

**"A RESTLESS DESIRE":  
GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY AND MEMBERS  
OF EXETER MONTHLY MEETING,  
BERKS COUNTY, PA, 1710-1789**

*Karen Guenther  
Mansfield University*

American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character . . . In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization.<sup>1</sup>

The frontier that Frederick Jackson Turner described in his landmark address "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893) was not southeastern Pennsylvania, but the American West. Immigrants to colonial Pennsylvania, however whether they came from the British Isles or central Europe, found the province to be the type of wilderness that Turner would describe. Members of the Society of Friends initially concentrated their settlements close to the Atlantic coast and the Delaware River valley, only advancing into the interior after land purchases

had satisfactorily acquired additional territory from the natives. When Quakers moved into the interior of the province, they consciously maintained familiar institutions to ease the process of adapting to new environs. Unlike the experiences of Friends in the original three counties, members of Exeter Monthly Meeting experienced the fluidity described by Turner as they sought to provide a stable religious environment for British settlers in the backcountry.<sup>2</sup>

The Quakers who settled in colonial Pennsylvania predominantly resided in the original three counties of Bucks, Chester, and Philadelphia. Within weeks of their arrival, Quakers had begun to form monthly meetings, which were the organizations that oversaw all of the activity of Friends within a specific geographical area. By 1684, eleven monthly meetings had been established in these three counties, almost one-third of the total number that would be formed in Pennsylvania by the end of the colonial period. Over the next one hundred years, Quaker activity expanded farther into the interior, and by 1776 meetings for worship (similar to individual congregations) had been created west of the Susquehanna River and north of the Blue Mountains.<sup>3</sup>

The dispersion of Quakers throughout the province paralleled the process of settlement. Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, settlement concentrated in the Delaware Valley, with little migration into the interior. The massive numbers of immigrants who began to arrive early in the eighteenth century forced people to move into the Pennsylvania backcountry to seek available land and to establish a homestead. The vast majority of settlers along the frontier were from central Europe and from the northern regions of the British Isles. Those English and Welsh who ventured into the interior were either late arrivals to the province or younger sons who had little hope for advancement in the already-crowded city of Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup>

The European immigrants who settled in Berks County represented nearly every part of northern and western Europe and the British Isles and practiced almost every religious faith known to the Europeans. Among these early settlers were German, Danish, and Swedish Lutherans; French, Swiss, and German Reformed; Scots, Welsh, and English Anglicans; English, Welsh, and Irish Quakers; German and Irish Roman Catholics; English and Welsh Baptists; German Dunkards, Mennonites, Amish, New Born, Schwenkfelders, and Seventh-Day Baptists; English Methodists; and Moravians and Jews. By the end of the colonial period, these settlers had established at least seventy-eight distinct congregations within the present county boundaries.<sup>5</sup>

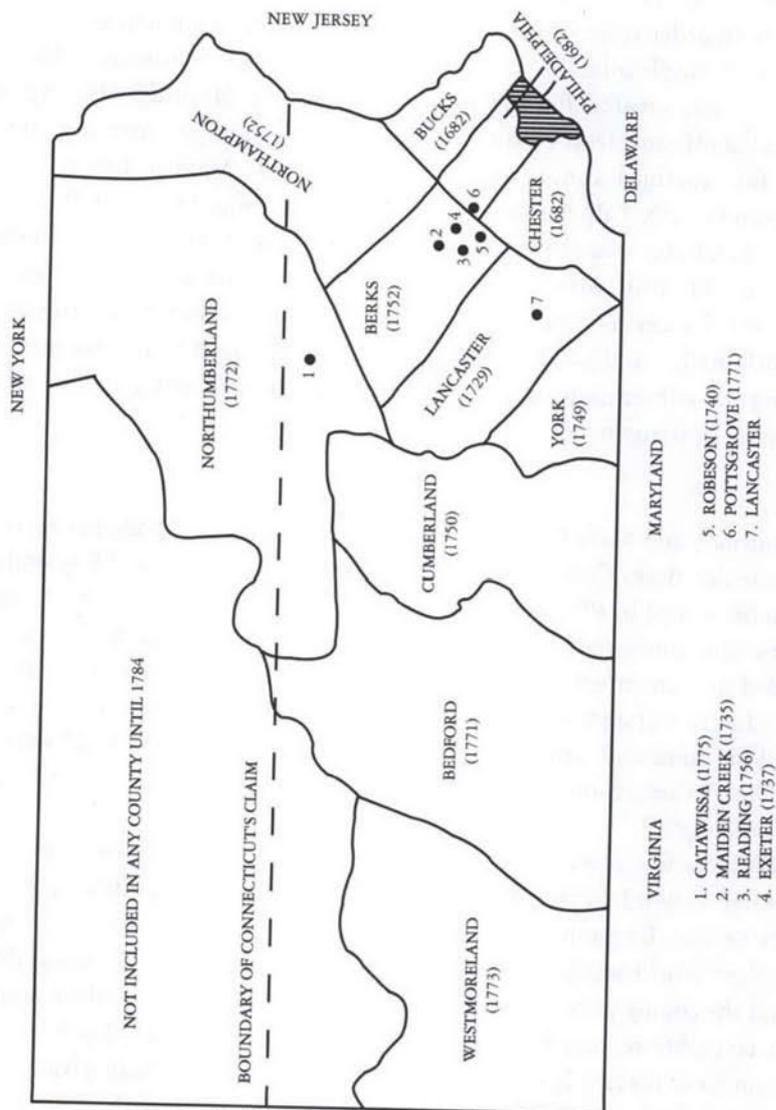
It was in this setting as an ethnic and religious minority that Exeter Monthly Meeting operated during the eighteenth century. Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, the regional organization for Quakers, established Exeter out of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting in northwestern Philadelphia County in order to serve the needs of Friends along the northwestern frontier of Pennsylvania. From 1737 until 1789, when Robeson Monthly Meeting was created for the members of Exeter Monthly Meeting who resided south and west of the Schuylkill River, indulged meetings (meetings for worship) conducted at Exeter (1725), Maiden Creek (1735), Robeson (1741), Tulpehocken (1749-1758), Reading (by 1756), Pottstown (by 1771), Catawissa (1775), and Muncy (1788) were under the supervision of Exeter Monthly Meeting (see FIGURE 1). In addition to these formally established meetings for worship, during the 1750s and 1760s the homes of Anthony Lee and Jacob Thomas served as locations for first-day meetings during the winter months for Friends residing in the outlying areas of Oley and near Pottstown.<sup>6</sup>

---

Anthony and Mary Lee and their family were the first Quakers to settle in present-day Berks County. Lee had been raised in the Church of England, but upon his arrival in Philadelphia he became apprenticed to a Quaker living in Darby and converted. They moved to Gwynedd from Darby in 1714 and resided near members of the John Hughes family. Four years later, Lee purchased a tract of 440 acres in northwestern Philadelphia County on which to build his home and farm. After a few more families from Gwynedd settled in the Oley Valley, around 1720 Friends began to meet in the Lee home for first-day meetings.<sup>7</sup>

Within a few years of the Lee migration, other English Quakers settled in the Oley Valley. In 1713, the three eldest children of George Boone, Sr. sailed from Bristol, England, to Pennsylvania to determine whether conditions in the New World would be better than in their homeland. The young Boones found the colony to be everything that William Penn had described, and they sent favorable reports back to their father. Four years later Boone and the remainder of his family departed Bradninch, England, for Pennsylvania. They first settled in Abington north of Philadelphia. Within the year George Boone had purchased some land in the Oley Valley, along the northwestern border of settlement in Philadelphia County, and by 1720 the Boone family had moved west to Oley. Neighbors of the Boones were Anthony Lee and his

FIGURE 1: Pennsylvania in 1780



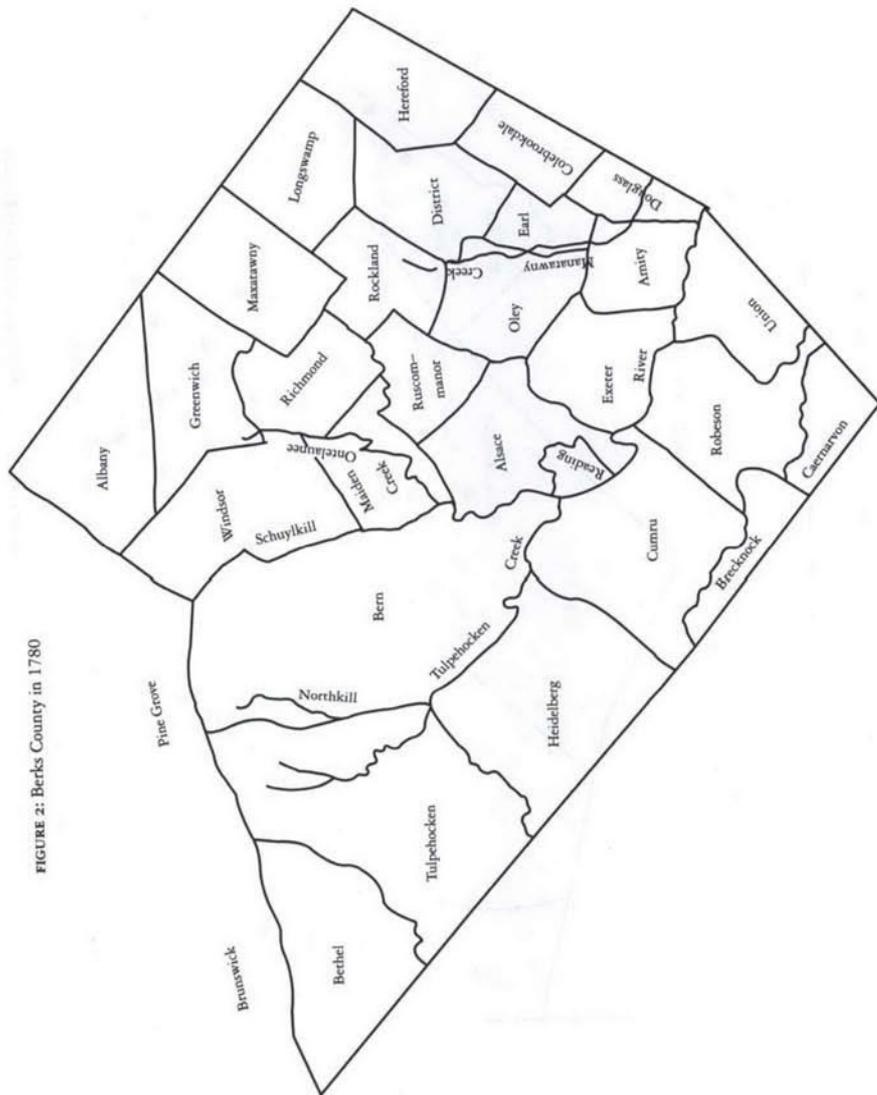
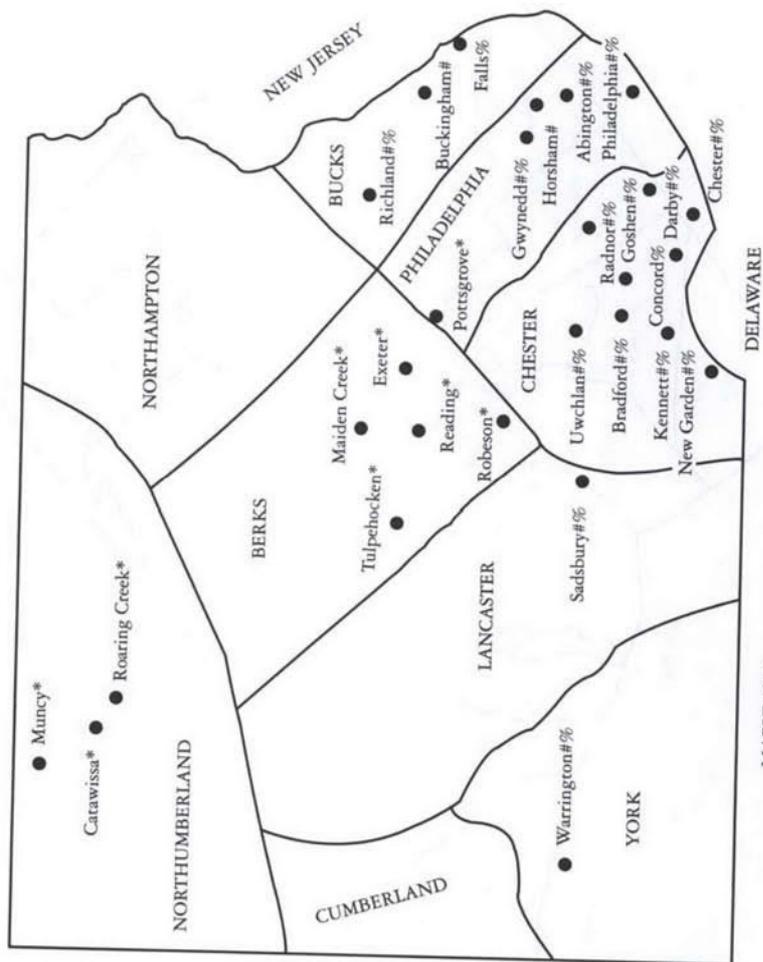


FIGURE 2: Berks County in 1780

FIGURE 3: Location of Quaker Meetings in Colonial Pennsylvania



\* affiliated with Exeter Monthly Meeting      # Origins of Exeter Friends      % Destinations of Exeter Friends

family. Over the next decade, Quakers continued to move into the interior, searching for fertile farmland and economic opportunity.<sup>8</sup>

A sufficient number of Friends had migrated to this region by 1725 to warrant the establishment of a preparative meeting at Oley under the auspices of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting. That June, George Boone approached the leaders of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting concerning the possibility of holding a preparative meeting in Oley. After three months' deliberation, Gwynedd Monthly Meeting approved this request in September. Anthony Lee began serving as overseer for the meeting in October 1730. Six months later, George Boone, Sr. and Ellis Hughes visited the families belonging to this meeting.<sup>9</sup>

Ellis Hughes came to Pennsylvania from Merionethshire, Wales, with his parents in 1698 and settled at Gwynedd. During the early years of their residence, Quakers conducted meetings for worship in the family home, and his father John Hughes served as a leader of the meeting. His piety led Friends to acknowledge him as a minister in October 1722, and he often visited the families residing within the limits of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting. In 1725/6 and 1728/9, he represented Gwynedd at Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. Around 1735, Hughes "felt his mind drawn to remove with his family to the new settlement of Friends at Exeter," and he moved to the Oley Valley.<sup>10</sup>

Thomas Ellis also migrated to Pennsylvania from Merionethshire, arriving in Philadelphia in 1707 and settling near Gwynedd. Five years later, he married Ellis Hughes's sister Jane. They moved to Exeter by 1734, when Oley Friends appointed him overseer of their meeting. Ellis served as an elder for Exeter Preparative Meeting for over thirty years; his wife was a minister for almost fifty years.<sup>11</sup>

By the 1730s, the line of settlement had extended farther north into present-day central Berks County. Among the first Quakers to move to this area were transfers from New Garden Monthly Meeting in Chester County. Isaac Starr, Joseph Wily, and Nehemiah Hutton, who had migrated from Ireland in the 1710s, arrived in Maiden Creek in 1731. A year later, Isaac Starr's brother Moses and John Wily moved there with their families. Enough Friends had settled in the Maiden Creek area by early 1734 that they had begun construction on a meetinghouse in the vicinity. By the end of 1735, Francis Parvin, Robert Penrose, Siesmer Wright, and their families had migrated north from Chester County, and Gwynedd Monthly Meeting had authorized the establishment of a preparative meeting in Maiden Creek

Township for these Friends. Richard Lundy, who had come from Buckingham Monthly Meeting in Bucks County, and Wright served as the first overseers of Maiden Creek Preparative Meeting.<sup>12</sup>

Unlike at Exeter, whose members were predominantly English or Welsh, Quakers who attended Maiden Creek Preparative Meeting during its early years had migrated from Ireland. Moses Starr moved with his parents to the region served by New Garden Preparative Meeting in 1712. At the same time, John Wily brought with him a certificate from his previous monthly meeting in County West Meath when he settled within the confines of Kennett Monthly Meeting. Robert Penrose arrived in Philadelphia in October 1717 with his wife and two daughters. Upon arriving in Pennsylvania in 1725, Siesmer Wright presented a certificate for himself and his wife from Ballycane Monthly Meeting in County Wicklow to New Garden Monthly Meeting. Francis Parvin settled at New Garden in 1728 after leaving Moate Monthly Meeting in County West Meath shortly after the death of his wife. Although these Irish Friends did not emigrate from the same area of Ireland, they all did live in Chester County prior to migrating to Berks and settled near each other in the central part of the county within two decades of arriving in Pennsylvania.<sup>13</sup>

In March 1737, representatives of Oley and Maiden Creek Preparative Meetings indicated to members of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting that they desired a separate monthly meeting. The next month, Gwynedd appointed Ellis Hughes, Thomas Ellis, and Anthony Lee, along with three other male Friends, to attend the next quarterly meeting held in Philadelphia. The regional organization consented to the establishment of another monthly meeting, to convene alternately at the meeting houses at Oley and Maiden Creek. From 1737 until 1789, these early Quakers provided a religious home for the English-speaking pioneers of the region. In 1742, after a division of Oley Township, the congregation became known as Exeter Monthly Meeting.<sup>14</sup>

For the next decade, the activities of Exeter Monthly Meeting probably did not differ from those of similar groups throughout Pennsylvania. Quakers continued to settle in the interior; enough English and Welsh Friends had moved to Robeson Township by 1741 to warrant the creation of an additional preparative meeting for Friends residing south of the Schuylkill River. The size of the meeting further increased through the acceptance of converts whose "Life and Conversation [were] agreeable with the Principles of Truth." Throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century, members of the

meeting performed religious visits among the families and traveled to other Friends' meetings in the colonies in a "Labour of Love."<sup>15</sup>

---

When Quakers wished to move to a community that was within the jurisdiction of another monthly meeting, they first applied to the monthly meeting they attended for a certificate of removal. The clerk then noted the request in the minutes of the meeting and identified the Friends whom the meeting had appointed to investigate the member's status. This committee normally consisted of two men or two women, depending on whether the petitioner had applied to the men's or women's meeting for a certificate. (Spouses would apply to their respective meetings, but children would be included in the men's application.) A month later, the two Friends would usually report back to the monthly meeting that the member was in good standing. The clerk of the men's meeting then prepared a certificate, which he would sign. If the applicant were female, the clerk of the women's meeting would also affix her signature. Occasionally members attending that monthly meeting would sign as well; by the 1770s this occurred only if the member was going on a religious journey to visit other Quaker meetings.<sup>16</sup>

If any problems existed in the member's status within the meeting, the clerk mentioned them on the certificate. The most common notation was that the members had been "too remiss in attending week-day Meetings," which was noted on fifteen certificates sent by Exeter and on three received by Exeter. At times, the comments pertaining to the status of a member were quite detailed. The certificate of Gobitha Woolaston, received by Exeter Monthly Meeting from Haverford Monthly Meeting in 1745, noted that before receiving permission to move she had first presented to her meeting "a Paper acknowledging that she had slighted & disregarded Friends' care over her; also her going out in Marriage. . . ." Rarely did the certificates of removal provide much detail concerning the spiritual welfare of the member; however, certificates provided for traveling Friends did include such comments.<sup>17</sup>

As one of the last monthly meetings established in colonial Pennsylvania, Exeter Monthly Meeting welcomed Quakers from every part of the province, throughout the middle colonies, and even from the southern colonies (TABLE 1). An overwhelming majority (over eighty percent) came from another monthly meeting in Pennsylvania, and almost ninety percent had previously held membership in another monthly meeting in the middle colonies.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

TABLE 1: Origins of Exeter Friends [N=558]

<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
DELAWARE	11	2.0
Duck Creek	1	
Wilmington	10	
MARYLAND	35	6.3
Deer Creek	24	
Nottingham	8	
Pipe Creek	2	
Third Haven	1	
NEW JERSEY	31	5.6
Bethlehem	1	
Burlington	5	
Chesterfield	5	
Haddonfield	9	
Hardwick	11	
NEW YORK	8	1.4
Westbury	8	
NORTH CAROLINA	2	0.4
Cane Creek	1	
Eno	1	
PENNSYLVANIA	450	80.6
<i>Bucks County</i>		
Buckingham	1	
Richland	15	
<i>Chester County</i>		
Bradford	21	
Chester	33	
Darby	8	
Goshen	36	
Kennett	7	
New Garden	27	
Radnor	52	
Uwchlan	42	
<i>Lancaster County</i>		
Sadsbury	52	

(continued)

"A RESTLESS DESIRE"

<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
PENNSYLVANIA		
<i>Philadelphia County</i>		
Abington	8	
Gwynedd	50	
Horsham	8	
Philadelphia	66	
<i>York County</i>		
Warrington	16	
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Bush River	1	0.2
VIRGINIA		
Fairfax	11	2.0
Hopewell	8	
	3	
ENGLAND		
Yorkshire	3	0.5
	3	
IRELAND		
	6	1.1

Sources: "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," 1785-1789, passim; and Certificates of Removal (Received): 2-102.

During the eighteenth century, most of the Pennsylvania Quakers who transferred to Exeter Monthly Meeting came from Philadelphia and Chester counties, with less than three percent migrating from Bucks County. In fact, Sadsbury Monthly Meeting in Lancaster County contributed more than three times the number of Friends who transferred from Bucks County meetings. Philadelphia and Gwynedd Monthly Meetings provided the most additions from Philadelphia County, each contributing at least fifty new members. Radnor, Uwchlan, Goshen, and Chester Monthly Meetings each supplied over thirty new members from Chester County. Of those Friends who did originate outside of Pennsylvania, nine emigrated from the British Isles, and only three did not come from colonies adjacent to Pennsylvania.

Upon examining the names of people who joined Exeter Monthly Meeting, it is evident that family ties played an important role in the Quaker settlement of Berks County. For example, an examination of the minutes of the men's and women's monthly meetings revealed that at least fifteen family names had more than ten additions; two clans had more than twenty

members move to Exeter. These records, incidentally, do not reflect additions that occurred prior to 1737, when Exeter Monthly Meeting was under the control of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting. Therefore, they do not include some members of the Boone, Ellis, Hughes, Hutton, Lee, Parvin, Penrose, Starr, and Wright families, all of whom played prominent roles in the activities of the monthly meeting during the eighteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

Not surprisingly, during the early years of Exeter Monthly Meeting, Quakers who transferred their membership did not have a difficult time in obtaining a leadership position in the meeting if they were qualified. At least eight of the men and women who served as overseers, elders, and clerks for the men's and women's meetings obtained such positions within a year of settlement. In one case, the monthly meeting appointed both the husband and the wife overseers of Maiden Creek Preparative Meeting shortly after their arrival. By the 1750s, however, it was increasingly difficult for recent arrivals to hold leadership positions. In fact, only six of the eighty-nine leaders moved to Exeter after 1755. Four of the six had married someone who was the son or daughter of a leader, a circumstance that may have assisted in obtaining this prominent role within the meeting.

The vast majority of men and women who joined Exeter Monthly Meeting tended to reside in the area for several years, if not permanently. For example, of the 288 males who transferred their membership, 126 moved away at least once, but only 39 departed within five years of settlement. Almost one-half of those who stayed less than five years returned to the same monthly meeting from which they had migrated, possibly indicating that they might have moved to Berks County either to improve their economic circumstances or to marry.

As a backcountry Quaker community, Exeter Monthly Meeting saw a great deal of both inward and outward migration during this period. Similar to the sources of migration, the majority of Friends departing from Exeter chose to settle in another part of Pennsylvania (TABLE 2). Over one-third, however, decided to depart the colony. Of those Quakers leaving Pennsylvania, almost two-thirds moved to the southern colonies, primarily Virginia and North Carolina. This migration pattern was consistent with the settlement of German Lutheran and Reformed immigrants to the Shenandoah Valley by mid-century. Overall, members of Exeter Monthly Meeting migrated to sixteen separate monthly meetings in Pennsylvania, six in Maryland and New Jersey, three in Virginia, and two in Delaware, New York, and North Carolina.<sup>19</sup>

"A RESTLESS DESIRE"

TABLE 2: Destinations of Exeter Friends [N=615]

<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
DELAWARE	8	1.3
Duck Creek	3	
Wilmington	5	
MARYLAND	22	3.6
Deer Creek	8	
Gunpowder	1	
Indian Springs	1	
Nottingham	6	
Pipe Creek	3	
Third Haven	3	
NORTH CAROLINA	39	6.3
Cane Creek	38	
New Garden	1	
NEW JERSEY	32	5.2
Bethlehem	13	
Burlington	2	
Chesterfield	2	
Haddonfield	12	
Hardwick	1	
Salem	2	
NEW YORK	5	0.8
Westbury	5	
PENNSYLVANIA	399	64.9
<i>Bucks County</i>		
Falls	1	
Richland	4	
<i>Chester County</i>		
Bradford	32	
Chester	39	
<i>Chester County</i>		
Concord	10	
Darby	2	
Goshen	30	
Kennett	11	
New Garden	37	
Radnor	30	
Uwchlan	40	

*(continued)*

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
PENNSYLVANIA		
<i>Lancaster County</i>		
Sadsbury	33	
<i>Philadelphia County</i>		
Abington	5	
Gwynedd	13	
Philadelphia	68	
<i>York County</i>		
Warrington	44	
VIRGINIA		
Crooked Run	12	17.1
Fairfax	39	
Hopewell	54	
IRELAND		
	3	0.5

*Sources:* "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," 1785-1789, passim; and Certificates of Removal (Issued): 3-137.

Certificates of removal from Exeter remain for 295 of the 522 removals that occurred between 1755 and 1789. The monthly meeting provided letters of transfer for three types of Quakers migrating from Berks County: those leaving to settle in another community, those young men and women who served apprenticeships within the jurisdiction of another monthly meeting, and those marrying a member of another monthly meeting. Over ninety percent (560 of 615) of the Quakers who left Exeter Monthly Meeting did so to settle in another community.<sup>20</sup>

Marriage affected both migration to and removal from Exeter Monthly Meeting. During the eighteenth century, marriage was under the direction of the prospective bride's monthly meeting; if she chose to marry a gentleman from another monthly meeting, he needed to provide a certificate of removal from his monthly meeting to indicate that he was "Clear of Debt & Marriage engagements." At least eleven men joined Exeter Monthly Meeting between 1737 and 1789 specifically to marry a member of this meeting; eighteen left to marry women who belonged to another monthly meeting.<sup>21</sup>

Of those Friends who moved away to serve as apprentices, six had relatives in the new monthly meeting. This process occasionally separated family members; Benjamin Pearson, Jr., and his sister Eleanor went to Goshen and

Gwynedd Monthly Meetings, respectively, in 1776. In addition, Exeter Friends who had apprentices also obtained certificates of removal for them when they departed the region. Morris Ellis and his wife acquired a certificate for Adah Yarnall, a young girl "under their care," prior to their removal to the area served by Fairfax Monthly Meeting in 1769. The clerk noted on the certificate for Daniel Dickinson and his wife that they were taking their apprentice with them to Crooked Run, Virginia. These apprentices, however, apparently did remain in contact with their parents. Certainly one hopes that Benjamin Chandler kept in touch with his father William after relocating to Uwchlan Monthly Meeting, for his father moved to Maryland four months later.<sup>22</sup>

Similar to the case for additions to Exeter Monthly Meeting, when examining the removals it becomes evident that family ties played a significant role. At least seventeen families who departed from Exeter between 1737 and 1789 had more than ten members leave; five had twenty or more relocate. The two leading families were the Ellises and Starrs, who had a combined total (men and women) of thirty-six and twenty-seven removals, respectively, during this period. Both of these families were active in the affairs of Exeter Monthly Meeting, so it does not appear that a lack of participation led to the exodus. In fact, over forty percent of the men and women who served as leaders of the monthly meeting removed from the boundaries of the meeting at least once during the eighteenth century.<sup>23</sup>

The four surviving sons of Thomas Ellis, one of the first overseers of Exeter Preparative Meeting, demonstrated the tendency of Berks County Quakers to resettle among familiar faces. After their father's death in 1760, the families of Enos, Thomas, Morris, and Mordecai Ellis moved to Virginia. Enos Ellis, the youngest son, departed for Hopewell Monthly Meeting in mid-1763, accompanied by his wife Elizabeth and seven children. The next year, Thomas Ellis, Jr., followed his younger brother, also bringing his wife Magdalene and eight children to Virginia. During the late 1760s, Morris and Sarah Ellis moved to Fairfax Monthly Meeting with their three youngest sons after Morris condemned his actions in committing a violation of the discipline; their two older sons, whom Exeter Monthly Meeting had disowned, probably accompanied them. Finally, after Jane Ellis, matriarch of the clan, died in 1772, Mordecai and Mary Ellis took their six children to Hopewell Monthly Meeting. Unfortunately, no will of Thomas Ellis has survived to determine if Mordecai, the penultimate son, had been chosen to care for his aged mother, since he was the only son to remain in Berks County until her death. It is

intriguing, however, that the three sons who had remained in good standing within the meeting settled near each other in central Virginia, while the only child of Thomas Ellis to stray from the Quaker way, Morris, relocated to another area of that colony.<sup>24</sup>

Once settled in the new location, Exeter Friends continued to hold leadership positions. Anthony Lee and Mordecai Ellis, both of whom served as overseers for Exeter Preparative Meeting, played the same role for Middle Creek Preparative Meeting, affiliated with Hopewell Monthly Meeting in Virginia, in the 1770s and 1780s. Ellis Ellis, second eldest son of Enos Ellis and a nephew of Mordecai, also became an overseer for Middle Creek Preparative Meeting in the 1780s. In addition, Moses and Mary Embree both became overseers of Goose Creek Preparative Meeting less than a year after moving to South River Monthly Meeting in 1787. Thus, migrants from Exeter continued to be active participants in the affairs of local meetings after their departure.<sup>25</sup>

The most active former resident of Exeter Monthly Meeting probably was Benjamin Parvin, brother of an Exeter clerk and son of a former assemblyman. Parvin moved to Third Haven Monthly Meeting in Maryland in 1770 to marry, and within three years the meeting had appointed him as a representative of the monthly meeting to the quarterly meeting. Between 1773 and 1783, Parvin represented Third Haven at Eastern Shore Quarterly Meeting nineteen times and served on the local committee for "the care and oversight of the Negroes, amongst us" and on the school committee. In addition, he became the clerk of the monthly meeting in 1775, and seven years later assumed the duties of overseer of Choptank Preparative Meeting. Illness, however, hindered Parvin's activity after 1783.<sup>26</sup>

The problems that Berks County Friends experienced in adhering to the tenets of their faith did not change following their departure from Exeter Monthly Meeting. According to excerpts from records of monthly meetings in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, thirty-two former members of Exeter Monthly Meeting committed a violation of Quaker discipline between 1758 and 1789. Of these, twenty-one broke marriage regulations, eight committed unknown violations, and three fought in the American Revolution. Almost one-half of these violators had relatives (usually a father) who had faced disciplinary action while belonging to the Exeter Monthly Meeting. Apparently, then, as family ties had contributed toward removal from Berks County, the same factor influenced the behavior of Quakers at their new location.<sup>27</sup>

For approximately thirty of the men and women who left Exeter Monthly Meeting, the monthly meeting in Berks County was one stop on a series of migrations that eventually led to clusters of former Exeter Friends settling in the southern colonies. Jesse Vore moved to four different monthly meetings in York County and Maryland between 1780 and 1788. Four others changed locations at least three times between 1753 and 1789. One of these migrants was Jemima Green, who had temporarily relocated to Gwynedd Monthly meeting in the late 1750s because of financial hardships suffered as a result of Indian raids. In addition, twenty-three members transferred to at least two other monthly meetings after leaving Exeter.<sup>28</sup>

The family of Moses Embree was one of the most geographically mobile. The elder Moses moved to Exeter from Radnor Monthly Meeting in Chester County in 1740 and was part of the migration to Cane Creek, North Carolina, in the 1750s. His brother John followed in 1760, and eleven years later moved to Bush River, South Carolina. Meanwhile, Moses and his family settled in Fredericksburg, South Carolina, in 1768. In 1775, John and his family became some of the first Quaker residents of Wrightsborough, Georgia. In addition, a younger Moses Embree, nephew of Moses and John, also briefly lived at Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, but he primarily resided in Virginia. He moved to Hopewell in 1786 and to South River Monthly Meeting a year later. By 1789, then, members of the Embree family were active members of Quaker meetings in four states.<sup>29</sup>

The settlement of former Exeter Friends especially affected several monthly meetings in Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. Between 1748 and 1759, Thirty-seven Exeter Friends moved to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in North Carolina; approximately 150 Quakers total migrated there during this period. Among these settlers were James and Frances Taylor, who had received certificates of removal from Exeter Monthly Meeting in 1748 and were among the founding members of the new monthly meeting in 1751. Settlement at Cane Creek also appeared to be a family affair, as the group included two members of the Embree, Jones, Mooney, and Taylor families, nine Stewarts, ten Moores, and ten Elemans (including two married daughters). Two of these early migrants to Cane Creek later became some of the earliest members of Bush River Monthly Meeting in South Carolina, and two others were among the earliest settlers at Wrightsborough, Georgia. Only one of these founding members, however, had been among the leaders of Exeter Monthly Meeting; in fact, three of them had faced disciplinary action for violating the Quaker discipline.<sup>30</sup>

Fairfax and Hopewell Monthly Meetings in northern Virginia also were popular destinations for Exeter Friends. Between 1760 and 1787, fifty-four Exeter Friends migrated to Hopewell, while thirty-nine settled in Fairfax. Of those who moved to Virginia, however, fourteen later transferred their membership to a monthly meeting in another state. Virginia Quakers overall tended to be rather mobile, as over three-fourths of the Friends who removed from monthly meetings in that locale went to meetings outside Virginia. Apparently, then, moving to this area was the first stop for Exeter Friends and others as they spread Quakerism throughout the southern colonies.<sup>31</sup>

In a fluid frontier region such as Berks County, members of the Society of Friends occasionally overextended themselves and became debtors. During the 1750s, some Exeter Friends decided to leave Berks County in search of better economic opportunity. In at least one instance, the Quaker involved left his financial affairs in disarray. In June 1755, representatives from Maiden Creek Preparative Meeting charged Thomas Embree, brother of an overseer, with "departing the Province Considerably in Debt and Defrauding of his Creditors . . ." The following month, the monthly meeting disowned him for failing to fulfill his financial obligations prior to departure.<sup>32</sup>

Sometimes the monthly meeting would assist Friends who had migrated in search of a better life. The meeting discovered when Richard Moore applied for a certificate of removal to Cane Creek, North Carolina, in 1756 that he was "indebted to sundry Persons." The monthly meeting had already contributed 25 shilling toward his expenses once he had indicated his desire to relocate; the money collected to assist in his travel expenses instead went to pay outstanding debts in Berks County. Because Moore had already moved when he applied for the certificate for removal, Exeter Monthly Meeting also appointed three men to write to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting to inform them of his neglect.<sup>33</sup>

Not all of those persons who relocated during the war faced disciplinary action. Richard Stephens, who joined Exeter Monthly Meeting through a profession of faith in the early 1750s, had begun to experience difficulty caring for his family by early 1757. When the Indians attacked, he and his family "left a Plantation with about 30 Acres of Land Cleared." He had grown wheat and rye the previous summer, both to feed his family and "to pay some small Debts which he Owes." The dire straits faced by his family soon forced Stephens to consider relocating to another region of the province, and that September Stephens requested a certificate of removal for his family to Chester Monthly Meeting. Members of Exeter Monthly Meeting noted in the

certificate that "there are some small Debts unpaid, occasion'd (we believe) by his being drove from his Habitation by the Indians, and his removal with Consent of his Creditors." Not until 1763, once the turmoil of the frontier had subsided, did the family return from Chester and resume the cultivation of crops at their homestead along the frontier.<sup>34</sup>

Exeter Friends not only left Berks County as they sought better opportunity; some relocated to another township or moved to Northumberland County and introduced the principles of the Society of Friends to central Pennsylvania. Between the erection of Berks County in 1752 and 1770, in fact, almost one-eighth of the Quakers in the county moved to another township, usually one adjacent to their previous location. Derrick Cleaver, for instance, paid taxes in Amity Township in 1754 and in Douglass Township during the 1760s. From 1770 until 1789, however, Friends were only slightly more mobile. Based on the township in which their taxes were assessed, more than one-sixth of the Quakers changed residences within the county during this period.<sup>35</sup>

In contrast to the relative stability of Berks County Quakers, the residents of Exeter, Maiden Creek, and Robeson townships were more transient (TABLE 3). A sample of tax lists from these three townships between 1754 and 1785 revealed that on the average slightly more than fifty percent of the taxpayers appeared on the previous list examined. The peak year of recurrence was 1781, as between two-thirds (Robeson) and four-fifths (Maiden Creek) had paid taxes there in 1779. Overall, Maiden Creek Township had the highest rate of constancy, since over fifty-seven percent of the taxpayers reappeared on a subsequent list. Friends comprised between one-fourth and one-third of those taxpayers that appeared on consecutive tax lists, indicating the relative stability of Quakers in the township but over-representing their proportion of the population.<sup>36</sup>

Although members of Exeter Monthly Meeting did not move much while living in Berks County, some did relocate within the meeting, expanding into Northumberland County. The earliest European residents of central Pennsylvania, in fact, were members of the Society of Friends who had migrated north from Berks County. In 1773, Moses Roberts visited the region while serving on a jury that deliberated on the validity of a land patent. Within a couple of years, Roberts purchased a parcel of land from Ellis Hughes, a lapsed Quaker who rejoined the Society in the late 1770s, and moved his family into the interior. William Hughes, cousin of Ellis, planned the town of Catawissa in 1786 and, the following year, granted some land to

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

TABLE 3: Number of Taxpayers Appearing on Consecutive Sample Tax Lists, 1754-1785

<i>Exeter Township</i>			
<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Taxpayers</i>	<i>Number of Repeaters</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1754	66	—	—
1758	90	28	31%
1762	114	47	41%
1767	98	56	58%
1770	103	56	54%
1775	108	57	53%
1779	137	64	47%
1781	129	95	74%
1785	138	83	60%

<i>Maiden Creek Township</i>			
<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Taxpayers</i>	<i>Number of Repeaters</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1754	37	—	—
1758	44	20	45%
1762	60	25	42%
1767	71	38	54%
1770	67	39	58%
1775	81	48	59%
1779	81	56	69%
1781	65	52	80%
1785	100	48	48%

<i>Robeson Township</i>			
<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Taxpayers</i>	<i>Number of Repeaters</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1754	62	—	—
1758	66	34	52%
1762	90	45	50%
1767	104	56	54%
1770	102	59	57%
1775	114	64	56%
1779	135	65	48%
1781	139	95	68%
1785	169	89	53%

Sources: Berks County Tax Lists for Exeter, Maiden Creek, and Robeson Townships, 1754-1785.

the Society of Friends for a meetinghouse. By the time Catawissa became a separate monthly meeting in 1796, Ellis's brother Job and cousin John had also moved there, along with at least seven other families belonging to Exeter Monthly Meeting.<sup>37</sup>

A comparable number of Berks County Friends stopped before reaching Catawissa and instead settled near Roaring Creek. When Exeter renewed the meeting for worship at Catawissa in 1787, the monthly meeting permitted Quakers to worship alternately at Job Hughes's house in Catawissa and at the home of Richard Penrose, a former overseer of Maiden Creek and Exeter Preparative Meetings, at Roaring Creek. Other Friends who migrated there included the children and grandchildren of George Boone, Ellis Hughes, Anthony Lee, Laurence Pearson, Robert Penrose, and Moses Starr, founding fathers of Exeter Monthly Meeting in the 1730s.<sup>38</sup>

By the late 1780s, Exeter Friends had expanded even farther into the interior of central Pennsylvania. In 1788, enough Quakers had established farms near Muncy to warrant the creation of an indulged meeting that would be held "in a Schoolhouse near Carpenters." Joseph Carpenter, his wife Sarah, and their five children transferred to Exeter Monthly Meeting in 1778 from Hardwick Monthly Meeting in New Jersey and moved into the interior. During the 1780s, the families of Benjamin Warner and William Ellis migrated from Deer Creek Monthly Meeting in Maryland to this region. These Quaker pioneers succeeded in spreading the faith farther into the Pennsylvania backcountry, even across the Susquehanna River into present-day Lycoming County.<sup>39</sup>

The process of geographical migration expanded Exeter Monthly Meeting's sphere of influence. As members of the Society of Friends advanced into the interior of the province and state, they carried with them their beliefs and ideals. Unlike most other monthly meetings, the boundaries of Exeter had not yet been defined, so it was the duty of the leaders of the meeting to oversee this internal expansion.

The spread of Exeter Monthly Meeting into the backcountry, however, did not occur until after the Penn family had purchased the land from the Iroquois in 1768. This option had not been available to Exeter Friends seeking additional land during the 1750s and 1760s. As a result, when Squire Boone realized in the late 1740s that he would need to acquire more land in order to provide an adequate legacy for his growing family, remaining in Pennsylvania was not an option. In early 1750, the family of Daniel Boone left Exeter Township, following the Appalachian Mountains into the

Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and southward into the North Carolina frontier. By this time, however, Squire Boone had severed his ties with Exeter Monthly Meeting because of its response to his children's actions, and only his wife Sarah would carry a certificate of removal as they headed south.<sup>40</sup>

The phenomenon of inward and outward migration certainly was not unique to Exeter Monthly Meeting. Between 1718 and 1775, 238 Quaker men joined New Garden Monthly Meeting in Chester County. 112 of these men later requested certificates to settle in another community. During this time, a total of 428 men left New Garden, and only a few ever returned. This reflects a greater disparity than for Exeter Monthly Meeting, which saw 167 men join between 1737 and 1774 and 222 leave.<sup>41</sup>

Richland Monthly Meeting in Bucks County, established in 1742 out of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, was not as fluid as were Exeter or New Garden. Between 1743 and 1788, slightly more than 100 Friends moved from this meeting, compared with 615 from Exeter between 1737 and 1789. Barely half of Richland Friends remained within Pennsylvania; those Quakers who stayed in the colony and state tended to remove to Philadelphia and Chester counties, although over a dozen transferred to another monthly meeting in Bucks County. In addition, immigrants to Richland virtually equaled the number of departures, unlike at Exeter or New Garden.<sup>42</sup>

Upon examining the records of inward and outward migrations, several patterns become evident. A tradition of previous resettlement certainly existed; over one-third of the men's removals had previously joined another monthly meeting in the British Empire. Almost one-sixth of the men who left Exeter Monthly Meeting resided in the area less than five years, and almost one-half of these men returned to the same monthly meeting from which they had transferred their membership. Men were more likely to depart than women; women's removals outnumbered men's during only one five-year period. In contrast, almost the same number of men and women joined Exeter Monthly Meeting during this era. (See TABLES 4 and 5) The second generation was more mobile than the first, as over two-thirds of the removals came after the first twenty years of settlement. Moreover, for the first two decades, opportunities existed for new residents to hold leadership positions in the meeting, but after that time it became increasingly more difficult for new settlers to serve as elders and overseers. The process of inward and outward migration was influenced by economic opportunity with the availability of land and by the potential for displaying one's leadership talents in the meeting.

"A RESTLESS DESIRE"

TABLE 4: Additions to Exeter Monthly Meeting 1737-1789

<i>Years</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
1737-1739	12	12	24
1740-1744	19	17	36
1745-1749	10	5	15
1750-1754	20	14	34
1755-1759	21	21	42
1760-1764	28	33	61
1765-1769	38	29	67
1770-1774	19	34	53
1775-1779	38	28	66
1780-1784	25	23	48
1785-1789	58	54	112
<b>Totals</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>270</b>	<b>558</b>

TABLE 5: Removals From Exeter Monthly Meeting 1737-1789

<i>Years</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
1737-1739	3	2	5
1740-1744	10	7	17
1745-1749	20	16	36
1750-1754	18	17	35
1755-1759	47	36	83
1760-1764	44	42	86
1765-1769	28	31	59
1770-1774	52	43	95
1775-1779	28	25	53
1780-1784	42	38	79
1785-1789	37	30	67
<b>Totals</b>	<b>328</b>	<b>287</b>	<b>615</b>

Sources: "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," 1785-1789, passim.

By 1789, the composition of Exeter Monthly Meeting had changed. Many descendants of the first generation of leaders—the Boones, the Ellises, the Hugheses, the Lees, the Penroses, and the Starrs—had moved away. No longer isolated in the central and eastern sections of Berks County, Exeter Monthly Meeting had extended farther into the interior, establishing meetings for worship for Friends over one hundred miles away in present-day Columbia and Lycoming Counties. Several factors contributed to the mobility of these Quakers, among them Indian raids, economic hardships, family ties, the scarcity of land, and a "restless desire for new freedom from social restraints."<sup>43</sup> In a sense, Exeter Monthly Meeting grew to serve as a

temporary religious home for these settlers, some of whom lived in the region for only a few years before moving on to another location. Usually these Quakers transferred their membership to another meeting within the province, but they would also relocate to the backcountry of the southern colonies seeking better opportunities.

By examining the patterns of migration exhibited by members of Exeter Monthly Meeting, it becomes evident that the frontier did serve as a factor in the geographic mobility of Friends. Expansion into the interior during the eighteenth century allowed Quakers to renew themselves spiritually with the establishment of additional indulged meetings while searching for increased economic opportunities. In the process, members of Exeter Monthly Meeting demonstrated that the wilderness did not necessarily have to be a barrier to protect settlers from the Indians; it could be an area for growth and prosperity in the secular and religious realm.

## NOTES

1. An earlier version of this essay was presented at a session on "Religion and Community in Eighteenth Century Pennsylvania" at the Southwestern Historical Association in 1991. My thanks go to the other participants at this session for their comments. I would especially like to acknowledge the assistance of Kenneth L. Cook, John Frantz, and James Kirby Martin in the preparation of this article.  
Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894): 200.
2. *Ibid.*: 199-227; Philip S. Klein and Ari Hoogenboom, *A History of Pennsylvania*, 2d ed. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980): 3-21; and John M. Moore, "The Society of Friends in Pennsylvania," in Robert Grant Crist, ed., *Penn's Example to the Nations: 300 Years of the Holy Experiment* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Council of Churches, Inc., 1987): 54-56. Other studies of backcountry settlement in colonial America include Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1986); James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972); D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, vol. 1: *Atlantic America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Ted Morgan, *Wilderness at Dawn: The Settling of the North American Continent* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); and Gregory H. Nobles, "Breaking into the Backcountry: New Approaches to the Early American Frontier, 1750-1800," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 46 (1989): 641-670. For this study, the Turner interpretation, although dated, is most applicable.

"A RESTLESS DESIRE"

3. Arthur J. Mekeel, "The Founding Years, 1681-1789," in John M. Moore, ed., *Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1681-1981* (Haverford: Friends Historical Association, 1981), pp. 15-16; and *Inventory of Church Archives, Society of Friends in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association, 1941): 43-45, 108-111, 120-121, 131, 133, 160, 174-175.
4. For additional information on the settlement of the Pennsylvania interior, see: John Florin, *The Advance of Frontier Settlement in Pennsylvania, 1638-1850: A Geographic Interpretation* (Papers in Geography, No. 14) (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, Department of Geography, 1977); and Russell Sage Nelson, Jr., "Backcountry Pennsylvania (1709 to 1774): The Ideals of William Penn in Practice" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968).
5. For more information on the religious diversity of early Berks County, see: Karen Guenther, "A 'Garden for the Friends of God': Religious Diversity in the Oley Valley to 1750," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 33 (1984): 138-144; Guenther, "The Religious Environment of Eighteenth-Century Berks County," in "A Quaker Community on the Pennsylvania Frontier: Exeter Monthly Meeting, 1737-1789" (Ph.D. diss., University of Houston, 1994), pp. 30-75; William W. Hummel, "Religion on a Moving Frontier: The Berks County Area, 1700-1748," *Pennsylvania Heritage* 4 (March 1978): 22-26; Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial Years, 1700-1775* (Birdsboro, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, and Oley, PA: Oley Valley Heritage Association, 1994): 103-133; and Susan Somers, "Conditions and Contributions of Berks County Religions to America During the Eighteenth Century," *Historical Review of Berks County* 40 (Winter 1974-75): 12-15, 34-36, 38.
6. Minutes of Gwynedd Men's Monthly Meeting, 28<sup>th</sup>, 7 mo., 1725; 28<sup>th</sup>, 8 mo., 1735 (Handwritten, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania); "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," Minutes of Exeter Men's Monthly Meeting, 1737-1765, 27<sup>th</sup>, 6 mo., 1741; 26<sup>th</sup>, 8 mo., 1749; 27<sup>th</sup>, 12 mo., 1753; 30<sup>th</sup>, 12 mo., 1756 (Handwritten, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania); "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," Minutes of Exeter Men's Monthly Meeting, 1765-1785, 25<sup>th</sup>, 12 mo., 1771; 31<sup>st</sup>, 5 mo., 1775 (Handwritten, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania); and "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," Minutes of Exeter Men's Monthly Meeting, 1785-1808, 31<sup>st</sup>, 10 mo., 1787; 28<sup>th</sup>, 5 mo., 1788 (Handwritten, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania). Studies of Exeter Monthly Meeting include Kenneth L. Cook, "Glimpses of Life in a Frontier Friends Meeting," *Historical Review of Berks County* 60 (1995): 122-123, 126-127, 138-142; John E. Eshelman, "The Society of Friends, and Their Meeting Houses, in Berks County," *Historical Review of Berks County* 19 (1954): 104-109, 117-123; Phyllis S. Grant, "Exeter Friends Meeting, 1737-1787," *Historical Review of Berks County* 47 (1982): 62-63, 71, 74-77, 79-80; and Guenther, "Quaker Community," *passim*.
7. John E. Eshelman, "Anthony and Mary Lee: Pioneer Quakers of Oley," *Historical Review of Berks County* 17 (1952): 113-116; and Eshelman, "Quaker Marriage Certificate of 1736," *Historical Review of Berks County* 14 (1949): 77-79.
8. Paul A. W. Wallace, *Daniel Boone in Pennsylvania*, rev. ed. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1987): 1-3; Hazel Atterbury Spraker, comp., *The Boone Family: A Genealogical History of the Descendants of George and Mary Boone Who Came to America in 1717* (Rutland, VT: The Tuttle Company, Publishers, 1922; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1982): 19-28, 590-591; Eshelman, "Anthony and Mary Lee": 113-116; and Eshelman,

- "Society of Friends," 104-105. Additional accounts of the Boone settlement in Berks County include John Bakeless, *Daniel Boone: Master of the Wilderness* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1939; reprint, Harrisburg: Stackpole Company, 1967): 3-7; W. H. Bogart, *Daniel Boone, and the Hunters of Kentucky* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1876): 14-16; John Mack Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992): 9-10; George Canning Hill, *Daniel Boone, The Pioneer of Kentucky: A Biography* (Dayton, OH: Edward Canby, 1859): 16-18; and Michael A. Lofaro, *The Life and Adventures of Daniel Boone* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1978): 1-3. Penn's description of his colony may be found in William Penn, *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America; . . .* (London: Benjamin Clark, 1681).
9. Minutes of Gwynedd Men's Monthly Meeting, 31<sup>st</sup>, 10 mo., 1717; 29<sup>th</sup>, 4 mo., 1725; 27<sup>th</sup>, 2 mo., 1731; Spraker, *Boone Family*: 590-591; Eshelman, "Anthony and Mary Lee": 114; and Eshelman, "Society of Friends": 105.
  10. "Ellis Hugh," in Willard Heiss, ed., (*Quaker*) *Biographical Sketches of Ministers and Elders, and other Concerned members of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia (1682-1800)* [hereafter cited as Heiss, *Biographical Sketches*] (Indianapolis: By the Author, 1972): 234; "A Testimony from Exeter Monthly-Meeting in Pennsylvania, concerning Ellis Hugh," in *A Collection of Memorials Concerning Divers deceased Ministers and others of the People called Quakers, in Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, and Parts adjacent, from nearly the first Settlement thereof to the year 1787, With some of the last Expressions and Exhortations of many of them* (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1787): 223-229; and Minutes of Philadelphia Men's Quarterly Meeting, 1723-1772, 7<sup>th</sup>, 12 mo., 1725/6, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 12 mo, 1728/9 (Handwritten, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania).
  11. "Thomas Ellis," in Heiss, *Biographical Sketches*: 223; Minutes of Gwynedd Men's Monthly Meeting, 29<sup>th</sup>, 8 mo., 1734; and "Jane Ellis," in Heiss, *Biographical Sketches*: 309.
  12. Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682-1750, with Their Early History in Ireland* (Swarthmore: By the Author, 1902): 109-110, 289, 328, 332, 341, 350-352, 369; John E. Eshelman, "Descendants of Moses and Deborah Starr—Early Quaker Settlers of Maiden Creek Valley," *Historical Review of Berks County* 12 (1947): 67-74; and Minutes of Gwynedd Men's Monthly Meeting, 29<sup>th</sup>, 11 mo., 1733; 27<sup>th</sup>, 3 mo., 1735; 30<sup>th</sup>, 7 mo., 1735; 28<sup>th</sup>, 8 mo., 1735; 25<sup>th</sup>, 9 mo., 1735; 29<sup>th</sup>, 1 mo., 1737.
  13. Myers, *Immigration of Irish Quakers*: 289, 328, 332, 341, 350-351.
  14. Minutes of Gwynedd Men's Monthly Meeting, 29<sup>th</sup>, 1 mo., 1737; 26<sup>th</sup>, 2 mo., 1737; 31<sup>st</sup>, 3 mo., 1737; 28<sup>th</sup>, 4 mo., 1737; 26<sup>th</sup>, 5 mo., 1737; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," 25<sup>th</sup>, 6 mo., 1737; 27<sup>th</sup>, 3 mo., 1742; Minutes of Philadelphia Men's Quarterly Meeting, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3 mo., 1737; 1<sup>st</sup>, 6 mo., 1737; and Eshelman, "Society of Friends": 105.
  15. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," 27<sup>th</sup>, 6 mo., 1741; 1737-1754, passim; and "Women's Monthly Meeting Book A," Minutes of Exeter Women's Monthly Meeting, 1737-1789, 26<sup>th</sup>, 11 mo., 1743/4 (source for first quote); 29<sup>th</sup>, 10 mo., 1737 (source for second quote); 1737-1754, passim (Handwritten, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania).
  16. *The Book of Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends* (Philadelphia: W. H. Jenkins, 1927): 81-82; and Certificates of Removal (Issued), Exeter Monthly Meeting, 1755-1886: 3-137 (Handwritten, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania). The religious travels of Exeter

"A RESTLESS DESIRE"

- Friends are discussed in Guenther, "Exeter Monthly Meeting and the Outside World," in "Quaker Community": 288-299.
17. For comments pertaining to problems in attending meetings or in following the Quaker discipline, see: Certificates of Removal [Received]: 11-12 (source for quote), 50, 56, 61-62, 70; and Certificates of Removal [Sent]: 3, 8-9, 11-12, 15, 17-18, 23-25, 29, 38-39, 43-44, 50, 52, 89-90. For remarks pertaining to traveling Friends, see: Certificates of Removal [Received]: 3, 7-8, 16-17, 26, 30, 45, 52, 67, 74-76, 79-80, 85-86, 88, 90, 96; and Certificates of Removal [Sent]: 14, 16, 19, 25, 62-63, 69, 78-79, 86, 88, 92, 100-102, 104-107, 113, 122-123, 129.
  18. The phenomenon of family ties playing an important role in settlement patterns has been addressed by Jessica Kross, *The Evolution of an American Town: Newtown, New York, 1642-1775* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), and Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1984).
  19. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," 1785-1789, passim; "Women's Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; and Certificates of Removal (Received), Exeter Monthly Meeting, 1737-1794: 2-102 (Handwritten, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania). For more information on the settlement of German Lutheran and Reformed in the Shenandoah Valley, see: Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793*, vol. 1: *Pastors and Congregations* (Breinigsville, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1980): 484-506.
  20. Certificates of Removal (Issued): 3-137.
  21. *Ibid.*: 10, 13, 31, 45-46, 64, 88, 113-114, 129, 133, quote from p. 129; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," 1785-1789, passim; "Women's Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; and Certificates of Removal (Received): 36.
  22. Certificates of Removal (Issued): 47, 49, 56, 84-85, 131, quote from p. 56.
  23. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," passim; and "Women's Monthly Meeting Book A," passim.
  24. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," 30<sup>th</sup>, 12 mo., 1756; 25<sup>th</sup>, 8 mo., 1737; 27<sup>th</sup>, 10 mo., 1757; 26<sup>th</sup>, 1 mo., 1758; 28<sup>th</sup>, 4 mo., 1763; 29<sup>th</sup>, 11 mo., 1764; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," 18<sup>th</sup>, 4 mo., 1769; 3<sup>rd</sup>, 10 mo., 1770; 29<sup>th</sup>, 1 mo., 1772; 28<sup>th</sup>, 4 mo., 1763; and John E. Eshelman, comp., "A Genealogical Record of Members Composing The Society of Friends or Quakers Resident at Some Time in Berks County, Pennsylvania or Attached to the Meetings Located in the said County," passim (Handwritten, Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, Pennsylvania).
  25. William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, 6 vols. (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1936-1950), vol. 6: *Virginia*: 309-385, 412.
  26. Lucy Kare McGhee, comp., "Maryland Quaker (Friends) Records of Third Haven (Tred Avon), Talbor County," 3 vols. (Typewritten, Clayton Library Center for Genealogical Research, Houston Public Library, Houston, Texas), 2: 40, 46-47, 50, 61-62 (quote from p. 46); 2 (Part 2): 17, 28, 31, 35, 45, 57-58, 62, 66A, 70, 75, 97, 115, 117-118, 124, 126, 133, 135.
  27. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, vol. 1: *North Carolina*: 410, 423, 1029, 1048-1049; vol. 2: *Pennsylvania and New Jersey*: 207, 247; vol. 6, pp. 384-385, 406, 412, 414, 452, 473, 509,

- 586; and Robert Scott Davis, Jr., comp., *Quaker Records in Georgia: Wrightsborough, 1772-1793, Friendsborough, 1776-1777* (Augusta, GA: Augusta Genealogical Society, Inc., 1986): 52, 69-70, 72-74, 101, 112, 122-123. Quaker settlement in North Carolina is discussed in Donald Vernon Dowless, "The Quakers of Colonial North Carolina, 1672-1789" (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1989). Disciplinary problems of Exeter Friends are examined in Karen Guenther, "Social Control and Exeter Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1737-1789: A Research Note," *Pennsylvania History* 57 (April 1990): 150-163; and Guenther, "Religious Discipline and Exeter Monthly Meeting," in "Quaker Community": 76-109.
28. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," 1785-1789, passim; "Women's Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; Margaret B. Walmer, comp., *100 Years at Warrington: York County, Pennsylvania Quakers, Marriage, Removals, Births & Deaths* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1989): 166, 168; and Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, vol. 1: 385-386, 401, 410, 421, 538, 1029, 1048-1049; vol. 2: 247; vol. 6: 385-386, 405, 437, 473, 479, 495, 586.
29. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," 31<sup>st</sup>, 5 mo., 1740; 26<sup>th</sup>, 7 mo., 1753; Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, vol. 1: 388, 1029, 1048; vol. 6: 309, 385-386; and Davis, *Quaker Records in Georgia*: 48.
30. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, vol. 1: 370-430, 1029, 1048-1049; Alex M. Hitz, "The Wrightsborough Quaker Town and Township in Georgia," in Davis, *Quaker Records in Georgia*: 10-14; and "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," 28<sup>th</sup>, 5 mo., 1748; 28<sup>th</sup>, 6 mo., 1753; 25<sup>th</sup>, 7 mo., 1754; 31<sup>st</sup>, 7 mo., 1755; 28<sup>th</sup>, 8 mo., 1755; 30<sup>th</sup>, 6 mo., 1757; 25<sup>th</sup>, 8 mo., 1757; 25<sup>th</sup>, 5 mo., 1758. Quaker settlement in South Carolina is discussed in JoAnne McCormick, "The Quakers of Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1807" (Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1984). The settlement of the South Carolina backcountry is explored in George Lloyd Johnson, Jr., *The Frontier in the Colonial South: South Carolina Backcountry, 1736-1800* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997).
31. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, vol. 6: 384-386, 391, 405-406, 412, 414, 425, 437, 459, 473, 479, 486, 489, 509, 582, 586, 594, 603, 607. For additional information on Quaker settlement in Virginia, see: Larry Dale Gragg, *Migration in Early America: The Virginia Quaker Experience* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980). The settlement of the Virginia backcountry is also examined in Richard R. Beeman, *The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1746-1832* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984). The religious diversity of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia is described in John B. Frantz, "The Religious Development of the Early German Settlers In 'Greater Pennsylvania': The Shenandoah Valley of Virginia," *Pennsylvania History* 68 (Winter 2001): 66-100.
32. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," 28<sup>th</sup>, 6 mo., 1755 (source for quote); 31<sup>st</sup>, 7 mo., 1755.
33. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," 30<sup>th</sup>, 9 mo., 1756; 28<sup>th</sup>, 10 mo., 1756 (source for quote); 25<sup>th</sup>, 11 mo., 1756; 30<sup>th</sup>, 12 mo., 1756; 24<sup>th</sup>, 2 mo., 1757; 25<sup>th</sup>, 8 mo., 1757. Part of the concern for notifying this meeting might have been because this was not the first time that Moore had been accused of indebtedness, and, in fact, Exeter Monthly Meeting had even supported another member's efforts to recover money through legal action when resolving the previous complaint. See: "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," 31<sup>st</sup>, 8 mo., 1745; 28<sup>th</sup>, 9 mo., 1745. For additional information regarding the

- economic status of Exeter Friends, see: Guenther, "The Quaker Ethic: The Economic Activity of Berks County Quakers," in "Quaker Community": 179-218.
34. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," 28<sup>th</sup>, 1 mo., 1751; 29<sup>th</sup>, 9 mo., 1757; 28<sup>th</sup>, 10 mo., 1757; 24<sup>th</sup>, 11 mo., 1757; 29<sup>th</sup>, 12 mo., 1757; 27<sup>th</sup>, 10 mo., 1763; "The cases of sundry Friends [members of Exeter Monthly Meeting] who have left their habitations on account of the Indians," Miscellaneous Papers, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Meeting for Sufferings (Handwritten, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania) (source for first two quotes); and Certificates of Removal (Issued), p. 7 (source for last quote). The impact of the Seven Years' War on Exeter Friends is examined in Guenther, "War and the Frontier Friends: Exeter Monthly Meeting and the Seven Years' War," in "Quaker Community": 140-178.
35. David M. Hollenbach, comp., "Index to all Names Found on Original Bound Tax Lists of Berks County in the Archives of the Historical Society of Berks County for the Years 1754, 1760, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, and 1768," passim (Typewritten, Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, Pennsylvania); Warren D. Faust, comp., "Index to all Names Found in our Original Tax Lists for the Years 1770 Through 1789 with the Years 1776, 1777 and 1784 Missing," passim (Typewritten, Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, Pennsylvania). The lives of Derrick Clever and his family in early Berks County are described in William A. Owens, *A Fair and Happy Land* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975): 25-37.
36. "Record of County Tax," Exeter, Maiden Creek, and Robeson Townships, 1754, 1758, 1762, 1770, 1775 (Handwritten, Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, Pennsylvania); "Proprietary Return for the Year 1767," *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, vol. 18: 42-45, 69-74; "Register of Property of the Inhabitants of Berks County for Raising the Supplies for the Year 1779," *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, vol. 18: 219-223, 245-248, 279-283; "Return and Assessment for the County of Berks for the Year 1781," *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, vol. 18, pp. 478-481, 504-506, 518-521; and "Assessment of Taxes for the County of Berks for the Year 1785," *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, vol. 18: 740-744, 764-766, 781-785.
37. Lewis Edwin Theiss, "How the Quakers Came to Central Pennsylvania," *Northumberland County Historical Society, Proceedings* 21 (1957): 67-70; John E. Eshelman, "A History of Catawissa Friends' Meeting And Some of Its Earliest Members," *Berwick Historical Society, Publications* 1 (1940): 4-12; John F. Meginness, *Otzinachson: A History of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: H. B. Ashmead, 1859; reprint, Williamsport: Gazette and Bulletin Publishing House, 1889), vol. 1, pp. 377-379; and Willard R. Rhoads, *History of the Catawissa Quaker Meeting at Catawissa, Columbia County, Pa. and the Roaring Creek Quaker Meeting Near Numidia, Columbia County, Pa., Including the Quaker Activities Leading to Their Establishment* (Numidia, PA: By the author, 1963): 15-18, 58-59.
38. Eshelman, "Genealogical Record," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," 331<sup>st</sup>, 10 mo., 1787; and Rhoads, *History of Catawissa and Roaring Creek*: 19-23, 60-61. The indulged meeting at Catawissa that Exeter Monthly Meeting had established in 1775 was disbanded briefly in the early 1780s because of turmoil experienced during the American Revolution by Friends in this frontier region. See: Guenther, "A Crisis of Allegiance: Berks County Quakers and the War for Independence," *Quaker History* 90 (Fall 2001): 15-34.

39. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," 28<sup>th</sup>, 5 mo., 1788 (source for quote); Theiss, "How the Quakers Came," pp. 72-73; Rhoads, *History of Catawissa and Roaring Creek*: 27, 65-66; and Certificates of Removal (Received): 46, 48.
40. Draper MSS, 1 B 34 [microfilm] (Handwritten, Draper Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin); Michael R. Yogg, "*The Best Place for Health and Wealth*": *A Demographic and Economic Analysis of the Quakers of Pre-Industrial Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), p. 136; and Joseph J. Kelley, Jr., *Pennsylvania: The Colonial Years, 1681-1776* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1980): 648. See also: Gragg, *Migration in Early America*; and Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977).
41. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," 1765-1774, passim; and Susan Mary Forbes, "'As Many Candles Lighted': The New Garden Monthly Meeting, 1718-1774" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972): 107-109.
42. "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book B," passim; "Exeter Monthly Meeting Book C," 1785-1789, passim; "Women's Monthly Meeting Book A," passim; and Ellwood Roberts, *Old Richland Families* (Norristown, PA: Morgan R. Wills, 1898): 60-62.
43. Wallace, *Daniel Boone*: 16.