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**The Ties that Bind: Intermarriage Among Quakers  
and Methodists Around the Bay of Quinte Area  
in the Early to Mid-Nineteenth Century**

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Established in 1791, the Province of Upper Canada, formerly the Province of Quebec, was an area that remained a transatlantic religious and political borderland from its settlement to at least the mid-nineteenth century. The framework of borderland used here is borrowed from historian Bernard Herman's definition in which he argued that borderlands "are locations of indeterminacy, performance, conflict, and uneasy negotiation," essentially places of exchange where identities are questioned, uncertain, and where "old paradigms and canons falter and new explanations and categories emerge."<sup>1</sup> This certainly rings true for the communities of the Midland District that formed along of the Bay of Quinte and Lake Ontario, settled by United Empire Loyalists after the Treaty of Paris in 1783 and the so-called Late Loyalists who were enticed to the area soon after by inexpensive land. Far from being a cohesive group, those who settled represented diverse cultural and religious backgrounds, creating a space where various groups grappled with one another for power, influence, and ultimately their place in this ever-shifting area. The district was also a vast wilderness – a new frontier of sorts that was different from the homes settlers had left in places like New York. Though there has been much mythologizing

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regarding the Loyalists and their settlements, the majority of those who settled the Bay of Quinte were humble farmers, some of whom had fought in the American Revolution, and others who were more or less reluctant Loyalists.<sup>2</sup> Among this mix were prominent pockets of Quakers and Methodists that grew into substantial religious communities. Both of these denominations experienced significant transatlantic religious disputes that had repercussions on these communities. The Bay of Quinte provides a fascinating study in regards to Quaker and Methodist interactions as both dissenting religions entered the area around the same time through the movements of political refugees and grew in numbers in part due to travelling preachers. Both religious populations consequently flourished in the district while maintaining faith ties with their brethren and Friends in the United States. Additionally, in her study of the Yonge Street Quakers, Robynne Rogers Healey argued that both Quakerism and Methodism were “religions of experience” in contrast to Anglicanism, which was a religion of order.<sup>3</sup> Though their modes of worship differed greatly, their shared belief in God’s grace and one’s own personal conversion experience meant they shared a relationship in a sense and also suggests, as Healey notes, why evangelical Methodism came to influence Quakerism so much in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> This article examines the extent of interaction between the Quaker and Methodist communities along the Bay of Quinte between early settlement and the mid-nineteenth century. It explores settlement patterns, involvement in each other’s religious gatherings, and intermarriage between the two groups. The number of marriages between Quakers and Methodists suggests that religious fluidity was a factor in choosing a partner, as well as allowing local or community identities to supersede religious ties.

The Midland District and the Bay of Quinte were home to more than just Methodists or Quakers. Neil Semple points out that it included “Dutch-German Lutherans, Palatine Irish Protestants, New England Congregationalists, Scots and Irish Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, New Light Baptists, and English Anglicans and Methodists,” as well as Quakers, Mennonites, and other sects that “created a heady religious mixture” in the area.<sup>5</sup> Many Quaker families came to the area as political refugees or followed family to the frontier and were settled in one of the Royal or Cataraqui Townships as either disbanded soldiers or Loyalists who had lost their land during the war. A concentration of Quaker families were early settlers on the fourth of the Cataraqui Townships, later called Adolphustown after one of King George III’s sons. First settled by the

company led by Major Peter Van Alstine from New York, the party included Friends who had been disowned by their Meeting in New York for taking up arms, as well as Quaker Loyalist sympathizers who had not fought but, nonetheless, had been caught in the crossfire and forced to leave. A majority of these Friends had been, or were, still under the authority of the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting in Dutchess County, New York, and connections between Upper Canadian Quakers and American Friends are seen early on in the Nine Partners records. Some visited family who had left before or just after the Treaty of Paris, and religious visits took place as early as 1794.<sup>6</sup> As well, Nine Partners recorded that it was aware that Friends in Upper Canada met together for meetings of worship regularly; and the Adolphustown Preparative Meeting was established in 1797 in the home of Philip Dorland after committees from the New York Yearly meeting and the Nine Partners Quarterly meeting assisted and were present in its establishment.<sup>7</sup> Due to the distance between the Preparative Meeting in Upper Canada and the Monthly Meeting in New York, the new meeting was granted special privileges usually reserved for Monthly Meetings, including accomplishing marriages and accepting or disowning members. By 1801, the Adolphustown Preparative Meeting grew enough to become its own Monthly Meeting; from there new preparative meetings and meetings for worship sprang up under its care, following Quaker settlement. West Lake Preparative Meeting, established in 1803, was one of these new meetings.<sup>8</sup> By 1809, Monthly Meetings were held one third of the time at the West Lake Preparative Meeting and, due to population growth, West Lake took over as the Monthly Meeting in 1821, while Adolphustown was reduced to a Preparative Meeting.<sup>9</sup> Though the Religious Society of Friends flourished in Upper Canada, it was not immune to the devastating schism that took place in 1827-8 known as the Hicksite and Orthodox split.

The name Hicksite came from the name of the Quaker minister Elias Hicks, and those labeled as Hicksites were loosely associated by their beliefs regarding the importance of the Inner Light rather than scriptural or doctrinal authority.<sup>10</sup> Although the split only took place in North America, the London Yearly Meeting involved itself in the 1820s by sending weighty English Friends who supported the Orthodox side to travel to meetings in North America.<sup>11</sup> One of these was Elizabeth Robson, a weighty member from London who travelled throughout North American meetings for four years, attempting to bring unity. She visited West Lake Monthly Meeting in 1824 and the West Lake Women's

Monthly Meeting noted her “company and gospel labours have been comfortable and encouraging to us.”<sup>12</sup> Despite the pleasant-sounding minute in 1824, doctrinal disagreements simmered and the 1828 schism tore apart Quaker communities in Upper Canada. These disputes quickly became hostile. In one instance, Hicksite adherent Anna Cronk “push[ed] the half years meeting clerk,” although she later denied doing so to the West Lake Monthly Meeting.<sup>13</sup> Things fared little better in the men’s meeting. The Orthodox meeting recorded that some of the Hicksites shouted at the Friends from the Yearly Meetings Committee and called them “[I]ars, deceivers, and promoters of disorder and many abusive expressions which cannot be recollected”; they also locked the meeting house and refused to give over possession of the key.<sup>14</sup> This is an example within the Quaker Atlantic where the transatlantic Quaker community influenced the local contexts of Quakerism.<sup>15</sup>

Methodism entered Upper Canada in a similar way to Quakerism, as the faith of political refugees during and after the American Revolution. Consider the Hecks and Emburys, originally German Palatines who were resettled in Ireland then later came to New York, who were among some of the first Methodist families in Upper Canada.<sup>16</sup> These families were instrumental in building the first Methodist church in New York in 1768; they repeated these efforts in 1785 after they settled in Augusta, the seventh of the Royal Townships, and began their own Methodist class there. Augusta became one of the points on the Upper Canadian circuit established by Reverend William Losee, a travelling preacher who had originally gone to Upper Canada to see family and returned soon after, in 1791, as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>17</sup> Losee helped build the first Methodist meeting house in Upper Canada, constructed in 1792 in Adolphustown. Upper Canada proved to be a rich mission field for travelling preachers sent by the American Methodist Episcopal Church. That changed with the War of 1812 and the arrival and competition of British Wesleyan Methodist preachers in 1814.<sup>18</sup> Historian Todd Webb notes that, as the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Britain began to send its own missionaries to Upper Canada, the distinct British and American factions had to share a space and mission field on and off until 1874.<sup>19</sup> This led to the Upper Canadian Methodist Episcopalists breaking from the American conference in 1824 and, in 1828, establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, which had no formal connection to their American brethren. Webb notes that the Canadian Conference joined with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in 1833, but that collapsed in

1840, leading to seven years of “bitter transatlantic conflict” until finally the British and Canadian Wesleyan Methodists reunited.<sup>20</sup> In his recent study, Webb argues that Upper Canadian Methodism “became increasingly integrated into a larger British world” after 1814 with the transatlantic connections vital to the growth of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper Canada.<sup>21</sup> These transatlantic religious bonds played an important role in relationships between Wesleyan Methodists and Orthodox Quakers, who both maintained distinct British religious links.

Settlement patterns facilitated interactions between Quakers and Methodists along the Bay of Quinte. Simply put, many of them were neighbours. Consider the small township of Adolphustown. Thomas Casey, a native of the area, noted that the first Quaker meeting house was built in 1798 about a mile west from the first Methodist church built in 1792.<sup>22</sup> Paul Huff, who lived on lot eighteen on the third concession, allowed the church to be built on his land overlooking Hay Bay. Though the first Adolphustown Preparative Meeting was held in the home of Philip Dorland, the construction of the Quaker meeting house six years later in 1798 was just one lot over on the land of Philip’s brother, John Dorland, and his neighbour Garret Benson. Philip Dorland had owned the twenty-first lot in the third concession, while his brother and Benson held parts of the neighbouring twenty-second lot.<sup>23</sup> Hence, the Quaker meeting house was built just four lots from Paul Huff’s land, making the first Quaker and Methodist meeting houses in Upper Canada just a ten minute walk down the road from each other.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, if one looks at the list of the twenty-two subscribers who agreed to pay for the Methodist meeting house in 1792, some of their names can be located as early landowners living within a few kilometers radius of the Hay Bay Church. These landowners include William Casey, Paul Huff, Joseph Clapp, William Ruttan, Henry Hover, Conrad Vandusen, and Henry Davis. The early land records of a small section of the first and third concessions from the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first few years of the nineteenth, show that known Methodists lived side by side with their Quaker neighbours. For instance, Jonathan Allen, a Quaker, lived beside William Ruttan, Joseph Allen, and James Parrott, all Methodists; similarly weighty Quaker Daniel Haight lived next door to Methodists Conrad Vandusen, Henry Davis, and Henry Hoover.<sup>25</sup> James Parrott originally settled in Earnesttown, the second of the Cataraqui Townships. He is recorded in the travelling Methodist minister Elijah Woolsey’s memoirs as being a member of the church and providing a night’s food and lodging for

Woolsey, Reverend Darius Dunham, and James Coleman in 1794.<sup>26</sup> In a word, in the early days of settlement and religious growth along the Bay of Quinte, those instrumental in helping both Methodism and Quakerism take root lived as neighbours. Those who lived in close proximity were likely to interact through local governance, selling and buying, various community gatherings such as barn-raising or logging-bees, and reliance on one's neighbours especially during harvesting times.

There is also evidence of religious interaction between Quakers and Methodists in the area. Episcopal Methodists found revival meetings a popular way to bring others to Christ and increase membership. The Hay Bay Methodist camp meeting that took place in late September 1805 on the Bay of Quinte became legendary. This was the first camp meeting to take place in Upper Canada. It was a four-day gathering in which hundreds came to observe, dine, and listen to sermons, prayers, and exhortations. The location was near the original Hay Bay Church on the land of Paul Huff. George Rawlyk argues this was due to the spiritual importance of this area but, practically, Huff's farm was also an accessible area for wagons, boats, and those on foot.<sup>27</sup> Not only did the camp meeting attract Methodists: it also attracted other curious settlers, essentially offering backwoods frontier entertainment for a few days. Nathan Bangs, the young itinerant minister who was basically the leader of the gathering, wrote about it in his journals. He estimated around 2,500 people were there on the final day, and stated, "the interest and excitement were so great and the crowd so large," yet the "impression of the Word was universal, the power of the Spirit was manifest throughout the whole encampment, and almost every tent was a scene of prayer."<sup>28</sup> It is hard to imagine that, with such large crowds and loud goings-on around the camp meeting, at least some Quakers in the area would not have gone to see the action, especially with so many living in the immediate area. The groaning, joyful shouts, and loud prayers of the Methodists would have been quite a sight for any Quakers who attended, especially seeing the 'jerks,' or jerking contortions that Bangs recorded took place – people began to shake and jerk as they became soaked in the spirit.<sup>29</sup> Rebecca Larson has noted that, though the Quakers were originally known for their religious outbursts and quaking in the spirit, worship in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries took on a quietist tone which discouraged such displays and instead highlighted inner-reflection.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, the displays at Hay Bay would have been entertaining to some Quakers, and at the very least provided a space of interaction between themselves and their Methodist neighbours.

There are accounts of Methodist preachers attending Quaker meetings in the area, as in the case in the journal of Hugh Judge. An active Quaker minister from New York, Judge travelled to Upper Canada in November 1799. He visited the homes of some notable Quakers in the Bay of Quinte, including Aaron Brewer, Philip Dorland, John Dorland, Daniel Way, Daniel Haight, and David Barker. During his travels, he wrote:

Attended meeting at Aaron Brewer's in the forenoon, and had another in the afternoon a few miles westward: both were large and highly favoured opportunities . . . Near the close of the afternoon meeting, a Methodist teacher stood up, and wished liberty to speak a few words; and no one making any reply, he proceeded, and told the people to lay aside their prejudices, and receive the things they had heard delivered; for he had to testify among them that the truths of the everlasting gospel had been preached to them. After adding a little more he sat down, and seemed much affected, having delivered himself in a tender, feeling manner; and I felt well satisfied that what he said did no hurt to the meeting. When he rose, a Friend who sat next to me made a motion for me to request him to sit down; but I thought it would be less likely to interrupt the solemn covering that was over the meeting, to let him alone; and so I believe it proved. There is a great need of care on all hands. This man had with him most of his hearers, and divers of them were in a tender, seeking state; some having lately left them and come to Friends' meetings – so that his testimony would be likely to be confirming to those newly convinced. May the Lord prosper his own work.<sup>31</sup>

This extract from Judge's journal reveals that the local Quaker meetings were not immune from Methodist influence even early on, and *vice versa*. The fact that no one at the meeting spoke against the Methodist preacher or corrected him suggests this was probably not an altogether new experience. As well, the Methodist preacher must have known to some degree how Quaker meetings operated, as he waited in silence until he felt prompted to stand and deliver a heartfelt message, suggesting he was familiar with Quaker practice in worship. Additionally, Judge records that the Methodist did no harm and delivered his words tenderly. His final sentences suggest there were a number of new worshippers at the Quaker meeting. Perhaps they came from a Methodist background, as Judge notes that a number of those gathered had left the Methodist church and were interested in Quaker meetings.

A more open meeting is recorded in Rufus Hall's diary, in his second visit to the Bay of Quinte in 1804. Originally from Rhode Island, yet later settling in New York, Hall was a well-travelled and weighty Quaker who visited the Bay of Quinte in 1798 and in 1804. He wrote that, after setting out from Kingston with Hugh McMullen, a Quaker, and Lewis Cameron, a Methodist, they reached the home of Gershom Wing and "had a meeting in the evening among Methodists, Baptists, and others, to general satisfaction."<sup>32</sup> Again, this was not an unfamiliar event, as Hall records quite a few times where meetings were held with Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers in which people came to hear the gospel and a good sermon. When he visited Niagara, he mentions there was a gathering of "a few Friends, some Methodists, and many others who never before had been at a Friends' meeting . . . Although it was a new doctrine to many of them, yet they were willing to acknowledge it was a great truth, and too much neglected."<sup>33</sup> This demonstrates the close proximity in which these religions operated early in the frontier period.<sup>34</sup>

Marriage played a particularly important role in building and maintaining Quaker communities. Accordingly, local meetings strictly enforced endogamy amongst their members, and the process of marrying involved a couple proposing their marriage to their Monthly Meeting at least two consecutive months before being given approval to wed.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Jerry Frost has argued that after 1755, the revival of disciplining out of order marriages resulted in severity when dealing with members that married someone outside the faith.<sup>36</sup> This was due, in part, to the belief that allowing "out of order" marriages would encourage others to follow suit, resulting in children raised outside of the faith and a weakening of the community.<sup>37</sup> The Quaker preoccupation with endogamy was not shared by Methodists. Peter Ward argues in his study of nineteenth-century marriage in Upper Canada that for Methodists, marriage was "peripheral to the preoccupation with conversion and the achievement of saving faith."<sup>38</sup> Hence, the repercussions for Methodists who married Quakers would have been slight or nonexistent compared to the consequences Friends faced when they married non-members. Though Methodists were as concerned as Quakers with adultery and pre-marital sexual offences, they were not as concerned with endogamy, nor did they have the elaborate discipline that Quakers had developed for dealing with such offences. Ward notes that Methodist ministers at times denied communion to those known to be living in sexual sin. Sometimes they refused admission to class meetings until repentance was obvious, but,



again, this did not compare to Quaker disownment and the process in place there for acknowledgement and acceptance.<sup>39</sup>

An examination of the instances of Quakers who did choose to marry non-members suggests that local identities began to overtake religious ones, and that greater religious fluidity was a response to marriage choices made in a particular frontier context. Due to the impracticality and near impossibility of identifying the religious identity of each of the spouses of Quakers who married out of order in the Bay of Quinte communities, it is impossible to know the precise number of Quakers who married Methodists. This is also due to the spectrum of religious adherence, with members ranging from the devout to the barely adherent. Though the devout are certainly easier to identify, the adherent are still considered part of a religious group. However, in those couples that were identifiable, there did not appear to be more female Friends than male Friends who married Methodists. This is interesting as it was much easier for male Friends to travel outside their meeting to find a spouse; and the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting minutes show that quite a few male Quakers did so, marrying women from the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in Upper Canada, Queensbury Monthly and Nine Partners' Monthly Meeting in New York, and the Rahway and Plainfield and Galloway Monthly Meetings in New Jersey.<sup>40</sup> This implies that though suitable marriage partners – those who were Quaker and not too closely related—may have been more limited on the frontier, male Friends at least had the ability to travel to another community to find a partner, whereas women Friends did not. Though Quaker women experienced a great deal of spiritual freedom that enabled them to minister and even travel to do so, it appears they were still constrained by social norms and were at a disadvantage due to their gender when it came to travelling to find a marriage partner. Despite this reality, it seems that male and female Friends in the Bay of Quinte area married Methodists in roughly equal numbers, signifying less of a gendered response, instead favouring a local and community approach to choosing a spouse. In couples that are identifiable, what emerges are unique stories of Friends who dealt with marrying out of the unity by either fully joining Methodism, or acknowledging their transgression to their meeting in hopes of their acknowledgement being accepted. Healey argues that out of order marriages were treated like adultery, creating tensions and familial strains in the Quaker identity when it occurred in communities.<sup>41</sup> In choosing to marry a non-Friend, spiritual kinship was broken in favour of a more locally based

kinship.

An example of Quaker and Methodist intermarriage in the early community is seen in the 1812 marriage of Rhoda Bathsheba Haight to Daniel Ruttan. Rhoda was the fourth child of Daniel Haight and Mary Dorland, both active members in the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting. A complaint first came against Rhoda in April 1812 to the Adolphustown Women's Monthly Meeting, and she is noted as disowned for marrying out of order by the men's meeting that same month.<sup>42</sup> Both of Rhoda's parents were weighty members of their meeting for many years, and, although Daniel Haight was disowned from Nine Partners' in 1790, he acknowledged to the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting in 1798 and quickly became an important member again.<sup>43</sup> According to family records, Daniel Haight followed his father-in-law, John Dorland, to Upper Canada and set up a general store in Adolphustown.<sup>44</sup> John Dorland was influential in establishing the first Quaker meeting in Upper Canada, and is noted along with his wife and children as moving to Upper Canada in 1789 as members in good standing.<sup>45</sup> Daniel Haight was not only an important member of the Monthly Meeting, but he also held various offices in the township, including town clerk, overseer of highways, assessor, town warden, collector, and pathmaster until near his death.<sup>46</sup> Canniff Haight's narrative about his grandfather, Daniel, records a lengthy letter written in 1797 by Daniel to Darius Dunham, the Methodist minister, in which Haight states that he believed the early Methodist manner of passionate and noisy public worship not only to be grating, but also inconsistent with the New Testament.<sup>47</sup> In light of those sentiments, one can only imagine the tension that his daughter Rhoda's marriage in 1812 to the son of a prominent local Methodist might have brought to their family.

Rhoda Haight's husband, Daniel Ruttan, was the son of Lieutenant William Ruttan, a Loyalist who came to the Bay of Quinte with his wife and brother, Peter, who had been a captain with the British army.<sup>48</sup> In recording the history of the family in the Bay of Quinte, Thomas Casey wrote that the itinerant Reverend William Losee stayed in the home of William Ruttan on his first religious visit to Upper Canada, thus forming a Methodist society in the home of William Ruttan and establishing Ruttan as a class leader.<sup>49</sup> This early era of Methodism has been romanticized in Casey's work. "Mr. Ruttan used to take a flaming pine knot in hand and together with his wife, set out, following a blazed path through the forest, and walking sometimes three miles to a neighbor's house to hold a prayer meeting," he wrote, "The people along the line, when they saw

the torch of their class-leader coming, would fall in rank, all bearing torches.”<sup>50</sup> This heroic frontier image of the Ruttan family leading the faithful through the woods to church, though likely exaggerated, demonstrates the commitment the early family had to Methodism. William’s brother, Peter, was one of the louder of the local Methodists, and was known to shout constantly for joy and cry aloud, earning the nickname “Noisy Pete.”<sup>51</sup> Both brothers subscribed to help build the original Hay Bay Church, with William giving ten pounds and Peter donating three.<sup>52</sup> William’s son, Daniel Ruttan, was born just two years before the church was built and, thus, was likely raised in the Methodist teachings. Although we cannot be sure where the couple attended meetings in their early years of marriage, what does become clear is that Rhoda Haight Ruttan held on to her Quaker faith despite marrying a non-member. She acknowledged her out of order marriage in the Adolphustown Women’s Monthly Meeting in 1829, six years after her wedding.<sup>53</sup> Rhoda’s acknowledgement was accepted a month later, and a request was signed in 1824 by Daniel and Rhoda for their children to be accepted as members of the Quaker meeting.<sup>54</sup> This suggests that Daniel likely became a member at some point as well, and although his reasons for leaving his childhood church are unclear, their marriage demonstrates not only the proximity of the families and the impact of location, but also of their religious fluidity. Rhoda and Daniel may have met through community gatherings or neighbourly interactions; Rhoda’s choice to marry outside her faith, despite its obvious importance to her, speaks to building community and local ties over religious ones.

The marriage of Phebe White and Thomas Wright is an example of intermarriage about a generation after Rhoda and Daniel Ruttan’s marriage. Phebe’s parents, Aaron White and Mary Palmer, came as Late Loyalists in 1794. Aaron White’s petition to Governor John Simcoe requests a lot of two hundred acres in Sophiasburgh, Midland District.<sup>55</sup> Both Aaron White and his wife, Mary, became members of the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting in 1800, and soon after became actively involved in committee work, with Aaron being appointed to the station of Elder in 1804.<sup>56</sup> Though Phebe White and Thomas Wright are listed in Reverend Robert McDowall’s register as being married in March 1833, the first mention of Phebe Wright’s acknowledgement is listed in July 1834 in the Orthodox West Lake Women’s Monthly Meeting though it was being revived so it certainly not the first time the issue of her marriage had been raised.<sup>57</sup> In October 1834, the clerk recorded that Friends appointed to visit

Phebe reported they had done so and believed they should continue her as a member for the time being but leave her case another two months. Yet, in December, a different committee was formed to visit her.<sup>58</sup> Finally, in June 1835 a decision was made, and Phebe Wright's acknowledgement was returned since the committee failed to "find her in a disposition to make friends satisfaction."<sup>59</sup> She was formally disowned in March 1836. Phebe's case suggests that, though she married a non-member, she still wanted to hold on to her faith. We can see this in her acknowledgement and long, drawn-out period of membership limbo. It is likely that she continued to attend meetings throughout this three-year period, though, when she was formally disowned, it was noted she had also been neglecting meetings at that time. It is possible that her frustration with the prolonged acknowledgement process drove her finally to leave the West Lake Monthly Meeting, and perhaps join the church of her new husband. Though no formal records indicate that her husband, Thomas Wright, was with certainty a Methodist when she married him, there are clues that he and his family adhered to that faith. For example, his uncle and brother are listed in 1830 as part of a committee in helping to establish a Wesleyan Missionary Society with the Reverend James Jackson.<sup>60</sup>

Additionally, Wright's cousin – Mary Armstrong – became Egerton Ryerson's second wife in 1833.<sup>61</sup> In the 1851 census of Canada West, Thomas and Phebe Wright are listed as "E. Methodist" along with their seven children, then living in York County.<sup>62</sup> Although the circumstances around the couple's marriage and subsequent church activities remain unclear, the reality that Phebe spent three years after her marriage waiting to be accepted back as a member to the West Lake Monthly Meeting reveals a firm desire to maintain her spiritual heritage while married to a man who was likely a Methodist. As noted in her formal disownment, at some point in this process she stopped attending meetings altogether and likely joined the Methodist church.

Identifying marriages that took place between Quakers and Methodists before 1831 is difficult because though Quakers left detailed records of disownments and out of order marriages, Methodist ministers were not legally able to perform marriages until 1831, when this right was granted to Methodists, Mennonites, Moravians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Independents.<sup>63</sup> Some of the ministers who did perform marriages where one partner was a Quaker included Reverends John C. Davidson, Richard Jones, Daniel McMullen, Cyrus Richmond Allison, all of whom were originally part of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada until it

merged in 1833 with the British Wesleyans, becoming the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada.<sup>64</sup> Another reason why intermarriages become slightly easier to identify closer to the mid-nineteenth century is the doctrinal similarities that emerged between Wesleyan Methodism and Orthodox Quakerism that resulted in a slight upswing in subsequent intermarriage. As Healey has argued in her study of the Yonge Street Quakers, by the 1840s and 1850s, more disowned Quakers were marrying Methodists and even seeking membership with Methodist churches as their “belief structures were akin to one another.”<sup>65</sup> Indeed, this appears to be true in the case of marriage of Elizabeth Haight and Robert Sills Cadman. Elizabeth was the niece of the aforementioned Rhoda Haight who married Daniel Ruttan, making her the granddaughter of prominent Friends, Daniel Haight and Mary Dorland. Her father, Consider Merritt Haight, married Deborah Mullet, who also came from a well-known Quaker family. Deborah Mullet came to Upper Canada from England in 1821 with her parents, William and Mary Mullett, and her ten siblings. She was seventeen years old when she arrived in the colony.<sup>66</sup> The family first settled in Adolphustown, then on Amherst Island when Deborah Mullet was twenty-one, and then moved back to the mainland with the financial help of their English family.<sup>67</sup> Deborah married Consider Merritt Haight on 17 December 1828. They had six children together before his untimely death in 1838, when his daughter, Elizabeth, would have been only nine years old.<sup>68</sup> After her husband’s death, Deborah Mullet rented out their farm and opened a small co-educational school for children within the Adolphustown community, possibly the setting in which Elizabeth Haight would meet her spouse, Robert Cadman.<sup>69</sup> Deborah Haight is listed with her children in the Orthodox West Lake Monthly Meeting Register, and, coming from England, she would have certainly sided with the Orthodox Quakers over the Hicksites.<sup>70</sup>

Elizabeth Haight’s husband, Robert Cadman, was certainly not Quaker, as a complaint arose against Elizabeth Haight in the West Lake Orthodox Meeting in July 1847 for her marrying out of order.<sup>71</sup> In August of that year her case was delayed another six months, until it was recorded in July 1848 that she had “joined another society and evinced no desire to make satisfaction to friends,” after which she was disowned.<sup>72</sup> The difference between Elizabeth Haight’s marriage to Robert Cadman and earlier Quaker and Methodist intermarriage is that Elizabeth Cadman never submitted an acknowledgment and likely stopped attending meetings soon after her marriage. She seems to have exhibited no desire

to correct her behaviour and likely informed the committee sent to visit her that she had joined another society. It can be inferred that she joined the Methodist church as she and her husband are both listed as “W. Methodist” in the 1851 census of Canada West, two years after she was disowned.<sup>73</sup> By this point in time, it would not have been too much of an adjustment for Elizabeth to join the Wesleyan Methodist faith due to its own British ties and increasing doctrinal similarities with Orthodox Quakerism, which gradually adopted more evangelical overtones.

Robert and Elizabeth Cadman continued to identify as Methodist until their deaths. Their names can be found in the 1871 census where they identified as “Wesleyan Methodist,” in 1881, as part of the Methodist Church of Canada, and likewise in the 1891 and 1901 censuses. Elizabeth Cadman is last listed in the 1911 census, then a widow.<sup>74</sup> Whether the marriage between Robert and Elizabeth caused any tension in their families’ homes is unknown, though from the entries in Deborah Mullet Haight’s diaries, it appears the couple remained close to Elizabeth’s mother, Deborah, and her second husband, Levi Vincent Bowerman, whom she married in 1850.<sup>75</sup> Deborah Mullet Haight’s extant diaries, from 1874 to 1892, detail her everyday activities and thoughts. In July 1875, she lists her daughter Elizabeth Cadman as travelling with a Methodist minister from Whitby, and, later that month, she visited Elizabeth and Robert by boat along with her daughter and son-in-law, Rachel and Nelson Sills.<sup>76</sup> As well, Elizabeth and Robert’s son and only child, William Cadman, is recorded as visiting his grandmother in 1879, along with Elizabeth who spent two weeks with her mother in 1880.<sup>77</sup> Deborah continued to record her daughter and son-in-law’s visits until her death, and, just as Elizabeth and Robert remained Methodist for the rest of their lives, so too did Deborah Mullet Haight remain a faithful Quaker until her death. Elizabeth Cadman’s marriage and subsequent family dynamics are a reflection of her choice not just to marry outside her faith, but also to transition fully to her husband’s Methodist faith. Not only did she choose a local community connection over her religious affiliation, but she also adopted a new faith identity.

Intermarriage between Methodists and Quakers in the Midland District, more specifically the Bay of Quinte area, demonstrates something unique about this community in the early-nineteenth century. Though Quakers divided over doctrinal issues in 1828, and the Episcopal Methodist ministers chafed over the activities of British Wesleyan ministers in Upper Canada after 1814, the shifting reality in Quakers’

ability to marry outside their faith and remain Quaker, integrate into Methodism, or move between the denominations, indicates that lived experience changed the community. As the community matured, its relationships were focused less on religious or political identities and more on local and community ties. Though this study has only scratched the surface, the supplanting of religious identity for local, then national, identity, marks the end of the Quaker Atlantic, as suggested by Healey. As a frontier space – a borderland – the ties created and chosen by Quakers who married Methodists demonstrates a transitory space “between two iterations of belonging,”<sup>78</sup> where religious identities came up against local expressions of community when choosing non-member partners superseded maintaining an endogamous Quaker society. Location, integration, and intermarriage all contributed to this blurring of identities in the Bay of Quinte area.

### **Endnotes**

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4. Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canadian*.
5. Neil Semple, *The Lord’s Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 42.
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20. Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists*, 4.
21. Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists*, 13.
22. Thomas W. Casey, "The Early Quakers," *Napanee Beaver*, 27 January 1900. Available at <http://www.sfredheritage.on.ca/EarlyQuakersCasey.htm>.
23. Adolphustown Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1798-1813, 28 November 1798.
24. Adolphustown Land Records, Ontario Abstract Index to Deeds.
25. Adolphustown Land Records, Ontario Abstract Index to Deeds. For this analysis I found concession and lot records for these men and laid them out on a map of early Adolphustown concessions.
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28. Rawlyk, *Canada Fire*, 151.
29. Rawlyk, *Canada Fire*, 147.
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32. Densmore, "Early Quaker Visits," 25.
33. Rufus Hall, *A Journal of the Life, Religious Exercises, and Travels in the Work of the Ministry, of Rufus Hall* (Northampton: Byberry and John and Isaac Comly, 1840), 54.
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52. Casey, "Early Ruttan Families."
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58. West Lake Monthly Women's Meeting, 1828-1851, 18 December 1834.
59. West Lake Monthly Women's Meeting, 1828-1851, 18 June 1835.
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