacrificed the comforts of home, traveled for thousands of miles, and borne the hardships of the frontier in order to strengthen and encourage their brethren.[1]

William Evans and Joseph Elkinton have already been mentioned as Iowa visitors. Their journey was made in the summer of 1851, and instead of ice and snow, they had to contend with boggy prairies and sloughs. Elkinton describes a meeting near Salem, characteristic of those appointed by William Evans wherever he went.

> Attended an appointed meeting at Cedar which was large & after sitting in silence a long time Wm had considerable to say to the company--they behaved very quietly.[2]

It should be remembered that "ministry" among American Friends up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century did not necessarily refer to the public speaking or work of a recognized minister. The idea of the priesthood of all believers was carried to its logical end by Quakers, and each member was supposed to feel his or her full responsibility that "the work of Truth" should go forward.

In the pioneering era of American history, it is amazing that this system worked as well as it did. All members, including the recognized ministers, engaged in the toil of

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1. Ibid., p. 63.

2. Elkinton, "An Account of a Visit Paid to Some of the Meetings Belonging to Indiana Yearly Meeting." The entry is dated 8-5-1851.

clearing and breaking land; building shelter for family, stock and crops; spinning, weaving and providing most of the necessities of life. It might be supposed that there would have been little time for attending meetings, building houses of worship and seeing to the cure of souls, yet the system was successful, and while the Society was not making much growth at mid-point of the nineteenth century, the silent gatherings were often marked by a sense of power and inspiration that the participants felt was "to good satisfaction."

The first generation of Quakers west of the Mississippi kept largely to the ancient customs and ways. They maintained the testimony against a "hireling ministry," and dismissed members for "marrying out" and other breaches of discipline. In their silent gatherings, no utterance was heard save that which was felt to be of divine leading. Their ministers were sincere and devoted, and although "limited in their range and power of interpretation, . . . they made the spiritual hope seem real, and they bore a consistent testimony to the truth of the way of life which Christ revealed."[1]

iv. The Beginnings of Change

The influence of the Schism of 1827-1828 in stimulating renewed attention to the Scriptures has been noted. Two English Friends whose work contributed greatly to the

1. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 865-66.

increase of Bible study were Hannah Chapman Backhouse and Joseph John Gurney. The former traveled throughout American Monthly Meetings from 1830 to 1835, with a concern to provide Friends homes with Bibles and to establish First Day Scripture Schools. Her attitude is seen in the following passage from her writings:

> I suppose many disputes have arisen as to the place the Scriptures should hold, and some are very jealous of Barclay's expression of their being a secondary rule. I cannot but wish he had never used it, as it has caused so many disputes. 'First and Second' seem to me to have nothing to do with the question.[1]

Her work was especially effective in New England and Indiana Yearly Meetings,[2] and was also felt in the Meetings in Iowa, since they belonged to Indiana Yearly Meeting before 1863.

Joseph John Gurney ministered in America from 1837 to 1839, being then at the height of his scholarly powers and influence. He was a member of a prominent banking family, was well educated, deeply religious and of a refined and gracious disposition.[3] He was proficient in both classical and modern languages; developed skill in literary and textual criticism, then passed from linguistic studies to study of the Bible and theology.[4]

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1. Journal and Letters of H. C. Backhouse, pp. 183-84.
2. Russell, History of Quakerism, p. 331.
3. Thomas and Thomas, A History of Friends in America (4th ed.), p. 144.
4. Russell, p. 332.

Gurney's anti-slavery interests brought him into contact with prominent evangelicals of the Church of England, such as William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson.[1] He was also a close friend of Charles Simeon, leader of the Evangelical Movement in Anglicanism. Gurney became very active as a co-worker with Wilberforce in the British and Foreign Bible Society.[2] When Gurney came to America in 1837, his efforts were strongly directed toward acknowledgment of the Bible as the supreme religious authority and toward a literal interpretation of its meaning. In thus doing, he collided with representatives of the Quietist way of thinking, who feared that education would hamper spirituality and who regarded the study of the Bible in First Day Scripture Schools as an evidence of "creaturely activity."[3] John Wilbur, of New England Yearly Meeting, was the leader of Quietist opposition to Gurney, but he was unable to hamper Gurney's activities. The controversy eventually resulted in a small separation among Friends in New England and a serious schism among those in Ohio.

Gurney had scored a triumph for Evangelicalism in London Yearly Meeting shortly before his American visit. The London Yearly Meeting of 1836 adopted a declaration of faith

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1. Thomas and Thomas, op. cit.
2. Russell, p. 333.
3. Ibid., pp. 347, 349-50.

with regard to the authority of the Scriptures. The statement departed from Barclay's position, declaring that as to the Scriptures, "there can be no appeal from them to any other authority whatsoever,"[1] whereas Barclay had said, "we do look upon them as the only fit outward [italics supplied] judge of controversies among Christians."[2] The declaration also spoke of doctrines which Christians are "bound to believe," an innovation among Friends, who customarily allowed latitude as to interpretation of scriptural doctrines.

In his theology, Gurney had an emphasis that helped Quakers open the door to Methodist influences. Robert Barclay had closely linked justification and sanctification as two aspects of the same experience. Formally, man is pardoned, or justified by virtue of the sacrifice of the historic Christ. At the same time, man is actually made just through the power of the inward Christ, who roots out the evil seed.[3] Perfection consisted in the crucifixion and removal of sin by those who obey the light, "so as not to obey any suggestions or temptations of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning and transgressing the law of

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1. Cited from Epistles from the Y. M. of Friends held in London, Vol. II, p. 272, by Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 510.

2. Apology (Stereotype edition, 1908), p. 89.

3. Ibid., p. 198.

God, and in that respect perfect."[1] Gurney made such a strong, logical distinction between justification and sanctification,[2] that American Friends later found it easy to accept the chronological distinction between justification and sanctification as made by Methodism.

The effect of the visits in America of Hannah Chapman Backhouse, Joseph John Gurney and other English Friends from 1830 to 1850 was to weaken the ties of Quietism upon American Friends, to lower the denominational barriers and to promote the study and reading of the Scriptures.

The breaches in the traditional Quaker hedge had other causes also, than the ministrations of English traveling ministers. Social concern contributed to Gurney's broad and tolerant viewpoints, but a few American Friends were already stepping over the denominational boundary in order to cooperate with other Christians in anti-slavery societies,[3] and Bible societies.[4]

These changes seemed to come about with especial ease in the western Yearly Meetings and on the Iowa frontier.

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1. Ibid., p. 233.

2. Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney; with Selections from His Journal and Correspondence, ed. Joseph Bevan Braithwaite (3rd ed.; London: Headley Brothers, 1902), pp. 52, 272, 384. This work is hereinafter referred to as Memoirs of J. J. Gurney.

3. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 585. See also Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, p. 140.

4. Rufus M. Jones, II, 885.

Harlow Lindley describes how the process operated in Indiana.

> The outward conditions [of Indiana Friends in pioneer days] tended also to influence the spiritual life. It was easy to get out of old ruts and to adopt new methods, to look at truth from another point of view, and to express it in new and fresh terms.[1]

4. The Frontier Settlement at Honey Creek

By 1848, settlers had pushed well into central Iowa, and in that year a group of Friends in the Three Rivers Country[2] requested permission of Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting to hold an Indulged Meeting.[3] Eighteen months later, they asked to be made a Preparative Meeting, and William Hobson and others were appointed to visit them and see if their request should be granted.[4] On the ninety-mile journey, he saw choice unoccupied land much more desirable than that upon which he had settled. The timber land near Richland, which he had depended upon for fencing and farm improvements, was two and one-half miles from his home, an undesirable situation when timber and prairie could be had

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1. Harlow Lindley, "A Century of Indiana Yearly Meeting," Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, 12(1923), 21. A similar view is elaborated in Peter G. Mode, The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), pp. 100-122.

2. This referred to the fertile district between North River, Middle River and South River, three small streams which flow into the Des Moines River. The region was about 15 miles southeast of old Fort Des Moines.

3. Minutes, PPMM, 5-24-1848. 4. Minutes, PPMM, 1-12-1850.

adjoining by moving farther west. Under the latter circumstances, one could settle and improve a farm much faster, and due to the rising value of land around Richland, he saw that he could sell at a profit and settle to better advantage farther on. All of these considerations he outlined in much detail in a letter to his parents-in-law, the Tulburts, in 1851.[1]

Having determined to settle on greener pastures, the main problem was then which to select. From the letter just mentioned, it also appears that he had narrowed the choice to either the lightly settled Three Rivers Country or what was called the Big Woods on the Iowa River, which he had visited the previous winter. Only a handful of settlers were in the latter region, roughly sixty miles north by northeast of Fort Des Moines, and it represented the vanguard of northern Iowa settlements. Of the two regions, Hobson preferred the Big Woods Country with its rolling prairies and heavily timbered bottom lands.[2]

i. The Migration to Honey Creek, Iowa

The letter to William and Mary Tulburt, dated Third Month, 23rd, 1851, is the last extant letter from Hobson's hand until one dated Second Month, 4th, 1857, written from

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1. See Letter of William Hobson, Richland, Iowa, 3-23-1851.
2. Ibid.

Honey Creek,[1] Hardin County, Iowa.[2] Some time between these two dates he had resettled in the Big Woods Country, on the edge of the Indian Neutral Ground, within the bounds of the present Hardin County.

The date of the move to the Big Woods Country can be pushed back as far as Twelfth Month, 17th, 1852, for on that date his brother, David, sent him a letter addressed to Marietta Post Office,[3] Marshall County, Iowa.[4] The records of Richland Monthly Meeting[5] show Hobson engaged in activities which required his presence there as late as Third Month, 11th, 1852.[6] Sometime within the next eight days, the Hobsons began the hundred mile journey into north central Iowa that took them to Honey Creek. The date is fixed

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1. "Honey Creek" designates the rural community that grew up along a creek of that name, which flows into the Iowa River.

2. See Letter of William Hobson, Honey Creek, Iowa, 2-4-1857, to Caleb Hobson. The original is in the possession of Leota Walton, New Providence, Iowa.

3. This was the post office preferred by Hardin County pioneers. It was about twenty miles from Honey Creek.

4. See Letter of David Hobson, Sonora, Calif., 12-17-1852. The original is in the possession of Laura Blair, Newberg, Oregon.

5. Richland Monthly Meeting was set off from Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting, 5-17-1851. See Minutes, PPMM, for that date. The Hobsons and James Tulburts were members of Richland Monthly Meeting thereafter.

6. See Minutes, Richland Monthly Meeting, 3-11-1852. Richland Monthly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as RMM.

within this eight day period by a letter written Third Month, 19th, 1852, by Evan and Rachel Marshall, relatives of William Hobson, which states,

> I will hear tell you that James L & Wm & Sarah have moved up to the Honey Creek Settlement. Whether there is really more honey there than here or not I dont know & Wm. seems to think it it [sic] is very delightful Country.[1]

Care has been taken to establish the exact date of this move for several reasons. It involved an important migration of eight families from Richland, Iowa, which led to the beginning of a permanent and influential Friends community at Honey Creek. The participants kept no records, and in their efforts to recall events, shrouded the whole migration in confusion. Hobson's oldest son, Samuel, writing in 1938, being then ninety-three years of age, set the year at 1849.[2] Abel Bond, another participant writing in elderly years, omits the date and confuses the order of events.[3] The Marshall letter is the best evidence of the correct date, and

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1. See Letter of E. & R. A. Marshall, Jackson, Iowa, 3-19-1852, to Mary Tulburt. The original is in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle.

2. See Letter of Samuel Hobson, H.[untington] P.[ark], Calif., 11-9-1938, to Leota Walton, and in her possession.

3. Abel Bond, Abel Bond's Foot Travels, from the Atlantic to the Pacific (Carthage, Mo.: Press Book and Job Printing House, 1889), pp. 6-7. This work is hereinafter referred to as Abel Bond's Foot Travels.

it is verified by the Minutes of Richland Monthly Meeting, Fourth Month, 8th, 1852, wherein is recorded a request by the eight families concerned that their certificates of membership be forwarded to Spring Creek Monthly Meeting.[1]

ii. Factors in the Choice of Location

Religion was a factor in the Friends settlement at Honey Creek only insofar as the settlers were concerned to locate near enough together that they might have an organized meeting for worship and work. The factors in the actual choice of the location were all decidedly economic.

William Hobson related the attractive natural features of the Big Woods Country in his letter of Third Month, 23rd, 1851, to William Tulburt. Of first importance to him was its excellent prairie and adjacent timber lands. Due to the fall of the waters of the Iowa River, it offered ample opportunity for the running of grist mills and machinery, and moreover, the stream was abounding with good fish. Limestone was present in quantity and there was evidence of

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1. Minutes, RMM, 4-8-1852. Spring Creek was then the Monthly Meeting farthest west in Iowa. The families involved were those of William Hobson, James Tulburt, Elam Jessup, William Dobbins, William Dobbins, Jr., William Reece, James Rownsley and Abel Bond. The Dobbins' and Reeces had arrived in Iowa from North Carolina in 1851 in a party of forty persons. See Letter of Evan Marshall, Henry County, Iowa, 6-28-1851, to Mary Tulburt. The original is in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle. The Reeces and Dobbins' moved directly to Hardin County, but left their certificates of membership at Richland Monthly Meeting, while passing through.

coal. The timber contained an ample supply of maples for the production of sugar, and moreover, wild game, consisting of deer and elk, was abundant. The climate was healthful, judging by reports of the first settlers, the country having been favored by the Indians for the same reason. This points to good drainage and absence of the "ague" (malaria), which afflicted frontiersmen who settled in bottom lands. Finally, it was very thinly settled and choice lands were available.[1]

iii. First Settlers and Their Homes

The General Assembly of Iowa established the boundaries of Hardin County by an enactment of January 15, 1851.[2] Its five hundred and seventy-six square miles contained no more than a dozen families at that time,[3] and it was therefore attached to Marshall County, adjoining its southern boundary, for administrative purposes.[4]

On September 1, 1851, William Dobbins, Levi Reece, E. I. Reece and John Thornton arrived in what became Providence Township, just inside the southern boundary of the county

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1. See Letter of William Hobson, Richland, Iowa, 3-23-1851.

2. Jacob A. Swisher, "The Location of County Seats in Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 22(1924), 250.

3. History of Hardin County, Iowa, comp. Union Publishing Company (Springfield, Ill.: Union Publishing Company, 1883), p. 233. This work is hereinafter referred to as History of Hardin County.

4. Swisher, op. cit., pp. 250-51.

and located claims,[1] erecting their cabins near Honey Creek. Another small group of Friends had settled five miles to the south, in a location which later became known as Bangor, Iowa. To this group came William Hobson, James Tulburt and Elam Jessup and their families in the spring of 1852.[2] Jessup was an uncle of Hobson. The party camped near Bangor in the summer of 1852, while Hobson helped erect a cabin on his uncle's claim. When the cabin was finished, the Hobsons and Jessups shared it. Hobson, not yet having selected land, journeyed northward on horseback in the fall of 1852 and encountered the Reece-Dobbins party on the south bank of Honey Creek. These Quakers were at the edge of settlements, and as a prospective neighbor, Hobson was greeted with warmth. Not quite satisfied, he rode a mile and a half through the heavily timbered bottom lands of Honey Creek and found a pleasing prairie to the north with fine timber adjacent. The neighbors to the south and the friends and relatives at Bangor came up to Hobson's claim soon after and made short work of putting up a cabin.[3] The Hobsons

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1. History of Hardin County, p. 845.

2. See Letter of Samuel Hobson, Huntington Park, Calif., 11-9-1938. I am rejecting his dates for this migration, but accepting his chronology of events which is verified by the Minutes of Richland Monthly Meeting and the History of Hardin County.

3. Ibid.

occupied it about January 1, 1853.[1]

The belt of timber separated the Hobson cabin from sight of the Reece-Dobbins claims south of Honey Creek. To the north and west stretched the empty, undulating prairie. Writing in later years, Hobson remarked, "Was left alone awhile [today]. It caused me to recollect our loneliness of the first settling at Honey Creek in Iowa."[2]

Hobson and the other Friends at Honey Creek were in what William Julius Berry points out as the first of two waves in the settlement of north central Iowa. He describes this as a process in which the first wave came in wagons; the second with the railroads. The first wave had to be nearly self-sufficient, raising their own corn and wheat and grinding it at the mills which were soon set up by the early settlers. Elk, deer, wild ducks and geese, prairie chickens and quail were everywhere. From their own sheep came the wool that was washed, carded, spun and fashioned into their clothing. There was a demand for their products of meal, lard, poultry and meat on the part of newcomers who were fast taking up surrounding claims, but the first wave of

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1. Ibid. Samuel Hobson dates occupation of the cabin as Jan. 1, 1851, but his chronology is consistently two years early. See History of Hardin County, p. 845. See also, Original Entry Book, p. 81, Hardin County Registry of Deeds, Eldora, Iowa, where the United States Patent to Hobson is recorded 8-8-1853.

2. Diary, 4-23-1871.

settlers was all subsistence farmers with little possibility of trading extensively beyond their immediate communities.[1]

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1. William Julius Berry, "The Influence of Natural Environment in North-Central Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 25(1927), 278-81.

CHAPTER V

THE MINISTRY OF WILLIAM HOBSON IN IOWA: 1853-1875

1. Cultural Institutions in the Honey Creek Settlement

i. First Meetings for Worship

Few traces remain of the beginnings of Friends worship at Honey Creek. William Hobson apparently did not begin his diaries before First Month, 1st, 1859, and further, the records of Honey Creek Meeting prior to Sixth Month, 3rd, 1860, were destroyed by a tornado which struck the community on that date, leveling the home of the clerk where the records were kept.[1]

The Dobbins and Reeces can be presumed to have had some sort of religious gatherings in their homes after they settled along Honey Creek in 1851, but the first meeting of record was in 1852. This was held in William Reece's cabin, and benches for the occasion were built by William Hobson and Abel Bond.[2]

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1. Minutes, Honey Creek Monthly Meeting, 6-19-1860. Honey Creek Monthly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as HCMM.

2. Bond, p. 7.

There were those in the region who did not welcome the coming of such a stabilizing influence as religion. Bond writes,

> We were very much opposed by various obstacles in our new homes. Those who were scattered over that then unorganized settlement were for the first few months disturbed by a band of horse thieves and Sabbath breakers who gave me to understand no one could come in there and build up a church, but by the aid of our friends coming to our assistance, still trusting in the Lord, we were enabled to establish a permanent meeting, and thus hold the fort despite the threats of those vile Sabbath breakers,[1] who soon left the country.[2]

The following extract from the Minutes of Salem Quarterly Meeting fixes the opening of an officially recognized Meeting at Honey Creek as sometime in the fall of 1852:

> By the reports from Spring Creek monthly meeting it appears that the friends of Honey Creek in Harden Co Iowa request the privilege of holding a meeting for worship on first and fifth days of each week and a preparative on fifth day preceeding the fourth seventh day in each month and to be known by the name of Honey Creek preparative meeting and after a time of deliberation thereon was united with by this and mens meeting and and [sic] said monthly meeting [Spring Creek] directed to attend the opening thereof at the time proposed.[3]

Three months later, the Minutes of Salem Quarterly Meeting record: "It appears that Honey Creek preparative Meeting

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1. "Sabbath breakers" here seems to signify those who would disrupt or interfere with worship.

2. Bond, Ibid.

3. Women's Minutes, Salem Quarterly Meeting, 8-21-1852.

has been opened according to direction."[1] This is also in accordance with the History of Hardin County, which relates that this Preparative Meeting was held at the house of William Dobbins.[2]

The Honey Creek Preparative Meeting apparently met in homes for nearly two years, for the first meetinghouse, "a double log building," was not erected until 1854. This building burned down, and another was erected to replace it in 1859.[3] According to the compilers of the History of Hardin County, "Mr. Reece and Mr. Hobson were quite active in the erection of the building, and deserve credit for their self-sacrificing labors."[4] It was located two miles south of the village of New Providence and half a mile west. Four years after its beginnings as a Preparative Meeting, a Monthly Meeting was authorized at Honey Creek by action of Pleasant Plain Quarterly Meeting, and was first held Tenth Month, 21st, 1856.[5]

ii. The First School

After homes were built and a meeting for worship organized, the Quakers settling along Honey Creek turned their

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1. Women's Minutes, Salem Quarterly Meeting, 11-20-1852.
2. P. 860.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. A record of this action was made in the Minutes, HCMM, 6-19-1860, being the first meeting held after the tornado.

attention to the need of education. The first schoolhouse, located near the meetinghouse,[1] was built some time in 1854, and the school was taught by James L. Tulburt.[2] William Hobson mentioned in a letter to his father that his children had to go one and a half miles to school, "mostly through the timber."[3] It apparently was soon made a district school, because a notation in the Minutes of the Meeting in 1861 indicates that Honey Creek Meeting operated no school of its own, preferring to throw its influence into support of the district schools.[4]

2. Organization of Hardin County

i. Establishment of the County Seat

Hardin County was not yet established at the time of the 1850 census, but Marshall County, adjoining to the south, then had a population of only three hundred and thirty-eight persons.[5] By June, 1853, enough settlers had taken claims in Hardin County for it to be given a status independent of Marshall County, and a central site was selected

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1. Interview with Leota Walton, New Providence, Iowa, July 2, 1961.

2. History of Hardin County, p. 864.

3. See Letter of William Hobson, Honey Creek, Iowa, 1-12-1861. The original is in the possession of Leota Walton.

4. Minutes, HCMM, 7-23-1861.

5. History of Hardin County, p. 68.

for the county seat and named Eldora.[1] In January, 1854, a post office was established there, relieving the settlers of the long journey into the next county to receive and post mail.[2] Eldora was about eight miles north and two miles east of the Honey Creek settlement.

ii. Beginnings of Commerce

The first mercantile enterprise in the county was established at Eldora in 1853. The owners dealt in general merchandise, and bought much of what farmers had to sell.[3] Honey Creek residents soon could trade closer at hand, however, for the town of New Providence was laid out in 1855, two miles north of Honey Creek. General merchandise was sold there by Calvin McCracken as early as 1856.[4] New Providence is near the north end of Providence Township, and both the township and village have been predominantly populated by Quakers since the original settlement. The need for mills to grind grain and saw lumber was met early in Hardin County,[5] and by 1860, a carding mill at Marshalltown, twenty-five miles to the south, relieved part of the tedious task of producing one's own homespun clothing.[6]

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1. Swisher, "The Location of County Seats in Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 22(1924), 250-51.

2. History of Hardin County, pp. 613-14.

3. Ibid., p. 632.

4. Ibid., p. 870.

5. Ibid., pp. 864-65.

6. Diary, 7-11-1860.

The early commerce of the county was on little more than a subsistence basis, however, until Eldora was connected by railroad to the East in 1868.[1] Only then was it profitable to bring production in the county up to the level of which the land was capable.

3. Farming as an Adjunct of Religious Ministry

i. Necessity of Self-Support

It was wholly in keeping with the mid-nineteenth century Quaker concept of the ministry that William Hobson should follow his calling as a preacher, while at the same time making his living as a farmer. The protest of early Friends against the mercenary spirit in the ministry was still so valued and actively maintained that it had not occurred to them that it would be right to support a minister and his family with a living salary. Robert Barclay had acknowledged the fairness of such support in 1675,[2] but nonetheless pleaded so logically for a class of ministers "whose hands supply their own necessities, working honestly for bread to themselves and their families,"[3] that that viewpoint prevailed among Quakers for the next two hundred years.

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1. History of Hardin County, pp. 506-07.
2. Apology (Stereotype edition, 1908), p. 314.
3. Ibid., p. 327.

ii. Pioneer Farming in Iowa

William Hobson was thirty-two years of age when he began improving his Hardin County claim in the winter of 1852-1853. Photographs made of him about this time and in later life[1] show him to have been a rather large-boned, tall man with the appearance of considerable muscular strength. His hair was worn long, combed straight down in bangs over a somewhat high forehead, and well down over the ears and back of the neck. This style was occasionally followed by Quakers adhering to strict plainness in personal appearance,[2] but it is not often seen in photographs of other Friends of this period. Hobson maintained it all of his life.

Although he kept detailed records of farming activities after 1859, Hobson left few written evidences of the early pioneering years. No doubt there was little time for writing in a life requiring the arduous breaking of prairie; working timber into rails for fences and into shelters for livestock; making one's own tools and machinery, and journeying to mills and markets by team and wagon.

His farming activities of the years 1859-1870 indicate a rather busy existence for him, especially during growing and harvesting season. He customarily had crops of corn,

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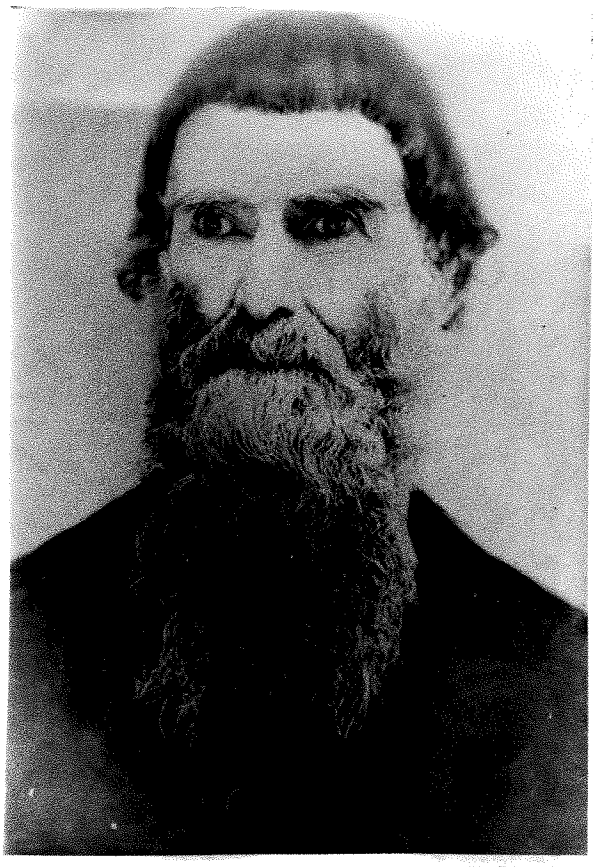
1. These photographs are in the possession of Leota Walton, New Providence, Iowa, and Leota Walton, Newberg, Oregon.

2. See a remark on this practice in Allen Jay, Autobiography of Allen Jay (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1910), p. 43.



WILLIAM HOBSON

wheat, sorghum cane, hay and oats under cultivation.[1] The garden produced prodigious quantities, bearing fifty bushels each of potatoes and turnips in one year.[2] In off-seasons, the diaries report him busy at hauling load after load of wood from the timber, butchering beef, hogs and mutton, shearing sheep, going to mill with grain to grind, logs to saw or wool for carding.[3] At harvest times, he and the neighbors often pooled their horses and hands, and worked together on the several farms until the crops were in.[4] As late as 1872, Hobson and his sons were still breaking prairie, thereby enlarging cultivated ground and producing ever larger harvests from the deep, black soil of Hardin County.[5]

A special agricultural interest which he began following early in his Iowa years was the growing of fruit trees. A Diary entry of Fifth Month, 7th, 1859, mentions working on his apple trees, obviously well established at that time, and later Diary entries record large scale additions. In 1862, he set out sixty-five trees in two days.[6] By 1872, the

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1. Diary, 7-11-1859; 8-3-1859; 9-26-1859; 7-19-1861; 11-15-1864; 11-25-1872.

2. Diary, 10-10-1859; 10-28-1859.

3. Diary, 7-6-1859 to 7-12-1860.

4. Diary, 10-19-1859 to 10-24-1859.

5. Diary, 10-1-1872.

6. Diary, 4-28,29-1862.

apple orchard was producing two hundred bushels per year.[1] As will be seen later in this study, Hobson's horticultural interests led him to look with special interest upon the Pacific Northwest.

As late as 1873, however, he was still fond of Iowa, as the following Diary entry suggests:

> Iowa is becoming beautiful again as she doth each summer as she becomes clothed with a green coat. Soon she will show her flowers then quickly her fruit . . . Her small grain is about 3 months from the sowing. Her Corn Crop in 5 months from planting. Her Apple Crop, from 3 to 5 months from the time of blooming. After a long and cold winter she gives us a pleasant and productive summer so very good that it seems at least to largely make amends for the hardest winter.[2]

4. Religious Journeys: 1859-1870

i. Recognition as a Minister

The History of Hardin County relates that William Hobson was a recognized minister when the group of Friends first began meeting together at Honey Creek in 1852.[3] No substantiation of this can be found, however, in the records of any Monthly Meeting of which he had been a member. It appears, therefore, that he was not recognized by Friends as a minister until early in the year 1859. Honey Creek Preparative Meeting sent the following notice up to Western

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1. Diary, 10-9-1872. 2. Diary, 5-11-1873.

3. P. 860.

Plain Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders held Third Month, 4th, 1859: "Honey Creek Preparative, informs that William Hobson had been acknowledged a Minister."[1] Due to the caution of Friends in recognizing ministers, it may be that he had been "appearing in the ministry" for several years before he was "recognized" in 1859.

ii. First Religious Journeys

William Hobson was thirty-nine years of age when he set off on his first religious visit, Second Month, 6th, 1859. He was accompanied by Eli Jessup, another minister, and had a "minute of concurrence" from Honey Creek Monthly Meeting certifying that he was a minister with whom the Meeting had unity.[2] The purpose of the journey was to visit the Meetings of Salem and Pleasant Plain quarters.[3] About three hundred and fifty miles of travel was involved in this journey to southeastern Iowa, which required four weeks to complete. The Diary makes no other comment regarding the trip beyond noting dates of departure and return.

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1. Minutes, Western Plain Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 3-4-1859. So many Friends Meetings had grown up around Bangor, Iowa, that a Quarterly Meeting was set up there in 1858, of which Honey Creek Monthly Meeting became a part. Minutes, Western Plain Quarterly Meeting, 6-7-1858. After 1860, it was known as Bangor Quarterly Meeting. It will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as BQM.

2. Minutes, Salem Quarterly Meeting, 2-19-1859.

3. Diary, 2-5-1859; 3-2-1859.

A lengthy journey made in 1860 could easily be missed, if one depended upon Hobson's Diary alone. Penciled faintly along the margin by the date of Fourth Month, 21st, 1860, are the words, "Started to N. C." A strange hand thereupon makes daily entries in the Diary, recording local Honey Creek events, until Seventh Month, 1st, 1860, the date of Hobson's apparent return to Honey Creek. The tornado of 1860 destroyed the Meeting's records while he was away, obliterating evidence which would normally be in the records, setting forth the purpose of the journey and expressing the Meeting's sanction. Since the anticipated travel was outside the limits of Bangor Quarterly Meeting, however, Hobson had to have the approval of that body, resulting in the following action being recorded in its Minutes:

> Our Beloved friend William Hobson, a minister of the Gospel with whom we have unity, expressed in this meeting a belief that it would be right for him to make a visit to his friends and relations in the state of North Carolina; and to appoint in the love of the Gospel some meetings while thare [sic] for friends and others; and also to appoint some meetings on the way going and returning all as way should open in the light of truth as expressed in the within certificate from Honey Creek Mo. Meeting after a time of consideration this meeting united with him therein and left him at liberty to attend thereto as best Wisdom may direct.[1]

If Hobson kept notes of the journey to North Carolina, they have not survived. What meetings he may have attended

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1. Women's Minutes, BQM, 3-3-1860.

or appointed are unknown. It is probable that his main concern was to visit his father and other relatives.

Although most of Stephen Hobson's children had left the South before the Civil War, he elected to remain there, where he was prospering in the manufacturing of iron and the amassing of real estate. After the Civil War broke, he manufactured iron for the Confederacy. Quaker conscientious objectors in the Deep Creek vicinity were freed from military service on condition they work in the Hobson forge.[1] At the end of the war, Hobson was paid off by the Confederacy in worthless script.[2]

Hobson records no journeys of any consequence during 1861 and 1862. He began teaching school in Twelfth Month, 1861,[3] (apparently the nearby district school) which continued through that winter until Fourth Month, 1862.[4] The diaries record regular attendance at Honey Creek Meeting on First Days, and at Bangor Quarterly Meeting every three months, as well as frequent journeys to visit other Friends Meetings belonging to Bangor Quarter.

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1. Fernando Cartland, Southern Heroes, or the Friends in War Time, (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895), pp. 221-22.

2. Davis, Hobson: Descendants of George and Elizabeth Hobson, p. 154. The massive water-powered hammer from Stephen Hobson's forge was recently found by Thero C. Hobson, Boonville, N. C., and placed in his front yard as an historical relic.

3. Diary, 12-17-1861.

4. Diary, 4-7-1862.

In his earliest years as a minister, Hobson was content with simple notations in the diaries that he had attended this or that meeting. In the fall of 1862, more details begin to appear, indicating greater participation in meetings, sometimes, as he said, "to the peace of my own mind,"[1] or that a "favored" meeting had been held.[2] He used no sermon notes, of course, for that would be "creaturely activity," nor prepared a formal discourse of any kind. The content of his preaching is thus quite beyond recovery.

Hobson's diaries are almost entirely silent in regard to the Civil War and the tragic events which were stirring the nation in the years 1861-1865. He considered all wars a great wickedness and an evidence that those who participated in them were joined to the world. When his brother Caleb sent him a military Land Warrant from North Carolina in 1857, asking William to secure Iowa land with it,[3] the warrant was returned in a withering letter in which he implored Caleb to return to the ways of righteousness.[4] Caleb Hobson later served in the Confederate Army and was killed. The manner of his death was a great grief to William.[5]

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1. Diary, 9-21-1862.
2. Diary, 2-26-1863.
3. The United States issued Land Warrants as payment for certain military services rendered the government. See Lokken, Iowa: Public Land Disposal, pp. 138-41.
4. See Letter of William Hobson, Honey Creek, Iowa, 2-4-1857. The Letter is in the possession of Leota Walton.
5. Hobson, "Journal," pp. 33-39.

iii. Ministry in Iowa, Missouri and Kansas

By 1863, Hobson's sons were maturing and the farm was well enough established to be left in others' charge, permitting him to make more frequent journeys.[1] With Robert King as a companion, he set out to Winneshiek County of northern Iowa on First Month, 25th, 1863. He visited families and attended Fairview and Winneshiek Monthly Meetings, estimating their readiness to be set up as an independent Quarterly Meeting.[2] The journey was made by spring wagon in temperatures as low as fifteen degrees below zero, and required fifteen days of travel before he was again home at Honey Creek.[3]

In about a fortnight he began another journey, this one of seven days, visiting homes, schools and Meetings not far from Honey Creek. On this occasion, he was especially concerned to find whether or not the homes he visited owned copies of the Scriptures, and, if not, to supply them. He also distributed tracts.[4]

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1. The names and birth dates of the children of William and Sarah Hobson are as follows: Samuel, 10-8-1845; Rachel, 12-30-1846; Stephen, 12-22-1849; Mary, 7-13-1852; Jesse, 6-13-1857; Anna, 5-4-1859. The Family Record is in the possession of Laura Blair.

2. Minutes, Winneshiek Monthly Meeting, 1-31-1863.

3. Diary, 1-25-1863 to 2-8-1863.

4. Diary, 2-25-1863 to 3-2-1863.

The most interesting of Hobson's journeys during 1863 was a trip which took him to some of the Friends Meetings south of Des Moines, onward through northwestern Missouri and into the central parts of eastern Kansas. On this journey he accompanied John S. Bond, one of the young and capable preachers who was later to be influential in the transformation of Iowa Quakerism.

Bond had located on a farm in Hardin County in 1854,[1] and was acknowledged a minister by action of Bangor Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in 1862.[2] He was a member of Honey Creek Monthly Meeting by 1863, for he appeared before the Meeting held Fourth Month, 21st, 1863, expressing a concern to appoint meetings in parts of Iowa, Kansas and Missouri. This "claiming the solid consideration of Friends was fully united with."[3] William Hobson expressed the same concern and believing it right to accompany his friend, was liberated and encouraged thereto.[4]

On Fifth Month, 21st, they left Honey Creek by team and wagon;[5] visited two schools before sunset and stopped beside their wagon to spend the night. They arrived at Des Moines

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1. History of Hardin County, p. 846.

2. Minutes, BQM of Ministers and Elders, 2-28-1862.

3. Minutes, HCMM, 4-21-1863. 4. Ibid.

5. The trip was apparently timed in order to attend the sessions of Kansas Quarterly Meeting, held at Cottonwood meetinghouse, near Emporia, Kansas, 6-6-1863.

the next day, where Hobson unloaded the wool from his spring shearing and left it to be spun into yarn. By evening they were in the Three Rivers Country south of Des Moines, where they spent several days visiting in homes of the Quaker community, attending South River Monthly Meeting and other appointed meetings. By the evening of the 29th, they had progressed well into southwestern Iowa, and finding no lodging, again they spent the night on the prairie. On the 31st, they were with relatives at Savannah, Missouri, and the next day entered Kansas by ferrying the Missouri River at St. Joseph.[1]

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 had raised the possibility of Kansas' coming into the Union as a slave state, and Quakers and other opponents of slavery who settled on the new lands hoped to make it free by the process of popular sovereignty.[2] George M. Harvey took land there in 1854, and he seems to have been the first Friend to settle in Kansas. A settlement was begun in 1855 about sixteen miles west of Leavenworth, which later became known as Springdale.[3]

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1. Diary, 5-21-1863 to 6-1-1863.

2. Friends had been operating a mission among the Shawnee Indians since 1837, but active settlement did not begin until the territory was opened by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. See Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, Friends and the Indians: 1655-1917 (Philadelphia: Published by the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917), p. 144.

3. Sheldon Glenn Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends (Wichita, Kans.: Day's Print Shop, 1946), pp. 23-25.

By the fall of 1855, there were three communities of Friends in Kansas--one at Springdale, one on the Cottonwood River a few miles west of the present city of Emporia, and one near Osawatomie, which was given the name Spring Grove. About two hundred Quakers were in the territory by 1858,[1] and Spring Grove became the first Monthly Meeting in 1859.[2] Kansas Monthly Meeting was established at Springdale, and Cottonwood Monthly Meeting was set up in 1860. These three Meetings were united into a Quarterly Meeting by Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1862.[3]

In addition to the usual hardships of pioneering, Kansas settlers were subject from the beginnings to alarms and tension as a result of the struggles between pro-slavery and free-soil forces. Life and property were not safe, but, although the territory earned the name "Bleeding Kansas," apparently no Friends suffered physical violence.[4] By 1863, the worst days of conflict were almost over, but the depredations of Bushwhackers from Missouri were still a serious threat. In May, 1863, one of Quantrill's men, Dick Yaeger, led a foray one hundred and thirty miles into the state, burning, robbing, looting and killing as he went. Quantrill himself was active and dangerous in the eastern counties,

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1. Ibid., p. 28. 2. Ibid., p. 38.

3. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 863.

4. Ibid., p. 850.

and so many settlers had fled that the Lawrence Journal reported the border counties nearly depopulated.[1]

It was to encourage and build up Quakers living under such conditions as these that John Bond and William Hobson journeyed into "Bleeding Kansas" in 1863. They went under a deep concern, not only for Friends but for the soldiers and other settlers of Kansas and Missouri embroiled in the bitterness and violence of border warfare.[2]

Four days after entering Kansas, they had traveled one hundred and thirty miles farther and reached their destination at Cottonwood, where Kansas Quarterly Meeting was to be held the next day.[3] Hobson's notes regarding that occasion are brief, and nothing can be gathered as to his ministry on that day, nor from the Minutes of the Meeting which record the standard entry: "Our beloved friend William Hobson a minister, acceptably attended this meeting and produced a minute of unity and concurrence from Honey Creek monthly meeting of Friends, Iowa."[4] The meeting was held in

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1. Albert Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865 (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 116.

2. Diary, 7-9-1863; 7-11-1863; 7-13-1863.

3. Diary, 6-5-1863.

4. Minutes, Kansas Quarterly Meeting, 6-6-1863. These Minutes, and the other records of Kansas Yearly Meeting, are deposited in the vault of University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas.

Cottonwood's new meetinghouse, built in the old fashioned way, with gallery for ministers and elders, and with the familiar movable partition in the center for dividing men's and women's business meetings.[1] Next day being First Day, they were in attendance again at Cottonwood, which Hobson notes was very large.[2]

On the following day, they journeyed eight miles up the Neosho River to the northwest, where the Kaw Indian Mission was located. It was under direction of Quakers by authority of the United States, and had Mahlon and Rachel Stubbs as superintendents, with Thomas and Mary Stanley as concerned helpers. Bond and Hobson held a meeting in the Stanley home, then went to visit the mission school. They found about thirty children in attendance out of a tribe of around nine hundred. The children were taught by a young woman, Martha Townsend, "mostly from the blackboard," Hobson observes, adding that "their order & progress in learning is good."[3]

The next day they again visited the school and also a tribal council of several chiefs of the Kaws. Hobson "imparted some counsel to them through an Indian Interpreter," he relates.[4] The Indians were living in about one hundred

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1. Rufus M. Jones, I, 853.

2. Diary, 6-7-1863.

3. Diary, 6-8-1863.

4. Diary, 6-9-1863.

and fifty stone houses built by the government, and some of them had farms of wheat and corn that looked well.[1]

They stayed in Emporia community long enough to attend Fifth Day meeting on the 11th, of which Hobson recorded, "There are many Precious Friends here."[2] Some were his relatives, among them being Abel Bond, one of the earliest of American Friends to visit the Pacific Northwest with only religious interests in view.[3]

On the two-day journey eastward from Emporia toward Spring Grove Meeting, Hobson viewed the land from an agriculturist's viewpoint, and left his opinion in his Diary.[4] They passed much good land and much which was stony. Timber was scarce. Crops looked well and cattle were fat, but some fruit trees which they saw were badly damaged by frost.[5]

Upon arriving at Spring Grove, they put up at the home of Simon Jones,[6] a North Carolinian whose hospitable cabin was often opened to visiting ministers.[7] The next being First Day, they attended the regular morning meeting and appointed a second in the afternoon.[8] The following morning

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1. Diary, 6-8,9,10-1863.
2. Diary, 6-11-1863.
3. Bond, Abel Bond's Foot Travels, pp. 35-39. In this dissertation, see page 225.
4. This was a common practice on all of his journeys.
5. Diary, 6-12,13-1863.
6. Diary, 6-13-1863.
7. Rufus M. Jones, II, 859.
8. Diary, 6-14-1863.

they headed their wagon northward toward Springdale Meeting, about a seventy mile journey, having by-passed it earlier in order to attend the Quarterly Meeting at Cottonwood. On Sixth Month, 16th, they passed through Lawrence, which Hobson noted as "a thriving town With many blacks & Indians among the Inhabitants."[1] Had he passed through sixty-six days later, he would have described a different scene, for on that day the city lay a smoking, looted ruin, with one hundred and eighty-three of its men and boys dead by the hands of Quantrill's guerrilla raiders.[2]

On the evening of the 17th, they arrived in the Springdale settlement and were hospitably entertained by Eli Wilson,[3] who had been one of the first three or four Friends to settle in Kansas.[4] Neither Hobson nor Bond had been well when they reached Springdale. By the 20th, Bond was seriously ill, but Hobson was then well enough to care for him. On First Day, Hobson attended meeting at Springdale, "to the peace of my own mind," he records, adding, "we are very kindly cared for by Eli Wilson & family at whose house we stay."[5] The entry for the same day includes the following:

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1. Diary, 6-16-1863.

2. Jay Monaghan, Civil War on the Western Border: 1854-1865 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955), pp. 280-88.

3. Diary, 6-17-1863.

4. Jackson, p. 24.

5. Diary, 6-20,21-1863.

> We often think of our homes & families But dont see any prospect of being able to do them any good soon personally for I am not much well & John very sick & a long road and much service seems to lay between us and home.

According to Hobson's entry on the 23rd, rumors of guerrillas were about, but their horses were still safe. He also noted on that day that Bond was better. Until Seventh Month, 1st, Bond fluctuated between improvement and relapse. By the 3rd, he was definitely mending. On the 8th, they attended Springdale Meeting, held a final "sitting" with Friends at Eli Wilson's and were ready to depart.[1]

On Seventh Month, 9th, they were journeying homeward, but with much work yet in view. They passed through Leavenworth, Kansas, that day, visited a colored school and a Catholic school, but found the latter having vacation. Hobson conversed with a priest as follows:

> Talked a little with a priest who appeared disposed to close up all doors to light on religious matter; except through the Catholic source. Was unwilling; or expressed unwillingness To talk with Protestants on religious subjects. Unless they came to him Purposely to be instructed. And if otherwise he considered it an annoyance to him. I told him that I had come in love to see them & thought I might converse a little with him without giving offence. . . . And [I] assured him that on my part I should leave him friendly.[2]

The journey from Leavenworth to St. Joseph, Missouri, was uneventful and on the 11th they were again at Savannah,

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1. Diary, 6-23-1863 to 7-8-1863.

2. Diary, 7-9-1863.

the seat of Andrew County, Missouri. Here they remained for several days among Hobson's relatives, distributing tracts and appointing meetings in this non-Friends community. Two meetings were held "to good satisfaction" on the 12th, with a general turnout and favored meetings at which they both spoke.[1]

This region seemed to attract their special attention, possibly because it was heavily posted with Federal troops.[2] Southern sentiment dominated in western Missouri, it being populated with people whose family ties and culture were Southern. Rather than serve in Union forces, many of these men became guerrillas or fled to the South. Missourians who did enter Federal service were radical Unionists, bitterly hating the Secessionists, and were always ready to do battle with Southern-sympathizing guerrillas.[3] Hobson and Bond spoke to a crowd of about four or five hundred in a meeting at the courthouse, of whom around one hundred were soldiers. Hobson relates that it "was a quiet & a favored meeting," and that "we were favored to declare the word of life with boldness. A Methodist preacher Spake in commendation of [what] had been spoken."[4]

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1. Diary, 7-10,11,12-1863.
2. Diary, 5-31-1863; 7-13-1863.
3. Castel, pp. 106-07.
4. Diary, 7-13-1863.

On the 18th, they were in Oregon, seat of Holt County, where Hobson relates that they "had much trial to know whether to have a meeting in this place." Finally feeling clear, they "gave out a meeting" for the next afternoon, of which the Diary only records that it was large.[1]

Their service was now nearing its completion. The night of Seventh Month, 20th, they stopped near Sidney, Iowa. By the 24th, they were at Des Moines, and late the next evening arrived home at Honey Creek.[2] In the next Monthly Meeting, the clerk summarized their report of the journey as follows:

> Our beloved friends John S. Bond and William Hobson informed this meeting that, in the performance of the religious service for which they were liberated in 4th Mo. last, they have visited most of the meetings of South River Quarter, all the established meetings of Friends in Kansas, Friends' Mission school among the Kansas Indians, and the school for colored children in Leavenworth, where they also held a public meeting for the colored people. They held 6 meetings in Andrew co. and one in the county seat of Polk[3] co. Mo. And in all their journeyings and religious engagments [sic] way was made for them in the minds of the people, to their admiration; which they acknowledge to have been the Lord's doings, and marvellous in their eyes; and for which they desire to ascribe all praise, honor, and glory to Him "who openeth and none can shut."[4]

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1. Diary, 7-19-1863.

2. Diary, 7-20-1863 to 7-25-1863.

3. The clerk evidently misunderstood "Polk" for "Holt."

4. Minutes, HCMM, 8-18-1863.

iv. Later Journeys in Iowa

In the winter of 1863-1864, William Hobson, John S. Bond and a younger minister by name of Stacey E. Bevan made a twenty-seven day visit to the Meetings belonging to Bear Creek Monthly Meeting. The region involved lies about thirty to forty miles southwest of Des Moines. Since many of the villages and hamlets which Hobson mentions have now disappeared, it is difficult to trace their exact itinerary.

The trip began Twelfth Month, 10th, 1863, and was timed in order that they might attend Bear Creek Monthly Meeting on the 13th of that month.[1] The next day they turned their attention to visiting the Preparative Meetings belonging to the Monthly Meeting; to the appointing of meetings in schoolhouses and to family visitation. They were hampered by very severe weather during the journey, so cold that on some days it was not safe to venture out of doors, because of the danger of freezing.[2]

This trip is especially significant, in that Hobson's record of it furnishes some of the earliest evidence of changes which eventually transformed much of Iowa Quakerism. Stacey E. Bevan was not yet a recognized minister, but he

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1. Diary, 12-13-1863. Hobson here incorrectly calls it "Quarterly" Meeting.

2. Diary, 12-17-1863; 12-31-1863.

was earnest and powerful in his preaching.[1] He and Bond were both well suited to working together, since each was inclined to the bold abandonment of old and tried ways if new methods seemed more promising.[2] Hobson appears to have let them take the lead in the visitation of the Bear Creek community, and they introduced methods which were as yet unusual among Friends. These were the holding of night meetings and the holding of meetings especially for youth.

Results were produced at Bear Creek quite beyond what Hobson and Bond had achieved in Kansas, and they were results with which Hobson was obviously pleased. Good and favored meetings are reported in the Diary almost each day that they were in the Bear Creek settlement. On Twelfth Month, 23rd, the first night meeting for youth was held at Summit Grove, which Hobson reports as "a very precious meeting."[3] On the 27th they held a similar gathering for youth at Bear Creek Meeting. "Had a youth meeting in the evening," Hobson records. "John and Stacey were favored to speak largely to the people. I felt easy by delivering a few words near the close."[4] Seven days later, they held a meeting in a schoolhouse, which is reported as "a refreshing

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1. He was a member of Bangor Monthly Meeting and was recorded as a minister 7-15-1865. See William Wade Hinshaw Index.

2. Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, p. 164.

3. Diary, 12-23-1863.

4. Diary, 12-27-1863.

season. Several appeared in prayer & in Testimony."[1] On First Month, 5th, they were again safely home, and Hobson records in his Diary of that date that most of the meetings had been "seasons of great favor & manifestations of the Lord's power."

The events just described are the earliest in Hobson's diaries of happenings in Friends Meetings beyond the merely routine. The crystallizing effects of Quietism were only beginning to be overcome, and custom, habit and routine were the forces operating in Quakerism.[2] Two periods of religious awakening had come and gone in American history without diverting Friends from their own serene and exclusive course. The great losses Friends had suffered through the rigid policy of disownments were being offset by the addition of birthright members, but outsiders were not being won in sizeable numbers.[3] Something that could free Quakers from the paralysis of Quietism was still needed. The events described by Hobson on his Bear Creek journey indicate the stirring of a new spirit in one segment of Iowa Quakerism--the shaking off of the old and the putting on of the new.

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1. Diary, 1-3-1864.
2. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 904.
3. Ibid.

Many of Hobson's Iowa journeys were made during the winter months, after the crops were in and before it was time to prepare ground for spring sowing. Early in 1865, he was off again on such a trip to the Meetings of South River Quarter, a few miles south of Des Moines. It was a ten-day journey, of which his Diary makes only brief comments.[1]

There is a break of five years in the Hobson diaries, from Seventh Month, 1865, to Eleventh Month, 1870. If he kept diaries during those years, they are not extant. The Minutes of Honey Creek Monthly Meeting indicate his activity in the work of the Meeting,[2] and certificates were granted authorizing travel in the ministry as he should feel led,[3] but it appears impossible to recover any of the details of these religious journeys.

5. Growth of Quakerism in Iowa

i. Iowa Yearly Meeting

By 1858, Indiana Yearly Meeting had established four Quarterly Meetings in Iowa, Salem, 1848; Pleasant Plain, 1852; Red Cedar, 1858; and Western Plain, 1858. Discussions began in 1858 between the Quarterly Meetings relative to the necessity of a Yearly Meeting of their own. This resulted

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1. Diary, 1-7-1865 to 1-16-1865.

2. See page 184.

3. Minutes, HCMM, 4-28-1866; 2-22-1868; 5-22-1869.

in the granting of authority by Indiana Yearly Meeting for Iowans to establish their own Yearly Meeting. The date set for the opening was Ninth Month, 10th, 1863.[1]

Spring Creek meetinghouse, near Oskaloosa, Iowa, was chosen as the site for holding the first Yearly Meeting of Iowa Friends. On the opening day, the appointed representatives from the Quarterly Meetings of Iowa were present,[2] as were many other members of the Iowa Meetings. The attendance was estimated at from 1,200 to 1,300, being enlarged by visitors from Eastern Yearly Meetings and because the Conference of Teachers and Delegates from Friends' First-Day Schools in the United States was also meeting there, in conjunction with Iowa Yearly Meeting.[3]

In the organizing of Iowa Quakerism, the Yearly Meeting appointed large committees to carry into effect its concerns for the coming year, among them being a committee on First-Day Scripture Schools, another for the work among "people of color," a committee on education, and a committee to have charge of distributing books and tracts.[4] William Hobson was among those appointed to the committee on First-Day

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1. Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, pp. 75-78.

2. William Hobson was one of the ten representatives from Bangor Quarterly Meeting. See Minutes of Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1863, p. 8. Iowa Yearly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as IYM.

3. Louis T. Jones, op. cit., p. 81.

4. Ibid., p. 83.

Scripture Schools, which was directed to follow the procedure of Indiana Yearly Meeting in regard to such schools, and to make a report to next Yearly Meeting.[1]

To carry on the official work of the Yearly Meeting between its annual sessions, a twenty-five member Meeting for Sufferings[2] was named, among whom was William Hobson. It was directed to hold two annual meetings and empowered to meet by adjournment if necessary.[3]

The Yearly Meeting of 1863 closed in a spirit of harmony and enthusiasm. The members of the new Yearly Meeting were mainly young and middle-aged Friends with the courage, vigor and determination needed to transform Iowa's barren prairies into prosperous farms. Among them were many who were flexible and dynamic in spirit, ready to adapt themselves to whatever the environment required. The tide of migration was bringing more of that sort, and the future of Iowa Quakerism appeared prosperous.

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1. Minutes of IYM, 1863, pp. 12-13.

2. The Meeting for Sufferings had its origin in London Yearly Meeting during the persecutions of the seventeenth century. It was to care for those suffering under persecutions and to collect facts relative to the same between sessions of Yearly Meeting. It gradually came to deal with all matters concerning the Yearly Meeting in the interim between annual gatherings. In the nineteenth century it was still called the Meeting for Sufferings, but survives today in the various Yearly Meetings under the name, "Permanent Board," "Executive Council," and the like.

3. Minutes of IYM, 1863, p. 15.

ii. Formation and Growth of
Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting

As has been seen, the Friends settling along Honey Creek were first a Preparative Meeting under Spring Creek Monthly Meeting.[1] The community had grown so rapidly that Honey Creek became a Monthly Meeting in 1856,[2] made up of the Preparative Meetings now established in the vicinity. By 1855, these Meetings had grown sufficiently in strength to permit the establishment of Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting by authority of Iowa Yearly Meeting.[3]

The commercial center of the community was the village of New Providence. A Friends meetinghouse was constructed there in 1865, being about the first building erected.[4] The town gained the reputation of being solidly religious and peaceful, so that when two of its young citizens got into an altercation over a horse and bloodied each other's noses, the Eldora Ledger was shocked and used its editorial columns to hope it would not happen again.[5]

Exemplifying the forward-looking spirit of the Providence township Quakers was the desire which rose among them

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1. See page 153. 2. See page 154.

3. Minutes of IYM, 1865, p. 8.

4. Eldora Weekly Ledger, Oct. 22, 1869. Copies of the Eldora Weekly Ledger (which before the summer of 1869 was the Eldora Ledger) cited in this dissertation are in the files of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

5. Eldora Ledger, June 5, 1869.

in 1866 that their children should have an education beyond what the district schools could provide. A parallel wish was to maintain a "guarded" education for their children, and the result was that plans began to be made early in 1867 for a Friends Academy at New Providence.[1] The Eldora Ledger gave hearty support from the sidelines through the years 1868 and 1869,[2] finally reporting in its issue of November 12, 1869, that the new school was ready to accept students the first week of December. It had a Grammar School department and a High School department, and registered forty-five pupils that first month.[3] The report of the superintendent of schools for Hardin County stated in 1871 that the school was ably managed and largely attended.[4]

iii. The Place of William Hobson in Iowa Quakerism

(1) The Monthly Meeting.--It is in his relationship to the Honey Creek Monthly Meeting that William Hobson's religious concerns are most clearly seen. The meetings for worship on First and Fifth Days and the meetings recurring

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1. Eldora Ledger, Jan. 23, 1867.

2. See the Eldora Ledger, Mar. 6, 1867; Apr. 11, 1868; June 5, 1869.

3. Eldora Weekly Ledger, Dec. 24, 1869. Louis T. Jones is clearly incorrect in establishing the date of 1882 for the opening of New Providence Academy, in The Quakers of Iowa, p. 246.

4. History of Hardin County, pp. 310-11.

monthly for business developed common interests among Quakers, created social ties and gave opportunity for all members of a Monthly Meeting to share in the carrying out of group and individual concerns.

Aside from such usual appointments as that of attending Quarterly Meeting, visiting some erring member or assisting a traveling minister, Honey Creek Meeting's most frequent use of Hobson was to assign him some sort of educational responsibility. For two years, between 1860 and 1870,[1] he headed the Committee on Education of the Meeting,[2] and another year the First-Day School Committee.[3] This might be expected, since he was a public school teacher, and by 1860 had earned the reputation of one especially concerned for good education.[4] A responsibility related to education was a task of examining the libraries of the Preparative Meetings, to which he was appointed in 1862,[5] and of reporting his judgment as to the need of increasing them. His

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1. Only his relationship to HCMM between 1860-1970 is now being considered. The records of earlier years were destroyed, and his place in the Meeting after 1870 will be noted later in this study.

2. Minutes, HCMM, 8-21-1860; 8-18-1863.

3. Minutes, HCMM, 4-23-1861.

4. On his travels, he found it difficult to pass a school without stopping to visit it. See Diary, 2-23-1863; 2-27-1863; 3-2-1863; 5-21-1863; 6-8-1863; 7-9-1863; 12-15-1863; 12-12-1870; 12-14-1870; 12-22-1870.

5. Minutes, HCMM, 12-23-1862.

recommendation was for enlargement through additions of Fox's Journal and Barclay's Apology.[1]

(2) The Quarterly Meeting.--Hobson's diaries indicate his quite regular presence at Bangor Quarterly Meeting up to 1865.[2] These were times of wider fellowship in worship and work, usually of several days duration and much valued by Iowa Friends of the nineteenth century. Records of such meetings, however, indicate less about individual participation than is shown by Monthly and Yearly Meeting Minutes, which is the case so far as the extant records of Bangor Quarterly Meeting and William Hobson are concerned.

(3) The Yearly Meeting.--Hobson's diaries record his attendance at the opening of Iowa Yearly Meeting in 1863,[3] and also the following year.[4] The Minutes of the Yearly Meeting indicate his presence in subsequent years through 1875 by various appointments or in the lists of representatives, except for the year 1867.

These appointments are along the order of his Monthly Meeting responsibilities, such as assignments to assist in subscriptions for education in North Carolina,[5] to serve on

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1. Minutes, HCMM, 2-24-1863.

2. Diary, 3-4-1859; 6-4-1859; 12-2-1859; 3-3-1860; 9-6-1861; 12-6-1861; 3-1-1862; 12-5-1863. There are gaps in the diaries and it will be remembered that there are no diaries indicating his activities from 1865 to 1870.

3. Diary, 9-9-1863.

4. Diary, 9-15-1864.

5. Minutes of IYM, 1868, p. 6.

the Yearly Meeting Book and Tract Committee,[1] and on committees relative to Yearly Meeting correspondence.[2] Of all the appointments given him by the Yearly Meeting, membership in the strategic Meeting for Sufferings is perhaps that which most indicates the regard of his Iowa Quaker contemporaries.[3]

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1. Diary, 5-27-1864.
2. Minutes of IYM, 1863, p. 9; Minutes of IYM, 1869, p. 6.
3. Minutes of IYM, 1863, p. 15.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICAN QUAKERISM: 1860-1880

1. The Great Awakening of American Friends

Late in the 1850's, stirrings of religious fervor and activity began appearing in both small and large groups of Friends youth in various parts of the country. These manifestations slowly increased in scope and intensity until Quakers, impervious to earlier American revivals, suddenly found themselves in the midst of a powerful religious awakening.

i. Beginnings of the Revival

Many claims have been made as to those responsible for the awakening and as to the place of its beginning. It was so much a contagious group movement, however, resulting from slowly maturing causes, that such claims are largely unverifiable.[1]

Some of the earliest documented stirrings of this movement were in the years 1859-1860, among the students of a Bible class taught by Allen Jay, a young Friend living near

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1. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 896.

Lafayette, Indiana. The members of this group "felt" the need of taking certain actions from time to time to improve the quality of their devotional lives, such as yielding to an impression to pray aloud, or to close times of social visiting with a chapter from the Bible and prayer. A reviving influence gradually began to emanate from their circle as the spiritual lives of the group were deepened through having found a way of satisfying religious hungers.[1]

It was inevitable that sooner or later young Friends would break loose from the narrow restraints of what Rufus M. Jones calls "the dead hand of a long past."[2] Rhoda M. Coffin, one of the Quaker young people who was seeking such an escape, especially resented the emphasis of Friends upon the awful solemnity of prayer. As a child she used to enjoy spending the night with Methodist cousins who had daily devotions, during which any member of the family might pray. She writes,

> Friends had much to say in their Meetings on the awful solemnity of prayer, of approaching God vocally, but in that family they came simply to God and seemed, to my young mind, to be talking to him face to face, and I longed for the same privilege. The thought that it was awful

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1. Jay, Autobiography of Allen Jay, pp. 79-81.

2. Rufus M. Jones, II, 897.

> to pray to God was repugnant to me. If He was really our Father, He would hear us at any time when we wanted to talk to Him.[1]

Finally, in her desire to know God more intimately, she relates that

> At last I went out behind the barn, by a straw rick, and there knelt down, . . . and told Him all about how I felt; . . . and would He please make us all Methodists, so that we could all come together and talk with Him [italics supplied].[2]

Rhoda M. Coffin was thirty-four years of age in 1860, and she was even more concerned for a breaking of the old bands that prevented Friends youth from having a place in Quakerism suited to their needs. Her criticism of the situation of that time was that

> The Society of Friends after many, many years of vitalizing active service . . . became very formal. . . . The Church as a whole had lost much of its vitality. . . . While engaged in finding fault with what others were doing, criticizing, judging and protesting, the life was sapped by a system of quenching and "thou shalt nots." The younger people had no way of showing their love to God by any active service. They were required to use certain modes of dress and language, abstain from all relaxations and amusements; . . . The guards were so strong and high that contact with other Christians was almost shut off.[3]

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1. Rhoda M. Coffin: Her Reminiscences, Addresses, Papers and Ancestry, ed. Mary Coffin Johnson (New York: The Grafton Press, 1910), p. 15. This work will hereinafter be referred to in the footnotes as Rhoda M. Coffin: Her Reminiscences.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp. 79-80.

The revival stirrings which had been smouldering among young Friends burst into flame at Indiana Yearly Meeting of 1860. A group met at the home of Charles and Rhoda Coffin, in Richmond, to consider what could be done for the young people. It was decided to lay a request before the Yearly Meeting that an evening meeting be appointed for youth, in which older, recognized ministers would refrain from preaching. In spite of much opposition, the meeting was allowed and about a thousand young people were in attendance. There was no leader, nor were special arrangements made to "conduct" the service. The young people were told that it was their meeting, and according to Rhoda Coffin, "hundreds gave their first testimony for Christ or offered their first public prayer. There was no confusion, no haste, no urging or calling on anyone to speak."[1]

The youth meeting had produced such an astonishing response that Sybil Jones, a visiting minister from Maine, asked those who had taken part to meet with her at the Coffin home after the Yearly Meeting closed. About one hundred and fifty persons attended this meeting, from which developed a regularly held evening prayer meeting that became a nursery for the nurture and growth of the revival.[2]

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1. Ibid., pp. 80-81.

2. Rufus M. Jones, II, 896-97.

ii. Early Leaders

Allen Jay and Charles and Rhoda Coffin have already been noted as influential in the Quaker revival of the 1860's. John Henry Douglas, from Ohio, had been present in the strategic conference in the Coffin home which led to the remarkable youth meeting at Indiana Yearly Meeting. He was twenty-eight years of age at the time, and already a dynamic and moving preacher.[1] Present also at Indiana Yearly Meeting of 1860 was Lindley M. Hoag,[2] the gifted and eloquent preacher who had powerfully moved William Hobson at Deep Creek Meeting, North Carolina, in 1840. Hoag was by 1860 a member of Bangor Quarterly Meeting in Iowa. His influence may well have been back of the night youth meetings held by Bond, Bevin and Hobson, which proved so successful in 1863.[3]

Luke Woodard, of New Garden, Indiana, was another of the early leaders of the revival, although he was not in the vanguard of the movement. He participated in the youth meeting at Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1860, and said of it,

> A remarkable feeling of solemnity came over the vast throng, and the silence was broken only as one here and another there in the body of the meeting, would rise and utter a few broken

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1. Ibid., pp. 897-98.

2. Russell, History of Quakerism, p. 422.

3. See pages 177-79.

> sentences, or kneel in a brief prayer. . . . The meeting continued with unabated interest till about midnight.[1]

Woodard became a recognized minister in 1862, after which he began making evangelistic tours throughout Indiana, Iowa, Ohio and Kansas.[2]

Another of the leaders who appeared soon after the awakening began was David B. Updegraff. He was converted in the year 1860, and was the most radical of the group of young leaders now being raised up in Ohio, Indiana and Iowa. Updegraff strongly influenced his fellow student at Haverford College, Dougan Clark, who later became one of the theologians of the movement.[3]

During the years of the Civil War the revival smoldered, being kept alive in prayer meetings, such as that in the home of Charles and Rhoda Coffin, and by "social meetings" in which young Friends gathered for fellowship and conversation, but which often ended on a serious religious note.[4] Many honest-minded older Friends opposed all religious meetings not specifically sanctioned by the church. The young people managed to have the freedom and liberty they desired,

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1. Luke Woodard, Sketches of a Life of 75 (Richmond, Ind.: Nicholson Printing & Mfg. Company, 1907), p. 21.

2. Ibid., pp. 11-13.

3. Rufus M. Jones, II, 899.

4. Woodard, p. 19.

however, by making their gatherings both social and religious, and by holding them in the private homes of more liberal-minded Friends.[1]

iii. Reappearance of the Revival

In 1867, the revival again flared into the open at two widely separated points. Stacey E. Bevan and John S. Bond visited the scene of their earlier success at Bear Creek Meeting in Iowa, with the following results as reported by Bevan:

> We made a brief stay at Bear Creek and held one public meeting at least, where the power of the Lord was wonderfully manifested. Many hearts were reached and all broken up, which was followed by sighs and sobs and prayers, confessions and great joy for sins pardoned and burdens rolled off, and pressious [sic] fellowship of the redeemed. But alas, some of the dear old Friends mistook this outbreak of the power of God for excitement and wild fire and tried to close the meeting, but we kept cool and held the strings, and closed the meeting orderly.[2]

In the same year of 1867, even more radical events occurred at Walnut Ridge Friends Meeting, in Indiana. A few members had begun meeting in homes for Bible reading, and as

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1. Rhoda M. Coffin: Her Reminiscences, pp. 82-83.

2. Cited by Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, p. 164, from materials gathered by Darius B. Cook, Earlham, Iowa. Elbert Russell is not correct in stating that these events occurred at Bangor, Iowa. See History of Quakerism, p. 426. Bond and Bevan lived near Bangor, but Bear Creek Meeting was about one hundred miles southwest of Bangor.

interest developed, the meetings were transferred to a nearby schoolhouse, to pray for revival. In time it was moved to the Friends meetinghouse.[1] Elbert Russell cites these events as the earliest instance of the use of the "mourner's bench" in a Friends gathering.[2]

Nathan and Esther Frame, young Friends ministers, were in the Walnut Ridge community soon after, and said of these meetings:

> The most intense excitement prevailed in many of the meetings, and remarkable demonstrations; some fell, almost like dead people, while others cried aloud for mercy; and some were rapturously and ecstatically happy. The conviction spread in the country for a number of miles, and the whole theme of the neighborhood was religion and the demonstrations at the Quaker meeting.[3]

The use of the new evangelistic methods now spread rapidly. More young people took part in worship, and silence began to give way to prayer and public testimonies. The Bible came to have a more prominent place, and was publicly read and interpreted. Singing began to be heard, since it was considered essential to successful evangelism. The elderly Friends were frightened and shocked by the changes, but nothing could stem the current. Their

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1. Nathan T. Frame and Esther G. Frame, Reminiscences of Nathan T. and Esther G. Frame (Cleveland: Britton Printing Co., 1907), pp. 60-61. This work is hereinafter referred to as Reminiscences of Nathan and Esther Frame.

2. Russell, p. 427.

3. Frame and Frame, p. 61.

objections were brushed aside, and a new order came into being.[1]

iv. Spread of General Meetings

In 1867, the Quakers of Indiana Yearly Meeting instituted a new type of gathering, the "General Meeting," which was somewhat reminiscent of the large general meetings held by the first generation of Quakers in England.[2] Such meetings in Indiana were carried out under joint committees of the Yearly Meeting and the Quarterly Meetings "for teaching, for discussion of central truths and practices and for outreaching evangelistic work."[3] The General Meetings spread rapidly to other Yearly Meetings and were instrumental in carrying the revival throughout much of American Quakerism.[4]

2. Factors Contributing to the Awakening

i. Reactions to Controversy and Schisms

American Quakerism had sustained a deep shock as a result of the Schism of 1827-1828. Not only Yearly Meetings, Quarterly Meetings and Monthly Meetings were split by the clash of ideas, but families as well. The failure of a peace-loving people to keep peace among themselves became common public knowledge, especially as matters involving

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1. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 900-901.
2. Ibid. 3. Ibid., p. 901. 4. Ibid.

property and funds were fought out in the courts. To help repair the damage and to combat the rationalistic trends produced by Hicksism, a number of English Friends traveled extensively in America in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

(1) Ministry of English Friends in America.--The influence of William Forster, Thomas Shillitoe, Elizabeth Robson, Anna Braithwaite, Hannah Chapman Backhouse and Joseph John Gurney was decidedly toward strengthening evangelicalism in American Quakerism.[1] Of these, Gurney left such an indelible mark in America, that the Orthodox branch came to be called "Gurneyites."

Evangelical-minded British Friends who traveled in America nearer the mid-century were Benjamin Seebohm and Robert Lindsey.[2] Both were deeply rooted in the old ways of Quakerism, yet pronouncedly evangelical in their preaching. Their visit to Iowa has already been noted in this study.[3] Robert Lindsey returned with his wife, Sarah, visiting Kansas Meetings of Friends in 1858 and isolated Quakers in California and Oregon in 1860. All of these English preachers helped form and intensify the trend toward revival.[4]

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1. Russell, pp. 304-05, 378.
2. Rufus M. Jones, II, 889-91.
3. See pages 135-37.
4. Rufus M. Jones, II, 870.

(2) The New Interest in the Scriptures.--The question of the Scriptures versus the inward Light, brought so sharply to the fore by the Schism of 1827-1828, resulted in a gradual increase in the use of the Bible by Orthodox Friends. Hannah C. Backhouse and Joseph John Gurney advocated not only the reading, but systematic knowledge of the Bible, and they kindled a real enthusiasm for Scripture study.[1] Conservative Friends strenuously opposed this, believing it to be the entering wedge of formalism and "creaturely activity." Nonetheless, the Bible came to have an ever-larger place among Orthodox Friends in the nineteenth century.[2]

Joseph John Gurney attached a more literal significance to the Scriptures than Friends had customarily given, and he influenced Orthodox Friends accordingly. In North Carolina, however, he found the way already prepared in this regard, by the ministry of the "patriarch" of the Yearly Meeting, Nathan Hunt. "I very much unite with J.[oseph] J.[ohn] G.[urney]'s . . . view of the Scriptures having a literal as well as a spiritual meaning," Hunt once declared.[3]

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1. Levi Coffin held a few sporadic scripture classes in 1818, 1821 and 1822. Levi Coffin, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, pp. 69-72. Hannah Chapman Backhouse deserves credit, however, for getting them started on a wide scale. See in this dissertation page 46.

2. Rufus M. Jones, II, 885.

3. Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt, p. 116.

Hannah Chapman Backhouse had criticized Hicksites because of an excessive spiritualizing of Scripture. "It is surprising," she observed in 1830, "how, by spiritualizing Scripture, they make it in the end but 'the baseless fabric of a vision.'"[1] Her influence, therefore, was added to Gurney's in behalf of the more literal interpretation of Scripture.

The real evidence of the influence of Gurney and Backhouse, however, was the First-Day Scripture Schools which they were successful in starting. Throughout the decade of the 1850's, these schools were increasing in numbers and efficiency, so as to become a potent force in Quakerism. Indiana Yearly Meeting had one hundred and thirty-eight such schools in 1857, only twenty-three Meetings being without them.[2] At first, they were not in operation all months of the year, being usually closed during winter. Friends Review editorially proposed in 1860 that they stay open in winter, believing that to be the best season of the year for such.[3] In the early days, they were conducted in a very simple manner, with perhaps only one class for all ages.

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1. Journal and Letters of H. C. Backhouse, p. 87.

2. Rufus M. Jones, II, 889. It will be remembered that Iowa Meetings belonged to Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1857.

3. N. Y. [Full name not given.], "First Day Schools in Winter," Friends Review, 14(1860), 182. Friends Review, a weekly journal which began publishing in 1847, was the "voice" of Orthodox Quakerism.

Improvements and refinements followed in time.[1]

Honey Creek Monthly Meeting in Iowa had four First-Day Schools under its care in its constituent Preparative Meetings. In 1861, one was in operation six and one-fourth months of the year, but the others were open much shorter periods.[2]

In 1864, the First-Day Scripture School Committee of Iowa Yearly Meeting reported that "we shall soon be able to say, we have no meeting without a Scripture School."[3] The report for that year showed sixty Scripture Schools in Iowa Yearly Meeting, which were taught for an average of four and one-half months of the year.[4] By 1871, Iowa had sixty-four First-Day Scripture Schools, twenty-eight of which were taught twelve months of the year.[5]

The effect of the increasing emphasis upon the Scriptures and First-Day Scripture Schools was to draw Orthodox Quakers farther and farther from the inward Light principle, and to incline them to rest religious authority in the Scriptures alone. They became less inclined to look to the Guide within, and more inclined to take at face value what they saw in the Bible. When young Friends began to meet in small circles to study the Scriptures, they were impressed

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1. Russell, p. 406.
2. Minutes, HCMM, 4-23-1861.
3. Minutes of IYM, 1864, p. 20.
4. Ibid.
5. Minutes of IYM, 1871, p. 13.

with a sense of moral responsibility and spiritual lack.[1] Quietists under such circumstances would have waited passively for grace to operate, but "the dead hand of a long past" was losing its grip. Friends of the Trans-Allegheny West were now looking with appreciation on Methodism's more activist approach of salvation by faith, rather than salvation by waiting.[2]

ii. Breakdown of Traditional Isolation

Neither the decline of Quietism and rise of Evangelicalism, nor the First-Day Scripture Schools are sufficient to explain the Quaker Awakening of the 1860's and 1870's. They helped prepare the way, but an additional significant component was the effects of the Fulton Street Revival, which followed the financial panic of 1857. This was distinctly a lay movement which began when the old North Dutch Church, Fulton Street, New York City, was opened for noonday prayer on the part of businessmen who wished to participate. By early 1858, twenty similar union meetings for prayer were being held in the city.[3]

On Fourth Month, 3rd, 1858, Friends Review commented on the strong religious impulse following the financial

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1. Jay, Autobiography of Allen Jay, pp. 79-80.

2. See a fuller discussion of Methodist influence upon Quakerism, pages 91-94.

3. Sweet, Story of Religion in America (3rd ed.), pp. 310-11.

difficulties in New York, and entertained the hope that, although the revival meetings were not being conducted "after the manner of Friends," even so, the Church might yet be benefited by it.[1] In the following month, an opinion was voiced in Friends Review that the revival was genuine, and that "if our Society would open the door for it, we also should be blessed in these times of refreshing."[2]

The same writer then went on to prescribe a course of action for Friends:

> In a large city in the West many have come under the influence of divine grace through the means of meetings of the young for the study of the Scriptures. Such small circles, established with sincere desires for a knowledge of the power of truth, would, I believe, exert a most important influence in stirring up our members to more life in all their religious duties, and our meetings would become places of far deeper religious exercise.[3]

This, of course, is precisely what was done by Allen Jay, the Coffins and other Friends in the West.[4]

The question inevitably arises as to why Quakerism in 1860 was so open to external revival influences, yet had passed through two earlier American awakenings with scarcely discernable effects. The answer, in part, has already been seen in the influences of English Friends strongly inclined

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1. Samuel Rhoades, "The Revival," Friends Review, 11(1858), 472.

2. P. [Full name not given.], "Religious Awakening," Friends Review, 11(1858), 532.

3. Ibid.

4. See pages 188-91.

to Evangelicalism. Of great importance, also, is the fact that the Quaker "hedges" were disintegrating throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century, leaving Friends more open to outside influences. Contributing to this breakdown of traditional isolation were the social concerns of Friends, the rising of public education, and the effects of frontier life.

(1) Social Concerns.--Quakers were joining anti-slavery and abolition societies from the 1820's onward, finding fellowship there with those having a common social concern.[1] A few such Friends were disowned for cooperating with those of other denominations, because they were thus brought into association with "hireling Clergymen,"[2] but the trend toward finding a way of translating social concerns into action could not be blocked. John Greenleaf Whittier is the outstanding example of a Friend whose social concerns resulted in the complete eradication of artificial walls of separation. Sometime after 1841, he wrote to Joseph Sturge as follows:

> My heart opens to every friend of the slave, irrespective of his sect or creed. . . . This cause has been to me what the vision on the house-top of Cornelius was to Peter--it has destroyed all narrow sectarian prejudices, and made me willing to be a man among men.[3]

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1. See pages 102-04.

2. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 585.

3. Memoirs of Joseph Sturge, p. 229.

Nineteenth century Friends were also becoming concerned over the social problems resulting from excessive use of alcohol.[1] Levi Coffin relates the interesting story of how he and other Friends at Newport, Indiana, united in 1830 with Methodists of the town in organizing a temperance society. A struggle with the liquor interests followed, which resulted in the abolishing of the sale of alcoholic beverages in the town, and incidentally, united Quakers and Methodists more firmly.[2]

Slavery and liquor were by no means the only social evils to concern nineteenth century Friends. They do appear, however, to have been the main social problems troubling American Quakers, which resulted in their cooperating with other denominations.

(2) Public Education.--Pioneer Friends in the West attempted to establish Monthly Meeting schools as soon as possible, and many non-Friends also attended them,[3] providing associations and friendships which promoted the weakening of the Quaker wall of separation. Often, also, where such schools did not exist, Quaker children attended schools kept by non-Friends,[4] and newly-forming district schools. Under the dynamic impact of these public school associations, the

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1. Russell, History of Quakerism, p. 386.

2. Levi Coffin, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin (3rd ed.), pp. 129-38. See also, Russell, pp. 396-97.

3. Russell, p. 401.

4. Ibid.

old isolation and peculiar testimonies were decidedly weakened.

Alexander H. Hay also points to the rise of higher education among Quakers as contributing to the revival. Four colleges and nine high schools were started by Friends between 1830 and 1870.[1] These were private schools but attendance was not limited to Friends, and Quaker youth attending them came into contact with those of other denominations.

(3) Influence of Frontier Life.--The making of homes in the pioneer days of the Old Northwest and the Trans-Mississippi West required men and women of flexible and dynamic spirit "who could easily break with the past, discard tradition, and adopt themselves to an entirely new and demanding environment."[2] It is to be expected that Friends living under such circumstances would be the first to shake loose from "the dead hand of a long past," and it was indeed the case. Denominational barriers seemed less important in an environment so raw and difficult that success, even survival, depended upon cooperation. The old isolation of Quakerism had greatly declined in the West when the awakening began in 1860. At least one indication of this fact is that on the afternoon of the day when the disastrous tornado

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1. Cited by Russell, p. 421, from Alex. H. Hay, "The Pastoral System Among Friends," an unpublished M. A. thesis, Haverford College, 1938.

2. Petersen, The Story of Iowa, I, 355.

struck New Providence, Iowa, June 3, 1860, Methodists were having a service in the Quaker meetinghouse.[1] Such a meeting would have been quite unlikely a quarter of a century earlier. Five years later, the Methodists and Quakers were in even closer harmony at New Providence. In the winter of 1865-1866, they held joint revival meetings in the schoolhouse there.[2]

iii. Influence of Methodism

Due to points of compatability between Methodism and Quakerism,[3] their relationships were becoming increasingly more cordial throughout the nineteenth century. As the emphasis of Quakers on their own peculiar testimonies lessened, it became easier for them to associate with other denominations in good conscience.[4] The way was thus opened more and more for the full play of Methodist influence in Quakerism.

The earliest evidence of Methodism's more direct impact upon the Society of Friends is seen in the numbers of young

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1. History of Hardin County, p. 860.

2. Eldora Ledger, Feb. 8, 1866.

3. Regarding which, see pages 41, 91-94.

4. While considering the state of the Society in 1864, Iowa Yearly Meeting noted in its Minutes: "We observe a tendency . . . in our religious Society to attach less importance than formerly to some of the peculiarities that distinguish us outwardly as a people." Minutes of IYM, 1864, p. 25.

Friends who were converted under Methodist influences. Many of these became the leaders of the revival movement in Quakerism.

Sybil Jones came into a profoundly moving religious experience after a Methodist minister at Augusta, Maine, spoke kindly to her about her highest welfare.[1] For the rest of her life she held Methodists in high regard, and often preached in their meetinghouses.[2] Her influence in the Quaker awakening of the 1860's has already been noted in this dissertation.[3]

David B. Updegraff was from Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, where his Quaker parents were intimately acquainted with Charles G. Finney. Updegraff underwent a radical religious upheaval and conversion during a Methodist revival meeting in 1860, when he was age thirty. He accepted the Methodist theory of salvation as being marked off in two stages, justification and sanctification, and his dynamic, aggressive preaching was strongly influential in leading many nineteenth century Quakers to the same view.[4]

Nathan Frame and his wife, Esther, were two of the most gifted and fluent of the Quaker preachers who came into prominence during the revival. Nathan Frame came from a

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1. Rufus M. Jones, Eli and Sybil Jones: Their Life and Work (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1889), p. 30.

2. Ibid., pp. 45, 47, 48, 92, 149. 3. See page 191.

4. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 899.

Methodist family, although he had Quaker ancestors.[1] Esther Frame grew up in a Quaker environment.[2] Both were converted under Methodist influences; both joined the Methodist Church, but when Esther Frame felt called to preach, they united with Friends because Methodists did not recognize women preachers.[3] They began their ministry after 1865,[4] and preached in Methodist revival meetings as often as with Friends. They had little use for Friends customs and ways of religious thinking, evidencing a respectful tolerance of Quakerism, more than a love for it.

Rufus P. King, another of the powerful ministers during the days of the Quaker awakening, came to Friends from the Methodists. He had become a pacifist during the Civil War, and after escaping from the South to Indiana, united with Friends.[5] In his remarkable career as a Friends minister, he is said to have visited all Friends Meetings throughout the world.[6]

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1. Frame and Frame, Reminiscences of Nathan and Esther Frame, pp. 19-20.

2. Ibid., pp. 26-27.

3. Ibid., pp. 30, 36-40.

4. In compiling their Reminiscences, they almost studiously avoid dates, making a chronology of their activities quite difficult. Luke Woodard says that in 1865, Esther Frame was not yet a Friend, Sketches of a Life of 75, p. 12.

5. Russell, p. 426.

6. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, II, 753.

3. Innovations Following the Awakening

i. Use of Revivalistic Measures

The Awakening had begun amid scenes of order and quietness which involved no real abridgment of the primary Quaker principle that salvation results from a freely made response to the inward movings of the Spirit. As the movement gathered momentum, however, some of the new revivalists who had little real appreciation of Quakerism introduced means of promoting evangelism borrowed from other denominations wherein they had had a recent history of usefulness. In some instances these methods were introduced in an unwise manner with little real concern being shown for the shocked feelings of the "dear old Friends," by which term the revivalists somewhat patronizingly referred to their conservative elders.[1]

Among the innovations were use of the "mourner's bench," or "altar of prayer;" calling for public professions of faith; use of congregational singing; calling upon individuals to pray, and working in the congregation to secure conversions.[2] These revivalistic measures, popularized by Charles G. Finney, seemed to older Friends to be hardly consistent with the time-honored principle that religious decisions were made in response to the Spirit, rather than to

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1. Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, p. 164; Frame and Frame, p. 73.

2. Russell, pp. 427-28.

external pressures applied under conditions highly charged with emotion. The revivalists seemed unwilling to attempt any rapprochement with the conservatives on this point, however, and many painful episodes and the unhappy Schism of 1877 resulted.[1]

ii. Introduction of the Pastoral System

The transition from the traditional, silent, unprogrammed worship of Quakerism to a pastorally-led, ordered mode of worship was indeed a radical change. However, it seemed necessary to many in order that the large numbers of new converts might be adequately shepherded and taught. That the instruction given by the new evangelist-pastors was oriented to Methodism rather than to Quakerism is one of the most obvious conclusions to be drawn from a study of this period.

Opposition was strong against the new pastoral order at first, and it was not until 1886 that the system was officially put into effect in Iowa Yearly Meeting.[2] Many of the Meetings had been using pastors earlier, the first pastor often being some successful evangelist who was asked to stay on and conserve the results obtained in the protracted meetings. Consequently, the young and vigorous membership of

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1. See page 218.

2. Louis T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa, p. 106.

awakened Quakerism was made up of many who had no knowledge or appreciation of the principles which had cost early Friends so much suffering. The conservative, older Friends were deeply grieved to see the free, unprogrammed worship abandoned, and in its place an ordered, planned service directed by a pastor. Their resistance was unavailing, however, and the old order rapidly passed away.[1]

4. Reaction of William Hobson to the Awakening

It has been seen that William Hobson greeted with favor the early signs of religious awakening in Iowa Quakerism.[2] How he felt about the joint revivalistic efforts of the New Providence Friends and Methodists in 1865-1866 is unknown, since there are no extant diaries from Seventh Month, 1865 to Eleventh Month, 1870.

It is certain that one aspect of the revival--congregational singing--was not to his liking. In an undated manuscript written sometime fairly soon after singing began to be used in Friends Meetings, Hobson made his position clear on the subject.[3] First of all, he himself loved to sing. However, what he sang was not "learned tunes," but

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1. Louis T. Jones, Quakers of Iowa, pp. 105-06.

2. See pages 177-79.

3. William Hobson, "An Address, to our School-children; On Music, and Singing." The manuscript is in the possession of Leota Walton. It was probably written between 1866-1880.

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1. Louis T. Jones, Quakers of Iowa, pp. 105-06.

2. See pages 177-79.

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spontaneous melodies with words sung from the heart and of the Spirit, he explained, rather than the human will. "Since all worship must be in the Spirit, [therefore] I conclude No music is called for by him to whom worship is due; Save that which he gives for the full expression of the feelings of the heart."[1] It was as wrong to learn tunes, according to Hobson's thinking, as it was for a minister to "prepare himself with his own fixing out beforehand."[2] "It always grieves me to hear people sing in a light manner,"[3] he declared. "God wants nothing of mans [sic] contrivings in his own will by which to worship him."[4] At whatever time Hobson put these views into writing, the last statement indicates how profoundly he was still under the influence of Quietism.

According to a story told by the Hobson family, a minister from another denomination once visited the Honey Creek Meeting when it was at worship. Eventually the stranger stood to his feet, sang a gospel song and then proceeded to preach a message which was very acceptable to those present. William Reece arose and left the meeting when the singing began, but Hobson kept his seat throughout. After meeting, he went home and sat by the fire for a long time in silence, observing finally that he could not understand how anyone

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

who would sing a song in meeting could still be such a good preacher.[1]

Although congregational singing was being heard in the Friends meetings of Iowa in the late 1860's, it was far from having official sanction, as indicated by the following report of Iowa Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in 1868:

> A concern and deliberate conviction was tenderly expressed, that singing as an act of devotion, as preaching and praying could not properly be engaged in by more than one at a time, and that this being more particularly adapted to individual devotion, would very rarely be introduced in public worship, which was very fully united with.[2]

The extant diaries of William Hobson resume on Eleventh Month, 25th, 1871, after a break of six years.[3] Thus, information is lacking as to his attitude toward the awakening, during the years when it was gathering strength. Further, the diaries from 1870 to Seventh Month, 13th, 1871, are concerned with his first trip to the West Coast, and make no references to revivalism. The diaries of 1873 and 1874, however, contain allusions to the movement, indicating that it had reached the Honey Creek community in its full power.

Hobson records the effects of a General Meeting held at Bangor, near Honey Creek, Third Month, 16th to 18th, 1873:

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1. Interview with Leota Walton, New Providence, Iowa, July 2, 1961.

2. Minutes of IYM, 1868, pp. 23-24.

3. See page 180.

> Attended a General Meeting at Bangor. Had a cementing time. Toward the conclusion of the meeting many became wrought upon And many found relief by words. Some could not utter all they wanted to say but had to stop in their attempt. I frequently had some part in vocal service And felt much peace and joy and thought I was in my true place.[1]

Three days later, he journeyed to Oskaloosa to attend a similar General Meeting. Although he attended six sessions, he gives little space to the meetings in his Diary, commenting only that they had "a crowning finish" and that he had "much joy & gladness to go home under."[2] In Fifth Month, 1873, he was in attendance at a General Meeting at New Sharon, about seventy-five miles from New Providence. Again, the only notice given it in the Diary is that he "had much joy in it."[3] Two months later, he attended another three-day General Meeting at Center in Jasper County.[4]

The winter of 1873-1874 found the Honey Creek community coming under powerful religious stirrings. Along with the General Meetings, which were being held at numerous points

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1. Diary, 3-16,17,18-1873. Iowa Yearly Meeting had begun a cautious experimentation with General Meetings in 1868 by appointing a committee to arrange for no more than three such meetings to be held in the ensuing months, and report to next Yearly Meeting. Minutes of IYM, 1868, pp. 11, 17. In 1872, the Yearly Meeting appointed William Hobson to its Committee on General Meetings. Minutes of IYM, 1872, p. 14.

2. Diary, 3-22-1873 to 3-25-1873.

3. Diary, 5-24-1873 to 5-27-1873.

4. Diary, 7-18-1873 to 7-21-1873.

throughout the state in 1873, the local Friends meetings were being visited by many of the new evangelists. John S. Bond was often at Honey Creek, or preaching nearby, since his home was in the community.[1] Elwood Scott was at Honey Creek in the fall of 1873, and was described by Hobson as "a young man of 24 years . . . valiant for the truth."[2] Elwood Ozbun spent fifteen days in the community during Eleventh Month, 1873.[3]

In his Diary for First Month, 4th, 1874, Hobson notes that there was "a good meeting at Honey Creek at usual hour." When midweek came, two meetings were held instead of the usual one on Fourth Day, and Hobson notes, "a Revival is taking place."[4] Jacob Henshaw and Joel Stewart were the preachers on this occasion, and when indications of revival began to appear, meetings were held twice daily until the seventeenth of the month. Hobson described the meetings in such terms as "Large and highly favored"[5] and "glorious,"[6] ending with the notation that "about 100 Souls at H. C. found acceptance with the Lord."[7] At the next Monthly Meeting, forty-two new members were received into the Meeting by recommendation of the overseers, and Hobson and others were

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1. Diary, 2-3-1873; 3-30-1873.
2. Diary, 9-2-1873.
3. Diary, 11-16-1873 to 11-30-1873.
4. Diary, 9-7-1874.
5. Diary, 1-8-1874.
6. Diary, 7-13-1874.
7. Diary, 1-17-1874.

appointed to give them information and instruction.[1]

It is obvious that Hobson welcomed and supported the revival movement. Although innovations were occurring that he as a conservative could not have favored, he reacted as many other conservatives did, and gave the movement his blessing because of its results. There is no evidence in the diaries, however, that he himself ever departed from the ancient principles that had guided Quakerism for two centuries. He was not a revivalist, but he rejoiced to see the sign of awakening among Friends. His diaries contain no specific criticisms of revivalists, and he remained the close friend of John S. Bond, Stacey E. Bevan and other radical preachers. He was concerned over the new biblical literalism,[2] which eventually led some Quakers, such as Stacey E. Bevan, to feel they must be baptized in water.[3] Methodist influence upon Iowa Quakerism was high in 1874, when the Iowa Annual Conference of the Methodist Church sent two delegates to bear fraternal greetings and brotherly love to the Yearly Meeting at Oskaloosa, where they were cordially welcomed.[4] Hobson in later years usually attended Methodist

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1. Minutes, HCMM, 2-[Date missing]-1874.

2. Diary, 2-18-1874.

3. Stacey E. Bevan was deposed from the ministry for his views on baptism. Minutes, Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 7-2-1875; 3-31-1876.

4. Minutes of IYM, 1874, p. 9.

churches while traveling, if there were no Friends Meeting,[1] but his diaries do not indicate that he ever abandoned the theological views of Fox and Barclay for those of John Wesley.

5. Effects of the Awakening

With results such as that at Honey Creek being obtained widely in American Quakerism, it can readily be seen why the revival movement became a force that swept everything before it. At the time, it seemed the obvious solution to the problem of a stagnant membership. With only a little thought, Trans-Mississippi Quakers realized that population was still moving westward, and that the attractions of the Far West would soon deplete the Meetings of Iowa.

Enlarged membership was not the only value of the awakening. The youth of Quakerism found a new and responsible place in the Church. Many usages which had become largely formal, such as the plain language and the plain dress, passed quickly from the scene. A new freedom of participation in worship was for a time felt by all. Quakers discovered that singing and music could be a source of inspiration and renewal. Peculiarities were seen to be of no special value, and in abandoning them Friends felt a new responsibility of witnessing to spiritual life within, rather than testifying against outward evils.

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1. Diary, 1-15-1871; 2-19-1871; 3-9-1871; et al.

There were negative results following the revival, also. The powerful reaction against the authority of inward Light which accompanied the movement led to extreme literalism in Biblical interpretation, of which the case of Stacey E. Bevan is only one example. Biblical literalism required restatement of doctrines, a task which some of the evangelists were prompt to undertake and which they enforced with an unbecoming rigor, leading to the disownment of those who could not accept them.[1] In their zeal for a good work, the evangelists ignored the historical heritage of Quakerism and introduced changes too rapidly, deeply grieving many of the fine, elderly Friends, and causing the Schism of 1877. The Church was thus deprived of its conservative element and left for a time subject to radicalism and extremes.[2] By the following generation, Quakerism in regions affected by the revival had been so profoundly transformed that there were few in its membership who remembered or valued its ancient order and customs.

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1. Howard H. Brinton, ed., "The Revival Movement in Iowa--A Letter from Joel Bean to Rufus M. Jones," The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, 50(1961), 102-10.

2. This is the judgment of Allen Jay, also, a revivalist who deeply understood and appreciated the Quaker heritage. See his Autobiography of Allen Jay, pp. 101-03.

CHAPTER VII

THE MISSIONARY JOURNEYS OF WILLIAM HOBSON IN THE FAR WEST: 1870-1875

1. Status of Quakerism on the Pacific Coast

i. First Friends in the Far West

Henderson and Seth Lewelling, horticulturists of Salem, Iowa, were the earliest Friends to settle in Oregon, as far as the writer has found. Henderson Lewelling was an Anti-Slavery Friend, after the schism of that name developed in Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1842-1843, and his home in Iowa was an important stop on the Underground Railroad.[1] In the year 1847, the Lewellings started over the Oregon Trail with a cargo of seven hundred grafted fruit trees and shrubs drawn by oxen. After great difficulty, they reached the Willamette Valley with their nursery stock in good condition, thus making an important contribution to the horticulture of the Pacific Northwest.[2] They settled near the present city of Milwaukie, Oregon, but Henderson Lewelling moved to

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1. A. O. Garretson, "The Lewelling Family--Pioneers," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 27(1929), 554-58. Jane Votaw, one of the early ministers of Newberg Monthly Meeting, Newberg, Oregon, was a niece of Henderson Lewelling. Ibid., p. 551.

2. Ibid., pp. 554-58.

California in 1853.[1]

A number of Quakers joined in the California Gold Rush of 1849, according to Rayner W. Kelsey, among whom "were several young men by the name of Hobson from North Carolina."[2] David Hobson, brother to William, is one Hobson known to have made the trek to California for gold in 1850.[3] He had some success as a gold miner, although he appears to have prospered more from real estate than gold.[4] John S. Bond, already mentioned in this study, was also an early gold seeker in California, according to a report in Friends Review.[5]

ii. Early Religious Efforts #3

(1) Robert and Sarah Lindsey.--In 1859-1860, the Lindseys journeyed up the Pacific Coast, visiting isolated Friends settlers, and appointing highly successful public meetings in courthouses and public gathering places. They held the first Friends meeting of record in the Far West at San Francisco on Seventh Month, 17th, 1859. Twenty persons

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1. Ibid.
2. "Pacific Coast Quakerism," Bulletin of Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia, 4(1911), 98.
3. Letter of R. A. Marshall, Salem, Iowa, 6-30-1850, to Wm. and Mary Tulburt. The original is in the possession of Effie Hadley Brindle.
4. Interview with Laura Blair, Newberg, Oregon, August 25, 1961.
5. Editorial Committee, [Editorial], Friends Review, 27(1873), 89.

were present for the meeting which was held in the home of James and Hannah Neale.[1]

On Eleventh Month, 24th, 1859, they were in Portland, Oregon, after an uncomfortable five-day voyage by steamer from San Francisco. They held no meetings in Portland at this time, preferring to travel up the Willamette Valley while the weather was favorable.[2]

On the 25th, they boarded a small steamer and sailed up the Willamette to Oregon City, where they found lodging at a rough hotel. The next evening they departed for Salem, capitol of the state, which Sarah Lindsey describes as "a pretty little town, having one business street, and houses scattered around upon the grassy plain."[3] On the day of their arrival at Salem, Eleventh Month, 27th, 1859, they held what is believed to be the first meeting after the manner of Friends in Oregon. It was an appointed meeting in the home of George Stroud and his wife, who had been reared as Friends but had joined the Methodists after coming to the West. A few other persons also attended the meeting.[4]

On the 29th, they journeyed by steamer on up the Willamette River to Corvallis and lodged that night at a hotel.

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1. Kelsey, Bulletin of Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia, 4(1911), 98-99.

2. Rayner W. Kelsey, "Quakerism beyond the Mississippi," The American Friend, 18(Third Month, 2, 1911), 136. Kelsey here edits the diary of Sarah Lindsey.

3. Ibid., p. 137.

4. Ibid.

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2. Rayner W. Kelsey, "Quakerism beyond the Mississippi," The American Friend, 18(Third Month, 2, 1911), 136. Kelsey here edits the diary of Sarah Lindsey.

3. Ibid., p. 137.

4. Ibid.

The following day, as Sarah Lindsey tells the story,

> We took our seats in a stage wagon which carries the mail once a week to Eugene City. The day was cloudy and cold, and the roads in many places very muddy. Crossed several creeks and water courses which were thickly bordered with timber. . . . We reached Eugene City, a small town of 600 inhabitants about 8 P.M. . . . after a jolting ride of 40 miles.[1]

Hearing of several Friends families in the vicinity, they sent out word of a meeting for Seventh-Day morning and appointed a public meeting in the courthouse for First-Day evening. Only a few attended the morning appointment for Friends, but the meeting at the courthouse was very crowded. At the close, they passed out tracts and books which were eagerly received. The next day, which was the 5th of Twelfth Month, was bitterly cold, but they called upon several families and left books. On the 6th, they returned by stage to Corvallis.[2]

While at Corvallis, they rode four miles out into the country to see Hiram Bond, who had been described to them as a Friend. They found the Bonds and their family of nine children living in a rude, dark, timber house. "Being out of the way of Friends they have joined the Methodists," remarks Sarah Lindsey.[3] After a time of conversation, they left books with the Bonds, appointed a meeting in their

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Rayner W. Kelsey, "Quakerism beyond the Mississippi," The American Friend, 18(Third Month, 16, 1911), 168.

Methodist meetinghouse for the next day, and returned to Corvallis. About thirty-five persons attended the meeting next day, to whom books and tracts were given, and although pressed by them to stay longer, the Lindseys felt best to return to Corvallis. At the conclusion of a meeting at the courthouse on the 8th, they deemed themselves "clear of further service in this neighborhood," and boarded a steamer bound for Salem,[1] approximately forty miles down river.

Arriving there on the 9th, they found the Supreme Court of Oregon in session, with the governor, chief justice and other officials staying at their hotel.[2] Sarah Lindsey observed:

> In this levelling country all stand upon equal ground. Professors and profane, the Governor and officers sit down indiscriminately at the same table as the mechanic and stable boy, and all are attended upon alike.[3]

Before leaving Salem, the Lindseys gave Quaker literature to the state officials; visited in and around Salem for several days, and had a very satisfactory meeting at the courthouse.[4] On the 16th, they resumed their journey, stopping at Oregon City for a meeting at the courthouse, and at Milwaukie, where they were entertained in the home of

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1. Ibid. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., pp. 168-69. Oregon having been admitted to the Union in 1859, Governor John Whiteaker was the first governor of the new state. John B. Horner, Oregon History and Early Literature (Rev. and enlarged ed.; Portland: J. K. Gill Co., 1931), p. 186.

Seth Lewelling. At both Oregon City and Milwaukie, they passed out literature and sought out as many families as they could find which had a connection with Friends.[1]

From the 21st to the 26th, the Lindseys traveled in the country to the west of Portland, appointing meetings and visiting scattered families. During the days up until First Month, 2nd, 1861, they concluded their religious visit to Oregon by holding meetings in Portland and conversing with those connected with the Society of Friends. Feeling their work now completed, they boarded the steamer, Pacific, which weighed anchor for Victoria, British Columbia, on First Month, 4th, 1861.[2]

From the 22nd to the 27th of First Month, 1861, the Lindseys ministered in Washington Territory, seeking out Friends, holding meetings and distributing their books and tracts in the Puget Sound communities of Port Townsend, Port Gambill, Olympia and Steilacoom.[3] When they left the continental territory of the United States on First Month, 30th, 1861, they had contacted at least eighteen adult Friends in Oregon and Washington and approximately thirty-seven former Friends who had placed their membership with other

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1. Ibid., p. 169.

2. Rayner W. Kelsey, "Quakerism beyond the Mississippi," The American Friend, 18(Third Month, 30, 1911), 200-201.

3. Ibid., p. 202.

denominations,[1] largely because of there being no Friends Meetings in the Pacific Northwest.

(2) Abel Bond.--The second religious visit made to Oregon Quakers was by Abel Bond, a cousin of William Hobson, and one of the first settlers at Honey Creek, Iowa. From his home in Kansas, Bond journeyed to San Jose, California, in 1865, with the intention of distributing tracts.[2] His chronology is difficult to follow, but it appears that he reached Portland by ocean steamer some time in Fifth Month, 1866.

> When I got to Portland, Oregon, the wind was favorable for me to distribute tracts [he writes]. The platform was covered with people from different parts of the country and state. . . . I would throw up a handful of tracts and they would scatter around the people who would pick them up and motion for more. . . . They would go for them like ducks for corn.[3]

From Portland, Bond journeyed up the Willamette Valley. Often he heard of the Lindseys and was shown books and tracts they had left. His novel methods of tract distribution attracted much attention and opened the way to interesting religious conversations. He journeyed southward through Oregon west of the Cascade Mountains, returning to California by the overland route.[4]

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1. [Jack Willcuts], "Friends Frontiers," The Northwest Friend, 39(July, 1959), 8.

2. Bond, Abel Bond's Foot Travels, p. 21.

3. Ibid., p. 36.

4. Ibid., pp. 36-37.

By First Month, 1867, Bond was again at San Jose, where members of Stephen Hobson's family, of North Carolina, had been settling for several years. He found the Friends there in need of a place to meet, and succeeded in arousing enough interest and support that a new meetinghouse was soon erected. This building, which arose in the forepart of the year 1867, was the first Friends meetinghouse west of the Rocky Mountains.[1] The Friends at San Jose had not yet been recognized as a Preparative Meeting, which did not occur until 1873.[2]

iii. Interest of William Hobson

In his diaries Hobson makes frequent mention through the years of correspondence with his brother Jesse, at San Jose, California.[3] On Third Month, 17th, 1865, Hobson records receipt of a letter from Jesse Hobson, "desiring a good Ministering Friend to come to Cal[ifornia] and gather the lost sheep."[4] What action William Hobson may have taken in response is unknown, but in his diaries he mentions occasional correspondence with Abel Bond, in Kansas. It may be that Bond's trip to San Jose in 1865 was in response to

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1. Ibid., pp. 41-53.
2. Diary, 9-11-1873.
3. Jesse Hobson apparently moved to the West from North Carolina after 1860. See Letter of William Hobson, 1-12-1861, to Stephen Hobson.
4. Diary, 3-17-1865.

Jesse Hobson's appeal, for Bond set out about four months after Jesse's letter arrived in Iowa.[1]

Whatever the facts in the above case may be, the first evidence of William Hobson's personal interest in the Far West occurs in the following minute of Honey Creek Meeting:

> Our beloved friend William Hobson informed that he believed it right for him to stand resigned to visit in the love of the Gospel some of the people West of the Rocky Mountains by appointing meetings or otherwise, with which this meeting fully united, and he was liberated and encouraged to attend to said service as Best Wisdom may direct.[2]

Three months later, the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders reported to Iowa Yearly Meeting that it had liberated William Hobson for religious service in the Far West.[3] Iowa Yearly Meeting also liberated Mary B. Pinkham for a journey to the West Coast in 1870.[4] She and her family left immediately and ministered in the Willamette Valley ahead of William Hobson's arrival.[5] However, she spent only three months in Oregon, and then returned to the East.[6]

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1. Bond, p. 21.

2. Women's Minutes, HCMM, 6-11-1870.

3. Minutes of IYM, 1870, p. 23.

4. William I. Allinson, [Editorial], Friends Review, 24(1870), 73.

5. Rayner W. Kelsey, "Quakerism beyond the Mississippi," The American Friend, 17(Seventh Month, 7, 1910), 424-25.

6. [Jack Willcuts], "Quaker Pioneers," The Northwest Friend, 39(July, 1959), 8.

2. The First Journey of William Hobson

i. The Overland Route to the Far West

Hobson's trip to California, which began in the late fall of 1870, was immensely easier than that of Abel Bond in 1865. The Union Pacific Railroad, building westward from Omaha, Nebraska, and the Central Pacific, with tracks being laid eastward from Sacramento, California, were joined at Promontory Point, Utah, in 1869. This "greatest transportation triumph in American history since the completion of the Erie Canal,"[1] ended the dangers of overland travel to the Far West and likewise the era of difficult journeys around Cape Horn or across the Isthmus of Panama. Points between Sacramento and Omaha were now readily accessible to Easterners. The opening of the new transcontinental railroad presaged the real development of the Far West, and enabled the rapid advancement of the American frontier to the Pacific Ocean.

The opening pages of Hobson's Diary for Eleventh Month, 1870, are missing, but from a note on the inside cover, it appears that he left Union, Iowa, on the 21st of the month. By the 25th, the train was rolling through the sagefields of Wyoming at an average of fifteen miles per hour, stopping for twenty or thirty minutes at villages described as being

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1. Faulkner, American Political and Social History (6th ed.), p. 436.

about ten or twelve miles apart.[1]

Hobson was obviously enjoying the trip greatly, making minute observations in his Diary of the appearance of the country, the conditions of travel and his conversations with fellow passengers. On the 27th, they passed the Salt Lake Valley and crossed into Nevada.

> Have very good company around me [he writes]. . . . On the Seats before me are some good Baptists . . . Behind me is W. C. Myer & Family, Methodists . . . They have lived in Oregon 16 years and like it because of the climate the woman says And the man likes it because he raises Cattle and horses without feeding.[2]

On the 28th he wrote: "Last night was very cold. Got a warm breakfast for 50 cents. The first warm meal which I have eaten since 3 days."[3]

The 29th found the train passing through the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Lumber cars were now added, and Hobson, having stepped the train's length at two hundred and twenty-five paces before the cars were added, thought it "fearfully long," and "descending pretty fast."[4] In a few hours, however, he was admiring the green gardens of the lower western slopes. "It looks much better than I expected," he observes.[5] On the 30th, the train reached Niles Junction, the transfer point for San Jose, and by noon he was at his

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1. Diary, 11-25-1870.
2. Diary, 11-27-1870.
3. Diary, 11-28-1870.
4. Diary, 11-29-1870.
5. Ibid.

destination.[1] Noting the beauty of the country, he wrote,

> May the people of this country Be industrious and feel their responsibility to their Maker, is the desire of my heart. Try to live right and Help to get others to do so. That our Heavenly Father may bless us, And give us much joy and gladness of heart in this life, make our lives a blessing to this and succeeding generations and transmit us to the realms of eternal bliss is the prayer of my soul.[2]

The next three days he spent in company of his brothers, David and Jesse Hobson, and other cousins. David Hobson had long since given up gold mining, and the entire clan was prospering in agriculture.[3]

ii. Religious Work in California

On the 4th [first day of the week] of Twelfth Month, 1871, William Hobson wrote,

> Last night I thought much about going to my religious work. Waked before 3 o clock yet lay thinking-- Attended Meeting at Friends Meeting house. Was favored with an open time. Was but a few at meeting. . . . Attended the Methodist Scripture School at 2 o clock P. M.[4]

The next two weeks he spent traveling about in the vicinity of San Jose, visiting relatives, reading, writing letters and studying the country. The variety and quality of the land's produce amazed him, but he was not sure that he preferred this country to Iowa.[5]

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1. Diary, 11-30-1870.
2. Ibid.
3. Diary, 11-1-1870 to 11-3-1870.
4. Diary, 12-4-1871.
5. Diary, 12-5-1870.

By the 12th, he was about the main purpose of his visit, and wrote,

> Went . . . to a School where there were Many Teachers & Hundreds of children. Was recieved [sic] with a good welcome And had a pleasant time in listening to a few lessons recited in different departments. And made four short speeches of about 5 minutes length to the schools in different rooms. Which to my mind was very satisfactory.[1]

Two days later he visited another large school and spoke to children in five different rooms, numbering about two hundred and fifty. "A very relieving opportunity," he thought.[2] On the 22nd, he went to see the close of a school for small children nearby, and, for the same reason, visited a school for larger children the next day. "The great number of Children under training; and the preciousness of their Souls bore weight on my mind," he wrote.[3]

In Friends Meeting on the 25th, Jesse Hobson opened the subject of starting a First Day Scripture School, "to which I felt relief by Adding a little," William notes in his Diary of that day. The conclusion of the San Jose Friends was to start such a school immediately.

Since arriving in California, Hobson had been suffering intermittently from a cold. Throughout First and Second Month of 1871, it was acute, and he noted with favor in his Diary an opinion which he had read that the ocean breezes

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1. Diary, 12-12-1870. 2. Diary, 12-14-1870.

3. Diary, 12-22,23-1870.

which prevailed about San Francisco and San Jose were an effective cause of such respiratory ailments.[1] However lacking in scientific support this opinion may be, it seems to have influenced his selection of a site for a Friends settlement in the West, for he later favored the Chehalem Valley of Oregon as being protected from such marine breezes.[2] The detailed observations set down in his diaries of San Jose and its environs seem to indicate that he already had his project in view of a Friends settlement in the West, when he arrived there from Iowa.

Finding his religious work hampered by deep hoarseness, he occupied himself with reading and came upon a series of intriguing letters in the Christian Advocate by H. K. Hines, traveling elder of the Walla Walla district of the Methodist Church in Washington Territory. Hobson copied long excerpts of the letters into his diaries regarding topography, climate, population, crops and streams, all the while growing more enthusiastic to see the Walla Walla country.[3]

His eye was also on the Willamette Valley, and he was at the same time extracting information from an unnamed book by Albert D. Richardson, setting forth the attractions of Oregon. Word of iron mines near Portland interested him, as well as reports of lumber, fish, fruit and unsurpassed water

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1. Diary, 2-1-1871. 2. See page 268.

3. Diary, 1-12-1871; 2-1-1871.

power resources.

When his hoarseness permitted, he kept busy at his religious work also. More schools were visited, tracts distributed, families visited and meetings appointed.[1] He attended Methodist and Baptist churches also on First Days, but observed on one occasion:

> There was one Thing which seemed rather to take from the Solemnity of the of the [sic] worship because of some sound of music without life both of Instruments and voices.[2]

On First Month, 18th, he wrote in his Diary,

> I am renewedly and very forcibly impressed with the fact that I [must] stand a true friend to all mankind . . . whom I may mingle with. I feel that I must give of that which I have received.

On Second Month, 25th, he was resolved to go on his way towards Oregon very soon, unless he found more to do.[3] In the three months he spent in California, he had met regularly with the San Jose Friends, encouraging them by testimony and exhortation, seen a First-Day School begun there, visited numerous families, appointed meetings in surrounding towns, labored with professed agnostics, distributed many tracts and concluded that he must see much more of the West before selecting a site for a Friends settlement.

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1. Diary, 1-15-1871; 1-22-1871; 1-30-1871; 2-14,15-1871.

2. Diary, 2-19-1871.

3. Diary, 2-25-1871.

iii. By Overland Stage to Oregon

Although Hobson does not say so, it is reasonable to assume that he chose the overland route in preference to ocean steamer because stage travel offered an opportunity to view the lands of northern California and western Oregon while enroute to Portland. On Third Month, 3rd, 1871, he purchased a ticket at Sacramento for Portland and boarded the stage which departed as scheduled at 2:00 P.M.

The Oregon State Stagecoach Company was advertising "Through In Six Days To Sacramento," in 1871,[1] but no human being could have endured the through-trip. Hobson completed the journey to Salem, Oregon, in two weeks, making stops for rest at inns along the route from Sacramento. Even then, he was often on the road by four o'clock in the morning and traveling until ten o'clock in the evening.[2] At times it was a cold and unpleasant trip, especially when crossing mountain ranges. On one occasion, passengers were transferred to an open wagon and even a sled, becoming wet and chilled before reaching a warm inn.[3] Between Ashland and Eugene, Oregon, he traveled all night in the stage. At four o'clock in the morning, the coach and horses became mired for three hours, but they "got away" at last, as he writes,

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1. William Swing, "To Sacramento in Six Days," The Sunday Oregonian, Dec. 10, 1961.

2. Diary, 3-5-1871; 3-6-1871.

3. Diary, 3-6-1871.

"without breaking a bone."[1]

Arriving at Corvallis on the 15th, he wrote,

> It looks fair for making a living in this valley if one would be satisfied and healthy in the rain and mud a part of the year. . . . This is indeed a rich Valley and is not likely to wear out.[2]

The next day, while waiting for the Willamette to fall sufficiently to be ferried, he wrote,

> [I am] in good health and largely confirmed by what I have already seen and heard that there is a prosperous future for Oregon And that many emigrants will in a few more years be favored in the enjoyment of prosperity and happy homes in many portions of this State.[3]

On the 17th he reached Salem and wrote,

> I am now at the Capital [sic] of this great State. I am in better health than I have had for many years past. And do feel thankful that I have been favored to pass through and over every Obstacle in the way . . . I still trust that I am in the service of my Savior the great Shepherd of the Sheep. . . . Here is a vast place of healthy country for happy homes for millions of people where with their industry they may be favored to largely partake of the richness of our heavenly Fathers provision.[4]

On the 22nd of the Third Month he reached Portland, ferried from the east to the west bank of the Willamette and stopped for the night at the American Exchange Hotel.[5] The next day, he visited the Land Office and was pleased to hear

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1. Diary, 3-13-1871.
2. Diary, 3-15-1871.
3. Diary, 3-16-1871.
4. Diary, 3-17-1871.
5. Diary, 3-22-1871.

that many nearby farms were being offered for as low as ten to twelve dollars per acre. He was sure that they would be worth three to ten times as much in a few years, and observed that Oregon and Washington looked "fair for a great and good future."[1]

iv. By Steamboat up the Columbia

In his anxiety to see the Walla Walla Valley, Hobson tarried only one day in Portland. On the morning of the 24th, he arose early and boarded the side-wheel steamer Oneonta, which departed for Cascade Locks at 5:00 A.M.

The Oneonta was the first fine boat built by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company and used in its Columbia River fleet. She was one hundred and eighty-two feet in length and resembled Mississippi River steamers with her two tall forward stacks and aft-set side wheels.[2] "She was big for her day . . . had outside escape for exhaust steam and made a noise that any good steamboat should, so that her chuffing set up echoes in the gorge," writes Randall V. Mills.[3]

At the Lower Cascades, the Oneonta passengers and freight were portaged by rail five miles to the Upper Cascades, where the steamer Idaho was waiting.[4] At 12:20, the

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1. Diary, 3-23-1871.

2. Randall V. Mills, Stern-Wheelers up Columbia (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1947), p. 46.

3. Ibid.

4. Diary, 3-24-1871.

passengers were again water-borne. The afternoon passage to The Dalles was very envigorating to Hobson as the steamer left the damp climate west of the Cascade Mountains and met the dry, bracing air of eastern Oregon.[1]

After spending the night at The Dalles, Hobson was up early next morning for the second portage required in Columbia River navigation of this period.[2] A train carried passengers up river to Celilo, above Tumwater Falls,[3] where the steamer Owyhee was waiting. Hobson was in good spirits this morning, and noted in his Diary:

> Feel happy & resigned to the will of the Lord. I really feel glad that I have been favored to overcome every obstacle and feeling of discouragement. Which several times have closely proved my faith.[4]

Having a good wind behind them, the Owyhee made a fast journey up the turbulent waters of the upper Columbia, reaching Umatilla at 5:30 P.M.[5] At this point, Hobson no longer mentions river travel, but would normally have continued to Wallula and then journeyed overland to Walla Walla. However it may have been, he had reached his destination at Walla Walla by Third Month, 28th.[6] He was now approximately two hundred and fifty miles east of Portland, Oregon.

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1. Ibid.
2. Diary, 3-25-1871.
3. Mills, p. 45.
4. Diary, 3-25-1871.
5. Ibid.
6. Diary, 3-28-1871.

v. Survey of the Walla Walla Valley

Hobson's Diary from Third Month, 28th to Fifth Month, 8th, 1871, is closely written with the details of his observations during the forty-four days he spent studying the country in the vicinity of Walla Walla, Washington Territory. Much of the time he journeyed afoot; other times he had the use of a borrowed horse, or rode with some congenial traveler.

As a horticulturist, he was much impressed by what he saw, remarking that one man had a better orchard, set only seven years, than he could ever hope to have in Iowa. Also, the important matter of not having to feed stock through the winter loomed large in his mind.[1] Everywhere he found the residents congenial, hospitable, and anxious to persuade newcomers to settle.

Early in his visit he conversed with Methodist Elder H. K. Hines regarding prospects of the valley.[2] The following First Day he went to hear Hines preach, and records that he felt encouraged to be more bold in his own preaching by the manly and aggressive way in which Hines preached the gospel.[3] Hobson attended to his own religious work also, while in the valley, appointing meetings in the Methodist

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1. Diary, 4-1-1871; 4-15-1871.

2. Diary, 3-31-1871. See page 232.

3. Diary, 4-2-1871.

and the United Brethren churches,[1] in other gathering places, and in private homes.[2]

By Fourth Month, 26th, he had journeyed about sixty miles northeastward to view the country around the forks of the Palouse River, and observed,

> I think I have seen some of the richest earth this week that I ever saw. I have now spent one month faithfully to make Myself acquainted with this country--besides the time & expense in getting from San Jose to Walla Walla . . . I have felt it my duty to find what I could about this country that I might be able to tell of it correctly & I continue to believe that some good friends ought to emigrate and commence settlements in several places in this Territory and in Oregon and invite the scattered friends and those who desire to live among friends to come and settle amongst us. . . . I feel satisfied now & peace of mind as having thus far performed a duty for the sake of many [italics supplied].[3]

On that same day, he began to tell those farewell who had dealt with him so kindly in the Walla Walla Valley, and to make preparations to return to Portland. There were a few meetings yet which he felt should be appointed. At Waitsburg, he had an appointed meeting "to some satisfaction yet I did not have such an open time or so large a gathering as would have been most joyful," he notes.[4]

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1. Diary, 4-9-1871; 4-30-1871; 5-3-1871.

2. Diary, 4-8-1871; 4-16-1871.

3. Diary, 4-26-1871.

4. Diary, 4-30-1871.

Arriving in the town of Walla Walla the next day, he was much disappointed to find no mail from home or from his father.[1] He seemed to be feeling disappointment, also, over the results of his religious work. On the 5th he wrote, "I trust in him to day with Strong hope that He will make his power known through his servant to the edification of the people here."[2]

By Fifth Month, 8th, he felt that his duty had been fulfilled, both as to ministry and in regard to his land survey. That day he journeyed to Wallula, stayed over night and took the downriver steamer. The next evening he had arrived safely in Portland, where he registered for the night at the American Exchange Hotel.[3]

vi. Ministry in the Willamette Valley

On the next morning, Fifth Month, 11th, Hobson set off at 5:00 A.M. for Salem, via river steamer. While changing boats at the Oregon City falls, he grew pensive.

> My mind is deeply thoughtful this morning because of the bondage under which so many are now living. The world under the influence of fashion & Pride Suffers much; Some by the use of oaths taking our Makers name in vain. Some by the use of strong drink & Tobacco. . . . And for the Religious world that they are so generally under bondage to more or less of Types and Figures instead of that freedom they

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1. Diary, 5-1-1871. 2. Diary, 5-5-1871.

3. Diary, 5-8,9,10-1871.

> might enjoy were they enlightened to see fully that glorious liberty there is to be attained to and enjoyed in Christ.[1]

Arriving at Salem in the late afternoon, he put up at the Commercial House and went to the Post Office for mail. Again disappointed, he concluded that he would wait a few days for letters.[2]

The next day he was still waiting for mail and brooding with dissatisfaction over the way his religious work was going.

> To day I am trying to Bring my deeds to the Light to be tried. I have been feeling so small. Is it right, Or am I falling below my place. Was not Paul bold. Did he not strive to preach Christ even where he had not been named. And do not the wicked flee when no man pursueth. And are not the Righteous bold as a lion.[3]

Having preached himself a sermon, he set off the next day for Sublimity, a community about fifteen miles southeast of Salem, where his cousin Hadley Hobson lived. On the following First Day, he appointed an afternoon meeting at the Sublimity schoolhouse. It was small "but was held to pretty good satisfaction," he notes.[4] On the 18th, he paid religious visits to the schools at Sublimity and Aumsville, then held a meeting after school. "[I] feel that I have tried to

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1. Diary, 5-11-1871.
2. Ibid.
3. Diary, 5-12-1871.
4. Diary, 5-14-1871.

exercise in my little gift faithfully and feel peace in it," he remarked.[1]

Fifth Month, 20th, he returned to Salem, and the following day attended the Baptist Church in the morning and the Methodist (Sunday) School in the afternoon. The 22nd, he walked out northeast of town to the B. Halleys and appointed a meeting for worship on the following day at their schoolhouse, which was held "to good satisfaction."[2] A larger meeting was held the 26th. On First Day, 28th, he worshipped with the Congregationalists and visited the Methodist (Sunday) School again. It was a busy Sabbath, as he had his own appointed meeting scheduled that afternoon at the courthouse in Salem. "Had a pretty full attendance," he writes, "and feel pretty well over what I was instrumental in giving the people."[3]

On the 30th the Diary records:

> This morning I am Looking towards leaving pretty soon. Yet I have filled but a small portion of my prospect of religious prospect in this valley but I have found it somewhat difficult.[4]

While journeying to Portland on the 31st, he set down an entry in his Diary which indicates that he had experienced a complete reversal in his thinking about a Friends settlement in the Pacific Northwest.

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1. Diary, 5-18-1871.
2. Diary, 5-20,22,23-1871.
3. Diary, 5-28-1871.
4. Diary, 5-30-1871.

> I have now seen And collected information of The soil, Climate & productions of the Pacific States and am able to compare them with Iowa[,] Missouri and some other corn-growing States. And am of the opinion that mostly people will or can still do as well without crossing the plains.[1]

On Sixth Month, 1st, he arranged for his ticket on the steamer Oriflamme for San Francisco, which was scheduled to depart on the 3rd. "Perhaps I may not have much now to do but to watch over myself that I walk circumspectly in all things and get home without much delay," he wrote.[2]

The Oriflamme was detained four days in departing, and Hobson had time on his hands in Portland. On the 3rd, his Diary reads,

> I have walked out of town upon the face of an high hill from which the timber is nearly all cut off for some distance up the steep. This I find to be a suitable place to get to myself to write where I can look over the city And see also the Boats.[3]

Two mornings later, he was again up on the heights writing:

> I am out on one of the hills looking over things in the distance and near by. There is Mount Hood and several other large Mounts all buried in snow . . . it is very clear today . . . Some portions of these Counties on this Coast appear very good: But as a whole it lacks much of being equal to the Old Northwest. My estimate of the N[ew] N W is not quite as great as before I saw it. Yet I have a high estimate of it still. [Italics supplied][4]

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1. Diary, 5-31-1871.
2. Diary, 6-1-1871.
3. Diary, 6-3-1871.
4. Diary, 6-5-1871.

On Sixth Month, 7th, the Oriflamme departed for San Francisco at 7:00 A.M. Before supper, they crossed the Columbia Bar and were at sea.[1] Near midnight of the 9th, sixty-five hours after leaving Portland, the steamer drew up to the wharf at San Francisco.[2]

vii. Conclusion of Religious Work

Most of the next four weeks William Hobson spent in San Jose and its vicinity, visiting his relatives, helping them with their work and finishing up his religious ministry on the West Coast more to the satisfaction of his mind.[3] He was greatly encouraged thereto by the arrival of two packages of tracts from Iowa, which he took as evidence that "some kind friends somewhere, are thinking and laboring with me in the Lords work."[4]

The arrival of the tracts and letters from Iowa served to largely relieve his mind of the depression he had come under while in Oregon. On Seventh Month, 20th, he happily recorded the following:

> To day I am Much of my time alone in one of my brother Jesses upper rooms in San Jose with about 80 kinds of the Tracts spread over the room. . . . and have shed tears of joy because they have reached me and the good letters from my wife[,] daughter & daughter in law & my friends.[5]

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1. Diary, 6-7-1871.
2. Diary, 6-9-1871.
3. Diary, 6-10-1871 to 7-7-1871.
4. Diary, 6-19-1871; 6-23-1871.
5. Diary, 7-20-1871.

He was happy also, that while meeting with San Jose Friends the last First Day, he had experienced more of his usual freedom and power in the spoken word. "Again [I] have happy days & favors abounded After feeling some times of leanness and loneliness. But I am thankful for all that I have passed through."[1]

He now rapidly wound up his work distributing the tracts, appointing meetings, writing letters to friends in the Pacific Northwest and saying his farewells.[2] On Seventh Month, 5th, he departed for Sacramento, and the following day, boarded the train for the long, homeward journey. Seven days later, on the 13th, he arrived at Union, Iowa, and found all "in pretty good order" when he reached home that night.[3]

In his first journey to the Far West, Hobson had gone with a minute expressing the unity of Friends in his prospect of religious service. He also carried his own concern that there should be an emigration of midwestern Quakers to begin settlement of communities on the Pacific Coast, and while traveling there he gave the major amount of his time to the search for satisfactory sites of settlement.

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1. Ibid.
2. Diary, 6-20-1871 to 7-4-1871.
3. Diary, 7-5-1871 to 7-13-1871.

He considered California unsuitable for what he had in mind, and apparently never gave that state further serious consideration. He found the Pacific Northwest, however, immensely attractive, yet at the conclusion of nearly three months of extensive travel in Oregon, he suddenly was ready to abandon the entire project. The New Northwest was too mountainous, and subject to flooding and other ills that had not troubled him earlier.[1]

It is the opinion of the present writer that the religious depression which gradually crept over Hobson's mind in the Willamette Valley was the cause of his loss of enthusiasm for a Far West settlement. He became lonely after weeks without mail, and depressed at the lack of apparent results from his preaching. Iowa Quakerism was caught up amidst the fervor and excitement of religious revival when he left in 1870, and he found it difficult for one man to pack up all the new enthusiasm and warmth and carry it west. Failing, he concluded that the Middle West was perhaps the best place for Friends, after all.

3. The Second Journey of William Hobson

Within two years, however, the Far West was again on his mind, for in his Diary entry of First Month, 31st, 1873, he wrote, "Talked with N. Williams, giving information about

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1. Diary, 6-5-1871.

the New North West." The following day he recorded,

> To day I am fully and was almost yesterday given up to move to the far West, yet not decided where to locate: But believe it will be in Was[hington] T[erritory].[1]

Ten days later, he "spent some time giving In[formation] to some who came to learn about W.[ashington] T.[erritory]."[2] Within a month, he notes in the Diary that he had "lectured at H.[oney] C.[reek] on Christian Missions and the New North West."[3]

Iowa Yearly Meeting had liberated John S. Bond for a trip to the Far West in its sessions of 1873,[4] and on Twelfth Month, 24th, of that year, Hobson had a letter from Bond giving a good account of the Far West.[5] When Bond returned in the early spring of 1874, Hobson visited him on two occasions.[6] What passed between them is unknown.

In spite of his resolution in 1873 to move to the Pacific Coast, Hobson seems to have again dismissed the project from his mind, for he took no action that year to move West, and in the fall of 1874 he constructed a comfortable

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1. Diary, 2-1-1873.

2. Diary, 2-10-1873.

3. Diary, 3-11-1873.

4. Editorial Committee, [Editorial], Friends Review, 27(1873), 89.

5. Diary, 12-24-1873.

6. Diary, 3-4-1873; 3-23-1873.

new dwelling on his Iowa farm.[1]

The new home was only six months old, however, when Hobson expressed a concern in Honey Creek Monthly Meeting for religious service on the Pacific Coast, and he was accordingly liberated and encouraged to attend thereto.[2] A month later, he reported in his Diary that he had secured the approbation of the Quarterly Meeting also, and that he was getting ready for a trip to California, Oregon and Washington.[3]

He had now twice resolved that Friends should emigrate and begin new settlements in the Far West, and twice given up the project. Yet in his Diary of Fifth Month, 26th, 1876, he declares that the responsibility to work for such a purpose had weighed upon him since 1870. Loneliness and discouragement had dissuaded him on his first trip to the West in 1871.[4] What the Iowa factors were that dampened his

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1. Diary, 8-17-1874 to 10-10-1874.

2. Minutes, HCMM, 3-12-1875. 3. Diary, 4-12-1875.

4. In this conclusion I take exception to the interpretations of the following writers, who do not seem to have noted Hobson's temporary abandonment of a Far West settlement: Rayner W. Kelsey, "Quakerism beyond the Mississippi," The American Friend, 17(Seventh Month, 28, 1910), 469; Lela Morrill, "The History of Friends in Oregon," (typescript copy at the Headquarters of Oregon Yearly Meeting of Friends, Newberg, Oregon), p. 4; [Jack Willcuts], "Quaker Pioneers," Northwest Friend, 39(July, 1959), 9; and Ione Juanita Beale Harkness, "Certain Community Settlements of Oregon," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1925), pp. 26-32.

enthusiasm of 1873, the diaries do not at this stage reveal.

On Fifth Month, 11th, 1875, Hobson again boarded the train at Union, Iowa, bound for the Pacific Coast,[1] having John S. Bond as companion, it appears, from Iowa to California.[2] Upon arriving at San Jose, he was reunited with his father, Stephen Hobson, who had moved to California from North Carolina.[3]

Scarcely had William Hobson arrived in California when he was afflicted with the hoarseness which he had come to associate with sea breezes.[4] A drought had also damaged crops around San Jose, and Hobson resolved, "I cannot recommend Iowa folks to come here for settlement unless it should seem to be their duty."[5]

During the month he spent in California, he was occasionally seeing John S. Bond, who was apparently doing religious work in the vicinity of San Jose. On Fifth Month, 24th, they were joined by Perry C. Hadley,[6] a Quaker and

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1. Diary, 5-11-1875.

2. Diary, 5-18-1875. Also see Anna Hobson Blair, "Biography of William Hobson." Undated MS is in the possession of Laura Blair, Newberg, Oregon.

3. In spite of Stephen Hobson's financial reverses during the Civil War (see page 164), he owned 8,000 acres of North Carolina real estate, which he sold for $10,000 in 1869, before leaving the South. See Deed from Stephen Hobson to Charles Paulson, Book C, p. 163, Yadkin County Registry of Deeds, Yadkinville, N. C.

4. Diary, 5-23-1875.

5. Diary, 5-25-1875.

6. Diary, 5-24-1875.

neighbor in Hardin County, Iowa.[1] By the 28th, David J. Wood, of New Providence, Iowa, also became a member of the party.[2]

i. Second Search for a Settlement Site in the Pacific Northwest

On Sixth Month, 7th, Hobson, Bond, Hadley and Wood boarded the steamer Empire at San Francisco for Coos Bay, Oregon. Having headwinds against them, they had a rough passage before docking at Empire City, Oregon, on the 11th.[3] After holding a few meetings in the vicinity of Coos Bay, they boarded the stage for Roseburg, Sixth Month, 14th, with Hobson noting in his Diary,

> I feel pretty well and joyful that I am here. Even so happy that before 1 o clock I could not sleep for joy and heavenly meditations. I am thankful that I am so near my anticipated field of Labor.[4]

On the first day of their stage journey to Roseburg, the four Iowans marvelled at the fine stands of fir, hemlock and cedar through which they were passing, and at the magnificent scenery of the Coast Range. It required two days of stage travel to reach Roseburg, and Hobson was busily jotting down notes about the country as they traveled. At a

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1. History of Hardin County, p. 856.

2. Diary, 5-28-1875. D. J. Wood was clerk of New Providence Preparative Meeting from 1871 to 1875. Minutes, New Providence Preparative Meeting.

3. Diary, 6-7-1875 to 6-11-1875. 4. Diary, 6-14-1875.

small community called Looking-glass Prairie, he encountered a former Iowan, who informed him that "No one after staying here awhile wants to endure Iowa winters again."[1]

On the 16th and 17th they continued their way down the valley to Eugene. From Baptist and Methodist ministers they collected more favorable reports on the Willamette Valley. By nightfall of Sixth Month, 19th, he was again at Hadley Hobson's place, southeast of Salem, at Sublimity.[2] As they traveled about in the Sublimity community, Hobson made a special point of inquiring of the women as to their preference for Oregon or their former homes in the Middle West. He was pleased to find that they greatly preferred Oregon, and their testimony was jotted down for future reference. That night he recorded: "I feel Cheerful to day and pretty well and very much at home in this state."[3]

The Quaker population of Salem had been augmented in the fall of 1874 by the arrival of an important contingent from Kansas. In this group were Nathan and Elizabeth White and the latter's mother, Rebecca Clawson, a minister of Friends.[4] In the spring of 1875, the Whites moved to Dayton, Oregon, a flourishing little community about twenty

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1. Diary, 6-14-1875. 2. Diary, 6-16,17,19-1875.

3. Diary, 6-19-1875.

4. H. S. Nedry, "The Friends Come to Oregon: I, Newberg Meeting," Oregon Historical Quarterly, 45(1944), 197-98.

miles downriver from Salem. Rebecca Clawson appears to have remained with another daughter in Salem, where she busied herself holding meetings, some of which were at the state penitentiary.[1] Two Friends families from Indiana, the John Fusons and Macy Hadleys, also settled at Dayton about this time.[2]

On Sixth Month, 20th, the party of Iowans arrived in Salem, where they were warmly welcomed and entertained by the William Adairs, the John Townsends and several families by the name of Haines. They remained in Salem four days, giving Hobson opportunity to visit a school and to attend commencement at Willamette University. He also visited the state penitentiary and its ninety to one hundred convicts.[3]

On Sixth Month, 25th, Hobson's Diary notes that he "made ready & went with Elizabeth White and children to Dayton." He observed that she was "a lively energetic woman, a great Talker, is very intelligent," and that she seemed "quite happy over getting to Oregon." The next day, Hobson and Bond journeyed eight miles farther down the river in order to visit his cousin, Esther Markham. This visit brought Hobson into the Chehalem Valley, a part of Oregon which he had not seen before, and which he now observed to possess

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1. Rayner W. Kelsey, "Quakerism beyond the Mississippi," The American Friend, 17(Seventh Month, 28, 1910), 469-70.

2. Ibid., p. 469.

3. Diary, 6-20-1875 to 6-24-1875.

splendid agricultural prospects.[1]

The occasion of his visit to the Chehalem Valley goes back to the previous winter, when Rebecca Clawson preached to the convicts at the state penitentiary. There, one of the convicts, Thomas Markham, observed her Quaker bonnet and knowing something of Friends, sought to speak to her after her message. He begged her to call on his sorrowing wife and children, alone on their Chehalem Valley farm. Rebecca Clawson not being able for the journey, Nathan and Elizabeth White took the boat to Roger's Landing and did their best to comfort the lonely family.[2]

Upon Hobson's coming to Salem in 1875, he met Rebecca Clawson,[3] and apparently heard the story of Thomas Markham from her, for he talked with Markham when visiting the penitentiary.[4] At his first opportunity, which was two days later, Hobson hurried up to the Chehalem Valley to add his consolation to that which the Whites had earlier given.[5]

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1. Diary, 6-26-1875. 2. Kelsey, op. cit., p. 470.

3. Diary, 6-21-1875. 4. Diary, 6-24-1875.

5. Kelsey is clearly mistaken in saying that Hobson made this journey into the Chehalem Valley in Eleventh Month, 1875. Kelsey, op. cit. Hobson first saw the Chehalem Valley in the summer of 1875, and did not immediately conclude that he had found the spot for the Friends settlement, but rather searched the New Northwest for another four months before making his decision. Kelsey overstresses the importance of the Quaker bonnet upon the founding of Quakerism in the Chehalem Valley. The region had to pass economic tests before it was acceptable to Hobson. See pages 266-68.

The next day being First Day, Hobson and Bond held two meetings in Dayton which were "pretty well attended" and good meetings.[1] That night Hobson stayed with General Joel Palmer, founder of the town of Dayton.[2]

On the 30th of the month, Bond returned to California by overland stage from Portland, and the other members of the Iowa party, Hobson, Hadley and Wood, bought steamer tickets to Wallula.[3] Two days later they were churning up the Columbia, Hobson apparently not having yet given up the Walla Walla Valley as a settlement site. Arriving there Seventh Month, 4th, he was chagrined to see that the fruit trees of the valley had been much injured by severe cold, with no prospect of a peach crop. They spent ten days touring the valley and then returned to Portland, apparently disillusioned with the Walla Walla country, due to the sight of dead and damaged fruit trees.[4]

Two days later (Seventh Month, 20th), they left Portland, returning southwestward toward Dayton. The Diary

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1. Diary, 6-27-1875.

2. Ibid. Major General Joel Palmer had been captain of an immigrant train over the Oregon Trail; Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon and Washington, and Speaker of the Oregon Legislature. Allan B. Slauson (ed.), "Early Days in Old Yamhill as Recalled by John W. Booker," (Typescript copy in files of Multnomah County Library, Portland, Oregon), p. 5.

3. Diary, 6-30-1875.

4. Diary, 7-2-1875 to 7-16-1875.

reads:

> Traveled about 25 miles on foot. Passed Oswego & viewed the resource for Iron and believe it to be very great. They are now in a lively way at work running out 8 tons of metal per day. We are told that hands here get 2.00 per day.[1]

Arriving at Dayton, Hobson helped Nathan White put up his hay crop, and was pleased at the speed such work could be accomplished in a cool climate.[2]

On the 23rd, Hobson took the boat downriver to see Seth Lewelling at Milwaukie, using his place as a base for several days while investigating the Clackamas Valley.[3] The following week he was back in Dayton, where Nathan White took him on a tour of the beautiful Yamhill country.[4]

There is a brief break in Hobson's diaries at this point, and when they are resumed, nearly a month later, he is found journeying to Milwaukie, with the apparent intent of going to work in the iron mines at Oswego.[5] For $2.50, he purchased a frying pan, "coffee boiler," coffee, sugar and a shoulder of bacon to supply his needs. "Slept pretty cold in my tent without fire," he remarked on the following day.[6] After ten days, he found his mind dwelling more on his land search than iron mining. Leaving his things in his quarters, he received $15.60 for work already done, and

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1. Diary, 7-20-1875.
2. Diary, 7-22-1875.
3. Diary, 7-23-1875.
4. Diary, 7-28-1875.
5. Diary, 8-24-1875.
6. Diary, 8-25-1875.

hurried back to Dayton.[1]

After Ninth Month, 10th, the search for a settlement site assumed a dead-earnest aspect. P. C. Hadley, David J. Wood, Hobson and four others spent two days in the vicinity of Silverton, Oregon, but rejected the region due to its being "too stony."[2] Arriving wearily back at Dayton, Hobson writes, "I was glad to find a letter from my dear sympathetic daughter, Anna Hobson."[3]

On the 17th, they journeyed across the Columbia River to Washington Territory, studying the possibilities of the valley of the Little Washougal. The only decision reached was that it appeared attractive.[4]

While on this trip, Hobson had recorded in his Diary:

> I am seriously thoughtful now in regard to Holding with other friends a meeting soon at Dayton after the order of Friends twice in the week . . . There are like to be about 20 or more at Dayton Oregon this winter. I believe I will take my things from the Orebank and make my home at Dayton perhaps until Friends there can do without me.[5]

ii. First Regular Meetings of Friends in the Pacific Northwest

Hobson's Diary entry of Tenth Month, 10th, 1875, records the beginnings at Dayton, Oregon, of the first regular

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1. Diary, 9-4-1875.
2. Diary, 9-14,15-1875.
3. Diary, 9-16-1875.
4. Diary, 9-17-1875 to 9-22-1875.
5. Diary, 9-19-1875.

Friends meetings held in the Pacific Northwest: "Attended Friends Meeting at N. Whites at 10 o clock a.m. The Scripture School at 12 1/2." Thereafter, meetings for worship and Friends Scripture School were regularly held each First Day of the week.

On Eleventh Month, 13th, Hobson traveled the eight miles from Dayton to see his cousin, Esther Markham, in the Chehalem Valley.[1] The following day he was back in Dayton at Friends Meeting.[2] In spite of rain and snow the next day, he again journeyed up to see Esther Markham.

> I walked down 8 miles to Cousin Esthers who is so sick still as to have to be waited on. I had about one mile to walk after dark along an ugly road through thick Brush. If I had not been the road several times before I would not have undertaken to have found the way . . . I frequently stepped or slipped into deep puddles.[3]

While visiting his cousin, Hobson made a leisurely inspection of the three hundred and twenty acre farm upon which she was living. He found the land to be partly cleared of its native oak and fir timber, and with several orchards, now old, partly enclosed. It contained acreages suitable for grain, some fenced lots and a few buildings, including a poor house.[4] Its horticultural prospects, however, were excellent. The owner, one William Greenwood, a

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1. Diary, 11-13-1875.
2. Diary, 11-14-1875.
3. Diary, 11-15-1875.
4. Diary, 11-16-1875.

blacksmith living a few miles distant at Bridgeport, was offering the land for sale at $6.25 per acre.[1] A few days later, Hobson went to see Greenwood, with the result that on Eleventh Month, 24th, 1875, his Diary records him busily stepping off parts of the place which he had bought. Apparently he paid only $20.00 cash to seal the transaction.[2] Considering that he had now been living with others for over six months, his Diary entry of Eleventh Month, 25th, 1875, was no doubt made with much satisfaction: "Went to J. Fusons and moved my things home." Two weeks later, Esther Markham was well enough for Hobson to help her move to Portland, and he now had his Chehalem Valley farm home to himself.[3]

iii. Beginnings of the Chehalem Valley Friends Settlement

Purchase of the Greenwood land represented the end of Hobson's search for the site of a Friends settlement in the Pacific Northwest. He had now viewed the rest of the valley several times,[4] and was satisfied that there was room here not only for himself but for many others also.

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1. Ibid.

2. Diary, 1-5-1876. His land was originally the Oliver J. Walker Donation Land Claim.

3. Diary, 12-8-1875.

4. Diary, 6-26-1875; 11-16-1875; 11-20-1875.

(1) Natural Setting.--The Chehalem Valley is a fertile district about ten miles long and four miles wide in northeastern Yamhill County, Oregon. It is bounded on the north and east by the Chehalem Mountains, a spur of the Coast Range. Its southern limit is the Willamette River, into which the waters of Chehalem Creek drain. To the south and west are the rolling Red Hills of Dundee. The view from the top of Bald Peak in the Chehalem Mountains is spectacularly beautiful.

The valley is gently rolling in topography, with some quite level regions, and others more broken. Its soil is a loam of generally very good quality, depending upon location. Mild winters and cool summers permit a growing season of about six months each year, which is especially well adapted to horticulture.

(2) Earliest Residents.--"Chehalem" is an Indian word, said to mean "land of flowers,"[1] by which the Yamhill Indians[2] appear to have called the valley. J. C. Cooper was in the Yamhill country early enough to have known some of its early residents, and he describes them as "a quiet, indolent

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1. Mrs. Wesley M. Wire, "Chehalem Center Vicinity," Newberg Graphic, 50(April, 1939).

2. They are variously called "Yamstills," "Yamhelas" and "Yamels" in early Oregon literature. Mary Goodall, Oregon's Iron Dream (Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1958), p. 4.

people," who were "neither crafty nor cunning."[1] Their subsistence was relatively easy in the rolling prairies and forests west of the Willamette River, during the days when wild geese and ducks, grouse, pheasants, deer, elk, trout and salmon were plentiful.[2]

The Yamhills were neither aggressive nor defensive and disappeared rapidly after white settlement began. In an interesting passage, Cooper describes how he once came unobserved upon a group of Yamhill Indians in a forest glade one stormy winter night, and listened to the intensely minor and pathetic chant of their singing as it rose and fell in a peculiar cadence very like the wind in the tall firs.[3] Cooper's mixed metaphors will perhaps be excused in the following description of the disappearance of the Yamhill Indian: "He was a wild and tender plant, and when the agriculturist came, was swept from the fertile valleys like flies from the ceiling on a frosty morning."[4]

(3) White Settlement.--The earliest settlers in the Chehalem Valley were Ewing Young and his companions in 1834, a breed of men hardened by their occupation as trappers and

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1. J. C. Cooper, Military History of Yamhill County ([Facts of publication omitted]), pages unnumbered. A copy of this rare little volume is on file in the Multnomah County Library, Portland, Oregon.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

traders in the American Southwest.[1] They arrived in the days when American and British interests in the Oregon Country were existing side by side, and Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, was exercising economic dominion of the region. As Americans and as men whose character McLoughlin mistrusted, the Young party was coolly received and denied supplies from the post. They accordingly moved into the Chehalem Valley, erected cabins, and Young eventually became prosperous in the raising of cattle.[2]

In 1843, when extensive migration by way of the Oregon Trail began, about twenty-four settlers took up homes in Yamhill County.[3] In the following years, other settlers came, some of whom took land in the Chehalem Valley.[4] After passage of the Donation Land Act of 1850, single settlers could claim a half section of land, and married settlers an entire section. The city of Newberg now rests on the site of two such Donation Land Claims, those of D. D. Deskins and Joseph Rogers. Among many other such claims

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1. Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 181-82.

2. Ibid., pp. 182-83.

3. Slauson, p. 4. The descendants of Charles Fendall, one of these settlers of 1843, are active Quakers in the valley.

4. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

nearby were those of Oliver J. Walker and Sebastian Brutscher.[1]

When Hobson chose the Chehalem Valley as a site to which Friends might be induced to move, it was thus not an unsettled wilderness. A few rough roads existed; some land was cleared, and scattered pioneers had been making a living there for four decades. Mail was carried horseback through the valley from Portland to Lafayette, the county seat, every other day, and a post office was in existence. Sebastian Brutscher had obtained the commission of postmaster for Chehalem Valley in 1869, upon which he called the office Newberg, after his old home in Bavaria.[2]

iv. An Obstacle to Settlement

Shortly after Hobson committed himself to buy the Chehalem Valley farm, a note of anxiety began to creep into his Diary, affording the first evidence of the obstacle that had long been standing in the way of his forming a western settlement. On Twelfth Month, 1st, 1875, seven days after purchasing Greenwood's farm, he wrote: "I want to get some advice from Justice or Lawyers about the necessity of the wife signing a Mortgage."

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1. Perry D. Macy, "Early Days in Newberg Vicinity," Newberg Graphic, 50(April, 1939).

2. Ibid.

The next day he posted letters to Iowans, including his wife, enclosing maps of western Oregon. From the date of purchasing his land he had been very busy buying tools, cutting shingles by hand, making repairs, trimming out roads through the underbrush of his land, planting seed of fruit trees, making his own boards and grubbing brush. At nights and in the early morning hours, he was often busy at correspondence with relatives and Quakers in the Middle West.[1] His Diary entry of Twelfth Month, 15th, is typical:

> Rose a great while before day. Wrote a sheet full to send to my wife and children. Chopped wood about an hour by moonlight. Made boards and covered my house shed . . . L[etter] to J[esse] & S[amuel] Hobson in the evening.[2]

Each First Day he walked the eight miles up river to attend Friends meeting at Dayton and also walked the eight miles back. At the end of one such day, he wrote:

> Walked up to Dayton to Meeting and Back late in the evening coming 5 miles after night. It had rained all day and heavily through the night so it was pretty hard on me and on my boots to trudge 16 miles through the mud and numerous branches of water.[3]

He was up at four o'clock the next morning nevertheless, and throughout the winter of 1875-1876 maintained his busy schedule of work on the Chehalem Valley property.[4]

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1. Diary, 11-24-1875 to 1-1-1876.

2. Diary, 12-15-1875. 3. Diary, 12-19-1875.

4. Diary, 12-20-1875. I find it impossible to consider Hobson as being a "frail old man" in the winter of 1875, as

On First Month, 6th, Hobson was soliloquizing in his Diary regarding the last, obdurate barrier to his Chehalem Valley settlement:

> Yesterday as I rode along the road I thought much about my wife. Will she ever become a true helper in the Lord[?] Or will she refuse to sign a Mortgage for a tract of Land in Oregon which I have purchased[?].[1]

It now becomes clear why Hobson took so much care to record in his diaries what the pioneer women thought of Oregon.[2] He was accumulating evidence which he hoped would induce Sarah Hobson to change her mind about the Pacific Northwest.

On Second Month, 21st, 1876, his anxiety for the future of his settlement again comes to the fore. "No news has come to me from Iowa But I am resolved to try to dwell in . . . patience. I hope some may arrive this week."[3] Mail which arrived four days later apparently relieved his anxiety as to Sarah Hobson's willingness to sign the mortgage, for he wrote: "Received Some important News & the Mortgage from Samuel Hobson."[4] His relief seems to have had some

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Ione J. B. Harkness has described him in "Certain Community Settlements of Oregon," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1925), pp. 26, 31. The strenuous life he was leading is sufficient evidence to the contrary.

1. Diary, 1-6-1876.

2. See page 251, and Diary, 11-27-1870; 4-6-1871; 6-18-1875.

3. Diary, 2-21-1876.

4. Diary, 2-25-1876.

reflection in the meeting at Dayton next First Day, of which he remarked:

> We had a blessed meeting to day. Several strangers were present. I was largely drawn out in gospel love to the people in a comforting lively testimony.[1]

v. First Friends Meetings in the Chehalem Valley

A few weeks later, the first Friends Meeting was held in the Newberg community in the home of one William Clemmens, at three o'clock in the afternoon of Third Month, 19th, 1876.[2] Meetings appear to have been irregularly held for a few weeks at the homes of Clemmens and Hobson, before a regular routine was adopted. A First Day Scripture School was also held in conjunction with each of these meetings. It does not appear that regular religious meetings of any other denomination were being held in the Chehalem Valley at this time.

Throughout the spring of 1876, Hobson had had the company of Nathan Talbert, who was helping him put in the first crops on his farm. On Fifth Month, 22nd, Talbert left for California,[3] and a sense of loneliness settled down upon Hobson. His Diary entries thereupon became more lengthy and informative.

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1. Diary, 2-27-1876.
2. Diary, 3-19-1876.
3. Diary, 5-22-1876.

> At 1/2 past 6. a.m. Just finished my mornings work. Which Takes me a good while now for I am alone; and have had the new experience yesterday and to day of doing all the out-door work and the in-door work necessary to a living for man. It takes me a long time. Yet I suppose I am over all this nearly by the time some careless sleepy folks are up and washed and ready for breakfast . . . But I remember the Lord said: "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him." I am every day desiring the Lord may make of my wife a help suitable to my present need. Has not enough come to pass already to enable her to believe That I am in the work of the Lord in trying to make settlement here. And like Israel of old say "It is enough" This is no imaginary or crazy freak of the brain of Wm. Hobson. But the Lord has laid upon Wm. Hobson The arduous work of selecting a suitable location and the commencing of a settlement of Friends in Oregon. The Selection is made. A settlement has already begun to form. David J. Wood has purchased a home near. Some are on the way to this place and many others have their thoughts this way. I hope my wife will soon see it her duty to enter in as my helper in this thing because it is of the Lord; and he will surely prosper the work if his servants prove faithful under all trials.[1]

In an important Diary entry two days later, Hobson laid bare his own motivation in forming a Far West Friends settlement, and soliloquized further regarding the hindrances that had stood in the way.

> Last night was the third night in the which I have stayed here alone . . . as I have been finishing up my indoor work for the morning, I have afresh thought over how I have been impressed for more than six years that some settlements of Friends ought to be formed in these parts for the good of the race of mankind. That it was laid on me to work for it as the Lord should direct and

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1. Diary, 5-24-1876.

make way for. I came once to this field of labor for a while & went home. But I found I could not rest in Iowa with the Load which continued to grow heavier upon me. But I must go again when I could. And not seeing how I could, early as it ought to be with my own means at my command. I wrote to my brothers at San jose whose work is in the Lord who thought it their duty to advance the means and thus without further delay way was made for me and for John S. Bond to visit Oregon religiously: But my mind was impressed from the very first that part of my duty was to Obtain a good knowledge of the countries hereaway So as to be able to give important information to others especially to the Friends whose duty it might be to settle here. And this last time I was the more forcibly impressed with this latter part of the work That I must find a Locality for a Friends settlement, and help some to get it started; even if for the main part my home remained in Iowa. My wife seeing or feeling little or nothing with me in this work has seemingly come nigh causing me to fail going on but I rejoice this morning that I have not suffered even this to hinder me from apprehended duty. This is party [sic] a work of Faith and for my help just now I call to mind Mary Pinkhams similar impressions relative to settlements of Friends here; and her earnest efforts under unfavorable circumstances at a great cost to do her part. I have performed some religious labor in many places on this Coast in which I had peace. I have Obtained much knowledge of the countries over this Coast There are many localities hereaway some in California, Many in Oregon and Wash. Ter. which which [sic] are favorable for making happy homes and for the rearing a light which will shine far into the world. With the knowledge which I have Obtained; and the favors still granted to me I feel thankful to all my brothers and friends who in the Providence of God have had some little hand in this work which I feel to be a work of great importance. And is now well and firmly begun. I have Obtained a Title to 1/2 Sec. and D. J. Wood to 3 forties in a central part of one of the best small Valleys in Oregon, Where to our surprise; land with considerable of improvements, Often including old Orchards is only rating around us

at about ten dollars per acre. I can now speak of Oregon and this Valley by certain knowledge. Last was the pleasantest summer I ever passed through. Last the wettest winter that I ever saw But no cutting sea or Bay breeze here. For it is Broken off twice by the mountains and large hills; and thirdly by the scattering old Fir trees, many of which have reared their heads above one hundred and fifty feet above this little valley which is more level than than [sic] my land at H.C. Iowa. There are a few Old white Oak trees too. good for timber or for fire. The more I am able to see this place and to know it the better I like it. I did not see it all when I took hold here. Therefore It was not all of me; But in the Providences of God Rather that this selection is made. For which I thank the Lord and give him the praise, in this too. The climate seems favorable to my health here. Probably Therefore I might be able to live a few years longer to do good among men here than in Iowa. I think including the whole of winter and Summer I like the climate of this Locality best of any that I have tried It is seldom cold or hot. I think if my wife were here she would like it too. And I think it would especially suit our Son Samuel who has once been so near sunstruck in Iowa, and who frequenly [sic] has such hard attacks of headache Probably this climate might prove a great benefit to him. I hope now Our dear friends at Honey or Elsewhere will not try to hold us all to any one place. But will rather possess missionary Spirit enough to gladly let some suitable members go to form a settlement here and make it a garden of the Lord. I think I have not time to write more to send out by next Mail therefore I send this to Brother Jesse that my Relatives there may hear it with the Request that it be forwarded next to Caleb Baldwin at Honey Creek New Providence Hardin Co., Iowa who will take an interest in letting my friends and family there have the reading of it. It seems to be such a good time to work this morning that I could [hardly] take time to write this letter But with the hope I will do good faster with the pen thus this fore noon than with my plow or other tools here alone.[1]

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1. Diary, 5-26-1876.

vi. Financial Backing of the Settlement

It is implied in the foregoing Diary entry of Fifth Month, 26th, 1876, that Hobson would have made his second journey sooner if funds had been available. It no doubt required a certain amount of time also, to recover financially from the expenses of the first journey, which had cost $400.00, of which $150.00 had been borne by Iowa Yearly Meeting.[1]

As the burden of Hobson's responsibility toward the West had grown heavier, he apparently felt that he should go into debt to fulfill his duty. The willingness of his brothers in California to lend financial support and to encourage him in his project was a cause of much gratitude to him.[2]

The amount of money which William Hobson borrowed from his brother David, of San Jose, California, for his second Oregon journey was $1,381.90.[3] Since David Hobson had received his start in California as a gold miner during days of the Gold Rush, it can therefore be said that a link exists between the discovery of gold in California and the founding

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1. Diary, 1-8-1882. This is the only extant Diary entry made between early 1878 and late 1885.

2. Diary, 5-26-1876. One wonders why he did not borrow the money from his father, who was then in a very comfortable financial position. See page 249.

3. Diary, 3-16-1886.

of Quakerism in Oregon.[1]

The debt which William Hobson had assumed in order to form a settlement in Orégon was not easily paid. It was a burden to him for many years, causing him to wonder at times if he and Sarah would ever be financially independent again.[2] It was finally completely discharged after ten years, in 1886.[3]

vii. First Friends Settlers at Newberg

As soon as Hobson had selected the site of his proposed settlement, he began posting letters from the Newberg post office to Friends in the Midwest, California and Washington Territory. Every effort to recover these letters has been unavailing. They represent, however, a heavy increase in his volume of correspondence as recorded in the diaries, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the letters were in advertisement of the Chehalem Valley and his proposed religious settlement.

The important second step after selection of the land site was the setting up of the regular meetings for worship and Scripture School, as previously noted, Third Month, 19th, 1876. He could now advertise not only favorable agricultural lands, but could exhort Friends to join in the building up of a religious community with the attendant

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1. See page 220. 2. Diary, 1-8-1882. 3. Diary, 3-11-1886.

moral and cultural benefits which could be expected to follow.

The David J. Woods were apparently his first accessions to the settlement at Newberg.[1] In Fifth Month, 1876, others were on the way, and many more were thinking of moving to Oregon.[2] The 28th of that month, Hobson was looking constantly for some of his children to arrive, and on the 31st greeted Henry and Mary Austin, his daughter and son-in-law, and also Jesse, his son of eighteen years.[3] By the next month he was joyfully escorting many visitors around the valley.[4] On Sixth Month, 24th, he wrote, "My family of visitors with ourselves now consists of about two Tablefulls . . . I made another Gate and Cleared out the way towards the Portland Road."[5] The next day he remarked, "I have had . . . many visitors lately and they like well. This is some comfort to me. There were 20 persons dined at our house to day."[6] The following day Hobson took quiet satisfaction in recording the opinion of one of his guests who had climbed adjacent Bald Mountain and reported it to be "the most beautiful land sight he ever saw."[7]

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1. Diary, 5-24-1876.
2. Ibid.
3. Diary, 5-31-1876.
4. Diary, 6-1-1876; 6-17-1876.
5. Diary, 6-24-1876.
6. Diary, 6-25-1876.
7. Diary, 6-26-1876.

With members of his family at hand to carry on the work of the farm, Hobson could now think of returning to Iowa. On Eighth Month, 30th, he and Jesse journeyed towards Portland, stopping at Oswego to view the iron works, then crossing the river to inspect Seth Lewelling's orchards. Jesse Hobson returned to Roger's Landing by steamboat on Ninth Month, 1st, and his father boarded the steamer John T. Stevens, which departed for San Francisco the same day.[1]

Five days later he had arrived safely at San Francisco. After a short visit with his brothers at San Jose, he boarded a train at Niles Junction for Iowa,[2] and on Ninth Month, 20th, 1876, reached his home at Honey Creek, after an absence of over sixteen months.[3]

viii. Final Settlement in Oregon

In the spring of 1876, while alone in Oregon, Hobson had considered the possibility that even though the settlement was begun, he might himself yet have to make his home in Iowa, should his wife remain obdurate.[4] Within a month after his arrival home, however, all of Sarah Hobson's resistance had vanished, for on Tenth Month, 20th, 1876, they held a sale, disposing of all their "loose property" at

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1. Diary, 8-30-1875 to 9-1-1875.
2. Diary, 9-5-1875 to 9-11-1875.
3. Diary, 9-20-1875.
4. Diary, 5-26-1876.

Honey Creek. Fifteen hundred dollars was realized,[1] enough to effect the move across the plains, and meet a large payment due on the Chehalem Valley farm.[2]

Sarah Hobson's reluctance to leave all that had been secured in Iowa at so much cost can be readily understood. She and her husband had journeyed halfway across the continent from North Carolina, and had pioneered in two communities of Iowa. She was weary of pioneering, of rough cabins, frontier communities and back-breaking toil.[3] Now, she was being asked to leave her new home in Iowa, journey the rest of the way across the continent and, as it seemed to her, begin all over again, leaving Iowa friends, Honey Creek Meeting, and her aged mother far behind. To her credit, before the year 1876 was out, her duty became clear and she entered whole-heartedly into her husband's work in the founding of a Friends settlement in the Chehalem Valley.[4]

A few days after the sale, they attended meeting at Honey Creek, bade their friends farewell, and on the following day, Tenth Month, 30th, 1876, started to Oregon. "There are 4 families of us going now to Oregon," Hobson recorded.[5]

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1. Diary, 10-20-1876.
2. Diary, 6-26-1876.
3. Interviews with Leota Walton, July 2, 1961, and Laura Blair, Aug. 25, 1961.
4. Diary, 10-30-1876.
5. Diary, 10-29,30-1876.

By Eleventh Month, 20th, they were in San Francisco, waiting to board the steamer G. W. Elder. On the 23rd, they paid the fare of $10.00 each, to Portland, and on that day, put to sea. Three days later they arrived at their destination, and stayed the night at the Occidental House.[1] Next morning they were up early to catch the upriver steamer, Occident, for Winoosica Landing at Newberg. The Diary entry for this day is mostly illegible, but they would normally have arrived that same afternoon.[2]

ix. Early Growth of the Settlement

As had been seen, the first Friends Meetings in the Chehalem Valley were held in the homes of William Clemmens[3] and William Hobson. On First Month, 28th, 1877, there were about forty-five in attendance.[4] Sixth Month, 17th, Hobson reported, "Had a large Meeting at my house, more than 50 persons."[5] Two months later he recorded seventy present at "Meeting and School."[6]

By Tenth Month, 14th, 1877, it was obvious that private homes were no longer large enough to accommodate the attendance. That day, Hobson wrote in his Diary:

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1. Diary, 10-20,23,26-1876. 2. Diary, 11-27-1876.

3. Hobson occasionally spells this name "Clemmings." Clemmens is correct.

4. Diary, 1-28-1877. 5. Diary, 6-17-1876.

6. Diary, 8-5-1877.

> At the close of the meeting The Subject of A meeting-house & place to have it was taken up. The place was preferred near my west gate & a committee appointed to Plan a house and Report.[1]

On Eleventh Month, 4th, 1877, they held meeting at Hobson's. "Was much crowded," he noted. "David J. Wood offers the upper-room of his house for Meeting place And we have Accepted it."[2]

The founding of a Friends Settlement in the Chehalem Valley was now an established fact. All major obstacles had been surmounted, and there remained now the problem of providing a meetinghouse and the establishment of an organization. Meanwhile, William Hobson continued exhorting Friends to join the Newberg settlement, an occupation to which he was still devoting himself many years later.[3]

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1. Diary, 10-14-1877.

2. Diary, 11-4-1877.

3. See three lengthy letters written by him and published in Friends Review, 42(1888), 365, 405, 507.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EXPANSION OF QUAKERISM IN OREGON: 1878-1891

1. Chehalem Monthly Meeting

Early in the year 1878, Hobson ceased making Diary entries and did not resume until late 1885. Details are therefore lacking regarding many of the events leading up to the organization of Quakerism at Newberg.

Less than two and a half years after Hobson's purchase of land in the Chehalem Valley, Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting, Iowa, received a request from Oregon Friends, asking that they be recognized as Chehalem Monthly Meeting.[1] The request was favorably considered, and the new Monthly Meeting was directed to be opened and held on the first Seventh Day of Sixth Month, 1878.[2]

Chehalem Monthly Meeting opened according to direction as the Minutes indicate:

> Opening of Chehalem Monthly Meeting of friends, Oregon, Yamhill Co. 6 Mo. 1st 1878. Samuel Hobson and M. H. Wood were appointed Clerks for the day.

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1. Minutes, Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting, 4-6-1878. Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as HCQM.

2. Ibid.

> Chehalem Mo. Meeting of the religious Society of Friends opened and held this 1st day of 6 Mo. A.D. 1878. By the authority and persuant to the direction of Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting of the said society held in Hardin Co. State of Iowa.[1]

Committees were appointed to nominate permanent clerks, propose the names of overseers and select a meetinghouse site. William Hobson was appointed correspondent and two visiting ministers were welcomed, John Scott, of Maryland, and Rebecca Clawson.[2]

The committee appointed regarding the meetinghouse reported the selection of a site at next Monthly Meeting.[3] Two months later, a frame meetinghouse costing $800.00 was proposed, but after consideration it was thought impossible to undertake that season. The committee was continued in order to receive subscriptions.[4] A year after the opening of Chehalem Monthly Meeting, $322.67 had been subscribed.[5] Next month, the Meeting again decided it was impossible to build that year, and subscriptions heretofore received were declared null and void, and a new drive was begun.[6] In the

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1. Minutes, Chehalem Monthly Meeting, 6-1-1878. Chehalem Monthly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as CMM. These Minutes and other records of Newberg Monthly Meeting are in the vault at Newberg Friends Church in the care of Oliver Weesner, custodian of documents.

2. Ibid.

3. Minutes, CMM, 7-6-1878.

4. Minutes, CMM, 9-7-1878.

5. Minutes, CMM, 6-7-1879.

6. Minutes, CMM, 7-5-1879.

Meeting of Tenth Month, 4th, 1879, the due date of subscriptions was advanced to Fifth Month, 1st, 1880. In that Meeting, however, two visiting ministers were present, Elwood Siler and Josiah Morris, who volunteered to attempt to raise funds in the East.[1] They were apparently successful, for when Jesse and Mary Edwards and their family arrived in 1880, the building was up and being used, although unfinished.[2]

From the first, Chehalem Monthly Meeting grew rapidly. It is perilous, however, to draw conclusions as to the number of Quakers at Newberg, on the basis alone of certificates received. Once the Meeting was officially opened, certificates of Friends were deposited there, some of whom lived far distant,[3] just as Redstone Monthly Meeting had nearly a century earlier been the depository of certificates for Quakers moving west of the Alleghenies.[4]

In the first year at Newberg, thirty-two certificates were received, and thirty members joined by request.[5] The

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1. Minutes, CMM, 10-4-1879.

2. C. J. Edwards, "Newberg As It Was Fifty Years Ago," Newberg Graphic, 50(April, 1939).

3. Minutes, CMM, 8-3-1878; 9-7-1878.

4. Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 388.

5. Minutes, CMM, 6-7-1879. The latter figure indicates the favorable impact of Quakerism on the earlier residents of the valley.

statistical report of 1880 lists a total of one hundred and fifty-four members.[1] In 1882 a total membership of two hundred and four was listed,[2] which remained stable for two years, two hundred and three members being recorded in 1884.[3] By 1889, the membership was three hundred and fifty-two,[4] which may be taken as a more accurate census of Quakerism in the Chehalem Valley, since there were by now other Meetings receiving certificates in the Pacific Northwest. In 1891, the last year of William Hobson's life, Newberg Monthly Meeting had achieved a membership of five hundred and ten.[5]

2. Newberg Quarterly Meeting

For almost an entire decade, Chehalem Monthly Meeting (after 1886, Newberg Monthly Meeting) was a lonely member of Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting in far away Iowa. In the summer of 1887, Alder Creek Monthly Meeting had been set up

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1. Minutes, CMM, 6-5-1880. The figures must be regarded as approximate, as it is not always possible to reconcile them from year to year, due to errors and changes in the basis upon which statistics were kept.

2. Minutes, CMM, 6-3-1882.

3. Minutes, CMM, 6-7-1884.

4. Minutes, Newberg Monthly Meeting, 8-3-1889. The name was changed to Newberg Monthly Meeting in 1886 to correspond with the post office. Minutes, CMM, 6-5-1886. Newberg Monthly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as NMM.

5. Minutes, NMM, 8-7-1891.

in Union County of eastern Oregon.[1] The difficulty of transacting business with a Quarterly Meeting at such a distance as Iowa, led the two Meetings in Oregon to request Iowa Yearly Meeting to establish a Quarterly Meeting in Oregon.[2] The request was granted and the new Quarterly Meeting directed to be opened the following Eleventh Month.[3]

The opening minute of Newberg Quarterly Meeting reads:

> Under the authority and by the direction of Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends, as granted in the foregoing Minute, and under a deep sense of our obligation to our blessed Master, in the farther extension of his work among us, and for the purpose of more effectually husbanding the fruits of labors, we meet at this the opening of Newberg Quarterly Mtg. of Friends on the 12th of 11th Month, 1887.[4]

Dr. Elias Jessup, the official representative of Iowa Yearly Meeting was on hand for the opening, as well as were two friends of Hobson's, Caleb Baldwin of Pasadena, and Joel Bean of San Jose, California--both former Iowans.[5] At next Quarterly Meeting, committees were appointed to provide for the implementation of the educational, evangelistic and

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1. Nedry, "The Friends Come to Oregon: I, Newberg Meeting," Oregon Historical Quarterly, 45(1944), 202.

2. Minutes, IYM, 1887, cited in Minutes, Newberg Quarterly Meeting, 11-12-1887. Newberg Quarterly Meeting will hereinafter be abbreviated in the footnotes as NQM. William Hobson had journeyed to eastern Oregon and discussed the idea of a Quarterly Meeting before the request was sent to Iowa. Hobson, Diary, 6-13-1887 to 6-27-1887.

3. Ibid.

4. Minutes, NQM, 11-12-1887.

5. Ibid.

social concerns of Friends in Oregon.[1]

3. Influence of William Hobson on Quakerism in the Chehalem Valley

i. First Day Scripture Schools

From the days in which he was taught the alphabet from the New Testament,[2] William Hobson had a high regard for the Scriptures. He actively supported the First Day Scripture School movement in Iowa,[3] and threw his influence into the first such Friends Scripture School formed on the Pacific Coast, at San Jose, California.[4] When regular Friends meetings were first set up at Dayton, Oregon, and later in the Chehalem Valley, a Scripture School was begun as a matter of course.[5]

Throughout the remainder of his life, he gave the Scripture School at Newberg his support and encouragement,[6] seldom failing to note in the diaries that he attended each First Day. In his declining years, he was still attending First Day School conferences,[7] and occasionally addressing

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1. Minutes, NQM, 2-11-1888.
2. See page 78.
3. See page 185.
4. See page 231.
5. See pages 257, 265. I think it is reasonable to attribute these to Hobson's influence.
6. He never called it a Sunday School, since throughout his life he adhered to the plain language, in spite of its rapid decline as a result of the transformation worked by revivalism.
7. Diary, 6-1,2-1886.

the children at Newberg Friends Meeting.[1]

ii. Public Education

The beginning of public education at Newberg has usually been taken by Friends writers to be signified by a Diary entry of Hobson's which reads: "Dis[trict] School started to day" (Fifth Month, 14, 1877). On this basis, Quakers have tacitly taken credit for the beginnings of public education at Newberg.[2]

In fairness to the earlier pioneers of the valley, it can be pointed out from Hobson's Diary that some sort of public education existed there before that organized by the Quakers. A year earlier, when almost no Friends were there except Hobson, he recorded: "Attended the School Meeting of this Dis[trict]."[3] This entry seems to have been overlooked by all who have written about Newberg.

Maggie Wood, wife of David J. Wood, was the teacher of the term of District School which was begun by Friends on Fifth Month, 14th, 1877, in the Wood home.[4] In 1881, a

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1. Diary, 1-1-1888; 11-27-1888.

2. A. C. Stanbrough, "History of Pacific College," (unpublished Master's thesis, Graduate School, University of Oregon), p. 17; Lela Morrill, "The History of Friends in Oregon," (unpublished Bachelor's thesis, Albany College, 1938, typescript copy), p. 7; Walter C. Woodward, "Quakerism beyond the Mississippi," The American Friend, 17(Ninth Month, 22, 1910), 600.

3. Diary, 4-3-1876.

4. Woodward, op. cit., p. 601.

building was erected to accommodate the school.[1] Walter C. Woodward, who attended the school in those days, writes of William Hobson as follows:

> The intelligent and sympathetic interest manifested in the school by the founder of the settlement was indicative of the attitude of Friends toward education. One of the earliest of the writer's schoolboy recollections is that of Uncle Wm. Hobson visiting the school, always bringing a sack of apples which he happily distributed among the boys and girls.[2]

Hobson's diaries indicate his continued interest in the District School throughout his declining years, as suggested by his visits and addresses made to the children.[3] In 1889, he rejoiced that the District School had grown to an attendance of one hundred and seventy-five.[4]

iii. Friends Pacific Academy

According to the Minutes of Chehalem Monthly Meeting, the subject of building a high school was brought up in the Meeting held Fifth Month, 5th, 1883. The Monthly Meeting named a committee consisting of Mary Edwards, David Wood and Ezra Woodward to investigate and report the advisability of

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1. Edwards, "Newberg As It Was Fifty Years Ago," Newberg Graphic, 50(April, 1939).

2. Woodward, op. cit.

3. Diary, 9-15-1886; 3-16-1887; 10-23-1889; 3-21-1890; 5-29-1890; 9-2-1890.

4. Diary, 10-28-1889.

establishing an academy.[1]

A favorable report was returned at next Monthly Meeting, and the committee was continued with instructions to receive subscriptions.[2] The name of Friends Pacific Academy was chosen by the subscribers and announced to the Monthly Meeting three months later.[3] Two years of sacrifice and labor followed before the actual opening of the school in the fall of 1885.[4] The details of these years are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Upon the resumption of Hobson's Diary in late 1885, the school had been in operation two months. Although it had been brought into existence largely through the new and vigorous younger leaders of the Meeting,[5] it was nonetheless the subject of Hobson's close interest and attention throughout the closing years of his life. As the senior minister of Chehalem Monthly Meeting and the elderly founder of the settlement, he deemed it his privilege to visit the students, observe their work and exhort them religiously

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1. Minutes, CMM, 5-5-1883. Discussion seems to have begun earlier on a First Day during the interval between morning worship and an afternoon temperance meeting. Stanbrough, p. 17.

2. Minutes, CMM, 6-2-1883.

3. Minutes, CMM, 9-1-1883.

4. The reader is referred to Stanbrough, pp. 18-20.

5. Woodward, op. cit.

whenever he chose.[1] His diaries indicate that he exercised the privilege often.[2] As the District School and Academy grew, he delighted in computing their combined attendance as a sign of the growth of his beloved settlement.[3]

4. Mediating Pattern of Worship at Newberg Monthly Meeting

From the records kept by William Hobson of the meetings for worship at Newberg, it appears that the more radical innovations occurring in Midwest Quakerism were delayed in reaching Newberg.[4] A quiet, conservative influence prevailed there, with evidence of the gradual occurrence of innovations. As late as 1890, the old and the new were existing side by side.

Throughout the year 1890, worship was still being conducted on an unprogrammed basis. Often meetings began with a period of silence,[5] after which a song might be called

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1. Diary, 12-18-1885. When he spoke to the students at Friends Pacific Academy, he must often have addressed a young boy who was to become president of the United States--Herbert Hoover. The First Fifty Years, ed. Veldon J. Diment (Privately published by the Board of Managers of Pacific College, 1941), p. 6.

2. Diary, 2-4-1886; 2-26-1886; 3-12-1886; 3-26-1886; 10-15-1886; 3-16-1887; 9-12-1887; 11-22-1889; 2-14-1890; 5-6-1890, et al.

3. Diary, 10-28-1889; 9-9-1890.

4. His Diary entries for 1890 are the basis of this statement.

5. Diary, 7-13-1890; 7-24-1890.

for, or sung by some one person at a time. Congregational singing was not uncommon, but some refrained, and William Hobson greatly preferred individual singing.[1] There were a number of ministers usually present, and one or sometimes several delivered messages of varying length. William Hobson distinguished between some of these messages as "sermons" and "speeches."[2] If it were a "highly favored" meeting it might continue on for several hours, until all felt free to close the meeting.[3] An indication of the new ways was the fact that worship sometimes closed with a benediction, rather than the traditional handshake.[4]

There is a report of a revival having occurred in the early days of Chehalem Monthly Meeting, during the winter of 1878-1879. It appears to have been a spontaneous, orderly stirring of religious life, however, without a visiting evangelist or unusual manifestations of any kind.[5] Other moderate revivals occurred in the 1880's.

The conservative character of Newberg Monthly Meeting was due to be changed, however. After a direct rail line

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1. Diary, 4-5-1890; 8-28-1890; 6-15-1890.

2. Diary, 7-13-1890; 7-24-1890; 7-27-1890.

3. Diary, 4-6-1890; 8-28-1890.

4. Diary, 8-17-1890; 9-21-1890; 9-28-1890.

5. Rayner W. Kelsey, "Quakerism beyond the Mississippi," The American Friend, 17(Eighth Month, 18, 1910), 521.

was laid from Portland to the Midwest in 1883 and after the opening of the academy in 1885, the settlement grew rapidly. The expanding Quaker population in the Far West then began to attract the Midwestern evangelists. The ministry of John Henry Douglas at Newberg in 1890 and 1891 appears to have been the key factor in the sudden and complete transformation of Newberg Monthly Meeting.[1]

5. Conservative Influence of William Hobson at Newberg Monthly Meeting

Throughout 1890, there was as yet no pastor at Newberg. The responsibility for pastoral care devolved upon the ministers of the Meeting and the Committee on Pastoral Care, of which all the ministers were members ex-officio. This system, begun soon after formation of Chehalem Monthly Meeting, was in operation until after the death of William Hobson.[2] As a pastoral method, it came under strong attack by John Henry Douglas in 1890, and was just as strenuously defended by William Hobson.

Douglas began a series of meetings at Newberg in Fifth Month, 1890, which to Hobson's satisfaction resulted in over one hundred persons professing conversion or renewal.[3] After the close of the meetings, the Pastoral and Evangelistic

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1. Diary, 5-12-1890 to 5-30-1890; 12-25-1890 to 1-15-1891.
2. Minutes, CMM, 2-1-1879; Minutes, NMM, 8-2-1890.
3. Diary, 5-26-1890.

Committee gathered on the afternoon of Fifth Month, 30th, 1890, with John Henry Douglas present, presumably by invitation.[1] At this meeting Hobson and Douglas clashed over the question of the pastoral system. It was a losing battle, however, as far as Hobson's position was concerned. Douglas had just finished an immensely successful evangelistic effort, and his recommendations carried irresistible weight. Hobson records: "I united with Friends in movement under the Evangelistic System, It being now some of the approved Order of Iowa Y.M."[2]

That he yielded to pressure rather than reason, however, is indicated by his further remarks on that day, which suggest that he was still unconvinced:

> Yet in one of my Speeches on this occasion I stated that I had boldly told friends here, some considerable time ago, And would now tell J. H. Douglas that Mo.[nthly] M.[eeting] in connection with Quar.[terly] & Yearly, Can do all this Evangelistic & Pastoral work; just as well, & better too, without this thing (the Evangelistic System) [a synonym for Pastoral System] than with; when once we are sufficiently stirred up to Action. Because the more the work is brought down to all of us & before us the better. And it is due to all the members of the M.M. to know how the work is going on, and to have a part in it. . . . I further Stated that . . . this Evangelic [sic] & Pastoral System had done some good & would yet do some more if we keep within careful bounds . . . But when once we become sufficiently stirred up to action, And come to know well what M. Meetings are for, We will scarcely need the Evangelic System.[3]

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1. Diary, 5-30-1890. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid.

Hobson's logic was unassailable from the standpoint of the historic position of Friends in regard to the ministry. However, many of his younger contemporaries at Newberg were now reasoning from a different basis. They had already abandoned Fox, Penn and Barclay for the more pragmatic theology and methods of the revivalists. They failed to consider that the dramatic results obtained by John Henry Douglas were in part due to the pastoral and teaching activities which had been long and patiently carried on by their own faithful, resident ministers. Perhaps it was in deference to the aged founder of the settlement that they moved slowly in the actual installation of the new system, however, and deferred the calling of a resident pastor until after his death.[1]

6. Death of William Hobson

On Eleventh Month, 1st, 1890, Sarah Hobson had quietly breathed her last.[2] A few mornings afterwards, commenting in his Diary on his strange, new aloneness, Hobson remarked, "Alone, & yet not alone; because always My chief Companion is my King & Shepherd the Lord Jesus, whom I have delighted to follow & to serve from my infantile days."[3]

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1. See Minutes, NMM, 12-5-1891, when the first step in the calling of a pastor was taken.

2. Diary, 11-1-1890.

3. Diary, 11-5-1890.

Seven weeks later, Twelfth Month, 21st, Hobson recorded the first symptoms in his Diary of an illness from which he proved unable to recover. He diagnosed it as "La Grippe," and attempted to continue as many of his activities as possible.[1]

Another series of meetings was being conducted at Newberg by John Henry Douglas in early 1891, and Hobson, although ill, attempted to attend and participate in the work.[2] This time the youth of the community seemed to be greatly moved by the preaching of Douglas, and Hobson recorded on First Month, 11th, 1891, "A Christian Endeavor Society was formed of over 120."[3]

Late in First Month, 1891, his illness became more serious. In spite of alternating periods of improvement, the trend of his health declined for the next five months, causing death on Sixth Month, 25th, 1891.[4] He was buried in Friends Cemetery, at Newberg.

7. Formation of Oregon Yearly Meeting

William Hobson did not live long enough to see the opening of Oregon Yearly Meeting. In the last month of his

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1. Diary, 12-21-1890 to 1-17-1891.

2. Diary, 12-25-1890 to 1-11-1891.

3. Diary, 1-11-1891.

4. Family Record of William Hobson, in possession of Laura Blair, Newberg, Oregon.

life, Newberg Quarterly Meeting requested Iowa Yearly Meeting to grant Oregon and Washington Friends the privilege of holding their own Yearly Meeting. Salem Quarterly Meeting (Oregon) was then in process of being set up, on the strength of which Iowa Yearly Meeting in its sessions of 1891 authorized the opening of Oregon Yearly Meeting at Newberg, Oregon, in Sixth Month, 1893.[1]

The statistics reported in the first sessions of Oregon Yearly Meeting, Sixth Month, 1893, indicate the growth that had occurred in the Pacific Northwest since the work of Robert and Sarah Lindsey, and especially after the Newberg settlement was begun. There were, in 1893, 1,363 members listed, nine Monthly Meetings, seven other Meetings, two Quarterly Meetings and thirty ministers.[2]

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1. Minutes of IYM, 1891, cited in Minutes of Oregon Yearly Meeting of Friends Church, 1893 (Newberg, Oregon: Newberg Graphic Print, 1893), p. 3.

2. Minutes of Oregon Yearly Meeting of Friends Church, 1893, p. 8.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Significant Influences of Childhood and Youth

i. Parental

The parents of William Hobson were descendants of several generations of Quakers, and were themselves well-concerned Friends. They established a home environment in which the beliefs, testimonies and customs of their ancestors were taught and exhibited. William Hobson therefore grew up in an atmosphere of religious devotion which emphasized the immediacy of God's presence and the necessity of obedience to his voice, whether speaking by direct inward illumination or through the Scriptures. By means of his mother, William Hobson had an early introduction to the literature of the Bible, which seems to have been the source of his lifetime regard for the Scriptures as a guide to the will of God and an aid to the religious life. From her also he adopted the simplicity and plainness in dress and speech which marked him as a Quaker for the remainder of his life.

The educational limitations in the Yadkin Valley were mitigated in William Hobson's case by the help and encouragement of his parents. He built on a limited amount of

formal schooling by reading the library of Friends books again and again which his father kept in the house. From these works his mind became so steeped in the doctrines of early Friends that he remained firmly attached to them in his older years when during the era of Friends revivalism many other Quakers were accommodating their theology and practice to Wesleyan interpretations.

On the farm and around the small industrial complex operated by his father, William Hobson learned the skills and adaptability that were later to prove so valuable when as a pioneer in Iowa and Oregon he needed to supply many of the necessities of life by his own efforts from resources at hand.

ii. Educational

William Hobson's formal education as a child consisted of two short terms in a neighborhood school. Here he learned spelling and reading, and perhaps no less important, to adjust to a world in which not all were Quakers. He felt the reproach which society imposes upon nonconformists, and he experienced the frustrations of the reformer.

Attendance at New Garden Boarding School for a period equal to two normal years of study greatly broadened him intellectually. Here he was introduced to the sciences of the day, literature, composition and other courses in a school wherein the curriculum was fitted to the observed

needs of students.

By age twenty-one, he had achieved a love of learning and an appreciation of the value of education that was to remain with him for life. Thereafter he encouraged and supported educational activities of every kind with a zeal equal to that by which he carried on his religious work.

iii. Social

The most powerful social conditioning in William Hobson's childhood, next to that of his home, was that exercised by Deep Creek Meeting. Here he often heard his grandfather, John Bond, preach. Also, he had frequent opportunity to see and hear the succession of itinerant Quaker ministers that visited and preached there, many of whom were gifted and renowned. It was on one such occasion, no doubt, that the conviction entered his mind that he also must preach the gospel.

The group associations of worship and religious work in Deep Creek Monthly Meeting are undoubtedly the source of William Hobson's concern for community religious life. The three settlements in which he participated in the Trans-Mississippi West, Richland, Iowa, Honey Creek, Iowa, and Newberg, Oregon, all indicate his regard for the benefits of group community life, worship and religious work.

iv. Economic

While the economic limitations of the Yadkin Valley imposed handicaps upon many, due to the inheritance which Stephen Hobson received early in life, he was able to turn to industrial production, thus implementing the income derived from agriculture. The Hobson family thus suffered no real economic hardship.

Slavery was an integral part of the Southern economy and therefore an acute social and ethical problem to Quakers. Stephen Hobson accommodated himself to the slavery problem and remained a Southerner, but his son, William, hated the "peculiar institution" of the South, as indicated by his attack on the use of slave products and on the practice of voting for slaveholders. Thus slavery was an economic and moral factor in Hobson's decision to emigrate.

A more important economic feature, however, was the poor agricultural prospects of North Carolina. The splendid agricultural possibilities of the Mississippi Valley were an irresistable lure to one whose main interest in making a living was by agriculture.

2. Significance of William Hobson's Ministry in Iowa

i. Its Character

William Hobson's religious work in Iowa was exercised in keeping with the quietistic, non-pastoral tradition of

Friends ministry which prevailed in the pre-revivalistic era of American Quakerism. The necessity of supporting his family by farming under pioneer conditions in Iowa meant that in the earlier years only a limited amount of time was available for religious work, except on the local scene. In spite of the handicaps under which such a ministry labored, Hobson considered it to be the divinely favored method, reckoning that three months of ministry under direct leadings of the Spirit were better than twelve months as a "hireling" minister. In so reasoning, he and other Friends failed to observe that a paid ministry was not necessarily time-serving or insincere.

His religious journeys were taken in response to what he felt were divine leadings, ranging across the state of Iowa and into North Carolina, Missouri and Kansas. His preaching was wholly spontaneous and according to the inspiration of the moment in the various meetings of worship to which he traveled and which he appointed. The specific content of his preaching is thus largely unrecoverable, since he prepared no written sermons or notes for speaking. From the preferences and evaluations expressed in his diaries, his ministry can safely be characterized as evangelical, if it be remembered that the term does not imply the use of revivalistic methods.

ii. Effectiveness

Quakers were not yet attempting to measure religious results statistically during the period of William Hobson's ministry in Iowa. The work of the Spirit was recognized as inward and subjective, and the quality of religious experience was judged on the basis of faithfulness to religious duties. Speaking to the relief of one's mind in a meeting for worship had its own satisfactions, and the results were entrusted to the Spirit of God.

The writer assumes that William Hobson was not unusually gifted or powerful in his preaching. He did not receive the attention and notice given Lindley M. Hoag, Mary H. Rogers, Nathan and Esther Frame, Luke Woodard and others of his contemporaries. His purpose was not to achieve sweeping outward results, but to be faithful to the movings of the Spirit within. Fluency of speech and great logical and emotional power do not appear to have been his stock in trade.

The best objective indication of the effectiveness of Hobson's Iowa ministry is seen in the annual renewal of his certificate by his own Monthly and Quarterly Meetings and the willingness of Iowa Yearly Meeting for him to minister on the Pacific Coast. Herein is reflected the judgment of his contemporaries that his ministry of preaching and family visiting was useful and valuable in making the spiritual hope real in the lives of those to whom he spoke.

iii. Relation to Revivalism

One of the most obvious features of William Hobson's ministry was that he was not an evangelist in the technical sense of the word. The evangel was present in his preaching, but his method was nearer that of the Quietist than that of the Evangelist. He rejoiced over results achieved by the new evangelism, but was concerned over the implications of biblical literalism which developed and for the threat it represented to the spiritual views of the Society of Friends.

By his own emphasis on the Bible and his support of First Day Scripture Schools, Hobson had contributed to the Awakening of Quakerism and thereby to its eventual transformation. Along with his Iowa contemporaries, he did not foresee how thoroughly the movement would shift Quakerism from its ancient foundations, nor did he anticipate the damaging schisms, in time to prevent them, which were to result from unwise evangelistic measures. These problems were left behind when he began his Oregon settlement. The innovations produced by revivalism eventually reached the Far West, however, and in such strength that he found it too late to protest. The remnants of conservatism which had lived on at Newberg due to his influence and the relative isolation of the settlement were swept from the scene in a few months by the bold and aggressive evangelistic methods of John Henry Douglas.

3. Significance of William Hobson's Work in the Founding of Quakerism in the Pacific Northwest

i. Source of His Concern

(1) Scattered Condition of Friends.--William Hobson was made aware of the condition of Western Quaker settlers and their need of ministers and meetings for worship as a result of correspondence with his brothers David and Jesse Hobson, who were living in California. Further information may have come to him from one of his Iowa associates, John S. Bond, who had prospected for gold in California. Abel Bond, a cousin of William Hobson, ministered on the Pacific Coast in 1865-1867, perhaps in response to an appeal by Jesse Hobson for a ministering Friend to come west and gather the lost sheep. From these sources, and especially from his frequent correspondence with Jesse Hobson, William Hobson developed a concern that Western Friends might be gathered into a community where they could live and worship together.

(2) Reports of Previous Workers.--There is no evidence of contacts between William Hobson and Robert and Sarah Lindsey after their Pacific Coast journey, but Hobson would unquestionably have heard of their work through Abel Bond. From Bond he heard also of the favorable reception given the first Friends workers in the Far West, and Hobson accordingly anticipated a good future there for Quakerism.

(3) Natural Resources of the Far West.--Throughout his diaries, Hobson indicates a keen awareness of the material basis of human well-being and happiness. The soils, minerals, topography, rivers, lumber, and fisheries of the Pacific Coast all were taken note of in his diaries and their significance estimated. It was clear to him that the resources of the Pacific Coast were capable of supporting vast numbers of people.

(4) Climate.--William Hobson was keenly conscious of the extremes of Iowa climate and its bearing upon agriculture as well as upon human comfort and activities. Escape from the bitter cold of Iowa winters and its exhausting, humid summers was one of the reasons he urged upon others for settling in Oregon. The moderate climate of western Oregon permitted a longer growing season, longer hours of productive outdoor labor, a more comfortable existence, and was especially adapted to horticulture.

(5) Advancement of Transportation.--With the opening of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, the early development of the Far West was assured. Considering the great numbers who had endured the toil and privations of travel by emigrant wagon train, the connecting of Omaha and Sacramento by rail was certain indication that great numbers would soon be developing the resources of the West.

ii. His Qualifications as Founder of a Frontier Religious Settlement

(1) Physique.--The strenuous activities recorded in William Hobson's diaries would have been possible only for a man of stamina and rugged physique. Far from being a frail, old man when he established his Oregon settlement, as one researcher conceived him, he was capable of long hours of physical toil from which he recovered quickly with but little sleep, and was then able to throw himself into the physical and religious labors of another day with renewed vigor and strength.

(2) Lifetime under Frontier Conditions.--William Hobson's early years under the rough, backwoods conditions of the Yadkin Valley and young adult years pioneering in Iowa qualified him for his major religious task, the establishment of a religious community in Oregon. Conditions were not as raw in the Chehalem Valley as he had experienced in Iowa, but the work of locating the site of the settlement and establishing a prosperous farm on the Walker Donation Land Claim was best accomplished by a man who was hardened to frontier life. Through long experience he was capable of largely providing for his own needs from the raw, natural resources at hand, and eventually developing them so as to make them contribute to the economic prosperity of the community.

(3) Appreciation of Essential Material Factors.--The effort which William Hobson put forth to acquaint himself with the material resources of the Far West indicate his awareness of the material basis of a prosperous and happy society. At the time the settlement was formed, Friends were still far more rural than urban, consequently his search was for the most productive agricultural land to be found. The Chehalem Valley had first to pass this test. The romantic story which later arose of Rebecca Clawson's Quaker bonnet leading the way has only incidental value. The choice of the site rested solidly on economic considerations.

(4) Appreciation of the Social Nature of Religion.--A strong sense of community characterizes normative Quakerism. The first westward migrations of Quakers from the Eastern Seaboard were therefore opposed by some because of the threat they presented to the religious community. Many Quaker communities were depleted or abandoned as a result of westward expansion, and individual Friends were lost to the Society in many cases by moving to areas where Friends were never present in sufficient numbers to set up a Meeting.

It was clear to William Hobson that many Friends were being lost to the Society in the Far West due to their scattered status. His concern was for many settlements, but he

could only be responsible for the first one. He reasoned correctly that if one were well established, others would rapidly follow until Quakerism would be represented the length of the Pacific Coast.

(5) A Moving Religious Concern.--A solid, reasonable basis for the expansion of Quakerism to the Far West had been formed in Hobson's mind by the considerations noted immediately above. Quakers of his quietistic turn of mind drew few subtle distinctions between religious "leadings" and knowledge. Therefore, a lifetime of religious conditioning operated on his knowledge of the Far West so as to produce an overriding sense of responsibility that he, William Hobson, must advance the kingdom of God by forming a Friends community there.

(6) Lasting Values of His Work.--Long before his death, William Hobson had the satisfaction of success as far as the Newberg settlement was concerned. The Quaker institutions of Church and school which grew up there led the way in extending civilizing influences throughout the valley. They were rapidly followed by the growth of a prosperous commercial economy and the establishment of civil order as the town of Newberg took form. The establishment of a Monthly Meeting, Quarterly Meeting and Yearly Meeting followed in normal order.

In 1962, the sixty-four Friends Meetings of Oregon Yearly Meeting represent Quakerism in a vigorous and growing form throughout the states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. The aims of William Hobson were thus, in time, fully realized in the Pacific Northwest. The type of Quakerism which prevailed from the beginning of Oregon Yearly Meeting in 1893 was not quite what William Hobson had planned, but it is conceivable that he might in time have accommodated himself to the spirit and methods which extended a modified form of Quakerism throughout the Pacific Northwest.

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ABSTRACT

William Hobson (1820-1891) joined the ante bellum exodus of Quakers from North Carolina, migrating to Iowa in his late youth where he served as a pioneer minister of Friends until 1875. He then began the formation of a settlement of Quakers at Newberg, Oregon, which grew rapidly and eventually resulted in the establishment of Oregon Yearly Meeting of Friends. Because so little was known of the early life of William Hobson, and because nineteenth century revivalism radically altered the Quakerism of Hobson's lifetime, he is not well understood by contemporary Friends. This dissertation therefore attempts to describe his early years and ministry and their relation to trends within American Quakerism, and to estimate his significance as the founder of Quakerism in the Pacific Northwest.

The study is based on Hobson's autobiography, his diaries and sources of information not previously considered. These latter are his correspondence and personal papers, the journals of his Quaker contemporaries, public documents, school records and the official minutes of Friends Meetings to which he belonged in North Carolina, Iowa and Oregon. The new sources have made possible a biographical synthesis

which presents William Hobson in a truer perspective than he has heretofore been seen.

William Hobson was reared in the back-country of North Carolina under the strict standards of the Society of Friends. Educational opportunities and literature were both very limited, and after learning to read, he had little save the Scriptures and standard works of Quakerism to study. These, in addition to two years at New Garden Boarding School, confirmed him in the beliefs and customs of his ancestors. Attracted by the agricultural prospects of the Trans-Mississippi West and moved by a hatred of slavery, he migrated to Iowa in 1847-1848.

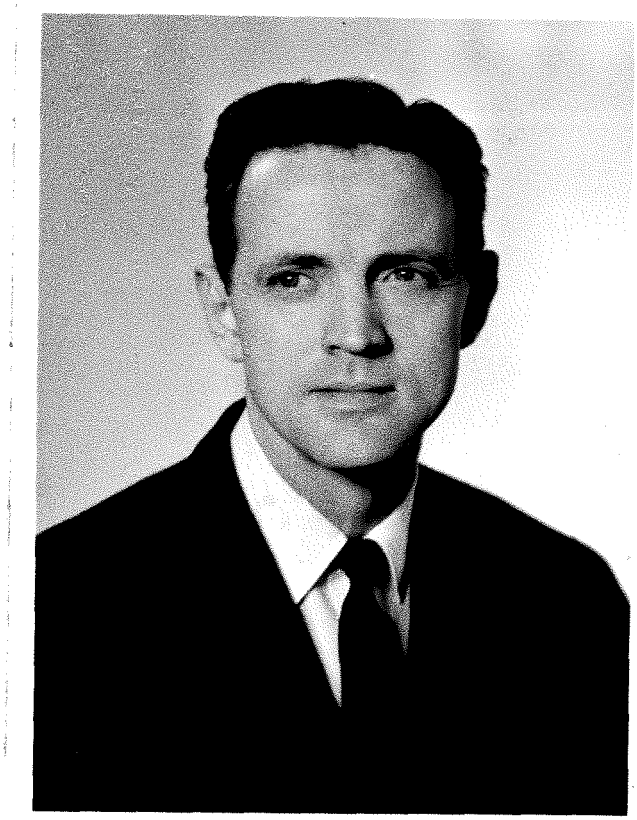
Throughout the third quarter of the nineteenth century Hobson was a pioneer farmer and minister of Friends, journeying throughout the Friends settlements of Iowa, to North Carolina and to Kansas during the troubled days of border warfare. As an itinerant minister of Friends, his work was carried on in the quietistic spirit typical of early nineteenth century Quakerism. He welcomed the evidences of new life which came to Quakerism with the Awakening of the 1860's and 1870's, but regretted and resisted the innovations which revivalism produced.

Hobson made the first of his three journeys to the Far West in 1870-1871, spending seven months surveying the Pacific Coast in the interest of establishing a Quaker

settlement. Discouragement led him to conclude that Friends should stay in the Midwest, but within two years his mind was again occupied with the need for a Friends community on the Pacific Coast. In 1875-1876 he made a second journey, determined to overcome all obstacles to his projected settlement. After studying six regions in Oregon and in Washington Territory, he eventually chose the Chehalem Valley, near Portland, Oregon. As a result of his enthusiastic correspondence with Quakers throughout the Far West and Midwest, settlers began pouring into the valley, and by the time of his death in 1891, the membership of Newberg Meeting was over five hundred.

William Hobson was well qualified to establish a frontier religious settlement due to his rugged physique and lifetime of experience under frontier conditions. He had a keen awareness of the material basis of a happy society, and carefully studied the resources of the Pacific Northwest before founding a settlement. Possessing the sense of community normative to Quakerism, he frankly advertised the settlement as a religious community and made it succeed as such without limiting it to Friends. The permanent value of his work is indicated in the Quaker institutions of Church, school and civil order which developed in the Chehalem Valley and which became influential throughout the Pacific Northwest.

VITA



Myron Dee Goldsmith was born February 15, 1921, at Pond Creek, Oklahoma, to George and Elizabeth Goldsmith. He was educated in elementary schools in Oklahoma and Kansas, and graduated from high school at Belle Plaine, Kansas, in 1939. He received the A.B. degree from Friends University, Wichita, Kansas, in 1949, and the B.D. degree from Asbury Theological

Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, in 1953. He was married in 1951 to Beatrice Mattingly, Grinnell, Iowa. He has been the pastor of Friends Meetings in North Carolina, Oregon and Massachusetts. In 1961-1962 he served as Instructor in Church History and New Testament Greek at Western Evangelical Seminary, Portland, Oregon, and also as Instructor in Language Arts at George Fox College, Newberg, Oregon. Beginning with the academic year 1962-1963 he will serve as Assistant Professor of Religion at George Fox College.