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**QUAKER MIGRATION AND THE FOUNDING OF BLOOMFIELD, ONTARIO**

by

**MARY M. MULLER, E.A., M.A.L.S.**

A thesis submitted to  
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of

**Master of Arts**

**Department of History**

**Carleton University**

**Ottawa, Ontario**

**June 30, 1993**

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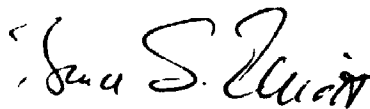
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submitted by

Mary M. Muller, B.A., M.A.L.S.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts



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Thesis Supervisor



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Chair, Department of History

Carleton University

17 September 1993

## ABSTRACT

This study examines the migration and settlement experience of a group of Quakers who moved from Beekman Patent in Dutchess County, New York to establish Bloomfield, Prince Edward County, Upper Canada between 1784 and 1820. Economic, social, and religious pressures directed them away from the Hudson Valley and into Upper Canada. Likewise, economic, social, and religious opportunities allowed most to stay on in Bloomfield for two generations. The Quaker-mandated pattern of continuous contact with New York facilitated chain migration and contributed to agricultural innovation, economic flexibility, and resultant prosperity.



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## INTRODUCTION

I had never heard of Bloomfield, Prince Edward County, Ontario, before being asked to help with a local history of the village. The librarian of the Bloomfield Hallowell Union Library, representing the library board, approached a number of Ontario universities in 1991 asking if there were any graduate students interested in local history who might like to take on the job of overseeing the "Bloomfield History Project". There was no financial compensation involved, but full access and cooperation was promised. I was a history student at Carleton, interested in local history and looking for a thesis topic. Bloomfield was as close as one could get to being a researcher's "tabula rasa". The Bloomfield project introduced me to a village settled by American Quakers from Dutchess County, New York in the last years of the eighteenth century. My task was to trace the lives of a community of literate, modest, farmers and to recreate their world for the literate, modest people who lived in the Bloomfield of the late twentieth century.

I spent a month living in Bloomfield, walking around, looking at the lay of the land, interviewing local residents, going through libraries, archives, and personal collections. Then I spent a year reading the history of both Upper Canada and America during the nineteenth century.

Later I travelled to Dutchess County, New York, for additional research as the connection between Dutchess and Prince Edward Counties became clearer. Finally, I burrowed into the collections of the National Archives of Canada and the holdings of various genealogical societies in Ontario to find records and family histories to flesh out the history of this small Ontario village.

Now, I am presenting my findings to the greater academic world and to the people of Bloomfield. I would like to take a moment here to express my opinions regarding the value of local history as the subject of academic endeavour. I believe that the pursuit of detailed, specific knowledge of what life was like at a particular time at a particular place is the essence of the historian's craft. In this sense, the writing of local history is history reduced to its essentials. Writing macro-history, the history of "great deeds in important times," allows too much room for generalization. In local history the scale is intimate: an individual bought the land or he didn't, the meeting house was built on the site or it wasn't. It is also true that the local historian is forced to be an honest chronicler by the audience: he or she is writing for an audience that may be more knowledgeable than he or she is regarding the details. Broad, sweeping generalizations, while tempting, are prohibited by the intended audience who delight in pointing out errors of detail.

I was lucky to be completely ignorant of Bloomfield before beginning my research. A common failing of local histories is that they are often produced by life-long residents of the community who assume that the reader is as well acquainted with the place as they are, or who are unable to see the history of their town in any historical context. I was forced to collect the history first, examine it, and then see what patterns emerged. I studied the settlers, their family backgrounds, the village, the county, and then Upper Canada. I examined wills, deeds, and land petitions, but I also read the histories of New England towns, studied the history of the Society of Friends, and read more histories of the United Empire Loyalists than I had planned. I have found this to be a satisfying and instructive research exercise and analytical challenge. I believe that it is in the field of local history that demographic and social history converge, that local history can be the best expression of "The New History".

Prince Edward County, Ontario, is an irregular peninsula jutting into the north-eastern edge of Lake Ontario between Kingston and Toronto. The Bay of Quinte separates the county from the mainland towns of Adolphustown on the east, Belleville and Trenton on the west. The Murray Canal, built across the narrow neck of land that connects Prince Edward to the rest of Ontario near Trenton, makes the county a "man-made" island. Today three bridges and a ferry

link Prince Edward to the rest of the province but the county has the feel of an island community. "The County", as it is called, has always been a world unto itself, only slightly concerned with the rush of events in Belleville, Kingston, and Toronto. In the geographic heart of The County is the village of Bloomfield, the subject of this study. Bloomfield is a village (population 714) on the old Danforth Road, now Ontario Route 33, midway between the larger towns of Picton and Wellington.

Bloomfield emerged as a self-conscious consensual community from the very first days of settlement in the late 1790s. Most of Prince Edward County, including the area of Hallowell Township that was to become Bloomfield, was bought, cleared, and settled by a group of Americans who came to Upper Canada from Dutchess County, New York. Many of the Dutchess County families were members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), some were Palatines (Lutheran Germans from Catholic Bohemia who were transported to the New World under British auspices), and a very few were United Empire Loyalists. How and why they left Dutchess County, came to settle in Prince Edward, and what sort of community they created there is the focus of this thesis.

This is a local history and as such chronicles the civic, religious, commercial, and other public events that occurred in the village during the early years. It is a study of the establishment and development of a rural



community that was industrial as well as agricultural from its inception and therefore unusually resilient. This is also an immigration study. Upper Canada before 1830 was largely populated by former Americans, but very little academic attention has been paid to them. The motivations, aspirations, and settlement patterns of American immigrants may or may not coincide with those of other Upper Canadian immigrant groups of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; detailed studies of groups such as this one of the Bloomfield settlers can shed some light on an unexamined aspect of Upper Canadian history.

Those persons in the American colonies who remained loyal to the British Crown throughout the Revolution were referred to as "tories" in the United States. Tories who came to the Maritimes, Upper, and Lower Canada were known as "loyalists". "United Empire Loyalists" were those individuals who served in the British military forces or militias during the Revolution and were subsequently eligible to receive grants of land and material assistance from the Crown in British North America.<sup>1</sup> It cannot be

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<sup>1</sup> A strict interpretation of the term requires that a person's name appear on lists kept by the Executive Council of Upper Canada. In 1796 Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe created these lists by proclamation. U.E.L. lists were based on evidence received at the District Courts of Quarter Sessions, therefore the lists are known as the "District Rolls". Names were still being added or deleted from these lists during the 1830's. The resulting registry is known as: Executive Council U.E. List (NA, RG 1, L7, v. 52A) and is considered the "most authentic U.E. List for Upper

assumed that all Americans who came to settle in the Canadas in the late eighteenth century had supported the British side during the Revolution, that they were fleeing political persecution at home, or even that their motivations for coming to Canada were in any way influenced by politics. Sometimes American settlers who came into Upper Canada in the later 1790s or who purchased their lands rather than receiving them as grants from the Crown have been called "late loyalists"; more commonly, however, they have not been referred to at all. Not all "Loyalist Era" American immigrants to Canada were in fact loyalists.

Donald Harman Akenson has pointed out that Canadian historical writing has never satisfactorily addressed the question of the composition of the population of Upper Canada before 1815.<sup>2</sup> Akenson has elegantly demonstrated that the original nineteenth century sources for conventional population estimates of early Upper Canada

---

Canada". Information and quote taken from Marian C. Kieffer, Some Ontario References and Sources for the Family Historian (Toronto: Ontario Genealogical Soc., rev. and enlarged 1976), p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> "Simply put, no one really knows how many original loyalists there were in Upper Canada, how many 'late' loyalists followed, or how many non-loyalist Americans crossed the border from the south. This is a strange black hole in our knowledge, considering the massive literature on the loyalist period and the luminosity of the individuals specializing in the field." Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1984), pp. 108-10.

cannot be trusted,<sup>3</sup> yet by any reckoning at least half of the population of Upper Canada before 1815 was non-loyalist American in origin.<sup>4</sup> It seems, therefore, that studies of "other" American immigrants such as the Bloomfield Quakers can help to fill the gap.

I was determined to use a wide range of genealogical records in researching this study. I believe that genealogical sources (church records, census reports, wills, tax rolls, land petitions, etc.) have been under-estimated by historians as an important source of information on community development. Genealogists approach this material seeking to construct individual family histories but the historian can lay out a community history based on the same material by looking at it in a different way. The analogy of the forest and the trees applies to this case: the genealogist studies individual trees of family history

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. footnote pp. 117-118.

<sup>4</sup> Akenson points out that Michael Smith gave quite different proportions of loyalist, British, and non-loyalist American populations in two editions of A Geographical View of the Province of Canada. The April, 1813 edition says "... that one fifth (20 percent) of the Upper Canada population were United Kingdom immigrants and their children, one-sixth (16.7 percent) were loyalists and their children, and the rest (61.3 percent) were non-loyalist Americans and their children." Then, in the 1814 edition Smith gave quite different proportions: "...six parts "Natives of the United States and their children" - that is, 60 percent total for both non-loyalist Americans and their children and loyalists and their children - and four parts "Europeans and their children", a doubling of from 20 percent to 40 percent of this figure." Quotes taken from Akenson, p. 111, footnote 117.

whereas the local historian can compile a community study by collecting a forest of such family histories and examining them as a collective.

Both Dutchess County, New York and Prince Edward County, Ontario honour and preserve their past. Each place supports active historical societies, local history collections, museums, and archives. In addition, I thought that the fact that most of the Bloomfield pioneers were Quakers was a stroke of luck because of the nature of Quaker record keeping. Every Meeting<sup>5</sup> had a clerk who was responsible for recording an account of all meetings in a Minute Book. Quaker Minute Books, while formulaic in broad outline, are packed with detail. I was also lucky in that the Bloomfield pioneers had distinctive last names (Bowerman, Bull, Blount, Cronk, Hubbs, Leavens, Noxon) thus making them easier to locate and trace through old records.

In this study I will follow a specific group of immigrants through the migration and settlement process. Part I examines the historic and religious background of the migrants. Part II follows them on the journey to Upper Canada and through the settlement process in Prince Edward

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<sup>5</sup> Every Quaker congregation supported a Men's and a Women's Meeting. Most congregations met twice a week, on Sunday ("First Day") and on Wednesday ("Fourth Day"). Meeting Houses always had two separate entrances for men and women and internal partitions that could be raised or lowered to allow for joint or separate meetings.

County. Part III describes the village of Bloomfield that grew from the initial settlement.

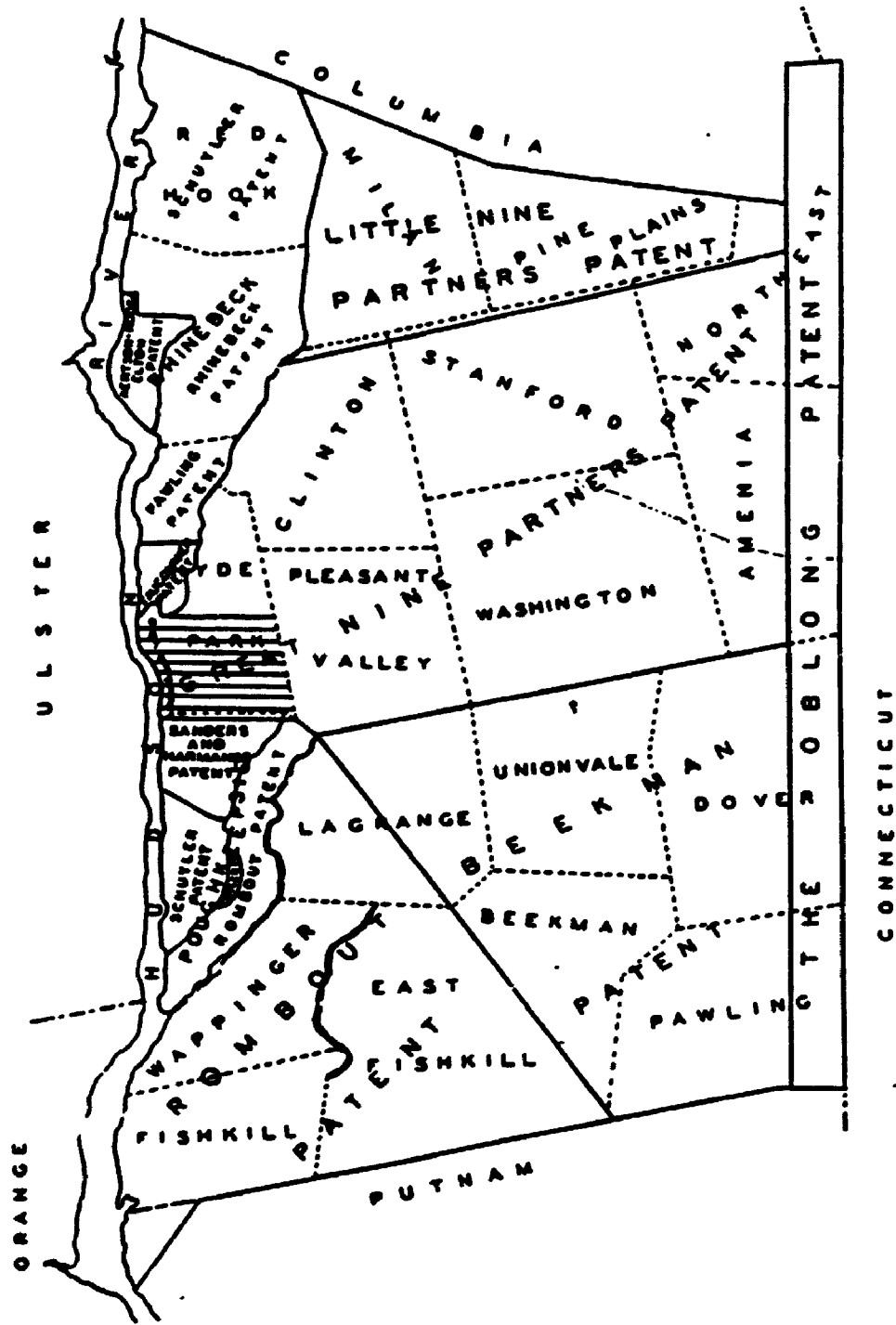
## **PART 1 BACKGROUND**

### **Chapter 1: Dutchess County**

Dutchess County, New York, is a rectangular area seventy five miles north of New York City along the Hudson River. (See Map 1, page 18) It is almost exactly half way between New York and Albany, the state capital. The county is wedged between the Hudson River on the west and the Connecticut state line on the east. The low mountains of the Taconics in the eastern half of the county fall away towards the Hudson and form palisades at Hyde Park (home of former president Franklin Roosevelt), Rhinebeck, and Poughkeepsie (the principle town of the county). The land is fertile and even today supports extensive third growth forests as well as dairying and fruit growing. A number of large estates, horse farms, and bed-and-breakfast operations dot the countryside. Dutchess is a popular week-end getaway destination for New York City residents.<sup>6</sup> The soil

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<sup>6</sup> New York City is seventy-five miles directly south of Dutchess County, two hours by car. The relationship between New York and Dutchess County is very similar to that of Toronto and Prince Edward County. Toronto is two hours by car to the west of Prince Edward; most visitors are drawn from there.



Map No. 1 Dutchess County Showing the Patents and Towns

Source: Dutchess County Historical Society Yearbook, 24 (1939): frontispiece.

quality and climate<sup>7</sup> are quite similar to that found in Prince Edward County, Ontario although the topography is more rugged than that of flat Prince Edward.

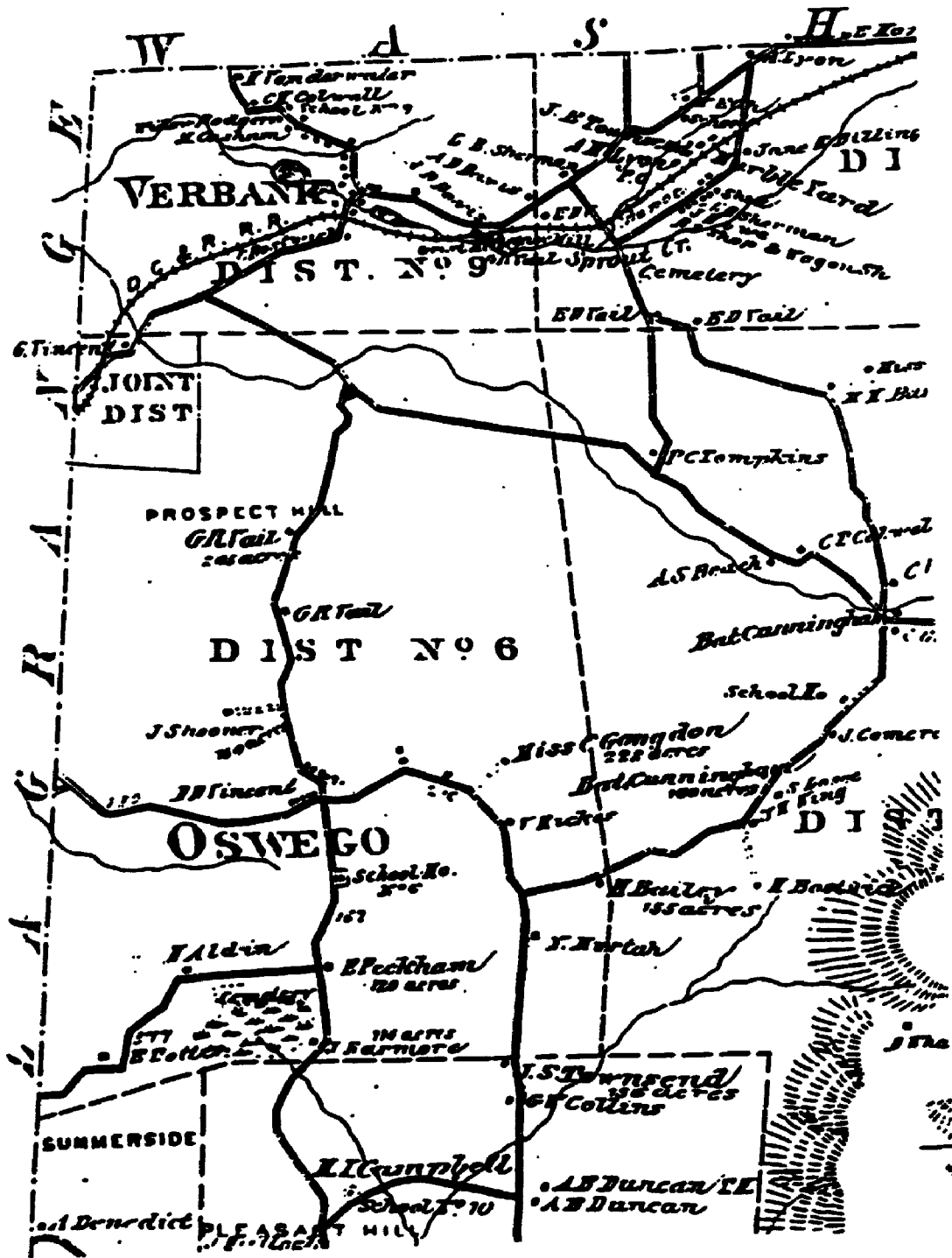
In the late seventeenth century the land north of New York City was divided into large "patents" by the British Crown and these were sold or given to single owners who were then responsible for developing them. Dutchess County was divided into several large patents; the southernmost one was sold to Henry Beekman,<sup>8</sup> and so was called the Beekman Patent. (See Map 2, p. 20) People were slow to move into

---

<sup>7</sup> The climate of Prince Edward County is milder than that of most of eastern or southern Ontario. The moderating influence of Lake Ontario means milder winters and longer growing seasons, albeit marked by enormous snowfalls during some winters. See Chapter 7 for a discussion of County agriculture.

<sup>8</sup> The Beekman Patent was originally granted to Henry Beekman on April 22, 1697. Total area was about 84,000 acres or 130 square miles. Beekman also received land in the north of Dutchess County at Rhinebeck but that land is not included in Beekman Patent. The boundary of the patent was only vaguely described so the patent was reissued on June 25, 1703. Henry Beekman was a resident of New York City, a Lieutenant in the Militia, and a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. His father had come to New Amsterdam from Holland in 1647 with Governor Peter Stuyvesant. The fact that Henry Beekman was neither English nor Anglican meant that he would be more inclined to permit Quakers and other nonconformists to settle on his lands. Henry Beekman died in 1716 and ownership passed to his son Henry Beekman II who oversaw the land until his death in 1776. Henry II's only descendent was a daughter, Margaret, who married Robert R. Livingston in 1742, the scion of the largest landholding family in Dutchess and one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in the Hudson Valley. Upon Margaret's death in 1800 (she had no children) the Beekman Patent passed out of the Beekman family. This information comes from: Philip L. White, The Beekmans of New York: In Politics and Commerce 1647-1877 (NY: New York Historical Soc., 1956) pp. 93, 206-207.





Map No. 2 Beekman Patent Showing Verbank Village and Oswego Settlement circa 1876.

Source: Gray, New Illustrated Atlas of Dutchess County, 1876.

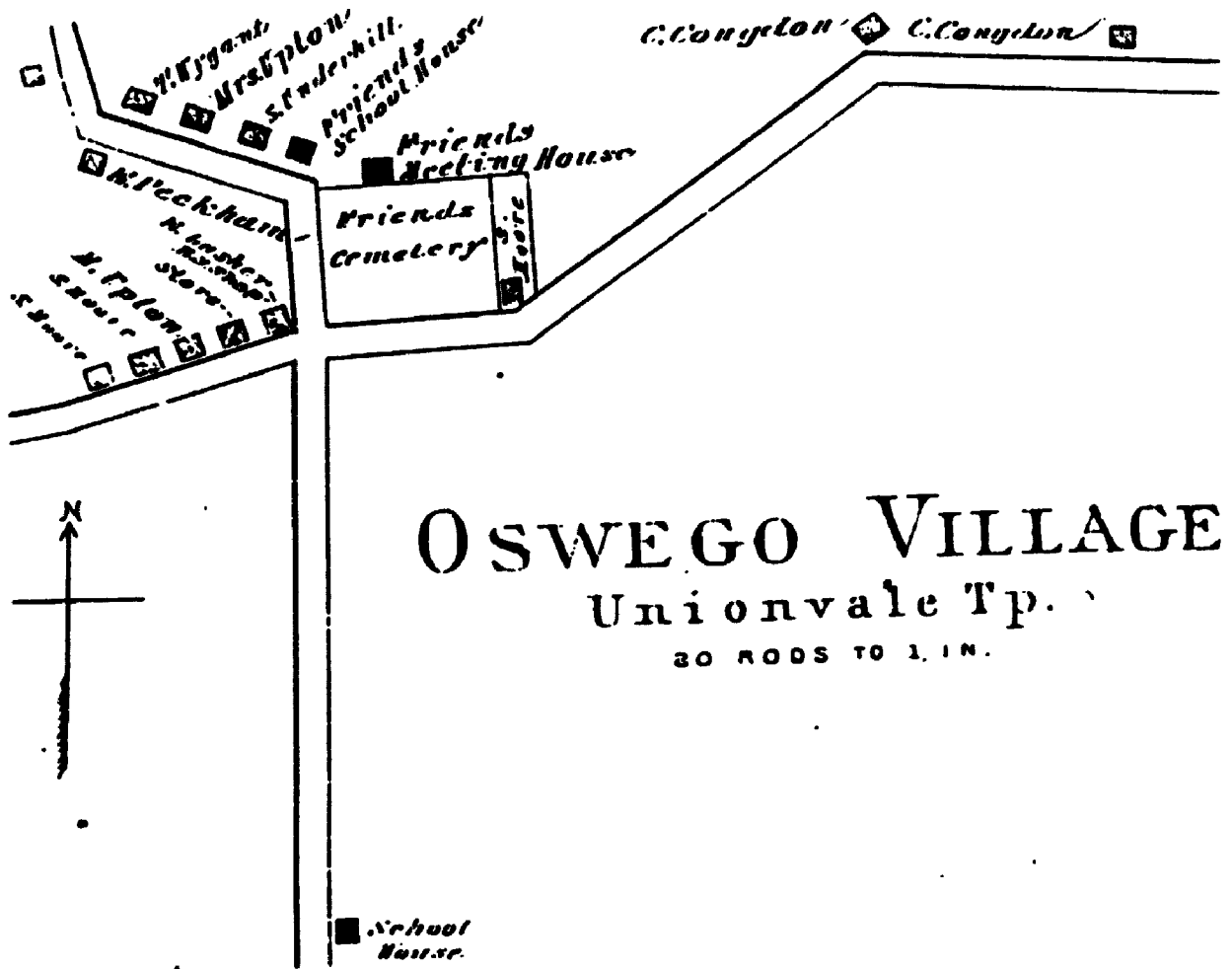
the area. There were few roads or settlements inland from the river, and the Beekman family was not concerned with promoting their lands or with persuading people to become tenants. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Beekman Patent was still largely covered with virgin forest. After 1750 groups of Quaker farmers from New England (Rhode Island and western Massachusetts mainly) began to move west with the moving frontier. They crossed into Dutchess County from Connecticut to the east and arranged terms with Beekman to clear the land and to have tenancy or (rarely) bought the land outright.

A Quaker Meeting House was built in 1757<sup>9</sup> at a spot called Oswego Settlement.<sup>10</sup> (See Map 3, p. 22) It was close to the farms and mills of several Quaker families, including the Bowermans, Bulls, Vincents, Dorlands,

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<sup>9</sup> From a sign posted on the front of the still-extant Meeting House: "...Friends first held their meeting for worship in this locality about the year 1750. The first meeting house on this site was built on land deeded to the Quakers by owners of the Beekman Patent in 1757. By 1758 they were granted the privilege of holding preparative meetings for business. In 1799 the group was recognized as a monthly meeting..." The present building was built in 1799 and used for meetings until 1976. It is still maintained and used for marriages and special meetings.

<sup>10</sup> Most likely named after Oswego, New York, the site of a strategically important fort and trading post in western New York state on Lake Ontario just sixty kilometres south of Prince Edward County. Fort Oswego was established in 1725 as a trading post for New York merchants to compete with the French for trade with the Iroquois, Huron, and Seneca Indians. Henry Beekman was a member of the New York Assembly at the time and was a strong supporter of the project. White, The Beekmans of New York, pp. 163-164.



Map No. 3 Oswego Settlement circa 1876 showing location of Meeting House.

Source: Gray, New Illustrated Atlas of Dutchess County, 1876.

Whites, and Talcotts." Today Oswego is a "lost" settlement, as indiscernible as any medieval British phantom village. The Oswego Meeting House and cemetery are still maintained, but there are no houses or signs of past habitations remaining at the crossroads. An overgrown historical marker a mile away on the principal road points to "Oswego Settlement" but it is a surprisingly desolate spot in the midst of such a tidy county as Dutchess.

This might be an appropriate point to become acquainted with some of the principal families that settled Bloomfield. Ichabod Bowerman becomes central to this story by fathering eighteen children, at least twelve of whom came to the Bay of Quinte area during the early years of settlement. Ichabod's grandfather Thomas Bowerman emigrated from London, England, to West Barnstable in the Massachusetts Bay Colony on Cape Cod. He eventually settled in what is now the town of West Falmouth, Massachusetts. In 1678 he built a house of field stone, hand-hewn oak timbers and wide boards which still stands structurally unchanged. A unique feature of its construction is a bowed roof shaped like a ship's bottom. If not the oldest house on Cape Cod, as is

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" In April, 1761 a census of all the heads of households of Dutchess County area Quakers was taken. These families are among those listed. They are all family names of Prince Edward County settlers. Lists included as an appendix to: Warren H. Wilson, Quaker Hill: A Sociological Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907), pp. 155-57.

sometimes claimed, it is certainly one of the oldest.<sup>12</sup> Ichabod Bowerman was born in West Falmouth in 1721. His second wife, Jane Richmond, whom he married in 1757, was the granddaughter of Sylvester Richmond who became a Quaker in England in the time of George Fox (the founder of the Society of Friends). Jane Richmond Bowerman would be buried in Adolphustown, Upper Canada, in 1797, one of the first burials in the region.<sup>13</sup> Ichabod crossed over the Taconic Mountains from Connecticut to Dutchess County and appears as an established tenant of Henry Beekman, Jr. in a rent book for 1756.<sup>14</sup> He leased 140 acres of land in lot 16, just south of the mills at the small village of Verbank.<sup>15</sup>

The mills, a saw mill and a grist mill for grinding wheat into flour, were built by Josiah Bull Sr. on a site leased from Henry Beekman Jr. Josiah Bull Sr. had nine children. His oldest son, also called Josiah Bull, is the ancestor of the Prince Edward County Bulls. Josiah Bull

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<sup>12</sup> Arthur Garratt Dorland, Along the Trail of Life A Quaker Retrospect., (Belleville, Ont.: Mika Pub., 1979), p. 170-171.

<sup>13</sup> Haight Caniff, Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, pp. 128-9.

<sup>14</sup> Frank J. Doherty, Settlers of the Beekman Patent: Dutchess County, New York, p. 81

<sup>15</sup> Verbank is in the extreme north west corner of Beekman Patent, near the present day townships of Unionvale, Lagrange, and Beekman. This supports Elliott's Law: "Any person or group a genealogist sets out to study will invariably live on a boundary line between two or more jurisdictions."

Jr., born in 1738, fathered sixteen children, twelve of whom came to live in The County.<sup>16</sup> He himself died in Dutchess County. Ichabod Bowerman's son Thomas was the first Oswego Settlement Quaker to settle in Prince Edward County. He came back to Dutchess County to marry Maturah Bull (daughter of Isaiah Bull Jr.) in 1793. When he set out with his new wife he also brought along his recently widowed step-mother and fourteen of his seventeen siblings (some of whom already were established with families of their own) to settle near his Prince Edward County farmstead.<sup>17</sup>

Before jumping ahead to the immigration process, it is useful to understand more of the circumstances that the emigrants were leaving behind. Land tenancy in Beekman's Patent was not onerous. In a benignly managed landlord/tenant relationship such as existed in most of Dutchess County a tenant was assured a long term lease<sup>18</sup> at moderate rents. Most tenants paid an annual rent in bushels of wheat and in work days on the roads rather than in cash.

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<sup>16</sup> Three sons, nine daughters, and Josiah Bull's widow came into Hallowell Township between 1793 and 1817. A.C. Bowerman, "Genealogical List of the Bull Family of the County of Prince Edward, Ont." in Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, V, (1904): 77-90. The Bull family is an especially interesting case because most of the family members that came were sisters who had a variety of married names. The chain migration aspect of family ties is not apparent when studying family names only.

<sup>17</sup> Merton Yearwood Williams, A History of the Bowerman Family and several other Bowerman and Bull family histories.

<sup>18</sup> Usually for three life terms: the tenant's, his wife's and the lifespan of his youngest child.

An industrious farmer was rewarded for increased production and improvements to property by an improved standard of living and by access to the cash economy.

Tenant farmers owned their livestock, furniture, and the bulk of the profits from their labour. Ichabod Bowerman died in 1790, leaving substantial wealth to his second wife and eighteen living offspring.<sup>19</sup> But he could not leave them land. The Bowerman children were industrious, knowledgable farming men and women, adept at clearing land and establishing homesteads. They were unable to inherit land in Dutchess County because tenancy agreements as well as inheritance practices allowed only one or two offspring to inherit rights to the land; thus most had no property ties to hold them there. Their father had himself been an immigrant to Dutchess County from Cape Cod, so generational ties did not bind them to Dutchess County either. The Bowermans, the Bulls, and the rest of the Dutchess County young people who would settle Prince Edward came into their majority when events conspired to move them westward along the expanding frontier. They were the numerous offspring of tenant farmers who had inherited cash and household items

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<sup>19</sup> Actually to all but three of his offspring: his sons Thomas, Timothy, and David received only five shillings each. Most likely they had borrowed money from Ichabod earlier and he had forgiven the debts before his death. The amounts of the estate were not stated in the will. Josiah Bull Jr. was one of the witnesses. source: New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, LXI, No.1 (January 1930), p. 13. "Ichabod Bowerman Will, 3-1-1790."

but no land or tenancy rights. The pioneers of Prince Edward County were the sons of the pioneers of Dutchess County. They were as close to being "professional" frontiersmen as could be found. They were born and raised on the frontier and followed the frontier west as their fathers had done before.

The years following the American Revolutionary War (1783-1800) saw an explosion of land speculation in the western areas of New York State, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Wealthy eastern financiers bought up vast tracts of land, founded towns and surveyed townships, and resold lots and farms to settlers for no money down and on very attractive terms. Merchants from Poughkeepsie founded the northern New York towns of Plattsburgh and Glens Falls in the ten years after the Revolution. Many western New York counties and towns such as Watertown, Syracuse, and Rochester were settled by ex-tenant farmers from Dutchess County.

Dutchess County reached a population peak just before the Revolution in 1770 and stagnated for a generation. There was slight population growth in the towns along the Hudson River and a decline in growth in the rural areas.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> "Dutchess increased by 28 percent from 1786 to 1790, but only about 5 percent during the next ten years, and little more than 7 percent during the first decade of the 19th century. The lion's share of this growth, however, went to the river towns." Carmine Di Arpino, A History of the Town of Washington and Millbrook (Millbrook, NY: Millbrook Central Press, 1988), p.33.



There was very little movement of people into the county, but quite a bit of emigration out to the west and from the farms into the cities and towns of the county itself. The advent of railroads in the 1840's allowed greater access to the New York City markets, increased prosperity for the farmers, and subsequent population growth. Even then, most growth was internal; that is, growth resulted from residents' offspring staying on in the area and establishing families of their own rather than moving elsewhere to set up households. Very few immigrants moved into Dutchess County from 1790 to 1860.

## Chapter 2: The Society of Friends

It is necessary to understand the beliefs and precepts that organized the social and religious communities of the Society of Friends, known as Quakers, if one is to understand the motivations of the Bloomfield settlers. Today most people imagine that the history of Quakers in North America is limited to the history of the Quakers of Pennsylvania.<sup>21</sup> In the eighteenth century Quakers were found everywhere the British settled.<sup>22</sup> Quakers came to New England from the Cheshire and London areas of England as early as 1650. I have already mentioned Ichabod Bowerman's grandfather Thomas Bowerman who came from London to West Barnstable (on Cape Cod) sometime between 1623 and 1633. He settled finally in West Falmouth (then called Seconnesset, also on Cape Cod, about 50 kilometres south west of Boston) in 1653 because of violent persecution of Quakers in the Bay

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<sup>21</sup> For example, the excellent work of David Hackett Fischer, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (NY: Oxford University Press, 1989) devotes 286 pages, a quarter of the book, to an examination of the migration of Quakers from the north midlands of England to the Delaware Valley of south eastern Pennsylvania and western New Jersey but does not mention Quaker settlements elsewhere.

<sup>22</sup> Canadian historians of the Society of Friends have always pointed out this fact. Arthur Garratt Dorland's masterwork History of the Religious Society of Friends in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1927) presents a clear picture of Quaker communities along the east coast from Massachusetts to North Carolina during colonial times.

Colony at the time.<sup>23</sup> He formally became a member of the Society of Friends in West Falmouth. There were settlements of Quakers in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and in North Carolina as well.

The Quakers tended to establish themselves in distinct, consensual communities centred on their Meeting Houses. While there were a few prosperous Quaker merchants in Philadelphia and New York, the great majority of Quakers were farmers--farmers who enjoyed a reputation for thrift and industry. Central to Quaker attitudes was an ideal of "worldly asceticism," a way of living in the world but not of it. Idleness became a sin when work was seen as a sacrament. "Living plainly" meant that wealth was to be used for constructive purposes, not in ostentatious display. Quaker beliefs forbade them from charging "undue" interest on loans and they frowned upon speculation. Members of the Society of Friends incorporated six "testimonies" or distinctive attributes into their daily lives: plain speech, plain dress, use of a numerical system for naming days of the week and months of the year, rejection of slavery, abstinence from all forms of alcohol, and a refusal to swear oaths.

"Plain speech" was a well-known hallmark of Quaker ways. Friends did not use any form of honorific title since their beliefs were based on the absolute equality of all

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<sup>23</sup> Dorland, Trail of Life, p. 170.

people. People were addressed by their full names with no title ("Rachel Cronk", never "Mrs. Cronk") and the formal "you" was not used when addressing an individual. "Thee, thou, and thine" continued to be used in Quaker speech in North America almost up to our own time; "birthright Quakers" alive today remember older relatives using the forms. Over time members of the Society adopted a distinctively archaic dress and appearance. The severely simple "Quaker grey" dress with "coalscuttle" bonnet and white kerchief typical of the women, and the men's full beards, single-breasted black broadcloth suits, and wide-brimmed round hats were holdovers from late eighteenth century dress. Quakers also preferred to use a simple numbering system for the days of the week and months of the year rather than using the more common names that were derived from pagan deities. Sunday was therefore "First Day" and January was "First Month" and so on. The testimony that prohibited them from swearing oaths effectively removed Quakers from the political stage, since they could not take oaths of office or swear allegiance.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Philip Dorland, a Quaker from Beekman Patent and ancestor of the historian Arthur Garratt Dorland, was the first elected representative from Adolphustown sent to the first Legislative Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada in 1792. Upon arrival at Newark he refused to swear the oath of allegiance and so was sent back. Major Peter Vanalstine replaced him. Reported in Dorland and several other histories.

The Society of Friends was what is known as an "exclusionary" sect. Members who "married out" of the faith were no longer considered members. Because of the threat to the unity of the Meeting inherent in socializing with non-Friends, Quakers tended to live their lives in communities of co-religionists. They sought to own land adjacent to other Friends, to send their children to Friends schools, and to trade at mills and stores run by Friends. In this way they hoped that their children would marry within the faith.

Quakers were (and still are) well known as outspoken pacifists. During the American Revolutionary War they declined to support either side, choosing to espouse a strict neutrality. They refused to serve in either army, or even to contribute to the war effort in any way. The area of Beekman Patent that many Quakers inhabited was popularly regarded as a hotbed of tory sympathizers during the American Revolution.<sup>25</sup> In July 1775, for example, Articles of Association for the formation of a local militia in aid of the American side were circulated in Beekman Patent. Local records include not only those who signed their agreement with the Articles, but also those who refused to sign. Among those refusing are the fathers of many of

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<sup>25</sup> Doherty, p. 526 quotes from a memoir written in 1845: "There were a great many tories in Quaker Hill, Fredericksburgh, Dover, Beekman, and New Fairfield in Connecticut."

Prince Edward's pioneers: Ichabod Bowerman, James Noxon, Josiah Bull Jr., John Bull, Jury Lossing, Peter Leavens Sr., James Striker, and Charles Vincent. Some future Bloomfield settlers had signed the Articles as well: Obadiah Cooper, Peter Leavens, Philip Vincent among them.<sup>26</sup>

By and large, the Quaker community in the American colonies sought to remain steadfastly neutral during the Revolution. In Dutchess County they were accused of aiding tory sympathizers who gathered in Beekman to make up parties to run south to Long Island and New York City, strongholds of the Crown forces throughout the Revolution. In 1779 George Washington's troops took over the Oblong Meeting House (just to the east of Oswego) for a military hospital. The Quakers of the neighbourhood were criticized for being unwilling to lend their wagons and teams for the transport of the sick and wounded to Poughkeepsie.<sup>27</sup>

No matter their true feelings during the Revolution nor what their patriot neighbours suspected of their loyalties,

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<sup>26</sup> Doherty, pp.413-16. 234 men signed in Beekman and 133 refused to sign.

<sup>27</sup> Warren H. Wilson, Quaker Hill (NY: Columbia University Press, 1907), pp. 60-1. The physician in charge of the sick, Dr. James Fallon, finally impressed two wagons. The soldiers taking the teams had to battle an unruly mob to do so.

no Dutchess County Quaker suffered confiscations of property during or after the war.<sup>28</sup>

Quakers sought to create a "loving neighbourhood" where they settled. Theirs were consensual rather than communal societies. They created instinctive, voluntary communities centred on religion rather than the planned utopian communal societies favoured by other religious groups settling the frontier during the early nineteenth century. Bloomfield in its early years would be a typical example of this sort of community, although it evolved into a more heterogeneous community as the years passed. The settlement was almost entirely Quaker in the early years because family members, neighbours from the Oswego Settlement, and co-religionists from elsewhere sought to acquire land near a Meeting House.

From its beginning the Society of Friends was a peripatetic sect. Quaker congregations fit into a strict hierarchical administrative arrangement that encouraged travel of members over a wide area. Local Preparative Meetings were under the jurisdiction of a nearby Monthly Meeting which in turn reported to a Quarterly or Half Yearly Meeting and finally to a Yearly Meeting. Until the mid-

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<sup>28</sup> Doherty, p. 626, includes a list of Beekman Patent families who lost their property through judgements as a result of Confiscation. The list is reproduced from Judgement Rolls, 1783, in possession of the New York Public Library. The list of twenty one names includes Charles Vincent and Bartholomew Noxon, both non-Quakers who were related to Bloomfield settlers but who did not move to Upper Canada.

nineteenth century, for example, the West Lake Meeting at Bloomfield sent two members as representatives to New York City for the Yearly Meeting.<sup>29</sup>

During the early eighteenth century the number of American Quakers increased very rapidly, doubling every generation. By the year 1750 Quakers had become the third largest religious denomination in the British colonies. Their 250 meeting houses were more numerous than the churches of any other faith except Congregationalists (465) and Anglicans (289). After the mid-eighteenth century the number of Quakers in British America continued to rise in absolute terms, but began to fall relative to other religious groups. Among all American denominations, Quakers slipped to fifth place by 1775 (with 310 meetings); ninth place by 1820 (350 meetings); and sixty-sixth place by 1981 (532 meetings).<sup>30</sup>

Upon arrival in North America they soon joined the movement westward with the expanding frontier. The mobility of the Society of Friends has been chronicled by the Society's historians. Arthur Garratt Dorland wrote of the "Great Westward Movement" in Quakerism thus: "(It) had followed the main tide of emigration into Western New York State, Michigan Territory, and Ohio. In this way the fringe

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<sup>29</sup> Chapters Four and Five of this study contain greater detail on Quaker journeying and its promotion of chain migration.

<sup>30</sup> Fischer, Albion's Seed, pp.422-23.



of the Great Westward Quaker Movement extended up into Canada and was largely responsible for those of the Society of Friends who came to Upper Canada between 1790 and 1820.... Those Friends who came to Canada constituted the merest trickle from this larger stream and later on when the tide of emigration from the United States stopped so did the rapid growth of the little Quaker groups in Canada."<sup>31</sup> As a result of this western movement today the midwestern state of Indiana is the administrative, social, and spiritual centre of the Society of Friends, not Pennsylvania.<sup>32</sup>

I have gone into the nature of eighteenth century Quakerism at some length because it is important to understand the social dynamic and world view of the Bloomfield settlers before one can understand why Bloomfield's history is distinctive. Eighteenth and nineteenth century Quakerism was a very different religion from that of the Society of Friends that we know today. In our time Quakers are involved in society to an unusual

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<sup>31</sup> Dorland, pp. 57-8.

<sup>32</sup> Richmond, Indiana is the home of the Friends United Meeting, a Five Years Meeting that includes the American Yearly Meetings (mostly midwestern); reunited Baltimore, Canadian, New England, New York, and Southeastern Yearly Meetings; three Yearly Meetings in Kenya; and one each in Cuba, Jamaica, and Palestine. Total 1983 membership was 59,338 in North America and about 100,000 overseas. Richmond, Indiana is also home to Earlham College, a prominent Quaker university and the home of the Earlham School of Religion, the only Quaker training school for Quaker ministry of all types. The Hicksite Friends General Conference (1981 membership of 26,086) still meets at Philadelphia. The Encyclopedia of Religion, vol 12, p. 132.

degree, acting on their beliefs in pragmatic, energetic, and assertive ways. The core beliefs of pacifism, moderation, and equality are certainly still there but the exclusivity of the eighteenth century Society has all but gone.

As the Great Migration of American Quakers got underway in the late eighteenth century, it can be seen that the reasons why the Bowermans and their neighbours left Dutchess County were both internal to their sect as well as arising out of post-Revolutionary American society. The Bowermans and the Bulls were the numerous offspring of tenant farmers and millers who left them some wealth and material goods at their deaths but no ties to the land. They were fourth generation pioneers. Their family tradition had been to move onto virgin land, clear it and create prosperous wheat farms and mills. For four generations a few Bowerman offspring had stayed behind and the rest had moved on.<sup>33</sup> Today there are no Bowermans in Dutchess County, but there are several Bowmans, who may well be related.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> "The Bowerman house in West Falmouth, Mass., built in 1678, has been continuously occupied by a direct Bowerman descendent down to the present day (1979)." Dorland, Along the Trail of Life: A Quaker Retrospect, p. 171. In May of 1983 the house passed out of Bowerman family hands. An auction of the house's contents, comprising ten generations of family history, was held May 27 and 28, 1983. Bowerman Family Newsletter, article 21.

<sup>34</sup> W.C. Bury, Historical Sketches of Prince Edward County, a collection of articles published during the 1920s in the Picton Gazette (Picton: Picton Gazette Publishing, 1971), p. 76.

Religious ties were reaffirmed by kinship ties. The web of interconnected marriages between these families makes a community genealogy out of any attempt at tracing individual families. In Bloomfield's case it might be said that local history equals community genealogy.

Religious precepts and family ties directed these footloose, competent farmers to move and settle as a group. Why did they choose to come to Prince Edward County? Geography and history combine to answer that question.

## PART 2 MIGRATION

### Chapter 3: Site and Situation

Today Bloomfield is a village of about 700 people. It has maintained its present size and configuration since the 1870's when many of the graceful brick houses that line its long principal street were built. Bloomfield is unusual<sup>35</sup> in that it is a long, narrow strip of a village. Most of the village consists of residential houses fronting on the road and backing onto cultivated fields; there are several working farms within the limits of the village itself. It developed around the already existing main road and three streams that crossed the road on their way to draining into West Lake. The streams crossing the road were obvious early mill sites. Bloomfield is almost two kilometres long and is just three blocks wide at its centre core.

A number of archaeological explorations have turned up no evidence to show that the land that makes up present day

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<sup>35</sup> Unusual, but by no means unique. Most southern Ontario, towns and villages (indeed, most human settlements anywhere) developed in response to the natural or man-made landscape, growing out from a natural harbour such as is the case in nearby Picton for example, or away from four corners of a crossroad. Some towns, such as Perth and Kingston, were planned towns built on a grid pattern. Bloomfield is unusual in that it was both the natural occurrence of streams and the man-made road running between them that defined the shape of the village.

Bloomfield was ever a permanent home to human beings until the final years of the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Huron Indian bands traversed the peninsula of what was to be Prince Edward County but it appears that the flat, jagged coast was never secure enough against surprise attack from Iroquois Nation tribes who lived just south of the great lake and who also left signs of their passage through the area. Camps were made but evidence of permanent habitation has not turned up. Sulpician missionaries went out from their Montreal Seminary in 1668 to set up a station on the western edge of the peninsula, at a site called Kente. They were sent by Bishop Laval to establish a mission to the Cayugas, one of the tribes of the Iroquois Nation. The village did not prosper and had been abandoned by 1687. No artifacts or other signs of First Nations habitation have ever been found in the immediate area of Bloomfield, an inland site that is perhaps the furthest removed from the Lake Ontario shore of any in Prince Edward.<sup>37</sup>

The road, now named Main Street and designated Ontario Route 33, "The Loyalist Parkway", pre-dated the village. A post road between Cataraqui and York was established by

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<sup>36</sup> Pre-historic mounds and archaeological findings of what appear to be temporary hunting camps have been located in western and northern Prince Edward County, especially along the shores of Consecun Lake, but not in the area of Bloomfield.

<sup>37</sup> Lunn, The County: The first hundred years in Loyalist Prince Edward. Picton, Ont.:Picton Gazette, 1967, pp.3-7.

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe in 1792. In Prince Edward County it ran along an already existing trail from Hallowell Village (Picton) to the Carrying Place. In 1798 a Vermonter named Asa Danforth was contracted by the Crown to construct a road between the fledgling towns of Cataraqui (Kingston) and York (Toronto). The roadwork was begun in York in 1798, moving east<sup>38</sup> to The Carrying Place and then along the existing post road down into the County. The route of the road between Wellington, through Bloomfield, and on to Picton (Hallowell) follows a natural sandstone ridge that skirts the marshland around West Lake. The route then crossed the Bay of Quinte via the Glenora ferry (then called Vanalstine's ferry at Vanalstine's mills) and followed the St. Lawrence "front" through Bath and on to Cataraqui (Kingston). Today's Route 33 is laid exactly on top of Asa Danforth's road in most places. (See Map 4, p. 42)

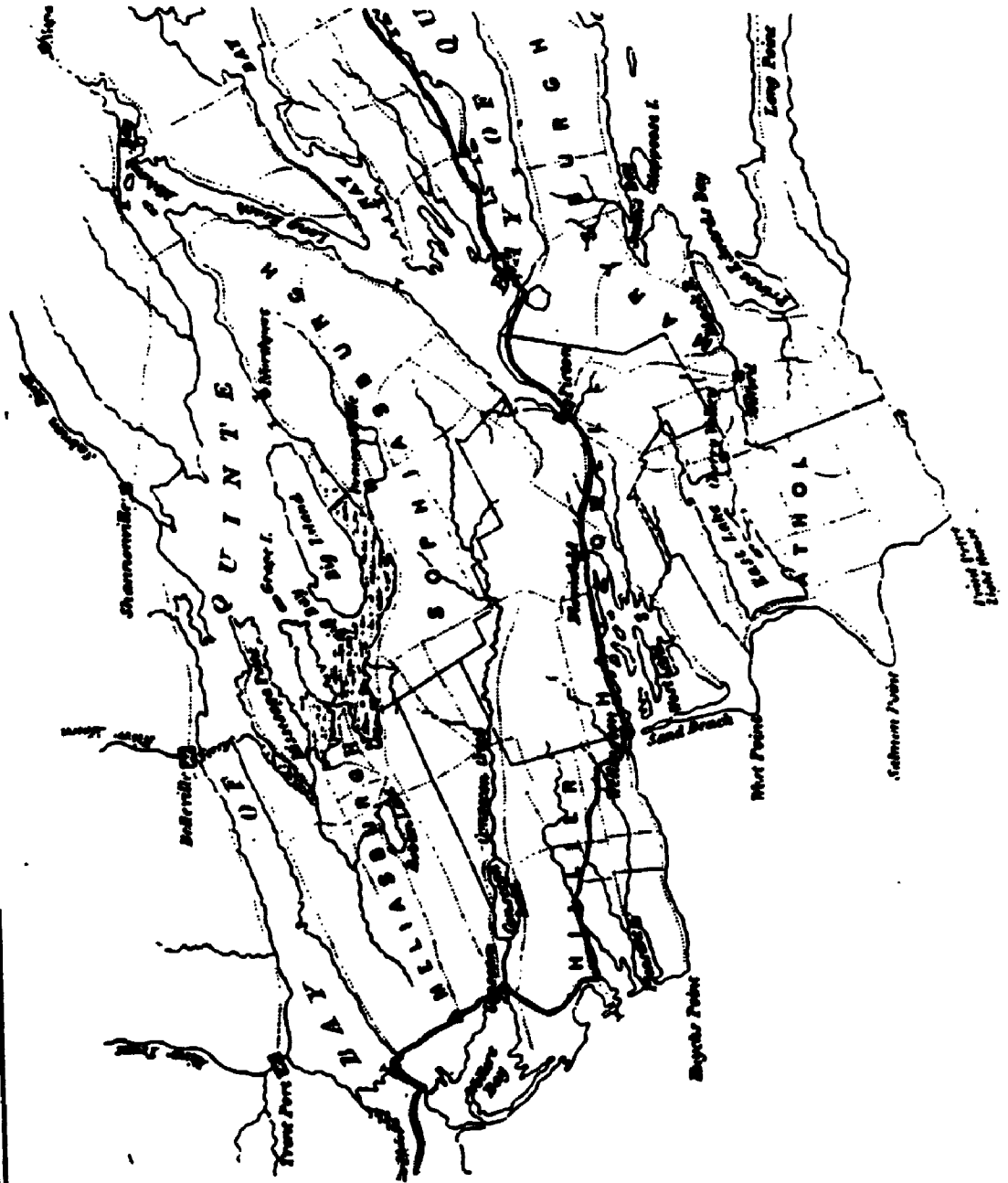
The road ran along the lake shore into Prince Edward rather than staying inland like today's interprovincial route 401 between Kingston and Toronto. The route reflects the importance of coastal transportation and waterfront

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<sup>38</sup> "The contracts for opening the road between this place (i.e. Toronto) and the Bay of Quinte are entered into; the road will be thirty three feet wide, creeks will be bridged, swamps etc. will be causewayed, the whole to be completed by July 1800. A circumstance highly beneficial to the town, and what ought to draw from the inhabitants the warmest expressions of thanks to the Government, as the expenses is paid by it." Gazette, April 13, 1799 quoted by A.W. Campbell, "Report of the Provincial Instructor in Road-Making", Ontario Provincial Documents . Sessional Papers, 1896, (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1897), p. 43.

# PRINCE EDWARD.

Thomas Thomas Maclear



Map No. 4 Early Prince Edward County showing Danforth Road.

Source: Thomas Maclear, 1852.

settlements in the years before the railroads came. The road was built to be a backup to the water route, a way of ensuring postal service during the winter freeze-ups. The facts that it served as a colonization route and then as a commercial artery were secondary to its principal purpose as a post road.

The land comprising what was to be known as Hallowell Township in Prince Edward County was first surveyed during the summer of 1784 as the first settlers were arriving.<sup>39</sup> At first the townships were simply numbered, starting from First Town at Kingston and moving west. Bloomfield's site was in the Fifth Town, later named Marysburgh after a daughter of King George III. Bloomfield is inland, at least a kilometre from the closest shoreline. This was a disadvantage in the days when all transport was by water, so the land beneath Bloomfield was not surveyed or assigned to grantees during the first years. Later (on June 3, 1797, by an Act of Legislature) the Township of Hallowell,<sup>40</sup> containing the Bloomfield settlement area, was created out

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<sup>39</sup> Richard and Janet Lunn, The County. Picton:Picton Gazette, 1967, p. 38.

<sup>40</sup> Named after Benjamin Hallowell, a Boston Loyalist who received a large land grant at the Head of Picton Bay. He never lived in the area. He stayed in New Brunswick for a time but he later moved to York, where he died in 1797.



of the western part of Marysburgh and the southern half of Sophiasburgh townships.<sup>41</sup>

The boundary between the first and second Military Concessions ran diagonally north-west to south-east through the site of the village (Stanley Street, the only major street to bisect Main Street in the west end, is the concession line). Lots 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of the Second Concession, Military Tract, and Lots 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the First Concession, Military Tract comprise most of Bloomfield. These lots were duly allocated by the Crown to loyalists and to a few ordinary settlers. (See Table 1, p. 46) Two Bowerman brothers, Jonathan and Ichabod, were the only original grantees to settle on the land. The Bowerman brothers based their land claims solely on prior residence in Upper Canada, they did not claim to be loyalists.<sup>42</sup> The rest of the original grantees were non-resident. Most of the grantees were family members of United Empire Loyalists.

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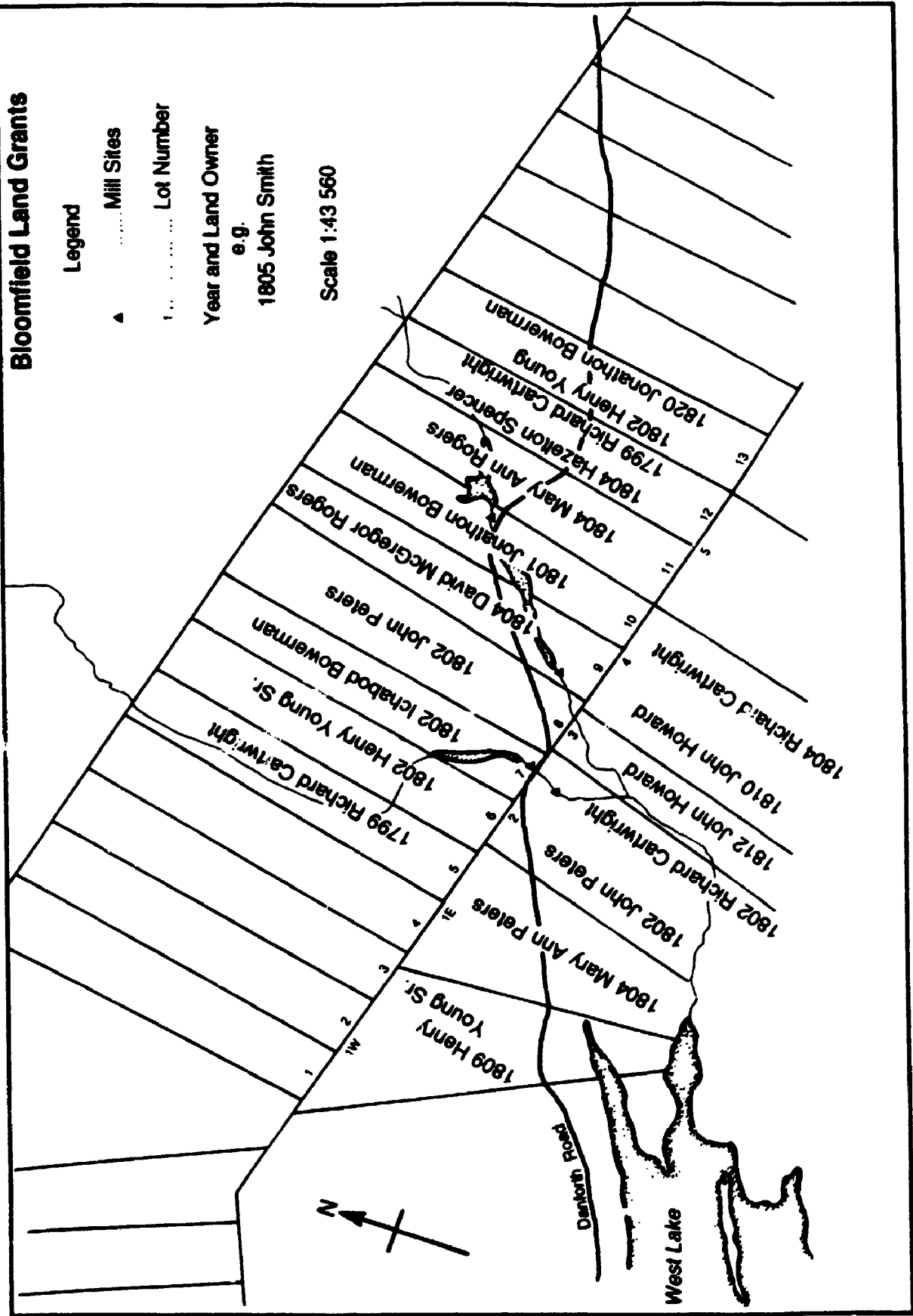
<sup>41</sup> More supporting evidence for Elliott's Law. See footnote 15: "Any person or group a genealogist sets out to study will invariably live on a boundary line between two or more jurisdictions."

<sup>42</sup> The Land Petitions for Ichabod and Jonathan Bowerman can be found in the National Archives of Canada; RG1 L3, B3/91 is Ichabod Bowerman's petition, and RG1 L3, B3/138 is Jonathan Bowerman's. Both petitions were filed on July 27, 1797. Each petition states that the petitioner has purchased and improved land in the province but would like to receive a grant of land like other settlers have received. Each petition was "sent forwards" on August 30, 1797.

# Bloomfield Land Grants

Legend  
 ▲ Mill Sites  
 1. Lot Number  
 Year and Land Owner  
 e.g.  
 1805 John Smith

Scale 1:43 560



Map No. 5

**TABLE 1**  
**Original Land Owners and Patenting Dates**

<u>Lot Description</u>	<u>Patenting Date</u>	<u>Original Owner</u>
Lot 1, First MT	1804	Mary Ann Peters (East Part
	1809	Henry Young, Sr. (West Part)
Lot 2, First MT	1802	John Peters (West Part)
	1802	Hon. Richard Cartwright (East)
Lot 3, First MT	1802	Hon. Richard Cartwright (West)
	1812	John Howard (East)
Lot 4, First MT	1810	John Howard (West)
	1804	Hon. Richard Cartwright (East)
Lot 5, Second MT	1799	Hon. Richard Cartwright
Lot 6, Second MT	1802	Henry Young, Sr.
Lot 7, Second MT	1802	Ichabod Bowerman
Lot 8, Second MT	1802	John Peters
Lot 9, Second MT	1804	David McGregor Rogers
Lot 10, Second MT	1801	Jonathan Bowerman
Lot 11, Second MT	1804	Mary Ann Peters
Lot 12, Second MT	1799	Hon. Richard Cartwright (East)
	1804	Hazleton Spencer (West)
Lot 13, Second MT	1802	Henry Young (West)
	1820	Jonathan Bowerman (East)

All the lots in the Second Concession, Military Tract (MT), were 200 acres in size, but the lots in the First Concession, Military Tract, were either 400 or 660 acres each.

The original owner of much of Bloomfield was Lt. Henry Young, who had been a lieutenant in the 2d. Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York during the American Revolution. On June 30, 1789 he applied for, and was granted, 2,200 acres of land, much of what was to be Bloomfield.<sup>43</sup> The site was crossed by strong streams flowing into West Lake. The area supported large stands of mixed hardwood trees, including stands of black walnut and basswood, trees taken to be indicative of fertile soil underneath. It was not until 1799 that legal title to the land that was to be Bloomfield was settled.<sup>44</sup> The Hon. Richard Cartwright, a Kingston merchant and judge, declared in 1798 that he had recently purchased a quantity of lands from the original grantees (officers of the Royal Rangers of New York, the King's Rangers, and others) and asked that Patents be made out in his name.<sup>45</sup> The lands bracketed the

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<sup>43</sup> "Beginning in the rear of the lands applied for by Major Rogers and running eastward three quarters of a mile on the Vacancy between the West Lake and the Bay Kinty, then turning northward three miles and three quarters, then turning Westward three quarters of a Mile, and joining the bounds of the land applied for by Major Rogers which nearly comprehends Seventeen Hundred Acres...." He states that he has received 500 acres earlier, but asks for additional land. NAC: RG 1 L3 Upper Canada Land Claims and Petitions. Y Misc. No. 9, vol. 548, reel C-2980.

<sup>44</sup> Register of Deeds Abstract Index No. 2, Hallowell Township. L.D.S. reel no. 0198152.

<sup>45</sup> Upper Canada Land Claims and Petitions. NAC, RG 1 L3, document C4/135 (reel C-1649).

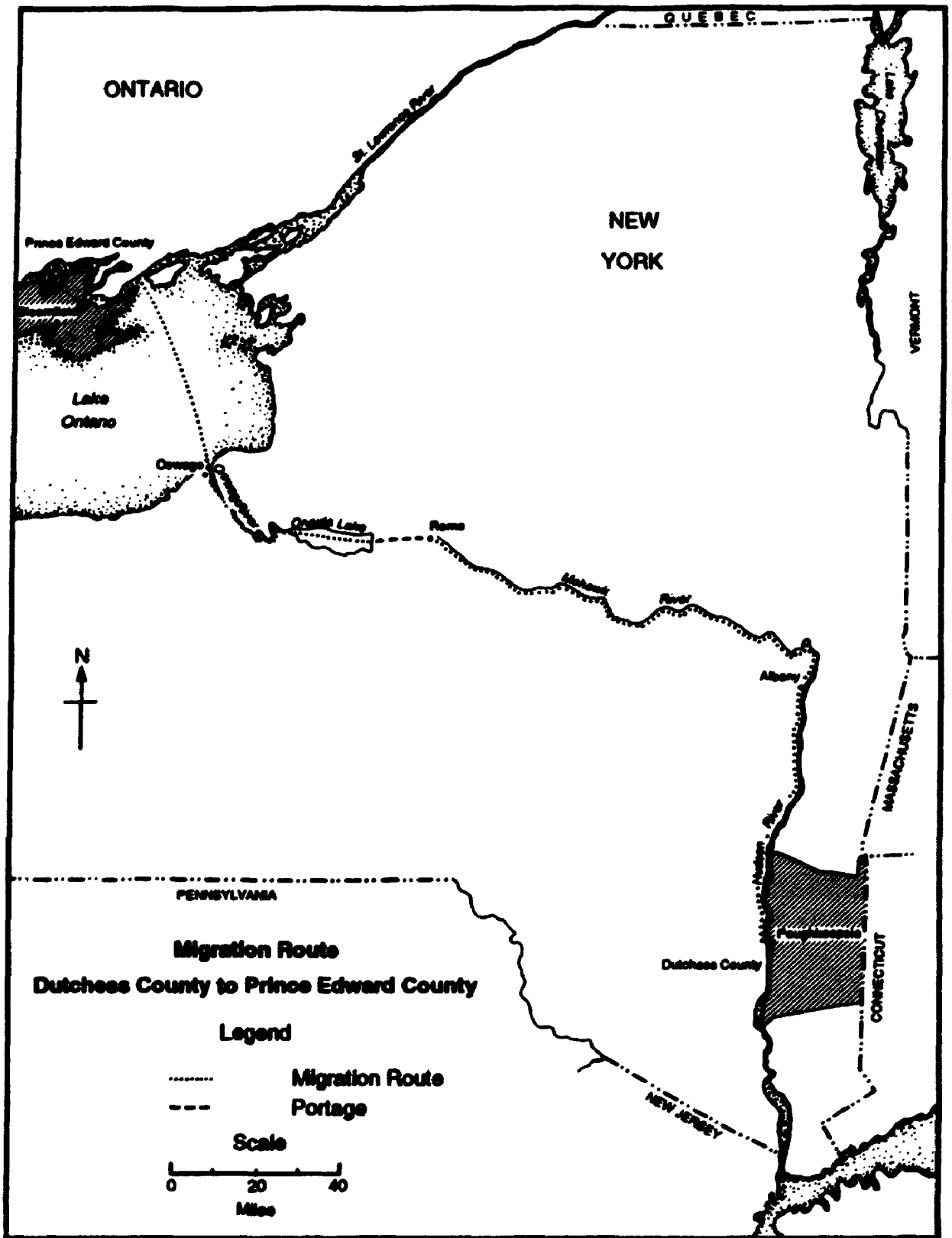
Danforth road and covered the area between the mill sites.<sup>46</sup>

This was the situation that the Dutchess County Quakers encountered when they arrived in Canada early in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The land was "spoken for" but not occupied in most instances. In many cases the land was not even distributed to grantees. It appears that most of the families began to clear the land prior to acquiring legal possession of the lots.

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- <sup>46</sup> Cartwright's holding consisted of:
- 330 acres of the west part of Lot No. 4 in front of the first Concession.
  - Lot No. 2, 1st. Concession, 200 acres
  - Lot No. 5, 1st. Concession, 200 acres (just south-east of Bloomfield)
  - No. 8, 2d. Concession, 200 acres
  - Lot No. 19, 2d. Concession, 200 acres (just east of Bloomfield)
  - Lot No. 9, described as "in front of the 1st. concession
  - 112 acres of the East part of Lot No. 8, "in front of the 1st. Concession"

## Chapter 4: Journey and Settlement

To understand how geography directed the early settlers of Prince Edward County from Dutchess County we must put aside our twentieth century view of the world and look at a different map. Before there were man-made roads, canals, or railroads there were rivers. A map of the river system of New York State during the eighteenth century shows that it was possible to navigate flat bottomed river boats ("bateaux") from Poughkeepsie on the Hudson River to the western New York port of Oswego on Lake Ontario with only one long overland crossing of forty-five kilometres. (See Map 6, p. 50) The itinerary was thus: board river boats under sail on the Hudson river at Poughkeepsie. North to Troy, New York at the mouth of the Mohawk River near the state capital of Albany. Board new, smaller, shallow draft boats at Troy and move upriver along the Mohawk west to Rome, New York. Rome during the 1790's was a bustling market town, the taking-off point for the western frontier. Fort Stanwix and the Oriskany Battlefield, sites of battles during both the French and Indian Wars and the American Revolution, marked the strategic importance that Rome enjoyed. At Rome the settlers bound for Upper Canada disembarked and loaded their possessions into lumbering farm



wagons for the arduous overland trek twenty six miles north-west to Lake Oneida, across the lake, again by boat, and then a few kilometres overland to the Oswego River.<sup>47</sup>

The Oswego River today is again a good sized river. In the 1830s most of the river was diverted into the Oswego Canal that connected the port of Oswego to the Erie Canal at Syracuse. In earlier times it was navigable for its full length. Oswego flourished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries first as a trading post and military site, later as a Great Lakes port. Oswego boasted boat yards, extensive docks and warehouse facilities, grain merchants and other traders.<sup>48</sup> The fort at Oswego, Fort Ontario, remained a British possession under the terms of the Treaty of Paris and was not ceded to the United States until 1796. Upon arrival there it was an easy matter to charter a lake sailboat to transport the settlers the hundred kilometres across the lake to Hallowell (later renamed Picton), or Adolphustown.

Many Dutchess County emigrants bound for Prince Edward County must have first landed at Adolphustown and stayed over the first winter with family or friends who had arrived earlier. Adolphustown is now a small rural township, but in

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<sup>47</sup> William Canniff, The Settlement of Upper Canada (Belleville, Ont.:Mika Pub. 1971 facsimile reprint of Toronto:Dudley & Burns, 1869 edition), p.131.

<sup>48</sup> Anthony M. Slosek, Oswego and the War of 1812. Oswego N.Y.:Heritage Foundation of Oswego, 1989.



1785 and for many years following it was the largest settlement on the St. Lawrence west of Catararqui (Kingston). Adolphustown is on the Ontario mainland in Lennox and Addington County just across the Bay of Quinte from eastern Prince Edward County. Even today the most direct way to travel from Picton to Adolphustown is via the Glenora ferry.

The Prince Edward County area in Upper Canada developed into a destination of choice for Dutchess County emigrants at the close of the American Revolution. Most American Loyalists leaving the newly formed United States travelled to what was to become New Brunswick or to the Montreal area, but Loyalists from the upper Hudson Valley travelled much further west to the shores of Lake Ontario. This trip to the northern shores of Lake Ontario was actually a shorter journey in time and distance for immigrants taking the overland route through New York State, though the original 1784 party of settlers to reach Adolphustown had come by ship from New York City. The reason for the selection of this portion of Upper Canada as a destination lies in the experiences of one man, Major Peter Van Alstine, and his company of refugees.

Major Peter Van Alstine was a Hudson Valley gentleman from Kinderhook, New York, about 70 kilometres north of Beekman Patent in the next county, Columbia. He had fought with General John Burgoyne on the British side, accompanying him on the ill-fated excursion up Lake Champlain to Montreal

and back to the Battle of Saratoga in 1777.<sup>49</sup> After the war Van Alstine found himself in New York City, along with an estimated 30,000 British sympathizers seeking the Crown's protection. He was recruited by Sir Guy Carleton<sup>50</sup> to lead a large party of tory families out of New York to Canada by ship. Eventually eight ships left New York harbour in the autumn of 1783, heading north for the St. Lawrence and wintering at Sorel, below Montreal.<sup>51</sup> The autumn of 1784 found most of them landing at Adolphustown to establish settlement.

The Adolphustown settlers who arrived under Major Van Alstine's leadership included at least one practising Quaker from Dutchess County (Philip Dorland) among several other Dutchess County residents who were not Quakers (Huff, Van

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<sup>49</sup> After Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga his army was marched through Dutchess County, in fact through the village of Verbank, on its way from Cambridge, Mass. to Charlottesville, Va. Benson J. Lossing, Poughkeepsie Weekly Eagle, Jan. 22, 1876. Quoted by Di Arpino, p.28-29, and also by James D. Smith, History of Dutchess County. (1882 edition republished NY:Heart of the Lakes Pub. 1980), p. 138.

<sup>50</sup> Sir Guy Carleton, twice Governor of Quebec, accepted command of the British forces in America after the defeat and surrender of British forces at Yorktown, Virginia on Oct. 19, 1781. Sir Carleton arrived in New York City on May 5, 1782 charged with re-establishing peace with the new United States government and responsible for overseeing the evacuation of as many as 60,000 tories from New York.

<sup>51</sup> The complete story of Peter Van Alstine, his leadership of a band of settlers, and the events of their voyage and first year in Upper Canada can be found in: Larry Turner, Voyage of a Different Kind: The Associated Loyalists of Kingston and Adolphustown (Belleville, Ont: Mika Publishing, 1984).

Dusen, Fraleigh, Clarke, Lossee).<sup>52</sup> Communication with the home county, though difficult, was steady; friends and family members were urged to come to Upper Canada. The community of Dutchess County Quakers grew quickly at the first landfall of Adolphustown and soon began to expand across the Bay of Quinte into Prince Edward County during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. They arrived from the United States in a chain migration over forty years, until the Adolphustown settlement and Prince Edward County were fully settled and the frontier had moved again westward.

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<sup>52</sup> listed in "Return of Disbanded Troops and Loyalists settled in Township N. 4, Cataraqui, Mustered this 5th October, 1784." PAC MG 21 Haldimand Mss B 168 p. 68. The entire list is reproduced as Appendix D2 in Turner. Voyage, p. 125.

## Chapter 5 Kinship and Community

This is an appropriate place to consider the role of chain migration in this immigration, and the special influence of the Society of Friends on that pattern. Chain migration is the term used to explain the influences on an emigrant's choice of destination in the new country. Chain migration, in which one emigrant is followed by another, who is followed by others in turn, draws upon kin groups, the members of which need not necessarily have lived close together before the move.<sup>53</sup> Bruce Elliott, in a study of Irish immigration, points out that "though the decision to emigrate at a particular time was influenced by reflections upon economic and social conditions at home, the locations of family members who had gone before continued to be the major determinants of destination."<sup>54</sup>

Unlike the case of Elliott's Tipperary Protestants, the Dutchess County Quakers' choice of destination was reinforced, not widened, by bilateral kinship ties. The Irish had a wider range of locations to consider because

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<sup>53</sup> Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach. p. 4.

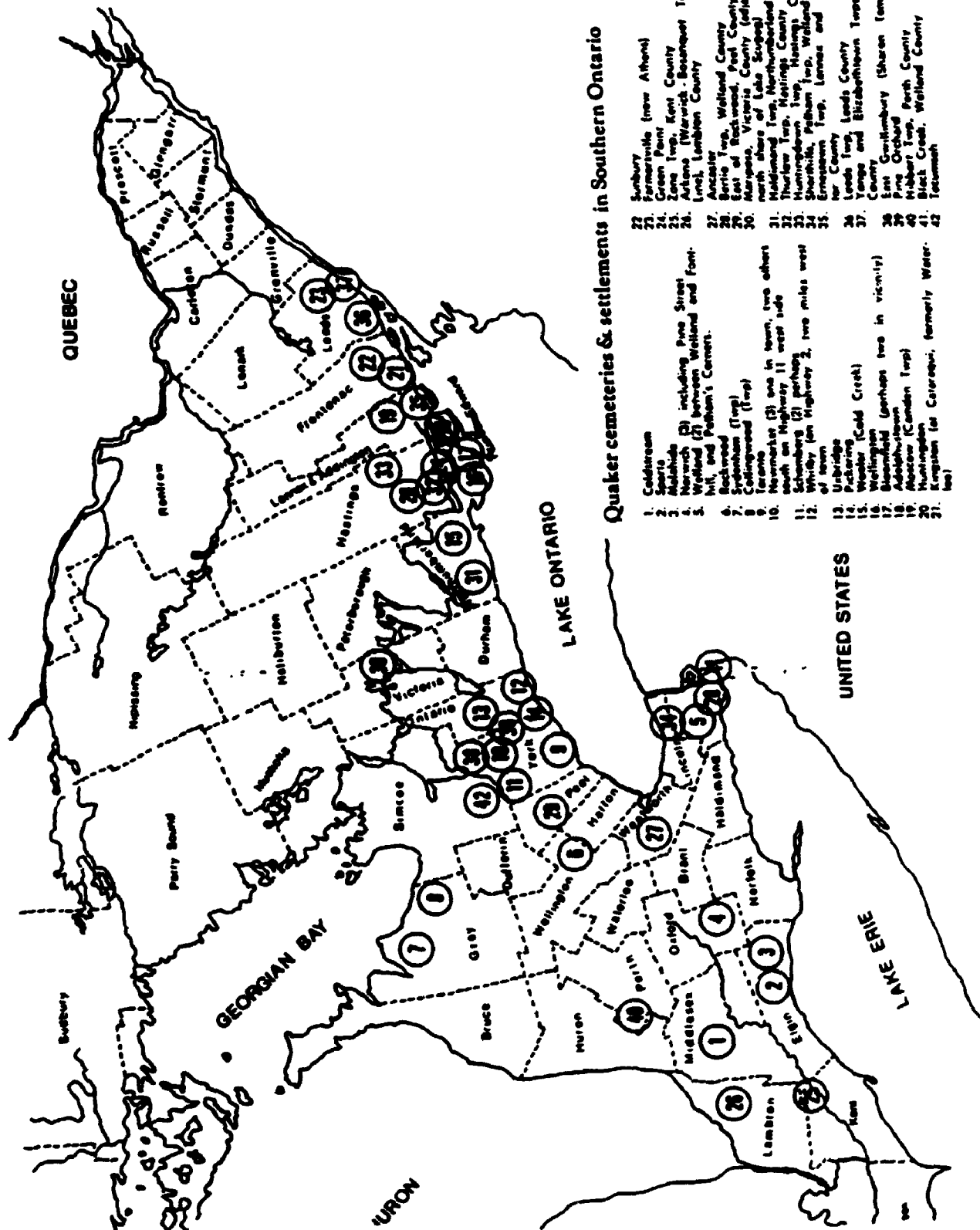
<sup>54</sup> Bruce S. Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's U. Press 1988) p. 82. Dr. Elliott's study and this quote refer to Irish Protestant emigrants to Upper Canada in the years after 1818, but the principles apply just as well to American Quakers.

various kin settled in different areas of Upper Canada. The Quakers who left Dutchess County tended to come only to Adolphustown and Prince Edward County.<sup>55</sup> There were early Quaker communities scattered rather thickly along the shore of Lake Ontario from Kingston to Niagara, their locations today marked by Quaker cemeteries. (See Map 7, p. 57) I am not aware of any Dutchess County Quaker pioneers buried outside of the Prince Edward County/Adolphustown area. Later generations may be found in scattered locations, but not the first generation.

It is tempting to conclude that it was the religious bond, membership in the Society of Friends, that influenced individuals to move to Prince Edward County, but that would be a mistake. Most migrants from Dutchess County to Prince Edward County were not Quakers. This study focuses on the settlement of a particular village that happened to be largely Quaker but the County as a whole was populated by their non-Quaker neighbours from "back home." Much of the domestic architecture, place names, family names, breeds of livestock, plant species, and even the regional accent of early nineteenth century Prince Edward County were distinctly those of the Hudson Valley of New York State. There was a distinctive "Bay of Quinte" accent to the

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<sup>55</sup> Of course, a few individuals went elsewhere. David Bowerman, brother to Thomas, settled in Cobourg (about 50 miles west of Bloomfield). Timothy, the eldest Bowerman brother, settled near Albany, New York.



Map No. 7 Quaker Cemeteries in Upper Canada.

Source: Zavitz, "Where the Friends Were/Are", The Bulletin of the Ontario Genealogical Society, vol. 9 (Summer 1970), p. 16-17.

Quaker cemeteries & settlements in Southern Ontario

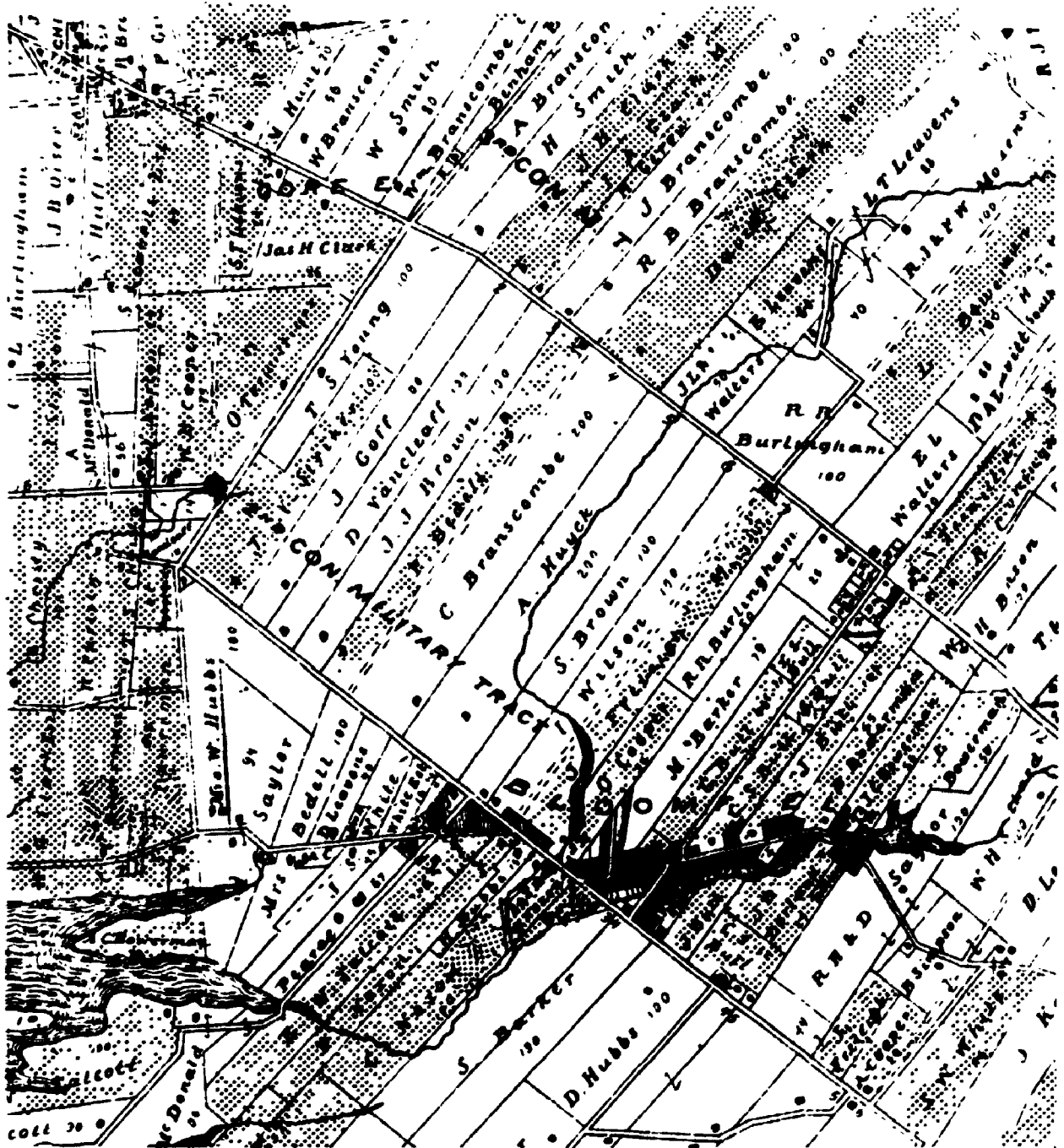
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Coldstream   | 27. Ancaster  |
| 2. Sperry   | 28. Berlin Twp., Welland County                                       |
| 3. Malahide (2) including Pine Street                                   | 29. East of Rockwood, Peel County                                     |
| 4. Welland (2) between Welland and Fort-                                | 30. Markham, Victoria County (adjacent to north shore of Lake Simcoe) |
| 5. Hill, and Pathon's Corners.  | 31. Mulholland Twp., Northumberland County                            |
| 6. Rockwood   | 32. Thurlow Twp., Hastings County                                     |
| 7. Strathroy (Twp)  | 33. Huntressburg Twp., Hastings County                                |
| 8. Collingwood (Twp)  | 34. Shearville, Pesham Twp., Welland County                           |
| 9. Toronto  | 35. Shearville, Pesham Twp., Lennox and Addington County              |
| 10. Newmarket (2) one in town, two others south on Highway 11 west side | 36. Leeds Twp., Leeds County  |
| 11. Schomberg (2) perhaps   | 37. Yarmouth and Elizabethtown Twp., Leeds County                     |
| 12. Whiffly (on Highway 2, two miles west of town)                      | 38. East Gwillimbury (Sharon Temple)                                  |
| 13. Unbridge  | 39. Pine Orchard  |
| 14. Pubring   | 40. Humber Twp., Perth County   |
| 15. Wexler Cold Creek   | 41. Black Creek, Welland County                                       |
| 16. Wellington  | 42. Tecumseh  |
| 17. Simonsville (perhaps two in vicinity)                               |   |
| 18. Adolphustown  |   |
| 19. Moscow (Camden Twp)   |   |
| 20. Huntressburg  |   |
| 21. Kingston (at Cateron, formerly Waterloo)                            |   |

English spoken by Prince Edward County people that led to their being mistaken for New England Yankees as late as the mid-nineteenth century. In 1834 four Bowerman men and their families (sons of Israel Bowerman, brother of Thomas: Joseph, Judah, Israel and Benjamin) were the first settlers in the area of Dunedin, Simcoe County. The area they settled was first referred to as "Yankee Settlement" because of their accents.<sup>6</sup> Thus chain migration within family groups was reinforced by a generalized neighbourhood migration. Quaker and non-Quaker Loyalist neighbours opted to travel to the same destination when social and economic circumstances forced them to leave the home district to set up new homesteads. (See Map 8, p.59)

This process began in the 1790s as the first Dutchess County Quakers took up land in the area that was to become Bloomfield. The Bowerman brothers Thomas, Ichabod, and Jonathan, John and Amos Bull, Cornelius Blount, and William White bought parcels of land along the newly created road from Henry Young, from the Hon. Richard Cartwright of

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<sup>6</sup> "The families of Bowerman, Clark, Cooper, Hill, and Sing came from the vicinity of Bloomfield in Hallowell Township, Prince Edward County, about the year 1834, and were the first families of the settlement around Dunedin, which some people mistakenly called the "Yankee Settlement". They were of U.E. Loyalist descent, and not U.S. citizens, but they had the Bay of Quinte dialect, which was distinctly of the "Down-east Yankee" kind, and that gave rise to the mistaken name..." Andrew F. Hunter, A History of Simcoe County Part II--The Pioneers Canada:1906 reproduced by Martha Hunter, Barrie, Ontario: Historical Commission of Simcoe County, 1948. Quoted in Lukos, Bowerman Family Newsletter, #3, Jan. 1984, article 35.



Map No. 8 Bloonfield Showing Dutchess County Descendants in 1878.

The shaded lots belong to direct offspring of settlers who arrived from Dutchess County, New York before 1820. By 1878 many of the families were no longer members of the Society of Friends.

Source: Belden Historical Atlas of Hastings and Prince Edward Counties. Toronto, 1878.



Kingston, and from John and Mary Ann Peters (Maj. Rogers' daughter and son-in-law).<sup>57</sup> Land records show that a number of settlers bought land at a rather late date from speculators (such as Ebenezer Washburn of Hallowell Village and the Hon. Richard Cartwright of Kingston) who had purchased the land from the original grantees.

Most of the first Quaker purchasers in fact had arrived during the 1790s and were already living on the lands without legal title. Thomas Bowerman bought his two hundred acres in Lot 1, 1st. Military Concession, from the estate of Henry Young Sr. on 28 December 1809 although we know from family records that he moved onto the land in 1793,<sup>58</sup> and there are Upper Canada Land Claims for Bowermans on file at the National Archives dated as early as 1794. The ones from 1797 declare that the claimants (Jonathan, Stephen, and Gideon Bowerman all made claims that year) had already

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<sup>57</sup> Ontario. Register of Deeds Abstract Index No. 2. Hallowell Township. L.D.S. reel 0198152. The dates of most of the deeds are several years later, most ranging from 1804 to 1815. This reflects the slowness of the official government record-keeping, not the true dates of commercial transactions.

<sup>58</sup> Merton Yearwood Williams, The Bowerman Family 1379 to the Present. Vancouver B.C.: self published, 1963. p. 19. "On Feb. 26, 1789 Capt. Henry Young reported to Maj. Peter Vanalstine that he had allotted land on the north shore of East Lake to Private Thomas Bowerman - East Lake Lot 3. Thomas Bowerman soon left that and moved to west Lake (South side Lot 5). He moved again in 1793 to the north shore of West Lake. He settled on Lot No. 1 First Concession Military Tract (230 acres) that he bought from Major Henry Young for about \$100." This information is not footnoted in William's book and I have been unable to find the source of his information.

purchased and improved land in the province but would like to receive a grant of land like other settlers have received.<sup>59</sup>

A census of the population of the United States conducted in 1790 shows that most of the future settlers of Bloomfield were still resident in Beekman Patent in that year.<sup>60</sup> But by 1798 an Assessment roll of the landholders of Hallowell Township lists 18 Dutchess County Friends already established there. Slightly more than one fifth of all property owners in the 1798 list (18 out of 87) were Friends from Dutchess.

The village of Bloomfield, as described before, extends over sections of 17 lots in the First and Second Military Tract Concessions. These lots began to be sold off to settlers in 1801. By 1816 all of the lots had been sold and the shadowy presence of the non-resident grantee landholders passes from the scene. It is instructive to examine the

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<sup>59</sup> There are numerous U.C Land Claims/Petitions on file at the NAC for Bowermans, Bulls, Blounts, etc. The earliest appears to be for Ichabod Bowerman in 1794: NAC, RG1 L3 document B Misc/160, reel C-1636. Most of the petitions for land were unsuccessful, but they testify to the presence of these individuals in the area throughout the decade of the 1790s.

<sup>60</sup> Ichabod "Bordman" (with nine dependents--these would be his adult and adolescent children by this date), Josiah Bull Jr. (with nine--also principally adult and young adult children), Cornelius "Blunt" (with four), Stephen Bull (with three), Jonathan Clark (with twelve), Obadiah Cooper (with twelve, including two slaves), and James Noxon (with eight, including one slave) appear on the list.

first purchasers of these seventeen lots in some detail.

(See Table 2, p. 63)

Of the 17 men listed in the Prince Edward County Land Register as having purchased lots, twelve of the settlers were Quakers, one was Methodist, one was Church of England, and three were of unknown religion.

These three men of unknown religion are mystery men in other ways as well. They all bought their lots in 1805 and all had sold their holdings to Dutchess County Quakers by 1829. One of these men, John Friar, also listed as John Frear, was a Loyalist from Dutchess County<sup>61</sup> who was listed in the 1798 assessment roll as already owning a large farm in the area. He sold off his holdings in 1814 to John Terwilligar, a Dutchess Co. Quaker, and left the region.

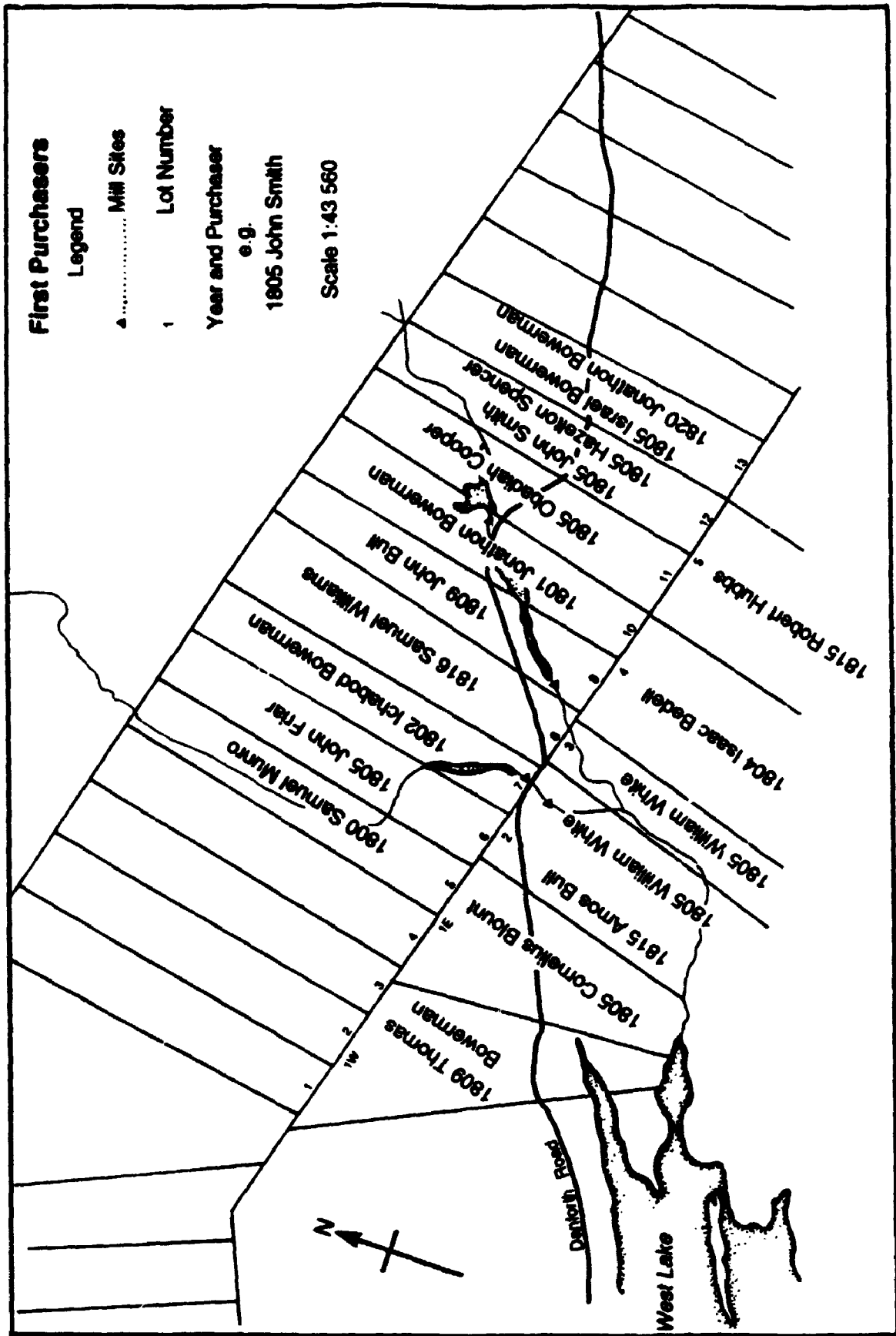
The other two unknown men, John Smith and Joseph Forsyth, bought adjoining lots in 1805 and both sold them in 1829 to Cornelius White and John Cooper, Dutchess County Quakers who had lived in Bloomfield for some time already and owned other land in the community. It is doubtful that either Smith or Forsyth ever lived in the village; they appear to have been speculators.

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<sup>61</sup> In 1778 he signed a petition to Governor George Clinton of New York asking that a prominent local tory, Myndert Harris, not be put to death. The petition was also signed by Soloman Freligh, whose family too would finally settle in Bloomfield. Daugherty, The Settlers of the Beekman Patent, p.577.

TABLE 2 First Purchasers of Bloomfield Lots

Lot Description	Date	Purchaser
Lot 1, First MT	1809	Thomas Bowerman (west)
	1805	Cornelius Blount (east)
Lot 2, First MT	1805	William White (east)
	1815	Amos Bull (west)
Lot 3, First MT	1805	William White (west)
	1804	Isaac Bedell (east)
Lot 5, Second MT	1800	Samuel Munro
Lot 6, Second MT	1805	John Friar
Lot 7, Second MT	1802	Ichabod Bowerman (grantee)
Lot 8, Second MT	1816	Samuel Williams
Lot 9, Second MT	1809	John Bull
Lot 10, Second MT	1801	Jonathan Bowerman (grantee)
Lot 11, Second MT	1805	Obadiah Cooper
Lot 12, Second MT	1805	Hazelton Spencer (west)
	1805	John Smith (east)
Lot 13, Second MT	1820	Jonathan Bowerman (east)
	1805	Israel Bowerman (west)



Map No. 9

Much more information is available on the other 14 landowners, enough to answer several questions: Where were they from? When did they arrive in the Bloomfield area? What were their ages upon arrival? Where did they get the money to buy the land? How long did they or their descendants stay in the area?

The men were all from New York State: 11 were born in Dutchess County, one was from Long Island, and one was from Herkimer, New York. Samuel Munro, sometimes spelled Monroe, from Herkimer, was the son of a United Empire Loyalist; he came into Prince Edward County as a child in 1784 and settled with his family to the north of Bloomfield.<sup>62</sup> His father purchased Samuel's lot of land in Bloomfield for him in 1800, and Samuel Monroe soon built the first inn along that stretch of the Danforth Road. Monroe's Inn (also spelled Munro's Inn) was a County landmark until the 1930's. Samuel Monroe was the lone member of the Church of England in the area.

The man from Long Island was Robert Hubbs, a revered Quaker who lived in Picton and who bought the land in Bloomfield for one of his sons, William Hubbs. Robert Hubbs arrived in the County in 1797 with his family and first worked as a hired man for Cory Spencer, a Bowerman brother-

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<sup>62</sup> W. K. Burr, Historical Sketches of Prince Edward County (Picton: Picton Gazette, 1971). This is a compilation of newspaper columns that ran in the Gazette in the first decades of the twentieth century.

in-law.<sup>63</sup> By 1815, when he purchased the property in Bloomfield, he was a well-established farmer who was able to provide land for his sons.

Seven of the 17 were listed in the 1798 assessment roll as already living on cultivated land in the township. Four other men are known to have been living in the area in 1798 as younger sons still with their families: Obediah Cooper, Cornelius White, John Bull, and Samuel Monroe.

These four were not the only sons who had their lots purchased for them by their fathers. Isaac Bedell, who had land purchased for him in 1804, was the son of Reuben Bedell, a Dutchess County Quaker who had settled earlier in Adolphustown.

Five other men received land grants directly: of these Thomas Bowerman, Cornelius Blount, and John Friar had sold their original grants of land elsewhere and bought lots in what was to become Bloomfield. Jonathan and Ichabod Bowerman were each granted lots in the community directly by the Crown.

Another four men worked locally as carpenters and farm labourers before putting together the funds to purchase their own land: Amos and John Bull, who came into Prince Edward County as adolescents with their married siblings,

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<sup>63</sup> Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte (Toronto: Rolph and Clark, 1904), pp. 402-8.

Paul Clark, and Samuel Williams who worked for Thomas Bowerman.

It can be seen that 14 of the 17 men buying land on the site of Bloomfield did not use money brought from the United States. They were either granted some land originally by the Crown, or they had the land purchased for them by their fathers, or they worked locally for wages to earn the purchase money. One man, William White, was a prosperous established farmer in Dutchess County who sold his tenancy for cash and used the money to purchase a lot in Bloomfield (he was a Bowerman brother-in-law).<sup>64</sup> The two remaining purchasers are the presumed speculators Smith and Forsyth.

Twelve of the original 17 families could still be found in the village or in the township when the 1871 census was conducted. Four of the five missing families were not Quakers: Monroe, Friar, Forsyth, and Smith. Only Cornelius Blount's family name does not turn up in the 1871 census among the Quaker community.

A brief reading of the surnames of Bloomfield's first settlers does not immediately give an impression of how dominant two particular family groupings were in the early days. Of the original 17 that purchased land in the settlement, 11 were connected to the Bowerman family in some way. There were three Bowerman brothers, six brothers-in-law, and two men who had worked for Bowerman families as

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 853-7.



labourers to earn money to buy land. The other major family connection was the Bulls. To understand the development of the Bloomfield community it is necessary to sort out the Bowerman and Bull siblings and the other neighbours, often related by marriage (see Appendix C for family trees of the first generation of Bowermans and Bulls).

Fourteen Bowermans and twelve Bulls came to settle in the Bloomfield neighbourhood in the years between 1793 and 1817; these numbers include the aged mothers of each family, who came as widows. Thomas Bowerman and Maturah Bull married each other. Other Bulls married into families that are still found in Bloomfield: Mehetabel Bull married John Cooper, Abigail Bull married Amos Hubbs, Phebe Bull married William Hubbs, Patience Bull married William Garratt, Content Ann Bull married Stephen Blount (son of Cornelius Blount and Lydia Bowerman, sister of Thomas Bowerman), Ruth Bull married William Christy, John Bull married Mary Palen, Maturah Bull married John Stinson after Thomas Bowerman died, Matilda Bull married Cory Spencer, and Amos Bull married Martha Cunningham. Many of these marriages took place in Dutchess County and resulted in new, extended families being brought to Bloomfield. It is through marriage into the Bull family that the Spencers, Cunninghams, and Christys first came to the area. In the same way the Bowerman family brought the Bulls, Vincents, Whites, and Terwilligers from Dutchess County. Of all the Quakers from

Dutchess County in Bloomfield, it appears that only the Leavens and Noxon families came to the area on their own.<sup>65</sup>

In Dutchess County we were introduced to Ichabod Bowerman Sr. and Josiah Bull, Jr. In Upper Canada the key individual is Ichabod Bowerman's third eldest son, Thomas. Thomas Bowerman had the misfortune to be born in 1758, so that he was a young man during the Revolutionary War and faced pressures to join one side or the other as a combatant. Thomas finally joined the British forces in his nineteenth year, the only member of his family to do so and one of very few Oswego Settlement Friends to join up. For the rest of his life Thomas lived as a Friend but he never sought to rejoin the Society formally after being disowned in 1779. He served in the King's Royal Regiment of New York as a private in the Second Battalion. It is not recorded how or when he came to Upper Canada; his name does not appear on any lists of the Adolphustown settlers. Perhaps he found his own way to the area or followed Lt. Henry Young, his former officer. In 1789 he drew land in Prince

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<sup>65</sup> Joseph Leavens came from Dutchess County to Upper Canada to settle in 1798 with his wife after his children had all grown. He was an Orthodox Friend and spent forty years travelling throughout Upper Canada preaching at various Friends' Meeting Houses. His brother Benjamin Leavens came out in 1802; he was a shoemaker who settled about two miles north of Bloomfield, attracted by the West Lake Meeting. Their sister Catherine Leavens married Abraham Hyatt and also moved to the area. A nephew, Peter Leavens, moved to Bloomfield and started up the first tannery in the village. He moved away in 1836. Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, p. 480.

Edward County, on lot five on the north shore of East Lake (about six kilometres south of Bloomfield).<sup>66</sup> He moved twice before finally settling on what was to be the Bowerman homestead (Lot 1, First Military Tract, on the north-eastern shore of West Lake at the western edge of what would become Bloomfield) in 1792.

Thomas Bowerman's eldest son, Vincent Bowerman, says of his father:

...After the peace was settled between the contending parties my father with many others migrated to Canada and settled when it was a vast howling wilderness, and suffered all the privations incident to a new settled country, after he had been here about a year he returned to his native place<sup>67</sup> and married my mother and moved here with her and I was born soon after their arrival here (27. 3 mo. 1791). My mother died soon after I was born and I was left a motherless infant to be taken care of by anyone my father could get and as the inhabitants then were few the chance of getting nurses was poor, however I was favoured to get along after about one year struggling with these my father returned the 2nd time to his native place and married a young woman

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<sup>66</sup> Williams, History of the Bowerman Family, p.19.

<sup>67</sup> That is to say, Beekman Patent in Dutchess County.

by the name of Maturah Bull, daughter of Josiah and Mary Bull and returned with her to Canada. I was then 2 years old..."<sup>68</sup>

Thomas Bowerman returned to Oswego Settlement in Dutchess County twice, each time in search of a wife to bring back to Prince Edward County. He first married Sarah Vincent in 1790. Sarah Vincent died in childbirth in 1791, leaving a newborn son who was cared for by neighbours (the Pettits, also from Dutchess County but not Friends). Thomas set out for Dutchess County again in 1793 in search of another wife and a mother for his young son. He married Maturah Bull in Oswego Settlement on April 4, 1793.

Ichabod Bowerman, the father of Thomas and of seventeen other children, had died in February of 1791. When Thomas returned to Dutchess County in 1793 it appears that he was able to convince his mother and thirteen siblings to travel back to Prince Edward County with him. Three sisters had married and stayed in Dutchess County to raise their

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<sup>68</sup> Vincent Bowerman, *Some Accounts of the events of My Father*, manuscript written November 2, 1870 ("11 mo. 2, 1870"), typed by J.P. Williams, Picton. Prince Edward County Archives. This account would place Thomas Bowerman in Upper Canada in 1788, two years before his father's death in 1790. The first Assessment Roll for Hallowell Township was not compiled until 1798; Thomas Bowerman appears there as a substantial property owner. (SEE Appendix B for complete Assessment Roll). Thomas Bowerman never appears on any Adolphustown lists, nor do many other Dutchess County Quakers. It is most likely that Thomas Bowerman and other of his neighbours simply squatted in the vicinity of West Lake for a number of years until they were able to buy property in the area.

families. One sister, Deborah Bowerman Vincent, inherited the lease to the family farm at Verbank. Her husband Reuben Vincent was later able to purchase the land from the Beekman/Livingston family and it stayed in family hands until the last decade of the nineteenth century. The oldest Bowerman brother, Timothy, moved to a farm just south of Albany, New York. The second son, David, moved to Cobourg, Upper Canada, with his family. The rest of the surviving Bowerman children (one sister had died in childbirth in 1783), came to what would become Bloomfield with their spouses or with their mother, Jane Richmond Bowerman.

If 1793 was indeed the year that the rest of the Bowerman family arrived in Prince Edward County, then the ages of the Bowerman children upon arrival ranged from 36 to 13. Seven were married in Dutchess County before leaving for Upper Canada, two married in Prince Edward County or Adolphustown (including Judah Bowerman who married four times) and three returned to marry someone from Dutchess County, following family tradition. One brother, Gideon Bowerman, never married; he died of typhoid fever in 1811 at age 36.

Thomas and his second wife Maturah Bull Bowerman had ten children of their own, plus Vincent Bowerman from the first marriage. Almost all of the Bowermans had large families in the first and second generations (as did their forefathers) and most enjoyed excellent health and lived to

old age. The 25 Bowerman and Bull children who came to Upper Canada produced a total of 197 offspring,<sup>69</sup> an average of 7.8 children per family (actual family size ranged from 16 children in the William Christy/Ruth Bull family to none for unmarried Gideon Bowerman). Most Quaker households also included additional needy persons, who might have been relations or not, and this was true for most Bowerman and Bull families.

Bowerman men were described as being tallish but spare, with piercing blue eyes and prominent noses. Bowerman women were described as tall, fair, plump, and with the same sharp blue eyes.<sup>70</sup>

The history of the Bull family in Upper Canada was closely linked to that of the Bowerman family from the beginning. The first of Josiah Bull's children to come into Prince Edward County was Maturah Bull, who came as the wife of Thomas Bowerman in 1793. In that same year, 1793, Maturah's twin sister Matilda Bull Spencer and her husband Cory Spencer arrived as well.<sup>71</sup> Their father, Josiah Bull,

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<sup>69</sup> This figure is based upon data gathered from a number of Bull and Bowerman family histories, primarily Williams The Bowerman Family, Bowerman, "Genealogical Listing of the Bull Family" in Ontario Historical Society Papers vol. 5, 1904. pp.76-90; and Young, Descendants of Josiah Bull Jr.

<sup>70</sup> Merton Yearwood Williams, who wrote A History of the Bowerman Family, was born in Bloomfield in 1883. His is an eyewitness description.

<sup>71</sup> A.C. Bowerman, "A Genealogical List of the Bull Family", p.80.

did not die until 1813, so his widow and several of the youngest children did not come out to Upper Canada until 1817.

An examination of the two existing early assessment rolls<sup>72</sup> reveals that as early as 1798, 8 of the 13 Bowerman siblings who eventually settled in the Bloomfield area had already created farms and were clearing land. Their mother had died a year earlier and brother David had settled a short distance away in Cobourg, U.C. By 1808 there were 11 of the eventual 13 Bowerman siblings represented on the Assessment Roll as landholders. The two missing siblings were older sisters who had stayed behind in Dutchess County with their young families in 1793 and who both came out to Bloomfield in their later years.<sup>73</sup>

The Bulls, on the other hand, arrived in the Bloomfield area over a longer span of years. The twin sisters, Maturah and Matilda, came in 1793 with their husbands; perhaps they also were accompanied by their younger unmarried brothers John and Amos Bull. It was a very common practice for younger siblings to live with older, established families

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<sup>72</sup> The 1798 Assessment Roll may be found in: Ontario Provincial Sessional Papers, Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries. Appendix: Early Municipal Records of the Midland District (1897), p. 77. The 1808 Assessment Roll was reproduced in: Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, vol VI (1905), pp. 168-70.

<sup>73</sup> Hannah Bowerman Butts, her husband John Butts, and their six children settled in Bloomfield in 1811. Elizabeth Bowerman Palmer, her husband Ebenezer Palmer, and their eleven children came to Bloomfield before 1800.

earning a wage as a farmhand or servant. In this way older family members helped younger ones in putting together a sum of money to purchase their own land. The 1798 assessment roll lists only three Bull siblings, including Maturah Bull Bowerman (whose family is included in the Bowerman count as well). By 1808 there were 5 of the eventual 12 Bulls owning land in Hallowell.<sup>74</sup>

Of course, it was not just the first generation that was connected by marriage. Many offspring intermarried, some moved off to the west to set up households, but most of the second generation stayed in the neighbourhood. In 1818 a memorable wedding occurred in which three couples were wed:

On Friday, 18th Sept., 1818, were married Stephen Bowerman (son of Thomas Bowerman and Maturah Bull) to Phebe Garrett, William Garrett (Stephen Bowerman's soon to be brother-in-law) to Patience Bull, and Townsend Garrett and Sally Bowerman. That was an occasion not to be overlooked; it was an early "triple-alliance," and demanded ratification by the assembled neighbourhood, in

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<sup>74</sup> The rest of the Bulls, and the date of their arrival in Bloomfield: Mary Christy Kidney Bull, mother of the family, (1817, aged 60 years), Josiah Bull (probably 1810), Ruth Bull Christy and her husband William Christy (1802), Phoebe Bull Hubbs (1802), Mehetabel Bull Cooper (1802), Abigail Bull Hubbs (1817), Patience Bull Garratt (1817), and Content Ann Bull Blount (1817).



the collective capacity of an old time charivari.<sup>75</sup> That event was authentically stated by "the oldest inhabitant" never to have been surpassed for the extravagant invention of furious fun and frolic. The vestibuled Pullmans in which the newly contracted parties began their wedding tours consisted of heavy farm waggons without springs and furnished with large waggon-chairs (sic). When these had been taken apart and replaced in proper shape upon the ground - for the charivaring party had placed them astride the barn roof - they were free to pursue their journey over the corduroy roads leading to their various residences...<sup>76</sup>

This anecdote, aside from demonstrating that even young Quakers could be rowdy, shows that as early as 1818 a generation had grown to adulthood in the community. Further, the community itself had grown large enough to

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<sup>75</sup> A charivari (or shivaree as it was also called) was a noisy celebration of a wedding that often included a mock serenade of the newly married couple with kettles, horns, etc.

<sup>76</sup> quoted from A.C. Bowerman, "Genealogical List of the Bull Family of the County of Prince Edward, Ont.", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, vol. 5 (1904), p. 82 (note). The Garretts were a Dutchess County Quaker family who had settled in Hillier township, the next township west from Hallowell, in the Wellington area. They were members of the West Lake Meeting.

provide spouses for the young people: no more travelling back to Dutchess County in search of a suitable mate.

The nature of Quaker immigration to the Bloomfield area changed after the War of 1812. Most new arrivals in the community after the war were internal migrants from Adolphustown rather than new immigrants directly from the United States. A few widowed parents and stragglers of the Bulls and Bowermans made their way to the area in the post-war years, but the flow had effectively stopped.

Over time the original seventeen lots were subdivided and sold to family members and to others who came into the area after 1816. During the 1820's a number of old Dutchess County neighbours moved into the area from Adolphustown. The township of Adolphustown had proven to be too small (11,000 acres on two long peninsulas of land extending into the Bay of Quinte) to allow families to purchase farms for their sons. Many of the arrivals after the War of 1812 and in the 1820's were from Adolphustown Quaker families: Noxons, Terwilligers, Dorlands, Hights, and Southards. Others were non-Quaker Adolphustown families who also originally hailed from Dutchess County: Fraleighs and Barkers.

During the years that the old neighbours were moving to Bloomfield from Adolphustown a different set of circumstances was halting the migration of more Americans to

the area. After the War of 1812 ended in 1815 it became much more difficult to acquire land in the region. Few land grants were issued except to those who had served in the recent conflict or were resident in the province before the war. Restrictions were imposed on land grants to Americans: first requiring that an oath of allegiance be administered, and later requiring that Americans be naturalized citizens before becoming eligible to receive land.<sup>77</sup> The region itself was fairly well occupied and converted into farmland by that time. At the same time, new transportation routes<sup>78</sup> to the emerging frontiers of Ohio, Michigan, and Kentucky made those destinations suddenly much more attractive to would-be settlers. A fever of land speculation gripped the United States during these years. Before the bubble burst it was possible to acquire land in the west on extremely favourable conditions.

Also during the 1820's a few Quaker families were attracted to the Bloomfield community because of their ties to the Society of Friends and settled there even though they were not from Dutchess County. Samuel Baker headed a Quaker family of six from Wexford when they settled in 1819. The

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<sup>77</sup> Gerald M. Craig Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963). pp. 114-18

<sup>78</sup> The Erie Canal was completed in 1827 but stretches of it were opened as early as 1818. The Cumberland Road through the Cumberland Gap of western Maryland was built before the War of 1812.

Warings were also an Irish Quaker family. In a few cases the religious bond was strong enough to attract immigrants to the area even when they had no family or ethnic ties. Also, some Bloomfield men married Friends from other Meetings: both Judah Bowerman and a nephew married women in the Yonge St. (Toronto area) Meeting. Only a few Irish Quaker families came to Prince Edward County to settle, however. The Irish diarist William Graves visited his co-religionists in Bloomfield but was disappointed in the primitive living conditions he found.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps his negative report of conditions in Prince Edward dissuaded any more Irish Friends from coming to the area.<sup>80</sup> William Graves was not impressed by any part of Upper Canada that he

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<sup>79</sup> William Graves diary is held by the National Archives of Canada, MG 24 H7.

<sup>80</sup> The later history of the Samuel Baker family is ironically quite a success story. Joseph Baker was a son of Samuel Baker born in the squalid log cabin in Hallowell that so horrified William Graves. Joseph and his son J. Allen left the farm and became travelling salesmen. They developed and sold a patented flour sifter for domestic use. By 1876 sales were so encouraging that they travelled to England to search out new markets for the sifter. There they were so successful that by 1879 they had moved the family to London and had begun the manufacture and sale of flour sifters for commercial use and of baking machinery in general. The Baker Manufacturing firm became internationally known by 1888. J. Allen Baker, always a religious Friend, was elected to Parliament in 1905 as a Radical Liberal member; he served until his death in 1918, always working for peace and disarmament. His son P.J. Noel Baker also served as an M.P. and worked for peace throughout his life. P.J. Noel Baker was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1959. This account taken from Arthur Garratt Dorland, Former Days and Quaker Ways (Picton: Picton Gazette, 1965), pp. 19-20, 39-41.

visited, and in the end he decided not to leave Ireland after all.

The experiences of the few Irish Quakers in Prince Edward County suggest that while the religious attraction of a Friends Meeting in the area might be enough to draw attention to an area as a possible site for settlement, the presence or absence of family members was a stronger determining factor in final selection. It is obvious that Bloomfield became a centre of Quaker activity in Upper Canada early in the nineteenth century and continued to support large and active congregations of Friends throughout the nineteenth century. But it is also a fact that the Bloomfield area failed to attract immigrants from other Quaker communities in Ireland, England, or elsewhere in the United States. In effect, the combination of family and religious ties reinforced each other to create a neighbourhood migration from Beekman Patent in Dutchess County to Hallowell Township in Prince Edward County.

Friends from the Bloomfield area travelled back to New York every year, thus maintaining contact with the old neighbourhood in a way that overseas immigrants or non-Quakers never could. The Society of Friends was organized on a strictly hierarchical vertical pattern although individual meetings were based on complete equality among Friends (see Chapter 2, for an overview of Quaker organization). Each local meeting was required to send two

representatives to a designated Monthly, Quarterly (or Half Yearly) and Yearly Meeting, and to support their travel expenses. The West Lake Minute Books show that the congregation sought to share the burden (or opportunity) of travel among its members, so different pairs<sup>81</sup> travelled every year.

William Christy brought his widowed sister Mary Bull and her daughters back to Bloomfield with him on his return journey from New York in 1817.<sup>82</sup> Bloomfield Quakers also patronized other Quaker institutions in the United States. In 1848 Vincent Bowerman took a cousin, Charles Gideon Bowerman, to Philadelphia to install him in a "Lunatic Asylum" run by Friends there.<sup>83</sup> It was common for travelling Bloomfield Friends to stop over in Dutchess County on the annual trip. Ichabod Bowerman's farm outside of Verbank stayed in the hands of Vincent cousins of the

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<sup>81</sup> Sometimes a married couple would go, representing the Men's and the Women's Meetings, but often two pairs of men would either go alone or would accompany a pair of women. Often only one of the designated pair would actually travel - especially to the Monthly Meeting during planting or harvest season.

<sup>82</sup> A.C. Bowerman The Bull Family of Prince Edward County, p. 81

<sup>83</sup> "Father and Mother went several times to New York to Yearly Meeting. After Father's second marriage he went to Philadelphia with Charles Bowerman. Took him to the Insane Asylum when he was insane. Then went on to Baltimore to see some of the present wife's friends." Levi Bowerman, loc. cit. p.15. In Vincent Bowerman's own memoirs "Some Events from the Life Of My Father", dated 1870, he states that he took Charles to Philadelphia in 1848 (page 7).

Bloomfield Bowermans until 1896 for example. In this way not only were kinship ties reinforced, but additional family members and neighbours were persuaded to come "out" to Canada. This also meant that new agricultural techniques and types of seeds, fruit trees, and livestock were introduced to Bloomfield regularly. Innovations in livestock, farming techniques, and mechanical inventions travelled back to Bloomfield with the Friends on their annual journeys.

The picture emerges of a back country wilderness covered with hardwood forests, inland and so ignored by the first waves of surveyors and settlers. It was not until the original trail was widened into a road that the value of the land became apparent. The people who wanted to settle there had no legal claim to the land which had already been allotted to non-residents who had yet to finalize their own titles to it. At first, therefore, there was no one to sell it to them. The Quaker pioneers were squatters, but not illegal squatters: they purchased the land once legal title had been established.

The few non-Quakers among the first purchasers soon left, and the community became more insular during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Most people were related to the Bowerman and/or Bull families and were members of the Society of Friends. After the War of 1812 the nature of immigration changed, but the character of the settlers did

not. The flow of new immigrants from New York dried up but Dutchess County Quaker families who had initially settled in the Adolphustown area moved into the Bloomfield community in large numbers. The families that settled tended to stay in the area for several generations, although as the century progressed the strength of the Society of Friends diminished. The area attracted few new immigrants, Quaker or non-Quaker, from abroad after the initial influx of settlers during the "late Loyalist" period. The opening of new lands on the western frontier, the relative scarcity and cost of farms for sale in Prince Edward County, and negative reports sent to Irish Quakers after an initial exploration combined to deflect any newer immigrants.



## PART THREE BUILDING A COMMUNITY

### Chapter 6: Creating a Village

The community that grew out of the original settlement of these Dutchess County Friends would become the village of Bloomfield. Bloomfield today counts no members of the Society of Friends among its residents but the character of the village can nevertheless be traced back to the religious and social precepts of the founders. This section of the study will look at how the community's Quaker immigrant roots affected the subsequent development of the village.

The land in the Bloomfield area was completely distributed by the Crown by 1812; most grants had been made by 1804. By 1815 all of the original recipients of Crown lands had sold their holdings to Quakers from Dutchess County. The area of Hallowell Township that was to become Bloomfield was settled and cleared within a space of ten years, perhaps less. All the families knew each other and chose to settle together for religious and social reasons, but they did not set out to create a village. There was no institutional framework, no "leader" or "spokesman", nor was there the goal of building "a city upon a hill" that drove the New England Puritans of a past generation and the

contemporary utopians in nearby Oneida, New York or the Shakers in Watervliet, New York.

The settlement grew up in an unplanned fashion along the Danforth Road. The anchors of the village were millsites and the Meeting House: there was no commercial centre or common area, no centre of town. The village in fact included four separate mill sites: Jonathan Bowerman's flour mill on the eastern edge,<sup>44</sup> then the Bull's saw mill and grist mill (and later a fulling mill) a kilometre further and a few hundred metres south of the road, finally Philip Clark's and Nathaniel White's<sup>45</sup> saw mills across the road from each other on the western edge. Vincent Bowerman's memoir states that his uncle, Jonathan Bowerman, had built a flour mill by 1811 or 1812. In the years before this mill was built, wheat had to be carried a day's journey to the east to Van Alstine's mill at Glenora or even further. In the 1790's it had been necessary to travel to Kingston or Napanee by boat, or about 50 kilometres overland north to Myers Mills on the site of present day Belleville. In 1798 Ichabod Bowerman and Cornelius Blount had signed a petition in support of a request from mill-owner Captain

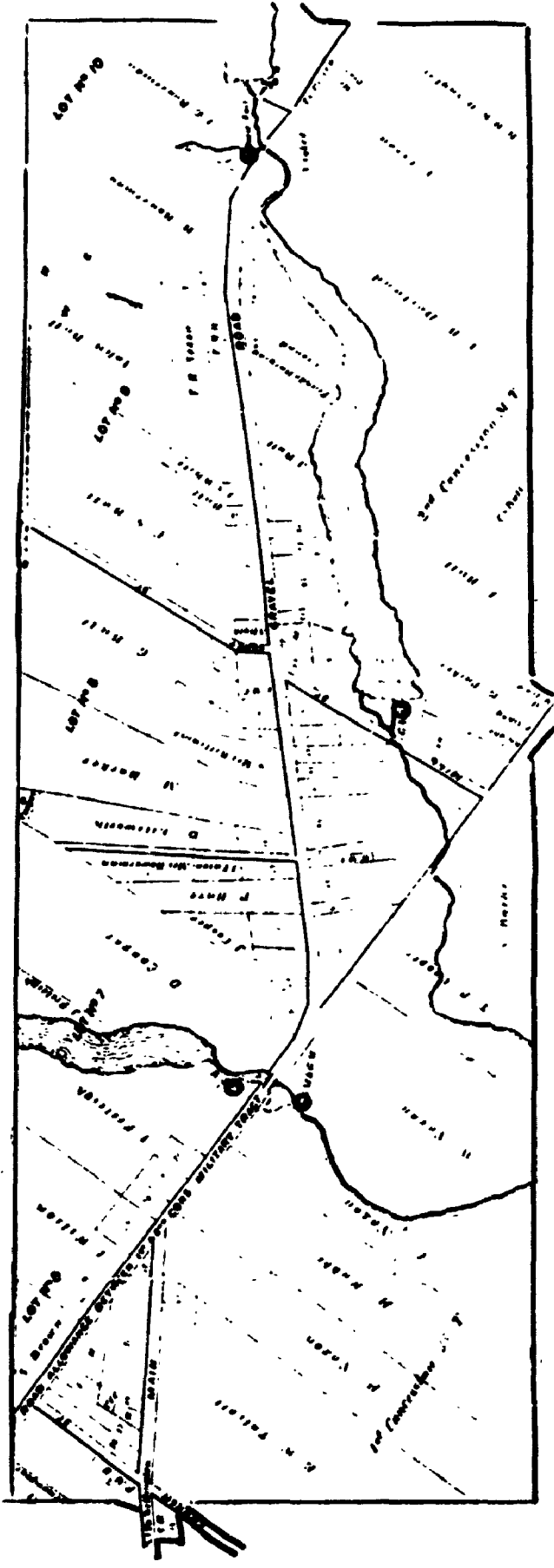
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<sup>44</sup> Some Bowerman's selected farm sites to the west of the Bloomfield site as well. Bowerman Hill, Bowerman Road, and Bowerman United Church are all to the west and north of the village.

<sup>45</sup> Clark's mill was sold to John Cooper (Obadiah Cooper's son) in 1847. It is still owned by the Cooper family in 1993.

**BLOOMFIELD**  
HALLOWELL T.

O = Mill sites



Map No. 11 Bloomfield in 1878.

Source: Belden, Historical Atlas of Hastings and Prince Edward Counties. Toronto, 1878.

John W. Myers for extra land to pasture the horses of his customers: they stated that they had to come great distances to the mill.<sup>66</sup>

Ichabod Bowerman had built a sawmill on the western stream by 1806. This site is still occupied by a sawmill and has been continually in use as a mill site since Ichabod Bowerman first set up operations there. Philip Clark, the Noxons, and Nathaniel White built later, larger mills further down the same stream on either side of the road, so the site was better known as Clark's or White's Mills.

The settlement was not consciously laid out to conform to any traditional pattern but rather developed naturally along the road that passed the four mill sites. Houses were built facing the road; the earliest remaining houses in the village date from about 1820 and are scattered along the length of the village. There was no natural clustering of houses or shops in any one spot. The Danforth Road was not a Concession Line road so it did not divide lots. Since lot owners held land on both sides of the road one does not find the pattern of early houses built facing each other across the road. Houses tended to be placed along-side each other and widely spaced - the distances being determined by the width of the farm lots. Family records speak of frame houses being built in the area as early as 1801.

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<sup>66</sup> U.C. Land Petitions. NAC M4/224, reel C-2193. The petition was dismissed because it conflicted with an Indian Preserve.

Because the village grew without planning, it is not surprising that it did not have a name in the early years. The community probably thought of itself as "West Lake", after the name of the Meeting House that was built in 1803 on Bowerman's Hill a kilometre west of present day Bloomfield on the Danforth Road. A small community five kilometres south of Bloomfield is still known as West Lake, as is the lake itself. The impetus for the community developing a separate identity from the Meeting came from outside the community itself.

On December 28, 1830, Joseph Wilson began publishing the Hallowell Free Press in what is now Picton. This was the first weekly newspaper to be published between Kingston and York.<sup>87</sup> The Free Press was in business and covering local events just as the village that was to become Bloomfield was emerging.

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<sup>87</sup> The Free Press remained in publication until 1835, when Joseph Wilson moved to Belleville. Picton and Prince Edward County were well served by numerous newspapers and magazines in the nineteenth century, proof of the high level of literacy and education prevalent there from the earliest days. The Traveller, or Prince Edward Gazette picked up in 1836 where the Free Press had left off. It was followed in 1840 by the Prince Edward Gazette, whose name changed to The Picton Gazette in 1849. This paper is still published under the same name. Joseph Wilson, meanwhile, went on to a successful career publishing literary magazines out of Belleville. The Victoria Magazine was a monthly published by him in 1841 and edited by John and Susanna Moodie. Susanna Moodie continued to edit and contribute to the magazine for many years. Joseph Wilson published several other magazines: Eclectic Magazine, Wilson's Experiment, and Wilson's Canadian Casket. This information is taken from Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, pp.358-362.

In the September 30, 1833 edition of the Hallowell Free Press", publisher Joseph Wilson printed part three of a letter describing Prince Edward Co. to a friend in England:

...To give an idea of the enterprise of the people and shew how quickly every natural advantage is made available to the purposes of gain I need only mention that between Hallowell and Wellington we pass three small streams. On the first of these, which is about four miles distant from Hallowell, there are a Saw, a Grist, and a Fulling Mill, together with a Carding Machine. On the second, which is about one mile further, there are a Saw and a Grist Mill; and on the third, which is about two miles still further on there is a Saw Mill. About half way between Hallowell and Wellington there is the commencement of a fine village which for want of a proper name I shall call Whitesville. It is well situated upon the side of a gentle acclivity and already consists of 12 or 14 well built and cleanly looking houses.....

The inhabitants of Bloomfield seemed to be unhappy with the name "Whitesville" bestowed upon them by the editor of the Free Press and lost no time in coming up with a more appealing name.

Why "Bloomfield"? The history of its naming is curiously vague in some key areas. We know the date when the community decided on the name (October 3, 1833), the place where the name was chosen (George Munro's Inn, at the western edge of the village, near White's mills) and we can even guess who it was who suggested the name (the Barker family has a tradition that it was James Barker who came up with the name that evening), but we do not definitely know why the name was chosen. Some local histories claim that Bloomfield was named after a ship's captain who operated on Lake Ontario at the time.<sup>99</sup> This is extremely unlikely, since the community had very little contact with the lake: there were no fishermen, boat builders, or sailors among them. No one named Bloomfield has ever lived in the area. In this chapter I intend to present a new and more probable explanation.

Two weeks after editor Wilson's visit the Hallowell Free Press for October 14, 1833 carried the following paid notice:

#### NOTICE

At a meeting held at George Munro's Inn, on the third inst. it was resolved by a majority of the inhabitants of this thriving Village, situated about five miles from the Village of Hallowell, on

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<sup>99</sup> The chapter on Bloomfield in Community Spotlight, (edited by Nick and Helma Mika, Belleville:Mika Pub., 1974, p. 44) repeats this supposition without much conviction.

the leading road to the Carrying Place, should be called BLOOMFIELD.

"Whitesville" seems to be taken from the name of a prominent family of settlers of the village. Nathaniel White married Mary Bowerman in Dutchess County in 1785 and came out with the Bowerman family in 1793. The Whites established White's Mill and remained prominent Quakers (later Hicksites) and successful farmers throughout the nineteenth century. Good Quake ; would not think it "seemly" to name a village after themselves; many early grave sites in the Friends' Burying Ground do not have names on them, just the initials or even just a field stone to mark the spot. The haste in calling the meeting to decide upon a name just three days after the Hallowell paper proposed "Whitesville" seems to suggest that the name Bloomfield was chosen quickly to head off any popular use of the name "Whitesville".

"Bloomfield" has proven to be a serendipitous choice. It is rather poetic yet descriptive of this tidy, prosperous, agricultural village. I believe, however, that the name was chosen not to describe or promote the village, or to boast of the fertility of the surrounding farms, but rather more mundanely to honour yet another British military official. Sir Benjamin Bloomfield (1768-1846), the first Baron Bloomfield, was a general and the confidant of King



George IV during his regency. I believe that the inhabitants had meant to honour the Crown by naming their village after a prominent British military figure (as neighbouring Wellington had done and as Hallowell was about to do by becoming Picton). Choosing a British lord as the namesake of the village also demonstrated the community's loyalty to Great Britain, a fact that might have been doubted by certain parties given Quaker neutrality during the War of 1812 and the American Revolution. I base my belief on the following jibe, printed in the Hallowell Free Press the week following the notice of the naming of Bloomfield:

"We request the attention of our readers at Bloomfield to the following extract from an Irish paper. Bloomfield, or as we in our ignorance were pleased to denominate it Whitesville, is upon the whole, a very pretty place. The country surrounding it is extremely fertile and highly cultivated. We question after perusing the following abstract whether the inhabitants of Skunkville will be altogether pleased with the name they have given it."

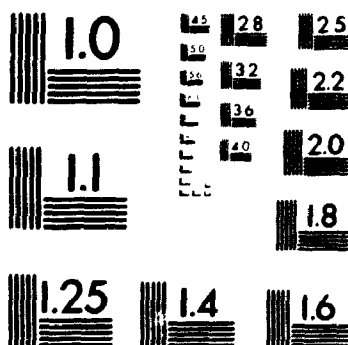
The abstract that followed dealt with the manner in which Lord Bloomfield and his ancestors in Ireland supposedly inherited their estates by winning a horse race.

It seems odd that a Quaker Community would name their community for a British military figure, but it does not appear that the residents paid much attention to the name at first. The name "Bloomfield" was seldom used during the early days. The township of Hallowell was the important municipal unit. Tax records and census statistics were reported at the township level. A post office for Bloomfield was opened July 6, 1836, however.<sup>90</sup> The village of Bloomfield was not incorporated until 1906. The community continued to use the name West Lake when naming important institutions such as the West Lake Boarding School.

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<sup>90</sup> Robert C. Smith, Ontario Post Offices (Toronto: Ontario Press, 1988), Vol.II. p.169

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NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS  
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a  
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## Chapter 7: Agricultural Prosperity

The travel of Friends to New York City to attend the Yearly Meeting was directly responsible for much of the agricultural innovations and resultant prosperity in the Bloomfield area during the nineteenth century. Ongoing contact with Dutchess County and familiarity with the big grain markets of Oswego and Albany were by-products of the annual trek to New York City required of representatives of each Meeting.

New agricultural techniques and types of seeds, fruit trees, and livestock from the United States were introduced to Bloomfield regularly by returning Friends. "During the first third of the nineteenth century Dutchess County ranked first among New York Counties in wheat production, supplying one third of all the flour produced in the state. Spafford's Gazetteer (1813) lists 14 gristmills in the town of Poughkeepsie alone."<sup>91</sup>

Dutchess County was also an early leader in fruit growing and processing, cheese making, and the cultivation of vegetables on a large scale: all areas in which Prince Edward County would excel during the latter half of the

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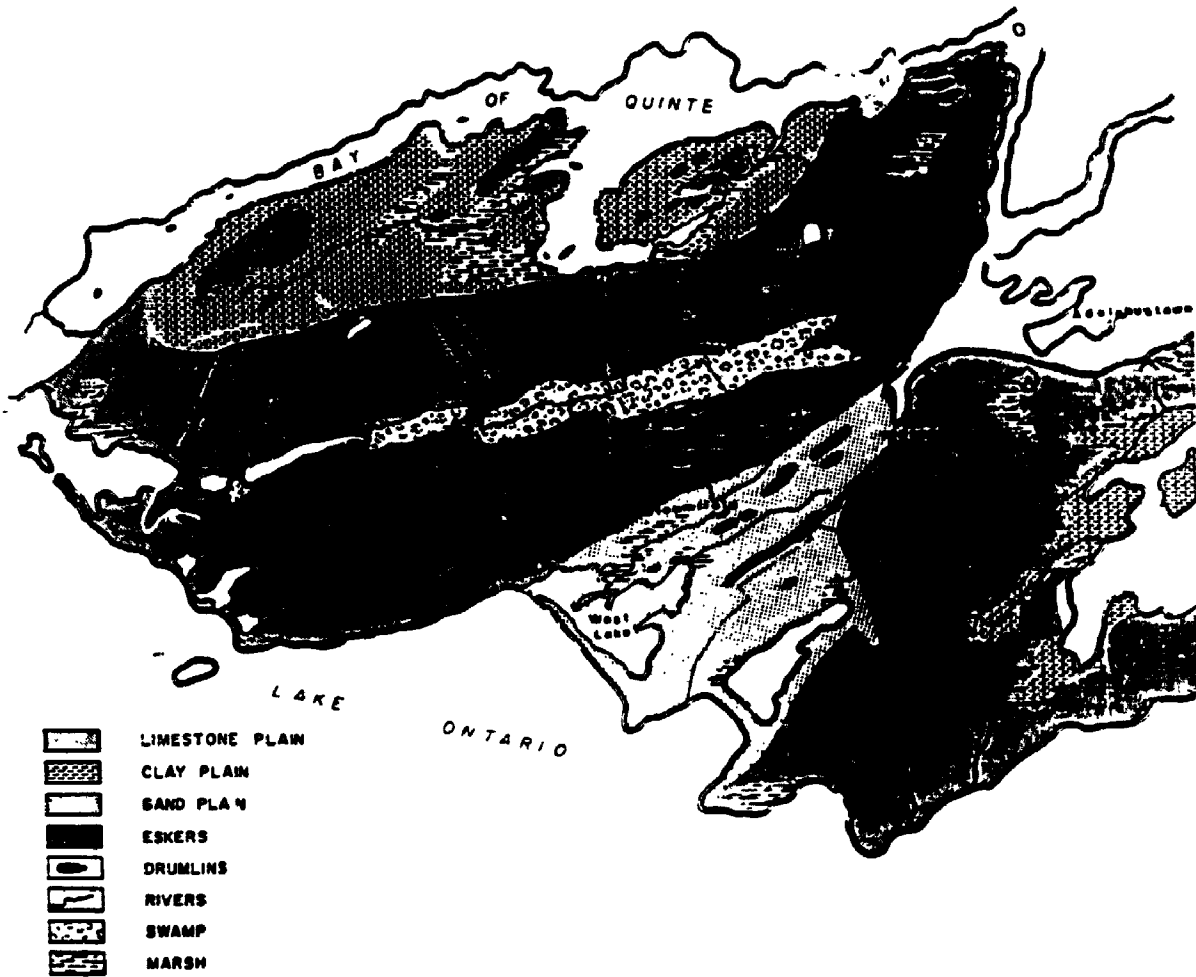
<sup>91</sup> The Workers of the Dutchess County Unit, Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration in the State of New York. American Guide Series, Dutchess County. (Philadelphia: William Penn Assoc. 1937) p. 15

nineteenth century. Surely it is no accident that the first cheese factory built in Bloomfield, the first apple evaporator, the first canning factory, the first undershot water mill, the first cider mill, were built by Dutchess County Quaker descendants.<sup>92</sup> In the nineteenth century Bloomfield was also known for the fine livestock to be found there. Much of the original stock had come into Prince Edward County from Dutchess County.

But Bloomfield enjoyed many natural advantages as well. The village sits at the northern edge of a sandy plain that slopes away to the south and west. Water drains quickly through the soil; the soil itself is loamy, rock-free, and level - easy to work with early agricultural tools once the trees and stumps were cleared. (See Map 10, p. 95) Most of the rest of Prince Edward County sits upon a limestone plain. The soil throughout the County is good, but the drainage and depth of soil are not as great elsewhere as in the area around Bloomfield.

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<sup>92</sup> The first cheese factory was built by Joshua Waring, Thomas Waring, Elisha Talcott, Levi Bowerman and others as a cooperative venture in 1867 (Williams, p.29), Levi Bowerman later went on to erect the first commercial creamery in the County in Picton in 1880 (Williams p. 30), the first apple evaporator was built by Cornelius White before 1850 (Cruikshank), the first undershot water wheel by John Bull in 1834 (Burr, p, 217), the first cider mill by Philip Clark before 1830 (Cooper Mill history in Bloomfield's Tweedsmuir history collection), and the first canning factory began in 1882 under the direction of Gilbert Baker and Caleb Noxon (Lockyear p. 37). All of these individuals were second generation descendants of Dutchess County Quakers.



**County of Prince Edward**

Map No. 10 Prince Edward County Physical Features

In 1818 Ebenezer Washburn described the prosperous state of Hallowell Township:

Hallowell, being almost wholly good soil, generally of a loamy nature, yielding excellent winter wheat, and also all other kinds of spring and summer grain, such as pease, oats, Indian corn, barley, potatoes, turnips, etc. Flax, when properly attended, being raised also of an excellent level, is cultivated with ease, and is handsomely proportioned with meadow land.

Orchards begin to thrive.... Farms of 200 acres, with from 30 to 50 acres cleared, having a comfortable frame dwelling house and barn, are worth from 600 l.(pounds), to 800 l.(pounds). The roads are good, and yearly improving...Settlers able to distribute money among us, would be of the greatest benefit to the township and vicinity in general; as also by instructions as to the modes of agriculture at home.<sup>93</sup>

The mention of orchards beginning to thrive was a vision of the future. By the end of the nineteenth century Prince Edward County was the fruit growing and fruit processing centre of Canada. Barley, too, was mentioned as doing well in Hallowell Township. During the thirty years from 1860 to

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<sup>93</sup> Robert Gourlay Statistical Account of Upper Canada, vol. 1, (Reprinted NY: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1966) p. 487-489.

1890 Prince Edward County was to enjoy a Golden Age of prosperity based on the barley trade with the United States. The mention of flax growing is interesting as well, for this industry did not thrive, although it had been brought into the County by the Bowermans in the earliest days of settlement.<sup>94</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century Bloomfield had a fulling mill and a woollen mill in operation, but flax growing and linen weaving remained a cottage industry.

In 1833 Joseph Wilson described the land and farms around the village that was soon to be Bloomfield in this way:

Wellington lies a westerly direction from Hallowell, and is ten miles distant from it. The road between the two is remarkably good. The intermediate country possesses a gently undulating surface, which is as agreeable to the eye to rest upon as it is favourable to the interests of the Agriculturalist. The soil is what is termed a sandy loam: it is extremely fertile and is in a state of high cultivation. Were you here you might at first be inclined to smile at this last remark, immediately after having witnessed the

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<sup>94</sup> A.C. Bowerman writes: "Maturah and Thomas Bowerman settled on Lot 1, 1st Concession, Military Tract, Township of Hallowell. Their first house was of logs, and stood near the low ground where they grew their flax for spinning. Before many years, however, they built a large, square, two-storey frame house which was painted white, and was for those days both commodious and palatial." p. 81.



magnificent system of farming pursued in Great Britain. The numberless black stumps and half burnt trees with which the face of the country is occasionally studded over, give it a melancholy and desolate appearance, notwithstanding the luxuriant crops which are everywhere produced. And then the zig-zag wooden fences would seem bare and naked to the eye of one fresh from contemplating the neatly trimmed green hedges intermixed with roses, honeysuckles and sweetbriar which everywhere prevail throughout merry England. Notwithstanding, however, the unpicturesque appearance presented by half decayed stumps and wooden fences, we meet with very fine views along the road. At this season of the year the scenery is particularly fine, from the beautiful variety of tints afforded by the different species of wild shrubs and forest trees.”

The Dutchess County Quakers were all experienced farmers and millers. They brought their tried and true methods of clearing the land and farming with them, and those methods proved to be entirely appropriate to the climate and soil of Prince Edward. Most Quakers that left Dutchess after 1790 left with some cash in their pockets and household goods, tools, livestock, and seeds and cuttings in

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<sup>95</sup> Hallowell Free Press, Sept. 30, 1833, p.3.

tow. Upon their arrival they set to work felling the hardwood trees, using the wood for log buildings, fences, and burning most of the rest for potash.

Fruit trees were planted early on, and as early as 1830 there was a commercial nursery selling fruit tree saplings at West Lake.<sup>96</sup> Not only were saplings and grafts of apple trees brought into Prince Edward from Dutchess County, but the techniques of drying apples in "evaporators" and packing fresh apples into barrels were introduced to the County before 1850. The Quaker and Methodist populations ensured that Bloomfield would always be known as a temperance village: cider was the beverage of choice and much of the fruit grown was pressed into cider and consumed locally. Sweet cider and cider vinegar were produced and sold in barrels made at Cooper's mill.<sup>97</sup> The Cooper family lived up to their name: barrels for packing pork, fresh apples, hops, and flour were produced all through the nineteenth century at Cooper's mill.

From the turn of the nineteenth century the operations of Bloomfield's farmers were oriented to commercial agriculture supporting a cash, or at least a credit, economy. The agricultural pattern and decisions about what

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<sup>96</sup> Hallowell Free Press, April 12, 1831, p. 4 has an advertisement for Apple Tree saplings for sale at West Lake Nursery, "near to H. Christy's salt works".

<sup>97</sup> Tremaine's 1864 map of Prince Edward County lists Cooper's mill on its index with the slogan "Best cider and vinegar in the County".

to grow depended on the economics of the export trade south across Lake Ontario until the last years of the century. Land was cleared so that wheat might be grown (and potash and board lumber produced incidentally) and orchards planted.

The Society of Friends did not allow its members to drink alcoholic beverages and a number of Quakers were prominent in the temperance movement that was gathering strength throughout the mid-nineteenth century. It is ironic that a "dry" village, such as Bloomfield had always been, should have experienced its greatest affluence during the period when local farmers converted their fields from wheat to barley to supply the New York breweries with beer's key ingredient.

Barley was the source of Bloomfield's, and Prince Edward County's, greatest boom. The demand for beer exploded in the United States after the U.S. government imposed a very high tax on whisky in 1861, the first year of the American Civil War. In 1860 eighty percent of U.S. breweries were located in New York or Pennsylvania, and the major market for barley was in Albany, New York. The type of barley grown in Prince Edward County (six-rowed barley) was thought to produce a lighter flavoured, more amber coloured beer than the two-rowed barley grown in New York State at the time. In 1851 less than five percent of Prince Edward's acreage was planted in barley but by 1881 more than

thirty percent of all farmland in the county was devoted to the crop. (See figures 1 and 2, p. 102) In 1881 barley was grown on more acreage (40,000 acres) than was used for growing all grains in 1945.<sup>98</sup> The barley boom drew to a close in the late 1880's when the big brewing centres in the United States began to move west to St. Louis and Milwaukee and barley from Wisconsin became more competitive than Ontario's product. In November, 1890 the United States imposed the McKinley Tariffs on a broad range of foreign agricultural products, including barley from Ontario. This action abruptly closed off the principal New York markets, overnight making Prince Edward County barley twice as expensive as it had been.

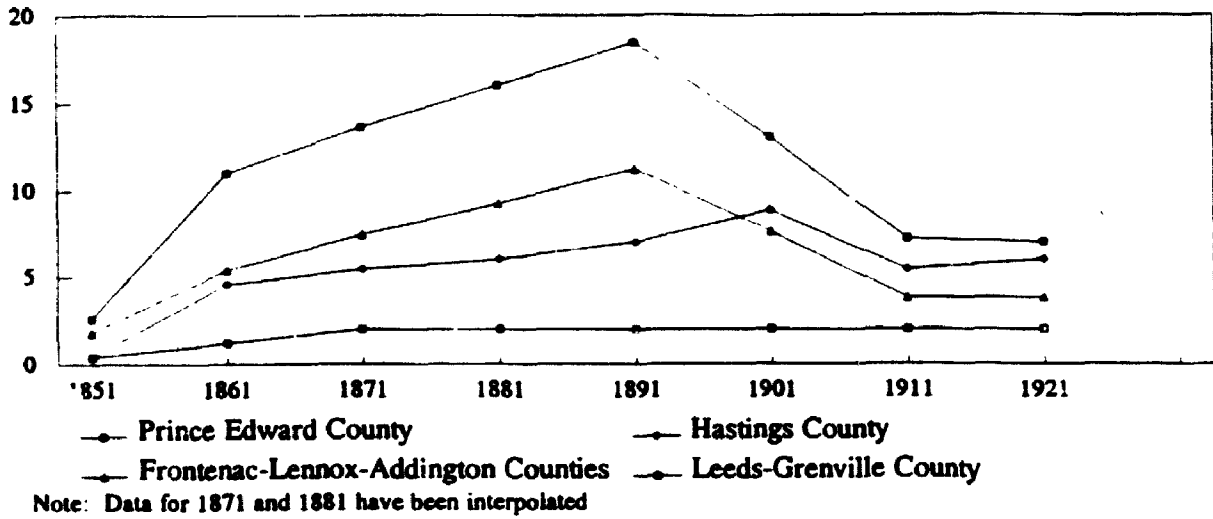
Bloomfield area farmers also prospered through raising hops, the flavouring agent for beer and ale. Hops were one crop that did not come into the area from Dutchess County. In 1843 an emigrant from Kent, England, Joseph Mills, came to live in Bloomfield and introduced hop growing into the area. He sent back to Kent for hop sets (Kent was and still is the hop-growing centre of England) and planted them in the spring of 1841.<sup>99</sup>

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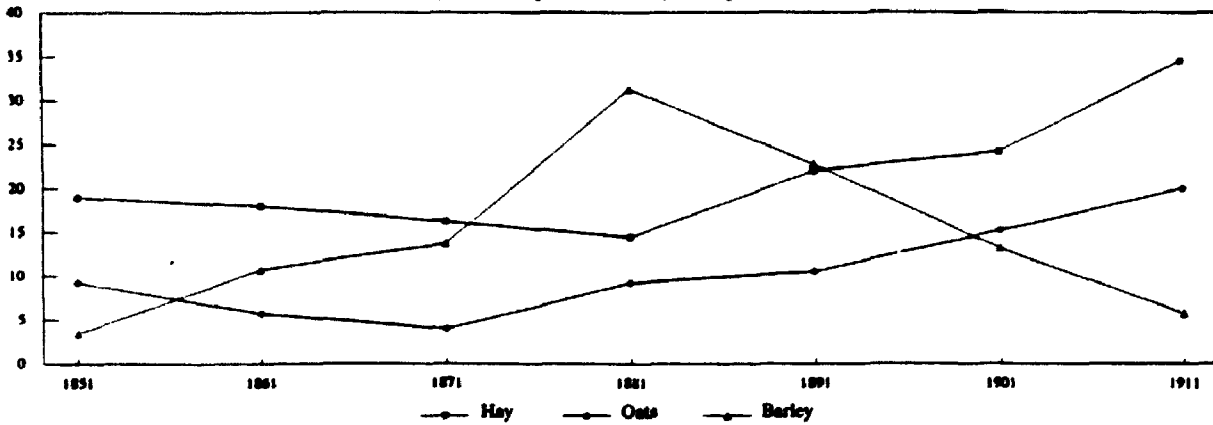
<sup>98</sup> Information on barley growing comes from Ernest Dix "United States Influences on the Agriculture of Prince Edward County, Ontario" in Economic Geography vol. 26, no.3 (July 1950), pp. 179-182; census returns; and Province of Ontario, Sessional Papers: Report of the Department of Agriculture for the years from 1880 through 1892.

<sup>99</sup> Lunn, The County, p. 305.

**Chart 1**  
Barley as a Percentage of Acreage Cropped



**Chart 2**  
Prince Edward County: Percentage of Total Crop Acreage in Selected Crops, 1851-1911



**Figure No. 1 Barley Production in Prince Edward County**

For the next fifty years there were several large "hop yards" in and around Bloomfield. It was common practice for several partners to share in the work of one hop yard. Hops grow on vines, which were trained around tall hickory poles in Bloomfield (this is the old practice; today hop vines grow along wires). In August and September the vines were cut and laid out to dry. Then the female flower buds were stripped off by hand and packed into large baskets. This work was traditionally done by women. The buds were dried further in a heated "oast house" for several days; they needed constant attention and turning during that time. Hops were sold by the pound in Canada, by the hundredweight in England. Most hops went south to the Albany markets.<sup>100</sup>

The Barley Days allowed area farmers to pay off mortgages, build elegant brick homes in Bloomfield, and hand over the farms to younger sons. Barley money also paid the start up costs of local industrial enterprises such as canning factories, cheese factories, dairying operations, and commercial buildings such as the Saylor Block and the Temperance Hotel. The first cheese factory in the village, and perhaps the first in the county, was begun in 1867 by a cooperative of local farmers that included Jonathan Bowerman

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<sup>100</sup> James Jackson A Short Sketch of the Life and Times of James Jackson, 1828-1916 (Picton: Prince Edward County Museum, 1976), pp. 12-14. The memoirs also mention a failed attempt to ship hops to London in 1889 when the markets for hops in Canada and in the United States were drying up.

II, Elisha Talcott, Thomas Waring, and Reuben Burlingham.<sup>101</sup> Gilbert Barker and Caleb Noxon began manufacturing cans and canning vegetables in 1882. Canning soon became the dominant industry in Bloomfield and remained so for the next hundred years.<sup>102</sup>

The preponderance of brick buildings along the main street reflects the prosperity of the neighbourhood. The Town Hall, Methodist Church, Bloomfield Public School, and the block of buildings that make up Bloomfield's commercial centre were all built between 1850 and 1890 of the same local red brick: Bennet Bowerman had a brick factory on his farm on lot 10, 2 MT in the centre of Bloomfield during the middle years of the nineteenth century.

The one man most responsible for the architectural character of Bloomfield was William Henry Degroffe. In the years between 1867 and 1890 he designed and built at least seven of the two story, red brick, hip-roofed houses that stand along Bloomfield's long main street.<sup>103</sup> Degroffe's

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<sup>101</sup> "Bloomfield Cheese Factory", Picton Times, January 9, 1908.

<sup>102</sup> Peter Lockyer, An Uncertain Harvest: Hard Work, Big Business, and Changing Times in Prince Edward County, Ontario (Master's Thesis, Department of Journalism, Carleton University, 1983). The information has also been published as an article of the same name in Material History Review, 33 (Spring 1991): 11-23.

<sup>103</sup> Information of Degroffe comes from Cruickshank, The Settler's Dream, p. 111. Cruickshank credits Degroffe with Building 31 Main, 27 Main, 15 Main, 9 Main, 40 Stanley St. West, The Hubbs farm house (Lots 2 and 3, 1 Military Tract), and the Talcott farm house (Lot 2, Concession 1 Military

houses have one of two distinct types of cornice treatments: large s-shaped brackets or pairs of brackets under the roofline backed by either a very wide frieze or a fretted frieze. The artistry and skill evident in the wooden trim work and porches also identifies Degroffe's work. William Henry Degroffe was born in 1843 near the Sandbanks on the Lake Ontario shore south of Bloomfield, a descendant of Dutchess County ancestors but not a Quaker. He was apprenticed as a carpenter at the age of 11 and spent his life as a contractor and builder in Prince Edward County. His daughters ran a general store out of the family home at 9 Main Street in Bloomfield until 1974.

From the earliest years of settlement the mills drew farmers to Bloomfield from a great distance. Several hotels were erected early in Bloomfield to allow farmers to stay overnight while their grain was milled. George Munro's Inn, the site of the meeting to name Bloomfield, was a large, two story dark frame building at the western edge of town near Cooper's (and Noxon's and White's) Mills. It was later moved into the centre of town, where the drive to the United Church now stands. Across from this site was the Temperance House Hotel, as it was known well into the twentieth century. It is a two story brick building built as an inn in the 1840's. It was handy to Bull's Mills, the former woollen factory, and other old mills on what is now Mill 

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Tract).



Street. The building now houses Moore's Grocery. The site of this hotel determined where the commercial centre of the village would develop; it anchors the small core of shops that make up Bloomfield's tiny business section.

A directory of 1851-52<sup>104</sup> listed the following businesses in Bloomfield: four blacksmiths, three carpenters, three shoemakers, three flour mills, two sawmills, two carriage makers, two hotels, two general stores, one wool mill, and one match factory. Bloomfield was essentially a service centre for the local rural population.

The village assumed an administrative function for the township as well after Picton incorporated in 1836. The Town Hall, which is still standing and is now the Community Centre, was built in 1857 to serve all of Hallowell Township. Bloomfield became the largest centre of population within the township after 1836 when the population of Picton was no longer included. The village of Bloomfield was not incorporated until 1906.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Cited in the Bloomfield segment of Nick and Helma Mika, Community Spotlight: Leeds, Frontenac, Lennox and Addington, and Prince Edward Counties (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1974), p. 46. The Bloomfield segment of the book was written by Charles Fraleigh, who reports that the directory that he quoted from is no longer in his possession, but he believes that it was The Canadian Directory.

<sup>105</sup> Because Bloomfield was not an incorporated entity during the nineteenth century it is very difficult to use census returns and other governmental documents to chart the progress of the community. Population figures, agricultural

By the late nineteenth century the aura of prosperity adhering to Bloomfield was undeniable. It was ably captured by the editor of the excellent Historical Atlas of Hastings and Prince Edward Counties that was produced in 1878:<sup>106</sup>

...(Bloomfield) is comparatively an old place, quite a large settlement having been formed here in the very early days of the township. Among the first to make the place their home were the Leavens, Bulls, Bowermans, Jonathan Clarke, Cornelius White, James Barker. The Bulls and Bowermans were both large families. Jonathan Bowerman built the first grist mill here and John Bull the first saw mill. The beautiful stream which runs through the village and empties into the head of West Lake, affords splendid opportunities for the milling business; and the advantages were early utilized by the enterprising (sic) citizens, thus making Bloomfield quite a centre of trade. The village extends over a mile along the Danforth Road, with a considerable number of cross streets. The plan of the place is irregular, as is also the ground on which it is

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statistics, and other numerical data exist for the township of Hallowell as a whole, not for the community of Bloomfield. Most of the assessment rolls have been lost

<sup>106</sup> Belden's Historical Atlas of Hastings and Prince Edward County.

built; all of which, however, tends to add to its picturesque appearance, and give it an ensemble of pleasing variety extremely enjoyable to the traveller. The residences are of a class far exceeding those of the average town of equal size, and have been seemingly laid out and built with a more than usual view to the health, comfort, and convenience of their respective occupants. Beautifully shaded avenues, luxuriant flower-gardens, well-kept grounds, - these and other attributes of a competency of this world's goods, coupled with refined taste and praiseworthy liberality, are to be seen on every hand.

The business portion of the place contains one boot and shoe store, two general stores, two water grist-mills, two steam saw-mills, steam shingle and stave factories, planing mills, one tannery, one woollen factory, one cheese factory, two brick-yards; also a post office, with daily mails both ways, to and from Picton and Trenton per stage; two telegraph offices and four churches - some of them very fine ones, - viz.: one Methodist, one Universalist, and two Society of Friends.

In the case of Bloomfield the Society of Friends' social ideals of community support and individual effort combined to create a thriving, well-kept village. The energies of Bloomfield's inhabitants were focused on their

homes and meeting houses, to the exclusion of involvement with county or provincial affairs.

The Bloomfield described in 1878 was not unlike the Bloomfield of today: the size of the place is about the same, a little over 700 souls; the churches, though no longer Quaker, are still important social and cultural linchpins of the community; the Danforth Road and its streetscape are more or less unchanged. In 1993 most of the trees have gone from Main Street, as have the ornamental iron and wooden fences and verandas that graced nineteenth century homes. The old Temperance House Hotel is a grocery, but there are several bed and breakfast establishments in the village, and even a motel. The Cooper sawmill is still in operation, as is the Cooperative Grist Mill on Mill Street at the site of Bull's Mills. The mill pond there is more beautiful than ever; it has become the Harold Leavens Conservation Area. New churches have moved in, the Standard Methodist Church and a Baptist Church in addition to the United Church and the Dutch Reformed Church. All four churches have large, flourishing congregations and serve as the social focus of their members. The pride of the village is Pinecrest Elementary School, opened in 1968. A local historian wrote in 1974, "Much of the population has always been made up of retired persons and the percentage owning

their own homes is extremely high."<sup>107</sup> This is certainly still true today.

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<sup>107</sup> Charles Fraleigh, "Bloomfield" in Nick Mika and Helma Mika, Community Spotlight: Leeds, Frontenac, Lennox and Addington, and Prince Edward Counties. Belleville Ont.:Mika Publishing, 1974.

## Chapter 8: Quaker Social Institutions

Community life proceeds on several levels: the public life of politics, education, and festive events, the commercial life of business transactions, and the spiritual life of organized religion. In Bloomfield the religious aspect was more distinctive and more public than what could be found in many other contemporary rural villages. During the course of the nineteenth century the denominational mix of the village changed from being almost entirely Quaker to being a mixed community of Methodists, Universalists, and three types of Friends.

The first Friends' Meeting House in Upper Canada was established across the Bay of Quinte in Adolphustown in 1797. The Adolphustown Meeting was an offshoot of the same Dutchess County Nine Partners Monthly Meeting that governed the Oswego Meeting that the Bulls and Bowermans had recently left. The earliest Prince Edward County Friends had to travel across the bay to attend services. Over time the size of the Adolphustown contingent of Friends dwindled and the Prince Edward County group grew in numbers.

Quaker Meetings had been held locally at the home of Cornelius Blount, whose wife was Lydia Bowerman, since 1797. By 1803 the settlement had a Meeting House, on land known as Bowerman Hill, donated by Judah and Stephen Bowerman.

Bowerman Hill lies about one kilometre beyond the village to the west. There is an old Quaker cemetery on the site; Thomas Bowerman and most of his siblings are buried there. It overlooks the lovely prospect of West Lake, with the Sandbanks and Lake Ontario beyond to the south.

Quaker Meetings were generally named after geographical sites near them rather than after the towns where they were located. The Bloomfield Meeting, therefore, was always known as the "West Lake" Meeting. In this study I have used the phrase "West Lake" when referring to the Meeting Houses and "Bloomfield" when referring to the settlers' location within Hallowell Township in Prince Edward County.

The log structure of the Meeting House soon proved to be too small and by 1817 a brick-veneered Meeting House was built on what is now the eastern edge of the village on land donated by John Bull and Jonathan Bowerman. There is a rather large Quaker cemetery across the road from the site of this second Meeting House, but the building no longer stands. It was used as a Meeting House until the 1930s when the West Lake Meeting was "laid down". The building stood empty until 1948 when the village allowed recently-arrived Dutch immigrants to use it as a place of worship. The building was eventually torn down; a Dutch Reformed Church, built in 1962, now occupies the site.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Bloomfield Tweedsmuir History. "Quaker Churches" prepared by Mrs. Burton Baxter. Presented by M.L. Black. no page, no date.

It is certainly true that the Bloomfield area was the centre of Quakerism in Prince Edward County, and it can even be said that Bloomfield was the centre of Quakerism in Upper Canada in the early decades of the nineteenth century before the Yonge Street Meeting grew to prominence with the growth of Toronto. During the middle years of the nineteenth century Bloomfield was best-known to the outside world as the site of the West Lake Friends Boarding School. This was not the first school to be established in the area,<sup>109</sup> but it was the first Society of Friends boarding school in Upper Canada.

The West Lake Boarding School was first opened in 1841. It was located in an imposing red brick neo-Georgian house on one hundred acres of land a kilometre east of Bloomfield on the Danforth Road. The house and land were bought from a Mr. Armstrong of Toronto, a descendent of early U.E.L. landowners in P.E. County, with a five hundred pound gift of cash from the English Quaker John Joseph Gurney (a wealthy London banker and brotner of Elizabeth Fry, of prison reform

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<sup>109</sup> Around 1798 the first school in the township of Hallowell, and possibly the first school in the county, was held in a log school house on a farm one mile west of Bloomfield on the Danforth Road. It was a small, low, log building with a window on each side of the front door, a fireplace in the northeast corner, a ladder ascending to a loft in the southeast corner, and desks build all along the walls so that the students sat with their backs facing the centre of the room. In 1821 the original log Friends' Meeting House on Bowerman's Hill was converted to use as a school house. It offered evening classes to the older students who had to work on the farms during the day. Picton Times, May 30, 1954, p.9.



fame) who had been travelling in Canada visiting Quaker settlements in 1839.<sup>110</sup> The school was closely modelled on the Nine Partners Boarding School back in Dutchess County.

Nine Partners Meeting, named after the Nine Partners Patent in which it was located, was just a few kilometres north of the Oswego Settlement Meeting House. It was older (established in 1742) and larger than Oswego. Nine Partners was the designated Monthly Meeting site for both Oswego and later for the Adolphustown Preparative Meeting. On May 10, 1795, ten acres of land adjoining Nine Partners Meeting House was transferred to a committee of trustees appointed by the Friends Yearly Meeting for the purpose of establishing a boarding school.<sup>111</sup> The school opened in 1796, making it one of the earliest co-educational schools in North America, with Tripp Mosher as steward and Jonathan Talcott (probably a relative of the Bloomfield Talcotts) as principal teacher. The school prospered, usually counting

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<sup>110</sup> However, land records show that the lot had been owned by Jonathan Bowerman until 1830 when it was sold to Israel Bowerman for only 50 pounds. In 1834 it was sold to James Rogers Armstrong (a Toronto merchant, but with family ties to Prince Edward County) for 700 pounds. This shows that the great brick house must have already been under construction by Israel Bowerman when Armstrong bought the land. Taken from Cruikshank, The Settler's Dream.

<sup>111</sup> The committee counted Joseph Talcott, ancestor of the Bloomfield Talcotts, as a member.

over one hundred boys and girls enrolled at any one time.<sup>112</sup>

The West Lake School was set up and administered exactly like the Nine Partners School. It was governed by a committee of male and female Friends<sup>113</sup> and the teachers came from the Nine Partners School. The first teachers were Mary Hoag and Joseph H. Haines. From the first days boys and girls were educated on an equal footing, although at first only girls were taken in as boarders until separate out-buildings could be erected to house the boys.

In the early years only Quaker children were enrolled, but after ten years others had to be accepted to ensure a full enrolment. The 1851 census found 49 students living at the school; local children who lived at home were not included in the count. There were 22 males and 27 females enrolled; their ages ranged from 10 to 27 years old (making a few students older than their 22 year old teachers) with an average age of 18 years for males and 17 years for

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<sup>112</sup> Information on Nine Partner's School came from Charles Donald King History of Education in Dutchess County, p.45-47, and Di Arpino, A History of the Town of Washington and Millbrook, p. 49-51.

<sup>113</sup> The record books of the West Lake Boarding School are available at the National Archives of Canada: M-3848 West Lake Friends Seminary Committee of Management Minute Book. The Committee of Management was made up of very familiar names: Vincent Bowerman, Moses White, Levi Varney, Cornelius Bowerman, Edward Cronk, Deborah Bowerman, Eliza Hubbs Varney, Rachel Cronkhite, Sophie White, and Elizabeth N. Dorland. Note the equal representation of both sexes on the committee.

females. Some students came from as far away as Watertown N.Y. or Pickering, Ontario. In 1851 the student body was made up of 31 Orthodox Quakers, 2 Hicksite Quakers, 8 Church of England members, 7 Methodists, and 1 Presbyterian. The three teachers and the school director were all Orthodox Quakers.

The school concentrated on providing a rounded nineteenth century education to the students. Classes in mathematics, composition, grammar, history, and geography, were mixed in with practical and vocational education. The school was also a working farm; students grew much of their own food and cared for the livestock. Females were given classes in music and fancy needlework and males learned woodworking.<sup>114</sup>

While the school was a rare source of higher learning at the time, there was also a charitable aspect to its formation. The West Lake School, like its model Nine Partners, was meant to assist indigent Friends by taking in poor children of the community. The Society of Friends had strong beliefs about the responsibility of the collective community for ensuring that all children be educated and brought up correctly. Quaker families could place their children at the school even if they did not have the funds

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<sup>114</sup> National Archives of Canada, MG 17, G1 Records of the Orthodox Friends and Associated Meetings, West Lake Friends' Seminary Committee of Management, Minutes, 1841-1865. NAC reel M-3848.

for tuition. In fact, the unusually wide age range of students in 1851 may be due to the fact that many older, indigent Friends (male and female) were sheltered at the school until they could establish themselves. By 1854 the school was clear of debt and enrolled 110 pupils, 63 boys and 47 girls.

The Hicksite split of 1828 affected the West Lake Boarding School as well as the community. The Orthodox half of the congregation retained control of the school and continued to keep it in operation until 1869, but the school did not flourish afterwards as it had done before. The increasing number and improving quality of local public schools led to declining enrolments at West Lake. When the property was sold in 1869 the funds went into creating Pickering College in Newmarket, Ontario in 1870. Pickering College, founded as a Society of Friends boarding school, still exists today as a nondenominational private school.

Two of the most prominent personalities connected with the school, and indeed with the village of Bloomfield in the mid-nineteenth century, were Levi and Eliza Varney.<sup>115</sup> Levi Varney, originally from Sandwich, New Hampshire, was brought out from Nine Partners School to teach at the West Lake Boarding School in 1847. His future wife Eliza Hubbs Jones was a student there at the time, daughter of a local Quaker

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<sup>115</sup> Arthur G. Dorland History of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada.

family (related to the Dorlands, and prominent in Orthodox Quaker circles). The pair married and left for Providence, Rhode Island for a few years but returned before 1855 when Levi Varney took control of the West Lake Boarding School as superintendent for three years.

Levi Varney was a well-known figure in Bloomfield. The community petitioned the Upper Canada legislature in 1855 to make him the postmaster for the village instead of John Stinson, a blacksmith belonging to the Church of England who was about to open a tavern upon his premises. The feeling was that children and young people could not be sent to collect the mail from a tavern, and so Mr. Stinson was unsuitable material for a postmaster. In due course Mr. Varney was named postmaster, and kept the job until his death in 1885. The Varney home, built circa 1844, still stands in the village. It is illustrated in its earlier glory on the 1863 Map of the County of Prince Edward, Upper Canada by Tremaine.

It was Eliza Varney who was the better known of the two. She enjoyed great fame as a Quaker preacher and travelled extensively throughout Canada and the United States visiting Meetings and speaking at them. She lived a long and full life (1829-1915). She and Levi Varney never had children of their own, but they remained active as teachers even after the West Lake Boarding school closed. They ran a private school in the village of Bloomfield.

## **CHAPTER 9: Decline of Quaker Influence**

As the nineteenth century progressed Bloomfield became less distinctively Quaker as the influence of the Society of Friends declined. The number of Quakers in Bloomfield fell as a result of five equally important factors: the death of the pioneering generation, loss of young people through "marrying out", the onward migration of the third generation of Quakers out of the area which was common by 1871, Quaker factionalism that left meetings small and weak, and conversions to Methodism or Universalism.

Any religion that practices exclusion and that has a tendency towards factionalism must be at risk for fragmentation and decline. This, in a nutshell, was the story of Bloomfield's Quaker congregations. This circumstance was especially relevant in Bloomfield's case because it seems that the Quaker population was not increased by immigration after 1820. The structural situation of the Religious Society of Friends assured that schismatic ideas would travel into the region easily, but local circumstances meant that newer sects would prove equally seductive.

Though Bloomfield was the core of Prince Edward County Quakerism, the county was itself the bastion of a new and

rapidly expanding faith, Methodism. Methodism's first spokesman in the region was the Reverend William Losee, a native of Dutchess County (and probably of Beekman Patent itself; the Losee family had a number of farms around Oswego Settlement and further west in Union Vale). In 1790 Losee was named preacher for the Kingston charge, which included the Bay of Quinte. In 1792 the first Methodist chapel in Upper Canada was built at Hay Bay, above Adolphustown, and the next year, in 1793, the first Methodist Organization was founded at Hallowell Bridge (later renamed Picton). By 1817 two Methodist ministers were travelling the Hallowell circuit and Picton had become the centre of Methodism, the site of the first Canadian Methodist Conference. The famous "saddlebag preachers" of Methodism riding their circuits must have been a familiar sight to the Quakers of Bloomfield.<sup>116</sup>

The first record we have of any Methodists living in Bloomfield is dated 1823. A Methodist school teacher, Anson Green, came (from Middlebury, N.Y.) to teach at the public school at Bloomfield. He boarded at the home of the only

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<sup>116</sup> Nick and Helma Mika, The Settlement of Prince Edward County (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1984), pp. 168-9.

Methodist in the village, John Platt Williams.<sup>117</sup> To quote from the Picton Gazette of March 11, 1931:

On Sabbath morning he left Bloomfield and walked to town (Picton) for worship. He returned to Mr. J.P. Williams' weary with his walk and lay down on his bed to rest. A Mr. Orser, a class leader in another neighbourhood, had, unknown to Mr. Green, announced for him to preach there in that Quaker settlement, in which Mr. Williams was the only Methodist family, that evening. When the congregation was gathered and the house full, Mr. Orser came and awoke Mr. Green and, for the first time, told him of the work he was expected to perform. Shut up to the necessity, he arose and went, and spoke from "The Wages of Sin is Death". He soon found liberty and obtained attention; next the young people began to weep. The revival influence was followed up. The travelling preachers cooperating, and the first Methodist class was raised in Bloomfield.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> The son of an early settler, Samuel Williams, who first worked as a hired man for Vincent Bowerman's Father-in-law William Southard and then purchased land. Mentioned in Vincent Bowerman, "Some Account of the Events of my Father", p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted in the Bloomfield Tweedsmuir History, credited to the Picton Sun, March 11, 1931 (supplement to the centennial edition). Originally found in John Carroll, Case and His Cotemporaries, Toronto: Samuel Rose Wesleyan Printing, 1867. vol. 2, p. 420.



Methodist congregations continued to meet in Mr. Williams' house (still standing and in use as a residence in the village in 1993) until 1861 when a Methodist Church was built on land donated by the Williams family. This building too is now used as a residence in the village. The third Methodist Church was built in 1871 on land in the centre of the village purchased from Gilbert Bull for \$250.00. This red brick church now houses the United Church.

Perhaps in response to the pervasive influence of Methodism in most parts of the two countries, many Quaker meetings had begun to show a preference for a more doctrinaire, programmed approach to worship. In 1826 a schism arose in the Society of Friends in North America, centred on the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. By 1828 it had reached the New York Yearly Meeting and thus Upper Canada. A Friend from Long Island, Elias Hicks, seemingly opposed the general stirring of evangelical fervour that was affecting many Protestant churches at the time.<sup>119</sup> Hicks preached a return to quietism in meetings and a boycott of all slave-made products. Most rural Meetings operating in an evangelical environment felt uncomfortable with this reactionary radicalism. The split came to be known in Quaker historiography as the Great Separation. Elias Hicks

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<sup>119</sup> George A. Neville "The Quakers of Adolphustown" Families, vol. 19, no. 1 (1980) pp.17-21 gives a very succinct summary of the Hicksite separation.

had visited the Adolphustown Meeting in 1803, and his children attended the Nine Partners School in Dutchess County. The ongoing contacts between Prince Edward County Friends and New York Friends ensured that the distance of Upper Canada from New York would not protect them from the upheavals and emotions of the Great Separation.

In Bloomfield the split was dramatic. About one quarter of the Friends declared themselves to be followers of Elias Hicks. Their spokesman was James Noxon, who had attended the Yearly Meeting in New York at the time of the schism. Noxon had moved to the area in 1815 after first settling in Adolphustown.<sup>120</sup> He, too, was from Beekman Patent in Dutchess County. For a while the two groups sought ways to share the Meeting House, one group meeting in the mornings and the other in the afternoons. But in 1836 Stephen White deeded some land on the western edge of the settlement to the Hicksite Friends for a Meeting House and burying ground<sup>121</sup>. The new Meeting House was built in the familiar white-painted frame style with two storeys and a

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<sup>120</sup> James Noxon appears on the annual Assessment Roll for Adolphustown for every year from 1794 (the first year that an assessment was recorded) through 1814. After that he is no longer found in Adolphustown. The Adolphustown Assessment Rolls for the years 1794-1822 were reprinted in the Province of Ontario Sessional Papers, No. 32, 1898, pp. 27-50.

<sup>121</sup> NAC: MG 17, G1 (reel M-3849) "Indenture of Stephen White to Corn. White, John Cooper, and Samuel Noxon" 1836. The land in question was in Lot 2, 1st Concession, about a mile to the west of what was then called the Orthodox Friends' Meeting House.

verandah across the front. This drew Hicksite Friends from all over the county.

An 1820 list of Friends attending the West Lake Meeting<sup>122</sup> was later amended, with many names being scratched out or labelled "Hicksite". A census of the Hicksite West Lake Monthly Meeting taken in 1868 reported 171 men enrolled.<sup>123</sup> This was most likely the highest number of adherents that the congregation ever achieved. A few new names were added at times, but more were lost to death and disownment. Many Friends "declined," in their phrase, into Methodism or other sects.

There was a Universalist Church in Bloomfield during the second half of the nineteenth century, but records of it are sketchy. The church occupied a white frame building on the Danforth road west of town, now marked only by a small Universalist Cemetery. The 1871 census lists 26 Universalists in Bloomfield out of a total number of 300 Universalists in the county; this was probably the high point of membership of the congregation. That same 1871

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<sup>122</sup> National Archives of Canada, MG 17, G1 Records of the Orthodox Friends and Associated Meetings. Minutes of West Lake (and Bloomfield) Meeting : West Lake Monthly Meeting register. B-2-62, reel M-3819. This is a listing of members arranged in roughly alphabetical order by last name that was begun in 1820. Some additional information (marriage, names of children and dates of birth) is occasionally included. The information is not complete in any way.

<sup>123</sup> Dorland, History of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada, p. 175.

census counted 533 Quakers in the township, 79 of whom were living in Bloomfield itself (there were then 1,047 Quakers in the county as a whole).

The Universalist Church began in the early nineteenth century. In the twentieth century it merged with the Unitarian Church to form the Unitarian-Universalist Church. It was a liberal, reform-minded church, best known for being strongly anti-revivalist and for fighting against dictatorial benevolent societies of all kinds, including temperance societies.<sup>124</sup> Universalists were numerous in the rural districts of Western New York (especially around Utica and Buffalo). Many Universalist concerns and attitudes seem to coincide with latter-day Quakerism; in fact, most of the Bloomfield Universalist congregation was made up of former Friends. The church building burned in 1898 and was not rebuilt.

In 1881 another split occurred among Bloomfield's Quakers, and a group of "Conservative" Friends split off from the original "orthodox" (non-Hicksite) Friends. Eliza Varney was the main speaker at this "Conservative" Meeting. They built a third Meeting House in the Village, on the east

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<sup>124</sup> This description of Universalism is taken from Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1950), pp. 323-4. The pamphlet The Life Of James Jackson mentions the Universalist community in Bloomfield. James Jackson was from West Lake, of Quaker stock. He lived his life in and around Bloomfield.

side of town, not far from the Orthodox brick meeting house but on the opposite side of the road. The congregation disbanded upon her death in 1915, and all that remains is a small cemetery. After Levi's death Mrs. Varney worked among the Doukhobors of Saskatchewan in 1889 and 1890, conducting a dispensary and opening a school for them. Eliza Varney was probably the best-known resident of Bloomfield in the nineteenth century.

It is hard to say how much bad feeling these religious divisions created within the enclosed world of Quaker society in Bloomfield. Factionalism reduced even further the size of the pool of eligible marriage partners for young Quakers, thus making it ever more likely that they would "marry out" of the Society. But a movement of young people out of the Society of Friends seems to have been a trend from even the early years. The marriage register of the local justice of the peace, Stephen Conger<sup>125</sup> records marriages of some Dutchess County Friends that were formalized before him (rather than in Meeting) as early as 1805. Nine out of 76 marriages recorded between 1803 and 1823 involved Hallowell Quakers marrying outside of Meeting, well before the Hicksite Separation occurred.

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<sup>125</sup> Ontario Historical Society Records and Papers.  
"Marriage Register of Stephen Conger, J.P." vol. I (1899),  
p. 109-112).

Both the 1851 and 1871 Census asked for religious affiliations.<sup>126</sup> The change in the religious complexion of the village was dramatic:

Table 3  
Religious Affiliations (Bloomfield Residents)

	Quaker	Methodist	Church of England	Universalist
1851	194	42	71	6
1871	79	156	72	26

There was very little new movement into the village between 1851 and 1871, so the increase in Methodists and Universalists must be due to conversions. This means that the number of Methodists almost quadrupled in twenty years - an impressive rate of conversion. Quakers (Orthodox and Hicksite together) were reduced in number by more than half. Meanwhile the Universalists, still a smaller sect

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<sup>126</sup> "Quakers" are more numerous on census returns than on the membership lists of individual Meetings. It was common for people to attend Quaker Meetings for years before asking to join formally through "acknowledgement." A number of disowned members, especially those who had been disowned for the increasingly common offence of "marrying out" of the faith, continued to attend meeting regularly and were eventually accepted back into the community. Many of these individuals appear on Canadian census returns as "Quakers" because that is what they declared themselves to be. It also appears that local Quaker congregations were generous about opening their schools and meetings to people who were not acknowledged members of the Society of Friends.

numerically, also quadrupled in number over the same twenty years.

The assumption of Quaker decline can be confirmed by comparing the reported religions of 1871's Methodists or Universalists with their 1851 records. For example, Corey S. Bull appears as a Hicksite Quaker on both records but his son Gilbert Bull is a Hicksite in 1851 and a Universalist in 1871. Another son Sellick Bull is a Hicksite in 1851 and a Wesleyan Methodist in 1871. Leonard Bowerman and Daniel Leavens were both 22 year old Orthodox Quakers in 1851. By 1871 they were both Methodists.

The divisions seem to be generational rather than familial: the older generation tended to stay with the Society of Friends while their offspring moved into other faiths. The average age of the Quaker population in the 1871 Bloomfield census was 37.0 years, while the average age of Methodists was 23.9 years.

As the century progressed the inevitable deaths of the pioneering generation of Quakers occurred. Bloomfield proved to be a healthy and salubrious place, on the whole. Most pioneers died of old age, a few succumbed to typhoid, childbirth, or drowning on Lake Ontario. As the Friends died off, their numbers were not replaced by immigration, conversion, or succeeding generations. The influence of the Society of Friends declined in Bloomfield further in the

second half of the nineteenth century as the Society lost members through westward migration.

A majority of the first generation born in Bloomfield stayed close to the family homesteads, but the next generation faced many of the same pressures in Prince Edward County that drove their grandparents from Dutchess County. Limited opportunities to acquire land either through purchase or inheritance made western farmland attractive. In addition, attractions unknown to the eighteenth century pioneers pulled young people westward: several Bloomfield area men went out to California during the Gold Rush of 1849. In a study of ten representative Bloomfield Quaker families,<sup>127</sup> 72 per cent (34 out of 47 offspring) of the second generation settled in the Bloomfield area, while only 35 per cent of the third generation stayed (73 out of 205 descendent families of those 34 remaining offspring, an impressive number nevertheless).

Even among those who remained in Bloomfield, the influence of the Meeting House declined. The Bloomfield Quakers had never been rigorously exclusive regarding social contact with their Methodist neighbours. Most of these neighbours, after all, had also come from Dutchess County

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<sup>127</sup> 4 Bowermans, 3 Leavens, 1 Noxon, 1 Talcott, and 1 Cooper. These families were traced to the fourth generation in Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, (facsimile of 1905 edition published Belleville: Mika, 1976).



and shared many more social and cultural similarities than differences with the Quakers.

Expulsion from the West Lake Meeting does not appear to have lead to a rigorously enforced shunning by the community. Many more people called themselves Quakers, attended Meetings, and lived by Quaker precepts than were counted in the membership lists of the congregation. The West Lake Quaker community seems to have been less socially exclusionary than many others, even during the years of doctrinal schism and Methodist revivalism.

A Bowerman family history<sup>128</sup> describes the shared ending of the lives of Bloomfield's pioneer Quaker and Methodist representatives during the first years of the twentieth century:<sup>129</sup>

Levi Vincent Bowerman of ancient Quaker lineage, and his life-long friend John Platt Williams, whose grandfather Samuel Williams, the United Empire Loyalist from New York, and his father Caleb Williams were pioneer Methodists, were now under one roof, part of a united family.

Grandfather Williams, two years the senior, busied himself in his orchard and garden and in preparing wood for the cookstove. Grandfather Bowerman took

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<sup>128</sup> Merton Yearwood Williams, "The Bowerman Family 1379 to the Present" p. 34.

<sup>129</sup> Merton Yearwood Williams, A History of the Bowerman Family. Levi Vincent Bowerman died in 1910, aged 78.

an active part in the hayfield, milked cows, fixed fences and gates while advising his grandson, John, on farming methods.

Thus two pioneer families of different faiths were united under one roof in the third generation due to intermarriage of the fourth generations.

The 1851 Census recorded 151 Orthodox Quakers, 43 Hicksite Quakers, 71 Anglicans, 42 Methodists, and a scattering of other faiths within the rough boundaries of Bloomfield<sup>130</sup>. Twenty years later the 1871 Census found only 79 Quakers, but 156 Methodists, 72 Anglicans, 26 Universalists, 25 Disciples of Christ, and a scattering of others. Many of the Anglicans in the 1851 Census were landless labourers and servants working in established households. Most of them were born in Ireland. By 1871 they had moved out of the area and had been replaced by newly arrived Anglicans.

Even in 1851 there were a number of families reporting different religious affiliations among family members. Six Bloomfield Quaker families recorded differences; in each case the father remained Quaker but had married a Methodist wife. Although "marrying out" was cause for being disowned

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<sup>130</sup> The 1851 census returns are for the entire township of Hallowell since Bloomfield was not incorporated until 1906. The village of Bloomfield was small enough so that the outlines of the community can be discerned by locating the names of landowners known to be located on the edge of the village and working down the list of names from them.

by the Meeting, many persons apparently still regarded themselves as Quakers and kept to Quaker ways after being disowned. The children of such mixed marriages were not regarded as "birthright Quakers" and had to seek acceptance "by request" if they wished to join the Society of Friends.

Several of the Methodist families bore Dutchess County Quaker surnames.<sup>131</sup> The Hicksite Cemetery at the western edge of the village became a general burying ground for the entire village in the late nineteenth century.

The three Bloomfield Society of Friends Meeting Houses continued to be important sites to the Quakers of Ontario throughout the nineteenth century. The Orthodox Friends Meeting House (known as the Brick Meeting House), first organized in 1803, was designated a Quarterly Meeting in 1848. Friends from the surrounding counties of Northumberland, Hastings, Lennox and Addington, Frontenac, and Prince Edward travelled to Bloomfield four times a year for administrative and religious meetings. This Meeting was not "laid down" until the 1930s. It was the oldest and largest of the three congregations and lasted the longest.

The Hicksite Meeting House was built in the west end of Bloomfield in 1834; it was designated a Monthly Meeting from the earliest days. The Hicksites held their Yearly Meeting

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<sup>131</sup> These figures are only approximate, since Bloomfield was not a separate entity from Hallowell Township in the nineteenth century village census returns must be extracted from the larger township returns.

in Genesee, New York not far from Rochester. In 1886 it was decided that the Genesee Yearly Meeting should alternate between Bloomfield and Rochester. Hicksite Friends from Ontario and Western New York travelled to Bloomfield annually to a Half Yearly Meeting. By that date, however, membership figures were already in decline. The Hicksite meeting at Bloomfield was "laid down" in 1918 and the Meeting House was sold and moved off the site to become a tenant house in the village. It later burned to the ground in the 1920s.

The smallest of the three Meeting Houses was built by Conservative Friends who split off from the Orthodox group in 1881. A small frame building on the western edge of Bloomfield (facing the Belleville road that splits off from the Danforth Road to head north) housed the small congregation until 1915.

Even as absolute numbers of Quakers declined in Bloomfield in the latter half of the nineteenth century the village itself retained its Quaker character since the majority of its residents continued to abide by Quaker "testimonies" of plainness, temperance, and moderation even when they began to attend other congregations on Sundays. Although religious diversity was seemingly inevitable, the original Quaker attributes of community self-help, modesty, temperance, and hard work remained to give Bloomfield

village a distinct atmosphere within Prince Edward County as a place apart.

Today there are no members of the Society of Friends living in Bloomfield, nor have there been for many years. The three Quaker cemeteries in the village (four if one includes the Bowerman Hill cemetery just west of town), Quaker records, and family memories of Quaker ancestors are all that remain of the Quaker settlement that grew into Bloomfield.

## CONCLUSION

A number of recent studies of early immigrants to Upper Canada<sup>132</sup> have revealed the important role that chain migration played in settlement patterns and upon the willingness of earlier settlers to shelter newcomers on their farms. They also have remarked that the line between farmer and entrepreneur was not as clear cut in early nineteenth century Ontario as it might have been in the United States at the same period.

It is instructive to compare the results of close study of an American Quaker community--Bloomfield--and Scottish and Irish communities in other parts of Upper Canada at roughly the same time, such as Glengarry and the Ottawa Valley, to see whether the essential pattern is reproduced. The motivations, strategies, and goals of the residents of these new Upper Canadian communities were much the same: prosperity for the current generation and a future for the next. Much has been made of the ethnic diversity of immigrants to Canada, but I believe that a few strong,

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<sup>132</sup> Bruce S. Elliott Irish Emigrants in the Canadas (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988) and Marianne McLean The People of Glengarry (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991).

constant similarities may be found in every immigrant group that crossed into Canada.

The individuals who made the effort to come into Upper Canada were motivated by personal and familial pressures to do so, less by national or religious imperatives. National events certainly played a part in the decision to come into Canada but they were not as important an impetus in the decision to leave the homestead. The strongest pressures to move were exerted by immediate family members.<sup>133</sup>

Quakers were not, as it turns out, a prominent element in the first stream of immigrants to Upper Canada. But Americans from the northeastern states were a significant, not to say dominant, element. The Quakers may be taken as emblematic of one sort of settler who came into the province during the early years. They came in extended family groups, they came seeking land to farm, but with an eye to

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<sup>133</sup> To quote from Marianne McLean, p. 213: "Canadian historians have done relatively little comparative analysis of the social characteristics and experience of the emigrants who settled in Canada or the communities that they created there. Bailyn's concept of a "provincial" stream of emigration offers a useful analytical tool with which to examine this movement of people. Emigrants who travelled and settled in groups of related families from the same European districts could reproduce their culture and community in Canada. Canadian society may be seen as a product of the synthesis of the elite culture and values of British officials, of the melting pot produced by metropolitan emigration, and of the many traditional cultures recreated in Canada by groups of "provincial" emigrants, including the clansmen who settled in Glengarry County, Upper Canada." I would add that some American emigrants to Upper Canada could be included in McLean and Bailyn's "provincial stream" as well. The Beekman Patent Quakers certainly fit the criteria to be "provincial" emigrants.

participating in the cash economy of wheat, lumber, and other marketable agricultural products. They spoke and wrote English, attended church regularly, paid their taxes and served on local committees, but ignored the outside world of politics and social change.

Once established in Upper Canada their world was a surprisingly wide one; they travelled regularly to New York City and Philadelphia for religious and social reasons. They read newspapers, joined agricultural societies, and voted (although as Quakers they did not serve in the local militia). They had many things in common with their more numerous non-Quaker neighbours from Dutchess County who came to settle Prince Edward County, more similarities than differences really. They are sometimes easier for the twentieth century historian to find and trace because of their religious affiliation, but their immigration and settlement experiences were probably very similar to those of their neighbours.

There is nothing like the discipline of researching a local history to introduce the researcher to "Social History". It is on the local level that one acquires the specific and detailed knowledge that allows one to experience what it was like to live in the nineteenth century world of rural Upper Canada. Everyone worried about fire (constantly) and cholera (occasionally), they were interested in new strains of dairy cattle, the price of



barley and wheat in Albany, Kingston, and Rochester, and whether a new steamboat would be coming into Picton Harbour. Farmers worried about the state of the roads, tried to pay off mortgages and buy new lots of land, and sent their children to school for as long as possible. Town dwellers tried to lure the railroad into the area, tried to ensure that the streams and mill pond kept the mills running all through the year, and sought to keep the doctor, the teacher, and the postmaster in the village.

The early nineteenth century inhabitants of Bloomfield were true jacks-of-all-trades, very like the Tipperary Protestants that settled in the Ottawa Valley. Bruce Elliott, who studied them, said "Among the Tipperary emigrants it was the most successful who were best able to honour moral obligations to assist less fortunate relatives, and their households were often temporary homes, sometimes for years, to various newly arrived kin. Nor was the line between businessmen and farmers so clear-cut in early nineteenth-century Canada as Kerby Miller appears to think it was in the United States. The most successful farmers achieved their status by engaging in non-agricultural occupations such as store- and tavern-keeping, timbering and provisioning, ploughing the capital so generated back into the land."<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Elliott, p. 240.

In other words, these Bloomfield Quakers were as multidimensional as anyone living at the end of the twentieth century. They lived in a community rooted in the tradition of covenanted localism of the New England towns of the seventeenth century, but adapted to the wider world of the frontier. Bloomfield remained a pious, distinct, and autonomous community<sup>135</sup> even when the total population was no longer made up of New York Quakers. At the same time they successfully participated in the dynamic, competitive commercial world of agricultural trade across national and provincial borders. They were able to respond to shifting demands of markets for timber, wheat, barley, fruit, and dairy products in various markets without losing their sense of rootedness. They were capable of responding to the changing society of the nineteenth century without giving up their older patterns of social life. They did not give up "Gemeinschaft" for "Gesellschaft", the traditional entwined community for the modern bureaucratic one: they incorporated both into their own idea of a prosperous rural society. Strict categories such as farmer or merchant, and rural or urban, do not accurately reflect the creative dynamism found in the actual economic strategies of these successful farmers.

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<sup>135</sup> To use the happy phrase of Kenneth Lockridge when describing Dedham, Massachusetts in A New England Town, p.183.

Their lives of hopeful migration followed by dogged perseverance and hard work allowed most of them to live to a comfortable old age and provide secure futures for their children. The Bowerman and Bull brothers who lived to be recorded in the 1851 census understood this when they recorded their occupation as "gentleman." The landless sons of tenant farmers had become prosperous retired landowners spending their last years surrounded by family and community. They were successful immigrants who contributed to and profited from Upper Canada's growth and development in the earliest years of the province.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize four points that became clear to me while researching the establishment of Bloomfield. While these four facts were mentioned in the course of the narrative, I think that they deserve to be repeated here. First, the Hudson River Valley of New York State was the most important source of settlers for what was soon to be central Upper Canada. The settlers who came to settle along the "front" of the St. Lawrence River between Kingston and Toronto after the American Revolution and before the War of 1812 were more likely to be from Dutchess County in New York than from anywhere else. Knowing that most settlers came from a specific area allows the historian to examine their social, political, and economic history in a clearer light. Material culture, religious experiences, even place-naming and strains of livestock introduced can

become more meaningful if they are studied with a background of knowledge of the pre-revolutionary Hudson River Valley.

Secondly, too little work has been done on the backgrounds of American settlers in Upper Canada: the reason for this cannot be that the sources are not there. I discovered in my research that it was actually much easier to trace the families before they left New York; the province of New York had two hundred years of meticulous administration in place before the American Revolution, and New York State has had an admirable concern for preserving historical documents throughout its history.

It became more difficult to trace individuals once they left the United States and entered Canada. This should not be surprising, given the fact that Upper Canada in 1792 was still a "howling wilderness" in most respects. This does, however, lead me to my third discovery. I confidently expected that the fact that most of "my" settlers were members of the Religious Society of Friends would make it appreciably easier to keep track of them. The Friends enjoy an exalted status among genealogists as champion record keepers. While this reputation is well deserved in most cases, in my own experience it led me astray. I could not locate Quaker records, specifically the "certificates" that Friends carried with them when they moved from one Meeting to another, for the Bowermans or their neighbours either leaving Dutchess County or arriving in Prince Edward County.

I spent months fruitlessly searching for documents that I now believe never existed. But the reputation that Friends enjoy for documentation made me spend much more time on the search than I might have for another set of documents.

The Bowermans and their neighbours left New York at a time just before any Quaker Meetings were set up in Upper Canada, so they did not carry certificates with them. When the first Preparative Meeting was created it was in Adolphustown and they were founding members, so no joining was necessary for them. The fact that they were a frontier congregation three weeks journey away from their Monthly Meeting meant that record keeping in the early years was sketchy at best.

The excellent state of Society of Friends records in Ontario is largely due to the efforts of the historian Arthur Garratt Dorland in the middle years of the twentieth century. He was able to collect most of the Minute Books of meetings that had been "laid down" before that time. The material that he acquired he used in his excellent histories of the Religious Society of Friends in Canada. They have been microfilmed and are available at the National Archives of Canada as well as at the Archives of Ontario. Not all Meetings were completely collected by Dr. Dorland, unfortunately. The West Lake Orthodox Meeting in Bloomfield continued until some time in the 1930's. Records were stored in the basement of the Meeting House undisturbed

until the building was torn down in 1961. Local residents remember seeing "stacks and stacks" of documents in the Meeting House that cannot now be accounted for. Perhaps they will turn up again at some point: the library of Pickering College in Newmarket, Ontario has solicited any Quaker documentary material through the pages of genealogical newsletters and journals.

For the purposes of this study the existing documentation available from the Religious Society of Friends in Canada was not all that I had expected. I ended up relying heavily on Canadian land records and family histories, just as most Loyalist-era historians must. The Quaker records I did locate were not precise enough to allow for sophisticated demographic analysis.

Fourthly, my study of the individual settlers was complete enough for me to learn a great deal about them as individuals, and to reach my final two conclusions about them and their travel to Prince Edward County. I was struck by how important the bond between sisters was in determining where a family might settle. The connection among female siblings can be stronger than other family ties but is often overlooked because it is not an obvious one. In North America women changed their maiden names for their married names rather than incorporating the maiden name in any official record. It is only through studying family trees that the interlocking familial ties of a small community

become clear. I thought that I was studying a neighbourhood migration, or perhaps a movement of an entire religious congregation, but I realized finally that an enormous extended family group had formed the nucleus of Bloomfield in the earliest days. The role of women in the migration process, in deciding both when and where to go, must be taken into account in future studies.

Finally, I learned another surprising thing about these settlers: very few of them had come into Upper Canada with cash in hand to buy their land. Some, five out of seventeen, had been granted land from the Crown for one reason or another, three had the land bought for them by their families, but six others had arrived almost penniless and worked as paid labourers for a few years before putting together a downpayment for their own land. My initial image of tenant farmers in Dutchess County selling off their leases for cash and bringing it into the province was not the typical sequence of events. It seems that most sons and daughters of tenant farmers never owned even leases to land in Dutchess County. They worked as unpaid labourers on their father's leased land until adulthood. They were welcome arrivals in Upper Canada certainly; they were competent, stable, upright people, but they did not bring wealth with them.

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## APPENDIX A

A LIST OF THE RESIDENTS OF BEEKMAN PATENT WHO REFUSED TO  
SIGN THE PLEDGE OF THE ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION, JULY 1775

## Text of the pledge:

Persuaded that the Salvation of the Rights and Liberties of America, depends, under God, on the firm Union of its Inhabitants in a vigorous Prosecution of the Measures necessary for its safety; and convinced of the necessity of preventing the Anarchy and Confusion, which attend a Dissolution of the Powers of Government. We, the Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Dutchess, being greatly alarmed at the Avowed Design of the Ministry to raise a Revenue in America; and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the Massachusetts Bay, Do, in the most solemn Manner resolve, never to become slaves; and do associate under all the Ties of Religion, Honour, and love to our Country, to adopt and endeavour to carry into Execution, whatever Measures may be recommended by the Continental Convention; or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention, for the purpose of preserving our Constitution, and opposing the Execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive Acts of the British Parliament; until a Reconciliation between Great-Britain and America, on

Constitutional Principles (Which we most ardently Desire) can be obtained: And that we will, in all Things follow the Advice of our General Committee, respecting the Purposes aforesaid, the Preservation of Peace and good order, and the Safety of Individuals, and private Property.

NAMES OF THOSE PERSONS WHO REFUSED TO SIGN

Arey Delong	Daniel Beadle
James Goslin	John Wilkenson
Peter Rossell	Christopher Meyer
Jacob H (Re)asner	Myndert Velie
Mathias Valentine	Henry Gidley
Richard Heliker	John McDonald
William Harris	Samuel Smith
Richard Tripp	Martin Easterly
Richard Tripp Jr.	Daniel Ferris
Israel Tripp	James Burtice
James Noxon	Jeremiah Linderbeck
Bart Noxon Jr.	Philip Flagler
Michael Wolf	William Giles
Smitten Tripp	Daniel Way
Peter Hogoboom	John Smith

Garret Burtis	Philip Emigh
Martin Overocker	Nicholas Emigh
Cornberry Daton	son of Philip
Myndert Cole	Hendrich Emigh
Josiah Bull Jr.	John Bull
Charles Thomas	Hendrick Klein
Gilbert Thorn	John Dearstine
John Akerbry	Abijah Ketcham
Cornelius Hegeman	Michael Sherman
Jonathan Atherton	Amos Pine
William Woolf	Nathan Hoag
Aaron Lasey	Peter Emigh
Crapo Lake	Richardus Cornell
Francis DeLong	Abraham Buys
John Burnet	Casper Overhisor
Stephen Dean	William Gifford
Samuel Stringham	Roger Morey
Ichabod Bowerman	Samuel Crandall
Silvester Richmond	Samuel Crandall Jr.
James Titus	Nathan Hyatt
William Gifford Jr.	Frederick Shaefer
Capt. Jury Emigh	Thomas Brundage
Peter Simpson	Peter Leavens Sr.
Lawrence Emigh	William Backus
Samuel Whipple	Baltus Velie
Issac Veal	Bartholomew Wood

Abraham Buys Jr.  
Peter Chatterton  
Philip Miller  
Lawrence Losee  
Israel Titus  
John Brown  
Stephen Lockwood  
Peter Palen  
Jonathan Thorn  
Peter Dop  
Peter Johnson  
Johannes Miller  
Ephraim Horton  
Edward Adams  
Thomas Hutchins  
Robert Moon  
James Striker  
Ebenezer Wordan  
Charles Vincent  
William Steves  
Thomas Langdon  
Peter Buys Jr.  
Samuel Embree  
Rowland Embree  
Jacob Brill  
Jeremiah Haxton

Elias Palmer  
Benjamin Kenyon  
Nicholas Mosher  
Richard Cornell  
Peter Deyo  
James Pettit  
Peter Kidney  
Oliver Waterman  
Jesse Thorn  
Jacob Ferguson  
Johannes Shear  
Charles Davis  
Jasper Fullmore  
Valentine Stover  
Richard Vincent  
Preserved Fish  
Andrew Skidmore  
John Golder  
Cap. Michael Vincent  
Lieut. Peter Buys  
Joseph Losee  
Ens. Stephen Hunt  
Capt. Joseph Harris  
Lieut. Hez Collins  
Ens. Barent Velie



AN ASSESSMENT FOR THE TOWNSHIP OF HOLLOWELL  
THIS EIGHTEENTH OF JULY, 1798.

*First Class Rated.*

Daniel Pettet.....	£0.2.6
John Platt.....	2.6
Joseph McCartney.....	2.6
C. Huyck.....	2.6
Jonathan Ferguson, Jr.....	2.6
Daniel Tube.....	2.6
John Miller.....	2.6
Solomon Spafford.....	2.6
John Richards.....	2.6
Owen Richards.....	2.6
John Elliot.....	2.6
William Dye.....	2.6
Jacob Rattan.....	2.6
Arthur Youmans.....	2.6
David Youmans.....	2.6
James Rogers.....	2.6
David McD. Rogers.....	2.6
John Peters.....	2.6
Corey Spencer.....	2.6
David Conger.....	2.6
Jonathan Bowerman.....	2.6
Joseph Turviliger.....	2.6
William Cunningham.....	2.6
Cornelous Elunt.....	2.6
Aaron White.....	2.6
Jacob Crook.....	2.6
Isaac Garratt.....	2.6
Joseph Jinks.....	2.6
Ebenezer Palmer.....	2.6
Henry Zaufelt.....	2.6

*Second Class Rated.*

Peter Designea Conger.....	5.0
Ichabod Bowerman.....	5.0
Daniel Young.....	5.0
Joseph Winn.....	5.0
Caleb Platt.....	5.0
Jonathan Ferguson, Sr.....	5.0
Caranton Ferguson.....	5.0
Samson Striker.....	5.0
Giles Hill.....	5.0
John Ogden.....	5.0
Rozel Ferguson.....	5.0
Elisha Miller.....	5.0
Henry Young, Jr.....	5.0
Benjamin Weight.....	5.0
Augustus Spencer.....	5.0
Thos. Goldsmith.....	5.0
Andrew Johnson.....	5.0

*Second Class Rated - Con.*

Henry Johnson.....	£0.5.0
Thomas Bowerman.....	5.0
Daniel Rossell.....	5.0

*Third Class Rated*

Henry Young, Sr.....	7.6
Samuel Williams.....	7.6
Stephen Hare.....	7.6
Thos. Richardson.....	7.6
Stephen Conger.....	7.6

*Fourth Class Rated.*

John Stinson.....	10.0
James Blakely.....	10.0
Abraham Peterson.....	10.0

*Fifth Class Rated.*

Barret Dye.....	10.6
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*Tenth Class Rated.*

Caleb Elworth.....	1. 5.0
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*Under List Rated.*

Peter Mabee.....	2.0
John Zaufelt.....	2.0
Abram Winn.....	2.0
Wilkeson Ferguson.....	2.0
John Sikels.....	2.0
John Spence.....	2.0
Joseph Lane.....	2.0
Barnabas Wainwright.....	2.0
John Frear.....	2.0
David Frear.....	2.0
Doctor Prindell.....	2.0
Henry Bartley.....	2.0
Gideon Bowerman.....	2.0
Stephen Bowerman.....	2.0
Jaa. Walters.....	2.0
Jasey Walters.....	2.0
George Baker.....	2.0
Isaac Bedall.....	2.0
Samuel Walters.....	2.0
Ruben Walters.....	2.0
Amos Bull.....	2.0
Charles Cunningham.....	2.0
John Striker.....	2.0
Nathaniel White.....	2.0
Samuel McCoy.....	2.0
Anthony Badgely.....	2.0
William Dorris.....	2.0

Approved by us } JNO. PETERS }  
AUGUST SPENCER } C P: CALEB ELSWORTH }  
Assessed by us } PETER DESIGNEA CONGER } Assessors.

[Copied May 12, 1899, from the original list now in the possession of Mrs. W. H. Allison, Picton, a grand-daughter of Stephen Conger, and daughter of John P. Roblin, son years M.P.P. and County Registrar of Prince Edward. - T. W. CARY.]

## ASSESSMENT OF THE TOWNSHIP OF HALLOWELL FOR THE YEAR 1808.

*Commencing the 7th March, 1808, and ending the 6th March, 1809.*

The following, copied from an old Hallowell assessment list, cannot fail to impress readers, especially young readers, of to-day. The very names must be dear to all who are descendants of the former landholders, while the proportions of cleared and uncleared land at the date of the assessment should prove of considerable interest.

In addition to the figures here copied the roll contains columns headed houses; round logs; square timber, one storey and fire-place; square timber, two storeys and fire-places; framed, under two storeys; brick or stone, one storey, with fire-places; grist mill, run by water, and additional pair of stones; wind mill; saw mill; merchant shop; store houses; horses; oxen; cows; cattle; swine; stills; billiard tables; vessels of eight tons, etc. There were 101 round log houses, 3 of square timber, 28 framed under two storeys, 1 brick or stone, 1 saw mill, 2 merchant shops, 146 horses, 103 oxen, 364 cows, 5 cattle, 90 swine, no stills, no billiard tables, no boats of eight tons, and no wind mills.

Isaac Garrett, Aaron White, Thos. Bowerman, Henry Young, Arthur Elsworth and another Harry Young had four horses each, all the rest fewer, Widow Dugal and Silas Hill had each two yoke of oxen, but the widow had also a span of horses, while Silas had none. Ten cattle and six cows were owned by Thomas Bowerman, and these, with a yoke of oxen, four horses, and two swine made him the largest stock owner in the township.

Among the largest landholders were Gideon Bowerman, with 1,500 acres; Ebenezer Washburn, with 1,150; James Blakely, with 1,740; Barret Dyer, with 1,900, and Silas Hill, with 953 acres.

D. B.

NAMES.	ACRES OF LAND.		NAMES.	ACRES OF LAND.	
	Uncultivated.	Cultivated.		Uncultivated.	Cultivated.
Ebenezer Palmer .....	150	50	Judah Bowerman .....	65	35
Gilbert Clapp .....	40	60	Gideon Bowerman .....	1,500	...
Isaac Garrett .....	150	50	Stephen Bowerman .....	40	60
Jacob Cronkhite .....	350	45	William Hubs .....	...	...
Peter Conger .....	130	70	Thomas Bowerman .....	520	80
Joseph Jinks .....	160	40	Cornelius Blunt .....	100	50
Coon Frederick .....	391	18	Amos Bull .....	90	50
John Trampour .....	150	50	Isaac Beadle .....	105	45
Aaron White .....	150	50	Charles Cunningham .....	60	35
Daniel MacFall .....	190	10	Elijah Cunningham .....	...	...
Capt. J. Stinson .....	450	50	Samuel Petit .....	...	...
John Stinson, jun. ....	450	50	Ichabod Bowerman .....	100	50
Nathaniel White .....	70	30	Paul Clark .....	95	12

## ASSESSMENT OF THE TOWNSHIP OF HALLOWELL.

NAMES.	ACRES OF LAND.		NAMES.	ACRES OF LAND.	
	Uncultivated.	Cultivated.		Uncultivated.	Cultivated.
Cornelius White	330	..	Samuel Taylor	..	..
Caleb Garrett	94	6	Charles Ferguson	..	..
William White	100	..	John Cooper	..	..
Jessy Napp	100	..	Henry Zuvalt	150	50
William Blackly	188	12	Henry Young	870	53
James Blakely	176	24	Daniel Young	300	53
Jeremiah White	100	20	Arthur Elsworth	500	150
Daniel Kemp	188	12	Elisha Miller	668	40
Isaac Kemp	86	14	Asia Warden	..	34
Benben Burlingham	25	25	Henry Spafford	..	3
Abraham Hight	340	60	John Darling	150	24
Cornelius Palmer	80	20	Solomon Spafford	250	50
Joseph Leavens	110	40	Royal Ferguson	200	..
Benjamin Leavens	240	60	James Clapp	85	5
George Baker	90	00	Jacob Fraighlie	60	40
Isaac Huff	175	25	James Augustus	55	30
William Christy	73	25	Owen Richards	250	50
James Walters	43	7	Ezekiel Palen	140	40
John Fryer	150	25	Daniel Balden	..	..
Samuel Clapp	75	25	John Scot	320	30
Joseph Truwalliger	20	40	Ira Spafford	50	70
Joseph Truwalliger, jun.	..	40	John Simpson	..	50
John Truwalliger	75	25	James Blakely	1,740	36
Cornelius Martin	23	25	Sampson Striker	340	60
Samuel Walters	28	32	Barret Dyer	1,900	100
Jessy Walters	34	14	Silas Dyer	128	32
Jonathan Bowerman	590	43	Gilbert Palen	120	80
James Lettze	..	..	Pierce Stanton	240	..
Richard Jinks	..	..	Ferrington Ferguson	172	50
George Fysworth	160	40	Ashbert Gripen	..	..
John Smith	162	18	John Miller	160	40
John Striker	60	40	Anthony Badgley	160	40
Israel Bowerman	65	35	James Jackson	70	30
James Armstrong	220	..	Wilkinson Ferguson	64	38
Gilbert Orner	330	70	Obadiah Cooper	160	40
James Dugal	175	25	Henry Van Vlack	..	10
Willow Dugal	165	25	Daniel Hare	260	40
William Cunningham	565	35	John Ogden	350	6
Abraham Barker	200	20	Sarah Spencer	150	45
Abraham Ratan	..	..	Henry Young	325	75
Jacob Bear	..	..	James Reancas	70	30
Ebenezar Washburn	1,180	40	Andrew Johnson	165	35
Henry Johnson	290	80	David Gardner	..	..
Cory Spencer	350	55	Abraham Maybee	..	..
Abraham Peterson	138	60	Coonrade Coob (or Cool).	70	30
David Conger	70	30	Thomas Eyre	50	50
Stephen Conger	200	50	James Cummings	..	..
Thomas Goldsmith	570	60	Eliphalet Adams	650	60
Stephen Goldsmith	372	28	Robert Hubs	150	50
James Lazer	140	60	Tobias Maybee	..	..
Willow Conger (or Willow)	370	30	Jacob Ratan	75	25
David Cornwall	335	65	John Ratan	..	..
Samuel Wright	350	50	William Dyer	500	50
			Daniel Hicke	150	50

## ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NAMES.	ACRES OF LAND.		NAMES.	ACRES OF LAND.	
	Un-tilled.	Cultivated.		Un-tilled.	Cultivated.
Isiah Tule.....	60	30	John Morgan .....	147	23
Daniel Alger.....	70	20	Janica Lawson .....		
Samuel Williams .....	250	140	Joseph Winn .....	260	40
Abraham Cole .....		20	Daniel Pelet .....	230	70
Caleb Platt .....	140	60	John Winn .....		
Andrew Hykes .....			Leavens Napp .....		16
Aaron Mastin .....	25	15	Isaac Jackson .....	110	30
Benjamin Palmer .....	60	30	John Platt.....	260	40
Jacob Jackson .....		20	Gilbert Dorland .....	170	30
Peter Mastin .....	101	30			
Caleb Frlsworth .....	295	55		31,178	5,194
Silas Hill .....	952	45			

I do certify that the within is a true copy of the assessment of Hallowell, for the year of our Lord 1808.

ALLAN MACLEAN, Clerk of the Peace,  
Midlands District.

(Signed) GILBERT DORLAND, }  
JOHN PLATT, } Assessors.

(Endorsed) Assessment of the Town-  
ship of Hallowell, for  
the year 1808.

Copy for the Collector.

I, John Stevenson Barker, made this copy from the original copy made for the collector (supposed to be Cory Spencer, the elder, herein). The original of this is to be presented to the "Prince Edward Historical Society."

Pictou, 15th April, 1901.

APPENDIX C:		BOWERMAN FAMILY
Ichabod Bowerman (1721-1791)		
m. Lydia Mott (1726-1756)		
1.	Timothy (1746-?) 2 children	settled Albany, NY
2.	Elizabeth (1748-1827) m. Ebenezer Palmer 11 children	Bloomfield 1800?
3.	Jane (1748-?) m. Sylvester Richmond 10 children	Bloomfield 1793
4.	David (1754-1828) 11 children	Cobourg, U.C.
5.	Hannah (1755-?) m. John Butts 6 children	Bloomfield 1793
6.	Sarah (1756) died young	
m.	1757 Jane Richmond (1737-1797)	Bloomfield 1793
7.	Thomas (1758-1810) m. Maturah Bull 11 children	Bloomfield 1793
8.	Jonathan (1759-1851) m. Sarah Vincent 7 children	Bloomfield 1793
9.	Lydia (1762-1811) m. Cornelius Blount 4 children	Bloomfield 1793
10.	Phebe (1763-1783) m. Richard Butts 1 child	died young
11.	Mary (1765-1849) m. Nathaniel White 8 children	Bloomfield 1793
12.	Ichabod (1767-1815) m. Rebecca Mastin 10 children	Bloomfield 1793
13.	Deborah (1771-1819) m. Reuben Vincent 12 children	stayed in Dutchess
14.	Stephen (1773-1857) m. Amy Hughes 6 children	Bloomfield 1793
15.	Gideon (1775-1811)	Bloomfield 1793
16.	Israel (1777-1859) m. Anne Terwilliger 7 children	Bloomfield 1793
17.	Judah (1779-1869) m. 4 wives 7 children, 7 step-children	Bloomfield 1793
18.	Nancy (1780-1862) m. George Ellsworth 11 children	Bloomfield 1793

## APPENDIX D: BULL FAMILY

- Josiah Bull Jr. (1738-1813)  
 m. Mehetabel Thomas
1. Stephen (1765-1849)  
 m. Elizabeth Titus  
 4 children  
 stayed in Dutchess
  2. Mary (1766-?)  
 m. ?. Simmons  
 2 children?  
 settled Watertown NY
  3. Amos (1769-1823)  
 m. Martha Cunningham  
 13 children  
 Bloomfield 1793
  4. Sarah (1770)  
 died young
  5. Matilda (1773-1841)  
 m. Cory Spencer  
 11 children  
 settled Picton 1793
  6. Maturah (1773-1846)  
 m. Thomas Bowerman  
 10 children, 1 stepson  
 Bloomfield 1793
  7. Joseph (1775-1864)  
 m. Lucinda ?  
 1 child  
 stayed in Dutchess
  8. John (1777-1859)  
 m. Mary Palen  
 3 children  
 Bloomfield 1793
  9. Ruth (1778-1850)  
 m. William Christy  
 16 children  
 Bloomfield 1795?
  10. Henry (1780)  
 died young
  11. Phebe (1781-1817)  
 m. William Hubbs  
 1 child  
 Bloomfield 1800?
  12. Josiah (1783-1866)  
 m. Sarah Cunningham  
 6 children  
 Bloomfield 1800?
  13. Mehetabel (1785-1854)  
 m. John Cooper  
 12 children  
 Bloomfield 1800?
- m. 1796 Mary Christy Kidney (1759-1825) Bloomfield 1817
14. Abigail (1797-1866)  
 m. Amos Hubbs  
 9 children  
 Bloomfield 1817
  15. Patience (1799-1882)  
 m. william Garratt  
 ? children  
 Bloomfield 1817
  16. Content Ann (1802-1844)  
 m. Stephen Blount  
 10 children  
 Bloomfield 1817

**END**

**1 9-0 7-9 4**

**FIN**