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“TENDER PLANTS:” QUAKER FARMERS AND CHILDREN IN THE DELAWARE VALLEY, 1681-1735

Barry Levy*

“And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me. But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea” (Matthew 18:5-6).

I

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the settlers of Chester and the Welsh Tract, bordering Philadelphia, devoted themselves to their children, and the results were economically impressive but socially ambiguous. The settlers were under the influence of a difficult religious doctrine, which can be called “holy conversation,” institutionalized in their Monthly Meetings and practiced in their households. “Holy conversation” dictated that implicit instruction by loving parents, not coercion or stern discipline, would lead to the child’s salvation. The farmers thus used the resources of the Delaware Valley to create environments for children and young adults, accumulating vast amounts of land, limiting the type of labor they brought into their households, and devising intricate, demanding strategies to hand out land and money to children.

They directed intense attention to marriage and the conjugal household and spoke endlessly in their Meetings about “tenderness” and “love.” These families, however, were religious, not affectionate, sentimental, or isolated. It was their religious conception of the child that both inspired and clearly limited the development of these adults and their society forming in the Delaware Valley.

The settlers were able, middling people from remote parts of Great Britain. The Welsh came from varying social backgrounds; they included eight gentlemen (the Welsh gentry was not wealthy as a rule) and twenty-five yeomen and husbandmen. The Chester settlers were mostly yeomen and artisans from Cheshire and surrounding counties in northwest England. Most settlers in both groups arrived in nuclear families having two or more children. Approximately seventy-five such Welsh Quaker and seventy-eight Cheshire Quaker families settled between 1681 and 1690 along the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers near Philadelphia (Browning, 1912:1-29; Glenn, 1970: 1-72).

The farmers clearly thought the spiritual fate of their children a vital reason for their coming to Pennsylvania. Each settler carried a removal certificate of about two hundred words describing his or her character. Much of the discussion in these documents concerned children and parent-

*A longer version of this paper was presented at the Davis Seminar at Princeton February 17, 1978. Barry Levy is a Lecturer in History at the University of Pennsylvania. This article is based on his doctoral dissertation on rural Quaker families in the Delaware Valley. He is currently working on a comparison of Anglican and Quaker families in the same region. Dr. Levy would like to thank Dr. Richard Dunn and Dr. Jacquelyn Wolf for their assistance on sections of this paper. He would also like to thank Dr. Ann Kibbey for assistance in dealing with the concepts of socio-linguistics.

hood. One Welsh Meeting, for example, wrote of David Powell that "he hath hopeful children, several of them having behaved themselves well in Friends' services where they lived and we hope and desire the Lords presence may go along with them" [Friends Historical Library, Radnor Monthly Meeting Records (henceforth RMMR), 3/23/1690]. The only thing said of Griffith John, a poor farmer, was that "all his endeavor hath been to bring up his children in the fear of the Lord according to the order of Truth" (RMMR 4/22/1690). Sina Pugh was a "good, careful, industrious woman in things relating to her poor small children" (RMMR 2/5/1684). The Welsh Meetings acted *in loco parentis* for children left without parents and sent the orphans to Pennsylvania: the Tudr orphans, for example, "were under the tuition of Friends since their parents deceased and we found them living and honest children; and we did what we could to keep them out of the wicked way and to preserve their small estate from waste and confiscation" (RMMR 2/3/1689). Meetings often referred to children as "tender," "sweet," and "loving," virtues which typified the descriptions of adult Friends with the most praised behavior. The metaphor most often used by the Welsh farmers when describing children was "tender plants growing in the Truth."

Two Welsh Tract leaders, John Bevan and Thomas Ellis, thought that the need to protect children from corruption explained the Quakers' emigration to Pennsylvania. Barbara Bevan persuaded her husband John Bevan to come to Pennsylvania for the sake of their children. "Some time before the year 1683," he later wrote, "I had heard that our esteemed Friend William Penn had a patent from King Charles the Second for the Province in America called Pennsylvania, and my wife had a great inclination to go thither and thought it might be a good place to train up children amongst sober people and to prevent the corruption of them here by the

loose behavior of youthes and the bad example of too many of riper years." Bevan did not want to go, "but as I was sensible her aim was an upright one, on account of our children, I was willing to weigh the matter in a true balance." He found that he could keep his three Welsh farms and still buy land in Pennsylvania (a member of the gentry in Treverig, near Cardiff, Bevan was the only settler not to sell his British property). Bevan returned to Wales in 1704 with his wife and favorite daughter because "we stayed there (Pennsylvania) many years, and had four of our children married with our consent, and they had several children, and the aim intended by my wife was in good measure answered" (Bevan, 1709). Bevan clearly saw Pennsylvania has a place best suited for rearing children.

In 1684 on arrival in Haverford, Thomas Ellis, a Welsh Quaker minister, prayed in a poem, "Song of Rejoicing," that "In our bounds, true love and peace from age to age may never cease" . . . when "trees and fields increase" and "heaven and earth proclaim thy peace" (Smith, 1862: 492). Children were implicit in his vision. When on a return trip to England in 1685, after he noted that many English Quakers were suspicious of the large emigration of Friends to Pennsylvania, he wrote to George Fox stressing the relationship between children and wealth: "I wish those that have estates of their own and to leave fullness in their posterity may not be offended at the Lord's opening a door of mercy to thousands in England especially in Wales who have no estates either for themselves or children . . . nor any visible ground of hope for a better condition for children or children's children when they were gone hence." Ellis's argument rested on the promise of Quaker life in the new world. In Pennsylvania, Ellis showed, land could combine fruitfully with community life:

About fifteen families of us have taken our land together and there are to be eight more



that have not yet come, who took (to begin) 30 acres apiece with which we build upon and do improve, and the other land we have to range for our cattle, we have our burying place where we intend our Meeting House, as near as we can to the center, our men and women's Meeting and other Monthly Meetings in both week dayes unto which four townships at least belongs. And precious do we find other opportunities that are given as free will offering unto the Lord in evenings, some time which not intended but Friends coming simply to one another and sitting together the Lord appears to his name be the Glory (Ellis, June 13, 1685).

With land broadly distributed for children to inherit, settlers like Ellis could hope to permanently realize their goals.

The attention and worry that the Welsh Meetings, John Bevan, and Thomas Ellis directed to children stemmed from the Quakers' world view which made child-rearing difficult and important. By dividing the human behavior into two "languages"—"holy conversation" leading to salvation, and "carnal talk" leading to corruption and death—Quakers had no choice but to secure environments of "holy conversation" for their children. Quakers thought that the Word was communicated only spontaneously in human relations, that all set forms of speech were ineffective. They thus challenged the Puritan view that God's reality was set forth solely in the Bible and that grace could only be received by listening and responding to ministers' explications of the Biblical text. In his *Journal* George Fox always called the Puritans "professors" in order to stigmatize them as people who only professed their faith in response to sermons they had heard. Quakers, on the other hand, lived their faith, they claimed, becoming virtually embodiments of the Word. Quakers found appropriate means of expressing the Word in their communities. In the worship meeting, after a period of silence, the Word was communicated through a "minister's" words, he or she being a conduit of the Word, or by spontaneous, non-verbal communication between attenders. In society the Word was

to be communicated almost all the time by a man or woman's "conversation" (Haller, 1957; Hill, 1967; Nuttall, 1946; Kibbey, 1973; Bauman, 1974).

"Conversation" was defined in the seventeenth century, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, as the "manner of conducting oneself in the world or in society." The Quakers' concept of "conversation" included the idea that it was reflective of a person's inner being and that it communicated meaning, as suggested in the King James and Geneva Bibles ["Only let your conversation be as becometh Gospel" (Phil. 1:27), "Be an example of believers in conversation in purity" (1 Tim. 4:12), "they may also be won by the conversation of their wives" (1 Pet. 3:1)]. "Conversation" thus included not only speech but also behavior and non-verbal communication. Human communication, as Dell Hymes has argued, includes not just written and spoken words, but all "speech events," events that a culture regards as having a clear human message (Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974). Quakers posited in effect two "languages"¹ underlying all formal languages and gesture: "holy conversation," the language of the Word, and "carnal conversation," the language of pride and of the world.

The emigrants' removal certificates into Pennsylvania described the settlers' "conversation" and give some idea of the qualities that made up the charismatic presence of the converted Friend. Thirty-six different adjectives or adjectival phrases described the adults in these sixty-two certificates. The adjectives most often used were "honest" (thirty-three), "blameless" (fourteen), "loving" (thirteen), "tender" (nine), "savory" (nine), "serviceable" (nine), "civil" (eight), "plain" (seven) and "modest" (five). Except for three cases—two cases of "industriousness," and one

¹"Language" is used here metaphorically to represent a whole communicative system. The Quakers, particularly George Fox, were hostile to "language" in its usual sense.

case of "punctual"—the adjectives related to Christlike qualities.

Almost all the adjectives had Biblical origins. "Holy conversation" was the language and behavior of both the Apostles and of the Quakers, who both claimed direct knowledge of Christ. All Quaker testimonies and practices were defended by Biblical reference. Fox, Barclay, Pennington, Naylor, and other Quaker ministers had interlarded their texts with Biblical quotation. Friends used "thee and thou" instead of "you" because it was the pronoun which Quaker ministers thought Christ and the Apostles used. As was the case in the Geneva Bible, Quakers avoided the use of pagan names for months and days, and refused to use titles, even Mr. and Mrs. Refusal to give hat honor, refusal to take oaths, pacificism, non-violence, and special dress were all vocabulary in "holy conversation." The Bible (as well as the leadership of the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings), though not the source of Truth for Friends, provided an anchor against what easily could become the anarchy of revelation (Levy, 1976:35-45).

The removal certificates discussed the relationship between "holy conversation" and children's spiritual development. Children were born with both Adam's sin and Christ's redeeming Seed. Which developed as the major principle in their lives depended greatly on the environment in which they grew, and particularly important was the character of their parents (Frost, 1973). The Merionth Meeting said of William Powell, for example:

His conversation since [his conversion] hath been honest and savory in so much that his wife came soon to be affected with the Truth, and became a good example to her children by which means they also became affected with Truth, innocency, and an innocent conversation to this day (RMMR, 1686).

The Tyddyn Gareg Meeting said of the children of Griffith John: "As for their honesty and civility and good behavior we

have not anything to say to the contrary but they behaved themselves very well as they come from a very honest family" (RMMR, 1686). Virtually all the children were discussed in these terms. Bachelors and spinsters, moreover, were also "hopeful" when like Elizabeth Owen, they came from "good and honest parentage" (RMMR, 1686). No belief developed in these Meetings similar to the idea which Edmund Morgan has shown developed among Massachusetts' ministers in the late seventeenth century who believed that the children of church members, being part of Abraham's Seed, were virtually assured justification (Morgan, 1966:161-186). Quaker members were known only by their "conversation" and children were only "hopeful" because of their parents' conversation."

By 1680 the guiding institution of Quaker life was the Monthly Meeting, whose purpose was, as George Fox said, "that all order their conversation aright, that they may see the salvation of God; they may all see and know, possess and partake of, the government of Christ, of the increase of which there is no end" (Fox, 1963:152). The men's and women's Monthly Meetings in Chester and the Welsh Tract, like those elsewhere, encouraged "holy conversation" by identifying and disowning carnal talk and by organizing life for the rule of the Word. Their aim was, in a sense, to construct an ideal speech community, where Word would constantly be exchanged in human relations. Newcomers would not be recognized as members unless they presented a removal certificate, an informed discussion of their spiritual personality, vouching for the high quality of their "conversation." The term is centrally mentioned in ninety-five percent of all the Welsh certificates from 1680 to 1694 (65) and eighty-seven percent of those fully recorded for Quakers within the jurisdiction of the Chester Monthly Meeting (22). When Friends got married in Chester and the

Welsh Tract they had their "clearness and conversation" inspected, and when disowned, they were denounced for "scandalous," "disorderly," "indecent," or "worldly" "conversation."

The primary support of the Quakers' social design was their elaborate marriage discipline, which controlled the establishment of new households. Most of the business that came before the Welsh Tract and Chester Men's and Women's Meetings directly concerned marriage. In the Welsh Tract, in the Men's Monthly Meeting (1683-1709) forty-six percent of the business dealt with marriages; the next largest category of business, administrative concerns, like building burial grounds and arranging worship meetings, included only seventeen percent of the itemized business. In the Women's Monthly Meeting marriages took fifty-four percent of the business and charity nineteen percent. In Chester the Men's and Women's Meeting sat together until 1705. Between 1681 and 1705, forty-three percent of the business concerned marriages; the next largest category, discipline, accounted for fourteen percent of the business. These figures do not account for the fact that marriage infractions composed the majority of discipline cases. In the Welsh Tract between 1684 and 1725, eighty-two percent of all condemnations involved young men and women and seventy-eight percent marriage or fornication (fornication without marriage was rare, involving only four percent of the cases). Jack Marietta found similar figures for a number of other Pennsylvania Monthly Meetings, and Susan Forbes found that over seventy-five percent of the disownments in another Chester County meeting, New Garden, related to marriage (Marietta, 1968; Forbes, 1972; Radnor Men's and Women's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1684-1725; Chester Men's and Women's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1681-1725).

The Quaker marriage procedure was time-consuming, thorough, and intrusive.

A prospective marriage couple had first to obtain permission for both courtship and then marriage from all the parents or closest relatives involved. They then had to announce their intention of marriage before both the Men's and Women's Monthly Meetings. After hearing the announcement, the Meetings appointed two committees, each composed of two well established Friends, in order to investigate the "clearness" from prior ties and particularly the "conversation" of the man and woman (two women investigated the woman, two men the man). The man and woman would appear at the next Monthly Meeting to hear the verdict, which was usually favorable, since the Meetings warned off Friends with problems. After the second visit to the Monthly Meetings the marriage ceremony took place usually in the Meeting house of the woman's family. The Quakers married directly before God, the guests and attendants served as witnesses, signing the marriage certificate. The precedent for this type of ceremony was, according to George Fox, the marriage of Adam and Eve in the Garden. The couple had thus to be restored to the sinless state of Adam and Eve before the Fall in order for the ceremony to be meaningful (Fox, 1663; Fox, 1911: II, 154; Braithwaite, 1919:262). Not all Pennsylvania Friends conformed to Fox's spiritually pure concept of marriage. Both Meetings allowed a few questionable men and women to marry "out of tenderness to them" if they sincerely promised to reform and live as Friends. Two officials from the Monthly Meeting closely watched the ceremony to assure that it was conducted accordingly to "Gospel Order." A committee of "weighty" Friends also visited the new couple (along with other families in these communities) at least four times a year in order to see that they were living according to the standards of "holy conversation." The Quaker marriage discipline and ritual aimed to insure that every Quaker spouse was sustained by another Quaker and that

every Quaker child grew up under converted parents in a sustaining, religious environment.

In order to enhance the religious tone of the family, despite the control exercised by parents and Meetings, Friends wanted couples to love one another before they wed. Quaker writers stressed that this was to be a virtuous, Christian love, not romantic lust. It is of course impossible to know what quality of love these Friends expected, demanded, or actually received. Nevertheless, the idea was taken seriously; the Monthly Meetings record a number of Friends, mostly women, rejecting their male Friends at the last minute before the ceremony. After laboriously inspecting and approving one marriage in 1728, for example, the men of Chester were surprised to discover that the marriage had not taken place. The investigating committee reported "that the said Jane Kendal signified to them that she doth not love him well enough to marry him." Similarly in 1705 at Chester, Thomas Martin gained approval to marry Jane Hent, but next month "the above marriage not being accomplished, two Friends—Alice Simcock and Rebecca Faucit—spoke to Jane Hent to know the reason thereof and her answer was that she could not love him well enough to be her husband." Two other cases of this type occurred in Chester and the Welsh Tract between 1681 and 1750. The annoyed Meetings always deferred to the young people (Friends Historical Library, Chester Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 10/30/1728, 5/30/1705, 9/6/1705, 4/9/1730, 4/10/1708).

The marriage discipline, despite such responsiveness, was an obstacle to many Quaker children. Many went to a "priest" or magistrate in Philadelphia to marry. Sometimes they had married a non-Quaker, but more often Quaker children would avoid the marriage procedure and their parents' approval by eloping to Philadelphia, often after sexual intimacy. Over one half of the offenders were disowned.

The rest "acknowledged" their sin and after a period of spiritual probation were accepted fully as Friends.

Institutional surveillance could only go so far; Quaker families also needed wealth to assure that their children would live their lives among people of "holy conversation." In England and Wales farms were typically from forty to forty-five acres; farmers could rarely keep their children from service or from leaving for the city, particularly London (Hoskins, 1963:151-160; Campbell, 1942:chap. 3,4). For this reason William Penn wanted Pennsylvania settlers to form townships, "for the more convenient bringing up of youth . . .," of 5000 acres with each farmer having ample, contiguous holdings of from one hundred to five hundred acres. The Quaker proprietor believed that farming was the least corrupting employment and that in England parents were too "addicted to put their children into Gentlemen's service or send them to towns to learn trades, that husbandry is neglected; and after a soft and delicate usage there, they are unfitted for the labor of farming life" (Penn, 1681, Lemon, 1972:98-99). An analysis of removal certificates and tax lists from Chester and Radnor indeed shows that youth did live and work at home.

The Welsh Tract and Chester settlers accumulated more land than William Penn proposed. By the late 1690's the mean holding of the seventy resident families in the Welsh Tract was 332 acres. In the towns comprising the Chester Monthly Meeting, the mean holding of seventy-six families was 337 acres. Only six men had holdings of under one hundred acres, and eighty percent held over 150 acres. The Chester and Welsh settlers continued to buy land after 1699 as appears from a comparison of the landholdings of fifty-three Chester and Welsh Quaker settlers in 1699 and the land which they distributed to their children or sold at death. In the 1690s these men had an average of 386, acres about the same average as the

general population of landowners. They gave or sold to their children, however, an average of 701 acres, an average increase of 315 acres from 1690. Seventy percent of the settlers gave 400 acres or more (see Table 1) (Land Bureau, Harrisburg, Land

TABLE 1. WELSH TRACT AND CHESTER SETTLERS' LAND HELD AT DEATH OR DISTRIBUTED TO THEIR CHILDREN BEFORE DEATH, 1681-1735

Acres	Percentage of Settlers (N)
50-199	9% (5)
200-399	19 (10)
400-599	21 (11)
600-799	21 (11)
800-999	15 (8)
1000+	15 (8)
	100% (53)

Source: Philadelphia City Hall, Philadelphia County Deeds, Philadelphia County Wills and Inventories; Chester County Court House, Chester County Deeds, Chester County Wills and Inventories.

Commissioner's Minutes of the Welsh Tract, 1702; Chester County Historical Society, Chester County Treasurer's Book, 1685-1716). The settlers bought land as their families grew. A correlation exists between the number of sons families had and the amount of land they held. Between the 1690s and the end of their lives, the three men without sons did not increase their acreage; those with one son increased their acreage an average of 135 acres; those with two sons increased their acreage an average of 242 acres; those with three an average of 309 acres; and those with four or more an average of 361 acres. Sons received over two hundred acres on an average, and daughters received the equivalent in Pennsylvania currency.

The settlers bought land almost exclusively for their children. The fifty-three men gave away or sold a total of 160 parcels during their lives, a third of these to their children. Six men engaged in forty-six percent of the sales, however. These men were land speculators, though this role combined with serving as middle men between William Penn and arriving colo-

nists. They were active members of their Monthly Meetings, acquaintances of William Penn, and first purchasers. Most settlers did not engage in land speculation. Thirty-nine of the forty-one wills existing for the fifty-three settlers show large quantities of unused land which was later bequeathed to children. Joseph Baker, for example, besides his plantation in Edgemount, bequeathed a 200 acre tract in Thornberry to his son. Francis Yarnell, beside his plantation in Willistown, bequeathed a 120 acre tract in Springfield. Only three men worked their additional land and only two men had tenants (Chester County Court House, Chester County Deeds, 1681-1790; Philadelphia City Hall, Philadelphia County Deeds, 1681-1790; Chester County Court House, Chester County Wills, August 25, 1724: A-155, 6/6/1721: A-124).

A study of these families' inventories confirms the child-centered use of land. Of the forty-one inventories, twenty-seven of these men at the time of their death already portioned at least two of their children. Seven of these men were nearly retired, though they still used their farms. The rest (fourteen) had portioned only one child or none at the time of their death, so they were probably near the height of productivity. The average farmer had a small herd of animals (six cows, four steers, six horses, fourteen sheep, and eight pigs) and was cultivating between forty and fifty acres for wheat, barley, and corn. The rule of thumb in eighteenth century farming was three acres for one cow (this was the practice in Cheshire), so the cows and steers would require at least thirty acres. The six horses would need about six acres and grain, and the thirteen sheep about two acres a year. This gives a figure of, at least, eighty acres in use for the average farmer who had about 700 acres. The additional 620 acres awaited children (Chester County Court House, Chester County Inventories, 1681-1790; Philadelphia City Hall Annex, Philadelphia County Inventories, 1681-1776).

The land use pattern of Edmund Cartledge was typical, although he used more land than most. He had a personal estate of £377, including £63 worth of crops, mostly wheat, and £90 worth of livestock. In the "house chamber" and "in the barn" Cartledge had about 115 bushels of wheat, which was the harvest of about ten to fifteen acres. "In the field" he had twenty acres of wheat and rye (worth about £30) and ten acres of summer corn, barley, and oats (£18). He had in all at least forty to fifty acres under cultivation. "In the yard" were a large number of cows, pigs, and horses; and in the field a flock of sheep. According to the usual feed requirements, he used from fifty to fifty-five acres for these animals. For both livestock and crops, he used about one hundred acres. His inventory describes his farm as "250 acres of land, buildings, orchards, garden, fences, wood, and meadows," evaluated at £400. From 1690 to 1710 ten inventories show the evaluation of improved land was £2:3:6 per acre and unimproved land was at £0:6:7 per acre. A comparison of his evaluation with the general evaluations of improved and unimproved lands tends to confirm that he used about one-half to two-thirds of his plantation. At his death, he also had 100 acres in Springfield and 1,107 acres in Plymouth at a low evaluation of £300, indicating that they were unimproved. Like the other Quaker farmers, Cartledge bought land to farm and more land to settle his children upon (Chester County Court House, Chester County Inventories, 2/2/1703: 143).

Although individual farmers and planters in early America had more land than the average Quaker in the Delaware Valley, few seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century communities appear collectively to have had such a high mean acreage, such a broad distribution of land, or a land distribution so generously devoted to children. James Henretta has argued that northern farmers accumulated land to pay off their

sons' and daughters' labor and to secure their aid when old (Henretta, 1978: 3-32). These Quaker accumulations roughly fit such an economic model, though they exceed the average needs of a young farmer. An average young man might need forty to one hundred acres of land to begin a family, not two or three hundred acres. Most fathers, moreover, did not need their sons' economic assistance in old age. A large percentage of sons bought their land from their fathers, who retired on interest from bonds.² To a large degree, the Quaker farmers were responding to the requirements, as they perceived them, of "holy conversation." Three hundred acres could seem to insure a new household's protection from the world.

II

In order to buy land Quaker farmers often needed to take "strangers" into their households as laborers. However, laborers brought into the household who fostered ungodly relationships could ruin the whole purpose of insulating the family from evil influences. These rural Quakers had few slaves or servants. Of the forty-one men who left inventories, among those families that were reconstructed, only nine recorded servants or slaves (twenty-five percent) and four had slaves (five percent) or about one in every twenty families. The fertile but inexpensive land of the Valley allowed rural Friends—unlike those in the city—to keep the use of servants to a minimum. At the same time, the wealth derived from the Valley allowed many Friends to afford slaves. The restriction of slavery was therefore partly the response to an explicitly expressed self-conscious policy.

²The economy of these farmers was relatively sophisticated. Over fifty percent of the farmers, according to their inventories, held bonds of over £100. The money was lent to other farmers. Older men had the most bonds and were clearly living on the income (Levy, 1976:145-150).



Chester County Friends clearly remained sensitive to evidence of carnal talk or exotic people in their households. Robert Pyle, a prosperous Concord farmer writing in 1698, testified that he bought a slave because of the scarcity of white domestic labor. Pyle, however, felt the threat of contamination and had bad dreams:

I was myself and a Friend going on a road, and by the roadside I saw a black pot, I took it up, the Friend said give me part, I said not, I went a little further and I saw a great ladder standing exact upright, reaching up to heaven, up which I must go to heaven with the pott in my hand intending to carry the black pot with me, but the ladder standing so upright, and seeing no man holding of it up, it seemed it would fall upon me; at which I stepped down laid the pot at the foot of the ladder, and said them that take it might, for I found work enough for both hands to take hold of this ladder (Cadbury, ed., 1937:492-493).

Pyle concluded that "self must be left behind, and to let black Negroes or pots alone." To purify his household and himself, Pyle manumitted his black slave. Cadwallader Morgan of the Welsh Tract bought a Negro in 1698 so he could have more time to go to Meetings. But Morgan realized that greed was his real aim, that the slave symbolized the rule of the self over the Word. Pyle and Morgan also worried over the social and familial problems attending slavery. Pyle projected that Quakers might be forced to take up arms, if Negroes became too numerous in their communities. Morgan saw a host of problems for Quaker families. "What," Morgan asked, "if I should have a bad one of them, that must be corrected, or would run away, or when I went from home and leave him with a woman or maid, and he should desire to committ wickedness." Fearing many varieties of corruption, Morgan manumitted his slave and testified against slavery (Cadbury, ed., 1942:213; Drake, 1941: 575-576).

Such fears were widespread. The Chester Quarterly and Monthly Meetings

issued five letters or messages to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting between 1690 and 1720, requesting a testimony against buying or importing slaves. The Chester Monthly Meeting in 1715 recorded that "it is the unanimous sense of this Meeting that Friends should not be concerned hereafter in the importation thereof nor buy any, and we request the concurrence of the Quarterly Meeting." The Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting in the same year chided Chester Friends for acting prejudicially against slave owners in their Meeting by excluding them from positions of authority (Turner, 1911: 60-75; Davis, 1966: 315).

Holy conversation and child-centeredness also brought these Friends using white, indentured servants problems. Friendly "conversation" conflicted with the need of keeping servants diligently at work. The Chester Meeting called John Worrall before them in 1693 for whipping one of his male servants. He condemned his act "for the reputation of Truth" but said the fellow was "worthless" and "deserved to be beaten" (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Chester Monthly Meeting Acknowledgments, 10/2/1693). By placing a lazy woman servant in a "noxious hole," Thomas Smedley thought he had found the alternative to whipping and beating, but the Chester Monthly Meeting thought his solution unseemly, and he had to condemn it (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Chester Montly Meeting Acknowledgments, 1/3/1740). In 1700 the Welsh Tract Monthly Meeting established a "committee to maintain good order," which recommended "that Friends be watchful over their families and that they should be careful what persons they brought or admitted to their families, whether servants or others, lest they should be hurt by them." The committee devised techniques for disciplining servants without flogging them. When their terms expired, masters were to write "certificates . . . concerning their behavior ac-



ording to their deserts." No credit or jobs were to be extended to ex-servants unless they had such references. The Meeting established a public committee to "deal hard with servants" and to hear their complaints about their masters. No evidence exists as to what techniques the committee used to handle unruly servants, but they were probably non-violent. Because of their ideas about purified households, these rural Friends discouraged bringing blacks into the house and invented gentler ways of disciplining labor.

III

Controlling their children as they passed from youth to adulthood presented the final challenge for Chester and Welsh Tract parents. Quaker doctrine demanded that children be guided, not coerced into Quakerism. The choice to preserve the Light had to be a free one. There was very little evidence of disinheritance among Chester and Welsh Tract families.³ The choosing of a mate involved parental approval and direction, but also courtship and free choice. The Meetings asked couples when announcing their proposed marriage to face both the Men's and Women's Meeting alone. A youth, as it has been seen, could call off his or her marriage at any time before the ceremony. Parents, however, still had to make new households Quakerly and substantial. For Quaker parents "holy conversation" meant establishing all their children on decently wealthy farms, married to Friends of their own choosing, with parental approval—a difficult job.

In Andover, Massachusetts in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, parents had more implements to accomplish a

similar task. Puritan parents shared responsibility with the local minister for their childrens' conversions, they had baptism, an intellectual regimen (sermons and Bible reading) and by the 1690s a general belief that the children of church members were likely to be justified (Morgan, 1966: 65-86; Axtell, 1976: 160-200). They also had power. Quaker parents had environments, wealth, and their own example. As Philip Greven has shown, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century in Andover, Massachusetts, it was common for parents to allow sons to marry, live on their fathers' land and yet not own the land until their fathers died. According to Greven's description, "although the great majority of second generation sons were settled upon their father's land while their fathers were still alive, only about a quarter of them actually owned the land they lived upon until after their father's death." The proximity of the father to the households of his married sons reinforced this pattern of economic dependency and patriarchy. Seventy-five percent of the sons of the first generation settled in the closely packed township of Andover. Well into the middle of the eighteenth century, "many members of families lived within reasonably short distances of each other," as Greven describes it, "with family groups often concentrated together in particular areas of the town." This strong system of parental power, as Greven argued, changed only slowly during the eighteenth century in the town (Greven, 1970: 72-99, 139).

Delaware Valley families were similar in structure to those in Andover. Because Quaker birth and death records were poorly kept, it is possible only to estimate what health conditions were like in the seventeenth century along the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers. Twenty-five Quaker settlers, traced through the Quaker registers in England and America, had an average age at death of sixty-seven years, with only

³A collation of wills and deeds of families whose children married out shows that there was seldom any economic penalty. Male children who married out were often not deeded land. They got land when their father died (Levy, 1976:121-123).

four men dying in their forties, and four in their fifties. The survival rate of children also supports the view that conditions were fairly healthy. Based on a total of seventy-two reconstructed families in the first generation, the average number of children per family to reach twenty-one years of age was 4.73 in the Welsh Tract and 5.65 in Chester. In the Welsh Tract and Chester, based on ninety-three reconstructions of second generation families, the average number of children to reach twenty-one was 5.53. These families were smaller than those of 7.2 children to reach twenty-one which Greven found for early eighteenth century Andover families whose children were born in the 1680s and 1690s (Greven, 1970: 111).

Compared to the Andover settlers and descendants, the Delaware Valley settlers consistently had more land (see Table 2). Andover, moreover, began in a remote wilderness where it took many years to develop a cash economy. Throughout much of the lives of the founding generation, as Greven noted, both grain and livestock were being used in lieu of cash in exchange for hard goods from Salem merchants. A lack of specie, cash, or credit is suggested by the fact that sons did not regularly purchase land from their fathers until after 1720, eighty years after settlement.

The fertile land of the Delaware Valley was more conducive to lucrative farming than the rocky soil of Andover. The settlers enjoyed the fast growing market in Philadelphia under the control of able Quaker merchants with connections in the West Indies. One thousand Finnish and Swedish farmers, who had been living modestly along the Delaware River for over fifty years, helped provide the settling Quakers with provisions. Cash and credit existed in Pennsylvania, as attested by the frequent and early purchasing of estates by sons. As early as 1707, twenty-six years after settlement, Ralph Lewis sold over one hundred acres to his son Abraham for £60, and after 1709 deeds of purchase were more frequently given than deeds of gift (Bridenbaugh, 1976: 170; Chester County Court House, Chester County Deeds, April 15, 1707: B-86; Greven, 1970: 68).

Begging the question of the typicality of Andover as a New England town, it is clear that the road to an independent household (independent from kin, not from community) was smoother in the Welsh Tract and Chester communities than it was in Andover. The economy of the Delaware Valley was more conducive to the setting up of independent households than that of Andover. Quaker families were also smaller.

TABLE 2. LAND DISTRIBUTION OF CHESTER, WELSH TRACT, AND ANDOVER SETTLERS

Acres	Welsh Tract and Chester		Andover	
	First Generation	Percent Settlers (N)	First Generation	Percent Settlers (N)
0- 99	0%	(0)	0%	(0)
100-199	10	(5)	67	(27)
200-299	15	(8)	18	(7)
300-399	2	(1)	8	(3)
400-499	6	(3)	2.5	(1)
500-599	15	(8)	2.5	(1)
600-699	10	(5)	0	(0)
700+	42	(22)	2.5	(1)
	100%	(53)	100.5%	(40)

Source: Philadelphia City Hall, Philadelphia County Deeds, Philadelphia County Wills and Inventories; Chester County Court House, Chester County Deeds, Chester County Wills and Inventories. Greven, 1970: 58.

The older marriage ages of the Quakers strongly suggests, however, that religious community also played some role in creating a different pattern in Pennsylvania. The settlers in the Welsh Tract and Chester carefully helped establish their children's new households by providing sufficient material wealth, even if it meant making children wait a long time before marriage. The community closely watched new households. Yet, in contrast to Andover, Quaker parents tended to make their children financially independent at marriage or soon after marriage. They also set up their sons further from home.

Fifty-four of the settlers' sons received deeds in Chester and the Welsh Tract; and seventy-three percent (40) received them either before marriage or in one year after marriage. Fifty-nine of the eighty-four sons who received land from wills also received their land before marriage. Among all the second generation sons in the Delaware Valley whose inheritance, deeds of gift and purchase, and date of marriage can be known (139), seventy-one percent received land before, at, or within two years of marriage without restrictions. In Andover when a father gave a deed to a son he usually placed restrictions upon the gift. Most sons shared the experience of Stephen Barker, who received a deed of gift from his father for a homestead and land, provided "that he carefully and faithfully manure and carry on my whole living yearly." His father also retained the right to any part of his son's land "for my comfortable maintenance." Thomas Abbot of Andover sold his homestead, land, and buildings to the eldest of his three sons in 1723 for £20, but reserved for himself the right to improve half the land and to use half the buildings during his life time (Greven, 1970: 144, 145). Only one Welsh Tract or Chester deed from the first to second generation contained a restrictive clause, and no Quaker deeds from the second to third generations contained such

clauses. Once established, three quarters of the new households in the Welsh Tract and Chester were independent.⁴

Typical of the Quaker father was Thomas Minshall, whose son Isaac married Rebecca Owen in 1707. That same year, three months after the marriage, Thomas Minshall "for natural love and affection" gave Isaac gratis the "380 acres in Neither Providence where he now dwelleth." A younger son, Jacob, married at the age of twenty-one in 1706 to Sarah Owen and that year received gratis five hundred acres of land and a stone dwelling house. The Minshalls were among the wealthiest families in Chester and Radnor Meetings. Poorer families also granted independence to their married children. Ralph Lewis, who came over as a servant to John Bevan, gave deeds to three of his sons before or just after marriage. In 1707 he sold to his son Abraham at marriage a 200 acre tract for £60. Samuel Lewis, another son, bought 250 acres from his father for £60 in 1709. A deed three years later, shows that his debt to his father was paid off in 1712, the year he married (Philadelphia City Hall, Philadelphia County Deeds, 2/3/1706: A-203, 8/23/1707: A-172; Chester County Court House, Chester County Deeds, October 6, 1709: B-342, 3/2/1712: C-326).

In contrast to the situation in Andover, moreover, most second generation Delaware Valley sons did not live in the same townships as their fathers. Forty-five percent of the sons (71) of the first generation Welsh Tract and Chester families settled in the same township as their fathers, but a majority fifty-five percent (88) did not. Most sons (65) lived in other townships because their fathers bought land for them there. Francis Yarnell of Willistown, for

⁴John Waters found differences between inheritance patterns of Quakers and Puritans in seventeenth-century Barnstable similar to the differing patterns between Andover and Delaware Valley families (Waters, 1976).



example, found land for five of his sons in Willistown (his own town) and one in Springfield and one in Middletown. Andrew Job bought two of his sons land in Virginia. Indeed eleven of the second generation Delaware Valley sons moved outside southeastern Pennsylvania to Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Long Island onto land purchased by their fathers. John Bevan who moved to Wales never saw his American sons again. Quaker fathers often sacrificed control for "holy conversation" and land.

The tendency of fathers to give away land to their sons and money to their daughters, when they married, left many of these fathers bereft of power. Quaker fathers took to giving exhortations, some of which have survived. Edward Foulke, the richest Quaker farmer in Gwynedd, left an exhortation to his children written just before his death in 1741. He gave all four of his sons land near the time of their marriages. Evan Foulke, for example, received 250 acres in Gwynedd at his marriage in 1725 (Philadelphia City Hall, Philadelphia County Deeds, December 15, 1725: I-14-248). But Foulke worried. He urged his children and grandchildren not to let business take priority over attending week-day Meetings. He noted that business carried out at such a time "did not answer-my expectation of it in the morning." He worried also about his child-rearing practices: "It had been better for me, if I had been more careful, in sitting with my family at meals with a sober countenance because children, and servants have their eyes and observations on those who have command and government over them." This, he wrote, "has a great influence on the life and manners of youth" (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Cope Collection, 1740: F-190). Another exhortation was left by Walter Faucit of Chester in 1704 who was nervous about his wealthy grown son's spiritual and economic future, "If thou refuse to be obedient to God's

teachings and do thy own will and not His than thou will be a fool and a vagabound" (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Cope Collection, 1704: F-23). Greven found no exhortations in Andover and most likely they did not exist. Seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century rural Puritan fathers left land, not advice, to obedient, married sons.

The mutual obligations in the Quaker family system show that the Welsh Tract and Chester families were nonetheless both well organized and demanding. The case of a family of comfortable means gives an idea of how independent households in the Delaware Valley were created. In the family of Philip Yarnell, almost all the sons received land for a price, and the time between marriage and receiving a deed was a time for sons to work the land in order to pay off their father. The purchase price would be returned to the family kitty in order to help portion the other children. Among the Yarnells' nine children, six sons and three daughters, their eldest sons married at the age of twenty-six in 1719 and completed purchase of the land in 1725, when he received 200 acres and a farm house for £60 Pennsylvania currency from his father. Their second son also married in 1719 and bought his land from his father in 1724, a year earlier than his brother. He received a similar amount of land and also paid £60. The purchase price was about half the actual market value of the land. Yarnell's fifth son, Nathan, married in 1731 at the age of twenty-four and three years later received his land free in Philip Yarnell's will. Yarnell's third, unmarried son, Job, had a different role. In Philip's will he received "all my land in Ridley township," but had to pay £80 to daughter Mary Yarnell, half at eighteen and half at the age of twenty. Mary was then only ten years old, so Job had eight years to raise the first payment. He never married. Though the Yarnells were one of the

wealthiest families in the Chester Meeting, they managed a vulnerable economic unit. Their children tended to marry by inclination, not in rank order. When a son or daughter married, his or her work and the land given was lost to the other children. Like most Quaker families, the Yarnell's made the family into a revolving fund; new households became independent relatively soon after marriage, and with the returned money the other children became attractive marriage partners, and the parents bought bonds for their retirement (Chester County Court House, the Chester County Deeds, December 8, 1724: f-43, February 27, 1725: E-513; Chester County Court House, Chester County Wills, 6/14/1733: A-414).⁵

This demanding family system explains why the settlers' children married relatively late in life, despite the settlers' large landholdings. Although the Quaker families had fewer children and over twice the

farm land, their children married later than the Andover settlers' children and also later than the third generation in Andover, who matured between 1705 and 1735, coeval to the second generation in Chester and the Welsh Tract. The marriage ages of Quaker men were older than those of men in Andover in both the second and third generations, and the marriage ages of Quaker women were older than those of Andover women in the second generation, though slightly lower than Andover women in the third generation (see Table 3). While bachelors and spinsters were rare in New England towns, at least 14.4 percent of the Chester and Welsh Tract youth did not marry (see Table 4).

Another symptom of economic pressure

⁵The "revolving fund" method was used by all but the wealthiest and poorest Quaker families. For other examples see (Levy, 1976:210-214).

TABLE 3. AGE AT MARRIAGE: DELAWARE VALLEY QUAKERS AND ANDOVER

Age at Marriage	Quakers (Chester, Welsh Tract)		Andover (Second Generation)		Andover (Third Generation)	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
<u>Men</u>						
Under 21	5	5	5	5	6	3
21-24	35	32	36	35	72	32
25-29	30	27	39	38	87	39
30-34	26	23	17	16	39	17
35-39	9	8	4	4	12	5
40 and over	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>
	111	100	104	101	224	100
29 and under	70	63	80	77	165	74
30 and over	41	37	24	23	59	26
<u>Women</u>						
Under 21	7	37	29	36	58	28
21-24	22	30	32	40	74	35
25-29	15	20	14	17	48	23
30-34	5	7	3	4	12	6
35-39	2	3	2	3	10	5
40 and over	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>
	74	101	81	101	210	101
24 and under	49	66	61	75	132	63
25 and over	25	34	20	25	78	37

Source: Friends Historical Library, Radnor Monthly Meeting Records, Chester Monthly Meeting Records; Greven, 1970: 31-37, 119, 121.

TABLE 4. WEALTH, MARRIAGE AND DISCIPLINE

Average Rate in Pounds	Number of Families	Number of Children	Number Married Out	Number and (Percent) Disowned	Number Single	Mean Marriage Age—Men	Mean Marriage Age—Women
90-100	19	101	3	1 (1%)	15	23	23
70-89	12	76	5	2 (3%)	5	27	24
50-69	11	45	3	2 (4%)	5	27	23
40-49	12	58	15	12 (20%)	9	26	23
30-39	18	81	21	17 (20%)	18	30	28
	72	341	47	34	47		

Source: Friends Historical Library, Radnor Men's and Women's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1681-1745, Chester Men's and Women's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1681-1745; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Chester County Tax Lists, 1715-1765.

upon families was a competitive marriage market in which poorer Friends and their children tended to fail as Quakers. In Chester and the Welsh Tract poorer children had to control (or appear to control) their sexual impulses longer than wealthier children. Among the poorer families the mean marriage age was seven years older for men and almost six years older for women than for the children of the wealthiest families. The children of Ellis Ellis, for example, a relatively poor Welsh Tract farmer, all married in the Radnor Meeting, but his two sons married at the ages of forty and thirty-four, and his three daughters at the ages of twenty-nine, thirty-three, and thirty-one. John Bevan's son Evan, on the other hand, who inherited over one thousand acres, married at nineteen years of age and John Bevan's three daughters married at the ages of twenty, twenty, and eighteen. Poorer Friends also married out more often. Only fifteen percent of the children of the first generation in Chester and the Welsh Tract married out of discipline, and virtually all of these came from the poorer families (see Tables 4 and 5). The wealthiest families like the Simcocks, Bevans, Worrals, and Owens had among one hundred and one children only three children who married out of discipline. Two of the nineteen wealthiest families had children who broke the discipline, compared to fourteen of thirty-four families evaluated at £30 and £40 in Philadelphia and Chester County tax assessments.

IV

The distribution of prestige confirmed and reinforced the economic and religious pressures on parents to perform their tasks well. In these communities successful parents received not only Quakerly children but also religious status and self-assurance. Participation in the Monthly Meeting was broad, but not all Friends participated equally. In the Welsh Tract (1683-1689, 1693-1695) twenty men and women, for example, shared a majority of the tasks of the Monthly Meetings. These Friends dominated virtually all the differing categories of tasks assigned to the Meeting, including the arbitration of disputes, discipline, mar-

TABLE 5. MARRIAGE PORTIONS AND DISCIPLINE

Women:			
Pounds (Pennsylvania)	Married In	Spinster	Married Out
80-150	10	1	0
40-79	9	1	1
20-39	30	0	1
0-19	7	9	12
Men:			
Land	Bachelor		
300 acres +	17	3	1
200 acres +	40	0	3
100 acres +	4	3	13

Source: Philadelphia City Hall, Philadelphia County Wills, 1681-1776, Philadelphia County Deeds, 1681-1776; Chester County Court House, Chester County Wills, 1681-1765, Chester County Deeds, 1681-1765.

riage investigations, and visiting families. Quakers described their leaders in terms of spiritual achievement: honorific terms included “elder,” “ancient Friend;” or they were familial: John and Barbara Bevan were a “nursing father and mother to some weak and young amongst us.” The Meetings expected leaders, more than others, to express “holy conversation.” An elder in Radnor in 1694 allowed his daughter to marry a first cousin, an act against the discipline. It is a “scandal upon the Truth and Friends,” the Meeting decided, “that he being looked upon as an elder should set such a bad example” (Friends Historical Library, Radnor Men’s Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2/3/1694). These men and women were supposed to provide the same charismatic, loving authority for Quaker adults as Quaker parents provided for their children.

Approximately seventy percent of the Welsh leaders came from gentry families, but so did eighteen percent of the less active, and thirty percent of the leaders were yeomen and artisans. Although some significant correlation existed between land and leadership (see Table 6), the high standard deviations show that wealth was not the sole determinant of leadership. Among the men in the fifty-three reconstructed families, those who were leaders were in

TABLE 6. REAL PROPERTY AND MEETING INFLUENCE AMONG WELSH TRACT MEN, 1683-1695

Percentile Men	Percent Positions	Mean Acreage	Standard Deviation
10	45	745	25
20	67	356	189
30	78	395	570
40	86	312	240
50	91	227	119
60	94	280	482
70	97	233	60
80	98	160	34
90	99	212	32
100 (87)	100	325	211

Kendat Tau Beta: +.486

Source: Friends Historical Library, Radnor Men’s Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1683-1689, 1693-1695; Bureau of Land Records, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Land Commissioner’s Minutes of the Welsh Tract, 1702.

fact more distinguished by their Quakerly children than by their wealth. Though above average in wealth, the leaders were not consistently the wealthiest men. On the other hand, their families were twice as well disciplined as the remaining families (see Table 7).

The religious standing of the men in Chester and the Welsh Tract clearly hinged on family events. Those who could not control their own family had no claim to honor. The Meetings did not usually penalize a

TABLE 7. MEETING POSITIONS, WEALTH, AND CHILDREN’S BEHAVIOR

	N	N Jobs	Percentage Jobs	Average Acreage	Percent of Children who Married out
<u>Welsh Tract</u>					
Top quartile	6	178	64%	750	1 of 17 (5%)
2nd quartile	6	66	87%	829	4 of 29 (13%)
3rd quartile	6	26	97%	555	4 of 40 (10%)
4th quartile	6	4	100%	327	6 of 24 (25%)
	24	274			
<u>Chester Tract</u>					
Top quartile	6	408	67%	585	5 of 47 (11%)
2nd quartile	6	146	91%	553	10 of 40 (25%)
3rd quartile	6	50	99%	600	8 of 40 (20%)
4th quartile	5	3	100%	435	6 of 32 (18%)

Source: Friends Historical Society, Radnor Men’s Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1681-1715, Chester Men’s Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1681-1715.

parent if only one child married out. Randal Malin, for example, held ninety-eight positions in the Chester Meeting between 1681 and 1721, more than the other Friends studied, despite his daughter marrying out in 1717 (as did another in 1721, after Malin's death) (Friends Historical Society, Chester Women's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2/30/1716, Chester Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 10/29/1717, 3/29/1721). Richard Ormes, however, stumbled from leadership when his pregnant daughter got married in Meeting in 1715 after fooling the female inspectors. Ormes had been a fully recognized minister, sent by the Meeting on trips to Maryland, and an Elder, holding about five Meeting positions a year. Between 1693 and 1715 the Radnor Monthly Meeting sent him to the Quarterly Meeting five times. After his daughter's case, however, Ormes did not serve the Meeting again until 1720, five years later (Friends Historical Library, Radnor Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 9/3/1701, 7/2/1716). Neither Ormes nor Malin cooperated with their wayward children. If a father did cooperate, he was disciplined and dropped from leadership instantly. Howell James held four positions between 1693 and 1697, but in the latter year went to his son's Keithian wedding. He acknowledged his mistake but never served the Meeting again (Friends Historical Library, Radnor Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 6/27/1716).

When more than one child married out, even if a father did not cooperate, the man lost prestige and often was subjected to the attention of the Meeting. Edward Kinneson held twenty-four Meeting positions in Chester and Goshen between 1709 and 1721, when his daughter Mary married out. He continued to be appointed at nearly the same rate until 1726, when his son Edward married out, and then he was dropped from leadership. Although he did nothing to encourage the marriage or cooperate with his son, the Meeting decided to "treat with

his father Edward who appears to have been remiss in endeavoring to prevent the marriage." When his daughter Hannah married out in 1732, the Meeting decided that "her father has been more indulgent therein than is agreeable with the testimony of Truth." In 1733, James Kinneson, Edward's last son, married out. The Meeting treated Kinneson gently: "Considering his age and weakness [we are] willing to pass by his infirmity." Though he remained a Friend until he died in 1734, his wife Mary responded to his humiliation. In 1741 the Goshen Meeting got the word "that Mary Kinneson, widow of Edward, who some time since removed herself into the colony of Virginia hath forsaken our Society and joined herself to the Church of England" (Friends Historical Library, Goshen Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3/21/1733, 6/21/1732, 9/4/1726, 8/19/1741). A source of Kinneson's problem was clearly his relative poverty. He had only two hundred acres of land. His children all married in their early twenties; they most likely would have waited to marry or might not have married at all, if they had confined themselves to the Quaker marriage market.

In these communities the assessment of spiritual and social honor depended heavily then on having a successful Quaker household, and wealth helped to achieve this standard. Wealth reduced marriage ages and helped keep sons and daughters isolated from the world. Insufficient wealth increased the age at marriage and increased the contacts likely between Quaker children and carnal talkers. Wealth was not monopolized nor simply emblematic of a social or political upper class. It was regarded as necessary for full participation in the Quaker community. The cheap land of the Delaware Valley helped create this situation, but it was legitimized and partly formed by "holy conversation" and the settlers' Quakerly devotion to their children.

Religious ideas about children, not pure

affection, dominated the families of the Welsh Tract and Chester Quaker communities in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Though many Quaker doctrines approached those of the sentimental, domesticated family, doctrines such as the emphasis on household environments, childrens' right to choose their own marriage partners, and the independence of conjugal units, Quaker doctrine often strongly directed families away from affection, emotion, and eroticism. Late marriage ages and celibacy among poorer families—"poor" relative only to other Quakers—show the constraints on emotion imposed by the Quakers' discipline. The intense "holy watching" in both Chester and the Welsh Tract shows clearly that Quaker families were subordinated to demanding communal ideals of "holy conversation." Only on the fringes of these communities, among the children who married out and the disowned and humiliated fathers and mothers who cooperated with them, does the isolated affectionate nuclear family appear. Such families may have been as numerous as those who retained full loyalty to the Quakers' world view, but they could not match the organization, power, or authority of the Quaker tribe in the Delaware Valley.

V

For the Quakers, their religious view of the world was crucial and demanding. Their impulse originated in the 1650s in England and Wales. The First Publishers of Truth (the original core of Quaker ministers), revitalized by their conversions in the 1650's, had become like joyous, unpredictable, fearless children themselves; but by the 1680s the Quaker farmers of Chester and the Welsh Tract had real children of their own. No longer joyous children themselves, beset with responsibilities and exhausted by persecution and poverty, the Quaker settlers became responsible, hard-

working adults sustained by their belief that, if protected and nurtured with "holy conversation" in the rich, isolated lands of Pennsylvania, the innocent child would spring to life among their own children. In this way they began the development of what would become a privatistic, middle-class social order in the Delaware Valley.

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