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Historical Society



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The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Damon D. Hickey, The Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410.

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Cover Illustration

"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Drawn by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

THE
SOUTHERN FRIEND
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The Peace and Social Concerns of Wrightsborough Friends: Part I, Living With The Indians

by

George H. Cox, Jr.

This is the first of three essays about the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting in colonial Georgia. Each of the three essays addresses an area of the peace and social concerns of early American Friends: relationships with the Indians, war and revolution, and slavery. Reacquainting ourselves with the issues that concerned these southernmost of early Friends is important to understanding the challenges of eighteenth-century American Quakerism and the diversity which Friends contributed to the colonial South. It also provides a useful backdrop to the history of the South once many of the region's more progressive settlers, including many Friends, left for the Midwest at the turn of the nineteenth century.

The Society of Friends benefited from early contact with Native Americans. George Fox traveled in Carolina in 1672 and himself conversed with local Indians.¹ John Woolman later undertook a personal ministry among northern Indian tribes.² Both of these guiding lights of Quakerism believed that Native Americans were spiritually competent and often very enlightened. Yet perhaps the best-informed comments suggesting a Quaker perspective on southeastern Indians come from William Bartram, the naturalist son

George Cox is the Clerk of the Ogeechee Friends Monthly Meeting (Southeastern Yearly Meeting) in Statesboro, Georgia. He is also Associate Professor of Political Science at Georgia Southern College. Martha Franklin Daily assisted with the research for this project, and Crystal Glisson drew the period map showing the Wrightsborough Township.

of the disowned Friend John Bartram. He and his father travelled extensively in the Southeast during the eighteenth century.

. . . these people are both well tutored and civil; and it is apparent to an impartial observer who resides but a little amongst them that it is from the most delicate sense of honour and reputation of their tribes and families that their laws and customs receive their force and energy. Can it be denied but that the moral principle which directs the savages to virtuous and praiseworthy actions is natural or innate? It is certain that they have not the assistance of letters or those means of education in the schools of philosophy where the virtuous sentiments and actions of the most illustrious characters are recorded and carefully laid before the youth of civilized nations: therefore this moral principle must be innate, or they must be under the immediate influence and guidance of a more divine and powerful preceptor who, on these occasions, instantly inspires them and, as with a ray of divine light, points out to them at once the dignity, propriety, and beauty of virtue.³

John and William Bartram and many other early Friends perceived the Indians to be peaceful peoples living idyllic lives in a pristine wilderness.⁴ These Quaker naturalists like the Quaker ministers Fox and Woolman before them were relative intellectuals, not hard-headed farmers who had to live and work each day along the frontier. Yet it is important to note that the “elite” influence of naturalists and ministers within Quakerism was a positive view of Native Americans.

People who moved to the frontier to live were motivated by the desire for good land. Land in the Georgia backcountry was rich in wildlife and agricultural potential. Traders and naturalists brought back word of massive forests, plentiful game, navigable rivers, and fertile farm lands. Unfortunately, some of these men and their urban entrepreneur associates did not feel very idealistic about the forests and their Indian inhabitants. The developers’ vision of the Georgia Colony was one of investment schemes and great wealth flowing from the rich land, land that belonged to the Creeks and Cherokees.⁵ All sorts of projects ranging from growing hemp or silk to raising tobacco or herds of horses were being considered by colonial entrepreneurs. The deer hide industry, an early eighteenth-century enterprise, alone promised to make some investors very wealthy. People who

controlled the land might become rich beyond the wildest expectations of most colonials, but first the indigenous Indian populations would have to be removed from the land.

The Native Americans along the frontier had a long history of relations with the English and other colonial whites. The Creeks had extensive lines of trade across Georgia touching French settlements in the west and Spanish settlements in the south and terminating in the English trading center of Augusta. The Cherokees maintained relations with the English in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia in an uneasy alliance to block intrusions of northern tribes which were friendly with the French. Smaller tribes like Georgia's Eucheas and the Yamasees were pressed by the shifting populations of the large tribes and the advancing line of English white settlement coming from the east. The frontier was fluid with shifting trade routes and shifting political alliances. There was a great deal of virgin land, but little peace or stability along the Georgia backcountry.⁶

The Quakers settled in close proximity to the trade, migration and warfare paths of the Indian tribes. The main trade route from the Creek Federation into Augusta formed the southern boundary of the Wrightsborough Township Grant (see map). The northern and western boundaries of Wrightsborough Township were the



negotiated lines with the Indian territory. Both the Creeks and the Cherokees held claims to the land where the Friends settled. Each ceded it to the English when their respective claims weakened and their debts to white traders accumulated. Each periodically struck out in warfare against the encroaching whites. The constant pressure of white settlement rarely subsided, even when treaties protecting Indian land claims could be negotiated with the British government.

Small groups of Quakers were on and off the Georgia frontier north and west of Augusta as early as 1751. Their initial settlement in the Georgia colony was difficult because of the unstable relations with the Indians. In the 1750s, the Creeks were legal owners of the land immediately around Augusta and all of the land to the west. The Cherokees had traditional hunting grounds to the north and to the northeast in the South Carolina colony. White settlers tried to buy land directly from the Indians, but these transactions frequently to misunderstandings and hard feelings.

An initial 1751 purchase by Friends led to a brief settlement called Quaker Springs, but the frontier area erupted in violence in 1754. The royal legislature in Savannah banned private purchases of Indian lands in 1758.⁷ It required that whites wait until Indian lands were first ceded to the English government. Settlers could thereafter gain title to desired lands from the royal government.

When James Wright became the royal governor of Georgia in 1760, he made peaceful relations with the Indians a primary goal of his administration. First, he and the Georgia settlers had to weather an Indian war between the Cherokees and the whites of South Carolina; this outbreak lasted from 1760 to 1761. As soon as that conflict ended, he set about systematically pacifying the colony's frontier.

In 1763, Governor Wright confirmed the legal prohibition on the private purchase of Indian lands. Troops of British rangers sent to the war-threatened frontier area in 1759 were withdrawn in 1767. Negotiations proceeded with the Indians for formal cession of lands claimed by the Creeks and Cherokees. Two such cessions were agreed to in 1763 and 1773. In 1766, the royal legislature of Georgia passed "An Act for Encouraging Settlers to come into the Province,"⁸ the single most important act in Wright's development plan for the Georgia backcountry.

The Peace and Social Concerns of Wrightsborough Friends

It was under the generous terms of the Settlement Act that Wrightsborough was founded. The law provided that any group of forty or more families of protestants of good repute could petition the government of the colony for a township. The award under such a grant would include individual farm allotments plus communal property (for livestock, mills and public buildings), tax forgiveness, a surveyed town, and a public road connecting the new town to the colonial road network.

The North Carolina Friend Joseph Stubbs petitioned for a 12,000-acre tract in 1767. Joseph Maddock and Jonathan Sell also sought communal and personal grants in the same Little River area, and they asked that the area be declared a Quaker Reserve in December of that year. It is from these awards under the Settlement Act that the founding of Wrightsborough, named for the governor, can be traced.

Civil and religious life in Wrightsborough were closely intertwined. No new pioneers could settle within the reserve without the approval of the Friends. With over seventy families settled, the Quakers initially constituted the civil majority in the area as well. Maddock and Sell held public offices as justice of the peace and road commissioner respectively, so initial Quaker control of the Wrightsborough area was virtually complete.

Wrightsborough did not become a monthly meeting until 1773. Joseph Maddock was the recognized leader of the community, and he was considered by many in North Carolina Yearly Meeting to be a very outwardly focused, worldly man. He had been deeply involved with the Herman Husbands/Rachel Wright Affair at Cane Creek (North Carolina) Meeting and was suspected of being a Regulator.⁹ He denied the charges of worldliness and inclinations toward violence, but officials of the quarterly and yearly meetings were suspicious of him (with good cause as later events would bear out). Yet Maddock's leadership helped steer Wrightsborough through its early settlement efforts.

There was little real meeting of Indian and white cultures in colonial Georgia. White traders from Augusta might actually know certain chiefs or family groups in the Indian country, but the typical white settler lived in an enclave where Indians were sometimes seen but rarely welcomed. A typical reference is found in a 1777 letter

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written by the Wrightsborough Friend Daniel Williams.

...our... discouragement... is the frequent incursions of the savages who, almost every year cause some part of ten settlement to break, though it is hard to penetrate above two or three miles within the English boundaries. Though we have often heard it was their decision to cut us off, yet the interposition of the Divine Hand has hitherto frustrated their intentions.¹⁰

Frontier settlers like Daniel Williams wanted to be secure on their own property within the “English boundaries,” but the Indian notion of ownership was not so precise.

The Creeks saw themselves as stewards of the land rather than its owners. They often spoke of sharing parts of the land with white people, but they did not seem committed to staying off ceded lands altogether. This is clear in the ambivalent speech of Emisteseegoe, a Creek head man, made to the royal council at Savannah in 1768.

...originally all the Lands belonged to their People, but that in Process of Time they became acquainted with the white People, and that he is glad to see them here this Day as Brothers -- That, however, these Lands being originally their Inheritance they are bound to regard them as such, but that, whatever might happen, they should always pay due Regard to the Treaties made with the white People concerning them, and look on them as their Brother.¹¹

Elsewhere, the chief refers to the cession of land as “borrowed” and complains of separate negotiations by lower level head men of the Creeks.¹² The stewardship of the land was clearly a matter for discussion between brothers, but land title was not clearly understood between the parties. Many misunderstandings related to land ownership occurred in the Wrightsborough area.

When treaties resulted in land cessions to the English government, Indians and whites were wary of each other’s honesty and good faith. William Bartram observed an incident near Wrightsborough which exemplifies the lack of confidence between the races.

...the Indian chief came up, and observing the course he [a

surveyor] had fixed upon, spoke, and said it was not right; but that the course to the place was so and so, holding up his hand, and pointing. The surveyor replied, that he himself was certainly right, adding, that the little instrument (pointing to the compass) told him so, which, he said, could not err. The Indian answered, he knew better, and that the little wicked instrument was a liar; and he would not acquiesce in its decisions, since it would wrong the Indians out of their land. This mistake (the surveyor proving to be in the wrong) displeased the Indians, the dispute arose to that height, that the chief and his party had determined to break up the business. . .¹³

Finally, the compass was put aside and the chief was promised a quantity of trade goods so that the survey could continue. Such was the give and take of English and Indian oversight of land dealings along the Georgia frontier. It was small wonder that Bartram and other disinterested observers sympathized with the Indians, the more peaceable settlers, and the government officials who tried to mediate land relations across a gulf of cultural differences and distrust.

One focus for white distrust of the local Indians was the issue of horse stealing. A 1772 report on the region commented that “Vast number[s] of horses are bred here, but of an indifferent kind; and these savages are the greatest horse stealers yet known: it is impossible to be sure of a horse whenever these fellows come.”¹⁴ Backwoods settlers, Quaker and non-Quaker alike had to deal with the theft of livestock by neighboring Indians. Yet it is interesting to note the ways in which the Friends’ response differed from other pioneer reactions on the Georgia frontier.

In 1767, a group of settlers from the Little River area complained to Governor Wright that Creek Indians had stolen horses and fled westward into the Indian Territory.¹⁵ Five local settlers pursued the thieves, but were driven away from the Indians’ camp when a watchdog gave the alarm at their presence. The next day, a larger party of thirteen armed settlers returned to the site of the Indian camp, and finding it deserted, burned it to the ground. The Governor was very concerned with this turn of events, especially the settlers’ retaliatory raid, and immediately dispatched a message to the Creek chiefs. After recounting the details of the incident he comments:

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It gives me much Concern that this rash Action has been committed but you must well know that it was not within my Power, at this great distance from the Place where those people live. . . to prevent an Injury being done. . . and you may be assured that I will punish them for it, and that you shall have full Justice done you [.] I hope you will have due regard to . . . as much as possible prevent your people coming down amongst the white people as you see the Inconvenience and Danger of their doing so and taking away the white people's Horses, Cattle, and Hogs(.)¹⁶

In 1769, the Wrightsborough Quakers suffered similar losses to backwoods thieves. A number of horses were taken from their settlement, and the Quaker farmers went after their livestock. When they caught up with the Indians, the Quakers could not secure the return of their animals. And yet the action taken was different that that taken by the previous expedition.

. . . some People were lately appointed to follow them [sic] Indians and came to their Camp and demanded the Horses but instead of receiving any answer, Limpiquey [a noted Creek Indian] ordered the Indians to theri Guns, Tomahawks and Knives -- who behaved in a most provoking Manner holding a Tomahawk edgeways to a white Man's face, and threw out many threatnings [sic] which the white People forbore to resent notwithstanding they were double the Indian's number. . . Also a letter [was read] from Joseph Maddocks the Principal Man among those people wherein he says That he believes the Mischief done them was by some ranging outlying Rogues harbouring sometimes at the Oconees, othertimes at the Cherokee Towns, and often in the Woods at the back of their Settlement -- That they were of several Nations, Creeks, Cherokees, and Chicasaws, and submitting it to his Excellency's Judgment whether it might not be proper to acquaint the Superintendent therewith that he might send necessary Messages to each Nation whereby they might perhaps get their Horses returned to them, and a stop might be put to the Indians doing further Mischief unless they were protected by their Several Nations which he did not in the least suspect, but rather believed them to be set on by some evil Minded white Men for selfish ends..¹⁷

The Quakers recognized that the Indians who were stealing from

them were individual criminals rather than representatives of hostile Indian tribes. They confronted the local chiefs with their complaints rather than trying to take back the horses or extract revenge. When their direct efforts failed, the Quakers asked the government to take steps to have their livestock returned.

The Friends were no less upset at the loss of their horses than were the other settlers. In fact, the loss of the livestock threatened to keep them from bringing in the crops which stood between them and starvation. But they did not let such incidents provoke them to vigilante violence.

The Indians acknowledged this reasonable attitude toward them. A Creek leader specifically mentioned them in a statement to the British government.

I was with your Deputy, Mr. McIntosh, when the [Indian boundry] line was marked. I then saw a number of people [Quakers] settling near the line, who I liked very much. They are good and peaceable, and do not take a pride in riding about with rifle guns in their hands and drinking and swearing like the Virgininans, they offend nobody but cultivate their fields. I am told that they will not even resent an injury, or return a blow, but that I cannot believe. I wish, however, that a great number of them may be encouraged to come and settle near the line, by which means the Virginians may be kept from settling near it.¹⁸

The Governor also appreciated the role that the Quakers were playing in the backcountry. First, he took action against the offending white men. He offered to pay a reward for “stray livestock,” and he directed his magistrates to try to discourage settlers from reacting to incursions with violence. He also acknowledged that thefts took place on both sides and promised the Creeks that he would bring white criminals to justice.

I know perfectly well that the vagrant Virginians are a set of very bad People and that they not only steal the Indians Horses but the white People's, and do many other Injuries to both: and as often as we catch any of them and get Proof against them for stealing Horses or Cattle, we hang them; and two of them were hanged here last summer. The great King's Subjects are all at full Liberty to go where they please and cannot be confined to any particular Countrey; therefore we can-

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not prevent the Virginians from coming into this Province: that is not in my Power to do, but you may depend upon it I will punish and hang them whenever I can get sufficient Proof against them according to our Law.¹⁹

Governor Wright was simultaneously promoting the Settlement Act as a positive means of reducing the threat of fighting for land and livestock along the frontier. He had to find settlers who would leave the nearby Indians alone or who would deal fairly with them when contact occurred. He hoped to entice peaceful settlers into formally surveyed townships where safety and respect for boundaries would be easier to maintain.

The boundary disputes, thefts, and other local irritations disrupted the Wrightsborough settlement effort. Yet a more serious problem arose when actual warfare threatened to break out between Indian tribes and the English government. It was one thing to cling to peaceful solutions for isolated incidents. It was quite another matter to stay nonviolent when organized attacks on the community could be expected. Dealing with Indians who considered themselves to be at war was a real challenge for the Georgia Quakers.

Even in the 1767 incident involving settlers from Little River, the fear of organized Indian raids is apparent. After reporting on their loss of livestock to the Creeks, the Little River settlers tell the royal government in Savannah of their preparations for reprisals by the Indians.

Since which Time we have promiscuously assembled at the Strongest and most convenient Houses in the settlement with what of our stock we had remaining on Account of hearing that there was an Express come from their Nation that twenty or upwards of that Nation set out with an Intent to kill all the Stocks in Little River Settlement, and well knowing how barbarous the Indians have oft times behaved in different Parts of this and the Neighbouring Provinces we ... are so terrified ... as we are a Small Settlement and not able to defend ourselves against a considerable number of Savages without assistance[.]²⁰

The Quakers continued to withdraw from the frontier when organized violence broke out as they had done in the earlier period of the Cherokee War. In 1774, the Cherokee again struck south into the

Georgia Colony.

My sisters and their families were ... amongst those who went about 300 miles from their then settlement into... Georgia to a place settled by Joseph Mattock and Mattock's Settlement. There they lived in peaceful possession of their homes undisturbed by the natives ... until there was a new purchase of land made by the Government, with which the Indians seemed dissatisfied. My brother-in-law ... bought land in it; as it was considered very good, many were induced to make settlements on it, to clear and sow it with grain, but the frequent incursions of Indians was cause of great discouragement to them, so that it was deemed best by many not to reside on it. They had therefore left it, but when the grain that they had sown was ripe, they thought that they would go there and gather it, the distance not being far from their first settlement where they resided. Sister Tamar, her husband and three sons went for that purpose, leaving their two daughters behind at home. Early one morning sister went to milk a cow they had with them; while her hands were thus engaged a party of Indians lying in wait, fired on them, put an end to her useful life, also killed her eldest son; the youngest they took captive, and kept him in captivity about two years. They adopted him and were kind to him, and when redemption was offered for him, he had become so much attached to them and their manner of life, that it required some persuading to get him from them. The father and other son made their escape.²¹

In time, the Friends were more established, and many were reluctant to abandon their prosperous homes and settlement. After all, there was a constant danger that local disputes or regional conflicts could engulf the area in war. They had to have some security beyond the governor's vigilant negotiations.

The fear of Indian attack apparently led the Wrightsborough Friends to consider "police protection" for their settlement. The 1771 Tax Act of the colony includes payment of a scout "to be raised for the protection of the Settlement of Wrightsborough and parts adjacent from the Insults of Stragling Indians."²² Yet it is clear that this step was taken with profound ambivalence. In fact, a member of the religious society, John Money (perhaps Mooney), took the job, and he was condemned on religious accounts as a result.²³ More generally, the religious leaders of the community

would not allow men in the meeting to serve in the colonial militia. They consistently disciplined members who were found to be training with the local self-defense forces or who were found to have taken the law into their own hands.²⁴ However, it seems to be the case that the community cooperated in the construction of a fort at Wrightsborough, an act which straddles the line between peaceable living and warlike acts. Clearly, the Friends at Wrightsborough were not of a clear and single mind regarding how they should respond to the threat of Indian attack.

It is very difficult to look back two hundred years in time and make judgments about these Friends. They were practical as well as religious people. When it came to the Indians, they suffered insecurities and ambivalencies as often as they enjoyed strength of purpose and clarity of insight. Clearly, we cannot project our views of racial tolerance and enlightened action back in time upon them. Yet they seem to have enjoyed a measure of their own light regarding the nearby Indians. They worked for legal solutions in the presence of a frontier vigilante ethos. They withdrew from violence rather than wantonly engage in it. They refused to blame the tribes and the Indian leaders for the isolated criminal acts of brigands. Moreover, they kept seeking an enlightened course of action in the face of the horrors of violent crime and frontier war. Some rewards were forthcoming from an appreciative royal administration, but the rewards were not so extravagant that their tolerant motives should be questioned. After all, they were the people who the Creek chief hoped would come and settle "near the boundary line."

¹*The Journal of George Fox* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1924): 300.

²*The Journal of John Woolman* (Secaucus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1961): 151.

³William Bartram, *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* (Savannah, Georgia: The Beehive Press, 1973): 111, 122-23.

⁴Robert Daiutolo, Jr., "The Early Quaker Perception of the Indian," *Quaker History* 72:2 (Fall, 1983): 103-107.

⁵John Richard Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann

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Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1944): 302-303.

⁶R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman, Oklahoma; The University of Oklahoma Press, 1954): 32-33.

⁷Allen D. Candler, Kenneth Coleman, and Milton Ready (Eds.), "Statutes Enacted by the Royal Legislature of Georgia," *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* 18:248.

⁸*Ibid.*, 743-48

⁹Julia S. White, "A Church Quarrel and What Resulted," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 5:3 (May, 1914).

¹⁰Cited in Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (New York: Bergman Publishers, 1968): 121.

¹¹Candler et al., "Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council, 1767 to 1769," *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 10:852.

¹²*Ibid.*, 10:568.

¹³William Bartram, *Travels*, 40.

¹⁴Cited in John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin #137, 1946): 349.

¹⁵A detailed account is found in the "Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council," 246-47. 272.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 10:273-74.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 10:748-50.

¹⁸"Journal of the Superintendent's Proceedings," Class 5, Volume 70, folio 90, copy at Auburn University. I am indebted to Dr. Kathryn Braund for her review of references in these documents pertaining to the Georgia Quakers.

¹⁹"Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council," 585.

²⁰"Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council," 10: 246-47.

²¹Rachel Price letter quoted in Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*: 246-47.

²²Allen D. Candler, "Statutes, Colonial and Revolutionary, 1768 to 1773," *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 19, part 1: 183.

²³Minutes of the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, pp.24-25.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

“A Spirit of Improvement and Progress”: John Collins’ “Summer Trip to North Carolina, 1887”

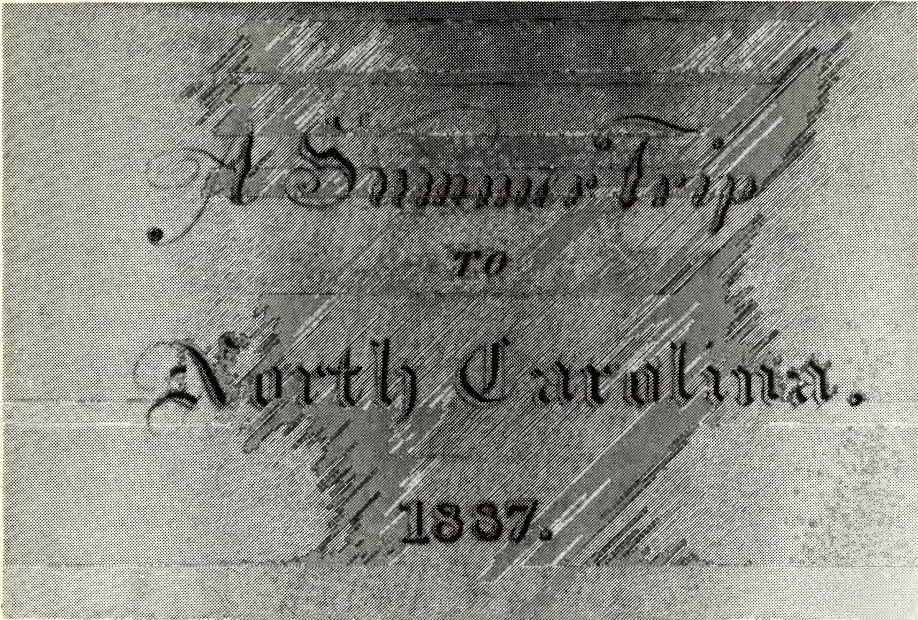
by

Damon D. Hickey

In August of 1887 John and Anna Collins, Quakers from Burlington, New Jersey, visited North Carolina Yearly Meeting to see what changes had occurred since their visit in 1869, when the state had been still in the grip of post-Civil War chaos and depression. This visit, like the 1869 sojourn, was recorded by means of a handsomely written and illustrated manuscript journal containing both postcard photographs and original watercolors by John Collins.¹

North Carolina had been the beneficiary of material and technical assistance from northern Friends following the Civil War, bringing Quakerism there back from the brink of extinction. Northern and British Friends, under the direction of the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States and in conjunction with North Carolina Quakers, developed a comprehensive system of Quaker schools, trained teachers, introduced improved agricultural techniques, and conducted Quaker revival meetings to increase membership. They also transformed New Garden Boarding School

Damon D. Hickey is associate library director and curator of the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College. Versions of this paper were delivered to the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists during the centennial triennial of Friends United Meeting, to North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, to North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative), to the Guilford College Faculty Colloquium as part of the college's sesquicentennial celebration, and to the annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, all held at Guilford College in 1987, a century after the events described in the paper.

The image shows a title page with a dark, textured background. The text is written in a decorative, calligraphic script. The main title is "A Summer's Trip" in a large, flowing font. Below it, the word "TO" is written in a smaller, simpler font. The second line of the title is "North Carolina." in the same large, flowing script. At the bottom of the page, the year "1837." is written in a bold, blocky font.

A Summer's Trip
TO
North Carolina.
1837.

Title page of Collins' journal

into a high school and then into Guilford College.² The Collinse themselves had been part of this reconstruction work in eastern Tennessee, 1870-71, under the auspices of Philadelphia Friends, but were replaced when the work was taken over by the Friends from Baltimore. They remained in Blount County, Tennessee, for a decade, and Collins produced still another manuscript journal of their stay there.³

Born in 1814, Collins became a pioneer in the art of lithography. His lithograph of the old meetinghouse at New Garden in 1869 was widely distributed and is still reproduced today. But Collins was not successful as a businessperson, and was never able to make a steady living from his art. He was also an active Friend and a visionary of sorts, producing in 1870 a published poem, "1970: A Vision," in which he foresaw a century hence much that did occur--including the United Nations, airship trips to Europe, the telephone, and the automobile--and much that was wishful thinking, such as world

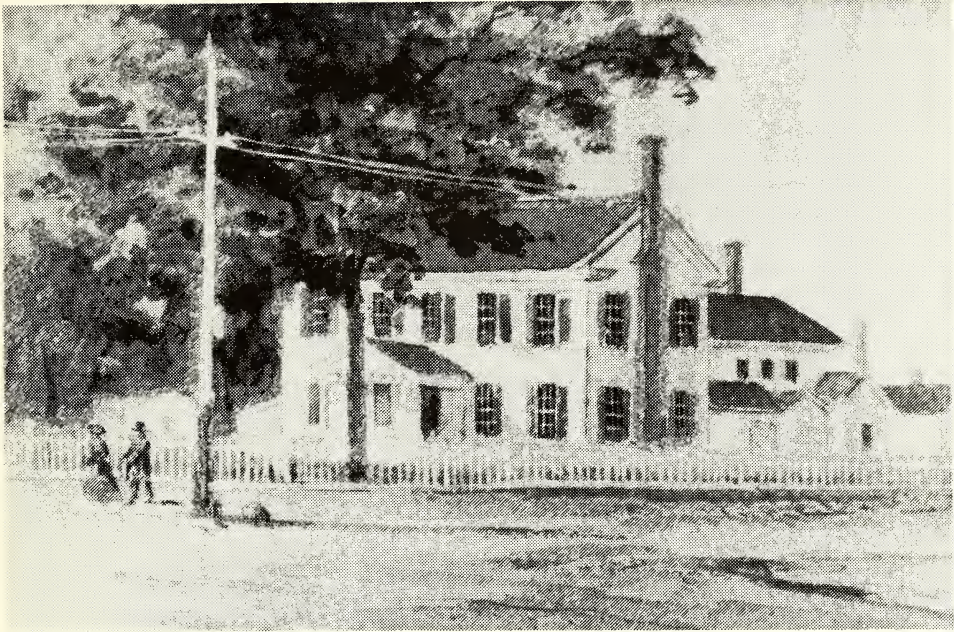
peace. Collins died in 1902 at the age of 88.⁴

For their 1887 visit the Collinses left Philadelphia by train on Eighth Month 1. Fourteen and a half hours later they arrived in Greensboro, which he described as “an important railway centre” and the “capital” (county seat) of Guilford County.

Upon their arrival in Greensboro, John and Anna encountered one of the evidences of the work of the Baltimore Association. Prior to the war there had been no training facility for teachers. The Baltimore Association inaugurated North Carolina’s first normal school for training teachers. This school was continued by North Carolina Friends on an annual basis, even after the Baltimore Association withdrew from the state. It eventually led to the founding of what is now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.⁵ More than one hundred teachers attended the 1887 Normal School, which was superintended by William A. Blair, a Haverford College graduate living in High Point, North Carolina. Professor John W. Woody from the boarding school at New Garden gave a lecture on digestion. Collins commented that “He insisted so far upon the necessity of mastication as to enjoin the chewing of milk.” If further evidence be needed that bizarre educational theories are not new, Collins also described a lecture by an ex-teacher from Philadelphia who proposed a new system of numerals that would take less time to write and would involve less danger of mistake. Collins wryly observed: “Lest they pass into oblivion, we note them here. *Possibly*, we may hear again from the innovator.” In a more serious vein, teachers also heard from Professor Joseph Moore, superintendent of New Garden Boarding School, on the subject of coral growth.

The next day the Collinses visited the home of Judith Mendenhall, who was then clerk of the women’s North Carolina Yearly Meeting. She was also the sister of Nereus Mendenhall, known primarily for his teaching at the boarding school throughout the war years. Educated in Germantown, Pennsylvania, she had established and conducted a Female Boarding School near Jamestown, North Carolina, after 1816, and was a very “weighty” Friend.⁶

From Greensboro the party journeyed by rail out to New Garden (then a separate, rural community). Collins was astonished upon reaching the boarding school to see what “a very great change had taken place since 1869”:

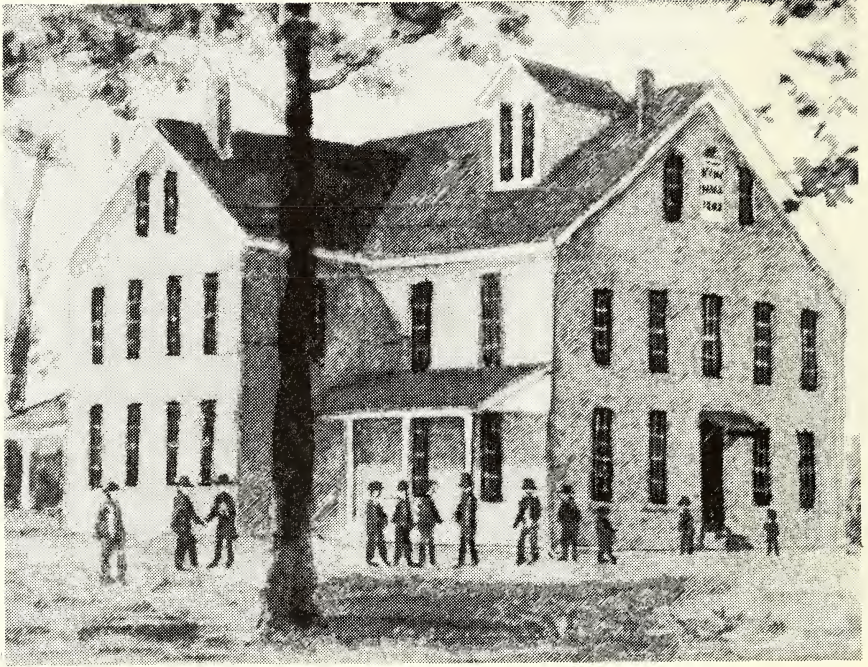


Home of Judith Mendenhall, Greensboro

The old school house was surmounted by a mansard roof, adding another story, having at one end a conservatory, and a roomy piazza at the other. Founder's Hall 126 X 40 feet, the original school building, is now used as the Girls Dormitory. It contains a large library room, a general assembly room, an ample parlor, Superintendent and Matron's Rooms, a dining hall, large kitchen, etc. The second and third stories are used as study and lodging rooms. There are also bath rooms with hot and cold water and on the roof is a water tank holding 5000 gallons, filled by a windmill and pump. A little further on, is Archdale Hall so called from a former Governor of North Carolina and a member of the Religious Society of Friends.

Collins also illustrated the first and second versions of King Hall, both named for the president of the Baltimore Association.

The above structure was erected in 1882 and named after Fras. T. King. It was burnt down in 1885. Its size was 100 ft X

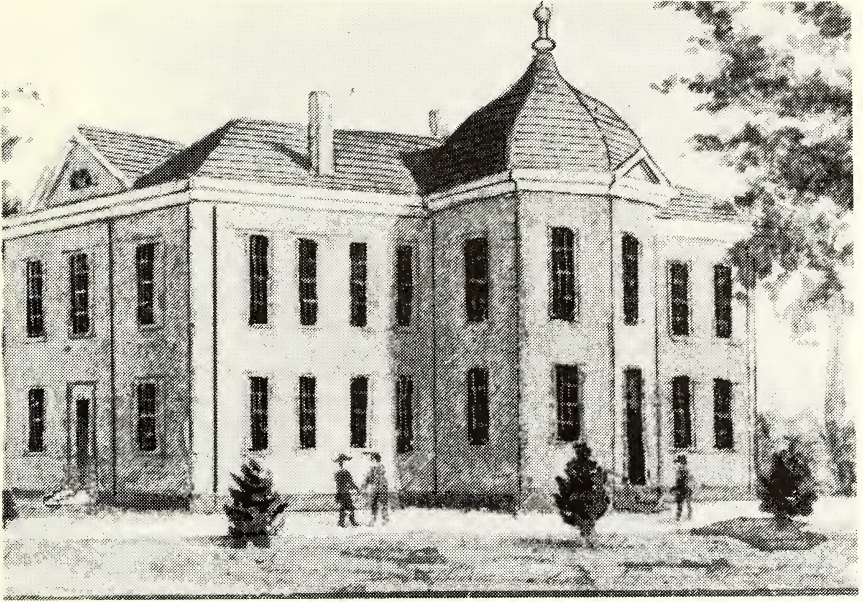


*First King Hall, New Garden Boarding School
School (meetinghouse of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1872-
1882)*

60 ft with a projection 40 ft X 16 ft. In it was a large study room, class rooms, a laboratory, cloak room etc. The 2nd and 3rd stories were divided into rooms for the boys for study, bath and sleeping.

The present building contains recitation, lecture and society rooms, all well furnished - Also philosophical and chemical apparatus, objects of natural history, elegant corals collected by Prof. Moore in Hawaii and large diagrams of the volcanoes of that island.

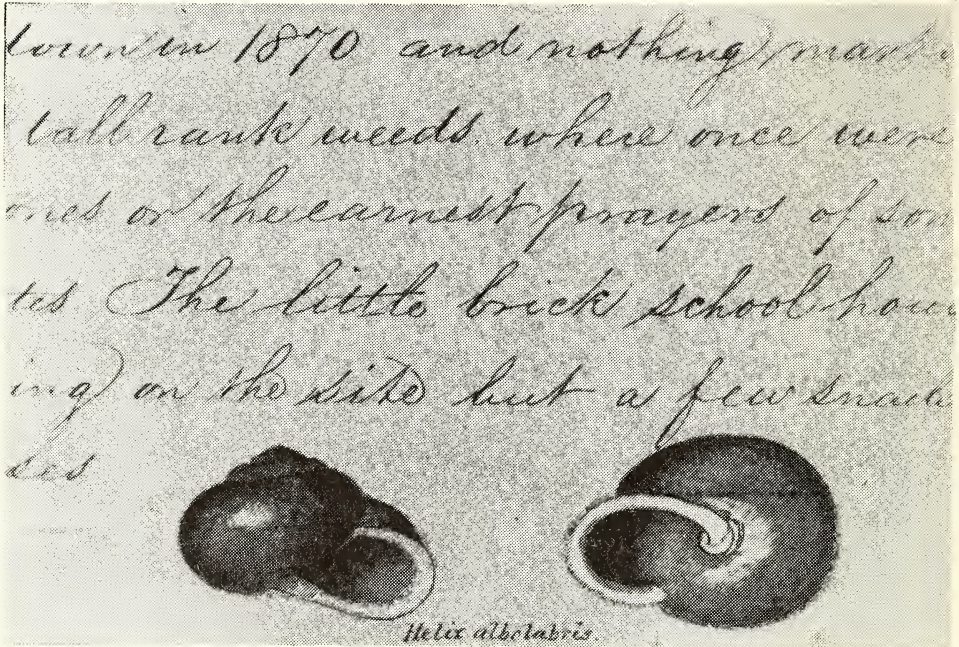
Collins was also distressed at the apparent decline in the New Garden community, symbolized by the destruction of the old frame meetinghouse. He noted sadly that there was "nothing living on the site but a few snails hidden in their damp recesses beneath the piles of rubbish."



Second King Hall, erected after the first building burned in 1885

The Collinses were welcomed warmly to the home of Superintendent Joseph Moore, where they were joined by Matron Priscilla Benbow Hackney and Professor John W. Woody and his wife, Mary C. Woody. Joseph Moore was a first-rate scientist, a former student of Louis Aggasiz at Harvard, who had taught at Earlham, then superintended the Quaker schools in North Carolina for the Baltimore Association. He returned to Earlham as its president, and after his retirement in 1883 came to North Carolina once again, this time as superintendent of the boarding school at New Garden, to guide it in its transition to college status.⁷

Priscilla Benbow Hackney was a graduate of New Garden Boarding School who became a teacher at her alma mater. She later spent fifteen years as a teacher at the William Forster Home, a training school established by Friends in Friendsville, Tennessee, overlapping the Collinses stay there, but she returned to New Garden in 1885, where she served as teacher and matron until her



Snails (*Helix albelabris*) found on the site of the old meeting-house at New Garden

retirement in 1904. In retirement she taught at the new State Normal College in Greensboro (the descendant of the Quaker normal schools and the ancestor of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro).⁸

John W. Woody, a New Garden graduate like Priscilla Hackney, had an educational career as distinguished as Joseph Moore's. In 1868 he organized Whittier College in Salem, Iowa, and became its first president. The college was later laid down by Iowa Yearly Meeting in favor of William Penn College in Oskaloosa. John Woody also helped to establish the latter institution, and was its first president, for four years. In 1880 he returned to New Garden, where he taught history, surveying, natural sciences, philosophy, and Bible. In 1894, he moved to California to help organize another Whittier College there. In 1898, he helped establish Friends University in Wichita, Kansas, and the next year, returned to Winston-Salem,

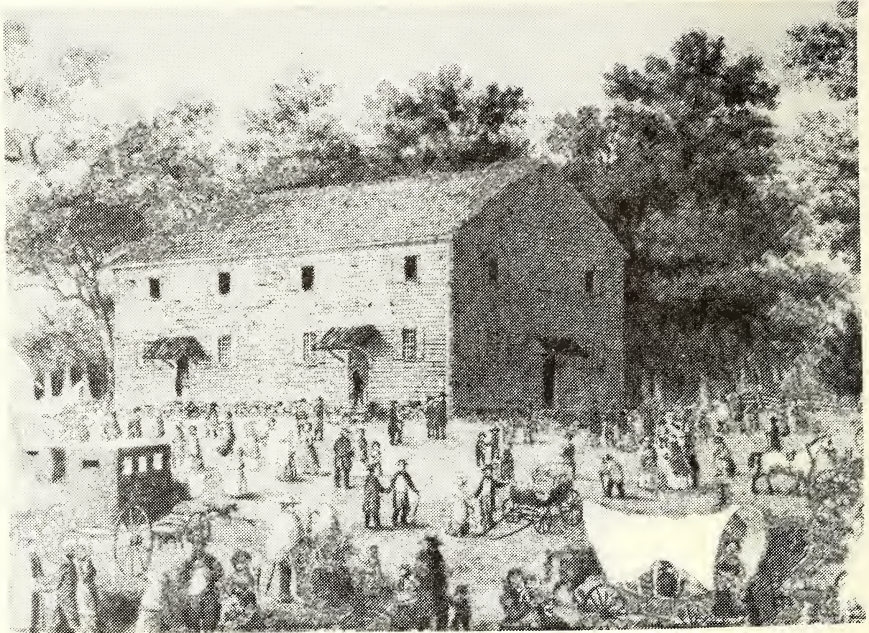


M. Jarrell's hotel, High Point

North Carolina to head the new Slater Industrial and State Normal School for blacks until his retirement in 1908.⁹

Mary Chawner Woody, wife of John Woody, taught with him in each of these institutions. An Earlham College graduate, she taught English composition, rhetoric, literature, and Bible. She was a leader in the Women's Christian Temperance Union and in the establishment of the State Normal College in Greensboro. But she was best known for her work as a Friends minister and evangelist. In her travels throughout North Carolina, she became the unofficial superintendent of the yearly meeting before such an office was created.¹⁰

The following day the Collinses returned to Greensboro, and then took the train to nearby High Point. They stayed at the hotel run by M. Jarrell, who prevailed upon Collins to do a public reading of his poem, "1970." Collins also noted favorably the apparent prosperity of High Point, a growing industrial community.



Old meetinghouse (1791-1876) at New Garden, lithograph by Collins showing the 1869 session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting

On First Day, the 7th of Eighth Month, the Collinses attended Sabbath School and meeting for worship. "We could not but contrast the new building," he said, "with the former one at New Garden. ...The original appearance of the attenders was also very different." A comparison of Collins' renderings of the two buildings, in 1869 and 1887, reveal that the Friends in 1887 were much better attired, reflecting the transition from a dilapidated frame building to a new brick structure.

The next several days were spent visiting and observing. On the 11th (Fifth Day) yearly meeting sessions began. Collins described the proceedings closely but painted no pictures. His drawing of 84-year-old Daniel Barker is the only yearly meeting protrait in his journal. Collins noted, on the 12th, the appointment of Joseph Moore, Josiah Nicholson, Abigail Mendenhall, and Mary C. Woody-- "weighty" Friends all -- as delegates to the Richmond Conference

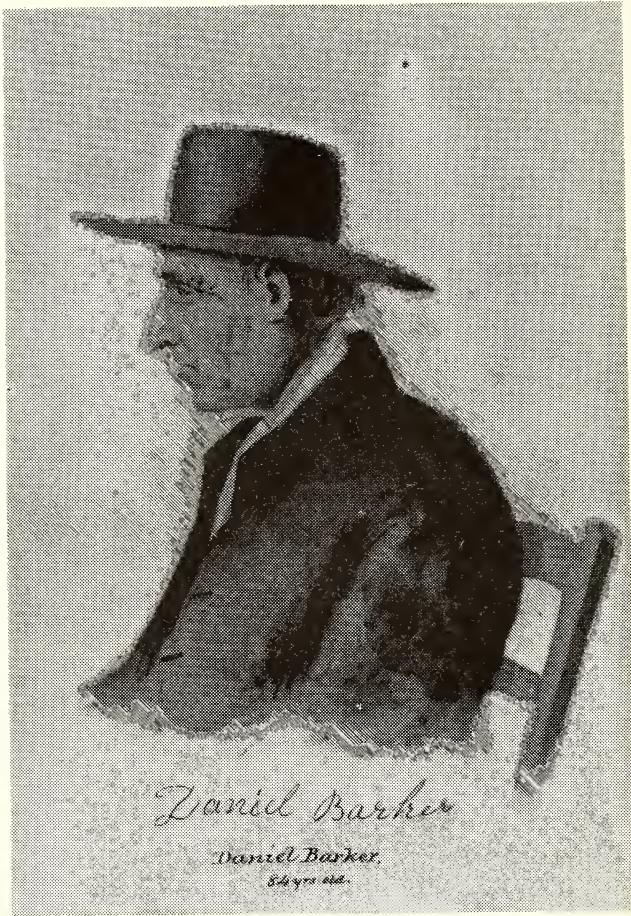


New meetinghouse (1883-1904) at High Point, showing the 1887 session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting

forthcoming in Ninth Month. Sadly, he left a space in his journal for a group painting of the North Carolina representatives, but never completed it.

It was suggested that Friends reopen correspondence with Ohio and Philadelphia Yearly meetings. The move toward Ohio was approved, “in the spirit of love and sympathy yet with the Christian remonstrance, ‘I have a few things against the,’ etc. (Rev. II.4).” Apparently Ohio’s acceptance of water baptism was less a problem for North Carolina Friends than was Philadelphia Yearly Meeting’s action in 1855 in regard to the Ohio division.

In 1855, Ohio Orthodox Friends had split in a very bitter division. Both groups addressed epistles to other Orthodox yearly meetings. After some hesitation, Philadelphia Orthodox Friends read the minute from the Wilburite group in Ohio. Two years later, in 1857, Philadelphia Orthodox Friends severed all formal correspondence



Daniel Barker, age 84, oldest attender at North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1887

with other yearly meetings in order to avoid division within its own ranks. But its 1855 action in receiving the Ohio Wilburite epistle had troubled North Carolina Friends to the point that they had refused to correspond further with Philadelphia "so long as that Yearly Meeting shall continue to recognize as the true Ohio Yearly Meeting that body of which Benjamin Hoyle is clerk," that is the Wilburite body. Even Philadelphia's self-isolation after 1857 failed to move the

North Carolina Friends, who adopted the attitude that “we won’t write to you even if don’t write to us.”¹¹ Abram Fisher’s desire, in 1887, to send a “loving note” to Philadelphia was opposed by Nereus Mendenhall, who “thought it could not consistently be done under existing circumstances.” Nevertheless, a communication from Joseph Rhoads, a Philadelphia Friend, was referred to a committee and was later read.

The attitude of many, if not most, Friends toward the disturbing currents surrounding them was summed up in an address by visiting Friend Barnabas C. Hobbs: “The old fashioned bonnet and round coat are disappearing. What is there to take their place and how shall we be reconciled to the new state of things? What shall we tell the unsaved of salvation and duty? . . . Young, *fired* ministers too often fall into false doctrines. They should give themselves more to reading, meditation, and prayer.”

A discussion of the need for evangelism and education led to the subject of the upcoming Richmond Conference. “Edward Parker declared his belief that great good might be effected thereby. B. C. Hobbs believed in a general brotherhood--we need help from other meetings.” Hobbs then posed a key issue: “Is a Yearly Meeting the sole arbiter of our religious doctrines?” His conclusion was that “the tendency of the Conference would be to harmonize and unify great and important questions affecting the whole body.” This discussion was followed by the reading of Joseph Rhoads’ letter, “with which much satisfaction was expressed.”

Clearly, Collins did not appreciate the depth of misgiving with which Conservative North Carolina Friends viewed the forthcoming conference, misgivings expressed in an article from *The Friend*, published on September 10, 1887: “Several Friends united with ” the proposed conference, but “a few thought it would be better not, the result of former conferences not having been satisfactory.” This anonymous North Carolina Friend stated that, “You cannot weld opposing elements: better first get right and united in bonds of true Christian fellowship at home. This movement under present circumstances, seems like a waste of ammunition, and may contain the seeds of an approach to ecclesiasticism, from which our forefathers in the truth were happily delivered through much suffering.”

The minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting for 1887 parallel

and confirm much of Collins' account. But they omit what was probably the most colorful event of that year's session: the evangelistic meeting held on Sixth Day evening. This was not a revival meeting, but a lively report of Friends work in Matamoros, Mexico. Barnabas C. Hobbs and Laura A. Winston described the ignorance and superstition of the Mexican people under the Roman Catholic Church, and that church's opposition to protestants.

Laura Winston had worked for two years in the Hussey Institute in Matamoros, a missionary school for Mexican girls under the control of the Friends Board of Missions of Philadelphia, of which her sister Julia Ballinger was principal. A widow, Laura Winston was accompanied to Mexico by her beautiful young daughter, Lonnie who Collins notes was also present at the yearly meeting session with her. The Winstons had just returned from Mexico, and Laura Winston, Collins said, was "full of her subject." Those who heard her that night and saw the beautiful child could not know that Lonnie would soon die. In later years her mother would become one of the state's leaders in education for the deaf and in the Women's Christian Temperance Union.¹²

Like Collins, Barnabas C. Hobbs was a visitor at North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Coming from Indiana, he had been superintendent of the Friends Boarding School in Richmond, and the first president of its successor, Earlham College. Leaving the college in 1868, he became Indiana's first superintendent of public instruction.¹³

On this night Laura Winston spoke of the need for evangelization of the Mexican people. The people were friendly and generous, she said. The women worked hard, but the men appeared vain and did little work. Her special desire was for the "elevation" of the girls, and she hoped to see a training school established.

Later in the evening she spoke again, displaying to a larger audience various Mexican curios, including rosaries, palm leaf hats, embroidery, icons, and other objects. Collins relates that,

While speaking of the common dress of the Mexican women, a dark-haired and black-eyed damsel glided up the aisle from the front door attired in native costume and with a cigarette in her mouth. Advancing to Laura, she saluted her on both cheeks and took her seat in front without any emotion. Soon after, a tall, sallow young man, in a long mantle, stalked up the passage, with the customary cigar, and with such a bandit-like

“A Spirit of Improvement and Progress”

appearance, that one could hardly recognize in him, one of the messengers of the Yearly Meeting. Both he and the senora in black, sat like statues to the end of the lecture. Lonnie, Laura’s little daughter sang two Gospel hymns in Spanish.

Clearly the days of the “plain Friend” in North Carolina Yearly Meeting were numbered!

On Seventh Day morning the yearly meeting took up the State of Society, reading the Queries and their answers. The growing use of statistics in responding is evident from Nereus Mendenhall’s comment that “We are too statistical a people. Like David we number too much. In so doing, there is little added weight.” (Conservative Friends surely must have felt that his statement spoke their mind.) Friends also decried the continued use of tobacco products.

Nereus Mendenhall, who so decried the obsession with statistics, was another “weighty” North Carolina Friend. Educated at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, he held one of the few M.D.s in the state prior to the Civil War, but practiced for only a few years before his own health problems led him to choose a different career. He was also a surveyor, and was employed by the North Carolina Railroad. But above all Dr. Mendenhall was a teacher. It was his last-minute conversion that saved New Garden Boarding School during the depths of the war years. As the sole remaining teacher, he was about to depart with his family for Minnesota when he felt led to remain, thereby keeping the school from closing. His daughter Mary later became a leading exponent of women’s education both by the state and at Guilford. As the wife of Guilford President Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, she promoted the creation of the self-help dormitory that now bears her name.¹⁴

Later in the day the education report was taken up. When the Civil War had ended, North Carolina had been virtually without schools. The signal contribution of the Baltimore Association had been the establishment of a statewide Quaker school system under the superintendency of Joseph Moore and, later, Alan Jay. The yearly meeting eventually assumed responsibility for the schools. As the state’s public school system grew, the Quaker schools were laid down. In several cases the Quaker schools became public schools. In the education report of 1887, Joseph Moore stated that most Friends

children attended public school, but that these were closed when public money ran out, sometimes after only two and a half or three and a half months. He urged the raising of funds to extend the time. Moore, who was always a vigorous advocate of professionally trained teachers, declared that "no *cheap* teachers should be employed." Another Friend, David C. MacMillan, seemed to disagree, emphasizing the importance of self-sacrificing Christian teachers.

In 1887, New Garden Boarding School had reached a turning point. Established in 1837 it had had a useful, if precarious, existence providing a guarded education to North Carolina Quaker children prior to the Civil War. But by the war's end the New Garden community had lost most of its Quakers, the meeting had been on the verge of extinction, and the school had been barely functioning. Francis King of Baltimore had quietly urged North Carolina Friends to consider establishing a new high school in High Point, but the yearly meeting had finally decided to upgrade the old school, and had turned over its new yearly meeting house at New Garden to serve as a classroom building. (This was the first King Hall described and illustrated by Collins on his visit to New Garden). The yearly meeting had then built its new brick meetinghouse at High Point for its own use. Soon the New Garden school had begun to function again, and Friends had begun to move back to the community. The meeting had gained new life as well, and had constructed a new, modest, frame meetinghouse.¹⁵

Now the school was celebrating its semicentennial, and eagerly anticipating the transition, scheduled for 1888, to full college status as Guilford College. It was therefore with eagerness that Friends heard the fifty-first annual report of the trustees of New Garden Boarding School:

An invitation was extended by Prof. Moore and Julia White to all members to be present at the Semi-centennial celebration at the school on the 17th inst. Dr. A.H. Lindley of Minneapolis had agreed to give \$5000 towards an endowment fund of \$50000 for the benefit of the school. Prof. Moore stated that there had been at last session 101 boys and 61 girls, five young men and three young women having graduated. He mentioned also the advantages of the Institution by the possession of apparatus, rooms for literary societies, etc.. A Young Women's Christian Association had been formed and it was

“A Spirit of Improvement and Progress”



New meetinghouse (1848-1912) at New Garden

the intention of the advisory Committee to ensure a homelife as much as possible. The Committee was encouraged and continued. Wm. A. Blair thought the report very encouraging. He hoped that young persons would qualify themselves to become primary teachers. The best can get \$75 a month, but he knew of only two such in Guilford county. B. C. Hobbs: “I can congratulate you on your work and the prospects of the College. There are no white-washed teachers there but all are students. They are all graduates of Earlham or Haverford. Let us take hold of the work. The call for help is no starvation cry.[”] R.S. Collins regretted that she had no early education as a Friend. She now saw the need of it. She would compare the Haverford graduates to the tall cedars of Lebanon. Don’t be afraid of getting wisdom, but rejoice in your opportunities. I want to see the Gospel spread over every land on the face of the earth — The meeting then entered upon a subscription toward the endowment fund. Prof. J. W. Woody offered to give \$500. and after encouraging speeches by Prof. Moore, Lynn Hill and others \$1404 was raised.

The following day, First Day, took on a cheerful aspect. Collins reported that “nearly 3000 persons assembled at the meeting house and in the adjoining grove.” This large gathering, only some of whom could fit inside the building, included young and old, black and white. Only about half were friends. The rest had come for what Collins described as “a universal picnic but without the boisterous merriment so often seen and heard on other occasions.”

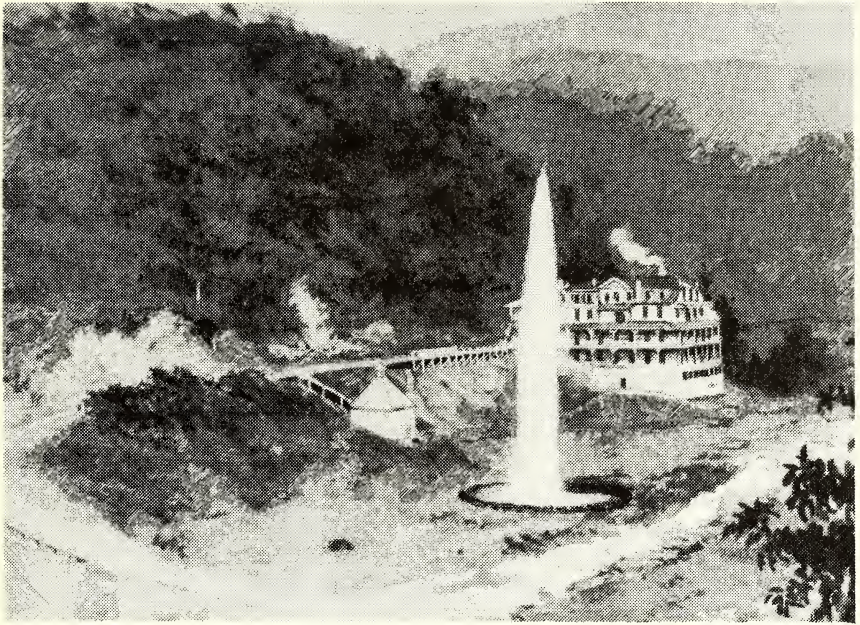
On Second Day business resumed, with the annual report of the Peace Association. The militarization of Europe was contrasted to that of the U.S. In this country only 25,000 men were under arms, while each European nation had a million ready for combat.

Work among the Cherokee Indians in western North Carolina was described, and the excellence of the schools there was praised. There were reports of Bible and Sabbath Schools, Temperance and Prohibition, the latter receiving extended attention. “‘Let us,’ said Franklin S. Blair, ‘sow our state, as it is in Maine, knee deep with temperance literature.’ ” Funds were contributed to the Mexico mission. The Minute of Advice was read, and the meeting concluded.

On the 17th, Collins held a conversation with Henry J. Outland, of Rich Square, whom he described as “a humble, honest Quaker devoted to ministerial work, although poor and having a large growing family to support.”

Nearly twenty years later, the yearly meeting would approve the Uniform Discipline, drawn up by the same group of yearly meetings that first met in 1887 in Richmond, Indiana, to draft a Declaration of Faith. Friends in Rich Square, believing that the document destroyed local control of the ministry and opened the door to a system of paid ministers, would refuse to follow it. The resulting split would lead to the establishment of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) in 1904. Henry Outland, the “humble, honest Quaker devoted to ministerial work, although poor,” whom Collins described in 1887, would be one of the Conservative leaders. His tireless visits to other yearly meetings would have convinced him that classic Quakerism was the right way, and that he could not embrace a system under which ministers might profit from their religious service.¹⁶

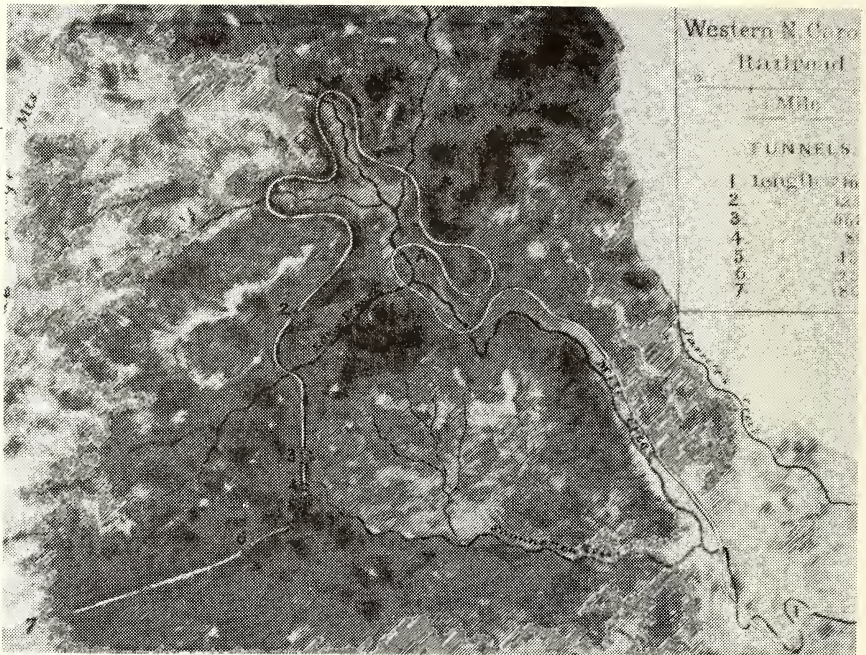
For several days following yearly meeting, the Collinses went sightseeing in the mountains of western North Carolina, including the highest peaks east of the Rockies. Collins was much impressed



Hotel at Round Knob and Andrews Geysir

by the prosperity he found in Asheville and by the engineering feats of the mountain railroad, as well as by the natural beauty of the countryside. In Asheville he bought several photographs of the "sights," and incorporated them into his journal. He was fascinated by the railroad. The construction of the line from Old Fort to Asheville had required the blasting of seven tunnels through the mountains, linking for the first time what had long been a remote part of southern Appalachia with the piedmont and coast. The railroad had also promoted tourism, including the construction of luxury mountain hotels. Two of these, the Battery Park in Asheville and the resort at Round Knob with its spectacular Andrews Geysir, were pictured by Collins in photograph and painting. But most of the photographs and Collins' hand-drawn map of the route were devoted to the engineering marvels of the new rail line, which received more of his attention than the mountain scenery.

Returning to High Point, the Collinses once again attended Sabbath School and meeting for worship on First Day, then visited



Map of tunnels on the Western North Carolina Railroad between Old Fort and Asheville

with Thomas Day Merton, a British Friend who had settled in North Carolina after finding Canada's climate too cold. Collins observed that

We were impressed while at his house with the thought that although our Society in every place holds essentially the same doctrines, yet, in regard to music in families or places or worship, dress, address etc. there is great diversity of practice. Still, if the religious principles and views enunciated and carried out by George Fox and other early Friends are substantially followed out, the minor peculiarities need not cause any estrangement on the part of those who differ.

As with Collins' hope for world peace expressed in "1970," such Quaker unity would prove an elusive dream.

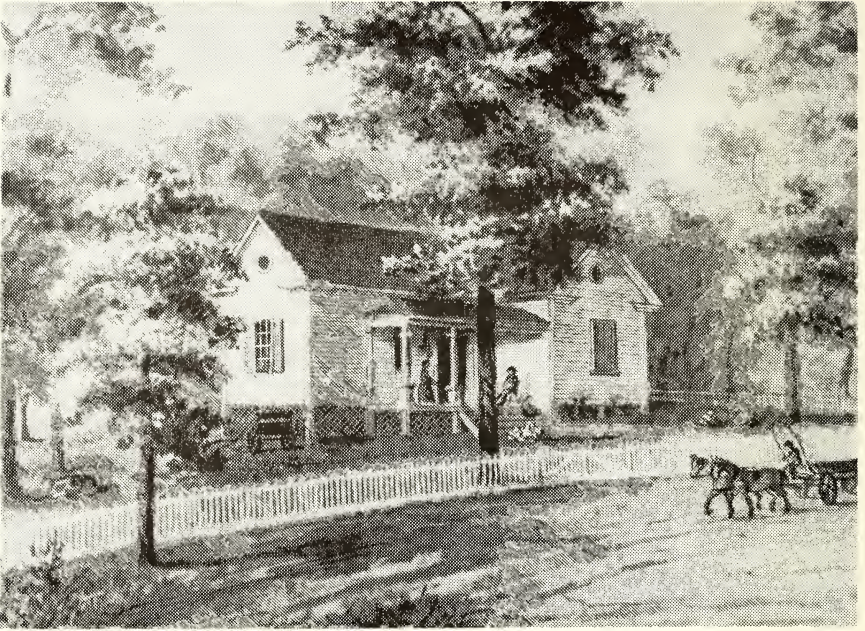
The following day the Collinses visited Rufus P. King, a prominent North Carolina Quaker evangelist who lived in Archdale. Rufus King had been drafted into the Confederate Army, but had refused to fight, and finally escaped after the Battle of Gettysburg. In addition



Mountain landscape in western North Carolina

to his preaching, he was noted as a fundraiser for North Carolina Friends.¹⁷ Behind his house was the Archdale Institute, where Alan Jay had taught and where Cyrus P. Frazier and his brother were then the teachers. Collins included in his journal paintings of both the house and the school.

The next day the Collinses were driven to the home of Benjamin F. Blair, Allen Jay's successor as superintendent of the North Carolina Friends school system. Collins remarked on the railroad track in front of Blair's home--a project temporarily abandoned due to lack of funds. Both Blair and Collins hoped the railroad would be completed because of its economic benefit to the community, providing a means of getting produce to markets quickly. Neither seemed troubled by the prospect of trains rumbling through the front yard. Collins also commented on the apparently depressed state of the black children he saw nearby, and praised Blair's work in providing education for them.



Home of Rufus P. King, Archdale

After another day at High Point, the Collinses returned by train to Philadelphia.

Collins, like other northern Quakers of his time, particularly Francis T. King and John Thomas of the Baltimore Association, exhibited many of the values that came to be associated with Progressivism. Their approach was business-like. They praised efficiency, centralization, accountability, and systematization. They promoted professionalism. And they favored reform of society, primarily through education. They spoke often of “uplifting” the poor and ill-educated. They deplored poverty, and favored the growth of business and industrial technology, even if it meant a railroad in the front yard. They opposed the sale and use of tobacco and alcohol because they inhibited progress, not just because of their deleterious effects on people. They were evangelicals, but their delight in the success of conversion efforts was also part of their belief in progress--religion was a “civilizing” and “uplifting” force. It



Archdale Institute, Archdale

can be argued that the Richmond Conference of 1887, and the subsequent development of the Uniform Discipline and organization of the Five-Years Meeting, were part of this drive toward greater system, organization, and efficiency in church matters--as the birth of a national Quaker denomination. These values were eagerly embraced by southern Friends, who were eager to see their depressed region prosper.¹⁸

Collins' fascination with the railroad is significant. It was the railroad that transformed the United States from a collection of autonomous local communities into a nation-state with a national economy, national businesses, national values, and national religious denominations. So it is not surprising that what Collins praised on his second visit to North Carolina was its progressivism. He concluded his journal with these words:

A retrospect of this second attendance at North Carolina Yearly Meeting proved that not only were the house



Home of Benjamin F. Blair near High Point

accommodations far better than they were eighteen years ago but that a spirit of *improvement* and *progress* was stimulating the minds of Friends, both young and old. Mission, Temperance, and Sabbath School had become *more systematized* than before. Common school and higher education had received an impetus fully equal to what we had expected. Notwithstanding the continued use of tobacco in its different forms by some of the people, there was much less of it than formerly, particularly in our own Society.

With these impressions and a feeling of thankfulness that we were permitted to see our friends in North Carolina once more, we trust that future years may show still more *progress* and *development* in each condition of life and in *every religious denomination* there and elsewhere. [Emphasis added.]

Those words expressed the optimistic, Progressive side of American Quakerism in the 1880s. But even as standards of living



Moonflower (Calonyction aculeatum) in bloom

were improving and national institutions were developing, the anonymous North Carolina Friend who wrote about the Richmond Conference of 1887 saw clearly what Collins and many others did not. The formation of national institutions accompanied the weakening of local networks and contexts of meaning, including religious meaning.¹⁹ When Collins visited North Carolina in 1887 he saw an apparently unified and prosperous yearly meeting. But within the next three decades it would split twice, resulting in what today

are North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting), North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), and the Piedmont District of the Evangelical Friends Church--Eastern Region.

The "spirit of improvement and progress" that Collins celebrated in 1887 has brought changes that few today would undo if they could. But their price has included the loosening of community ties and the fragmentation of the Religious Society of Friends. More than a century later Friends face the challenge of balancing national institutions and technological progress with the development of new networks and the rebirth of community at the local level.

¹John Collins, "Among the Friends in North Carolina at their Yearly Meeting in 1869," and "A Summer Trip to North Carolina, 1887," MS journals in the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C. Except where otherwise noted, all references to Collins' 1887 visit are taken from the latter.

²Damon D. Hickey, "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction," *Quaker History* 74 (spring 1985): 1-17.

³John and Anna B. Collins, "Our Mission in East Tennessee, 1870-1879," MS journal in the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

⁴On Collins' life, see Henry H. Bisbee and Rebecca Bisbee Colesar, *John Collins, Artist, 1814-1902* (Burlington, N.J.: 1979). On Collins' work as a lithographer, see his *The Art of Engraving on Metal, Wood and Stone (Compiled from Various Sources)* (Burlington, N.J.: Franklin Ferguson, 1858); his *Views of the City of Burlington, New Jersey, Taken from Original Sketches* (Burlington: 1847); and his *The City and Scenery of Newport, Rhode Island: Illustrations Drawn on Stone* (Burlington, N.J.: 1857). On Collins as a visionary, see his "1970," *A Vision of the Coming Age* (Philadelphia: 1896).

⁵Hickey, pp. 4-5.

⁶Memorial to Abigail N. Mendenhall, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

⁷Charles C. Hendricks, "The Influence of Joseph Moore and the Baltimore Association on North Carolina Quakers," *The Southern Friend* 2 (autumn 1980): 71-83; Opal Thornburg, *Earlham: The Story of the College, 1847-1962* (Richmond, Ind.: Earlham College Press, 1963), passim; and Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro, N. C.: Guilford College, 1937), passim.

“A Spirit of Improvement and Progress”

⁸Memorial to Priscilla Benbow Hackney, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

⁹Mary Edith Woody Hinshaw, “John Warren Woody” (typescript biography prepared for *The Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, ed. William S. Powell), Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

¹⁰Mary Edith Woody Hinshaw, “Mary Chawner Woody” (typescript biography prepared for *The Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, ed. William S. Powell), Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

¹¹North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Minutes of 1887, pp. 12-13; and J. William Frost, “Years of Crisis and Separation: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1790-1860,” in *Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1681-1981* (Haverford, Pa.: Friends Historical Association, 1981), pp. 82-83.

¹²Olivia Blount Grimes, “Laura Annie Winston,” in *Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Samuel A. Ashe et al., vol. 8 (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1917), pp. 499-503.

¹³Thornburg, *passim*.

¹⁴Gilbert, *passim*.

¹⁵Hickey, pp. 8-9; Hiram H. Hilty, *New Garden Friends Meeting: The Christian People Called Quakers* (Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and New Garden Meeting, 1983), pp. 43-55.

¹⁶Damon D. Hickey, “Progressives and Conservatives Search for Order: The Division of North Carolina Quakers,” *The Southern Friend* 6 (spring 1984): 21, 29.

¹⁷B. Russell Branson, “Rufus P. King” (typescript biography prepared for *The Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, ed. William S. Powell), Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

¹⁸Hickey, “Pioneers of the New South,” pp. 11-17.

¹⁹Robert H. Wiebe, in his *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), argues that the Progressive Era was characterized by the breakdown of a social order based upon local contexts of meaning. Efforts to return to the old order were not successful, according to Wiebe, but neither was the attempt to build a new order based on expertise in technological management.

Friends Center at Guilford College Annual Report

by

Judith W. Harvey

Friends Center at Guilford College is a southeast regional resource center established to provide education and information about Quakerism. Initiated in 1982, the center continues to develop community and campus programs and to provide liaison contacts with national and international Friends, Friends schools, and Quaker organizations.

LONG-RANGE PLANNING

Guilford-Duke Program in Quaker Ministry

Discussions continued this year between Friends Center, the Religious Studies Department, and the NCYM Recording Committee concerning a program in Quaker ministry. Through contacts at Duke preliminary discussions have been held on the possibility of a cooperative Guilford-Duke program in Quaker ministry. Joe Mann, director of the Divinity School's Continuing Education Department will work with program development. Plans are underway to initiate a fall course at Duke for 15-20 pastors. Longer range discussions will also continue.

Judith W. Harvey is director of the Friends Center at Guilford College.

NCYM Young Adult Leadership Group

At the invitation of Friends Center a group of young adult pastors and leaders in NCYM has begun to meet to discuss their experiences and aspirations for their own ministry and leadership. The group plans to meet at regular intervals to discuss these issues. The group consists of Jim Cavanaugh, Sara Beth Terrell, Linda Kusse-Wolfe, Patty Levering, Doyle Craven, and Frank Massey.

SESQUICENTENNIAL PROGRAM - FRIENDS ACTIVITIES

1987 Summer Conferences

FUM Triennial - Friends Center assisted with campus liaison arrangements for the Triennial.

Young Adult Retreat - Sponsored by Friends Center for young adults from NCYM, NCYM Conservative, PFF, and SAYMA. Louise Wilson led the retreat, called "Nurturing the Spiritual Life." Twenty-five young adults attended.

Quaker Theological Discussion Group - Friends Center assisted with campus liaison arrangements.

NCYM Conservative - Friends Center report presented. The center helped with arrangements for the yearly meeting sesquicentennial speech by President William Rogers.

NCYM-FUM - Friends Center reports presented to yearly meeting and Ministry and Counsel. An appreciation luncheon was held for yearly meeting volunteers who helped with Friends Center sesquicentennial events.

Sesquicentennial Speakers Bureau

The Friends Center Speakers Bureau was available during the sesquicentennial year. Four lectures were given at Rockingham Community College and cosponsored by Rockingham Preparative

The Southern Friend

Meeting. Other speakers gave presentations at Durham Meeting, High Point Meeting, Edward Hill Meeting, St. Andrews Episcopal Church, and Holy Trinity Episcopal Church.

International Congress on Quaker Education

The center's director served on the congress Steering Committee and Publicity Committee and helped lead a workshop on metaphors for Quaker education. The director was in charge of the Congress Epistle Committee. The summary epistle was presented to the closing session of the congress.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

Quakerism Seminar - Forsyth Friends Meeting - September 1987

The center and the center for continuing education coordinated a five week seminar on "Quaker Thought and Practice" at the request of Forsyth Friends Meeting. Speakers were Guilford faculty and staff and AFSC staff. Costs were covered by the meeting.

Candidates for Recording Dinner - February 1988

Friends Center and the NCYM Recording Committee hosted a dinner for candidates for recording and the Recording Committee. The speaker was Bob Medford, pastoral counselor.

Lon Fendall - NCYM Ministers Association - April 1988

Friends Center hosted the April Ministers Association Meeting. Lon Fendall, director of the Center for Peace Learning, George Fox College, led a workshop on "A Ministry of Reconciliation." This meeting was the fifth annual meeting of the Ministers Association on campus.

CAMPUS PROGRAMS

Parent Program - Freshman Orientation - August 1987

Friends Center of Guilford College Annual Report

For the fifth year the center coordinated a freshman parent orientation session "Guilford, A Quaker College." The session was led by a panel: John Grice, political science department, Seth Hassett, community senate and Judith Harvey, Friends Center.

South Africa Forum - September 1987

The center coordinated a campus forum, "Guilford's Investment Policy Regarding South Africa: A Further Look." A panel of trustees, faculty, and students presented a variety of perspectives and opinions on the college's investment policy. The forum was well received and was part of a community process that led to the Board of Trustees' divestment decision and the forming of the community committee on South Africa.

Committee on South Africa

The center's director serves as staff liaison to the committee. The committee has drafted a statement of support for enrolling black South African students. The committee has also initiated a project to collect donated books for libraries in black schools, colleges and universities. A first shipment has been sent to the University of Western Cape. Discussions are also underway to consider the possibility of coordinating a Quaker delegation to South Africa.

Quaker Students

Two special fellowship gatherings were held for Quaker students during the year sponsored by admissions, student development and Friends Center. The center's director also worked with the Student Quaker Concerns Group.

Gordon Browne - Distinguished Quaker Visitor - October 1987

Gordon Browne, executive secretary, Section of the Americas, Friends World Committee, was the fall 1987 Distinguished Quaker Visitor. His week-long visit was scheduled with public talks and numerous contacts with students and classes. The visit was part of the sesquicentennial gala week. The program emphasis was a

reunion and anniversary dinner for North Carolina leaders who helped plan the Fourth Friends World Conference held at Guilford in 1967. Gordon's speech, "Quaker Strangers and Quaker Neighbors," highlighted the work of Friends around the world in areas of conflict and economic development.

Following the campus schedule, Gordon spent a week visiting North Carolina Friends. The intervisitation was arranged by Damon Hickey, curator of the Friends Historical Collection, and member of FWCC's executive committee, who also drove Gordon Browne to the meetings he visited.

FUND RAISING

Annual Giving

The annual giving program was strengthened through the Friends Center Sustainer program (donors contributing \$250 and up) and increased participation by volunteers. Personal solicitation, direct mail solicitation, and phonathons were organized during the year. A total of \$14,741 has been raised making the 1987-88 campaign the strongest annual giving year to date.

Friends Center QUEST Campaign

A total of \$106,411 has been raised during QUEST for Friends Center endowment. All Friends Center endowment funds now total \$175,392. Plans are underway to raise the remaining \$75,000 to complete the \$250,000 endowment goal. The Shoemaker Fund gave \$4,000 for Friends Center library space in January 1988.

PUBLICITY

Yearly Meeting Reports

Friends Center reports are given annually at sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative).

Newsletter

The fifth annual newsletter was published during summer 1987.

Book Reviews

Edward Byers. *The Nation of Nantucket: Society and Politics in an Early American Commercial Center, 1660-1820*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987. 367, xvi pp. Illustrations, charts, tables, appendices, bibliography, and index. \$35.00

Perhaps few bits of windswept soil and rock have held the same fascination for Americans as has the island of Nantucket. Certainly Nantucketers had a profound impact on North Carolina Quakerism. The migration of the Coffins, Macys, Swains, Gardners, Worths et al. to Guilford County in the 1770s and 1780s helped transform North Carolina Yearly Meeting and, a generation later, Quakerism in Indiana and Ohio. Edward Byers's excellent study is silent on this particular incident, but it includes virtually everything else of significance in the first 150 years of Nantucket history.

Byer's account begins with the island's first inhabitants, the Nantucket Indians. They, of course, found themselves systematically dispossessed by English settlers beginning in 1660. Deprived of most of their land and often reduced to near-slavery to redeem debts to white traders and merchants, they supplied an important but steadily decreasing supply of cheap labor. The last were swept away in an epidemic in 1763.

The heart of Byers's work is his analysis of the evolution of Nantucket society. Many of the events he describes--the original settlement, the revolt of the "Half-Share Men" in 1676-1677, the introduction of Quakerism to the island in the early eighteenth century--are familiar to students of the island's history. Byers, however, sheds significant new light on a number of other topics.

Nantucket resembled other colonial New England towns in its early days in that it was an agrarian society controlled by an elite which based its status on control of access to land. Throughout the eighteenth century, Nantucket's affairs were controlled by a relatively small group of men, related through a mind-boggling pattern of intermarriage and descent from the first settlers. By the 1720s, however, Nantucket had taken a somewhat different turn from most New England towns in developing a commercial economy based on the whaling industry. Control of island affairs thus passed

into the hands of merchants and shipowners. The years from 1740 to 1775 were, in Byers's judgment, a kind of golden age of general prosperity. The American Revolution, however, brought this era to an end. The British blockade of New England brought trade to a standstill, while much of the whaling fleet was lost. Recovery was slow in the 1780s. When a measure of prosperity was regained, Thomas Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812 brought back the same problems. By 1820 Nantucket's whaling preeminence had been lost forever.

Of particular interest is Byers's account of Nantucket Quakerism. Coming to the island between 1700 and 1710, the Society of Friends grew slowly but steadily until about 1740. In the next thirty years Friends became the dominant sect on the island. Byers argues that an atmosphere of "diversity, radical spiritism, anticlericalism, and tolerance" made Quakerism especially attractive to islanders. Family connections also probably played an important role. Byers finds that the Nantucket Monthly Meeting was dominated for decades by two families, the Starbucks and the Macys, and their connections.

Group mores for Nantucket Friends were originally rather lax. Disownments were uncommon--only three took place before 1740. In the 1770s, however, the reform movement that began in Philadelphia reached New England. It had a profound impact on the island. The administration of the Discipline became notably tighter. Whereas between 1708 and 1770 only 90 Nantucket Friends were "dealt with" for violations, between 1770 and 1795 the number soared to over 600. And while before 1770 most offenders were able to placate the meeting with expressions of regret and retain their membership, after 1770 the overwhelming majority were disowned. The result was a steady decline in both the numbers and influence of Nantucket Friends.

Genealogists with Nantucket ancestors, as well as those who like a good story, will probably continue to prefer Alexander Starbuck's *History of Nantucket* (1924). Those who want to understand how Nantucket worked and why, however, would be well advised to turn to this volume.

Thomas D. Hamm
Earlham College

Ellen Thomas Berry and David Allen Berry. *Our Quaker Ancestors: Finding Them in Quaker Records*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1987. 136 pages. \$17.50.

Our immigrant Quaker ancestors prospered, especially in terms of descendants. And relative to other religious and ethnic bodies, they left meticulous records of their meetings and membership. The result is that there are now many, many people who are finding their Quaker ancestors in those records. Ellen and David Berry, both certified genealogists with special interest and experience in Quaker records, have written a guide to locating and interpreting American Quaker records. They also offer a search strategy designed to use what is available most efficiently and to fill in gaps when official records fail to turn up an ancestor.

The authors begin with a chapter of background on Quaker belief and history. For the purpose it is accurate enough, perhaps, though not at all satisfactory for anyone who wants to have a genuine understanding of either, as the following observation reveals. "After extensive reading about early Quakers, we have come to the conclusion that as a group they were not very likeable. They could even be obnoxious in their piety." (page 22) While that observation may have some truth in it, to say no more than that as a summary of all that our Quaker ancestors were is a distortion to say the least. Furthermore, the Berrys find Quakers to have been

...a study of contradictions. Although they espoused religious freedom, they required their own members to worship in a specified manner. No organization had more rules regarding removal from approved status than the Quakers. By today's standards these rules seem trivial and even arrogant. They were truly a 'plain people,' but at the same time they were shrewd merchants.... They abhorred slavery, but some families owned slaves. They were against war of any kind, but still some fought in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. (page 15)

Here, as elsewhere in the background chapter, superficiality obscures the truth of the historical evolution of Quaker testimonies and practices and confuses individual unfaithfulness to the standards of the Society with collective unfaithfulness. The chapter

provides something to go on until the researcher has a chance to read some of the excellent sources cited in the bibliography, but he or she could just as well skip the introductory elements and go on to the useful guide and directories provided by the rest of the book.

A chapter on the organization of the Society of Friends explains the structure and function of yearly, quarterly, monthly, preparative, and indulged meetings in America, emphasizing the primary importance of the monthly meeting with its records of its meetings for business or discipline and its birth, death, and marriage registers.

Patterns of migration and expansion are indicated in another chapter with reference to appropriate sources for greater and more accurate detail. There are some misleading statements as on page 38 where the authors indicate that most of the records of the Hopewell Meeting in Frederick County, Virginia have been preserved. In fact, there is significant gap in the records of this very important meeting covering the first twenty-five years of its existence. The impact of that loss is minimized only by the far greater difficulties caused by the loss of the early men's and women's minutes of Centre Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina, the loss of all the records from the Trent, Carver's Creek, and Dunn's Creek Meetings in North Carolina and the Fredericksburg (Camden) Meeting records in South Carolina. While it is not the purpose of the guide to indicate the exact holdings of every meeting, a word of caution about the extent to which there are missing records would have been advisable.

An analysis of the types of actions recorded in minutes, the peculiarities of Quaker dating, the Quaker marriage procedure and the resulting certificate is generally thorough and accurate. The explanation of the distinction between disownment for "marrying contrary to discipline" and "marrying out of unity" is correct, but in North Carolina records, at least, the two phrases are often used interchangeably by some recorders. In the chapter on searching meeting records, the authors mistakenly state that when the groom was given a certificate by his meeting to marry a woman at her meeting, he was transferring his membership temporarily.

Another common assumption about disownment which the Berrys seem also to assume is that it meant that the former member was barred from all meeting functions. Many researchers believe, quite incorrectly, that Quakers practiced shunning of disowned

members. In fact, disownment meant only that the offender might not participate in the monthly meetings for discipline (business). There is plenty of evidence that many, though by no means all, former Friends continued to attend meeting for worship, or that their families did, and that they remained part of the Quaker community.

The chapter entitled "Locating and Searching Monthly Meeting Records" suggests a step-by-step procedure which should be very helpful to persons just embarking on genealogical research in American Quaker records. Some of the limitations of confining one's research to using William Wade Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* are noted although it is incorrect to claim, as the authors do on page 58, that Hinshaw arbitrarily omitted the records of important meetings. In Volume I of the *Encyclopedia*, the only records of older meeting which are omitted are those for which no records are extant. The authors may have been misled into thinking that some important older meetings, such as Rocky River Meeting in Chatham County, North Carolina which had preparative status from 1754 until 1907 when it finally became a monthly meeting, were left out when in fact their records are found among those of the parent meetings which are included in the *Encyclopedia*. It is in this regard that the authors may not understand, as many researchers do not, that a monthly meeting often represented a cluster of preparative and indulged meetings with only one set of monthly meeting minutes and registers.

Included in the guide is a directory of Quaker repositories which locates the major Quaker Collections libraries in the United States and Canada. It is weak on sources in Great Britain but reference is made to *My Ancestors Were Quakers: How Can I Find More About Them?*, by Quaker archivists Edward Milligan and Malcolm Thomas (London: The Society of Genealogists, 1983) which is the guide to use for British Quaker sources.

Appendices include a chronology of the yearly meetings in the United States and Canada, samples of pages from some of the sources mentioned such as Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia*, maps showing locations of meetings, and a directory of meetings. A brief glossary focuses on meeting organizational terms. Other terms are defined within the text and will be hard to find because there is no index. A short bibliography includes many valuable references and sources, but has some obvious omissions. The end papers display a map of

westward migration routes and a "family tree" of American Yearly Meetings," both necessary to using Quaker records.

One wishes that this reference work had been done by a Quaker librarian, archivist, or historian, or by one of the many fine Quaker genealogists. The job would have been done with more respect and appreciation for Quakerism, and with fewer mistakes in interpretation. But since that didn't happen, genealogists will thank the Berrys for filling a real need, and for, on the whole, providing a useful guide.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

New Publications of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society cooperated with North Carolina Yearly Meeting and local meetings in the publication of two meeting histories and a book on the spoken ministry among Friends in 1987. All are available from the Society. Address: P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502.

Hiram H. Hilty. *Greensboro Monthly Meeting: A New Meeting for a New Age*. Greensboro, N. C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Greensboro Monthly Meeting, 1987. 134 pages, illustrated. \$7.50 plus \$1.00 postage.

Greensboro Montly Meeting, better known as First Friends Meeting in Greensboro, was established in 1891, at a time when the old ways that made Quakers distinctive in dress, speech, and manner of worship were disappearing. Hiram Hilty's skillful exploration of Greensboro Monthly Meeting's place in the transition to a pastoral style of worship, and its efforts to retain the unique spiritual perceptions and testimonies of Friends in the new emerging forms makes this history of special interest. Of interest also is the fact that the membership of the meeting has had a powerful sense of civic responsibility and has played a major role in the emergence of the city of Greensboro as a leader in the state in business, government, and civil rights.

The membership has included descendants and relatives of many old North Carolina Quaker families, including such names as Benbow, Lindley, Fields, Worth, Frazier, Ledbetter, Cartland, Spencer, Blair, Reynolds, Hodgin, Mendenhall, Petty, Henley, King, White, Tomlinson, Moore, Hollowell, Osborne, Stout, Farlow, and many others.

The history concludes with a chapter on the future of the meeting

written by the present pastor, William P.H. Steven, Jr., in which he defines the basic concepts and characteristics of Quakerism and explores the challenge of the future for Greensboro Monthly Meeting in relation to them.

Appendices include "Members Added during the First Five Years," brief biographies of the pastoral ministers, and a chronological list of evangelists and special lecturers who have come to the meeting. The book is illustrated, and a bibliography of sources and an index are provided.

Seth B. Hinshaw. *The Spoken Ministry among Friends: Three Centuries of Progress and Development*. Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1987. 160 pages. \$7.50 plus \$1.00 postage.

Seth Hinshaw is already well known to North Carolina Friends Historical Society members as the author of three historical studies, *Friends at Holly Spring*, *Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker*, and *The Carolina Quaker Experience*, as well as many other books and pamphlets. Now he brings his many years of experience as a Quaker pastor and his skill as a writer of history to bear on the question of how the spoken ministry among Friends has changed and developed in the past three centuries. He provides an overview particularly of the pastoral or programmed tradition, but does not overlook the special characteristics of the spoken ministry in the unprogrammed tradition.

Some of the topics considered are New Testament patterns of Quaker ministry and the pastoral concept, traveling and resident ministers, women in the ministry, the role of elders, the education and recording of ministers, and the writer's own observations on the present and future of Quaker ministry.

Notes and a bibliography of sources further enhance the usefulness of this volume for anyone interested in the concept of ministry and its history in the Society of Friends.

James K. Thompson. *New Hope Friends Meeting and the Elroy Community: A History*. Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1987. \$7.50 plus \$1.50 postage.

The history of New Hope Meeting and the Elroy Community has a unique place among the histories published by the society. So deeply intertwined is the meeting with its Wayne County, North Carolina community that the author found he could not write about the meeting without also writing about two sister churches, Casey's Chapel Free Will Baptist Church and Millers Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church, and about the community stores and schools.

While the meeting itself is only a little over one hundred years old, it is a continuation of the Quaker presence in Wayne County since 1740. As such, it will have interest to many Quaker descendants as well as to those interested in North Carolina Quaker history in general. Illustrations depict the meeting and church buildings and prominent members of the meeting and the community. Appendices provide lists of clerks, ministers, Sunday school superintendents, and evangelists; the membership of New Hope Friends Meeting and Casey's Chapel; and the documents of New Hope Meeting. Notes, a bibliography, and an index are provided.

North Carolina Friends Historical Society

NEWSLETTER

Guilford College concluded its yearlong 150th birthday celebration with the FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON QUAKER EDUCATION. The three-day event held in April 1988, brought together 364 teachers, administrators, and students representing 148 educational institutions from 11 countries. The plenary and small-group sessions focused on questions of what is distinctive about a Quaker approach to education, what the historical and spiritual bases of that approach are, what influence Quaker education can and does have on non-Quaker education, and what the current trends and issues in Quaker education are. There was a marked degree of participation and cooperation in the event, seen and experienced in workshops, "gifts" to the entire group in the reports presented by each workshop, in meetings for worship, and in the international meal and festival held on the last night of the congress. Participants called for another congress to be held within a few years, time and place not yet decided.

Ground was broken in May for a major addition to the Guilford College library. The FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION will expand within the remodeled older portion of the library to two-and-one-half times its current space. The project is expected to be completed by the fall of 1989. Collection staff hopes to maintain as much of the current level of service as possible, but some portions of the collection, especially little-used materials, may be inaccessible during some of the construction period. Visitors to and users of the collection should be prepared for less than ideal conditions. When the addition is complete there will be expanded research areas; a two-level, climate-controlled closed stack area for rare and unique books, manuscripts, records, artifacts, and costumes; a seminar room; display space; and a large processing area.

Issues of *QUAKER QUERIES* numbers 7, 8, and 9 have been issued in 1987 and 1988 and are available for \$5.00 each plus \$2.00 for postage and handling from Ruby Simonson McNeill, N. 4015 Marguerite Road, Spokane, Washington 99212-4521. Each issue includes genealogical queries submitted by readers, reviews of books and periodicals of genealogical interest, a complete list of contents of each previous issue, and news of family reunions, and Quaker archives. Each issue is indexed.

Recent *MANUSCRIPT ADDITIONS TO THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION* include the following items.

The *JOURNAL OF ELKHANAH BEARD*, an Indiana Quaker minister. Between 1862 and 1867 he recorded his ministerial and relief work, primarily among freed blacks along the Mississippi River from Memphis, Tennessee to Helena, Arkansas and Vicksburg, Mississippi. Of special interest is his recounting of the story of freedman Adam Brown's spiritual journey in the bonds of slavery.

Recently recovered from a decades-ago misfiling is a *LETTER FROM JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER* to his namesake Gertrude Whittier Mendenhall. In 1871 the nine-year-old daughter of Nereus and Oriana Mendenhall of Jamestown, North Carolina received a photograph of himself from Whittier with a note expressing his hope that "thy name will do thee no harm and that thee will grow up to be a true and noble woman, blessing and being blest." She did.

Although received several years ago, the *MEMORY BOOKS OF SYLVESTER AND MAY MATHER JONES* (1900-1960) have just been processed. These albums include letters, articles, clippings, photographs, memorials, and writings, with annotations of May Jones, documenting the Quaker couple's service in Cuba, Spain, Mexico and the United States. They worked with the American Friends Service Committee, the Friends Central Bureau, the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, the American Friends Board of Missions, and other service agencies. Also included are genealogical material on the Mather family and the journal of Hannah Mather, 1851.

Two recent additions tell of the terrible ordeals endured by **QUAKER CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS DURING THE CIVIL WAR**. Tilghman Vestal (1844-1928) left two diaries, 1862-65, recounting his time with a Tennessee regiment, his court martial and imprisonment; and of his dangerous trip to the Carolina coast from Guilford County and north to Philadelphia. Soloman Frazier's letters, 1860-1865, tell of his imprisonment in the Salisbury Confederate Prison.

The **LETTERS OF MARION LANTZ, 1932-33**, tell of her experiences as an American Quaker Teacher in the Friends Girls School, Ramallah, Palestine (now West Bank). Letters to family and friends describe the school, her work, and travels to nearby cities and to Egypt. In addition there are writings, photographs, newsclippings, songbooks, and other memorabilia.

The life of a Quaker woman in the ministry, and her later experiences as a practitioner of phrenology are revealed in the **JOURNAL OF ELVA PERKINS GAUSE CULLEN GOLDSBY**. Written between 1875 and 1906, it includes an autobiography, lecture and sermon notes, poems, copies of correspondence, and genealogical notes on the Perkins, Hood, Pate, and Goldsby families.

Vernon descendants will be interested in the typescript of **"THOMAS, RANDALL, AND ROBERT VERNON AND MORE THAN SEVENTY-FIVE ALLIED FAMILIES,"** by Greta Davis Ramsay (1884-1975).

THE PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM OF MRS. E.C. CRIDER, compiled ca. 1937, includes photographs taken ca. 1860-ca. 1937. Subjects are members of the Waymire and Hutchens families; their residences in North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, and Virginia; Sarah Ann Williams Vestal, 1847-?; and Friends meeting houses in Yadkin County, North Carolina and Montgomery County, Ohio.

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society
1987-88

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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

Journal of the
North Carolina Friends
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Volume X, Number 2

Autumn 1988

The Southern Friend:
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The Southern Friend is published semiannually in spring and autumn by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502. Members of the society, for whom the annual dues are \$12, receive the journal without charge. Single issues may be purchased for \$3 per number.

Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Damon D. Hickey, The Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410.

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts, America: History and Life*, and *Periodical Source Index* (PERSI).

Publications Committee

Damon D. Hickey and Herbert Poole, editors; Carole M. Treadway and Gertrude Beal, associate editors.

Cover Illustration

"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

The Southern Friend Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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The Quaker Ceramic Tradition in the North Carolina Piedmont: Documentation and Preliminary Survey of the Dennis Family Pottery

by

Hal E. Pugh

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in what is now southern Guilford and northern Randolph counties, North Carolina there existed several Quaker families who were involved in the production of pottery. These families migrated into the area during the mid to late eighteenth century from the Mid-Atlantic and New England states. Research on these potters has been limited due to the lack of signed wares and identifiable pottery sites. It has been assumed that since these Quakers lived in agrarian areas and often combined farming with the pottery-making trade they made relatively plain ceramic wares, having little inclination or time for conscious decoration.

The following is a documentation and preliminary survey of a pottery site located in north-central Randolph County, near the community of New Salem. It has been identified as belonging to one of the Quaker potter-families, the Dennis family. The site findings not only refute the idea of these potters making only simple utilitarian forms, but graphically demonstrates they were highly skilled artisans producing a variety of decorative and thinly turned tablewares.

The author is a 1968 graduate of Randleman High School and attended Appalachian State University, majoring in Anthropology and Sociology. While an Anthropology major, he completed archaeology field work on the excavation of an Indian rock shelter site located on the Wautaga River in Watauga County, and the location and mapping of other pertinent rock shelter sites in the Boone area.

In 1971, while attending school he became interested in the ceramic field and began to learn the potter's trade. After leaving the Boone area in 1972 he began producing traditional earthenware and stoneware pottery, as owner and operator of New Salem Pottery in Randleman, North Carolina.

A Chronological History of the Dennis Family 1650–1803

Thomas Dennis (b.ca. 1650) was living in the county of West Meath, near Athlone, Ireland by 1673. He had two children by his first wife (name unknown). He married his second wife, Jane Tatnall, in Edenderry, Ireland, in 1681. The following year Thomas and his wife came to America to what is now west New Jersey and settled with other Quakers on a 64,000-acre tract of wilderness called the Irish Tenth. In 1684, Thomas was deeded forty acres on Newton Creek from this tract in Gloucester County, close to present day West Collingswood, New Jersey.¹ In 1687/88, he rented a lot on the south side of Walnut Street, east of Fifth Street in Philadelphia. During 1691/92 he purchased adjoining land to the east of the rental lot. In approximately 1693 Thomas moved back to Gloucester County, New Jersey, where he likely resided until his death in 1720.²

Thomas and Jane had six children, two boys and four girls. Thomas Dennis II was born to them ca. 1700. In 1720 Thomas II married Sarah Wyeth. They lived in Gloucester County, New Jersey, until 1728 when they moved to Chester County, Pennsylvania. Their sons, Thomas III (b. 1724) and Edward (b.ca. 1726) accompanied them. In 1748 Thomas II purchased a 263-acre tract of property in East Fallowfield Township in Chester County.³ His son, Thomas III, married Elizabeth Webb, daughter of Joseph Webb, from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania in 1757. After his marriage Thomas III evidently continued to live on the 263-acre tract with his parents. During 1766, Thomas II sold this property and moved to North Carolina with his wife. Thomas III and his family accompanied them to the new location.⁴

The Dennis families settled on a 300-acre tract of land in what is now north-central Randolph County, North Carolina. The property was bounded on the southeastern side by Polecat Creek and sat astride the Trading Road (formerly the Indian Trading Path), which ran from Petersburg, Virginia to South Carolina (Fig. 1).⁵ In a will probated in 1775, Thomas II left this property to his wife, Sarah, and son, Thomas III.⁶ The name of Thomas III appeared in the 1779 Randolph County tax list; however, due to his Quaker beliefs he refused to take the oath of allegiance and did not return a list of taxable property.⁷ During 1786 a state land grant for the 300-acre tract was issued in his name.⁸ In 1803, Thomas III died leaving the property to his son, William.⁹

Quaker Ceramic Tradition in North Carolina Piedmont

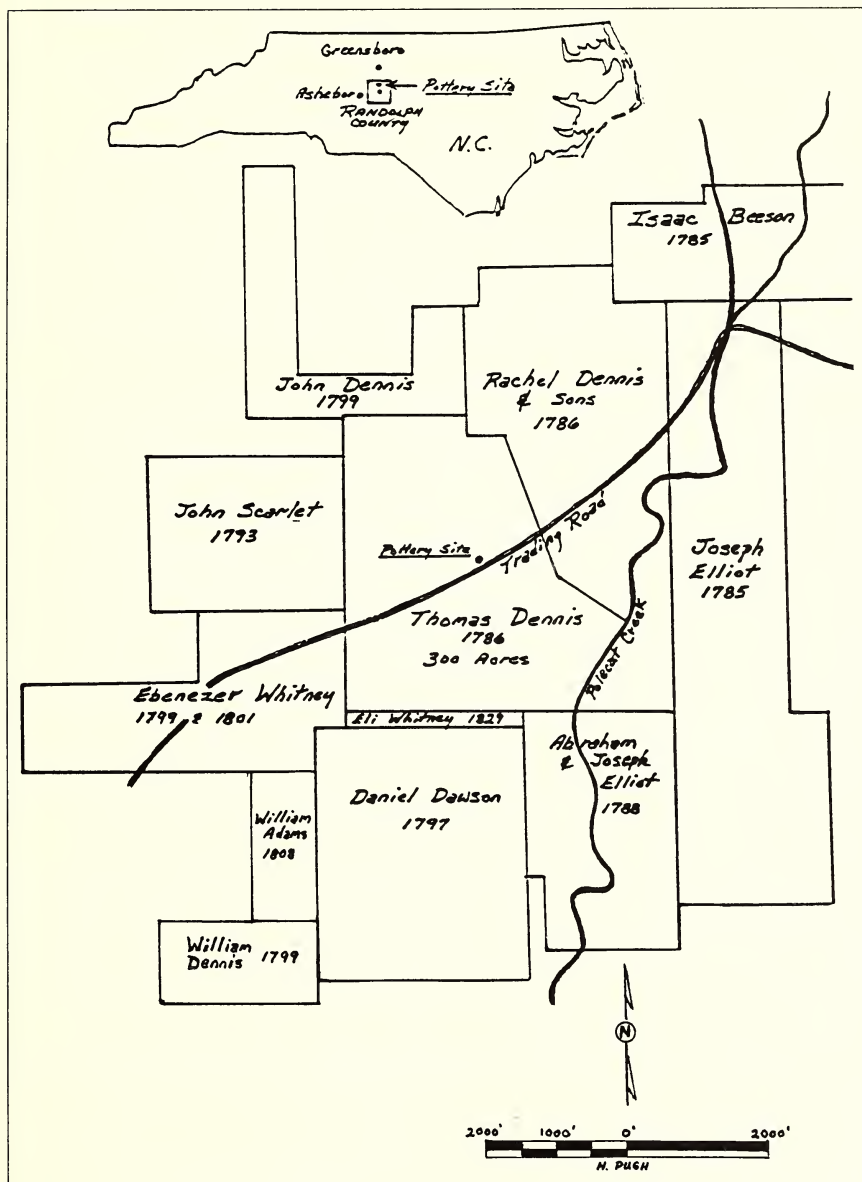


Fig. 1. A plat map showing the location of the Dennis Pottery and surrounding landowners. Dates represent the year individuals either applied for or were granted land from the State of North Carolina.

Documentation of Potters

William Dennis

William Dennis was born December 2, 1769, the son of Thomas III and Elizabeth Webb Dennis. He had one brother, Joseph, and three sisters, Sarah, Anne, and Elizabeth. William married Delilah Hobbs, daughter of Elisha and Fanny McLana Hobbs, May 16, 1790. William and Delilah had ten children, seven boys and three girls.¹⁰ One of these children, Thomas (b. 1791), was documented as a potter and will be duly discussed.

After William married in 1790 he continued to live in the immediate area, likely on the property of his father. In 1796, he purchased from his aunt, Rachel Dennis, and her sons the southern half of their state land grant property.¹¹ The 100-acre tract adjoined his father's property on the east side. William acquired by state land grant 60 acres in 1800 (claim entered in 1799 — see Fig. 1).¹² Approximately three years later, upon his father's death, he inherited the 300-acre homeplace. The will, which had been prepared by Thomas III in 1795, named William as executor of the estate. Thomas III stipulated, "I give and demise [sic] unto to [sic] my son William Dennis my plantation where on I now live with all lands in my possession to be possessed and enjoyed by him his heirs or assigns forever....And lastly the remainder of my moveable or personable [sic] estate and effects, goods, and chattles [sic] both within doors and without with all debts to me."¹³

William was a member in good standing of the Society of Friends. He attended Centre Monthly Meeting and in 1815 donated the property for the establishment of Salem Friends Meeting (under the auspices of Marlboro Monthly Meeting).¹⁴ He was appointed the first clerk of Marlboro Monthly Meeting.¹⁵

William was opposed to the idea of slavery and was actively involved in working against it. He was a member of the Manumission Society and served as a delegate and representative to several meetings from 1819–28.¹⁶ His opposition to slavery probably accounted for his later move to Indiana in 1832. Also, it no doubt played an important part in his accepting George Newby, a black youth, as an apprentice to the pottery-making trade in 1813 (Fig. 2).¹⁷ This apprentice indenture is the first known documented evidence of William Dennis' being in the potter's trade.

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STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA, }
Randolph COUNTY. }

This Indenture,

MADE the *3^d* Day of *May* in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and *thirteen* between *Zachew Wood* Chairman of the county court of *Randolph* county and State aforesaid, on behalf of the Justices of the said county and their Successors, of the one Part, and *William Dennis* of the other Part, WITNESSETH, That the said *Zachew Wood* in pursuance to an order of the said county court, made the *3^d* day of *May* and according to the directions of the Act of Assembly in that case made and provided, doth put, place and bind unto the said *William Dennis* a boy of colour ~~the~~ *Orphan*, named *George Newby* — now of the age of *twelve* years, with the said *William* to live after the manner of an apprentice and servant, until the said apprentice shall attain to the age of twenty one years: during all which time the said apprentice *his* master faithfully shall serve, his lawful commands every where readily obey: *he* shall not at any time absent *himself* from *his* said master's service without leave, but in all things as a good and faithful servant shall behave towards *his* said master. And the said *William Dennis* doth covenant, promise and agree to and with the said *Zachew Wood* that he will teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, the said *George Newby* to learn *the potters trade* and that he will constantly find and provide for the said apprentice, during the term aforesaid, sufficient diet, washing, lodging and apparel, fitting for an apprentice; and also all other things necessary, both in sickness and in health.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of

Zachew Wood Seal

William Dennis Seal

Fig. 2 Apprentice bond for George Newby (Courtesy N. C. State Archives)

It has not been determined from whom William learned the potter's trade. Quakers often sent their children to members of other meetings within and outside of North Carolina to learn various trades. They were aware of brethren potters as far north as Chester County, Pennsylvania, as exemplified by the youth Richard Mendenhall having been sent there to learn the pottery-making trade in 1794 (see Checklist of Potters).¹⁸

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Available records indicate William stayed in the immediate Centre Monthly Meeting area and did not transfer membership to another meeting during his youth. Therefore, it must be assumed he learned his trade from someone local.

It is plausible that William's father could have instructed him in the pottery-making trade; however, evidence as to the occupation of Thomas III has not been forthcoming. William's grandfather, Thomas Dennis II, was listed as a cordwainer in an early Pennsylvania deed and later as a yeoman on his will probated in 1775, in North Carolina.¹⁹ Thomas Dennis I was listed as a shoemaker on a land deed in 1684 and on a rental deed in 1687/8 for a lot in Philadelphia, south of Walnut Street and east of Fifth Street.²⁰ The lot was located approximately nine hundred feet southeast of William Crew's pottery that was in operation at that time.²¹ However, no records of interaction between Crews and Thomas Dennis I could be found.

Of the Quaker potters in the vicinity, those most likely to have influenced William would have been members of the Dicks family. The closeness in proximity of their property (being located five miles north of the Dennis property), and the fact that the Dennis and Dicks families attended Centre Monthly Meeting, adds credence to the theory. William was well acquainted with the potter, Peter Dicks (b. 1771). They attended the same monthly meetings (Centre and Marlboro) and traveled together later in life, having gone as far as Tennessee and Indiana, during the years 1825–26.²² William and Peter were also business associates, being two of five appointed commissioners who laid off and sold lots for the town of New Salem in 1816.²³ Additionally, William sold Peter Dicks the property where the old homeplace and pottery were located when he moved to Indiana in 1832.²⁴

Because of the agrarian neighborhood in which William lived he likely followed the occupation of farming with pottery-making. This was a common practice among rural potters of that time. This idea is supported by the amount of land which he owned. A total of 446 acres was in his possession in 1803. In the 1815 tax list of Randolph County, William listed 480 acres and subsequently listed 330 acres in the 1820 tax list, along with two lots in New Salem.²⁵ After 1820 it appears William moved one-half mile to New Salem and built a house on lot number four, where he lived until his departure to Indiana.²⁶ In September of 1832, William, Delilah, and son Nathan were granted certificates from Marlboro Monthly Meeting to Springfield Monthly Meeting in Wayne

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County, Indiana. They were received there in November of the same year.²⁷

There are no records of William's producing pottery after his departure to Indiana and it is doubtful he continued the trade there. Indications are he continued to farm and actively campaign against slavery, having been disowned by Springfield Monthly Meeting in 1844 for joining the "Separatists," or antislavery Friends. He was reinstated by Springfield Monthly Meeting in 1846 after an eloquent letter of apology. The following year William died at the age of seventy-seven. In his will there was no mention of articles related to the pottery-making trade.²⁸

Thomas Dennis

Thomas Dennis, eldest son of William and Delilah Hobbs Dennis, was born November 4, 1791, in Randolph County, North Carolina.

In 1812, Thomas purchased from William Welborn a 164-acre tract of land adjoining his father's property on the north side.²⁹ Of this tract, 114 acres were the northern part of the property granted by the State of North Carolina to Rachel Dennis and her sons.

Thomas married Elizabeth Wilson, daughter of Jesse and Elizabeth Beeson Wilson, at Providence Friends Meeting (under the auspices of Centre Monthly Meeting) in 1813. Besides William Dennis, two other potters, Mahlon Hockett and Peter Dicks, were among the witnesses to this marriage.³⁰ Thomas and Elizabeth had ten children, none of whom became potters.

In all likelihood Thomas learned the pottery-making trade from his father, William. A biographical sketch of Thomas Dennis gives the following account concerning his occupation. "In his early life he followed farming until he was near twenty years of age, when he commenced to learn the potter's trade, which he followed with that of farming until his removal to Wayne County, Ind., landing Oct. 1, 1822, in the city of Richmond, Ind.,..."³¹ Based on this information, Thomas was engaged in the pottery-making trade around 1811 and continued the occupation for eleven years.

In 1821, Thomas sold his 164-acre tract of property to Edward Bowman in preparation for his departure to Indiana.³² While Thomas' exact reason for moving is not known, Mary Dennis states, "Various reasons may have prompted him to do so. The one most usually given in migrations of those times was that Quakers wanted to live where slavery

was not permitted. The prospect of buying good farming land from the government was surely an important factor.”³³ The *History of Wayne County* refers to Thomas: “Mr. Dennis was an active member of the Society of Friends, and a staunch anti-slavery man, who could not bear the idea of rearing his children in the midst of slavery.”³⁴

It could not be determined if Thomas continued the pottery-making trade in Indiana during his early years. There was a pottery at Richmond, Indiana, at the time of his arrival. It was established in 1818–19, by Eleazar Hiatt, originally from Guilford County, North Carolina, and remained in operation for about five years, closing in 1824. Three other potters were known to be employed there. They were John Scott, George Bell, and Isaac Beeson.³⁵ The latter possibly apprenticed under the potter, Peter Dicks, in Randolph County, North Carolina in 1806.³⁶ There was another pottery located near Milton, in Wayne County, Indiana. It was established (ca. 1824) by Amer Hiatt, relative of Eleazar, also from Guilford County, North Carolina.³⁷ No mention of Thomas Dennis’ working at either of these potteries has been forthcoming, and it remains doubtful that he did. After Thomas arrived in Richmond, “He first located near Dublin, but the wolves being so troublesome he went to Perry Township, near Economy, where he wintered, purchasing during that time ninety acres on Green’s Fork, one mile south of Washington, where he resided until October 1, 1831.”³⁸ If this was the case Thomas would not have been near either pottery long enough for employment.

Thomas moved from Green’s Fork and purchased a 154-acre tract in Dalton Township, Wayne County. He later acquired an adjoining 80 acres. Thomas farmed this property and became tax assessor of an 108-square-mile area in Wayne County. He was appointed treasurer of the same county in 1839 and died while in office at the age of forty-seven.³⁹

In the will of Thomas there was no mention of articles relating to the manufacture of pottery.⁴⁰

George Newby

George Newby was born in North Carolina, ca. 1801. It is not known if he was born into slavery; however, some of the Newby slave families had been freed by Quakers prior to that time.

In 1813, George was apprenticed by William Dennis to learn the pottery-making trade. Where and how George met William is not

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known, but according to Friends yearly meeting records, black youths had been placed under the care of members to acquire an education.⁴¹ The terms of the apprentice indenture required that George be bound out and taught the trade of a potter until the age of twenty-one (Fig. 2). This apprenticeship would have ended in 1822, which was the same year Thomas Dennis (son of William) moved to Richmond, Indiana. While this would have been an opportune time for George to leave North Carolina, it is not known if he went with Thomas. Census records indicate he was in Richmond, Indiana, by 1830.⁴² No information has yet emerged to show that George followed the pottery-making trade after his arrival in Richmond or elsewhere in Indiana. He lived in Richmond through 1840, married Agnes (last name unknown), and had a child, Elliana, born ca. 1837.⁴³ By 1850, George and his family had moved to the Cabin Creek settlement, a community made up of eighty to one hundred black families from North Carolina and Virginia, comprising several square miles lying in west Randolph County, Indiana.⁴⁴ At that time, the 1850 Randolph County, Indiana, census showed George's profession as a blacksmith and indicated he could read and write.

By 1860, George had purchased four acres of land in the Cabin Creek settlement (West River Township) and was listed as a farmer in the Randolph County, Indiana census of that year.⁴⁵ In 1864, he sold the aforementioned property and four adjoining acres to his neighbor, Eli Townsend.⁴⁶ It is not known what happened to George and his family after that date.

Henry Watkins

Henry Watkins, the son of William and Lydia Watkins, was born in 1798 or 1799, in Randolph County, North Carolina.

Henry was received by request into Marlboro Monthly Meeting, November 1, 1817. In 1819, he married Elizabeth Elliot, daughter of Obadiah and Sarah Chamness Elliot.⁴⁷ The following year the Randolph County tax list showed Henry as owning lot number eight in the Town of New Salem.⁴⁸ Later he purchased lots nine, ten, and eleven to the east of lot eight.⁴⁹ In 1821, Henry took Joseph Watkins as an apprentice to the potter's trade, Joseph having been formerly bound in 1818, to Seth Hinshaw in the latter's trade.⁵⁰ The apprenticeship of Joseph to Henry is the earliest written documentation of Henry's being a potter.

While no evidence has been forthcoming, there is a distinct possibility

that a relationship existed between Henry Watkins and the Dennis pottery, either through his learning the potter's trade or working there. Watkins was acquainted with the Dennis family members as early as 1816, having signed as bondsman the marriage bond of Mary Dennis (daughter of William Dennis) and Simeon McCollum.⁵¹ He grew up within two miles of the Dennis property (based on the location of the property of his father), and became a member of the Quaker faith, attending the same meeting as the Dennis family and eventually living in New Salem. The timing of Henry's taking an apprentice in the pottery-making trade, in 1821, is notable since this date correlates with the time Thomas Dennis (b. 1791) was selling his property in preparation for his departure to Indiana, and William Dennis was establishing a new residence in New Salem. Whether Henry worked at the Dennis pottery or established his own, this presented an opportune time for him to continue the trade in the New Salem area.

Henry continued to live in New Salem, and in 1824 bought a 100-acre tract on the north side of the 300-acre William Dennis tract.⁵² He purchased a sixteen-acre tract from Absalom Dennis (son of William Dennis) in 1833.⁵³ This tract adjoined the former William Dennis property on the north side. Around 1837, Henry moved to southern Guilford County and subsequently bought a 100-acre tract formerly belonging to his brother-in-law, John Beard.⁵⁴ There he continued the pottery-making trade, being listed as such in the 1850 Guilford County census.⁵⁵

Preliminary Survey of the Pottery

The Dennis Pottery was situated on the north side of the Trading Road that passed through the 300-acre land grant tract (Fig. 1). Wasters and kiln debris from the pottery were used as fill along one side of a stream leading from the spring that served as the family water source. A total of 5,261 sherds and fragments was collected from the surface of a plowed field located over the waster fill. Of these, kiln furniture in the form of kiln-setting tiles (261 fragments) and saggars (1,001 sherds) made up twenty-four percent of the total (Fig. 3). The remaining seventy-six percent represented various forms of earthenware vessels (3,999 sherds). These provide a general sampling of the wares made at the Dennis pottery and the kiln furniture involved in that production.

Kiln setting tiles were made from unpicked clay having quartz rock as large as two centimeters in some samples. Two types of flat rectangular



Fig. 3. Kiln furniture used at the Dennis Pottery

*Top: incomplete kiln tile with adhering pot rims and glaze buildup.
Center: finger grooved kiln tile fragment. Bottom: sagger rim sherds.*

tiles were identified, one smooth on both sides, the other smooth on one side and grooved on the opposite. Grooves were made by pulling the fingers of the hand across the damp clay tile, after it was sliced from a larger slab of clay. Some tile fragments showed little use, having been broken and discarded early. Others were vitrified and deformed from continuous use and overfiring, having pot rims and a large buildup of glaze adhering to them.

Saggers were made out of unpicked clay similar to that used in the kiln tiles. The sagger sherds showed corresponding usage as the kiln tile fragments in regard to vitrification and overfiring.

Earthenware sherds reveal that clays used in the making of vessels were mined from the 300-acre tract and nearby properties. At least three different clay bodies were used, their colors being red, brown, and buff. Also, a white clay was used for slip decoration. It possibly came from two known clay pits, one located on the 300-acre tract and the other referred to by early settlers as the "deer lick," located approximately one-half mile southwest of the property.⁵⁶

The quality of the Dennis clay beds was well known in later years, being utilized for pottery and brick production. Around 1869, the potter, J. M. Hays, relocated from eastern Randolph County and established a pottery in New Salem. In 1871 and 1874 he purchased the former home of William Dennis on lot number four in New Salem and 140 acres of the original 300-acre Dennis state land grant tract, which contained the clay beds.⁵⁷ For approximately thirty-five years Hays utilized the white and buff clays for the manufacture of smoking pipes and salt-glazed stoneware.⁵⁸ Prior to and during that time the red earthenware clay beds were strip-mined extensively for brick production by several brickmakers in the immediate area.⁵⁹

Earthenware manufactured at the Dennis Pottery was well made, exhibiting very thinly turned walls. Therefore, the procedure of identification of pottery vessels by wall thickness cannot be applied accurately. Rim and body profiles were mainly relied on for analysis. A total of 628 identifiable rim profiles (excluding sagger rims) were examined. Of these, forty-four percent represented utilitarian wares and fifty-six percent tablewares.

A breakdown of the utilitarian profiles revealed the majority (ninety-nine percent) were of the common pot form, often referred to as milk or cream pots (Fig. 4-A). The remaining profiles (one percent) represented a variant of the common pot form, in which the pot was necked in below the rim (Fig. 4-B) and undecorated double rim pans (Fig. 4-C).

The majority of the tableware profiles (sixty-five percent) were of dish forms varying in size from saucers to larger plates. Plate profiles were of several different forms: footed with a double booge back and rolled rim, unfooted with a double booge or semi-double booge back and rolled or squared rim, and unfooted with a concave booge back and squared rim (Fig. 4-D). The rolled and squared rims were not heavy in cross-section and were proportionate with the overall shape of the thinly turned plates. The double booge plates, while differing in rim design and

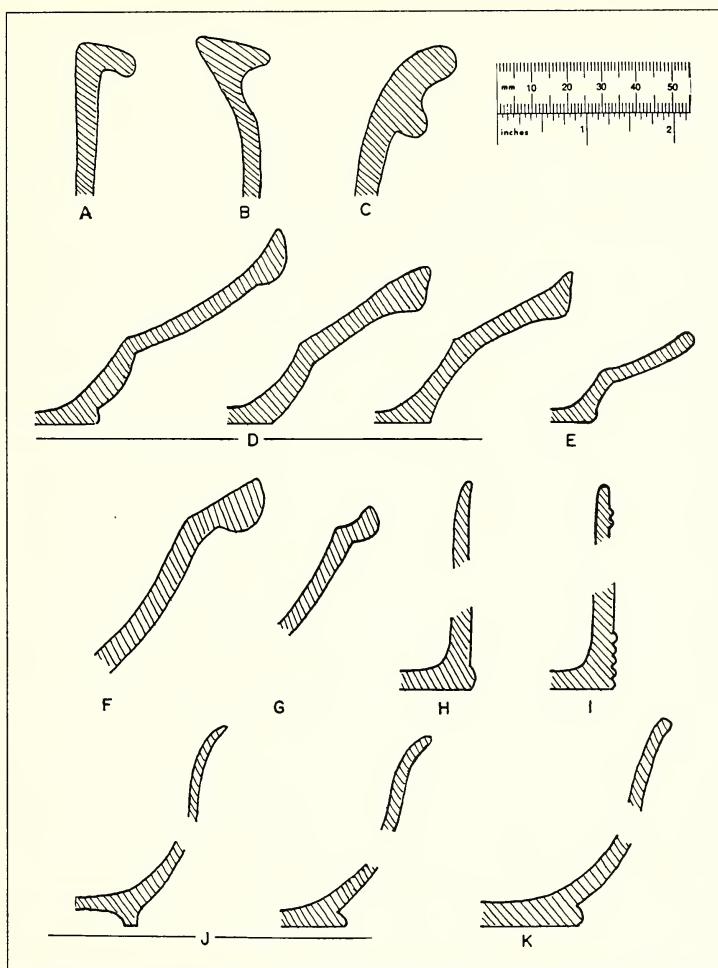


Fig. 4. Rim and body profiles of vessels produced at the Dennis Pottery.

thickness, were similar in shape to plates dated 1755–99 found at documented Germanic pottery sites in North Carolina.⁶⁰ Saucer profiles were similar to the plate forms, except for the rims, which were left plain with a slight bulge or indentation (Fig. 4–E). Some profiles emulated English wares being imported at the time of the pottery's operation. The rim profile of one saucer sherd was essentially identical in shape to an imported English saucer sherd found at the Dennis housesite.

One small rim sherd of a coggle-edged drupe molded dish with a marbled slip interior was found. While this sherd had a similar red clay body as that used by the Dennis Pottery, it could be out of context.

Plain and decorated bowls accounted for the second largest number of tablewares (twenty-four percent). Bowl rims were everted and rolled or squared (Fig. 4-F). Profiles of several smaller bowls indicated rims were designed to accept a lid (Fig. 4-G).

Remaining tableware profiles (eleven percent) consisted of mug, tea cup, and larger cup forms. Mug sherds were badly fragmented and complete profiles of individual vessels were not possible. Sherds indicated there were two styles with basically straight walls, having been shaped by a template or rib. The first style had a plain lipped foot (Fig. 4-H) and a second style had small bands of cordoning around the foot and on the upper wall (Fig. 4-I). Both of these mugs were popular forms of English design. Teacup profiles (Fig. 4-J) were imitative of the imported English teacups of oriental design. Cups were very thin in cross-section (2-3 mm) and some sherds showed the bottom of the cup had been trimmed concave to form a foot-ring. Larger cup profiles were of common form having a lipped foot (Fig. 4-K).

Strap handles were applied to mugs and cups by the "laid on" method in which a piece of clay was pulled by hand to appropriate shape before application. Fragments of handles from larger ceramic forms existed; however, identification of those vessels was not possible. Ninety-five percent of the handle fragments exhibited reeding or grooving. Having the appearance of being extruded, they were made by a pointed stick pulled down the length of them before being applied to the vessel.

The base glaze at the Dennis Pottery appears to have been of the standard formula consisting of lead, flint, and clay. At proper temperature it produced a clear to yellow tinted glaze when applied over the clay bodies. Glaze color was achieved by adding colorants to the base glaze, in the form of oxides of iron, manganese, and copper. These colorants, when used alone or together, produced a broad range of earthy colors as exemplified on sherds. Overfiring or underfiring of the woodburning kiln, as well as the atmosphere within, greatly affected the glaze and its coloration. Several glazes at the Dennis Pottery were commonly used by potters throughout the eastern United States during that time, being the iron-browns and the manganese-purple browns. Other glazes were suggestive of earlier English glazes, and in some cases were similar to glazes used by potters of English descent in the northern United States.

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Notable amongst these was the use of a clear lead glaze over sponged spots of manganese on a buff clay body, producing a yellow and brown–purple glaze. A brown, green, and white mottled glaze appeared on several sherds, being imitative of the English Whieldon “clouded glaze.”⁶¹ Clear glaze applied over a white slip engobe on mug and teacup sherds produced a pale–yellow color, possibly an attempt to duplicate English cream wares. A copper–green glaze applied over a white slip engobe or buff clay body produced a bright apple–green color. A similar glaze occurred on pre–1750 New England earthenwares and has been attributed to the Tudor Green or white sandyware tradition of England.⁶² A black glaze on the interior and exterior of some red bodied cup sherds was in the style of the English Jackfield–Whieldon wares.⁶³

Glazes were applied in liquid form, the dry ingredients having been mixed with water. The large proportion of bisque ware (forty–two percent of the total earthenware sherds, excluding kiln furniture) suggests the majority of vessels were fired once, then glazed and refired to maturity. Many of the thin–walled vessels from the Dennis Pottery could not have withstood the stress of raw clay glazing. The majority of the vessels were glazed on the inside only. Mugs and cups were glazed both inside and out, often using a clear glaze on the interior and a colored glaze on the exterior.

Decoration of vessels consisted of tooling, incising, and applied clay slip. Tooling was accomplished by a template or shaping rib which produced a pattern of cordoning on vessels such as the previously mentioned mugs.

Incising was done with the edge of a shaping rib or sharpened stick to mark the raw clay. This type of decoration occurred on the outside of some milk–pot fragments in the form of two or more parallel lines or an undulating line between parallel lines. Incised script writing occurred on five sherds. No complete words or signatures could be discerned except for the letters WM on the outside wall of one sherd. This quite possibly was the beginning signature of William Dennis as he used this abbreviated form when writing his first name.

The most widely used decoration was that of clay slip in the form of an engobe and/or slip–trailed decoration (Fig. 5). The engobe was applied on vessels to alter the color of the clay body, and served as a background for further slip–decoration on dishes and bowls. The natural clay body was used as a background in forty–four percent of the slip–decorated sherds. Fifty–two percent had a light or dark brown engobe, three



Fig. 5. Slip decorated bowl and plate sherds from the Dennis Pottery site.

percent had a white engobe, and the remaining one percent had red or wine-red engobe backgrounds. Slip-decoration was probably applied by a slip cup with quill spout. Sherds exhibit marks left in the clay from this process. Larger areas of slip were spread by brush or finger. A total of 442 sherds (eleven percent of the total earthenware sherds, excluding kiln furniture) exhibited slip-decoration in the form of dots, bands, undulations, swags, and a variety of geometric and apparent floral motifs. Colors consisted of green, white, gray, tan, light brown, dark brown, black, and red. Slip colors were used individually or in combinations, with as many as four different colors showing on some

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sherds. Decoration was limited to the interiors of bowl and dish forms.

Design and layout showed a strong English influence, several sherds being imitative of earlier English slip decorated wares. Also, alternating bands and undulations of slip on some dish and bowl sherds were similar in appearance to the so called "striped dishes" produced in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the mid-eighteenth century.⁶⁴

Script writing in white slip occurred on the inside of one dish sherd and on the outside-bottom of a decorated sherd, neither being large enough for complete words to be discernible.

On the average, slip decoration was well executed. Designs by one decorator were especially clean and fluid, showing a thorough mastery of the slip-trailing process.

A definite time frame could not be established for the Dennis Pottery. Written evidence in the form of the George Newby apprenticeship and biographical account of Thomas Dennis, place the pottery in operation between ca. 1811 and 1822. Ceramic evidence suggests a much earlier date; it seems probable that William was making pottery by the time of his marriage in 1790. Several vessel profiles, decorations, and glazes were indicative of the late eighteenth century, as exemplified by their imitation of imported English wares as well as similarities to earthenwares produced at datable English and Germanic pottery sites elsewhere in the United States.

While William and Thomas Dennis mixed farming with pottery production, this combination did not affect their sense of design and decorative intuition as evidenced by the well made earthenwares produced at their pottery. The English design influence of many vessels demonstrate that heritage as well as tradition played an important role in their manufacture of pottery. Similarities of glaze and design with northern counterparts was probably not coincidental as Dennis ancestors and many of the Quaker potter-families migrated from that region. Additionally, interaction between Quaker potters took place locally and regionally through apprenticeships, travel, and religious and social events.

The location of the Dennis Pottery on a major trading route and the large population of Quakers in Randolph and Guilford Counties presented a viable pottery market. As the population of Quakers rapidly shifted toward the slave-free states during the first half of the nineteenth

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century, sales would have dissipated. This combined with an influx of cheaper, more durable wares imported into the area and the fact that the Dennis families joined the tide of Quakers moving out of the area, led to the eventual demise of the family pottery.

Checklist of Potters

The following checklist is composed of Quakers, related family members, and apprentices involved in the pottery-making trade, who lived in northern Randolph and/or Guilford County, North Carolina.

Information has been provided in the following order:

1. Name of individual
2. Date of birth and death, and the county and state of occurrence
3. Name of parents
4. Date of marriage(s) and name of spouse(s)
5. Apprenticeship of other individuals
6. Date of removal to another area, and location
7. Date of occupation if individual was involved in the pottery-making trade, in a new location
8. Involvement in other occupations and areas of interest during individual's lifetime.

Beard, Benjamin (b. February 19, 1775, in Guilford County, N.C., d. July 18, 1841, in Guilford County, N.C.) son of William and Levina Gifford Beard. Married Mary Thornberg in 1804.⁶⁵

Beard, Thomas (b. January 14, 1768, in Randolph County, N.C., d. ?) son of John and Martha ____ Beard. Married Elizabeth Dicks, March 31, 1791. Apprenticed Eliot Dison to the potter's trade in 1809. Moved from Guilford County, N.C., to Wayne County, Indiana, 1811. County commissioner of Wayne County, Indiana, farmer.⁶⁶

Beeson, Isaac (b. ca. 1788, d. ?) orphan when apprenticed to the potter's trade in 1806 by Peter Dicks in Randolph County, N.C. Possibly the Isaac Beeson who worked with the potter, Eleazar Hiatt in Richmond, Indiana.⁶⁷

Clark, Hezekiah S. (b. ?, d. ?) son of Daniel and Mary Sanders Clark. Married Abigail Mendenhall, October 21, 1819. While in North Carolina ran a tannery, blacksmith and pottery shop, and farmed. Wagoned

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through South Carolina and Georgia selling his merchandise. Moved to Indiana, ca. 1835.⁶⁸

Dennis, Thomas (b. November 4, 1791, in Randolph County, N.C., d. September 4, 1839, in Wayne County, Indiana) son of William and Delilah Hobbs Dennis. Married Elizabeth Wilson, March 24, 1813. Farmer, tax assessor in Wayne County, Indiana, treasurer of Wayne County, Indiana.

Dennis, William (b. December 2, 1769, in Randolph County, N.C., d. May 6, 1847, in Wayne County, Indiana) son of Thomas and Elizabeth Webb Dennis. Married Delilah Hobbs, May 16, 1790. Apprenticed George Newby to the potter's trade in 1813. Farmer, town commissioner of New Salem, clerk of Marlboro Monthly Meeting, Manumission Society delegate.

Dicks, Cornelius T. (b. May 15, 1818, in Guilford County, N.C., d. March 4, 1895, in Randolph County, N.C.) son of Nathan and Eleanor Leonard Dicks. Married Eunice Blackburn, 1841.⁶⁹

Dicks, Nathan (b. December 13, 1794, in Guilford County, N.C., d. 1833 or 34, in Guilford County, N.C.) son of William and Esther Williams Dicks. Married Eleanor Leonard. Manumission Society delegate.⁷⁰

Dicks, Nathan (b. May 20, 1855, d. October 15, 1918, in Randolph County, N.C.) son of Cornelius T. and Eunice Blackburn Dicks. Married Rodema Millikan (1), November 23, 1877; Nancy Chriscoe (2), July 14, 1880.⁷¹

Dicks, Peter (b. ca. 1720, in Chester County [?] Pennsylvania, d. January 2, 1796, in Guilford County, N.C.) son of Nathan and Deborah Clark Dicks. Married Elizabeth Vertal. Moved from York County, Pennsylvania, to Guilford County, N.C., 1755. Miller, farmer, Quaker minister.⁷²

Dicks, Peter (b. May 13, 1771, in Guilford County, N.C., d. February 11, 1843, in Randolph County, N.C.) son of James and Rachel Beals Dicks, grandson of Peter Dicks (b. ca. 1720). Married Ann Hodson, October 26, 1797. Apprenticed the orphan, Isaac Beeson, to the potter's trade in 1806. Miller, merchant, town commissioner of New Salem, Quaker minister, Manumission Society delegate.⁷³

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Dison, Elliot (b. ca. 1804, d. ?) orphan when apprenticed to Thomas Beard to learn the potter's trade in 1809.⁷⁴

Hiatt, Allen (b. June 6, 1795, in Guilford County, N.C., d. November 2, 1885, in Henry County, Iowa) son of Joel and Mary Unthank Hiatt. Married Rhoda Hunt, December 19, 1818. Moved from Guilford County, N.C., to Clinton County, Ohio, in 1819 and from there to Milton in Wayne County, Indiana, in 1825. Likely worked with his father in the pottery shop of his uncle, Amer Hiatt. Farmer, merchant.⁷⁵

Hiatt, Amer (b. January 28, 1794, in Guilford County, N.C., d. October 19, 1877, in Hamilton County, Indiana) son of William and Charity Williams Hiatt. Married Achsah Willis, June 12, 1816. Moved from Guilford County, N.C. to Wayne County, Indiana in 1823 and established a pottery near Milton. Farmer, Manumission Society delegate.⁷⁶

Hiatt, Eleazar (b. October 2, 1783, in Guilford County, N.C., d. December 17, 1872, in Wayne County, Indiana) son of Solomon and Sarah (Hunt) Unthank Hiatt. Married Anna Williams (1), May 5, 1808; Gulielma Sanders (2), January 14, 1822. Moved from Guilford County, N.C. to Ohio in 1816, thence to Wayne County, Indiana in 1818/19, and established a pottery in Richmond, Indiana. Justice of the Peace, member of the Indiana legislature, merchant, farmer.⁷⁷

Hiatt, Joel (b. February 15, 1770, in Guilford County, N.C., d. ca. 1865, in Henry County, Iowa) son of William and Charity Williams Hiatt. Married Mary Unthank (1), June 18, 1794; Rhoda (Davis) Mace (2), November 21, 1832; ____ (3), at the age of 90 in Iowa. Moved in 1816 from Guilford County, N.C. to Clinton County, Ohio, and thence to Wayne County, Indiana, in 1825. Likely worked with his son in the pottery shop of his brother, Amer Hiatt, in Milton. Merchant.⁷⁸

Hockett, Cyrus Elwood (b. July 23, 1860, d. October 14, 1938) son of Himelius and Rachel Branson Hockett. Married Cynthia Jane Fields, December 24, 1885. Farmer.⁷⁹

Hockett, Himelius Mendenhall (b. February 27, 1825, in Guilford County, N.C., d. August 12, 1913) son of William and Hannah Davis Hockett. Married Rachel Branson, July 17, 1852. Farmer, public school teacher.⁸⁰

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Hockett, Jesse Davis (b. August 19, 1826, in Guilford County, N.C., d. December 11, 1898, in Randolph County, N.C.) son of William and Hannah Davis Hockett. Married Rebecca Cox, February 23, 1848. While no records exist of J. D. Hockett's being a potter, his name is included in this list due to a pottery kiln's being located on his former property. (See footnote for further description.)⁸¹

Hockett, Milton (b. September 25, 1829, in Guilford County, N.C., d. November 12, 1902) son of William and Hannah Davis Hockett. Not married.⁸²

Hockett, Mahlon (b. May 27, 1808, in Guilford County, N.C. d. ?) son of Mahlon and Sarah Millikan Hoggatt. Married Louzena S. Davis (1), June 8, 1835; Hannah Barker (2), March 4, 1858. Moved to Indiana in 1861.⁸³

Hockett, William Wilburforce (b. June 25, 1871, d. October 6, 1947) son of Himelius and Rachel Branson Hockett. Married Titia Elizabeth Weatherly, March 24, 1897.⁸⁴

Hoggatt (Hockett), Mahlon (b. June 13, 1772, in Guilford County, N.C., d. January 30, 1850, in Guilford County, N.C.) son of Joseph and Phebe Haworth Hoggatt. Married Sarah Millikan, December 16, 1795. Quaker minister.⁸⁵

Hoggatt (Hockett), Phillip (b. ca. 1687, in Pennsylvania, d. January 26, 1783, in Guilford County, N.C.). Married Mary Glendenning.⁸⁶

Mendenhall, Richard (b. September 13, 1778, in Guilford County, N.C., d. May 8, 1851, in Guilford County, N.C.) son of George and Judith Gardner Mendenhall. Married Mary Pegg, February 3, 1812. In 1794, Richard was sent to Chester County, Pennsylvania, near Bradford Monthly Meeting to learn the potter's trade. While there Richard changed his apprenticeship from potter to tanner due in part to the death of his brother, Stephen. He followed the trade of tanner on his return to North Carolina in 1800. Delegate to the Manumission Society.⁸⁷

Newby, George (b. ca. 1801, in North Carolina, d. post 1864). Apprenticed to William Dennis to learn the potter's trade in 1813. Moved to Wayne

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County, Indiana, ca. 1830. Blacksmith, farmer.

Newby, Moses (b. ca. 1782, d. ?). Apprenticed to John Bullock of Orange County, N.C., to learn the potter's trade in 1798. Was given his freedom in 1805 by the court of Guilford County, N.C., based on his parents' emancipation by Quakers, his character, and having learned the potter's trade. It is not known if Moses and George Newby were related.⁸⁸

Parsons, Hart (b. ?, d. ?). Worked with Himelius Hockett in his pottery shop, ca. 1860.⁸⁹

Watkins, Henry (b. 1798 or 99, in Randolph County, N.C., d. ?) son of William and Lydia ____ Watkins. Married Elizabeth Elliot, September 1, 1819. Apprenticed Joseph Watkins to the potter's trade, February 5, 1821. Moved to southern Guilford County, N.C., ca. 1837, where he continued the potter's trade.

Watkins, Joseph (b. ca. 1810, d. ?). Apprenticed under Henry Watkins to learn the potter's trade, February 5, 1821.

¹Mary Dennis, *Thomas Dennis and Some of His Descendents ca 1650–1979* (Dublin, In.: Pritit Press, 1979), pp. 1–2. I am indebted to Mary and Thomas Dennis for supplying helpful information on the Dennis family and Quaker history in Indiana.

²William Jean Dennis, *Thomas Dennis and Some of His Descendents, 1645–1987*, unpublished manuscript. I wish here to thank William Jean Dennis for permission to consult this MS.

³*Deed Book S*, p. 387, Chester County Recorder of Deeds Office, West Chester, Pa.

⁴Mary Dennis, pp. 5–6

⁵Addison Coffin, in *Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina: Traditions and Reminiscences* (1894 MS, typed for the N.C. Friends Historical Society 1952), pp. 30–31, made reference to the Trading Road, "For fifty years [ca. 1750–1800] that road was one of the great commercial highways....This road for many years was called the Quaker Road, though its last name was the Salisbury Road. Present land deeds refer to the Trading Road as the Old Hillsborough or Salisbury Road (named for the major towns the road passed through in N.C.).

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⁶Thomas Dennis (II) Will, written June 24, 1774 – Proved February 1775. *Guilford County Wills*, North Carolina State Archives [NCSA], Raleigh, N.C.

⁷1779 *Randolph County N.C. Tax List*, NCSA, Raleigh, N.C.

⁸State Land Grant No. 319, July 24, 1786, *Deed Book 3*, p. 52, Randolph County Register of Deeds Office [RCRD], Asheboro, N.C.

⁹Thomas Dennis (III) Will, written November 11, 1795 – Proved August 1803, *Will Book B*, p. 116, Randolph County Clerk of Court Office [RCCC], Asheboro, N.C.

¹⁰Mary Dennis, p. 8.

¹¹*Deed Book 7*, p. 115, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

¹²*Deed Book 9*, p. 447, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

¹³Thomas Dennis (III) Will, RCCC, Asheboro, N.C.

¹⁴*Deed Book 13*, p. 8, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

¹⁵William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy I*, (1936, supplement 1948; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1978, p. 741.

¹⁶“Minutes of the N.C. Manumission Society, 1816–1834,” ed. H. M. Wagstaff, *The James Sprunt Historical Studies* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1934), 22, nos. 1–2.

¹⁷*Randolph County Original Apprentice Bonds and Records 1806–1829*, NCSA, Raleigh, N.C.

¹⁸Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, in *Old Jamestown* (typescript, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, p. 17) states that Richard Mendenhall (b. September 13, 1778) was sent to Chester County, Pennsylvania at age fourteen to learn the potter’s trade. Deep River Monthly Meeting Minutes (Hinshaw, p. 827) indicate Richard was granted his certificate to Bradford Monthly Meeting, Chester County on August 4, 1794. Based on that entry he would have been fifteen years old at the time of his departure.

¹⁹W. J. Dennis; Thomas Dennis (II) Will, NCSA, Raleigh, N.C.

²⁰William Nelson, ed., *Patents and Deeds and Other Early Records of New Jersey 1664–1703* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1976) p. 432; W. J. Dennis.

²¹Beth A. Bower, “The Pottery Making Trade in Colonial Philadelphia: The Growth of an Early Urban Industry,” *Domestic Pottery of the Northeastern United States, 1625–1850*, ed. Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh (Orlando: Academic Press, Inc., 1985), pp. 267–268.

²²Minutes, *Marlboro Monthly Meeting*, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, pp. 133, 143.

²³J. A. Blair, *Reminiscences of Randolph County* (1890, reprint Asheboro: Randolph County Historical Society, 1968), p. 50.

²⁴*Deed Book 19*, p. 90, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

²⁵Winford Calvin Hinshaw, ed., *1815 Tax List of Randolph County, N.C.* (Raleigh: WPG Genealogical Publication, 1957), p. 29; Barbara N. Grigg and Carolyn N. Hager, *1820 Tax List Randolph County, North Carolina* (Asheboro:

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Randolph County Genealogical Society, 1978), p. 1.

²⁶In 1820, William Dennis purchased lot no. four in New Salem for six dollars and fifty cents (*Deed Book 16*, p. 39). In 1832, he sold lot no. four for two hundred fifty dollars (*Deed Book 19*, p. 194, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.). The William Dennis house remains standing today and is referred to as the Jarrell–Hayes house by Lowell McKay Whatley, Jr. in *Architectural History of Randolph County, N.C.* (Durham: City of Asheboro, et al.; 1985) p. 114.

²⁷Hinshaw, *American Quaker Genealogy*, p. 759.

²⁸Mary Dennis, pp. 10–12.

²⁹*Deed Book 12*, p. 317, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

³⁰*Birth, Death, and Marriage Record*, Centre Monthly Meeting, p. 136, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

³¹*History of Wayne County, Indiana* (Chicago: Interstate Publishing, 1884), v. 2, p. 447.

³²*Deed Book 14*, p. 140, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

³³Mary Dennis, p. 14.

³⁴*History of Wayne County*, p. 447.

³⁵Andrew W. Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Co., 1872) pp. 375, 420; Dr. John T. Plummer, *A Directory to The City of Richmond* (1857).

³⁶*Randolph County Apprentice Bonds*, NCSA, Raleigh, N.C.

³⁷Luther M. Feeger, "Our History Scrapbook: Amor Hiatt Potter Shop Recalled in Early History About Milton," *Palladium Item*, Richmond, Ind., January 30, 1956. I wish here to express thanks to Paul Farlow Ingels, Randolph Co., Ind. Historian for supplying the preceding newspaper clipping and other helpful information.

³⁸*History of Wayne County*, p. 447.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 447–48.

⁴⁰Mary Dennis, pp. 16–17.

⁴¹*A Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the Subject of Slavery Within Its Limits* (Greensboro: Swaim and Sherwood, 1848) pp. 22–29.

⁴²Fifth Census of the United States, 1830, Wayne County, Indiana.

⁴³Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, Wayne County, Indiana; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Randolph County, Indiana. Elliana is listed as being thirteen years of age.

⁴⁴Ebenezer Tucker, *History of Randolph County, Indiana* (Chicago: A. L. Kingman, 1882) p. 134.

⁴⁵*Real Estate Records: Appraisal List and Transfers of Real Estate*, June 1, 1859 to June 1, 1864, Randolph County Recorder of Deeds Office, Winchester, Indiana; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Randolph County, Indiana.

⁴⁶*Deed Records Book 19*, p. 13, Randolph County Recorder of Deeds Office, Winchester, Indiana.

⁴⁷Hinshaw, *American Quaker Genealogy*, pp. 691, 771.

⁴⁸Grigg and Hager, *1820 Tax List*, p. 4.

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⁴⁹*Deed Book 20*, p. 235, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

⁵⁰*Randolph County Apprentice Bonds*, NCSA, Raleigh, N.C.; James H. Craig, *The Arts and Crafts in North Carolina 1699–1840* (Winston–Salem: Old Salem, 1965) p. 93.

⁵¹*Randolph County, N.C. Marriage Bonds*, p. 179, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

⁵²*Deed Book 17*, p. 299, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

⁵³*Deed Book 22*, p. 343, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.

⁵⁴Hinshaw, *American Quaker Genealogy*, p. 691; *Deed Book 2B–27*, pp. 89, 90, Guilford County Register of Deeds Office, Greensboro, N.C.

⁵⁵Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Guilford County, N.C.

⁵⁶Personal interview, Ewart Pugh and Robert S. Hayes, 1966.

⁵⁷N. C. and Mary D. Jarrell to James Hays, seventy acres, 1871. Manliff and Elmira Jarrell to James Hays, lot no. four, 1871. *Deed Book 60*, pp. 131, 133, RCRD, Asheboro, N.C.; James N. and Catherine Williams to James M. Hays, seventy acres, 1874. Original deed in author's possession.

⁵⁸Personal interview, Robert S. Hayes, Virginia Hayes, and Roy Hayes, 1966.

⁵⁹Personal interview, R. L. McAden, Kenneth Walden, and Eugene Hinshaw, September 1987.

⁶⁰Stanley South, "The Ceramic Forms of the Potter Gottfried Aust At Bethabara, North Carolina 1755–1771," *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 1965–1966* (1967) 1, pp. 33–38; John Bivens, Jr., *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1972) p. 283; L. McKay Whatley, "The Mount Shepherd Pottery: Correlating Archaeology and History," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, 6, No. 1 (1980) pp. 21–57.

⁶¹Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Knopf, 1970) p. 123.

⁶²Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh, "Imitation, Innovation and Permutation: The Americanization of Bay Colony Lead–Glazed Redwares," Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh, ed. *Domestic Pottery of the Northeastern United States, 1625–1850* (Orlando: Academic Press, Inc., 1985) pp. 216–17, 223.

⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 216–17, 222.

⁶⁴Bower, "Colonial Pottery Making Trade in Philadelphia," pp. 278, 280.

⁶⁵Hinshaw, *American Quaker Genealogy*, pp. 775–76; James E. Bellarts, comp., "The Beard Family," *The Quaker Yeoman*, 13 (November 1986) 4:1–3; Charles G. Zug III, *The Traditional Pottery of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: Ackland Art Museum, 1980, Exhibition Catalog) pp. 24, 53.

⁶⁶Hinshaw, *American Quaker Genealogy*, pp. 648, 674; Craig, p. 91; Young, p. 325.

⁶⁷*Randolph County Apprentice Bonds*, NCSA, Raleigh, N.C.; Young, p. 375.

⁶⁸Hinshaw, *American Quaker Genealogy*, pp. 803–804; *History of Clinton County, Ohio* (Chicago: W. H. Beers and Co., 1882) p. 1122.

⁶⁹Sarah Ester Ross and Mrs. Lewis Grigg, comps., *Levin Ross and Thomas McCulloch with Related Families* (Asheboro, N.C.: 1973) p. 103.

⁷⁰Ross and Grigg, p. 102; Coffin, p. 254.

⁷¹Ross and Grigg, p. 105.

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⁷²Ibid., pp. 96–97; Sam Hancock, *Descendents, Peter Dicks 1686 English Emigrant*, typescript, dated April 1987, unpagged; F.A. Dicks, "Peter Dicks and His Descendents," *The Quaker Yeoman*, 7 (Fall 1980) 3:8.

⁷³Ross and Grigg, p. 98; Hancock; "History of Randleman N.C.," *The Story of Naomi Wise*, (Randleman, N.C. Rotary Club, 1944) pp. 75–76; Coffin, p. 64.

⁷⁴Craig, p. 91.

⁷⁵William Perry Johnson, *Hiatt–Hiatt: Genealogy and Family History* (Utah: Jesse Hiatt Family Association, 1951) pp. 287–88.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 186; Coffin, p. 254; Feeger.

⁷⁷Johnson, pp. 266–67; Young, pp. 375, 420.

⁷⁸Johnson, pp. 176–78.

⁷⁹Sarah Myrtle Osborne and Theodore Edison Perkins, comps., *Hocketts on the Move: The Hoggatt/Hockett Family In America* (Greensboro: 1982) pp. 268, 304; Personal interview, W. Calvin Hinshaw, September 1987. I am indebted to Mr. Hinshaw for sharing his knowledge of Quaker history and providing information on the Hoggatt/Hockett family of potters.

⁸⁰Osborne and Perkins, pp. 268–71; Interview, W. Calvin Hinshaw.

⁸¹The updraft kiln (referred to by local residents as the "old pottery kiln") was located by the author and W. Calvin Hinshaw in 1987. It was approximately eight by ten feet in width, six feet in height (outside dimensions) with one (observable) narrow flue channel ten feet in length, running beneath it. The kiln, built entirely of rock, had an apparent soapstone lining and was set into the bank of a hill. According to the present property owner it was last used ca. 1885 when bricks were fired for use in the chimney of a nearby house. He further stated the kiln was intact until around 1955 when the top caved in; Osborne and Perkins, p. 348.

⁸²Ibid., p. 210; Interview, W. Calvin Hinshaw.

⁸³Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Guilford County, N.C.; Hinshaw, *American Quaker Genealogy*, pp. 856, 886, 988.

⁸⁴Interview, W. Calvin Hinshaw; Osborne and Perkins, p. 268.

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 5, 148.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 27, 172.

⁸⁷Hobbs, p. 17; according to Arthur E. James, in *The Potters and Potteries of Chester County, Pennsylvania* (Exton, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing Limited, 1978) pp. 107–09, 200–01, there were at least two Quaker potters practicing their trade in the Bradford Meeting area in 1794, Jesse Kersey and Thomas Fisher, Jr. They had apprenticed under John Thompson in Philadelphia at an earlier date; Hinshaw, *American Quaker Genealogy*, pp. 827–28, errata & addenda p. 10; Coffin, p. 253.

⁸⁸Craig, pp. 90–91.

⁸⁹Interview, W. Calvin Hinshaw.

Civilize the Indian: Government Policies, Quakers, and Cherokee Education

by

Joan Greene Orr

From the earliest years of its existence, the United States Government has pursued a policy of assimilating the native Americans into the dominant white society, and education was early recognized as a means of attaining this end. There was, however, no definitive answer as to what this system should be. Changes in public opinion, tribal conditions, educational theory, and government personnel resulted in inconsistent federal policies throughout this early period. But the government's goal of "civilizing" the Indian remained constant. Through treaty provisions, federal funding, and the aid of missionary societies, the government's civilizing process reached Indians all over the United States and gradually evolved into an educational system. By 1880 when the Quakers established the first successful educational system on the Qualla Boundary, government policies on Indian education had become the controlling force in Indian schools. An awareness of the development of these policies provides a more complete understanding of the forces which directed Cherokee schools during the Quaker period.

The embryonic stage of these policies appeared in 1789 when the young United States government confronted the problem of what to do with the Indians — annihilate or assimilate. Secretary of War Henry Knox proposed a plan to "extinguish all tribal titles to land, denationalize the tribes, and leave only individual Indian landholders scattered as farmer-citizens among the whites."¹ Secretary Knox believed that if the Indians were given individual land ownership they would work to

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improve their holdings and would need the white man's techniques. Missionaries who were already among the Indians would be able to introduce them to the "implements and domestic animals which lightened the farmer's chores and raised his standard of living."² This reliance upon the aid of missionaries was later to become a major factor in the government's planning and administration of Indian education. And here in Secretary Knox's plan was the foundation of the government's policy of civilizing the Indian. Over the years it would be enlarged to encompass not only a system of agriculture but also a system of education which would begin the assimilation process with the children at a very young age.

The Cherokees were touched by this policy in 1791. Article XIV of the Treaty of Holston stated:

That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful implements of husbandry....³

Through this program of agriculture the Cherokees could be educated to take their places as farmer-citizens. And through this process they would ultimately be forced to accept the white man's culture; the old ways of the aboriginal hunter would die; and their hunting grounds could be opened for white settlement. As farmer-citizens they would be assimilated into the dominant white society, and their uniqueness as a separate entity would be renounced. That the Cherokees' own culture had been evolving over hundreds of years seems to have been inconsequential to the white man. To him the native American was an impediment to expansion — an impediment that must be eliminated no matter what the cost to the red man.

In 1819 Congress passed the Civilization Fund Act which became the nucleus around which the government's Indian educational policies grew. This act provided for \$10,000 annually to be used "to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them [Indians] in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic."⁴ The reasoning behind this was "Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plough...they will grow up in habits of morality and industry."⁵ Thus the policy of educating the

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native Americans began its evolution. As French and Hornbuckle stated in *The Cherokee Perspective*: "Education was not an end in itself, but rather was seen as the primary vehicle for resocialization."⁶

The government's growing involvement in Indian affairs resulted in the establishment of a Bureau of Indian Affairs within the War Department in 1824, and Thomas L. McKenney was appointed head of the Bureau.⁷ In 1832 this position was authorized by Congress as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs who was to "have the direction and management of all Indian affairs, and of all matters arising out of Indian relations."⁸ This position became increasingly important in the area of education as the Commissioners dictated policies which determined Indian school administration.

A major development occurred in 1838 when a plan for educating the western Indians was presented to the Bureau of Indian Affairs by the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This plan, which found favor with Indian Commissioner Hartley Crawford, called for the establishment of large central boarding schools. It was believed that the civilization process would be more effective if the students were removed from familial influences. In his annual report Commissioner Crawford expounded on his ideas concerning the structure of the boarding school curriculum: "Manual labor schools are what the Indian condition calls for — teach him to farm, how to work in the mechanic arts."⁹ And during the 1840s increased emphasis was placed on boarding schools which emphasized manual labor and in which academics took second place.

Girls did housework and were taught to cook, sew, weave, and knit. Farms were attached to the schools, and the boys did farm work while learning agricultural techniques. Commissioner Crawford made conditional grants to schools — they must establish "manual labor courses in agriculture, homemaking and the mechanic arts."¹⁰ His premise was that students would profit more from manual labor than from classroom instruction. It also saved the government and the missionary societies money in that it decreased the operational costs of school.¹¹

As westward migration intensified the 1850s and 1860s became years of almost constant warfare on the Plains, and the government was involved in suppressing Indian uprisings and enforcing reservation existence. It also became immeshed in the growing slavery controversy and resulting Civil War, and the responsibility of educating Indians

rested primarily in the hands of missionary societies. Government funding continued, but the missionary societies determined the organization of the schools in their care.¹²

The schools were of two types — boarding and community day schools. In accordance with government policy practical training continued to be emphasized, but academic subjects were also included. Among the textbooks used were McGuffy's *Eclectic Readers*, Bentley's *Pictorial Spelling Book*, and Ray's *Arithmetic for Little Learners*.¹³ Choice of books, course of study, and teacher qualifications varied. Teachers were appointed under the existing patronage system by reservation superintendents or agents who were themselves political appointees, and in many cases the teachers' qualifications were limited to say the least.¹⁴ Not until 1883 would the policy be established that "all teachers appointed to Indian schools...should pass an examination and be certified by the Civil Service Commission."¹⁵ *Rules for Indian Schools* which would outline a course of study and list recommended textbooks would be issued by Commissioner T. J. Morgan in 1890.¹⁶

By the late 1860s the government was again becoming active in the area of Indian education, and the year 1868 brought important developments in government policies. In the Treaty of Fort Laramie the Dakotas and their allies pledged that they would compel their children between the ages of six and sixteen to attend school, and in return the government promised to provide a school and a teacher for every thirty pupils.¹⁷ Thus the pupil-teacher ratio was fixed, the age of the children who would attend school was established, and the responsibility of school attendance was placed on the parents. Compulsory attendance was not attempted until 1891, and it was 1893 before compulsion began to be utilized to assure compliance.¹⁸

The year 1868 also brought the report of the Indian Peace Commission in which the Commissioners indicated that the lack of success with the western Indians' civilizing process was due partially to their diverse languages. The Commissioners contended that this situation could be alleviated by educating all Indian children in the English language.¹⁹ This recommendation would have far-reaching effects including the decision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to allow only the use of the English language in Indian schools. By the late 1880s this policy was being rigidly enforced.

...no books in any Indian language must be used or instruction

given in that language to Indian pupils in any school where this office has entered into contract for the education of Indians....The instruction of Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and it will not be permitted in any Indian school over which the Government has any control....²⁰

In 1870 Congress passed the General Appropriations Act, and this was a milestone in Indian education. This act provided for a fund of \$100,000 to be used for Indian education — the first to be specified for this purpose.²¹ The results of this act were twofold: a general reduction of subsidies for missionary societies operating schools among Indians and the establishment of government schools. The belief that reservation boarding and day schools were not accomplishing the purpose of total assimilation was gaining momentum, and government policy makers contended that children should be removed from all tribal influences. This could be accomplished by utilizing the fund provided for in the General Appropriations Act, and the result was the establishment of government off-reservation industrial schools — the first of which was Carlisle, established in Pennsylvania in 1879.²² Many such schools were established by the government, and “these were the most effective tools ever devised for the rapid deculturalization of the Indian.”²³ However, in 1879 the government was ill-prepared for assuming the full responsibility of Indian education. Missionary societies had provided both facilities and teachers for Indian schools, and the replacement of mission schools with government schools would necessarily be a gradual process. Ironically, during the interim missionary societies would play an even greater role in Indian education.

During the 1860s there had been numerous frauds perpetrated by Indian agents involving the use of annuities, and by 1870 increasing demands were being made for reforms in the Indian service. Commissioner Ely Parker, the first Indian to become Commissioner of Indian Affairs, submitted to President Ulysses Grant a plan for restructuring the Indian service. As a partial solution he proposed having missionary societies select the agents for areas in which they were operating schools, thereby eliminating political appointees and the patronage system.²⁴ In his Second Annual Message to Congress on December 5, 1870, President Grant stated his intention of turning over the responsibilities of Indian agencies to religious denominations, and although other denominations

also participated, this came to be known as the Quaker Policy.²⁵ For the Cherokees of North Carolina this was an especially important development because it was during the period of the Quaker Policy that the Eastern Cherokees were brought into the government's educational system. The establishment of a central boarding school and day schools which stressed manual labor and were under the supervision of a religious society; the exclusive use of English; voluntary attendance between the ages of six and sixteen; academic instruction and practical training — these would all be part of the Quaker period of Cherokee education, 1880–1892.

Although the Cherokees had long been receptive to the idea of schools, prior to 1880 no successful system of education had been established on the Qualla Boundary.²⁶ Sporadic attempts had been made, but each of these fledgling schools had existed for only a short time. As late as 1875 Indian agent W. C. McCarthy reported this absence of schools and noted that “very few fullbloods could speak English, although to their credit nearly all could read and write their own language, the parents teaching the children.”²⁷ Some Cherokee students were sent to off-reservation boarding schools. Between 1872 and 1879 one hundred Cherokee girls were sent by the government to be educated at Judson College in Hendersonville, North Carolina.²⁸ Other students were sent to Friends Normal School at Maryville, Tennessee, to Weaversville College, Asheville Female College, and Trinity College.²⁹ Later, Cherokee students would attend Carlisle and other off-reservation government schools.³⁰

In 1877 Dr. J. D. Garner, a Quaker from Maryville, was appointed Superintendent for Cherokees east of the Mississippi, and he requested aid from the Society of Friends for establishing schools on the Qualla Boundary.³¹ In 1869 the Bureau of Indian Affairs had instituted the practice of making formal contracts with all schools which received federal aid.³² And in 1881 the Quakers entered into such a contract, to be renewed yearly, with the Cherokees and the United States government. It provided for the construction and maintenance of schools on the Qualla Boundary for a period of ten years. This educational system was to be financed by the Quakers and from the Cherokee trust fund held by the government. A boarding school near the agency at Yellow Hill (Cherokee) and several day schools in various communities were to be constructed.³³

According to government policy the emphasis in both boarding and day schools was on practical training and manual labor. Girls were taught homemaking skills, including needlework; boys were trained in skills of farming and shop work. All of the students took turns at various household chores including laundering and cooking.³⁴ The boarding school supplied most of its food, and the amount produced was used as one of the government's criteria for measuring success in the training schools. "Virtually every annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from about 1880 to 1920 included a statement which detailed the crops and other products obtained from the farms, gardens and dairies at Indian boarding schools."³⁵ The 1890 report from the Cherokee Training School included this statement:

Practically 125 acres have been cultivated. 50 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of corn, 75 bushels of oats, 600 pumpkins, 10 tons of hay, and 50 pounds of butter are among the products of the industry of the school. The boys and girls have acquired and take care of 33 swine and 150 domestic fowls. 5 horses and 56 cattle, including 25 milch cows, form the stock of the institution.³⁶

The students' day began at 5:00 and was composed of approximately six hours of manual labor and five hours of classroom instruction.³⁷ Academic subjects included English, arithmetic, geography, and American history.³⁸ Only the English language was allowed, and as a result of this government policy the beautiful Cherokee language was lost to many Cherokee children. Almost a hundred years would pass before their native American language would be incorporated into the Cherokee schools' curricula.³⁹ One visual evidence of the government's "civilizing" process was a boys' brass band. In *Western North Carolina Since the Civil War*, the Van Noppens described the 1890 commencement exercises at Cullowhee High School: "Commencement was colorful, lasting 3 days....'Music for the occasion was furnished by the Cherokee Indian brass band of sixteen instruments played by Indian boys in uniform.'⁴⁰

By 1890 the personnel at the boarding school consisted of thirteen employees — three of whom were Cherokee. In a supervisory capacity were a superintendent, a matron, and four teachers.⁴¹ Although the Quakers did train some Cherokee students as teachers, the teachers at the Cherokee schools were predominantly white, and "Cherokee instructors were only given the position and title of head workman, as for example, in the shoe, carpentry, and smith shops."⁴² The Quaker

selection of teachers is described in the 1890 report: "No teacher is employed who is not a christian man or woman, but no preference in the selection of teachers is shown as to the different evangelical denominations of the Protestant Church."⁴³

Along with the boarding school, day schools had been established at Soco, Big Cove, Birdtown, and Snowbird. The school at Snowbird had been discontinued by 1890 because the few children in that area were scattered, and several of them attended the boarding school. The buildings were all owned by the Cherokees and expenses were paid with the interest from the Eastern Cherokees' educational fund held in the United States treasury.⁴⁴ Many factors affected the attendance of students in the day schools: bad weather, physical conditions in the area, children who were needed to work at home, and apathy on the part of some Cherokee parents. Legislation for compulsory attendance had not by then been enacted, and the responsibility for school attendance remained with the parents. Those parents who chose to send their children to school did so voluntarily, and many students who were enrolled at the boarding school in the fall remained there all year. For some — like Aggie — it would be for several years.

Aggie Ross Lossiah was born in East Tennessee on December 22, 1880, and attended the Quaker school in Cherokee from 1887 until 1891. In 1960 she wrote "The Story Of My Life As Far Back As I Can Remember," and from her reminiscences emerges the picture of a six-year-old being taken across the Smokies to an "Indian school a way up North Carolina they called yellow hill." She didn't remember how many days they walked, but she did remember being left crying at the school and wanting to go back home with her grandmother. Aggie told about working at school: "I used to mop the hall and the stairs and the parlor [sic] floor." And she told about not wanting to leave when four years later her grandmother came to take her home.⁴⁵

In 1890 the contract for the Cherokee schools was not renewed, and the reasons were several and varied. Mary Chiltoskey offered the explanation of financial considerations. The Quakers had been mining mica as a source of income for support of the schools, and when the sheet mica was exhausted finances became a problem.⁴⁶ Theodore Fischbacher also suggested financial considerations stating that the Quakers' leaving was the result of the reduction of government subsidies for missionary schools.⁴⁷ One of the reasons given by Karen French Owl in "The

Cherokee Boarding School” was the national trend away from missionary schools to government operated schools.⁴⁸ In his 1929 thesis Henry M. Owl, an Eastern Cherokee, cited a controversy involving factions among the Cherokee people and H. W. Spray, the Quaker superintendent in Cherokee.⁴⁹ But regardless of the reason the Quakers were leaving, and this period of Cherokee education came to a close in 1892.

The Quakers had come into Cherokees’ lives to provide a white man’s education, and a viable school system had been established. The educational process itself had been controlled by government policies, but the Quakers’ influence had made it easier to comply with government regulations and had softened the government’s policies of assimilation.⁵⁰ From existing evidence the Quaker schools were well received by the Cherokees and have retained a “favorable place in Cherokee memory.”⁵¹ Perhaps those children who experienced the Quakers’ guidance were better prepared to take their places as adults in a dominant white society. Perhaps the Cherokee people were better prepared for the changes that would occur when the government assumed full responsibility for the education of their children.

With the end of the Quaker era in 1892 the Cherokees were facing a period of transition. The boarding and day schools were absorbed into the federal system at a time when the government was intensifying its efforts to obliterate everything Indian in an Indian child. With the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 a new era in Indian–white relations emerged.⁵² The government’s goal in Indian education became “educate for citizenship,” and until John Collier became Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933 this goal remained paramount. Perhaps the government’s attitude toward Indian education was best expressed by Commissioner T. J. Morgan in his 1889 annual report: “The Indians must conform to the ‘white man’s ways,’ peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must.”⁵³

¹McLoughlin, William G., “Experiment in Cherokee Citizenship, 1817–1829,” *American Quarterly*, 1981, p. 4.

²Hagan, William T., *American Indians*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1979, p. 43.

³Kappler, Charles J., ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904, p. 31.

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⁴Prucha, Francis Paul, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1975, p. 33.

⁵Hagan, p. 88.

⁶French, Lawrence, and Hornbuckle, Jim, eds., *The Cherokee Perspective: Written by Eastern Cherokees*, Boone, N.C., Appalachian Consortium Press, 1981, p. 51.

⁷Washburn, Wilcomb E., comp., *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, Vol. 1, Westport Conn., Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1979, p. 588. In 1849 during a time of peace on the Plains, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred to the Department of the Interior where, despite occasional periods of controversy, it has remained.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Prucha, p. 73.

¹⁰Fischbacher, Theodore, *A Study of the Role of the Federal Government in the Education of the American Indian*, San Francisco, R & E Research Associates, Inc., 1974, p. 60.

¹¹Fey, Harold E., and McNickle, D'Arcy, *Indians and Other Americans*, New York, Harper & Row Publishers, 1959, p. 128.

¹²Jackson, Curtis E., and Galli, Marcia J., *A History of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Its Activities Among Indians*, San Francisco, R & E Research Associates, Inc., 1977, p. 70.

¹³Ibid., pp. 70, 71.

¹⁴Fey, p. 129.

¹⁵Coffer, William E., *Sleeping Giants*, Washington, D.C., University Press of America, Inc., 1979, p. 9. Because of demands for reforms by humanitarian groups and an increased awareness by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the need of improvement in the quality of school personnel, physicians, superintendents, teachers, and matrons were placed under Civil Service. Fischbacher, pp. 132, 133.

¹⁶Washburn, pp. 486-512.

¹⁷Prucha, p. 112.

¹⁸Fischbacher, p. 127.

¹⁹Washburn, p. 154.

²⁰Prucha, Francis Paul, comp., *Americanizing the American Indian*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1973, p. 202.

²¹Adams, Evelyn C., *American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Programs*, New York, Arno Press & The New York Times, 1971, p. 48.

²²Morris, Harold W., "A History of Indian Education in the United States," Dissertation, Oregon State College, 1954, pp. 83-85.

²³Coffer, p. 8. In *Indians of the Americas* John Collier gives a scathing description of the boarding schools: "To kill the Indian traditions and to break the relationship of the generations, Indian children were seized at six years and were confined in 'boarding schools' until past their adolescence. In vacation time they

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were indentured to whites as servants...everything reminiscent of or relevant to Indian life was excluded...." Collier, John, *Indians of the Americas*, New York, New American Library, 1947, pp. 133, 134.

²⁴Kvasnicka, Robert M., and Viola, Herman J., eds., *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824–1977*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1979, pp. 125, 126.

²⁵Prucha, *Documents*, p. 135.

²⁶Layman, Martha E., "A History of Indian Education in the United States," Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1942, pp. 120, 136, 137, 228–238.

²⁷Mooney, James, *Myths of the Cherokee*, Nashville, Tenn., Charles and Randy Elder — Booksellers, 1982, p. 174.

²⁸"Old Judson College Building Is Landmark," *Asheville Citizen Times*, September 2, 1933, Sec. A., p. 3.

²⁹Finger, John R., *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819–1900*, Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 1984, pp. 135–137.

³⁰Hamilton, Anna Blanche, "The Beginnings of a History of Soco Day School and Community," 1946. Interview, McKinley Ross, November, 1984.

³¹Neely, Sharlotte, "The Quaker Era of Cherokee Indian Education, 1880–1892," *Appalachian Journal*, Summer 1975, p. 316.

³²Fischbacher, p. 95. Contracts were made on a per capita basis with mission schools that received federal aid which was used for school facilities, teachers' salaries, or tuition of Indian pupils.

³³Mooney, p. 175.

³⁴Donaldson, Thomas, *Extra Census Bulletin. Indians. Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., United States Census Printing Office, 1892, p. 16.

³⁵Jackson, p. 78.

³⁶Donaldson, p. 16.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸Neely, p. 318.

³⁹In 1970 the Cherokee language was introduced into the elementary school curriculum beginning with the kindergarten children. The program continued gradually until the Cherokee language was incorporated into all of the elementary grades and the high school curriculum. Interview, Mary Chiltoskey, February, 1985.

⁴⁰Van Noppen, Ina W., and John J., *Western North Carolina Since the Civil War*, Boone, N.C., Appalachian Consortium Press, 1973, p. 175.

⁴¹Donaldson, p. 16.

⁴²Neely, p. 318.

⁴³Donaldson, p. 14.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 9

⁴⁵Lossiah, Aggie Ross, "The Story Of My Life As Far Back As I Can Remember," *Journal of Cherokee Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 2, Fall, 1984.

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⁴⁶Interview, Mary Chiltoskey, February, 1983.

⁴⁷Owl, Karen French, "The Cherokee Boarding School," *The Cherokee Perspective*, p. 44.

⁴⁸Fischbacher, p. 135.

⁴⁹Owl, Henry M., "The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians Before and After the Removal," Thesis, University of North Carolina, 1929, pp. 153-155.

⁵⁰Interview, Mary Chiltoskey, March, 1983.

⁵¹Neely, p. 321.

⁵²The Dawes Act, or General Allotment Act, provided for the allotment of tribal lands to individual tribal members and conferred United States citizenship upon each allottee; the land was to be held in trust by the United States government for a 25-year period during which time there was to be an intense program aimed at "educating for citizenship." Two good treatments of the Dawes Act are: Otis, D. S., *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands* (edited and with an introduction by Francis Paul Prucha), Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1973; and Washburn, Wilcomb E., *The Assault on Indian Tribalism: The General Allotment Law (Dawes Act) of 1887*, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1975.

⁵³Washburn, *The American Indian*, p. 424.

THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION OF GUILFORD COLLEGE ANNUAL REPORT 1987-1988

by

*Damon D. Hickey
and
Carole Treadway*

In many ways this year's activities were a continuation of last year's in the Friends Historical Collection. Bibliographer Carole Treadway continued to order and catalog Quaker books, process manuscripts, and assist researchers, as curator Damon Hickey moved from being 3/4-time to full-time coordinator of the First International Congress on Quaker Education, which was held 7-10 April 1988, culminating the college's sesquicentennial celebration. Nevertheless, until March, his office continued to be in the collection, and he continued to be available for a number of collection and Library activities and responsibilities.

During this period, plans for establishing a Peace and Justice Collection were in abeyance, although there was renewed activity in the late spring. Also in the spring staff began once again to plan seriously for the impending library building program, to involve a renovation of the entire collection, beginning in the spring and summer of 1989. Cooperation continued between the collection and the Friends Center, looking toward the latter's relocation adjacent to the collection in its renovated quarters.

This year Carole Treadway began processing the books from the William Perry Johnson materials and the papers from the Robert

Damon D. Hickey is curator of the Friends Historical Collection and associate library director at Guilford College. Carole Treadway is Quaker bibliographer.

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Frazier materials, both of which had been in storage. The William Perry Johnson papers, contained in more than twenty-five, four-drawer filing cabinets, will remain in a Maintenance storage building until the library renovation is complete. When the bequest of the late Robert Frazier, former chairman of the college Board of Trustees, was accepted, the college trustees agreed that the college would be responsible for the preservation, processing, and possible publication of the Frazier papers. In order to fulfill part of this commitment, Augusta M. Benjamin has been employed this year as a contract employee to assist Carole Treadway in the processing. The papers are presently housed in a very crowded library room formerly used for seminars and meetings. Two rooms along the same hallway are filled with other collection and collection-related materials, including the Algie I. Newlin materials, the Quaker costume collection, the Quaker duplicate books, and various paintings and artifacts. Some of the materials received recently from the estate of President Emeritus Clyde A. Milner have been put into remote storage, while others are stacked in the outer room of the collection, for want of any other storage space.

In addition to her contract labor, Augusta Benjamin continued to give her valuable time to the collection as a volunteer assistant, handling much of the manuscript cataloging and genealogical correspondence. Students Kevin Edward Taylor and Amy Beth Glass were employed during the summer and academic year, respectively.

Since microfilming of older minutes of Friends meetings is now complete, North Carolina Yearly Meeting's Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records has approved hiring on a trial basis Southeastern Microfilm Inc. to use the Library's camera to photograph newer materials as they are received, and to process the film. Previously the staff of the collection had hired untrained student or other part-time workers, who were paid by the yearly meeting to photograph records. The film was then sent to the manufacturer for processing. The supervision required by this procedure was quite expensive in terms of staff time, and the results were of uneven quality, particularly since no control of the processing could be exercised. It is hoped that the new procedure will provide a result of higher quality at reasonable cost to the yearly meeting.

Curator Damon Hickey's *"Unforeseen Joy": Serving a Friends Meeting As Recording Clerk* was published by the Publications Board of North

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Carolina Yearly Meeting in the summer of 1987. The book's aim is not only to encourage good minute-taking, but also to encourage good archival practices in the preservation of minutes. It has been very well received among all branches of Friends. It was given a positive, page-long review in *The Evangelical Friend*. The first printing of one thousand is nearly exhausted, and a second printing has been authorized. The manual is currently being translated into Spanish by Jorge Hernandez, to be published by the Friends World Committee, Section of the Americas, for use by Hispanic Friends.

The collection has long sought a publisher for a facsimile edition of the watercolor diaries of Quaker artist John Collins. This spring the Blount County Historic Trust expressed interest in assisting with the publication of "Our Mission in East Tennessee, 1870-1879," the largest of the diaries. The curator, along with members of the board of the trust, met with the acquisitions editor of the University of Tennessee Press to discuss possible publication. The board of the press has expressed interest in a project that would probably see publication of most or all of the watercolors and portions of the text linked and set into context by an introduction and captions, to be written by Damon Hickey. It is possible that the project may be assisted by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and the Publications Board of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends.

Other activities of the staff, gifts to the collection, deposits of meeting records, research in the collection are as follows.

Beta Phi Mu

Carole Treadway is treasurer of the Beta Beta Zeta chapter of Beta Phi Mu, the international library science honor society.

Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists

At the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists held during the Friends United Meeting Triennial at Guilford College in the summer of 1987, Carole Treadway presented a response to Mark Minear's paper on the Richmond Conference of 1887. At the same meeting Damon Hickey presented a paper, "A Spirit of Improvement and Progress: John Collins' 'Summer Visit to North Carolina, 1887.'" He delivered revised versions of this paper for the Guilford College Faculty Colloquium, North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, North Carolina Yearly Meeting of

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Friends (Conservative), and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Carole Treadway serves on the Planning Committee for the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists to be held at Pickering College in the summer of 1988.

First International Congress on Quaker Education

Damon Hickey coordinated the First International Congress on Quaker Education at Guilford College in the spring of 1987. Carole Treadway served as convener of a workshop on "Historic Metaphors and New Metaphors for Quaker Education."

Friends Association for Higher Education

Damon Hickey represented Guilford College at the annual meeting of the Friends Association for Higher Education at Whittier College in the summer of 1987. There he was a member of a panel responding to the keynote address. His invitation to the association to hold its 1988 annual meeting at Guilford College during the First International Congress on Quaker Education was accepted, and he was asked to serve a one-year term on the Executive Committee of the association.

Friends Center

Damon Hickey served ex officio on the Steering Committee and Long-Range Planning Committee of the Friends Center.

Friends World Committee for Consultation

Damon Hickey served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Section of the Americas. He attended the annual meeting of the section in Indianapolis in March 1988, and meetings of the Executive Committee in Greensboro and Philadelphia. He was section representative to North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends in the summer of 1987. In the fall he participated in the Southeastern Regional Gathering of the section held at Passely Gardens Teachers College in Jamaica. Later in the fall Gordon Browne, Jr., executive secretary of the section, was the college's Distinguished Quaker Visitor. Damon Hickey drove Gordon Browne 1,500 miles on a week-long tour of Friends meetings in North Carolina, speaking in one monthly meeting of each of the eight quarterly meetings in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and lunching with pastors in seven of the

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quarterly meetings. The weekend was spent at a retreat sponsored by Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association. At each meeting, Damon Hickey spoke briefly about the collection, the work of the Friends Center, and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society before introducing Gordon Browne.

Genealogical Societies and Other Groups

Carole Treadway presented a paper on the Friends Historical Collection and Quaker records to the annual meeting of the National Genealogical Society in Raleigh in the spring of 1987. She spoke on Quaker migrations and records in North Carolina for a workshop on English settlers, sponsored by the Forsyth County Genealogical Society, in the fall of 1987. She spoke on the Friends Historical Collection to the Randolph County Genealogical Society later that fall. Early in 1988 she gave an informal talk on the collection and the college sesquicentennial to a group of senior citizens at First Friends Meeting in Greensboro.

Greensboro Historical Walking Tour Club

Damon Hickey gave a historical walking tour of the Guilford College area to the Greensboro Historical Walking Tour Club in the fall of 1987.

Guilford College Faculty Colloquium

Carole Treadway presented a paper on New Garden Boarding School in 1837 to the Guilford College Faculty Colloquium. Damon Hickey presented a paper on John Collins' visit to North Carolina in 1887.

Historical Society of North Carolina

In the fall of 1987 Damon Hickey was elected to membership in the Historical Society of North Carolina. Membership in the society is limited to seventy-five historians.

New Faculty Orientation

Damon Hickey presented a program on faculty minute-taking as part of the Faculty Development Committee's orientation of new faculty to Quaker business procedure.

North Carolina Friends Historical Society

Carole Treadway is vice president of the North Carolina Friends

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Historical Society, and associate editor of its semiannual journal, *The Southern Friend*. Damon Hickey is co-editor of *The Southern Friend*. Damon Hickey delivered a paper on John Collins' Tennessee journal to the society's annual meeting in the fall of 1987.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting Committees

Both Damon Hickey and Carole Treadway serve ex officio on the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, and on the Records Committee of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative). Carole Treadway is recorder for the former and convener of the latter. Damon Hickey serves ex officio on the Publications Board of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

Other Meeting Activities

Carole Treadway is clerk of Ministry and Worship for Friendship Monthly Meeting of Friends. Damon Hickey is clerk of the Sanctuary Committee. He is also recording clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative).

"Quaker Faith and Practice" Seminar

Damon Hickey presented an overview of Quaker history as part of the Friends Center's "Quaker Faith and Practice" seminar held at Forsyth Friends Meeting in the fall of 1987.

Quaker Theological Discussion Group

Damon Hickey participated in the Quaker Theological Discussion Group held at Guilford College in the summer of 1987.

Society of North Carolina Archivists

Damon Hickey made a presentation on "Religious Archives in the Small College Library" to the Society of North Carolina Archivists at the fall 1987 meeting in Asheville. Both Damon Hickey and Carole Treadway attended the spring 1988 meeting in Chapel Hill.

Student Quaker Concerns Group

Damon Hickey served on the Steering Committee of the Student Quaker Concerns Group. He spoke to the group on the subject of the Sanctuary Movement and Friends today.

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Gifts to the Friends Historical Collection, 1987-1988

Albright, Leigh

"Hannah (Baskel) Phelps Hill: A Quaker Woman and Her Offspring," by Gwen Boyer Bjorkman, in *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, December, 1987 (photocopy).

Appenzeller, Herbert

File of correspondence with Nereus English; photographs of Guilford baseball team, 1914 (2); papers, photographs, programs, newsclippings and memorabilia documenting the history of athletics at Guilford.

Bell, Eleanor P.

The Saga of the Family and Descendants of David Vestal Henley and Eleanor Lassiter of Randolph County, North Carolina, compiled and edited by Eleanor P. Bell, 1986; *Linsey-Woolsey Days: Original Memoirs of Jessie Henley Parker*, compiled by Eleanor P. Bell, no date.

Benjamin, Augusta

Contribution of volunteer work.

Bjorkman, Gwen Boyer

"Hannah (Baskel) Phelps Hill: A Quaker Woman and Her Offspring," by Gwen Boyer Bjorkman, in *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, December, 1987 (offprint).

Blount County (Tennessee) Historic Trust

Back Home in Blount County: An Illustrated History of Its Communities, Maryville, 1986.

Bodenheimer, Millard H.

John Carter — Quaker — of High Point, N.C., by Gary C. Guffey, 1982.

Boone, Roger S.

Some Quaker Families: Scarborough-Haworth. Supplements: thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth generations, 1987.

Boynnton, Genevieve S.

Quaker books (19); Minutes and Disciplines of North Carolina Yearly Meeting; Guilford College materials, including programs, pamphlets.

Bundy, V. Mayo

Contribution of money.

Burgwyn, John G.

Photograph of the faculty and student body of Guilford College, 1937 (framed).

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Cain, Robert J.

The Political State of Great Britain, published by A. Boyer, 37 volumes (1–5, 9–13, 18–19, 21, 23–46) from January 1711 through September 1733; finding aid for North Carolina–related documents in Friends House, London.

Carter, Pauline H.

Manuscript journal of Elkhanah Beard, Lynn, Indiana, 1863–1867.

Coffin, David P., Jr.

Coffin Family Newsletter.

Cox, Joseph J.

Bound volume of *The Guilfordian*, 1926–1928; National College Press Award certificate for *The Guilfordian* of 1926–1927; miscellaneous papers relating to Friends Homes; photograph of Guilford College Glee Club, 1925; miscellaneous pamphlets.

Craven, F. Duval

Photograph of First Friends Meeting, Greensboro, First Day school class, ca. 1920; additions to Craven family papers; contribution in memory of Clyde Milner.

Crosby County (Texas) Pioneer Memorial & Community Center

Estacado: Cradle of Culture and Civilization of the Staked Plains of Texas, 1986.

Elkins, Frances

History of Bartow County, Georgia, Formerly Cass, by Lucy Josephine Cunyers, revised reprint edition, 1983.

Farlow, Binford

Photographs (12) of unidentified persons, ca. 1890–1900; photograph of Holly Spring meetinghouse, late 19th century.

Hager, Carolyn

Family sheet for Stephanus Haworth; *My Ancestors Were Quakers: How Can I Find Out More about Them?* by Edward H. Milligan and Malcolm J. Thomas, 1983.

Farmer, Walter

In America Since 1607: The Hollingsworth, Farmer, Judkins Families — Their Ancestors, Descendants and Many Related Families, by Walter I. Farmer, 1988.

Friends Association for Higher Education

Quaker Education: From Vision to Practice: Eighth Annual Conference Friends Association for Higher Education, June 26–30, 1987 (proceedings, Whittier College, Whittier, California).

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Hamm, Thomas

The Antislavery Movement in Henry County, Indiana, by Thomas D. Hamm, 2nd edition, 1987; "Friends in North Carolina — The Outlook for Guilford College," by Mary J. Hobbs, 1891; "Governor Northen's Address of Welcome to the National Women's Christian Temperance Union at Atlanta, November 14, 1890"; open letter "to the citizens of the Thirteenth Congressional District of North Carolina" from Representative Lewis Williams, postmarked Washington, April 24, 1828, stating his stands on various issues; *Autobiography of Elizabeth H. Coale*, 1903; "William Hobson and the Founding of Quakerism in the Pacific Northwest," by Myron Dee Goldsmith, Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1962.

Hammer, Thomas

Ancestors and Descendants, 1683–1983: Abraham Hammer of Philadelphia County, PA and Randolph County, NC, by Harriette J. Hammer, 2nd edition, 1983.

Harrison, Kathryn

Contribution of money.

Henry, George B.

Friendsville Homecoming '86, Friendsville Friends Meeting, Friendsville, Tennessee, 1986.

Hickey, Damon D.

"*Unforeseen Joy*": *Serving a Friends Meeting as Recording Clerk* by Damon D. Hickey, 1987 (2 copies); original woodblock print, "And a Little Child Shall Lead Them, Isaiah XI," by Fritz Eichenberg, no. 28 of 100, signed, matted, and framed, given in memory of Doralyn J. Hickey, Thomas Earl Hickey, and Ethel Place Hickey.

Hill, Frances

Report of the World Gathering of Young Friends, 1985, in Spanish, "*Que Hablen Nuestras Vidas.*"

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

Remembering 75 Years of History, by Marie Haines, 1967 (history of Oregon Yearly Meeting of Friends Church).

Hood, Harriet Crutchfield

Miniature Quaker doll, mounted and framed, Philadelphia, ca. 1935.

Hoover, Eleanor Blair Floyd

Record book of Christian Endeavor of Deep River Meeting, 1894.

Howard, Nancy and Harold

See Wellons, Edith and Harry.

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Hughes, Fred

Photographs of Hechinger, Germany, and Hohenzollern Castle, taken between 1940–1945; photographs of High Point, N.C., 1927–1932, showing primarily construction of High Point Lake and Park; contribution of money.

Ingle, H. Larry

Issue of *American Presbyterians: Journal of Presbyterian History*, vol. 64, winter 1986, with article "Samuel Hanson Cox, Quakers and the Hicksite Separation," by H. Larry Ingle.

Kania, Richard

A History of Corrections: Emerging Ideologies and Practices, by Frank Schmallegger, 1986, which includes chapters on Quaker influence, William Penn, John Howard.

Lantz, Marion

Papers, pamphlets, photographs, and doll dressed in ethnic dress from Marion Lantz's year as a teacher at Ramallah Friends School, Ramallah, Palestine (now West Bank), 1932–1933.

Levenson, Mazie

Newsclippings and correspondence pertaining to the Civil Rights movement in Greensboro, North Carolina, 1960–1969.

Levering, Samuel and Miriam

Additions to the Levering family papers.

Ludel, Jacqueline

Sanctuary materials, including a draft of a speech by Ellen Yaroshefsky, "Sanctuary in Tucson: Who Really Won?"; opening statement by Jim Corbett's attorney at the Tucson Sanctuary trial; complete transcript of the sentencings in the Tucson trial, 1986 (materials used for Guilford College Interdisciplinary Studies 101).

Maris, Ruth Outland

The American Colony Palestine Guide, by G. Olaf Matson, 3rd edition, 1930.

McArthur, Anna D., estate of

Bequest of money.

Messick, Aaron and Brent

Historical Architecture of Yadkin County, North Carolina, 1987.

Michener, Margaret

Contribution of volunteer work.

Mills, Billy

Counted cross-stitch sampler of new Founders Hall done by Billy

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report

Mills for the Quakerism course taught by J. Floyd Moore in 1981, completed 1987 (matted and framed).

Milner, Charles

Minutes of Chapel Hill Monthly Meeting, April 1986–June 1987 (photocopies).

Milner, Clyde and Ernestine

Additions to Clyde and Ernestine Milner papers and artifacts, including letters; scrapbooks; card file of “great men”; framed diplomas and awards; wedding dress; globe; *History of the Church of Christ*, by Joseph and Isaac Milner, 4 volumes in 5, 1809, 1811.

Mixon, Ina

Photograph of the Guilford College class of 1924.

Moore, J. Floyd

Miscellaneous Guilford College and Quaker materials, including announcements, newsletters, brochures, communications to faculty, programs, newsclippings, and correspondence; contribution in memory of Doralyn J. Hickey.

Morse, Elizabeth Brown

A Family of the Quaker Persuasion: Genealogy of the Pucketts, Browns and Affiliated Families, compiled by Elizabeth (Brown) Morse, 2nd edition, 1986.

Noah, Max

Scrapbooks (three) assembled by Max Noah, head of the Guilford College Music Department, 1927–1935, documenting the Music Department activities, the A Capella Choir, and the Guilford County Public School Music Festival during that period.

North Pacific Yearly Meeting

Proceedings, 1987 (photocopies of typescript).

Perkins, Theodore

Sacred History of the Historical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, by Thomas Ellwood, Volume I, First American edition, 1804; *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London, from Its Institution*, 2nd edition, 1802; “History of the Chilton Family,” by Luther N. Byrd, 1978? (photocopy); papers of Woodland Monthly Meeting, including deeds of meeting property and two meeting histories, one by John Moore, and one signed “clerks of Woodland Meeting” (photocopies); miscellaneous pamphlets; First Friends Meeting Bulletins; photographs; newsclippings.

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Pike, Doris

"Pike Genealogy List" and chart; "Hinshaw Genealogy List" and chart, by Ralph E. Pike, n.d. (mimeographed copies).

Powell, Eleanor

Issues of *Wooten and Related Families Association Quarterly*, volumes I-V, 1981-1986.

Simonsson, Mrs. Carl, estate of

Genealogy of Vale and Garretson Descendants, by Lydia Ann Vale Leffler, 1975.

Singleton, Gary

"The Mendenhalls, Stubbs, and Singletons: An English Family History," by Gary Singleton, 1983 (photocopy of typescript).

Smisor, Harold N.

Miscellaneous Quaker books; the Holy Bible in Welsh; directories of Friends meetings; *Charles A. Beard, 1874-1948: A Native of Henry County, Indiana, with Emphasis on His Boyhood and Accomplishments, Prior to 1917*, by Richard P. Ratcliff, 1966; *The Schools of Spiceland Township, Henry County, Indiana*, by Richard P. Ratcliff, William L. Byrket, 1973; issues of *The American Friend*, 1929-1933; issues of *The Indiana Friend*, 1961-1976; *A Venture in Faith: A Readers Theatre Presentation of the Celebration of the Sesqui-Centennial of Indiana Yearly Meeting*, by Howard Gongwer, Mary Kunper, 1971.

Stoesen, Alexander

Papers of David Parsons, Jr. and Cora Worth Parsons, including letters, photographs of Laura Worth, the Parker family, and David and Cora Worth Parsons.

Tomlinson, Elsie

Papers of Sidney Tomlinson, Jr., including correspondence, scrapbooks, and printed materials documenting his military service in World War II, his school life, and the courtship of his parents Sidney Tomlinson, Sr. and Ethel Diffee.

Treadway, Carole

Contribution in memory of Doralyn J. Hickey.

Victorius, Gertrude

"An Account of My Lifetime: A Talk Given at the Guilford College Art Appreciation Club on October 7, 1986," by Gertrude Victorius (photocopy).

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report

Virginia Beach Monthly Meeting of Friends

Contribution of money.

Weis, Edna Lamb, estate of

Bequest for the Clyde and Ernestine Milner Collection for International Quaker Studies.

Wellons, Edith and Harry (with Nancy and Harold Howard)

A History of Lynchburg's Pioneer Quakers and Their Meeting House, by Douglas Summers Brown, 2nd ed., 1986.

Wheeler, Nellie Gray

Guilford Telephone Company Directory, Guilford College, North Carolina, 1912; miscellaneous family and Guilford College items (2).

White, Nell Chilton, estate of

Papers, including diaries, wedding certificate, photographs, (1952–1982).

Whittier College, Whittier, California

Miscellaneous materials, including Mendenhall and Pennington family genealogical materials.

Williams, Margo Lee

The Miles Lassiter Family of Lassiter's Mill, Randolph County, North Carolina (Miles Lassiter, ca. 1777–1851): A Short Family History, by Margo Lee Williams, 1987.

Wilmington Yearly Meeting, by Thomas C. Hill

Quaker Meetings in Southeastern Ohio, revised, 1987.

Women's Society of First Friends Meeting (Greensboro, North Carolina)

Contribution of money.

Documents of Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings of North Carolina

Deposited in the Friends Historical Collection 1987–1988

Asheboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1978–June 1984.

Minutes, Ministry and Oversight, July 1939–June 1970.

Bethel Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January–December 1986.

Centre Monthly Meeting

“Records of Memorials and Honorariums, 1978–1987,” Book I (Treasurer's records).

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Concord Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1981–June 1986.

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1986–June 1987.

Fayetteville Monthly Meeting (NCYM–Conservative)

Minutes and documents, August 1985–May 1987.

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1986–December 1986.

New Garden Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1981–December 1985.

Minutes, Women's Society Executive Board, January 1978–May 1984.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Minutes, Ministers, Elders, and Overseers, February 1956–May 1973.

Minutes, Young Friends Yearly Meeting, 1956–1971.

Epistles received 1987.

Memorials, 1987.

Pine Hill Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1986–June 1987.

Plainfield Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1914–1981 (3 volumes).

Rich Square Monthly Meeting (NCYM–Conservative)

Minutes, May 1985–April 1987.

Rocky River Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1973–May 1980.

Virginia Beach Monthly Meeting (NCYM–Conservative)

Minutes and Treasurer's reports, August 1986–May 1987.

Membership list, 1987.

Western Quarterly Meeting

Minutes, July 1984–May 1987.

Summary of Uses of the Friends Historical Collection, 1987–88

North Carolina Friends

Friends from Centre Monthly Meeting did research throughout the year in preparation for a meeting history, as did Friends from Raleigh and Glenwood Friends Meetings. Material was also gathered by a member of Plainfield Monthly Meeting in preparation for its anniversary celebration.

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Members of Winston-Salem and Rocky River meetings searched their records, and the staff searched records of Up River, Concord, and Woodland meetings for information for the meetings.

The staff located statements of Friends on gambling for members of Virginia Beach Friends Meeting to be used to prepare a statement opposing the institution of a state lottery, assisted a member of New Garden Meeting in assembling materials for a First Day school class, and compiled material for a program on women in the ministry for a member of Spring Garden Meeting.

Two Friends from the Asheville Meeting were assisted in preparing for an elderhostel on Quakerism which was held in April, 1988.

Theodore Perkins of First Friends Meeting in Greensboro compiled the marriages of Core Sound Meeting, an early meeting in Carteret County, for publication.

The staff researched references to a trust fund for North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

A reception for authors of books published by North Carolina Yearly Meeting during the year 1986-87 was held in the collection during yearly meeting. The Board of Directors of North Carolina Friends Historical Society met twice and the Meeting Histories and Nominating Committees also met in the collection. The Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records also held its regular meetings there.

Guilford College Students, Faculty, and Staff

Students in a psychology class on relationships used college archival materials and publications to trace evidence of change in relationships among students and faculty since the late nineteenth century. The projects were reported in a final class session held in the collection. An education class and an accounting class also used college archives for class projects incorporating college history in honor of the college sesquicentennial.

An art class met in the collection several times in order to use valuable art works housed in the collection.

Students in the Quakerism class used the collection heavily both semesters for a variety of assigned topics. Most popular among the topics was a comparison of the views of George Fox, John Woolman, Douglas Steere, and Howard Brinton on the inward light.

Individual student projects involved using collection materials on

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Friends' responses to the AIDS epidemic, contributions of Quaker women in Guilford County, Quaker women and suffrage, and Elias Hicks.

Research was done by the student reporters for the *Guilfordian* on the Interdisciplinary Studies 101 course, and on the decline in the percentage of Quakers in the student body.

Documentary photographs were provided for the two sesquicentennial history publications which were published by the college this year: *Pride in the Past*, a history of Guilford College athletics, by Herb Appenzeller, and *Guilford College: On the Strength of 150 Years*, by Alexander Stoesen.

Other faculty members worked in the collection for projects on seventeenth-century Quaker women, peace, and the Underground Railroad.

The staff carried out several projects for various college administrators and staff members. A list of High Point residents who have been associated with Guilford College was prepared, and a chronology of North Carolina Yearly Meeting/North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)/Guilford College connections was compiled. Information was provided on Mary Fisher, an early Quaker missionary; the first international students' dinner at Guilford College; the International Baccalaureate at Guilford; and the poet Henry Taylor.

Scholars, Students, and Other Researchers from Outside Guilford

Graduate students and other scholars researched in the collection on such topics as Quaker women in the ministry; Joseph Moore, a prominent scientist, educator, and president of Earlham College, who assisted Friends in North Carolina in building up an educational system after the Civil War; Quaker samplers; Quakers and slavery (two graduate students); M. Carey Thomas, former president of Bryn Mawr College; contemporary British Quakerism; freed blacks in Ohio; Quakers on peace and authority, ties between black and Quaker communities in Indiana; Currituck County, North Carolina, in the colonial period; Quaker concerns for education in the eighteenth century; George Fox; eighteenth-century American and English Quakers; the Quaker position on stewardship of the earth; Hannah Whitall Smith; John Stubbs of Georgia.

Steven Jay White, a doctoral student at the University of Illinois,

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report

spent three weeks in the collection in the spring doing research for his dissertation on English and American Quakers in the eighteenth century.

The staff worked with genealogist and writer Gwen Boyer Bjorkman as she compiled marriages of Eastern Quarterly Meeting of North Carolina Yearly Meeting before 1800 for a book.

Player statistics on the Guilford College basketball team of 1964 were provided for an intercollegiate athletic reference book, and Quaker sources of information on the acquisition of literacy in the colonial South were identified for a researcher.

The staff helped a patron locate Jack Swamp Meeting, an extinct meeting in Northampton County; and provided a Friends minister with documentation of her recording as a minister.

Margo Lee Williams sought information on her ancestor Miles Lassiter, a freed black who belonged to Black Creek Monthly Meeting in the 1840s, for her family history on the Lassiter family of Lassiter's Mill, Randolph County, North Carolina. Staff research verified his membership. Although his membership had been previously known, it had not been known that he was a free black, making this piece of research particularly valuable for the collection.

Herbert Hadley examined materials on the Friends Fourth World Conference held at Guilford College in 1967 for his history of the Friends World Committee for Consultation.

Other Friends were assisted in their research on Friends concerns with issues of aging, Samuel M. Janney, Joseph D. Cox, and Quaker samplers.

Trudy Atkins of the Greensboro Public Schools selected materials from the papers of Max Noah, former member of the music faculty at Guilford College, relating to the Guilford County Public School Music Festivals held on the campus in the 1930s in preparation for a similar festival held in April 1988 on the campus.

Copies of materials and photographs were provided for a history of Perquimans County and a publication of Historic Jamestown, both to be issued in the near future.

A staff member from the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts sought to document a piece of Philadelphia-made furniture known to have belonged to a North Carolina Friend.

A reporter from *The High Point Enterprise* researched New Garden Boarding School records for an article on the college sesquicentennial

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anniversary, and a researcher for the Guilford County commissioners documented Quaker families in the Whitsett community to establish it as a historic district.

Archaeological research brought two researchers to the collection looking for documentation of Randolph County potters and information on a burial site of Revolutionary War soldiers.

Over four hundred persons looking for their ancestors in the genealogical resources of the collection were assisted by the staff.

Statistics

Acquisitions and Cataloging

Monographs	322
Meeting document groups	22
Manuscript items or collections received	20
Manuscript items or collections	
partially or completely cataloged	15
Costumes	1
Artifacts	3
Pictorial matter	28
Items added to vertical file	373
Serials—new titles	2

Users

Visitors	261
Groups	11
Genealogists	324
Guilford College faculty and staff	57
Scholars and other researchers	
from outside Guilford	80
Guilford students	183
Students from other institutions	27

New Publications

Compiled and Edited by

Carole Treadway

Guilford County, N.C.: A Map Supplement by Fred Hughes (1988) is designed to tell the story behind his Historical Documentation Map of Guilford County. During his research for the map, which displays the county from the time of settlement in about 1750 up to 1800, Hughes found so much new information and misinformation that he saw the necessity of telling the whole story as he saw it. The result is an interesting documentary history of the life and times of Guilford County in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including patterns of settlement, the daily life of settlers, gold mining, education, religious bodies, political maneuvers, land fraud, and many other matters of interest. There is much in this sizeable monograph of 136 pages for students of Guilford County Quaker history and genealogy. Indexes of persons and subjects are included as well as map supplements. The book may be obtained from the publisher, The Custom House, P.O. Box 549, Jamestown, NC 27282. The cost is \$10 postpaid.

Two recent compilations of Quaker marriages in early meetings in eastern North Carolina make these valuable records much more accessible than they are in *The Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Volume I. *Marriages in Contentnea Quarterly Meeting of Friends, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1737-1891*, researched and compiled by Theodore Edison Perkins, 1988, offers 227 marriage certificates of Contentnea, Core Sound, Nahunta, Neuse and Woodland Monthly Meetings and 322 records of marriages not approved by the meetings or to which reference is made but for which no certificate may be found in the original records. The full text of the certificate as it appears in meeting records is given in each case, including witnesses. In addition, Perkins has added family data for the marriages for which there are certificates. Family information is based on meeting records. Certificates are listed alphabetically by the name of the groom, but there are also

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alphabetical listings by both bride and groom and a complete name index. The book may be purchased in either softcover or hardcover from the publisher, The Guilford County Genealogical Society, P.O. Box 9693, Greensboro, NC 27429-0693. The cost is \$40 plus \$3 postage and handling for the softcover, or \$45 plus \$3 for the hardcover.

Gwen Boyer Bjorkman has undertaken to transcribe Quaker marriage certificates of the earliest eastern North Carolina meetings in Perquimans and Pasquotank Counties. A few previously unknown marriages have been uncovered. The transcriptions name the bride and groom, specify the date and place of marriage, and also name the signers of the certificate as given in the meeting record. There are also page number citations to the original records in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C. An index is included. The introduction is by Raymond A. Winslow, Jr., the authority on Quaker families in the area covered. Entitled *Quaker Marriage Certificates: Perquimans, Pasquotank, Suttons Creek & Piney Woods Monthly Meetings, North Carolina, 1677-1800* (1988), the book is available from Heritage Books, Inc., 1540E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 106, Bowie, MD 20716. The cost is \$17.50 including postage.

Issue number 10 of *Quaker Queries* is out. Included with queries on Quaker families submitted by readers are reviews of books and periodicals of interest to Quaker family researchers, descriptions of several research libraries with Quaker genealogical holdings, and announcements of family reunions. There is a name index. Copies may be obtained from the editor and publisher, Ruby Simonson McNeill, N. 4015 Marguerite Road, Spokane, WA 99212-1818. The cost is \$5 plus \$2 for postage and handling.

North Carolina Friends Historical Society Newsletter

edited by

Carole Treadway

Annual Meeting

The thirteenth annual meeting of the society was held in the living room of Friends Homes on November 12, 1988. The meeting was preceded by a luncheon. Fifty-seven members and guests attended.

During the meeting, new members of the board of directors of the society were introduced. They are Benny Farmer, Donald Osborne, Daniel Warren, and Nancy Holt. In addition Gertrude Beal was named associate editor of *The Southern Friend*, joining Damon Hickey, Herbert Poole, and Carole Treadway on the editorial board.

Guest speaker was Dr. George Cox, Jr., professor of political science at Georgia Southern College. He gave an illustrated lecture on "The Social Concerns of Wrightsborough, Georgia, Friends," an entertaining and informative look at the political and social problems encountered by the southernmost settlement of American Friends in the eighteenth century.

Collins Print

The society, in cooperation with Historic Blount County, Tennessee, is offering a limited edition print of a rare watercolor by New Jersey Quaker artist John Collins.

Painted in the 1870s, this full-color panorama (the image size measures 8" x 27-1/4" on paper 12-1/2" x 31-1/2") shows the town of Maryville, Tennessee, where Collins worked as a Friends teacher and missionary. Collins, an accomplished watercolorist and pioneer lithographer, produced two illustrated journals of visits to North Carolina in 1869 and 1887, and one of his ten-year stay in eastern Tennessee,

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1870–1879. These journals and the original watercolor of Maryville are now owned by the Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College.

You don't have to be a native of Tennessee or even a Friend to appreciate this fine example of early southern Quaker art. It may be ordered from the North Carolina Friends Historical Society (P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419–0502). The cost is \$25 postpaid.

The Southern Friend Indexed

The Southern Friend is indexed in *America: History and Life* which covers articles on the history and culture of the United States and Canada from prehistoric times to the present. Indexing began with Volume III, 1981.

Beginning with volume X, 1988, *The Southern Friend* is now also indexed in *Periodical Source Index* (PERSI), a comprehensive place, subject, and surname index to over 1500 genealogical and local history periodicals. Published by the Allen County Public Library Foundation, annual editions beginning with 1986 are currently available. The Foundation is preparing the first four-volume installment of a retrospective index, 1847–1985 which should be available soon. The 1986 and 1987 editions may be purchased for \$30 and \$35 respectively from the ACPL Foundation, PERSI Project, P.O. Box 2270, Fort Wayne, IN 46801–2270.

QUIP to Publish Second Catalog in 1990

Representatives of twelve Quaker publishers and booksellers, including North Carolina Friends Historical Society, attended the annual meeting of Quakers Uniting in Publication (QUIP) in September at Quaker Hill Conference Center, Richmond, Indiana. Booksellers present indicated the QUIP catalog of Quaker publications published by the group in 1987 was a success. Some reported as much as a 50% increase in sales as a result of the catalog. A redesigned second edition will be published in 1990. Publications of the society were included in the first edition and will be in the second.

Death of Willard Heiss

Willard Heiss, widely known authority on American Quaker genealogy and history, died in Indianapolis on August 10, 1988 at the age of 67. Among his many publications was the seven-volume *Abstracts of the*

Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana (1962–1977), published by the Indiana Historical Society. Heiss was chairman of the Family History and Genealogy Section of the Indiana Historical Society and edited its journal, *Genealogy*. Other projects included newspaper columns on family history, *A List of all the Friends Meetings That Exist or Ever Have Existed in Indiana, 1807–1955* (1959); *Guide to Research in Quaker Records in the Midwest* (1962); and *Quaker Genealogies*, compiled with Thomas Hamm (1985).

Heiss was a founding member of Lanthorne Friends Meeting (Indiana) and served as clerk of the meeting for many years. He is survived by his wife Virginia, son Stephen, and three grandchildren.

Death of Garland Stout

Garland P. Stout, widely known in North Carolina and elsewhere for his historical research maps and computerized Genealogical Data Bank of North Carolina, died in Greensboro on June 11, 1988 at the age of 80. A retired engineer, his interest in his own and his wife's family history led to the creation of historical maps for all 100 of North Carolina's counties, and to the data bank in which he collected and stored information on several thousand families in North Carolina, including his own Quaker families. He was a charter member and former president of the Guilford County Genealogical Society. He is survived by his wife and four children.

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

1987-88

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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

Journal of the
North Carolina Friends
Historical Society



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Spring 1989

The Southern Friend:
Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The Southern Friend is published semiannually in spring and autumn by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502. Members of the society, for whom the annual dues are \$12, receive the journal without charge. Single issues may be purchased for \$3 per number.

Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Damon D. Hickey, The Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410.

Index

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*, *America: History and Life*, and *Periodical Source Index* (PERSI).

Publications Committee

Damon D. Hickey and Herbert Poole, editors; Carole M. Treadway and Gertrude Beal, associate editors.

Cover Illustration

"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

The Southern Friend Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

Volume XI

Spring 1989

Number 1

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The Peace and Social Concerns of Wrightsborough Friends: Part II, The Ravages of War

by

George H. Cox, Jr.

This is the second essay in a three part series concerned with the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting in Georgia. The initial article addressed how Georgia's colonial Quakers dealt with the issue of "Living with the Indians." We now turn our attention to how these Friends viewed the political revolution of 1776 and the war which it brought to the frontier. The third and final essay will look at the introduction of slavery into the Georgia backcountry after the Revolutionary War, a development which marked the end of Quakerism in eighteenth-century Georgia.

Indian raids and the problem of renegade bands of Indians and whites led the Friends at Wrightsborough to seek police protection from their patron, Royal Governor James Wright. Their generous land grants and productive farms were worthless without guarantees of public safety. The governor responded to the need for security by stationing rangers on the frontier and making preparations for quickly dispatching regular "red coat" troops from Savannah and Augusta when crises arose. When these measures proved inadequate, he built a fort for the protection of the Wrightsborough Township.

It was therefore the case that the Wrightsborough Friends had practical experience with living their peace concerns before the advent of the American Revolution. They had come to realize how vulnerable they were on the frontier, far from the centers of English law and order. Also, recall that a very supportive royal government had aided settlement west of Augusta. Most white settlers lived on lands ceded to the Georgia colony by the Creek Indians for the repayment debts owed to Augusta merchants. Many backwoods settlers therefore held royal land grants and enjoyed special tax incentives. Many, including the Quakers, had good prospects for the future under English rule. This loyalty to a benevolent government and the frontier dependence upon the government

George Cox is the clerk of the Ogeechee Friends Monthly Meeting in Statesboro, Georgia. He is an associate professor of political science at Georgia Southern College. Martha Franklin Daily assisted with the research for this project.

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in Savannah for protection bound Georgia Friends and many of their neighbors to the royal government.

The American Revolution developed gradually along the colonial frontier. In the northern and western parts of Georgia, the preliminary reaction to revolutionary talk in Massachusetts was almost universally negative:

We, the subscribers, inhabitants of the Parish of St. Paul, having understood that certain persons have attempted, and are now attempting to prevail on the good-meaning and well-disposed people of the Province, to enter into resolution...in order to counteract and render ineffectual some late acts of the British Parliament intended to reduce the people of Boston to a sense of their duty: —

We do hereby, for ourselves and others, protest against any, and declare our dissent to any such resolutions, or proceedings in any wise tending to express disloyalty to our most gracious Sovereign, and the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, for the following reasons, viz.: —

First, Because we apprehend this mode of assembling and entering into resolutions that arraign the conduct of the King and Parliament, illegal, and tends only to alienate the affection, and forfeit the favour and protection of a most gracious Sovereign, to draw upon this colony the displeasure of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain.

Secondly, Because if we have real grievances to complain of, the only legal and constitutional method of seeking redress is, we apprehend, to instruct our representatives in Assembly to move for and promote a decent and proper application to his Majesty and the Parliament for relief.

Thirdly, That as the inhabitants of this Province have had no hand in destroying any teas, the property of the East India Company, and, therefore, are not involved in the same guilt with those of Boston, they can have no business to make themselves partakers of the ill consequences resulting from such conduct.

The Peace and Social Concerns of Wrightsborough Friends

Fourthly, Because the persons who are most active on this occasion, are chiefly those whose property lies in or near Savannah, and, therefore, are not immediately exposed to the bad effects of an Indian war; whereas, the back settlements of this Province, and our parish in particular, would most certainly be laid waste and depopulated, unless we receive such powerful aid and assistance as none but Great Britain can give. For these and other reasons, we declare our dissent to all resolutions by which his Majesty's favour and protection might be forfeited.¹

Frontier communities like Wrightsborough had nothing to gain and everything to lose by rebelling against the English authorities. Their livelihoods and even their very lives depended upon the support of Governor Wright and the Royal Assembly in Savannah.

The governor recognized the loyalty of the Friends in a number of tangible ways. In 1774, he held a major Indian council to try to settle lingering differences between the white settlers and the Creeks. He contributed money for a new meetinghouse at Wrightsborough. He supported the American proposal that the colonial assemblies manage all taxation "on requisition of the King."² This would have avoided the central colonial concern of taxation without a mechanism of representation appropriate to British subjects. However conciliatory the frontiersmen or the governor, continental events swept the colony into open conflict.

In 1775, actual rebellion broke out, and bands of Whig and Tory irregulars skirmished in the backcountry. Individuals and communities were pressed to take sides. Each faction was electing representatives, taxing local homesteads, raising and provisioning militia, and directing military operations. Individuals and communities were pressed to take sides.

Reports from the Georgia Quakers indicated that they either escaped the notice of local revolutionaries or were ignored by them at the outset of hostilities:

In the beginnings of the present Commotions and Troubles in America, We seemed to be remarkably favoured for a considerable time, for although there were divers exercising authority, that Endeavoured to have Laws Enacted against us, to compel us to bear

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arms, and to Fine us for not Mustering, Scouting, or going on Expedition (so called) with them, yet these fines were never Executed or Levied on us, there generally happening something in a remarkable manner to stop the same.³

However, the Friends were in a difficult situation, and their faith soon would be tested. It was only a matter of time until the pressure for taking sides caught up with their determination to remain neutral and peaceful in the foray.

The Georgia Quakers followed their denominational teachings concerning war, militia service, and the denial of the worldly concerns used to justify warlike behavior. They may have been aware of John Woolman's advice that "It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God, to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully invaded...."⁴ They were certainly receiving clear guidance concerning the conflict from their own yearly meeting:

...we do give this forth as our soled [sic] advice and judgement that we believe all Friends ought to be faithfully engaged for the support and maintaining of our peaceable Testimony by an honest refusal to act or wittingly comply with any Pugilistics or demands made by men in supporting or carrying on Wars or the shedding of Blood; for we are fully persuaded that these that do actively comply in the least degree therein have manifestly deviated from our principles and will suffer loss thereby.⁵

Yet the unity of the monthly meeting began to erode as some Wrightsborough Friends joined the conflict. Several of the young men joined the region's Whig militia. For example, John Carson, Jr., served with Elijah Clarke's force. For some, enlistment was a response to threats. For others, it meant signing papers and drilling on the common. Few probably realized how barbarous the war on the frontier would become.

Others in the meeting, especially some of the older established members, openly supported the Tory militia and the regular British Army. Joseph Maddock, the Wrightsborough clerk from 1773 to 1775, was one of these English supporters. His name appears on virtually every partisan declaration favoring the loyalist position. He was appointed

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to several responsible posts by the royal government. He was deeply involved with the Savannah merchant, James Habersham, and his debts threatened the solvency of many Wrightsborough ventures. In 1779, Maddock assisted a British agent who was recruiting a regiment of loyalist militia in the Augusta area.⁶ He was arrested for this offense by Whig officials and briefly imprisoned in Charleston. He was forced to flee Wrightsborough in 1781; he went to the English stronghold at Savannah and there continued to serve the Tory cause as a cattle buyer for the loyalist militia.

Some of the people in the community who called themselves Quakers had always refused to live under the discipline of the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting. They had produced the certificates of membership or other documents required by the English government for settlement in the Quaker Reserve, but they never followed through by affiliating with the local monthly meeting. This was a problem throughout the western areas of the American colonies because it meant that individuals could benefit from the association with Friends but escape responsibilities like peacekeeping which had brought the Quakers good repute as settlers. These persons might be termed "peripheral Friends" and must be considered outside of the control of the true Quaker religious community. Several of the peripheral Friends at Wrightsborough were associated with the Whig cause, some like William Candler, in leadership roles.

The monthly meeting took actions to stop the drift toward partisan affiliation and warlike behavior among its true members. They investigated, counseled, and ultimately disowned several of the young rebels. They cautiously but steadily pressed influential Quakers like Maddock to conform to church teachings, and even he was ultimately elderred and disowned.

In taking a strong position against involvement in the conflict, the core of the Wrightsborough community followed the advice of the yearly meeting:

We sincerely declare that it hath been our Judgement and Principle from the first to this day, that the Setting up and Putting down Kings and Government is God's Peculiar Preogative [*sic*] for Causes but known to him Self and that it is not our work and Business to have any hand or Contrivance therein, nor to be Bussie Bodies [*sic*] in Matters above our Station much less to Contrive

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the Ruin or Overturn of any of them; but to Pray for the King and for the safety of our Nation, and Good of all men that we may live in a Peacable [*sic*] and Quiet life in all Godliness and Honesty under the Government which God is Pleased to Set over us, and to yield a Chearfull and active Passive and Peacable Submission to all good and wholesome Laws, and a Passive and Peacable Submission to all such laws as do Interfere with our Conscience by Suffering under them without Resistance or anything more than to Petition or Remonstrate against them.⁷

The situation at Wrightsborough became very serious once many of their leaders came to be identified with the Loyalist cause. "Passive innocence [*sic*] on their part was of no avail; the torrent of rage levelled all distinction, age or sex afforded no security against violence...."⁸ Whig militia units would come in the night to raid the Quaker Reserve:

...Having killed a great many men, and frightened a great many more away; they endeavored to force them that remained to take up arms and Join them, or do other such services as suited them, those that would not join them, they plundered (except a few persons) of the greatest part of their substance; Taking their Horses that was fit for use, Killing their Cattle of all kinds that was fit for Meat, Taking away what Wheat they pleased, for some their whole Crops of Wheat and Oats, and turned their Horses into several Cornfields and destroyed the same, they Burnt four dwelling Houses of the members of our Society, and a Barn with a large quantity of grain in it belonging to one of them, and not being satisfied herewith, they Banished a number of families from Wrightsborough Settlement.⁹

Many Friends were ruined by the war. Although only about one-fourth of the Quakers at Wrightsborough had been involved in either Whig or Tory politics, the settlement itself was ruined by the shifting occupations of hostile forces. The economic situation was desperate by the end of the hostilities.

In 1782–83, the Friends at Wrightsborough received assistance from the yearly meeting and the meeting for sufferings in London. The political exiles in Savannah had requested the help from London, and

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this embarrassed the regional Quaker leaders who might have been expected to look after the cares of their fellows in Georgia. Of course, Maddock's militaristic inclinations and history of controversy within the religious society had made him suspect in the eyes of mainstream pacifist Friends. Yet all of these yearly meeting concerns were largely invisible to aid officials in London, and the money was sent.

When Maddock drew on the relief funds to cover some of his losses from the war, an uproar resulted.¹⁰ The very person whose warlike behavior had brought so many reprisals on Wrightsborough was trying to benefit from the recovery effort. Maddock was accused of misappropriation of funds by his monthly meeting and was officially investigated by the yearly meeting. His letters of explanation were not accepted by Friends, and it took the intervention of outside intermediaries finally to resolve the dispute.

Wrightsborough families who had supported the revolutionary cause also suffered during the war. Henry Candler, son of the peripheral Friend Colonel William Candler, went with Elijah Clarke when they "escorted the women and children from upper Georgia across the mountains, into East Tennessee when their homes were overrun by the British and Tories [*sic*] in 1780."¹¹ The Tory militia had been no gentler with area families than had the Whig faction. So, households were ravaged on both sides, and the majority of Quaker families suffered even though they had taken no side at all. The Georgia frontier was genuinely devastated by the American Revolution.

None of the Quakers at Wrightsborough was singled out for retribution by the winners of the Revolution, not even Joseph Maddock. The only possible exception to this was the peripheral Friend William Manson. He made an issue of not affirming allegiance to the new government and was expelled under the terms of Georgia's Act of Confiscation and Banishment. He was also the only professed Quaker from Georgia to file a petition with the commissioners of the American Loyalists in London. He asked for compensation for property in Savannah and Wrightsborough which was seized when he was arrested by revolutionaries in Augusta.¹²

There was some local confiscation of communal lands at Wrightsborough. The tract that James Wright had set aside for the Friends meetinghouse was treated as his personal property and was seized in 1783. However, the land was sold again in 1787 to Daniel Williams and John Stubbs, Jr., "as Trustees for the Society of People,

known as Quakers," so the meetinghouse was restored.¹³

The 1100-acre horsepens tract left Joseph Maddock's hands when he went bankrupt in 1775. James Habersham bought the property at auction, but it was later repurchased by the Quaker Camm Thomas in 1796. Jonathan Sell and his family left the state for western North Carolina in 1787, and he transferred trusteeship of the 500-acre cowpens tract to Friends Joel Cloud and Camm Thomas when he left. Sell declared that his fellow Friends would be in charge of the land "as long as there remain one of the People called Quakers in said place."¹⁴ It is therefore the case that most of the common lands owned by the Quakers before the Revolutionary War later came back into their hands as private holdings.

Joseph Maddock appealed to a Commission on Petitions associated with the Georgia House of Assembly in 1783, probably for debt relief or on appeal for seizure of the meetinghouse tract. He certainly never recovered financially after the war, but he was likely forgiven his past transgressions by the Friends. He died in 1796, destitute but not hounded for his loyalist activities during the war.

The Wrightsborough Quaker Reserve became simply the town of Wrightsboro after the war. The Friends were no longer privileged: they had no lands reserved for them, they could no longer approve new settlers, and they received no special tax and office-holding consideration. All of the special settlement inducements evaporated with the demise of English rule. Some Friends left the area for new opportunities in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. Others remained and tried to rebuild the community. But times were changing.

Before the Revolution, the Quakers had prospered with their free-labor crops and the cash crop of tobacco. After the war, Georgians became interested in slave-cultivated crops, especially cotton. Before the war, Wrightsborough had been a sparsely settled area with small satellite meetinghouses dotting the countryside. Now, a wave of new settlers was washing over the area, many with land grants for service in the colonial army. All sorts of denominations built churches in what had been the Quaker Reserve. There were also more taverns and other meeting places which were of a decidedly non-religious character. The quality of life for devout Friends was slipping, and many younger members were causing disciplinary problems and even leaving the Society. Georgia Friends began to look around for a new "promised land," a place where they could once again live apart.

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¹ George White, ed., *Historical Collections of Georgia* (New York: Pudney and Russell, 1855), pp. 603–604.

² Robert G. Mitchell, "Sir James Wright Looks at the American Revolution," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 53 (December 1969): 511.

³ Letter to the London Meeting for Sufferings, 1782, in Robert Scott Davis, Jr., "The Wrightsborough Quakers and the American Revolution," *The Southern Friend*, 4 (Autumn 1982): 9.

⁴ *The Journal of John Woolman* (Secaucus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1961), pp. 77–78.

⁵ Minutes of the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, 1780 (enclosure).

⁶ A clear account of this incident is provided in Davis, p. 4.

⁷ Letter to Quarterly Meetings dated 1775, North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, p. 141.

⁸ Daniel Silsby letter in Davis, p. 7.

⁹ Letter to the London Meeting for Sufferings (1782), p. 10.

¹⁰ Kenneth L. Carroll, "British Quakers and Their American Relief Funds," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 102 (October 1978): 437–54.

¹¹ Allen D. Candler, *Colonel William Candler of Georgia* (Atlanta, Georgia: The Foote and Davies Company, 1908), p. 8.

¹² Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1965), p. 239.

¹³ Joseph T. Maddox and Mary Carter, comps., "Columbia County, Georgia Early Deeds and Will Abstracts" (n.p.: n.d.), pp. 2–3.

¹⁴ Minutes of Western Quarterly Meeting, North Carolina Yearly Meeting (1786), Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, p. 213.

Hannah (Baskel) Phelps Phelps Hill: A Quaker Woman and Her Offspring

by

Gwen Boyer Bjorkman

It is usually difficult to document the lives of colonial women. As a category, they left few legal documents. Yet, through sundry records, it is possible to reconstruct the life of one remarkable woman — Hannah (Baskel) Phelps Phelps Hill. One does not read about Hannah in standard histories of early America, yet she held the first Quaker meeting in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in her home in Salem and later opened her home to the first Quaker meeting in the Albemarle settlement of Carolina. She was truly the Proverbs 31 lady. After all these years “her children [will now] rise up and bless her;...saying: ‘Many daughters have done nobly, But you excell them all!’”¹ Despite her accomplishments, however, Hannah did not set out to be a noble heroine. She emerges in history as a young woman — human and alone, as far as family is concerned.

The search for Hannah began in the records that men have left to chronicle the past. Before 1652, she came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony from England. An undated deposition of one Jane Johnson provides the only record of Hannah’s maiden name, Baskel. It reveals that, at the time of the deposition, Hannah was the wife of Nicholas Phelps but at the date of “coming over in the ship,” she was in the company of his brother, Henry. The document also labels her a “strumpet.”

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Hannah (Basket) Phelps Phelps Hill

Obviously, Hannah was a woman of independent mind, not much inclined to conform to the dictates of convention. This trait was to bring her blessing, scorn, and persecution:

Deposition of Jane Johnson: Saith yt: coming ov^r in the ship with Henry Phelps & Hannah the now wife of Nich: Phelps: Henry Phelps going ashore the ship lying at the Downes: Hannah wept till shee made herselfe sick because mr Fackner would not suffer her to goe ashore with Henry Phelps: & Henry came aboard late in the night, the next morning mr Falckner Chid Henry Phelps & Hannah & said was it not enough for y^m to let Hannah lay her head in y^r lapp but must shee ly in ye Cabbin to & called Hannah Strumpet & this deponent saith farther yt she saw Henry Phelps ly in his Cabbin & Hannah Basket the now wife of Nich Phelps came & lay down her head by him & pull her head up again often as he lay in his Cabbin: Y when he was smocking in the Cook roome tobacco Hannah tooke the pip out of his mouth, etc., etc.²

One Henry Phelps arrived in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634 on the ship *Hercules*, under John Kiddey, Master. His destination was said to be Salem.³ However, the Phelps family may have been in Salem before this date. It is known that Eleanor Phelps, mother of Henry and Nicholas Phelps, had married Thomas Trusler of Salem and that they were members of the first church in Salem in 1639.⁴ One historian holds that Trusler probably came to Salem in 1629, when a kiln for the burning of bricks and tiles was built, and that he continued this business until his death in 1654.⁵ There has been found no record of a previous wife or children for Trusler in Salem, so it is possible that Eleanor married him in England and came to the Bay Colony with him and her five Phelps children. Eleanor mentions in her 1655 will "the legacy bequeathed by my Late husband to his Daughter in England."⁶ Trusler's will has been lost. The inventory of his estate has been preserved.⁷

What did Hannah find in her new home in Salem? She found independent-minded people who, like herself, were interested in change. She also found others who rigorously opposed any thought contrary to theirs. Since all political and social life was centered in the church, religion was the arena for the excitement of dissent. Roger Williams had

a short pastorate in Salem, around 1634, before being banished to Rhode Island.⁸ Robert Moulton, a Phelps neighbor, had been excommunicated from the Salem Church in 1637 for antinomian heresy during the Wheelwright controversy.⁹ Between 1638 and 1650, nine people from Salem were tried at Quarterly Court for heretical opinions, and five of the nine were women. Lady Deborah Moody, a church member since 1640, was charged with Anabaptism in 1642; rather than recant, she moved to Long Island. Samuel Gorton was tried in Boston, jailed there, and sent to Rhode Island for his Separatists beliefs. Eleanor Trusler also was taken to court, in April 1644, for her Gortonist opinions, saying, “our teacher Mr. Norris taught the people lies.” Governor Winthrop was advised to bind her over to Boston Court as an example others might fear, lest “that heresie doeth spread which at length may prove dangerous.” At the Trusler trial, one Casandra Southwick testified that Eleanor “did question the government ever since she came.”¹⁰ This was Salem in Hannah’s day.

The shipboard romance alleged between Hannah and Henry Phelps did not result in their immediate marriage. Instead, Henry married (or had been married) to another woman, by whom he had a son, John (born about 1645),¹¹ while Hannah married his brother Nicholas. Historians have not always treated the latter kindly — he has been called “a weak man, and one whose back was crooked”¹² — but it can be argued that he had a strong spirit much akin to Hannah’s. They had two children (Jonathan, born about 1652, and Hannah, born about 1654) with whom they lived on the Trusler farm in “the woods” about five miles from the meetinghouse in Salem. Situated at the site of the modern town of West Peabody, the farm had been devised to Nicholas and Henry jointly, in 1655, by their mother.¹³

It was in the late 1650s that the Phelps became involved in Quakerism. The Society of Friends, or Quakers, had been founded in England in 1648 by George Fox; and its teachings were brought to Boston, in July 1656, by two female missionaries. However, it is believed that books and tracts by Fox and other Quakers might have been brought to the colony in earlier years. In 1657 William Marston, a Hampton–Salem boatman, was cited for having Quaker pamphlets in his possession.¹⁴ There is a passage in a letter written in 1656 from Barbados by Henry Fell, which provides the earliest mention of Quakerism in Salem:

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In Plimouth patent...there is a people not soe ridged as the others at Boston and there are great desires among them after the Truth. Some there are, as I hear, convinced who meet in silence at a place called Salem.¹⁵

Another passage bearing on this Salem group is found in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*:

I can tell the world that the first Quakers that ever were in the world were certain fanaticks here in our town of Salem, who held forth almost all the fancies and whimsies which a few years after were broached by them that were so called in England, with whom yet none of ours had the least communication.¹⁶

In 1657, the invasion of Massachusetts by Quakers began when visiting Friends from England landed in Boston Harbor and were immediately imprisoned. If the group at Salem had been meeting quietly for several years, they went public when — on Sunday, 27 June 1658 — a meeting was held at the home of Nicholas and Hannah Phelps. This was the first Quaker meeting of record in the colony. Two visiting Friends at that meeting, William Brend and William Leddera, acknowledged that they were Quakers and were sent to prison with six Salem residents who were also in attendance. Nicholas and Hannah were fined.¹⁷

Quaker meetings continued to be held regularly at the Phelps home, in defiance of the law. In September 1658, Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, and Joshua Buffum were arrested and sentenced by the court to prison, where Nicholas was "cruelly whipped" three times in five days for refusing to work. Within months, Nicholas and six neighbors were called before the court again. This time they were banished on pain of death, with two weeks being allowed to settle their affairs. It was at the end of May 1659 that Phelps and Shattock sailed for Barbados with the intention of continuing on to England to present the matter before parliament. However, because of the unsettled state of affairs in England, they were not to return until late 1661.¹⁸

In the meanwhile, Hannah was left in Salem with the care of the farm and their two small children. The Quaker meetings continued to be held at her home, and she was fined every year from 1658 to 1663 for nonattendance at the Salem Church.¹⁹ In the fall of 1659, she with five

others from Salem went to Boston to give comfort to two visiting Friends from England who had been sentenced to death for their faith and defiance of the laws of the colony. She and her group were arrested and imprisoned also. On 12 November, two weeks after the execution of the condemned Friends, the Salem party was brought forth to be sentenced for "adherence to the cursed sect of the Quakers" and "theire disorderly practises & vagabond like life in absenting themselves from their family relations and runing from place to place wthout any just reason." They were admonished, whipped, and sent home.²⁰

Upon Hannah's return, her house and land were seized by the Salem Court in payment of the fines levied against her and Nicholas. Henry came to the rescue of his sister-in-law, arguing that the court could take only the half of the property belonging to Nicholas. He managed to obtain control of the entire farm and allowed Hannah and the children to remain there.²¹ Did Henry now become interested in his sister-in-law, since his brother was in England, or did he now become interested in the Quaker teachings? There are no records of Henry's being fined for Quaker leanings.

One thing is clear from the records: where Henry had once been a respected part of the community, he was now suspected. At the Quarterly Court of 26 June 1660, Major William Hawthorn was ordered to inquire after the misuse of John Phelps by his father:

Henry Phelps, of Salem, was complained of at the county court at Boston, July 31, 1660, for beating his son, John Phelps, and forcing him to work carrying dung and mending a hogshead on the Lord's day, also for intimacy with his brother's wife and for entertaining Quakers. It was ordered that John Phelps, the son, be given over to his uncle, Mr. Edmond Batter, to take care of him and place him out to some religious family as an apprentice, said Henry, the father, to pay to Mr. Batter what the boy's grandmother left him, to be improved to said John Phelps' best advantage. Said Henry Phelps was ordered to give bond for his good behavior until the next Salem court, and especially not to be found in the company of Nicholas Phelps' wife, and to answer at that time concerning the entertaining of Quakers.²²

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The testimony seems to imply that Henry Phelps was living with his brother's wife and holding Quaker meetings. The charges were expressed even more bluntly at the November 1660 Quarterly Court:

Henry Phelps, being bound to this court to answer a complaint for keeping company or in the house with his brother's wife, and appearing, was released of his bond. Upon further consideration and examination of some witnesses, which the court did not see meet for the present to bring forth in public [Was this when the deposition of Jane Johnson was taken?], and the wife of Nicholas Phelps not appearing, said Phelps was bound to the next court at Salem. He was ordered meanwhile to keep from the company of his brother Nicholas Phelps' wife.²³

Hannah had final say on the subject. At Salem Court, 28 June 1661, Thomas Flint and John Upton testified that, coming into Henry Phelps' house on a Sabbath-day evening, they heard Hannah say that "Higgeson had sent out his wolves apace." John Upton asked her if Mr. Higgeson sent the wolves amongst them to kill their creatures and she answered, "The bloodhounds, to catch the sheep and lambs." She was sentenced to be fined or whipped, and one William Flint promised to pay the fine.²⁴

Political events soon eased the Phelps' persecution — albeit slightly. The days of Cromwell and the Puritans were over in England in 1660. A new parliament proclaimed the banished Prince Charles as king, invited him to return from exile, and placed him on the throne of his father. As Charles II, he read — and sympathized with — the petition of those Quakers in England who had been banished from Massachusetts. That document contained a list of the sufferings of "the people called Quakers," and Number 15 stated, "One inhabitant of Salem, since banished on pain of death, had one-half of his house and land seized."²⁵ On 9 September 1661, Charles II issued an order to the Bay Colony to cease the persecution of Quakers and appointed Samuel Shattock to bear the "King's Missive" to Boston.²⁶ No mention was made of Nicholas Phelps' return at that time, although the historian Perley claimed "they returned together, but Mr. Phelps, being weak in body after some time died."²⁷ It is known that Nicholas and Hannah were together again in Salem by June 1662 when, at the Quarterly Court, "Nicholas Phelpes and his wife...were presented

for frequent absence from meeting on the Sabbath Day."²⁸ Hannah was fined alone in 1663.²⁹

On 18 July 1664, Henry Phelps sold the property that he and his brother had inherited from their mother in 1655;³⁰ and he, Hannah, and the children left Massachusetts. Many of their friends had departed already for Long Island or Rhode Island, but some had journeyed to far-off Carolina, where a new settlement was beginning on Albemarle Sound. It was the latter colony to which Henry and Hannah headed. Presumably they married in a Quaker meeting before setting off by ship with what possessions they had left.

In 1660 or earlier, a few Virginians had crossed into the Albemarle region, then called Chowan. By charters of 1663 and 1665, Charles II granted to eight proprietors a tract of land which was to lie between the present states of Virginia and Florida, a vast tract that was named Carolina, and the colony which had already sprung up there was designated Albemarle County. Another settlement was begun at Cape Fear in 1664 by a group from Barbados and New England; their area became the county of Clarendon. By 1664, however, the latter group had deserted the Cape and moved to Albemarle.³¹

Fittingly, the first record found of Hannah in Carolina spotlights her religious activities. In 1653 one William Edmundson converted to Quakerism in England; and from 1661 he was recognized as leader of the Irish Quakers. He first visited America with George Fox as a traveling Friend in 1672. While Fox went to New England, Edmundson traversed Virginia; about the first of May, 1672, he ventured down into Carolina. Two Friends from Virginia accompanied him as guides but became lost, saying they had "gone past the place where we intended." Edmundson found a path that "brought us to the place where we intended, viz. Henry Phillips' [Phelps] House by Albemarle river."³²

It is Edmundson who accounts for the life of Henry and Hannah during the years in which legal records are silent. "He [Phelps] and his wife had been convinced of the truth in New England, and came there to live, who having not seen a Friend for seven years before, they wept for joy to see us."³³ Some scholars have interpreted this passage in Edmundson's journal to mean that Henry and Hannah were the only Quaker family in Albemarle in 1672.³⁴ However, evidence does exist of another couple: Christopher and Hannah (Rednap) Nicholson who had become Quakers and had been persecuted in Massachusetts. The

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Nicholsons had arrived in Albemarle Sound, probably by 1663, and were neighbors of Henry and Hannah Phelps. It is also known that Isaac and Damaris (Shattuck) Page came to Albemarle from Salem, after both had been fined as Quakers.³⁵

Edmundson's journal also reveals that the first recorded Quaker meeting in Ablemarle was held at the Phelps' home, just as the first recorded Quaker meeting at Salem had been sponsored by Nicholas and Hannah. Edmundson said, "it being on a first day morning when we got there...I desired them to send to the people there—away to come to a meeting about the middle of the day."³⁶ Hannah opened her home yet again to the "Lord's testimony," as brought by the visiting Friends. Following the visit of Edmundson, Fox himself came to Albemarle in November 1672, stopping first at Joseph Scott's home by Perquimans River, where he held a meeting, and then "we passed by water four miles to Henry Phillips' [Phelps] house" and held a meeting there.³⁷

Edmundson returned to Albemarle in 1676, and again the faithful Hannah appears in his journal:

We took our journey through the wilderness, and in two days came well to Carolina, first to James Hall's [Hill's] house, who went from Ireland to Virginia with his family. His wife died there, and he had married the widow Phillips [Phelps] at Carolina, and lived there; but he had not heard that I was in those parts of the world. When I came into the House, I saw only a woman servant; I asked for her master. She said he was sick. I asked for her mistress, she said she was gone abroad...so I went into the room, where he was laid on the bed, sick of an ague with his face to the wall. I called him by his name, and said no more; he turned himself, and looked earnestly at me a pretty time, and was amazed; at last he asked if that was William? I said yes.³⁸

Between Edmundson's journeys of 1672 and 1676, Henry died and Hannah married James Hill. James was probably a convert of Edmundson in Ireland or in Virginia, since they knew each other by first name. In November 1676, the Lords Proprietors had issued commissions to men designated as deputies in Albemarle. James Hill, Esq., was deputy of the Duke of Albemarle.³⁹ During Culpeper's Rebellion in 1677, Hill helped one Thomas Miller escape and a guard of soldiers was put at his house.

Promptly on his return from Virginia, he, along with Francis Jones and Christopher Nicholson, was arrested.⁴⁰ Hannah Phelps Hill was again in the thick of conflict.

The Quakers drew up a "Remonstrance" to the proprietors protesting their treatment, outlining the above acts, and declaring they were "a peaceable people." It was signed on 13 September 1679 by twenty-one Quakers, including Jones and Nicholson, together with Joseph Scott, Isaac Page, and Jonathan Phelps, son of Nicholas and Hannah. Under their signatures, it was written that most of the subscribers "have been Inhabitants in Carolina since the yeares 1663 and 1664."⁴¹ The Quakers had not been persecuted in Carolina previous to this time, but it is recorded in the minutes of Perquimans Monthly Meeting that about the fourth or fifth month of 1680, nine Friends were fined and put into prison for refusing to bear arms in the muster field. Among those nine were five of the signers of the 1679 remonstrance — including Jonathan Phelps and Samuel Hill, son of James.⁴²

Hannah's devotion to religion did not prompt her to neglect her family, however. She appears again in court records to champion the cause of her grandchildren. In the intervening years, her daughter Hannah had twice wed — first to James Perisho and second, in 1679, to George Castleton.⁴³ On 30 March 1680, it was ordered by the Lords Proprietors that one hundred acres of land be laid out, for "James Perishaws Orphants," for the transportation of two persons, namely their parents "James and Hannah Perishaw."⁴⁴ However, complications arose involving this second husband, Castleton; and Hannah Phelps Hill went to court to protect her grandson's property. The first hint of the family troubles appears in the court records of October 1685:

Whereas George Castleton hath absented himself from the County and Imbezled the estate belonging to the Orphans of James Perisho deceased, It is therefore ordered that no person or persons buy any cattle belonging to the said Orphans or any part of the estate of the said Castleton and that Jonathan Phelps gather the corne and measure the same and deliver the one half to Hannah Castleton and secure the other half till further order.⁴⁵

Castleton apparently returned to the county and problems continued. In October 1687 the court ordered

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...that Hannah Castleton the wife of George Castleton doe repaire home to her husband and live with him and that if she departs from him any more it is ordered that the majestrates doe forthwith use such meanes as may cause her to live with her husband.⁴⁶

The younger Hannah apparently did not live long past this point; she is not mentioned as attending the wedding of her daughter on 5 August 1689, although the grandmother Hannah did. In October of that year, the older Hannah appeared in court, concerned for the welfare of Hannah, Jr.'s son by her first husband:

At a Court Holden for the precinct of Pequimins at the house of Mary Scot on the first Monday being the 7th. of October 1689...Hannah Hill Grandmother to James Perishaw hath petitioned this Court to have the management of the stock belonging to the sd. James Perishaw, It is therefore Ordered that after the last of this instant October the sd. Hannah Hill take into her custodie the Stock belonging to James Perishaw, and manage the same for the childs Care, putting in security for the same.⁴⁷

For his proprietary land rights, Hannah's son Jonathan took out a patent in 1684, covering four hundred acres near Robert Wilson on the west side of the Perquimans River. In his will written in 1688, he gave this four hundred acres (where he then lived) to his son Samuel.⁴⁸ In 1692, Robert Wilson and John Lilly, executors of Jonathan Phelps, went to court to divide the property. The suit was continued in 1693, when Hannah Hill petitioned for "hur Halfe of ye plantation"; and it was ordered that "Shee be posed with it."⁴⁹ This patent was renewed by Samuel Phelps as son and heir in 1695.⁵⁰

All of Albemarle's early land records have not survived. However, it is commonly accepted in the history of Perquimans County that the land Henry Phelps lived on, when Edmundson paid him the visit in 1672, was the land on the narrows of the Perquimans River that was granted to his grandson, Jonathan Phelps, in 1694 — and that part of this grant became the town Hertford.⁵¹ This should be partly true. It was Hannah Phelps' grandson, Jonathan Phelps, who became owner of the property; but without recorded wills or deeds, the details of the property's transfer are cloudy. Since Hannah was the only one of the original family still

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living in 1694, it was she who proved rights for fifteen persons transported into the county of Albemarle. They were

...Henry Phelps [her second husband], Hanah his Wife [herself], John Phelps [Henry's son], Jonathan Phelps [her son], hanah Phelps junr [her daughter], Robt. Pane, James Hill [her 3rd husband], Saml. Hill [son of James Hill], Mary Hill, Nathanl. Spivey and his wife Judith, John Spivey, Sarah Spivey, Anne Spivey, [and] Jonathan Phelps his freedom.⁵²

This document implies one other situation not otherwise documented by extant records: After the death of Nicholas, Hannah's son by him was apparently bound to his uncle — and her second husband — Henry. Once Jonathan's servitude expired, in North Carolina, he was eligible for his own grant.⁵³

The fifteen rights named in the foregoing document amounted to 750 acres. At the time of the survey in 1694, Hannah assigned the first six rights to her grandson, Jonathan Phelps, who was then seven years old; eight rights to her grandson, Samuel Phelps, age ten; and the last right to Robert Wilson, the executor of the estate of her son Jonathan.

Hannah, who outlived her three husbands and her two children, had now provided for her grandchildren. She had seen the establishment of the Quaker meetings and Quaker life in Albemarle. A 1709 letter of Mr. Gordon, a Church of England missionary, stated that the Quakers then numbered "about the tenth part of the inhabitants" of Carolina. And in Perquimans Precinct, he said, they "are very numerous, extremely ignorant, insufferably proud and ambitious, and consequently ungovernable."⁵⁴ It is because she was proud, ambitious, and ungovernable that one is now able to document the life of Hannah and her children.

Genealogical Summary: Three Generations

1. **Hannah¹ Baskel** was probably born in England before 1630 and died, probably in Perquimans County, North Carolina, after 1695. She married, first, at Salem, Massachusetts, circa 1650 to **Nicholas Phelps**, who died before 1664 when she married, second, to his brother, **Henry**

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Phelps — they being sons to Eleanor [—?] Phelps Trusler by an unidentified husband. Hannah married, third, in Perquimans between 1672 and 1676, to **James Hill**, who had at least one son, Samuel, by a previous marriage. Hannah may have married, fourth, at Perquimans Quarterly Meeting, to **Joseph Smith**, on 7 March 1695/96.⁵⁵

Children of Nicholas and Hannah (Baskel) Phelps were as follows:

- +2 i. Jonathan² Phelps, born about 1652 at Salem.
- +3 ii. Hannah Phelps, born about 1654 at Salem.

2. **Jonathan² Phelps** (Hannah¹) was born about 1652 at Salem and died in Perquimans County, 21 February 1688/89.⁵⁶ He married at Perquimans, about 1674, to **Hannah** [—?—]. She married, secondly, at Perquimans, on “last of March 1690,” to John Lilly, by whom she had two children born at Perquimans: Sarah (15 June 1691) and Hannah (29 September 1694). Hannah Phelps Lilly died 15 February 1700/01 and John Lilly died 17 July 1701, both at Perquimans.⁵⁷ Most of the early Quaker meetings were held at the house of Jonathan Phelps. The monthly meeting was established at his house in 1683.⁵⁸

Children of Jonathan and Hannah [—?—] Phelps, born at Perquimans County, were as follows:⁵⁹

- 4 i. Sarah³ Phelps, born 15 January 1676; died before 1688.
- 5 ii. Elizabeth Phelps, born 2 April 1679.
- 6 iii. Jonathan Phelps, born 6 November 1681; died before 1687.
- +7 iv. Samuel Phelps, born 6 August 1684.
- +8 v. Jonathan Phelps, born 13 April 1687.

3. **Hannah² Phelps** (Hannah¹) was born about 1654 at Salem and probably died in Perquimans between 1687 and 1689, before the marriage of her daughter Eleanor. She married, first, at Perquimans, about 1672, to **James Perisho**, who was born about 1645, possibly in France, and died at Perquimans on 29 March 1678.⁶⁰ She married, second, at Perquimans, on 13th [—] 1679/80, to **George Castleton**, son of George and Mary Castleton of New Castle on Tyne, England.⁶¹

Family tradition holds that James [Jacques?] Perisho was born in Brittany, France, and was a sailor who was shipwrecked and landed at Edenton, Albemarle Sound.⁶² As James “Perrishaw,” he was claimed as a headright by Thomas Carteret on 29 March 1680, for proprietary rights recorded in 1694.⁶³ The Perisho and Castleton land grants were on the

Perquimans River, south of the Jonathan Phelps grant.⁶⁴

Children of James and Hannah (Phelps) Perisho, both born in Perquimans, were as follows:⁶⁵

- +9 i. Eleanor³ Perisho, born 18 December 1673.
- +10 ii. James Perisho, born 25 November 1676.

The one child of George and Hannah (Phelps) Castleton, born in Perquimans, was:⁶⁶

- 11 i. Hannah Castleton, born 13 March 1679.

7. **Samuel³ Phelps** (Jonathan², Hannah¹) was born 6 August 1684 in Perquimans and died there between April and July 1728.⁶⁷ He married at Perquimans, about 1705, to **Hannah** [—]. In 1701 he and James Chesen petitioned the court for a share in the crop made that year at John Lilly's, saying that they had lived with Lilly [his stepfather] until he died. Samuel was awarded a full share and Chesen was given a half share.⁶⁸ By an act of the assembly in 1715, Samuel was appointed a vestryman in the established church; and in 1724 he was appointed justice of the peace for the precinct of Perquimans.⁶⁹

Children of Samuel and Hannah [—] Phelps, all born in Perquimans County, were as follows:⁷⁰

- 12 i. Samuel⁴ Phelps, born 17 "~~December~~ November 1706–7"; died young.
- 13 ii. Jonathan Phelps; died young.
- 14 iii. John Phelps, born 13 January 1716/17; died young.
- 15 iv. William Phelps; died April 1752, Perquimans County, without issue.⁷¹
- 16 v. James Phelps; died young.⁷²

8. **Jonathan³ Phelps** (Jonathan², Hannah¹) was born 13 April 1687, in Perquimans, and died there between December and January 1732/33.⁷³ He married at Perquimans Monthly Meeting, 16 12m [February] 1720, to **Elizabeth Toms**.⁷⁴ She was the daughter of Francis Toms and Margaret (Bogue) Lawrence, who had been married "at a Meeting At ye sd. Lawrancees Hows ye 8 day of Jun Anno 1696."⁷⁵ Elizabeth married, second, at Perquimans in 1734, to Zachariah Nixon, Jr.⁷⁶ In her will, dated 16 February 1769, Elizabeth Nixon names three grandchildren: Jonathan Phelps [son of Henry] and Benjamin and Dorothy Phelps [children of Jonathan].⁷⁷

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Children of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Toms) Phelps, born in Perquimans, were as follows:⁷⁸

- 17 i. Henry⁴ Phelps, born 5 March 1724/25; married 3 6m [August] 1748, Margaret Newby; died 1752, Perquimans County.⁷⁹ She married, second, 3 10m [October] 1753, to Joseph Outland.⁸⁰
- 18 ii. Elizabeth Phelps, born 29 August 1728 [overwritten 1729]; married 6 11m [January] 1747, to John Symons; married, second, 5 10 m [December] 1750, to Joseph Anderson; died in Perquimans.⁸¹
- 19 iii. Jonathan Phelps, born 28 12m [February] 1730/31; married 5 October 1750, Dorothy Jordan; died 1759, Perquimans.⁸² She married, second, 4 April 1762, to John Skinner.⁸³
- 20 iv. Mourning Phelps, born 10 10m [December] 1732; married 4 2m [April] 1750, to Mark Newby; died in Perquimans.⁸⁴

9. **Eleanor³ Perisho** (Hannah Phelps², Hannah¹) was born 18 December 1673, in Perquimans and died there after 1722. She married at the Perquimans Monthly Meeting held at Jonathan Phelps' "old plantation" on 5 6m [August] 1689, to **William Bogue**.⁸⁵ Bogue was probably born in Virginia and died at Perquimans between December 1720 and April 1721.⁸⁶

Children of William and Eleanor (Perisho) Bogue, all born in Perquimans, were as follows:⁸⁷

- 21 i. Hannah⁴ Bogue, born 26 December 1690/91; died young.
- 22 ii. Elizabeth Bogue, married 17 10m [December] 1719, to Jacob Hill, Perquimans.⁸⁸
- 23 iii. William Bogue, born 8 December 1696; married 15 12m [February] 1727, to Sarah Duke; died 6 1m [March] 1745, Perquimans.⁸⁹
- 24 iv. Eleanor Bogue, born 26 February 1701/02; died young.
- 25 v. Robert Bogue, born 1702/03; married 4 8m [October] 1738, to Rachel Pearson; died 1786/88, Jones County, North Carolina.⁹⁰
- 26 vi. Josiah Bogue, born 21 March 1707/08; married 3 11m [January] 1732, to Deborah Nicholson; died between March and July 1752, in Perquimans.⁹¹
- 27 vii. Jean Bogue.

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- 28viii. Myriam Bogue, born 11 March 1716/17; married 3 8m [October] 1739 to Gideon Bundy. She died 14 3m [March] 1762, and he on 17 2m [February] 1762, both in Pasquotank.⁹²
- 29 ix. Rachel Bogue, married 12 4m [June] 1733–34, to Peter Pearson, Perquimans.⁹³

10. **James³ Perisho** (Hannah Phelps², Hannah¹) was born 25 November 1676 in Perquimans and died there before 1731.⁹⁴ He married there on 18 February 1696/97, to **Mary Morgan** (daughter of James Morgan and Jane Knew, who were married in “Mary Land the 12th of October 1673,” according to the Perquimans Precinct Register⁹⁵).

Children of James and Mary (Morgan) Perisho, born in Perquimans, were as follows:⁹⁶

- 30 i. Jane⁴ Perisho, born 12 December 1697.
- 31 ii. James Perisho, born 2 March 1700/01; married about 1722 to Sarah [–?–]; and died 1744, in Perquimans.⁹⁷
- 32 iii. John Perisho, born 4 November 1703; married Jean [–?–]; died between 12m [February] 1755 and April 1759, in Perquimans.⁹⁸
- 33 iv. Joseph Perisho, born about 1705; married 5 August 1742, to Deborah Wood; died between November 1762 and April 1763, in Perquimans. She married, second, 21 December 1763, to Thomas Nichols.⁹⁹
- 34 v. Joshua Perisho, born about 1710; married first, Elizabeth [–?–]; married second, 14 5m [May] 1755, to Rachel Small; married, third, 14 4m [April] 1763, Mariam (Morris) Trueblood; died 22 4m [April] 1797, in Pasquotank.¹⁰⁰

¹ Proverbs 31:28–29, *New American Standard Bible*.

² George F. Dow and Mary Thresher, eds., *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1636–1692*, 9 vols. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1911–75), 1:267–68 [hereinafter *Quarterly Courts of Essex*]; “Ipswich Court Records and Files,” Sidney Perley, ed., *Essex Antiquarian* 10 (January 1906): 37.

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³ Charles Edwards Banks, *The Planters of the Commonwealth* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930), 107–08; Carl Boyer, *Ship Passenger Lists: National and New England (1600–1825)* (Newhall, Cal.: Carl Boyer, 1977), 144.

⁴ Richard D. Pierce, ed., *Records of the First Church in Salem, Massachusetts, 1629–1736* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1974), 9.

⁵ Sidney Perley, *The History of Salem, Massachusetts*, 3 vols. (Salem: Sidney Perley, 1924–27), 1:320–21.

⁶ Perley, "Ipswich Court Records," *Essex Antiquarian* 6 (July 1902): 111–12; George F. Dow, ed., *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 3 vols. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1916–20), 1:211–12.

⁷ Dow, *Probate Records of Essex*, 1:183–84; Perley, "Ipswich Court Records," *Essex Antiquarian* 5 (October–December 1901): 192.

⁸ Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (1911; reprinted New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966), 64–65.

⁹ Christine Alice Young, *From 'Good Order' to Glorious Revolution: Salem, Massachusetts, 1626–1689* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1980), 27–28; Ernest W. Baughman, "Excommunications and Banishments from the First Church in Salem and the Town of Salem, 1629–1680," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 113 (April 1977): 91–92; Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), 91–92. Henry Phelps and Nicholas Phelps were witnesses to the will of Robert Moulton, Sr., dated 20 February 1654/55. Robert Moulton, Sr., and Robert Moulton, Jr., were witnesses to the will of Eleanor Trusler on 15 February 1654/55. Perley, *History of Salem*, 1:320, proposes that Eleanor may have been a Moulton, since the inventory of Thomas Trusler mentions "one farme near fathr Moltons." (Dow, *Probate Records of Essex*, 1:183–84, 210–12.) The inventory was taken 5 m [March] 1653/54, by Robt. Moulton, Sr., and Thomas Spooner. "Father" appears to be used as a term of respect in the Salem Town Records of 1637. Wm. P. Upham, "Town Records of Salem 1634–1659," *Essex Insitute Historical Collections* 9 (January 1868): 48, reports: "It is agreed That ffath'r Molton and m'r Ed: [—ar]le appointed Auditors."

¹⁰ Richard P. Gildrie, *Salem, Massachusetts, 1626–1683: A Covenant Community* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1975), 78–83. Gildrie mistakenly said that Mrs. Trusler's husband and children became Quakers (p. 80), but the first Quakers landed at Boston in July 1656, after the death of Thomas Trusler in 1654. Jonathan M. Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen: The Puritan Adjustment to Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Massachusetts Bay* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), 11, 35 and 52. Chu recognizes that it was "Nicholas Phelps whose mother, Ellen [sic] Truslar, was the celebrated dissident of the previous decade" in "Madmen and Friends: Quakers and the Puritan Adjustment to Religious Heterodoxy in Massachusetts Bay During the Seventeenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Washington, 1978), 122. See also recommendation of John Endecott to Winthrop,

"Winthrop Papers," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th ser. (Boston: The Society, 1863-65), 4:455-56; and "Salem Quarterly Court Records and Files," *Essex Antiquarian* 5 (January 1901): 28.

¹¹ Henry Phelps probably married a daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Batter Antrum. Elizabeth was a sister of Edmond Batter, who was a selectman and served two terms as deputy to the General Court. Batter and Antrum arrived in Salem in 1635 with a group from Wiltshire who were prominent in Salem affairs. "Mr. Batter" and his "brother Antrum" are mentioned in the town records of 1637; see *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 9 (January 1869): 43. In the settlement of the estate of Obadiah Antrum, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Batter Antrum, "John Phelps, son of Hen. Phelps, kinsman," shares equally with "Hana, wife of Isaack Burnap, sister of the deceased." The testimony mentions that Obadiah's Uncle Edmond Batter had been an administrator of the estate of his father, Thomas Antrum; see Dow, *Probate Records of Essex*, 2:13-14. It appears that Edmond Batter was uncle to Obadiah Antrum, Hannah Antrum Burnap, and [-?-] Antrum Phelps (wife of Henry Phelps and mother of John).

¹² George Bishop, *New England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord* (1661; reprinted, London, 1703), as quoted in Perley, *History of Salem*, 2:251.

¹³ Perley, *History of Salem*, 2:248; Dow, *Probate Records of Essex*, 1:211-12. In addition to sons Henry and Nicholas, who were to be Eleanor's executors, her will of February 1654/55 named Henry's son John and referred to (but did not name) the two children of Nicholas.

¹⁴ Sidney Perley, "Persecution of the Quakers in Essex County," *Essex Antiquarian* 1 (September 1897): 135; William Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers*, 3rd ed. (1774; reprinted, Philadelphia, Pa.: Friends' Bookstore, 1856), 1:255; Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1628-1686*, 5 vols. in 6 parts (Boston: W. White, 1853-54), 4: pt.1:314 [hereinafter *Records of Massachusetts Bay*]; and Chu, "Madmen and Friends," 122.

¹⁵ James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, 2 vols. (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850), 1:55.

¹⁶ Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*, 64; David S. Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1985), 122.

¹⁷ The court testimony in "Salem," *Essex Antiquarian* 12 (January 1908): 72-77, seems to be that the Southwicks had entertained the visiting Quakers, but that the first meeting was held in the Phelps' home. See Perley, *History of Salem*, 2:244-48; Gildrie, *Salem, Massachusetts*, 133.

¹⁸ Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends*, 1:150-51, 162-63, 170-72; Perley, *History of Salem*, 2:254-57; Shurtleff, *Records of Massachusetts Bay*, 4: pt.1:367.

¹⁹ Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, 118; Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, 170.

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²⁰ Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*, 80; Shurtleff, *Records of Massachusetts Bay*, 4: pt.1:410–11; Perley, *History of Salem*, 2:260–62.

²¹ Perley, *History of Salem*, 2:257; Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*, 92; Dow and Thresher, *Quarterly Courts of Essex*, 2:224.

²² Dow and Thresher, *Quarterly Courts of Essex*, 2:220, 261–62.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1:267–68; 2:261. The introduction (p. vii) explains: “Supplementing the record books kept by the clerks of the courts is a larger collection of original papers consisting of presentments, depositions upon almost every conceivable subject...connected with the various cases.” The undated deposition of Jane Johnson was not in the record books, but in these files.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:314.

²⁵ Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*, 91–92.

²⁶ John Greenleaf Whittier, *The King’s Missive and Other Poems* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1881). James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933), 199, says, “In a way it is entirely incorrect to talk of the whole episode as persecution...because the court was only enforcing the laws.” Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, refers to the “whole episode” as persecution on pp. 108–09, 114, 124, and 135, saying, “In late 1661 the Court received a letter from Charles II prohibiting the use of either corporal or capital punishment in cases involving the Quakers, and this announcement stopped the magistrates quite in their tracks....The persecution of Quakers in Massachusetts Bay did not really end with the arrival of the King’s letter...but from that moment the intensity of the struggle steadily diminished.”

²⁷ George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, John L. Nickalls, ed. (rev. ed., Cambridge: University Press, 1952), 411–15; Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*, 94; Perley, *History of Salem*, 257, 268–70.

²⁸ Dow and Thresher, *Quarterly Courts of Essex*, 2:431–32.

²⁹ Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, 170. Dr. Chu has compiled interesting tables of the adult Quakers in Salem, 1658–70, and the fines assessed for those years.

³⁰ Perley, *History of Salem*, 2:257; Sidney Perley, “The Woods, Salem, in 1700,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 51 (April 1915): 188; Essex County Courthouse Registry of Deeds, Salem, Massachusetts, Volumes 1–3, 1639–1658, LDS Film no. 866015: Deed Book 2:89, offers the following: “memorandum, yt I Hanah Phelps, ye wife of Nicho: Phelps, lately deceased, whoe was joynt executor to ye sd Henry, doth by these presents surrender up her thirds.”

³¹ Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, ed., *North Carolina Higher-Court Records, 1670–1696*, vol. II, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 2d. ser. (Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1968), pp. xv–xviii; William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh, N.C.: State of North Carolina, 1886–90), 1:ix–x.

³² William Edmundson, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry, of that Worthy Elder and Faithful Servant of*

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Jesus Christ, William Edmundson (3rd ed., Dublin, Ireland: Christopher Bentham, 1820), 88–89.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 35.

³⁵ Mary Weeks Lambeth, *Memories and Records of Eastern North Carolina* (Nashville?: Privately printed, 1957), 150–51. Saunders, *Colonial Records of N.C.*, 1:250–53; “Salem,” *Essex Antiquarian* 12 (January 1908): 74–75; Perley, *History of Salem*, 2:254.

³⁶ Edmundson, *Journal*, 89.

³⁷ Fox, *Journal*, 642–43.

³⁸ Edmundson, *Journal*, 123–24.

³⁹ Parker, *N.C. Higher-Court Records*, II:xlvi; Robert J. Cain, ed., *Records of the Executive Council, 1664–1734*, vol. VIII, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 2d ser. (Raleigh, N.C.: Division of Archives and History, 1984), 346.

⁴⁰ Cain, *Records of Executive Council*, 356; Saunders, *Colonial Records of N.C.*, 1:250.

⁴¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records of N.C.*, 1:250–53.

⁴² Raymond A. Winslow, Jr., “Minutes of Perquimans Monthly Meeting 1680–1700,” *Perquimans County Historical Society Year Book* (Hertford, N.C.: The Society, 1976), 5–6 [hereinafter “Perquimans Monthly Meeting”].

⁴³ Weynette Parks Haun, *Old Albemarle County, North Carolina, Perquimans Precinct, Births, Marriages, Deaths & Flesh Marks, 1659 thru 1820* (Durham, N.C.: Weynette Parks Haun, 1980), 2 [hereinafter *Perquimans Births*].

⁴⁴ Weynette Parks Haun, *Old Albemarle County, North Carolina, Book of Land Warrants and Surveys, 1681–1706* (Durham: Weynette Parks Haun, 1984), 106–07 [hereinafter *Albemarle Land Warrants*]; Margaret M. Hofmann, *Province of North Carolina, 1663–1729, Abstracts of Land Patents* (Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Company, 1979), 27 [hereinafter *N.C. Land Patents*].

⁴⁵ Parker, *N.C. Higher-Court Records*, II:363–64.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 377.

⁴⁷ Weynette Parks Haun, *Old Albemarle County, North Carolina, Perquimans Precinct Court Minutes, 1688 thru 1738* (Durham: Weynette Parks Haun, 1980), 2 [hereinafter *Perquimans Court*].

⁴⁸ Hofmann, *N.C. Land Patents*, 24; North Carolina File No. SS, Will of Johnathon Phelps, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁴⁹ Haun, *Perquimans Court*, 13, 17.

⁵⁰ Haun, *Albemarle Land Warrants*, 118.

⁵¹ Raymond A. Winslow, Jr., “Perquimans County and the Society of Friends,” *Perquimans County Historical Society Year Book* (Hertford, N.C., The Society, 1972), 1; Hofmann, *N.C. Land Patents*, 9–10; Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, 16 vols., numbered XI–XXVI (Winston and Goldsboro, N.C., State of North Carolina, 1895–1907), XXIII:484, XXV:367–69.

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⁵² Haun, *Albemarle Land Warrants*, 25, 29.

⁵³ Parker, *N.C. Higher-Court Records*, II:xxxiv.

⁵⁴ Saunders, *Colonial Records of N.C.*, 1:711, 713.

⁵⁵ Winslow, "Perquimans Monthly Meeting," 11–12; Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 38.

⁵⁶ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 5 [marriage], 17, 23 [births], 35 [deaths].

⁵⁸ Winslow, "Perquimans Monthly Meeting," 6.

⁵⁹ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 9, 12–14.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 [death]; File No. SS 874.2, p. 1, Council Minutes, Wills and Inventories, 1677–1701, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, reports "At a General Court held Nov. 1679: Geo. Castleton proved will of James Perisho of this county [Albemarle]."

⁶¹ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 2 [marriage].

⁶² Eley E. Perisho, *The Early History and Descendants of Joseph Perisho, James Perisho, Samuel Perisho* (Streator, Ill., Eley E. Perisho, 1912), [10].

⁶³ Haun, *Albemarle Land Warrants*, 14, 84.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 106–07; Hofmann, *N.C. Land Patents*, 27; Mrs. Watson Winslow, *History of Perquimans County: As Compiled From Records Found There and Elsewhere* (1931; reprinted, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1974), see map after p. 488.

⁶⁵ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 10.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ File No. SS, Will of Samuel Phelps, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁶⁸ Haun, *Perquimans Court*, 32.

⁶⁹ Winslow, *History of Perquimans*, 35; Cain, *Records of Executive Council*, 141, 537.

⁷⁰ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 33, 48.

⁷¹ File No. SS, Will of William Phelps, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁷² Deed Book F:278, Perquimans County.

⁷³ File No. SS, Will of Jonathan Phelps, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁷⁴ Thomas Worth Marshall, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy by William Wade Hinshaw, Supplement to Volume I* (Washington, D.C., Privately printed, 1948), 5.

⁷⁵ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 29 [birth], 38 [marriage].

⁷⁶ Deed Book C:160, Perquimans County.

⁷⁷ File No. SS, Will of Elizabeth Nixon, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁷⁸ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 43; William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, Vol. I: North Carolina Yearly Meeting* (Ann Arbor,

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Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1936), 90b.

⁷⁹ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I:69 [liberated to marry]; File No. SS, Will of Henry Phelps, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁸⁰ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I:69 [reported married].

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, I:69, 75 [reported married].

⁸² *Ibid.*, 69 [liberated to marry]; Inventory of Jonathan Phelps, 20 May 1759, Perquimans County Estates Records, 1714–1930, filed alphabetically in boxes, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh [hereinafter Perquimans Estates Records].

⁸³ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 63 [marriage].

⁸⁴ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I:69 [reported married].

⁸⁵ Winslow, "Perquimans Monthly Meeting," 15. Hannah Hill, grandmother of Eleanor Perisho, signed the marriage certificate.

⁸⁶ File No. SS, Will of William Boge [Bogue], Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁸⁷ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 16–17, 25, 29, 41, 48.

⁸⁸ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I:90d.

⁸⁹ Miles White, Jr., *Early Quaker Records in Virginia* (1902–03; reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1977), 35 [marriage]; Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I:36 [death]; File No. SS, Will of William Bogue, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁹⁰ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I:36 [marriage]; Will of Robert Bogue (original will and recorded copy in WB–A:74), Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁹¹ Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, "New Data From Minutes of Perquimans Monthly Meeting (Quaker), 1729–1736," *The North Carolinian* 3 (September 1957): 329 [liberated to marry]; Deed Book D:148, Perquimans County.

⁹² Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I:36 [marriage], 95 [deaths].

⁹³ Thorne, "New Data from Minutes," 329 [liberated to marry].

⁹⁴ Deed Book, C:43, Perquimans County.

⁹⁵ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 2, 38; Clifford M. Hardin, "New/Knew, a New Quaker Family," *The Quaker Yeomen* 13 (October 1986): 8–9.

⁹⁶ Haun, *Perquimans Births*, 27–28, 30.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 68 [births of children]; Inventory of James Perisho, 2 January 1744, Perquimans Estate Records.

⁹⁸ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I:967.

⁹⁹ Perquimans County Marriage Bonds, 1742–1868, filed alphabetically; and Will of Joseph Perisho (original will and recorded will in WB–C:43); both in Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹⁰⁰ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I:113 [marriages and death].

Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction

by

Damon D. Hickey

Throughout the early nineteenth century a migration of Friends from North Carolina westward established new Quaker communities in eastern Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and beyond. Although some Friends left the Southeast for the same reason which prompted many non-Quakers to migrate, the availability of free land, many left in order to escape the slave society they firmly opposed, since on the basis of religious principle they could not hold slaves. The Quaker antislavery position and the involvement of some Friends in removing slaves to free territory made the position of those who remained in the South increasingly difficult, thus prompting still greater migrations westward. The coming of the Civil War added to their burden, since they were also conscientious objectors to military service and were consequently subjected to special harassment. Virtually all accounts agree regarding their suffering, although non-Friends also suffered as shortages became more acute and foragers more desperate. The invasion of Sherman's army was particularly devastating to Friends in the Goldsboro, North Carolina, area, many of whom began to flee as refugees to the Midwest by way of Baltimore.

One Friend who opposed this migration was Francis T. King of Baltimore. King had vowed at an early age to retire from business as soon as he achieved financial success and devote himself to benevolent work. He was known and respected by local, state, and national leaders,

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including the president. He was a member of the first class at Haverford and was eventually to become the first president of the board of trustees of both Bryn Mawr College and of the Johns Hopkins Hospital. He was named to the latter post by his friend Hopkins in his will.¹ Francis King saw it as his religious duty to aid the southern Friends by enabling them to remain where they were rather than to leave. A man of formidable energy and dedication, he nevertheless realized the scope of his task. In 1866 he wrote to an English Friend, "Were I as *strong* as Samson, *wise* as Solomon, *meek* as Moses, *patient* as Job and *loving* as John I could find enough to do."² His trips on behalf of his various religious concerns resulted in frequent requests to his home meeting for "traveling minutes" to carry to distant Friends meetings. "Between the Freedmen, N^oCa Friends & the Indians," he wrote, "I am so much absent that one of our members asked me yesterday, 'Won't thou apply for a minute to stay at home — we will grant it.'"³

As Francis King never tired of pointing out, the Baltimore Association of Friends to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States was founded initially merely to provide physical relief for southern Quaker refugees passing through the city and who were often without adequate food, clothing, or funds to continue their journey to the west.⁴ From the local relief committee formed to deal with this immediate and pressing need there developed the Baltimore Association which was organized in 1865 to seek and channel funds for a broader program of assistance. The association, and especially Francis King, considered that the most serious consequence of the war for the South was the interruption of the education of its children who had been needed at home for farming. The war had left Quaker families too impoverished to reopen schools once hostilities ended.⁵ As a result the system of local "First Day" schools established by the Friends as early as 1828 and the Friends boarding school at New Garden, both seriously crippled, were all that remained.⁶

The association set out to establish a system of schools throughout North Carolina with a qualified superintendent, a uniform curriculum, competent teachers, and books and supplies. Such a major undertaking could not have been accomplished without additional financial assistance. Francis King and his colleagues, therefore, sought funds from other Friends. Quakers in Philadelphia, Indiana, and Baltimore Yearly Meetings had already collected and paid out more than \$50,000 by the middle of 1866.⁷ The previous year a committee composed of Francis

King (Baltimore), Joseph Crosfield (London), Samuel Boyce (New England), and Marmaduke C. Cope (Philadelphia) had visited North Carolina, conferred with the yearly meeting's Education Committee, and pledged \$5,000 to the New Garden Boarding School.⁸ Over the coming years the association was to contribute \$72,000 for North Carolina primary schools and \$23,000 to the boarding school which eventually became Guilford College.⁹ In the period 1865–1868 alone, the number of primary schools increased from 2 to 42, and the number of pupils from 600 to 3,000.¹⁰ The Baltimore Association's assistance to the First Day schools had produced by 1870 a statewide enrollment of 5,000, including 1,800 black children in separate schools.¹¹ According to Francis King the association's schools and "the Peabody" were the only extended organizations in the South for the education of white children.¹²

The superintendency of the association's educational work was carried out for the initial two months by John Scott, an elderly Baltimore Friends minister and a member and former president of the Baltimore County Board of Education, who had helped to establish ninety-six schools there.¹³ Assisting and succeeding him was Joseph Moore, a Harvard graduate, Quaker minister, scientist, and teacher at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana. A student of Louis Agassiz, he was reportedly described by his mentor as the best scientist west of the Alleghenies. His health was poor, but his work in North Carolina, involving extensive travel by horse, proved beneficial. In 1866 Francis King wrote to Joseph Moore that he was glad his health was improving and "that thou keeps in the open air." King expected Moore eventually to return to Earlham, "but," he wrote, "its confined air—the accumulated breaths of a classroom—is not the place for thee for some time to come."¹⁴ In 1868 he did return to Earlham as its president, but in 1884 returned again to head the Friends School in North Carolina (formerly New Garden Boarding School) until it became Guilford College.¹⁵ The third superintendent was Allen Jay, another Friends minister, who lacked his predecessors' formal education. A midwestern leader of the new Quaker revival movement, he visited in the homes of most North Carolina Quaker families and conducted religious meetings throughout the state. He was an effective speaker, despite a cleft palate, and a successful fundraiser. When the Baltimore Association terminated its direction of North Carolina Quaker schools in 1891, Jay became the superintendent

of education for North Carolina Yearly Meeting until the next year. He was offered the state superintendency by the governor but declined to involve himself in "carpet-bag politics."¹⁶ In 1877 North Carolina Friends appealed to Quakers elsewhere to help them extend their educational system to more non-Friends. As a result the Baltimore Association became actively involved once again, backed by English and Irish Quaker funds. Franklin S. Blair, superintendent for North Carolina Yearly Meeting's schools, was appointed the association's superintendent, a position which he held until the end of 1881.¹⁷

In the early years of the association's work it became obvious that a number of the southern teachers lacked training. It was therefore decided to establish an annual normal school to be held near the center of the state. Although normal schools were commonplace in some states, this was apparently the first in North Carolina, and it led eventually to the establishment of a permanent state normal school in Greensboro, now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.¹⁸ Having sponsored nine such normal schools by 1874, the association turned their operation over to North Carolina Friends. In addition, following the model for the primary schools, the association sponsored normal schools for teachers in the First Day schools several times each year.¹⁹

The Baltimore Association was also concerned about the long-term economic welfare of North Carolina Friends. Since most Carolinians were farmers, Francis King developed the idea of an agricultural school to train farmers in modern methods. Early efforts were made to stimulate the formation of agricultural clubs in each Quaker community, which became forerunners of the Grange. From the first, however, the association hoped to establish a model farm operated by a northern farmer familiar with the use of manures and other fertilizer, modern farming implements, the planting of clover, and the raising of livestock. It was Francis King's hope that the farm could be located near Springfield, where the largest primary school was, and the newer, growing city of High Point which he expected to become the center of Quaker activity in the state.²⁰ The farm would also serve as a central distribution point for seeds, implements, and fertilizer.²¹ The association eventually secured a large farm at Springfield, formerly owned by the Quaker patriarch Nathan Hunt.²² William A. Sampson, a New England farmer who had managed the Friends stores in Washington for two years, was engaged to improve the farm's "buildings, stock & land equal to any northern home." Forseeing

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a reversal of the migration pattern, Francis King hoped the community would become "a centre of emigration from the North — now that land can be had for \$6 to \$10 per acre."²³

A grist mill on the property was converted to a bone mill to grind bones for manure.²⁴ In addition the association authorized the rebuilding of the barn and farmhouse. Agricultural meetings were held throughout the state, clubs were organized, seed and fertilizer sold, good breeding stock introduced, and hundreds of subscriptions to the *American Agriculturist* placed. Francis King reported that in its first three years the "agricultural department" had "revolutionized whole neighborhoods," with 17 clubs attended by 1,500 people each month. The association sold 500 pounds of clover seed in 1867, 5,000 in 1868, and 19,800 in 1869, providing the first grass most farmers had ever raised for livestock. Guano was acquired and sold for fertilizer.²⁵ In addition a store for farm implements and seed was set up by a Friend operating independently but with the association's encouragement.²⁶ The association's aim, as with its other enterprises, was to make the farm self-sustaining.

The Baltimore Association was also aware of the plight of southern blacks. In Baltimore City and County, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Intellectual Improvement of the Colored People in Maryland, which included many of the same people as the other Baltimore Association, including Francis T. King as its vice president, administered an extensive school system for freedmen. Unlike the work with white Quakers in North Carolina, this effort aroused hostility. In the first year, 1864, thirteen school houses were burned and as many teachers whipped or assaulted, but thereafter opposition dissipated.²⁷ Eventually both city and county assumed responsibility for these schools. A normal school was established as an independent entity, but with Friends comprising the majority of its trustees.²⁸

In North Carolina, however, work with freedmen was overseen by Quakers from places other than Baltimore. "What the Baltimore Association of Friends is doing for white children," wrote Francis King, "our brethren of Phila. are doing for the Blacks — in the same districts, but in separate houses."²⁹ In this work they were assisted by Friends from New England and New York Yearly Meetings. The latter established an agricultural and industrial school for blacks near Asheboro that was later moved to High Point and eventually became a public high school.³⁰ Members of the association felt that in freedmen's work, as elsewhere,

“home work” was preferable to outside assistance. “I have long wanted to stir up an interest among N.C. Friends on behalf of the Freedmen,” Francis King wrote, “but they have been so very poor since the war, that they had not the means to organize.”³¹ In 1869 he urged North Carolina Yearly Meeting to organize First Day schools for black children and to establish an association to aid freedmen.³² The yearly meeting responded by creating a freedmen’s association directed by Dr. I. M. Tomlinson, the son of the superintendent of its First Day schools. King reported late in 1869 that the North Carolina Friends had already established 15 to 20 black schools in neighborhoods where no others were present. Tomlinson, a physician, donated his medical services. He distributed material aid from English and Irish Friends by way of Baltimore and reported regularly to the association. In 1871 the association helped to establish a trust fund to continue the work.³³ After 1872 little was heard of the work, however.³⁴ In addition, the association declared in 1880 that the colored schools were not within its scope.³⁵

Having virtually completed its educational and agricultural work, the association turned its attention in 1880 to refurbishing and rebuilding Quaker meetinghouses. The impetus was provided by a bequest of the British Friends minister Stanley Pumphrey who had observed the dilapidated state of many of the meetinghouses on a southern tour. The Baltimore Association once again sought funds, primarily in England and Ireland, as a memorial to Pumphrey.³⁶ With few exceptions such funds were used only to complete work largely paid for by local Friends, and they were advanced only after the roof was on.³⁷ Meetinghouses in North Carolina and Kansas received the most assistance, followed by those in Michigan, Wisconsin, Oregon, Arkansas, Texas, Florida, and Virginia.³⁸ A representative of the Baltimore Association showed a more-than-human concern in a letter to a Friend in Michigan who had boasted of having saved money on their new meetinghouse: “We hope you will use some of the amount saved,” he wrote, “in putting up a shed to protect the *horses* while you are engaged in worshipping their Creator.”³⁹

The association’s relationship to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting’s New Garden Boarding School was ambiguous. Francis King had served as financial advisor to the school even before the war.⁴⁰ A major grant of \$5,000 was made in 1866, mostly for repairs and equipment.⁴¹ Thereafter the association instructed its superintendent to have nothing to do with the school’s operation.⁴² In 1867 a plea by the school’s trustees to the

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association for assistance in upgrading the curriculum, perhaps to college level, was declined.⁴³ Francis King had made no secret of his preference of Springfield and High Point as a center for North Carolina Yearly Meeting activity. He expressed the hope that, being in a largely rural state, the yearly meeting would establish a permanent headquarters there, despite its long tradition of meeting annually at New Garden.⁴⁴ King expressed his distress to Jonathan Cox, the boarding school superintendent, in 1869 when he learned that an "intelligent Friend" was accusing the association of trying to destroy the school.⁴⁵ Yet in 1874 the association, spurred by King, openly considered establishing a high school at or near Springfield and High Point, apparently to replace the boarding school.⁴⁶

Six years later King asserted that it was North Carolina Friends who were "again" urging the association to establish "a boarding school of high grade at some accessible point in the State, as a centre of their large and growing school system."⁴⁷ The New Garden community, in contrast to High Point, Springfield, and Bush Hill, was not thriving. In fact, it was hardly even a Friends community any longer, having lost most of its members through emigration.⁴⁸ Undoubtedly there were North Carolina Friends who shared Francis King's view that the time for a change had come. Yet New Garden was the historic meeting place of the yearly meeting, and the boarding school there had been sustained throughout the war at great personal sacrifice.

A breakthrough came in 1882 when the yearly meeting, apparently at King's suggestion, agreed to give its new meetinghouse at New Garden to the school and to build another at High Point.⁴⁹ This political tradeoff allowed the school to become what was needed by North Carolina Friends: the capstone of their educational system, a place for Quaker children to go after they had completed their studies in the monthly meeting schools. The Baltimore Association then raised nearly \$23,000, over \$13,000 of which was used to renovate the yearly meeting gift building (renamed King Hall) and the old school building (renamed Founders Hall), to build a new annex, to improve the grounds, and to buy library books, a new barn, scientific apparatus, a workshop, tools, and a steam engine to pump water, saw wood, and "serve as an object lesson" to the students. The balance of the funds was to be invested in permanent endowment.⁵⁰

As a result of these efforts, along with an upgrading of the curriculum, 122 students were enrolled by 1884. Several families had moved into the

neighborhood in order to send their children to the school, New Garden Friends had built a new meetinghouse, and the meeting was growing again.⁵¹

The Baltimore Association would have retired from its educational work at this point had the gift building, King Hall, not burned down. With its help, however, a new dormitory and a new classroom building arose from its ashes.⁵² When the trustees decided to upgrade the school further to college status they suggested naming it for Francis King. Now a trustee himself King declined, recommending instead the name of the county, Guilford.⁵³

In its later years the association, again funded by English and Irish Friends, increased its activity in Tennessee. Several Friends schools were reopened, including those at Maryville, Bethel, Tallassee, and Hopewell. Friendsville Academy was revived and Friendsville Institute for women established. The medical and educational work of Dr. Jethro D. Garner among "poor whites" south of Maryville was also supported.⁵⁴

The Baltimore Association, through its agents, also engaged in evangelism. Each of its superintendents was a Friends minister who preached regularly in Friends meetings throughout his travels. Bible societies were encouraged and Bibles and tracts distributed.⁵⁵ Both Joseph Moore and Allen Jay sent accounts of "religious awakenings."⁵⁶ Francis King described Jay as

One of the best baptising [i. e., most inspiring] preachers I ever heard. He can draw the largest crowds I ever saw in that state [despite his cleft palate]. There is a charm in his voice after you hear him a few times & get used to it. Best of all he is as simple & loving as a child, with all his force of character.⁵⁷

Francis King described the evangelistic activity to Samuel Bewley in Ireland as "a serious part of our work." "It is," he declared, "a new thing in our day," comparable only to the Irish William Edmundson's pioneering Quaker evangelism in seventeenth-century Carolina: "It was the Lord's work *then* & we believe it to be his *now*."⁵⁸ Allen Jay attended and preached at revivals organized by other churches, and organized his own as well. On one occasion, fifty new converts were brought into Springfield Meeting, and a new meeting in High Point emerged from the crusade. He also remarked on the conversion of prominent citizens. A host of local and traveling Quaker evangelists followed him.⁵⁹

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This evangelistic work affected North Carolina Friends in several ways. It transformed their worship from largely silent meetings into enthusiastic services, including music.⁶⁰ It altered their view of God, themselves, and the ministry. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, who as a child heard Joseph Moore's preaching, later recalled that it

Came as a balm of healing and the oil of joy. I was young and it seemed to me he had a different kind of God from what had become to me a kind of spy God....I had decided that I myself was a small lump of iniquity, and that the great God was against me, because I liked fun and pretty things and music. Joseph Moore's teaching changed this feeling.⁶¹

Evangelism brought many newcomers to Friends meetings that had not had a convert in years, and forced them to deal with people who had not grown up among Friends according to their strictures. Despite Allen Jay's disclaimers, it brought controversy to North Carolina Friends.⁶² It also increased Quaker contact with other denominations, and promoted both cooperation and loss of distinctiveness.

Most dramatically, it reversed the decline in North Carolina Quaker numbers. In 1860 North Carolina had about 2,000 Friends. By 1880 the number had increased to about 5,000, despite emigration, and to more than 7,000 a decade later.⁶³ In fact, the migration to the Midwest was to some degree reversed, and the Baltimore Association appointed its own agents to assist in the repatriation of southern Friends.⁶⁴

The spectacular success of the Baltimore Association's work has obscured its more subtle but equally significant influence on the values of southern Friends. These values are perhaps clearest in the letters of Francis T. King. Variants of "system" and "systematic" appear frequently. Joseph Moore, King wrote to a North Carolina Friend, "is planning ahead to give efficiency and permanency to the System."⁶⁵ To Moore he declared the work would become lighter in some respects as it "becomes systematized."⁶⁶ In describing Moore's work to an English Friend he stated that the superintendent was "tightening and systematizing their loose way of conducting schools."⁶⁷ John Scott also remarked that a school he visited was badly taught in both "systems" and order.⁶⁸

Closely linked to the theme of systematization is that of efficiency and economy. King asked Scott to visit a school and to "give it efficiency."⁶⁹ Similarly he advised Moore to start work cautiously, build a few good

schools, and not sustain weak ones. He decried the “mania” to be a teacher in a Friends meeting where there were already eight.⁷⁰ To Joseph Crosfield in England, King declared the work to be “economically managed.”⁷¹ To another Friend he stated that the work was characterized by “thoroughness combined with simplicity and cheapness.”⁷² He told an Irish Friend that the normal schools had done much to improve the efficiency of teachers.⁷³

Efficiency and economy could be assured only if there were strict accountability. Much correspondence was devoted, therefore, to urging meetings and agents to submit detailed requests and reports to the association. King wrote to Moore, “We like statistics and thy general information.”⁷⁴ The superintendent was required to keep a clear cash account and a journal and to report weekly to the association.⁷⁵ Allen Jay was urged as a fundraiser to supply monthly and annual reports.⁷⁶ William Sampson was instructed to “keep the various items and departments separate so that we can group them easily in the statement.”⁷⁷ Dr. Tomlinson was also asked to keep a weekly record of incidents in his work with freedmen.⁷⁸ When Franklin S. Blair became the association’s superintendent in North Carolina, he too was asked for a monthly report and financial statement.⁷⁹ When he submitted his annual report in 1878 he was informed that his statistics were so incomplete that it was of little use.⁸⁰ Thereafter he was sent a form and asked merely to fill in the blanks.⁸¹ Two years later there were still suggestions about keeping his accounts so that they would look “more business-like to others.”⁸² Indeed, it was primarily for the sake of contributors that reports were compiled. When a friend of Dr. J. D. Garner complained about the association’s insisting on a report from him on his use of funds, he was told that good reports must be made to English and Irish Friends (the only remaining sources of funds at the time) if his work were to be established on a permanent basis.⁸³ The association, citing its own accountability to Baltimore Yearly Meeting and to its other donors, sought to maintain control of its enterprises in order to assure their accountability. In establishing its model farm, the Executive Committee decided not to “pass all power out of their hands,” and so it required monthly reports of its agricultural superintendent. The alternative, “to simply buy a farm in N.C. & lease it out,” wrote Francis King, “would speak badly for us as managers.”⁸⁴ Summing up the association’s approach, King stated that “human agency has been of the simplest kind

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— organization, method & accountability the framework — the basis of it all has been the Lord's blessing & guidance."⁸⁵

Accountability and good management were facilitated by centralization. In a rural state whose Quaker communities were widely separated, centralization was a novelty necessary to the association's efforts. Very early, Francis King urged that the model farm be located within reach of the five largest piedmont Friends meetings, in the Springfield–High Point area "in case you ever removed the Yearly Meeting from New Garden to some point that would be more within reach of the main body of Friends."⁸⁶ Later, writing to Allen Jay, he expressed the wish that the association could make the Springfield–High Point area "the capital of the state figuratively speaking."⁸⁷ Bush Hill, later Archdale, a community in the same neighborhood, was described with admiration as "a thriving go a head place" worthy to be a progressive center of religious and economic life.⁸⁸ King's dream was partly realized in 1881 when the yearly meeting moved its headquarters to High Point.⁸⁹ Although it eventually returned to New Garden, it did so as that community was being gradually absorbed by an expanding urban Greensboro.

Although the association demanded accountability and retained control of the operations it funded, its goal was to encourage local initiative and self-reliance, summed up in Francis King's dictum, "home work is better."⁹⁰ Some Friends, King wrote to John Scott, "think we have a gold mine or a pile that grows like a planted crop."⁹¹ The association's superintendent of education selected and paid teachers, furnished books, and set the curriculum. But local Friends were expected to furnish school houses, board the teachers, and pay as much of the tuition costs as possible.⁹² Locally self-sustaining work was the goal. Likewise, in material aid, a Friend in Iowa was advised not to send his produce to freedmen in North Carolina; such gifts of food and money, he was told, made beggars and destroyed self-reliance.⁹³ Similarly, King urged Philadelphia Friends to be cautious in distributing aid in eastern Tennessee: "Our rich city friends are struck with the apparent poverty of the poorer class in the country — while these dear friends are often happier & better off than we are."⁹⁴ In administering its meetinghouse fund, the association contributed only small amounts, usually after the roofs were on and very little was needed to complete the work, in order to encourage self-help and independence (and to stretch funds as far as

possible).⁹⁵ When parents in Maryville, Tennessee, contributed their labor to building boarding houses for students, the association was quick to add its assistance, praising the school for being self-sustaining.⁹⁶ Rarely if ever did the association aid an individual or a meeting without first determining from others that the need was genuine and that the beneficiary was doing everything possible to meet it. Yet seldom did the association refuse to render assistance in some form.

In general the agents and officers of the Baltimore Association seem to have had a low opinion of conditions in the South, and attributed them to the effects of the slave system combined with the ravages of war. The Friends had suffered from the latter, but had been clear of the former, and so had a head start in developing a new order. "We are raising up a new generation intelligent as most people," wrote Francis King. "All other people are depressed, bankrupt & unable to work — Friends never had slaves & are no worse off."⁹⁷ "The advantages of skilled labor is seen and felt," he wrote to an Irish Friend.⁹⁸ The following year he added that the crops raised by the freedmen would show how much better freedom is. He quoted a former slaveholder who was "no friend to blacks" to the effect that the free labor system was cheaper than the slave system had been.⁹⁹

Along with its emphasis on reform the association encouraged the development of professionalism. In agriculture this tendency was promoted largely through agricultural lectures, the formation of agricultural associations, and wholesale subscription to agricultural journals.¹⁰⁰ In education the emphasis was even stronger. The development of the normal school led directly to permanent, state-supported professional education for teachers. At the first normal school in 1866 Joseph Moore lectured on "teaching as a science" comparable to law and medicine. He decried "the dangerous but too common error of considering that *just any one* may *teach*. Let us *take* a high stand," he added, "and *hold it*." Teachers were urged to "make the school so interesting" that students would not stay away. He stressed the importance of the teachers' preparation, diligence, and competence, and convinced large numbers to subscribe to an educational periodical.¹⁰¹

In so doing the association found itself working for the benefit of both the Friends and the general populace. It was clearly envisioned that Friends would be the leaders in a new southern order. Francis King wrote in 1867, "We are building up a Church in the South & now that

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freedom is there we want our Friends to be pioneers in the new order of things temporally as well as spiritually.”¹⁰² “Many prominent citizens wish us to accept state aid,” he declared, “& make our system public.” The agricultural work had “revolutionized whole neighborhoods.”¹⁰³ King and his associates realized that Quaker elevation and success could not be isolated from the surrounding society. Agents were, therefore, encouraged to reach out to the important non-Quaker community of Company Shops, now Burlington, North Carolina, where the North Carolina Railroad serviced its rolling stock. Railroad President Daniel Worth had requested a school and agricultural school there, and King quickly agreed:

We cannot afford to go out from our people, with our limited means, except to admit them in, in Friends neighborhoods — but at C^o shops I would do so. Tell them that in 3 years it will require a train a week to carry the extra produce that the counties of Guilford & Randolph will raise & in less than 10 years a train a day.¹⁰⁴

When the opportunity presented itself King visited President Grant with a proposal for a federally assisted program of general educational assistance to the southern states.¹⁰⁵ Franklin S. Blair persuaded North Carolina Yearly Meeting to petition the North Carolina general assembly to “make more liberal provision for education” in the state.¹⁰⁶ Eventually many of the Friends schools did merge with or become public schools. More important, the example of an organized, statewide educational system provided a model for the secular government, and even prompted the state to seek Allen Jay’s services as its school superintendent.¹⁰⁷

In its work among southern Friends, the Baltimore Association helped to create a mindset and a set of practices that were essential ingredients in the development of the New South and its participation in the industrialized, corporate America of the Progressive Era. Although almost exclusively agricultural in its emphasis, it nevertheless helped to establish centralization, bureaucratization, rational planning, accountability, regular reporting of statistics, systematic personnel policies, professional management, division of responsibility and authority between national and local levels, breakdown of sectarianism, and self-reliance. It also inculcated a mentality that viewed the larger society as the object of reform, improvement, elevation, education, and

conversion, while at the same time stressing the moral obligation of the Christian Quaker to be a leader, teacher, evangelist, and reformer. In both agriculture and education it held up a model of professionalism and promoted the image of the professional as leader, manager, and agent of social betterment. Indeed, in 1880 Francis King described each meeting school as a "missionary centre" in which the teachers were often also "superintendents of Bible schools on First-day, and not unfrequently, they have become ministers of the gospel and a decided social influence for good in their districts."¹⁰⁸ That these attitudes took root is evident in an 1890 report of North Carolina Yearly Meeting's Evangelism Committee. The committee urged the establishment of a centrally organized system of "home missions" that would deploy "christian leaders" to communities in which new converts were in abundance. Many of these converts could "neither read nor write intelligently, if at all," and were prone to doctrinal error. The home missionary teachers' task would be to conduct schools, visit families, organize temperance work, assist in the First Day schools, teach, and lead in worship.¹⁰⁹ The yearly meeting was already requiring and receiving regular statistical reports from each of its meetings.¹¹⁰ By 1902, it had adopted a new book of discipline that greatly strengthened the authority of the yearly meeting over particular meetings and it had joined the Five-Years Meeting, the first American national Friends denominational organization.¹¹¹ By 1923 Mary Mendenhall Hobbs could write that "the old opposition to Friends has not only disappeared, but quite the contrary has taken its place," with Friends as legislators, attorneys, teachers in the state universities, principals and teachers in high schools, active in all movements for social improvement, and "leading business men in our cities."¹¹² As Francis King had hoped, Friends had become pioneers and leaders in the new order, both temporally and spiritually. They had also revolutionized their own values, those of their church, and those of their society.

¹ Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, *A Short Account of the Life of Francis T. King* (Baltimore: 1892); John C. Thomas, "The Baltimore Association of Friends," *The Friend* (Philadelphia) 101 (XII.8.1927): 291-292.

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² Francis T. King to Joseph Crosfield, I.22.1866, Papers of the Baltimore Association of Friends to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States (microfilm), Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N.C. (hereafter referred to as Baltimore Association Papers). Dates are given in the Quaker form, i.e., using numbers rather than names for the months and days of the week. Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence cited is from the Baltimore Association Papers.

³ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1870.

⁴ Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States, *First Annual Report* (Baltimore: William K. Boyle, 1866), Baltimore Association Papers.

⁵ Francis T. King to R. Lindley, VI.1.1866.

⁶ Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina* (Philadelphia: 1924), pp. 237-259.

⁷ Francis T. King to R. Lindley, VI.1.1866.

⁸ Baltimore Association, *First Annual Report*.

⁹ Allen Jay, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1910), p. 224.

¹⁰ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1868.

¹¹ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1870.

¹² Francis T. King to General Howard, VI.10.1869. The "Peabody" referred to was the Peabody Education Fund established in 1867 for educational purposes in the South. It operated until 1914.

¹³ Francis T. King to Samuel Rhoads, XII.8.1865.

¹⁴ Francis T. King to Joseph Moore, I.22.1866.

¹⁵ Anna Moore Cadbury, "Life of Joseph Moore" (typescript); Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro: Guilford College, 1937), p. 153.

¹⁶ Jay, pp. 188, 207-212, 224-225.

¹⁷ Francis Charles Anscombe, "The Contributions of the Quakers to the Reconstruction of the Southern States" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1926), p. 41; John C. Thomas to F. S. Blair, XI.15.1877.

¹⁸ Joseph Moore, "Journal of the Superintendent of Friends' Schools in N. Carolina" (MS and typescript transcription), Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N.C., p. 43 (page numbers from typescript); Klain, pp. 262-265.

¹⁹ Jay, pp. 191, 194.

²⁰ Francis T. King to Joseph Moore, I.6.1866; to R. Lindley, VI.1.1866.

²¹ Francis T. King to Elwood Ratcliff, III.2.1867.

²² Francis T. King to A. U. Tomlinson, III.18.1867.

²³ Francis T. King to William A. Sampson, IX.18.1867.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Francis T. King to William A. Sampson, VIII.20.1868.

²⁶ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1868

²⁷ *Ibid.*

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- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Francis T. King to General Howard, VI.10.1869.
- ³⁰ Steven B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), p. 316.
- ³¹ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1870.
- ³² Francis T. King to James Whittall, IV.29.1869.
- ³³ Francis T. King to John Taylor, XII.7.1869; to Joshua A. Grinnell, XII.24.1869; to Samuel Bewley, XII.2.1870; to Samuel Bewley, IV.22.1871.
- ³⁴ B. Russell Branson, "A Period of Change in North Carolina Quakerism," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 39 (Spring 1950): 74–86.
- ³⁵ John C. Thomas to John N. Parker, I.19.1880.
- ³⁶ John C. Thomas to Henry T. Wood, V.6.1881.
- ³⁷ John C. Thomas to Nathan G. Chase, IX.23.1881.
- ³⁸ "Report of English Meetinghouse Fund," V.1.1895.
- ³⁹ John C. Thomas to J. M. Thomas, IX.9.1881.
- ⁴⁰ Gilbert, pp. 99–103.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.
- ⁴² Jay, pp. 186–187.
- ⁴³ Gilbert, p. 124; Francis T. King to ? (first page of letter not microfilmed), ???.1868 (Francis T. King Letter book, p. 225).
- ⁴⁴ Francis T. King to R. Lindley, VI.1.1866.
- ⁴⁵ Francis T. King to Jonathan E. Cox, I.18.1869.
- ⁴⁶ Gilbert, pp. 138–141.
- ⁴⁷ Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends (Orthodox), Minutes, Meeting of 1880, Report of the Baltimore Association.
- ⁴⁸ Hiram H. Hilty, *New Garden Friends Meeting: The Christian People Called Quakers* (Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, New Garden Meeting, 1983), p. 50.
- ⁴⁹ Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), Minutes, Meeting of 1882, Report of the Baltimore Association.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Meeting of 1883.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Meeting of 1884.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, Meeting of 1885.
- ⁵³ Gilbert, p. 162.
- ⁵⁴ Anscombe, pp. 80–88.
- ⁵⁵ Francis T. King to Joseph Moore, I.6.1866.
- ⁵⁶ Francis T. King to Joseph Moore, IV.13.1867; to John S. Willes, XI.16.1868.
- ⁵⁷ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IX.8.1869.
- ⁵⁸ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1868.
- ⁵⁹ Jay, pp. 207–212.
- ⁶⁰ Jay, pp. 207–209.
- ⁶¹ Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, "Baltimore Association," *The Friend* (Philadelphia) 97 (VIII.9–IX.1.1923): 185.

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⁶² Jay, p. 209; Damon D. Hickey, "Progressives and Conservatives Search for Order: The Division of North Carolina Quakers," *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* 6 (Spring 1984): 17-35.

⁶³ Branson, p. 79.

⁶⁴ Anscombe, pp. 92-93.

⁶⁵ Francis T. King to Dr. Nicholson, I.3.1866.

⁶⁶ Francis T. King to Joseph Moore, I.6.1866.

⁶⁷ Francis T. King to Joseph Crosfield, I.22.1866.

⁶⁸ "John Scott's Report," XII.23.1865.

⁶⁹ Francis T. King to John Scott, I.6.1866.

⁷⁰ Francis T. King to Joseph Moore, I.20.1866.

⁷¹ Francis T. King to Joseph Crosfield, V.13.1869.

⁷² Francis T. King to Dr. Plumer, VII.5.1869.

⁷³ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1870.

⁷⁴ Francis T. King to Joseph Moore, II.12.1866.

⁷⁵ Jay, pp. 186-187.

⁷⁶ Francis T. King to Allen Jay, XI.29.1868.

⁷⁷ Francis T. King to William A. Sampson, XI.27.1867.

⁷⁸ Francis T. King to Dr. Tomlinson, IX.18.1871.

⁷⁹ John C. Thomas to F. S. Blair, XI.15.1877.

⁸⁰ John C. Thomas to F. S. Blair, IV.29.1878.

⁸¹ John C. Thomas to F. S. Blair, VIII.13.1878.

⁸² John C. Thomas to F. S. Blair, IX.16.1880.

⁸³ John C. Thomas to Dr. J. D. Garner, XII.10.1877.

⁸⁴ Francis T. King to William A. Sampson, X.12.1867.

⁸⁵ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1868.

⁸⁶ Francis T. King to Allen U. Tomlinson, IV.17.1866.

⁸⁷ Francis T. King to Allen Jay, IV.16.1869.

⁸⁸ Francis T. King to William A. Sampson, XI.27.1867.

⁸⁹ Gilbert, pp. 142-144.

⁹⁰ Francis T. King to Joseph Crosfield, V.13.1869.

⁹¹ Francis T. King to John Scott, I.6.1866.

⁹² Jay, pp. 186-187.

⁹³ Francis T. King to G. P. Wood, XI.12.1869.

⁹⁴ Francis T. King to J. A. Grinnell, VI.25.1870.

⁹⁵ Francis T. King to John N. Parker, XI.21.1878.

⁹⁶ John C. Thomas to B. S. Coppock, XII.1.1879.

⁹⁷ Francis T. King to Timothy Nicholson, II.3.1868.

⁹⁸ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1868.

⁹⁹ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IX.8.1869.

¹⁰⁰ Baltimore Association of Friends to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States, *Second Annual Report, 1867* (Baltimore: William K. Boyle, 1868), Baltimore Association Papers.

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¹⁰¹ Moore, pp. 38-39, 43.

¹⁰² Francis T. King to Elwood Ratcliff, III.2.1867.

¹⁰³ Francis T. King to Samuel Bewley, IV.12.1868.

¹⁰⁴ Francis T. King to William Sampson, II.26.1868.

¹⁰⁵ Francis T. King to Joseph Crosfield, V.13.1869.

¹⁰⁶ Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), Minutes, Meeting of 1880, Report of the Baltimore Association.

¹⁰⁷ Jay, pp. 224-225.

¹⁰⁸ Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), Minutes, Meeting of 1880, Report of the Baltimore Association.

¹⁰⁹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meeting of 1890.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Meeting of 1900.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, Meeting of 1902.

¹¹² Hobbs, pp. 210-211.

Book Reviews

Edited by

Carole Treadway

Thomas D. Hamm. *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988. \$25.00.

Perhaps the most fascinating period of American Quaker history is the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during which Quakerism underwent three major divisions and transformed itself from quietism into a bewildering array of theologies and methodologies, some of which were indistinguishable from forms of Protestantism. Yet before 1976, no scholarly history of this period was available. Aside from polemical treatments, historians preferred to deal with early Quakerism and with Quaker opposition to slavery. Historians of Quakerism who were themselves Friends shied away from the pain of division and disunity, dwelling instead on the “golden age” of Quakerism.

Contemporary Quaker history has been less reticent and less apologetic in its approach. It has also employed many of the tools of sociological analysis, not only in its study of latter-day Quakerism, but also in its approach to the earlier periods. The first, and one of the best, treatments appeared in 1976, Philip S. Benjamin's *The Philadelphia Quakers in the Industrial Age, 1865–1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976). It was followed by William P. Taber's *The Eye of Faith: A History of Ohio Yearly Meeting, Conservative* (Barnesville: Ohio Yearly Meeting, 1985), by H. Larry Ingle's *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), and now by Thomas Hamm's *The Transformation of American Quakerism*. Taber's book, although focusing on Ohio, gives the best overview of Conservative (Wilburite) Quakerism yet to appear. Ingle's work deals with Hicksite Quakerism. Hamm's subject is Orthodox Quakerism, especially Gurneyite and Holiness (Evangelical) Quakerism, primarily in the Midwest.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of Hamm's work. The changes traced by Benjamin, Taber, and Ingle, while important, were more subtle than those which rocked Orthodox Quakerism. Hamm begins with a dramatic illustration, contrasting a description of a meeting for worship at Richmond, Indiana, in 1861 with a description of worship in the same meeting years later. The remainder of the book attempts to explain what happened. In the process Thomas Hamm describes the differences between Hicksites, Gurneyites, and Wilburites more clearly than anything I have seen as yet. Oversimplifying his simplification, the Hicksites stressed the Spirit; the Gurneyites, the Bible; and the Wilburites, tradition. Hicksites saw the Bible as leading to the Spirit. Gurneyites saw the Spirit as the interpreter of the Bible. And when there was disagreement about how the Spirit interpreted the Bible, Wilburites looked to the Quaker tradition. These subtle variations in viewing religious authority, along with other factors, were at the root of the nineteenth-century American Quaker dilemma.

Equally helpful is Thomas Hamm's discussion of the differences between "renewal" and "revival" Friends. Renewal Friends, who were dominant in North Carolina, wanted to shed some of Quakerism's peculiarities, end wholesale disownments (especially for marriage to non-Friends), embrace some methods of Protestantism, enliven worship and provide more regular ministry, and communicate with other Christian churches. Revival Friends (some of whom began as renewal Friends), on the other hand, sought to revolutionize Quakerism and to transform it into something new, based on Holiness theology and using revivalistic methods. Led by such ministers as David Updegraff and Dougan Clark, Jr., revival Friends in Ohio even abandoned traditional Quaker business procedure and accepted the outward sacraments of water baptism and physical communion. These extremes alienated other Friends and stopped what had looked at one point like a Holiness juggernaut. One of the most fascinating elements of Thomas Hamm's explication of these two groups is a pair of charts listing the leaders of renewal and revival Friends and tracing the background of each. It is particularly noteworthy that revival Friends leadership came, not from new converts (who might be expected to have less emotional investment in classic Quakerism), but from birthright Friends, some from old Quaker families.

Thomas Hamm concludes his study with a chapter on the modernist/fundamentalist controversy among Friends, a dispute that did not follow

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the lines of earlier divisions. This controversy, unlike the earlier ones, was not particularly Quaker, but the resolution of the earlier disputes shaped the way Friends responded to an issue that divided many Christians in America.

The book is extremely well written, even compelling in its drama — a rarity in historical writing, especially in matters religious. It won the well deserved 1986 American Society for Church History Brewer Prize.

Thomas Hamm's research is wide and deep, and includes much material about North Carolina (and much more that is indirectly relevant to the state). Particularly fascinating is his discussion of Nereus Mendenhall and his daughter Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, each of whom was very influential. He does not, however, attempt to account for why North Carolina did not develop the strong Holiness/revivalist element that was found in the Midwest, nor why the Conservative split came so late (in fact, he does not even mention the North Carolina division of 1902–4, even though it falls within the scope of his study), nor why it was so mild in comparison to divisions elsewhere.

Also lacking is the type of information found in abundance in Benjamin's study: data about the membership of Friends. In giving the profiles of Quaker leaders, Thomas Hamm has suggested something about the makeup of the movements they represented. But is it applicable to the rank and file as well? Were Holiness Friends, like their leaders, from old Quaker families, or were they new converts? Were they urban or rural, professionals or factory workers, or a mix? How did they differ from renewal or Conservative Friends?

But these are questions for future study, and the fact that Thomas Hamm does not answer them means simply that he could not do everything. In fact, my only real complaint about this excellent book (other than its omission of the North Carolina Conservative division) is its index. Nereus Mendenhall is mentioned, for example, at many points, but only one reference shows up in the index.

As one Quaker historian who is cultivating a plot that Tom Hamm has plowed, I am immensely grateful to him for his fascinating and lucid exploration of the larger context for one of the most fascinating periods in North Carolina Quaker history.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

David E. W. Holden. *Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends*. Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1988. Paperbound, \$14.95.

A Canadian sociologist and Friend, David Holden approaches the little-discussed subject of Quaker division from a sociological perspective. Reviewing schisms among early Friends, American and British Friends of the early nineteenth century, and American and Canadian Friends after the U. S. Civil War, he constructs a paradigm that describes the process of division regardless of theological or ecclesiastical issues. "The creation of a large division first requires the creation, definition and persecution of heresy," says Holden. A division can occur when (1) "several socially important issues coalesce with the heresy" (the more issues, the bigger the dividing group); (2) two groups take opposite sides on the cluster of issues; (3) "a period of time long enough to allow links between opposing groups to become less important than the links within the groups" elapses; (4) a new, divisive issue is introduced; and (5) there is "a concerted effort to justify and obtain support from Friends who were not present during the time of the break." This paradigm is fascinating, and seems to fit non-Quaker as well as Quaker divisions. It could even be useful as a basis for intervention to head off a developing division.

In fact, Holden's paradigm shows clearly one of the major reasons why the studied Quaker ignorance of Quakerly conflict has been so damaging to the Society of Friends. Since history never repeats exactly, it may not be true that those who are ignorant of history are doomed to repeat it. But, as David Holden has shown, there may be a *sociology* of history that is repetitive, and a knowledge of which may enable people to create strategies that avoid patterns of conflict. With the emerging emphasis on conflict management and resolution typified by such popular studies as *Getting to Yes*, the Holden paradigm could be useful indeed.

As to the substance of the book, there is a chapter on the North Carolina Conservative division of 1902-4, based largely on research that appeared in the spring 1984 issue of *The Southern Friend*. David Holden rightly points out that this division occurred considerably later than similar divisions elsewhere, and a generation after the revivals that one would have expected to produce it. His explanation is that the persecutions of the Civil War united North Carolina Friends, and that revivalism, coming as part of the reconstruction work of the Baltimore Association, could not be rejected graciously. So it simply took longer for the ties that

bind to be loosened enough to separate. This is interesting and insightful speculation, but it is still speculation. The greatest weakness of Holden's study is his interjection of just such speculation at critical points, expressed with such assurance that its speculative character can be forgotten. *The Friends Messenger*, the yearly meeting newspaper that began just at the time of the division, attributed the split in part to socioeconomic differences (rich eastern Friends objecting to payment of poor western ministers) and to outside agitation (from Philadelphia). Nineteenth-century historian Stephen B. Weeks speculated that the division had begun in eastern North Carolina because Joseph John Gurney spent less time there a half-century before. While these explanations fail to be fully persuasive, they deserve more attention than Holden gives them.

In general, though, this is a thoughtful and admirable study, bringing together disparate material on divisions spanning two continents and three centuries. If Holden's command of such variety is less than complete, it should not surprise us. He has broached a long-neglected topic in an encyclopedic and novel way, and has thereby established the Holden paradigm as the point of departure for much future discussion.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Alex Haley. *A Different Kind of Christmas*. New York: Doubleday, 1988. \$15.00.

In the spring 1982 issue of *The Southern Friend*, I wrote an article entitled, "Quaker History As Fiction," reviewing some of the work of James A. Michener and Jan De Hartog. This Christmas we were presented a copy of Alex Haley's latest book, *A Different Kind of Christmas*, which deserves mention here as another fictional treatment of Quaker history. In this case, Quaker history is subordinate to the history of slavery and the Underground Railroad. The story is the account of a young scion of an Ashe County, North Carolina, planter who, while away at school in Princeton in 1855, is befriended by a Quaker family. The family confronts him with the reality of slavery's brutality, and after much soul-searching, he throws his lot in with the Underground Railroad, and becomes part of a conspiracy in the escape of some of his parents' own slaves. The escape is successful, but the son and his slave

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confederate are forced to flee North themselves, never to return to the world they left behind.

Haley, in his portrayal, has tried to repay a debt of gratitude to the Friends who supported the Underground Railroad. It therefore seems almost ungracious to criticize his effort. But this little book is a badly flawed effort. At times it seems almost like one of those pictures for children, "How Many Things Can You Find Wrong in This Picture?" For example, in 1855, three Quaker boys would not have been attending Princeton. The Quaker plain speech is mistakenly rendered, and is not even used by the father. The college library would not have had a card catalog (with subject headings!), and there would have been no books on the Underground Railroad (unless they were polemical works). Ashe County, in the mountains, is a peculiar setting for a very large plantation with many slaves. A southern boy would not have had two baseball bats in his room at home, because southern boys did not play baseball in 1855. Independence Hall in Philadelphia is not and never has been gray; it is red brick. An so on throughout the book.

Haley is most deft and convincing in his treatment of the dialects and relationships of the slaves. Were this their story, as *Roots* was, the peripheral inaccuracies would be less disturbing. But it is primarily the white boy Fletcher's story, and so it is troubling that so little effort was expended in checking out the details that enrich or impoverish it. And the story itself is unsatisfying. Ending as it does with the conspirators' flight, it seems less a complete tale than a prologue to a sequel (next Christmas?). Actually, "A *Roots* Christmas," telecast during the holiday season, was more successful than this book. Set somewhat earlier (the 1780s) in Carroll County, Virginia, and employing some of the characters from *Roots*, it is obviously based on *A Different Kind of Christmas*, without the anachronisms and inaccuracies. It does not, however, include Quakers. For once, at least, the television program has been better than the book.

As Haley, De Hartog, Michener, and others continue to demonstrate, the public finds out more about Quaker history from fiction than from non-fiction. It is doubtful that historians will ever reach mass audiences directly, and so it can only be hoped that novelists, before they sit down at their word processors and after they complete their drafts, will take the time to ask a Friendly historian for suggestions and corrections.

Damon D. Hickey
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The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

1988-89

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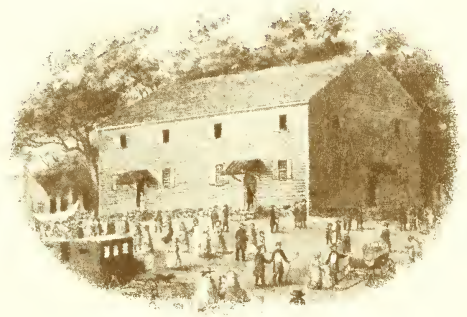
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"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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Preserving the Quaker Way: Guidance of Quaker Social Life by the Monthly Meetings in Colonial North Carolina

by

Don Dowless

For much of the colonial period, the Society of Friends was the strongest religious body in North Carolina. Liberal laws in regard to religious toleration proved to be the impetus whereby Quakers migrating to North Carolina were able to plant themselves as a unified denomination. One way in which Carolina Quakers forged this unity was through a strong monthly meeting system, which carefully regulated social customs and daily conduct. Internal solidarity was the result of such superintendence.

Methods of Guidance

Two ways in which Carolina Quakers regulated private and community life were the Queries and the Discipline. Queries were series of statements formulated by the yearly meeting and sent to subordinate meetings. By 1787, the yearly meeting posed these Queries to their constituents:

1. Are meetings for worship and discipline duly attended, the hour observed and do Friends avoid all unbecoming behavior therein?
2. Are love and unity preserved, and is talebearing and detraction discouraged?
3. Do Quakers observe plainness in every part of their conduct?
4. Do those who have children endeavor to educate them in the principles of our religion?
5. Are Friends careful to avoid the excessive use of "Spiritous Liquors?"
6. Do Quakers refrain from "Gaming and Lotteries?"
7. Are all free from importing, purchasing, disposing of, or holding mankind as slaves?

Don Dowless received his Ph.D. from Baylor University, Waco, Texas. He is pastor of the Corinth Baptist Church in Louisburg, NC. This article is based on his dissertation, "The Quakers of North Carolina, 1672-1789."

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8. Does everyone avoid "Launching into Business Beyond their ability to Manage?"
9. Are the necessities of Friends met?
10. Are children being educated?¹

Each Quaker was to ask himself or herself the Queries and seek an answer for them from his or her own religious life in order to ascertain whether or not they followed the accepted Quaker way. Read at the various meetings, the Queries reflected the then current standards of the Quakers in regard to their religious ethics.

As can be seen, the Queries embraced a variety of concerns. Taken seriously by the individual, they probed a Quaker's moral, spiritual, and physical lifestyle, thereby seeking to promote the religious health of the individual. Self-examination in all areas of life was the ultimate purpose of these questions. However, the Queries were never intended to be a rigid form of creedalism, and Friends revised the Queries when they believed a changing social and religious milieu warranted such emendations.²

A second means whereby the meeting system directed the social customs of Friends was the Discipline which included the Queries and Advices, handed down from the yearly meeting, which helped Quakers to maintain their particular life-style. The Queries and the Advices were similar in scope and purpose. Monthly meetings used the Advices (1) to promote a particular mode of living and (2) to resolve problems within the constituency. Over a period of time, Friends compiled the Advices and Queries into a Book of Discipline, which they employed as a regulatory guide for group life and work.³

North Carolina Friends also formulated a Book of Discipline. In 1755, they issued *The Book of Discipline of the People Called Quakers for North Carolina*. The objective for compiling and distributing this guidebook was to promote unity within the Society:

Dear Friend, this meeting [yearly] being Religiously Concerned to promote the good and wholesome Discipline Established in the wisdom of truth amongst friends, and in order that we may appear as one Family wherever we are gathered into a Distinct or Religious Society as well for the Instruction or Direction of each particular Member in regard To the Rules Laid Down by our worthy friends in pennsylvania, as a plan of Discipline Necessary to be In practice in each Respective Meeting.⁴

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The North Carolina Book of Discipline was a derivation from a similar book used by Quakers in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania. Cultural differences due to geography were considered in producing the manual for North Carolina Friends.⁵

Some of the general principles promulgated by North Carolina Friends in their Discipline should be mentioned. First, the yearly meeting was the only body authorized to establish a quarterly meeting, while only a quarterly meeting could establish a monthly gathering. Second, marriages had to be approved by the monthly meetings to which the brides and grooms belonged. This procedure helped to insure that Friends married in unity with the Society. Third, Quakers were to raise their children in a Christian manner and not permit them to "use the Corrupt and unscriptural language of (you) to a Single person or Call the week Days or months by the names given them by the heathen in honor of their idols."⁶ Fourth, gossip through "tattling, talebearing, Reproaching, Backbiting or Speaking evil" was forbidden.⁷ Fifth, slavery was permissible, but no Quaker could import or sell slaves as a form of livelihood. Sixth, Quakers could not sue one another unless given permission by their monthly meeting. Seventh, the Discipline exhorted Friends not to "sell, barter, or Exchange Directly or indirectly to the Indians rume brandy or other Strong Liqueurs."⁸

The earliest means by which Friends "dealt with" errant members was through a committee, usually consisting of two people who visited the person and urged him or her to repent. If the person did so, and read a letter before their meeting condemning the wrongful action, all was forgiven. If he or she refused to repent, the committee continued to counsel with them for as much as a year, trying to persuade them to recant their misdeeds. After "extended labor," the meeting disowned the person if he would not acknowledge his error and repent.⁹

A second way in which Quakers enforced the Discipline was by the overseers, who were officers of the monthly meeting. Appearing in America about 1704, these spiritual guardians could bring a complaint against a Friend who erred according to the accepted Quaker way of life. Overseers were also responsible for bringing attention to the physical needs of Quakers within their meeting.¹⁰ Thus, the monthly meeting was thoroughly equipped to "deal with" offending members. Overseers brought complaints, and the committees investigated those grievances by visiting with those alleged to have strayed, informing them of their error, and seeking to bring them to repentance.¹¹

Prominent Issues

The meeting system exerted a considerable influence upon Carolina Quakers' social life. With the Queries and the Discipline as guides, the meetings in Carolina were able to set certain moral and spiritual standards for their constituencies. Concerns such as marriage, sexual mores, private quarrels, plainness, education, and the care of orphans came under the aegis of the monthly meeting.¹²

Marriage

Marriage was the most regulated part of Quaker social life. Minutes of the various meetings indicate that more North Carolina Friends were disowned for "marrying out of the unity of Friends" or marrying "contrary to the discipline" than for any other breach of the Discipline.¹³

The procedure by which Carolina Quakers sought to be married is interesting. When a couple decided to become husband and wife, they first had to appear together before the constituency of both the men's meeting and women's meeting to which they belonged and declare their marital intentions. This done, the men's meeting appointed a committee to investigate the man's past to make sure he was clear of all other "engagements." Women Friends utilized the same procedure for the prospective bride.¹⁴

One month after their first appearance, the couple came before the meetings a second time and declared again their intentions. If the union was acceptable to the meetings, the couple was "left at liberty" to marry.¹⁵ However, to be left at liberty did not mean that the bride and groom were no longer under the guidance of their meetings. Rather, it signified that they were free to proceed with the wedding. As a means of continued guidance, the monthly meeting appointed a committee to attend the wedding to ensure that "good order" was kept.¹⁶ No minister was present to solemnize the act because Quakers believed God alone could bless the union. Furthermore, they believed that there was no scriptural basis for having a minister participate.¹⁷

Normally, the wedding was held at the meetinghouse, in the context of a special meeting for worship where the couple exchanged simple vows. Core Sound Men's Minutes contain part of such an exchange.

The said John Small Taking the said Elizabeth Bruce by the Hand and openly declared as Followeth. Friends, I Desire you to be my witnesses that I Take This my Friend Elizabeth Bruce to be my wife, Promising through the Lord's assistance to Be to Her a loveing and Faithfull

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Husband untill it shall please God By Death to Sepparate us.¹⁸

In like fashion, the woman repeated her vows, which in form were identical to the man's. When the exchange of words was complete, the couple became husband and wife. At the close of the meeting for worship, all witnesses, both men and women, signed a marriage certificate prepared by the clerk of the monthly meeting. Their names were also recorded in the minute book.¹⁹

To appear before one's monthly meeting with a desire to marry did not guarantee that the wedding would take place. In Ninth Month 1712, two members of Symons Creek meeting came and declared their marriage intentions. The meeting appointed two male Friends to ascertain that the prospective groom was clear of all other engagements. When the couple did not appear one month later to declare again their intentions, the meeting designated another member as its representative to enquire into the matter. In Twelfth Month, the couple appeared and requested that they be relieved from proceeding further with their marriage plans. While the meeting agreed to this request, it issued a caveat to them — "Friends Desired them to be Careful not to do the Like any more."²⁰

Limitations on whom one could marry also existed. Quakers were not permitted to wed non-Quakers, or any person who had been disowned. Neither could they marry any relative who was a first cousin or closer kin. If a person had not been informed of this regulation and married his or her first cousin, the offender had to attend the meeting to which he or she belonged and offer a written statement condemning such action. A Friend who knowingly violated the rule regulating kinship marriage was "Testified against without further delay."²¹

The meetings also controlled remarriages within the Society of Friends. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, widows and widowers had to wait at least one year after the deaths of their spouses before they could remarry.²² Choosing to abrogate this requirement meant that Friends would "deal with" them. For example, in 1708, a member of Symons Creek Meeting came under the scrutiny of his meeting when he proposed to a widow too soon after her husband's death and his wife's death. To continue in unity, he had to write a paper of denial which declared that his action was "Contrary to the good and wholesome order settled amongst friends."²³ He wrote such a document, which was accepted, allowing him to remain a member in good standing.²⁴

That remarriage was problematic for Friends can be seen from the minutes of the yearly meeting. In 1752, the minimum time for making

proposals to remarry was eight months. Eight years later, the time was lengthened to one year. In 1773, eight months was the approved limit, and by 1776, a nine-month period was acceptable.²⁵

The reason for this apparent lack of policy in regard to remarriage can probably be traced to George Fox. In the seventeenth century, Fox argued against hasty second marriages and believed that women should wait at least four months after the death of their husbands before remarrying. This action allowed the woman to know if she had become pregnant by her first husband. However, Fox also praised the biblical patriarch Abraham for waiting three years after Sarah's death to remarry. Consequently, there was no set policy for many years.²⁶

Disownments relating to marriage were frequent among Quakers.²⁷ To wed someone outside the Quaker community meant not only to lose one's distinctiveness, but also to erode Quaker unity. Friends wanted to ensure that their way of life, based upon what they believed were biblical precepts, continued.²⁸

In summary, the marriage procedure for a prospective couple was complex. Both the man and the woman had to appear before the men's and women's meetings to which they belonged and announce their marital intentions. Next, the respective meetings appointed committees which inspected the lives of the couple, attempting to ascertain whether or not they had any previous engagements. If the investigation revealed no problems, the meeting gave its assent for the wedding to take place. Moreover, the meeting appointed two of its members to attend the wedding and make certain that it was carried out properly.

Sexual Mores

Friends believed that sexual intercourse outside the bonds of marriage was wrong.²⁹ Therefore, the meetings took notice if any of its members violated this regulation. However, unless someone confessed to having premarital sex, such an occurrence was known usually only if the woman became pregnant. Between 1779 and 1784, Cane Creek Women's Meeting disowned four women for this offense but only after "labour was extended" to bring them to repentance.³⁰ The procedure for dealing with a social deviation of this kind was the same as for all other errors. A committee visited offenders to discuss the nature of their transgression. They also urged them to repent and to produce the standard paper of condemnation at the next monthly meeting. Regardless of the seriousness of their offense from a Quaker perspective, offenders continued in fellowship if their renunciations were accepted.

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In 1786, a female Friend produced such a paper in which she acknowledged her misconduct:

To the Monthly Meeting of Women Friends for Core Sound in the tenth month 1786. Dear Friends, Finding thru divine goodness a weighty sence of my former outgoings wherein I gave way to the liberty of the flesh and gratified the lusts thereof So as to commit folly and had a Child before I was Married for which I have long Stood under the Denial of Friends and now with the Sence of my guilt I find, a desire raised in my heart to make intercession for forgiveness and that Friends in Sincerity of Heart for which purpose request to be reinstated a member amongst you, that by your assistance I may more closely attend to my duty in answering the intent of my being.³¹

If a person refused to write and read such a condemnation, disownment resulted when the meeting issued a paper of denial against the individual.

Friends also dealt severely with premarital intercourse even if the person in question had already married his or her partner when the offense was discovered. In 1745, for example, the overseers of Perquimans Meeting brought a complaint against a man for “defiling his wife” prior to marriage.³² The meeting appointed two men to investigate the matter by visiting him. Although he apparently acknowledged his error, he refused to repent and Friends issued a “testimony” against him, indicating that they had disowned him.³³ In New Garden Meeting, a man allowed a widow to act as a live-in housekeeper, although his meeting believed that by doing this he brought a “Scandal upon the truth.”³⁴ New Garden Meeting appointed two men to speak with him and to encourage him to stop this practice. Although the man and the woman later married, the meeting disowned him.³⁵

Women’s meetings were also cautious with their members concerning premarital sex. Like their male counterparts, the women disciplined members who erred morally. One woman Friend kept “unseasonable Company” with her husband prior to marriage, but when informed of her error, she repented and produced a written statement condemning her actions. According to the minutes, her offering to the meeting was “Received for Satisfaction” and she remained a member in good standing.³⁶ In 1749, another member of the same meeting was disowned for

“lewdness with a Negro man.³⁷ When New Garden Meeting threatened to disown her, a female Friend offered a paper of condemnation for having a “spurious child.”³⁸

Not only was sexual intercourse prior to marriage forbidden, but all appearances of such involvement were to be avoided. In the Core Sound Men’s Meeting of 1741, one man charged another with “disorderly Conversing in bed” with a woman.³⁹ While the two individuals in question evidently refrained from sexual intercourse, the appearance was such that the man was compelled to issue a paper condemning his actions.

Whereas ... have laid upon a bed by a woman I intend to have for my wife with my clothes on and her Clothes on which is Contrary to my profession and the good order of truth which I am sorry for and sincerely desire the Lord in his mercy may strengthen me and keep me from all such disorderly steps.⁴⁰

Private Quarrels

The monthly meetings also handled private quarrels when asked to do so, or when a complaint came before them from the overseers. These disagreements concerned such disputes as indebtedness, assault, destruction of personal property, family squabbles, abusive language, slander and gossip, and failure to pay one’s debts, among others.⁴¹

Within the North Carolina Quaker community, reconciliation between persons having personal disputes did not necessarily mean that the monthly meeting was satisfied. The Rich Square minutes of 1762 record that a man “abused his neighbours beast in a barbarous manner and Reproachfully Denied it.”⁴² He later confessed to the act and paid his neighbor some form of restitution for the loss of the animal. Nonetheless, to remain a member in good standing, he had to give “satisfaction” to the monthly meeting via a letter of condemnation. In his written letter of confession he apologized because he “grossly Erred from the Rules of this Communion” and because he broke the “Principle of Truth.”⁴³

Plainness

Another distinctive Quaker social custom was plainness in all areas of life. To be plain meant to be modest in speech, in life, and in dress.⁴⁴ A typical Carolina Quaker stance toward plainness, or moderation, can be found in the 1752 yearly meeting’s advice, which recommended that Friends steer clear of the “superfluity of Meals, Drinks, and Apparel...Coats and other Garments made after the new and Superflu-

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ous fashion of the times.”⁴⁵ Copies of this advice filtered through the meeting system down to the monthly meetings.

To what extent Quakers regarded plainness as the standard for daily life can be seen in a discussion concerning wigs. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the yearly meeting advised that a male Friend could wear a wig only if he applied first to his monthly meeting, citing his reason for wanting a wig.⁴⁶ A member of Perquimans Meeting followed this procedure in 1759 when he petitioned the meeting for permission to wear a wig. The meeting agreed to his request on one condition — “friends agree to, provided he gets a plain one.”⁴⁷

While the example of the wig may connote a sense of extremism on the part of Friends, the rationale for this action stemmed from the idea that Quaker unity was of paramount importance. If they were to continue as Friends, all Quakers had to follow closely the prescribed way of life. Quakers could not brook deviation from their standards and expect to continue as a unified communion of believers.⁴⁸

Moderation also applied to the amount of alcoholic beverage one consumed. Although Friends did not prohibit the use of alcohol, they frowned upon drunkenness or “drinking to excess.”⁴⁹ If someone was discovered inebriated, this required a public condemnation of his action before the monthly meeting. One Quaker who drank “more Liquor than my body could bear,” stated to his monthly meeting that “I freely take to myself and do freely and heartily Judg and Condemn that action and do hope for the time to come to be more Careful.”⁵⁰

Quakers did not discriminate in regard to gender where discipline in regard to alcohol was concerned. Women Friends had to live by the same admonitions and advice as the men. On one occasion, Cane Creek Women’s Meeting disowned two women for excessive drinking.⁵¹

Quaker views concerning drunkenness did not differ significantly from those prevailing in eighteenth-century North Carolina society. A law of 1715 made public drunkenness a crime, the penalty for which was a variable fine. If a person became inebriated on Sunday, the offender could be forced to pay ten shillings. Becoming drunk on any other day resulted in a five-shilling fine.⁵²

Various other offenses were considered as violations of the Quaker way. Card playing, dancing, making bets, and similar offenses brought an individual Quaker under the scrutiny of the entire monthly meeting.⁵³

Quakers were patient, however, in their attempts to urge members

to confess their faults. For example, it was only after "repeated labour extended" that one man was disowned for "Dancing and Singing and suffering his horse to run for a wager."⁵⁴

Education

George Fox was concerned that young Quakers receive both secular and religious education. He exhorted Friends to instruct their offspring as well, teaching them "soberness, and holiness, and righteousness," and to "train up your children in the fear of the Lord."⁵⁵ The basis of Quaker education for children was primarily religious. Inculcation of Quaker religious ideas and social customs was a necessary exercise to help preserve Quakerism's peculiar way of life, which was seen as essential if Friends were to achieve spiritual perfection in this world and the next. Reading, writing, and manual arts were essential parts of education, but were secondary in nature. To foster communion with God and to continue the social order engendered by Quakers were the primary goals of education.⁵⁶

As early as 1716, North Carolina Quakers expressed concern for the educational well-being of their children when the Eastern Quarterly Meeting noted that "friends are advised to be diligent and careful in scolling their children."⁵⁷ While there is no indication of established Quaker schools at this early date, the above statement seems to indicate that some measures for the education of children had been taken.

In 1743, the yearly meeting discussed education for children. They decided to send a delegation to Boston to have George Fox's "Primmers" reprinted. Upon receipt of the books, the yearly meeting appointed another committee to "Collect out of those primmers Such apart of them as Shall be Suitable for young persons that are just entering upon learning."⁵⁸ The yearly assembly also suggested that the monthly meetings take offerings to help defray the cost of this purchase.

Fox's primers contained various advice on (1) proper spelling, writing, and reading; (2) moral and religious instruction; (3) mathematics, including multiplication tables and geometry; (4) weights and measure, including those mentioned in the Bible; (5) ways to figure daily expenses for a year; and (6) "wise sayings" and truisms.⁵⁹

Although the yearly meeting recognized the need for education, it attempted to screen carefully the materials Friends read and studied. A minute of the 1757 meeting noted the receipt of a box of books and epistles from London Quakers and that they were to be "Distributed amongst friends as this Meeting Shall Discrecionally think proper."⁶⁰

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The meeting appointed Joseph White and Joseph Murdaugh to examine the materials and to see "how they may be best distributed."⁶¹

In addition to screening received materials, the yearly meeting also decided what materials Friends could generate. By mid-century, the yearly meeting had decided that Friends could not write, print, or publish any materials which tended to "raise Contention or Breach of unity amongst Friends."⁶² Furthermore, the yearly meeting would have to approve all materials written for publication or distribution. A special committee was appointed to peruse all of the books, letters, and epistles.⁶³

Why did the yearly meeting attempt to implement such stringent rules on publications? Was it an attempt to strengthen adherence to the Discipline, or did other reasons motivate the yearly meeting? Lloyd suggests that the need for publication controls among Quakers arose from English antecedents. As early as 1656, Fox urged Friends to be careful of what they wrote because of its possible influence on another person. Ten years later, London Yearly Meeting ordered that "faithful and sound Friends' might inspect all manuscripts before they went to press."⁶⁴ Faced with increasing persecution, English Friends were extremely concerned about their public testimony. They also realized that Quaker books would be read widely by neophyte Friends and they took steps to ensure that the advice entering a fledgling Quaker's mind was doctrinally sound, at least from their perspective.⁶⁵

An example of the enforcement of this regulation concerned the works of Thomas Nicholson, who in 1774 brought two books before the Standing Committee. Entitled *The Light Upon the Candlestick* and *Liberty and Property*, these two works received careful scrutiny by a committee of three men who, after deliberation, endorsed both of them for distribution. While the contents of the former book are not mentioned, the latter work expressed the author's desire to alter the law in regard to freeing blacks.⁶⁶

As the eighteenth century progressed, the meetings became increasingly concerned with what materials Quakers were reading. By 1769, the yearly meeting had encouraged all of the monthly meetings to elect a "Treasurer of Friends Books" whose duty it was to keep an account of all of the books received and lent out by the monthly meeting.⁶⁷ Rich Square and Perquimans Meetings' minutes mention fulfilling this obligation.⁶⁸ The yearly meeting also emphasized the continuing importance of educating children. As late as 1787, one of the Queries presented to Carolina Friends asked: "Are poor friends' necessities relieved, and Care taken for the Education of their children?"⁶⁹ To educate children meant

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to help prepare for a continuance of the accepted Quaker principles and practices in North Carolina.

Care of Orphans

Quakers were also interested in orphan children within the fellowship. The meetings wanted to make sure that those without parents received proper care, both physically and spiritually. When the Queries were issued, they normally contained sections about the care of orphans. One query, produced in 1773, asked: "Are not the Rights of Children by former Marriages Neglected?"⁷⁰

Monthly meetings cared for orphans in other ways besides through the Queries. If a widow wanted to remarry, she, like any other prospective bride, had to come before her meeting and state her marital intentions. However, before the meeting gave its consent, it investigated her affairs to ensure the existence of provisions for her children by her first husband. Only when this was done could a subsequent marriage proceed.⁷¹

The monthly meetings acted also to protect the property of orphans.⁷² Carolina Quakers also cared for orphans by teaching them trades.⁷³

The social customs embraced by Carolina Quakers helped them to remain and grow as a community, not as a group of individuals. Any activity which threatened this unity was discouraged. To deviate from the accepted lifestyle meant to live out of unity with other Friends.

But what about other American Quakers? Were their meetings also careful to attempt to regulate social customs? Jack Marietta indicates that Friends in the other American colonies also attempted to define the limits of acceptable Quaker social behavior and maintained powerful meeting systems to discipline errant members. For example, when a prospective Pennsylvania Quaker bride and groom wanted to marry, they followed the same procedure as Quakers in North Carolina.⁷⁴ English Friends also followed the same social guidelines as American Quakers. One English meeting urged Friends in 1691 against "excessively drinking, and tippling and haunting ale-houses."⁷⁵ Anyone who violated such an admonition came under the scrutiny of the meeting, just as American Quakers who breached accepted behavior patterns.

Summary

Throughout the colonial period, North Carolina Friends directed their concerns inward to the continuing development of the Quaker life.

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As time passed, the meeting system regulated more carefully social life and customs in the pursuit of continued unity. Some of the more prominent social issues were marriage, personal disputes, plainness, education, and care of orphans. If any Friend refused to follow the accepted way, he or she faced disciplinary action. Continued refusal to acknowledge and to repent of a perceived error resulted in expulsion from the Society of Friends. Such a regulatory system helped to keep the Society of Friends in North Carolina a homogeneous community. All Carolina Quakers knew well what was expected of them.

¹ This is a paraphrase of the Queries found in Rich Square Men's Meeting Minutes for January, 1787. Dates are provided because pagination is lacking.

² The above mentioned Queries were themselves revisions, but a modification of a query was normally minor.

³ Howard Brinton, *Friends for Three Hundred Years* (New York: Harper and Row, 1952), 103-4.

⁴ Book of Discipline, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1755, 1-2, Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C. This Book of Discipline was a revision of an edition of 1704 which has not survived.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2. The Book of Discipline does not say what these differences were, but states that the book was similar to the one Pennsylvania Quakers had and needed to be altered "Such as Naturally arise From the Different Circumstance of Each province."

⁶ *Ibid.*, 14-16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 17. Quakers considered such types of behavior as tending to "Raise up Strife and Discord or Cause Disention among Brethren and Neighbours."

⁸ *Ibid.*, 17-18. Quakers did not oppose alcohol, but stated that the reason for not giving or selling it to the Indians was that they did not want to "Contribute to the abuse and hurt of these poor people received by Drinking thereof: being generally incapable of using moderation therein, and to avoid giving them occasion of Discontent."

⁹ Brinton, 125. Thomas Wight, quoting Robert Barclay, maintains that this pattern of trying to bring one to repentance evolved from Christ's comments in Matthew 18:15-17. See Thomas Wight, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers in Ireland, for the Years 1653 to 1700* (Dublin: I. Jackson, 1751), 381-82.

¹⁰ Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker Social History, 1669-1738* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950), 128.

¹¹ See for example Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 1, 59. See also Rich Square Men's Minutes, March 1780. Some of the materials in Rich Square minutes are not paginated and dates have been provided instead of page numbers. See also Core Sound Men's Minutes, 10-12. For further examples of the work of overseers and committees see Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes,

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v. 1, 3, 37–38; Deep River Men's Minutes, 121. For their work in the women's meetings see Cane Creek Women's Minutes, 104, 109, 135; and Deep River Women's Minutes, 22–23, 38.

¹² Monthly meetings also received new members and allowed or denied members' travel to other meetings. In addition to Lloyd's work, other important books which discuss various aspects of Quaker social life are William Comfort, *Just Among Friends* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941); A. Ruth Fry, *Quaker Ways* (London: Cassell and Co., 1933); Auguste Jorns, *The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work*, trans. Thomas Brown (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931); Jack Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1984); and Richard Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism, 1655–1755* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969).

¹³ Ways of marrying out of the unity of Friends and contrary to the Discipline included wedding a non-Quaker, marrying a Quaker who was under disownment, or by taking a spouse "Contrary to the Advice of Friends." For a comprehensive list of the disownments in the colonial period see William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, v. 1 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Bros., 1936), which catalogs those instances where meetings disowned Friends for not marrying according to Quaker guidelines.

¹⁴ Jorns, 41; Comfort, 48–49. See also Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 1, 45. Other examples of this procedure may be found in Symons Creek Women's Minutes, 60; Rich Square Men's Minutes, 3; and New Garden Men's Minutes, v. 1, 7–8.

¹⁵ This phrase was the normal way in which a meeting gave its approval for the proposed union to proceed.

¹⁶ Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 1, 54.

¹⁷ Charles Woodman, *Quakers Find A Way* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1950), 37–38; and "George Fox's Sermon at Wheeler Street," in Hugh Barbour and Arthur Roberts, *Early Quaker Writings* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1973), 509.

¹⁸ Core Sound Men's Minutes, 10.

¹⁹ The marriage records of Rich Square Meeting (1–2) contain an example of such a certificate for Thomas Hollowell and Mary Peele.

²⁰ Symons Creek Men's Minutes, 47–49.

²¹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, 126.

²² Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 1, 6.

²³ Symons Creek Men's Minutes, 19–20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁵ N.C.Y.M. Minutes, 52, 77, 128, 149–50. It is not clear why Carolina Quakers could not reach a decision as to a proper time for remarriage. The minutes do record that some Friends objected to the policy promulgated prior to 1776.

²⁶ Lloyd, 54, 59.

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²⁷ See for example Deep River Women's Meeting, 52; Cane Creek Men's Meeting, 2. See also Rich Square Women's Minutes, 55-56.

²⁸ Vann, 181-83, 186-88.

²⁹ See George Fox's comments in *Early Quaker Writings*, 509-11.

³⁰ Cane Creek Women's Minutes, 115, 135, 138.

³¹ Core Sound Women's Minutes, 11-12.

³² Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, 37.

³³ *Ibid.*, 37-38. In the same meeting six years earlier, a man was disowned for "defiling the woman that is his wife some Considerable time before he was Married to her" (10-11). The way Friends discovered such offenses was by watching to see how many months elapsed before a couple had a baby. To have a child in less than nine months meant there was a probability that premarital sex had occurred.

³⁴ New Garden Men's Minutes, v. 1, 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 17. The man did not repent and did not marry the woman with the approval of the meeting. Therefore, under its guidelines, it had to disown him.

³⁶ Cane Creek Women's Minutes, 104, 109.

³⁷ Symons Creek Women's Minutes, 93.

³⁸ New Garden Men's Minutes, v. 1, 260.

³⁹ Core Sound Men's Minutes, 5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Symons Creek Men's Minutes, 33-40 contain various quarrels that occurred between Friends. Francis Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, v. 2 (Fayetteville, N.C.: E.J. Hale and Son, 1857), 321-22 has a summary list of some disputes between Carolina Quakers. See also Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 2, 93-94; Symons Creek Women's Meeting, 91; Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 2, 177, 204; Eastern Quarterly Men's Minutes, 84; Hawks, v. 2, 322; N.C.Y.M. Minutes, 6.

⁴² Rich Square Men's Minutes, June 1762.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July, 1762. The monthly meeting could also set the amount of compensation one received in such cases. When one man killed another's ox, he had to pay thirty-one pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. In Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 2, 200.

⁴⁴ D. Elton Trueblood, *The People Called Quakers* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 43-44; and Comfort, 61-63, 68-69.

⁴⁵ N.C.Y.M. Minutes, 52.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 3, 52.

⁴⁸ Marietta, 3-5.

⁴⁹ This was the usual term for one who became drunk, although Friends also referred to drunkenness as "taking too much drink." See Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 2, 93.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 1, 19. A member, of New Garden Meeting, drank "Strong Liquor to excess," but later repented and his confession was "Accepted for Satisfaction."

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See New Garden Men's Minutes, v. 1, 35. The same meeting disowned another Friend for the improper use of alcohol (109).

⁵¹ Cane Creek Women's Meeting, 25, 44.

⁵² Daniel Whitener, *Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1945*, The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, v. 27 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946), 6.

⁵³ Rich Square Men's Minutes, June 1768 and July 1768; Deep River Women's Minutes, 64; Cane Creek Women's Minutes, 132.

⁵⁴ Cane Creek Men's Minutes, 84. Other examples of violations of this kind and Quaker patterns for repentance can be found in Rich Square Men's Minutes, March 1787 and December 1787.

⁵⁵ George Fox, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters and Testimonies* (Philadelphia: Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831), 2:345.

⁵⁶ Walter Homan, *Children and Quakerism* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 46-47.

⁵⁷ Eastern Quarter Men's Minutes, 9.

⁵⁸ N.C.Y.M. 1743 Minutes, 33.

⁵⁹ A complete listing of material contained in Fox's "primmers" is found in Zora Klain, "Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1924), 52-54.

⁶⁰ N.C.Y.M. 1757 Minutes, 62.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., 57.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Lloyd, 150.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 151-54.

⁶⁶ Standing Committee Minutes, 24-26. In 1775, the yearly meeting reiterated the provision for regulating manuscripts, noting that all papers intended for publication had to be "judged" first. See N.C.Y.M. 1774 Minutes, 143.

⁶⁷ Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 2, 279.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 279; Rich Square Men's Minutes, December, 1769. The latter meeting exhorted its constituents to give the books "intended for Publick Service" to the treasurer of books.

⁶⁹ Rich Square Men's Minutes, January 1787.

⁷⁰ N.C.Y.M. 1773 Minutes, 128.

⁷¹ See Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, v. 3, 3-4.

⁷² Ibid., 114. None of the minutes indicate that a decision ever went against orphans.

⁷³ W. L. Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, v. 1 (Raleigh: P.M. Hale, 1886-1890), 577. See also Howard Beeth, "Outside Agitators in Southern History: the Society of Friends, 1656-1800," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Houston, 1984), 43.

⁷⁴ Marietta, 58.

⁷⁵ Lloyd, 69.

Historiographical Developments In Early North American Quaker Studies: Book Review Article

by

Howard Beeth

Introduction

Three recent state-of-the-art anthologies about religion in North American culture are emblematic of a current effort to marginalize Quakers and their Society. This tendency to reduce Friends is extreme, so much so that were it a degree or two more complete, Quakers would be "disappeared" altogether from the historical record. Even when the subject under examination is religious culture in which Quaker contributions have previously been recognized as significant, Friends are increasingly absent from scholarly discussion. *Religion in the South*, edited by Charles Reagan Wilson in 1985, includes only one reference to Quakers. In Samuel S. Hill's edited collection, *Varieties of Southern Religious Experience*, which appeared in 1988, Friends once again merit mention in only a solitary essay. *Masters & Slaves in the House of the Lord*, edited by John B. Boles in 1988, fails to include any recollection at all of the Society and its members. This virtual exclusion of Quakers from collections focusing narrowly on religion is mirrored in some anthologies which provide a more expanded, general coverage of North American society. For example, *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, co-edited by Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole, is arguably the best anthology on the subject currently available. However, it includes only fleeting references to Friends in a single essay.¹ Since it is the purpose of anthologies to gather together and present the most important scholarship on significant topics, the near

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absence of Quakers in many such collections is cause for concern and apprehension.

The disappearance of Quakers from early American history, already well advanced, is being encouraged and facilitated by a crop of young neo-consensus historians who are busily transforming Quakers from "outsiders" who differed significantly in belief and behavior from their contemporaries into much more conforming people who are now being portrayed essentially as "insiders" that happened to be a bit off center in a few conspicuous but not fundamental respects. As outsiders, Friends once occupied a secure place in early North American history. Recast as insiders, however, they are in the process of being submerged and blended invisibly into mainstream colonial society.

This neo-consensus attempt to reconceptualize Friends as insiders instead of outsiders and comfortably to assimilate them into mainstream society is one of the most interesting, important developments in Quaker studies. Yet it should not come as a complete surprise. A secularizing tendency in writing about Friends has been evident for some time, as we shall see, even if those who promoted it could scarcely imagine to what length it would develop. Furthermore, text always exists in context; rather than being politically or culturally innocent, scholarship is affiliated with the time and place of its production. Hence any given historical work is actually a dense ensemble of relationships including those between past and present as well as those between subjectivity and objectivity. "No one," Edward W. Said reminds us in *Orientalism*, his pathbreaking analysis of imperial constructions of reality, "has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of a society. These continue to bear on what he does professionally[.]"²

Scholarship, then, is an embodiment of the conflation of power, knowledge, time, place, and more. As an historical artifact itself, its character is always bi-anthropogenic — a compound mixture of a complex past with a complex present. The historiography of scholarship is thus not only intellectual genealogy but political and cultural genealogy as well. In this century, for example, historians have long recognized the close relationship between the development of political progressivism and the progressive school of historical interpretation prior to World War I just as they have noted the parallel between political conservatism

and the flowering of the conservative consensus school of historical interpretation following World War II. Since we are now once again many years into the throes of another profoundly conservative political period dating from the election of Richard Nixon in 1968, it should not come as a great shock that neo-consensus scholarship has made a resurgence. Rather, the appearance of conservative, neo-consensus scholarship should have been expected and its political stance anticipated.³ However, before discussing in greater detail the current conservative attempt to "mainstream" the Society of Friends into a freshly homogenized version of the American past, let us quickly survey the key characteristics and contributions of earlier generations of writers who portrayed Quakers and history in a much different fashion.

The Traditional View

The traditional view of the early history of Friends stressed their ideological commitment in times of great social conflict. This was, in fact, the view which ancient Quakers presented of themselves, and its veracity was confirmed by their principal adversaries. Most anti-Quaker writers, such as Increase and Cotton Mather, were officials or lay activists in rival religious organizations. Their denunciation of Friends was, as might be suspected, scathing. They disputed ideology with members of the Society point by point and concept by concept. When they had the power to do so, they sometimes persecuted Friends severely.⁴

Most of the earliest pro-Quaker literature issued from the pens of committed Friends, including George Fox, who were staunch defenders and advocates of the Society. Their major concern, according to a student of early Quakerism, was not balanced, impartial history. "Rather," Arthur J. Worrall has written, "they sought the development of usable tradition patterned on Pauline epistles...and on martyrologies[.]" The heated chronicles they wrote, according to Worrall, continued to be used for many years "in accounts that repeated earlier instances of persecution and added new ones."⁵ James Bowden's two-volume *History of the Society of Friends in America* carried this earliest version of the Society's own history into the mid-nineteenth century and beyond.⁶ Thus was born and nourished the image of the heroic Quaker — by turns either effusively verbose, aggressive, and argumentative, or quiet, patient, but intrepid — witnessing in a time of heated, acute ideological conflict, and often suffering in consequence.

Subsequent generations of scholars largely accepted this traditional

characterization of highly motivated, ideological Quakers operating in conflict-ridden societies. However, as standards of scholarship evolved, so did standards for historical writing about Friends, most of which continued to be written by committed members of the Society. For example, while many late nineteenth and early twentieth-century writers such as Howard Brinton (1884–1973), William C. Braithwaite (1862–1922), Amelia M. Gummere (1859–1937), Rufus M. Jones (1863–1948), Elbert Russell (1871–1951), and Isaac Sharpless (1848–1920) had at least undergraduate degrees, most later writers including Edwin Bronner (b.1920) and Frederick Tolles (b.1915) were professional historians with graduate school training. These latter writers firmly established in Quaker writing such modern fixtures as the chapter format, source citations, and stricter rules of evidence. They collectively made a more successful attempt to place Friends within the context of a larger society. While obviously sympathetic to Quakerism, the tone of their work was more dispassionate and less hagiographic. In a measured way, they advanced the secularization of Quaker historiography. Nevertheless, they continued to present ideology as the animating, controlling force of early Quakers and as a group stressed the centrality of conflict in Quaker history during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.⁷

The wider academic establishment adopted the portrait of the embattled Friend in troubled times. Scholars who investigated events in which members of the Society played a part largely incorporated into their own work the heroic Quaker-figure promoted by specialists in Quaker studies. Thus in 1966 Kai T. Erikson, a sociologist, chose Puritan New England to examine deviant behavior. While Erikson focused on Puritans, Friends played a central role in his analysis. They were none other than the deviants of his study — courageous, ideologically driven outsiders battering against the legal foundation of Puritan theocracy in Massachusetts. A year later, in 1967, Arthur Zilversmit's fine book, *The First Emancipation: the Abolition of Slavery in the North*, again featured the by now familiar idealistic, driven Quaker as a key player in American reform politics into the nineteenth century. And in the following year, 1968, Peter Brock's massive survey of pacificism in the United States carried the archetype Quaker crusader into the twentieth century.⁸

In historical writing, few historical images have rivaled that of the Quaker. Few had been as carefully planted and as continuously cultivated and reinforced. Few had enjoyed such a stable reputation for so

long a time. And few such images could claim a greater degree of support and a higher level of acceptance among Quaker specialists as well as their colleagues in the wider scholarly community. The Quaker had become the quintessential “outside agitator.” Nevertheless, even while the reputation of the Quaker as a champion of human rights was at its apogee in the 1960s, the secularization of Quaker historiography took another step in the writings of a rising group of young historians which included J. William Frost, Jack D. Marietta, Gary B. Nash, and Arthur J. Worrall. All of them took doctorates in history during the 1960s. Their dissertations were secular in tone and increasingly so in substance.⁹ Nash, in particular, sharply devalued Quaker ideology as an explicator of Friends’ behavior in his revised dissertation, *Quakers and Politics*, which appeared in 1968. Collectively, this scholarship — certainly among the best written about Friends — contributed to the secularist trend which has now, in another evolutionary development, spawned in the 1980s a budding neo-conservative school of colonial scholars who have followed the secularist impulse to the point of defusing the conflicts of American colonial society, negating or debasing Quaker ideology, and mainstreaming Friends into a homogenized majority white population.

Individually, few of these younger neo-consensus scholars are members of the Society of Friends or affiliated with Quaker institutions. Neither, as a whole, are they specialists in Quaker studies. Rather, their research contact with the Society resulted from their interest in matters in which Friends have been involved instead of a direct, primary concern with Quakers themselves. In their writing these neo-conservative historians display the beginning of virtuosity in their use of quantification and other social science methodologies either unavailable to their predecessors or little used by most of them. Collectively they prefer a cooler, more detached prose used analytically rather than as descriptive narrative; hence they tend to produce short, directly-to-the-point books and essays instead of lengthier presentations. Building on the scholarship which came to the fore during the preceding two decades, these secularizing scholars, who have yet to finish their work, nevertheless already have made a strong, strong case for a major reinterpretation of Quaker character, the role of Friends in colonial society, and the overall nature of that society itself. They have done so by accelerating the transformation of Friends from outsiders to insiders — that is, from people whose beliefs marked them as fundamentally different into people who happened to be peculiar in a few obvious but not really

important respects. Cumulatively, the oeuvre of these neo-conservative secularists bids fair to displace and replace the traditional, orthodox portrait of early colonial Quakers. Before examining the possible consequences of "mainstreaming" the Society of Friends and its members, it is appropriate first to examine the work of three of the ablest mainstreamers whose work surveys Quakers during the colonial period in New England, the Middle Colonies, and the South.

The Work of Jonathan M. Chu

In two articles as well as in a lean, taut monograph which appeared in 1985, Jonathan M. Chu — a historian at the Boston campus of the University of Massachusetts — has presented us with a de-ideologized Bay Colony composed of generally pragmatic, practical people who are certainly a far cry from the savagely intolerant Puritans of old.¹⁰ Towards Quakers, who necessarily play a central role in his analysis, Chu skillfully employs what might be called a divide-and-conquer strategy which effectively reduces Friends to clones of their bland, unideological Puritan neighbors.

The first critical division Chu makes is sharply to differentiate visiting Public Friends from resident Quakers. Only Public Friends bear any resemblance to Quaker heroes of earlier literature. However, they are not heroes to Chu. He briskly dismisses them while denigrating their importance. Specifically, Chu denies that these wandering proselytes were in any way responsible for the eventual reform and liberalization of Puritanism in Massachusetts Bay Colony. The movement from intolerance to tolerance in the Bay Colony, he insists, had nothing to do with "the early religious martyrs."¹¹ Their sacrifice meant nothing. Instead he credits resident Quaker moderates connected to their Puritan neighbors by commerce and marriage as being effective agents of change. The minimalization of radicals and the promotion of a tradition of conservative reform within a basically homogeneous white society in North America is a hallmark of conservative scholarship.

The second critical distinction upon which Chu insists is a divorce between Quaker beliefs and Quaker behavior. As part of his overall aim of de-ideologizing the Bay Colony and presenting it as a mild habitat of reasonable people, Chu assigns scant value to the beliefs of either Friends or the Puritan majority. Friends, he says, were "heterodox in belief and peaceful in demeanor," so their beliefs had little effect on their relations with others.¹² Puritans likewise were only too willing to

accommodate ideologically. According to Chu, they “recognized domestic tranquility as more important than orthodoxy, social practicalities more weighty than religious conformity.”¹³ Hence they consistently chose “to sacrifice religious conformity for other social ends.”¹⁴ Chu thus has peopled the Bay Colony with Puritans and Quakers of a new type — non-sectarian sectarians. As we shall see, this was a prolific breed not confined to Massachusetts.

In his introduction to Chu’s book, Henry W. Bowden explains that the relationship Chu posits between sober, reasonable Quakers and their equally sober, reasonable neighbors “helps us to understand the beginnings of religious freedom in America.” The acceptance of Quakers in the Bay Colony, he says, “laid the foundation of religious pluralism along the whole Atlantic seaboard.”¹⁵ This view of the history of Puritans and Quakers as a beginning of an American tradition of toleration may jar those more accustomed to understanding Puritan behavior as one of the taproots of white American ethnocentricity, nativism, slavery, militarism, and genocide.¹⁶

The Work of David W. Jordan

What Jonathan Chu does for Massachusetts Bay Colony and, by implication, also for New England, David W. Jordan does for Maryland and, by extension, for other Southern colonies. Like Chu, Jordan’s primary interest is not the Society of Friends and its members. Rather it is Maryland itself, particularly early, seventeenth-century Maryland about which he has published during this decade several articles and one book.¹⁷ These works combine to give readers a highly detailed portrait of Jordan’s Maryland which is largely without blacks or slavery, without Native Americans, without women, and without classes or class conflict. Instead, Jordan has described a mostly harmonious society of adult, white males indulging in their favorite pastime — politics. But, as was also the case in Chu’s presentation of politics in Massachusetts, politics in Maryland are politics without ideology. Only occasionally do spats disrupt the ordinarily untroubled world in Maryland, and then their cause or causes are obscure. This “new” history thus has many of the trappings and shares many of the perspectives of traditional consensus history.

Jordan’s Maryland, like Chu’s Massachusetts, is a place of toleration and appeal. During its early years, Jordan informs us, the colony was a place of “widesweeping toleration” where Catholics and Protestants of

all sorts and sects lived “peaceably together in a small area, working side by side as planters and agricultural laborers, intermarrying and interacting socially, and, even more significantly, serving together as voters, jurymen, and officeholders on all levels of government.”¹⁸

Quakers were an accepted, respected part of this bucolic society. Indeed, Jordan criticizes earlier descriptions of Friends as “strange isolates who withdrew or were excluded from active participation in politics[.]”¹⁹ This “traditional picture,” he believes, is “seriously distorted.”²⁰ Instead, Jordan argues, Quakers were “full and rightful participants in the life of the colony rather than disruptive intruders[.]”²¹ Economically he has found that Friends were “generally solid, prosperous planters and merchants who enjoyed favorable reputations[.]”²² Politically he maintains that Quakers became integrally involved in struggles to create viable political institutions; they worked assiduously to fashion a polity that could accommodate an increasingly heterogeneous society in a peaceful and reasonably tolerant manner. As freeholders and as occupants of numerous elected and appointed positions of civil trust, Friends contributed substantially to the early evolution of county and provincial government in Maryland.²³ Thus does Jordan, like Chu, transform Quakers from deeply ideological outsiders into hard working, de-ideologized insiders.²⁴ The current attempt to reconceptualize seventeenth-century Massachusetts and Maryland along neo-conservative, consensus lines has resulted in — and probably required — “mainstreaming” the Society of Friends and its members. There can be little room for dissidents in a homogenized society.

The Work of Jean R. Soderlund

Jean R. Soderlund, the last historian under consideration, carries secular mainstreaming straight to the historic capital of colonial Quakerdom, Pennsylvania. She also carries the neo-consensus impulse out of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century and beyond. This is not the only detail which distinguishes her from her neo-conservative colleagues, professors Chu and Jordan, for unlike them she has something of a direct interest in the Society of Friends. Until recently, when she joined the history department of the University of Maryland/Baltimore County, Soderlund worked for the larger part of a decade as an archivist at Swarthmore College where she curated the world-class Peace Collection which is housed there. Her scholarship to date has been focused almost entirely on Pennsylvania, and her most

important single work is centered directly on Quakers and their Society.²⁵

Other particulars worth noting also distinguish her work from that of Chu and Jordan. For instance, she uses social science techniques such as quantification to a much greater extent than either of her colleagues. Her principal work, *Quakers & Slavery*, a revised dissertation published in 1985, is less than two hundred pages in length but is packed with an impressive assortment of nearly fifty useful charts, graphs, tables, compilations, and maps. More importantly, unlike Chu and Jordan, Soderlund is willing, if only in passing, to admit that Quaker ideology actually had something to do with being a Quaker, and that Friends and their Society were in some measure unique in early North American society. Hence she can briefly acknowledge that “eighteenth-century Friends were indeed a ‘peculiar people’ because their drive to eradicate slavery among themselves was a success” and that “Quaker beliefs...provided the basis for antislavery thought.”²⁶ But these brief asides do not keep Soderlund from the main business of *Quakers & Slavery* which is in fact to deny Friends any substantial uniqueness and to impugn their accomplishments in anti-slavery reform and race relations.

Soderlund joins Chu and Jordan in attempting to mainstream Quakers by arguing that Friends basically were like other white people. She even uses the word “mainstream” in her emphatic rejection of the notion that Quaker ideology made Friends “an extraordinary group, cut off from mainstream colonial society[.]”²⁷ Rather, it is Soderlund’s contention that Quakers, and presumably everyone else, were “Economic People” — that is, people whose behavior and even ideas were largely determined by economic considerations. Thus Friends bought into slavery when it was profitable and abandoned it when it ceased to be. Their moral and humanitarian concerns shifted accordingly. For Soderlund, marketplace economics and pocketbook finances shaped Quaker ideology and largely determined Quaker behavior in Pennsylvania. This materialist analysis radically diminishes the historical force and value of ideas and beliefs as well as reducing quite considerably the stature and character of ancient Quakers, to say nothing of humanity in general. As went the marketplace, Soderlund argues, so went Friends — and so go we all.²⁸

A second way by which Soderlund diminishes Quakers and their ideology is to attack Friends in one area where traditionally they have been credited with major accomplishments — abolitionism and race

relations. But Soderlund reconfigures these accomplishments into an anti-monument. She reminds us, for instance, that many Friends were racist and anti-black even as they were against slavery. "The primary concern of those general reformers," she writes, "was not justice for enslaved blacks. Rather they believed that slavery — and perhaps the slaves themselves — polluted their religion and Delaware society as a whole."²⁹ She reminds us further that few blacks joined or were welcomed into the Society, and that Friends treated even those blacks whom they manumitted in a condescending, paternalistic manner.³⁰ She suggests that a major purpose which many Friends had in financially assisting such blacks was not so much to help them as "to insure that the ex-slave would give outsiders no reason to criticize Friends."³¹ The Quaker commitment to justice and to help others is thus reduced to a pathetic, disgusting display of collective vanity and shallowness. In fact, according to Soderlund, Friends contributed nothing positive to the American anti-slavery movement or to the growth of freedom on this continent. Their contributions, such as they were, were wholly negative — in her words, "gradualist, segregationist, and paternalistic" — and hence Soderlund comes close to suggesting that it would have been better for the development of liberty in North America if Quakers had done nothing at all, or had not existed. In the last sentence of her book about Quaker abolitionism, Soderlund points to the crippling, poisonous effects of the Quaker model and legacy on the freedom struggle. "Under their [Quaker] influence," she concludes, "the white abolitionist movement continued forward into American history the gradualist, segregationist, and paternalistic policies developed for almost a century within the Society of Friends."³²

The complimentary reviews which greeted the appearance of Soderlund's book have catalogued its many fine qualities, including its laudable attempt throughout to quantify and to be exact. But this methodology, useful though it is, can damage the very analysis it is intended to improve by inclining all of us toward addressing problems and using data which are susceptible to quantification — and to shy away from those which are not. Since beliefs and ideology are notoriously resistant to approximate measurement, let alone exact calibration, they are given short shrift by Soderlund in favor of more easily managed economic and administrative data. However, the Society of Friends was, among other things, a kind of hothouse which nourished an ideological culture with a strong humanistic flavor. The fact that this culture

remains difficult to quantify should not lead us to underestimate or to dismiss its qualitative importance.

As for the charge that ancient Friends and their Society were gradualist, segregationist, and paternalistic, most students of reform and revolution understand that social change typically occurs with frustrating slowness which sorely tests the patience and commitment of those who promote it. Would that it were otherwise. Moreover, even when change does occur, often its path is not steadily in one direction but is rather in a back-and-forth pattern wherein an advance of two steps may be followed by a retreat of one — or several. The countervailing movement in the United States from the explosive 1960s to the strong conservatism of the 1980s offers a recent example of this see-saw phenomenon. So do events in China, Poland, and the Soviet Union. Such irregularity is also frustrating to those who struggle for a better world, and is sometimes confusing to scholars trying hard to understand the struggle. Nevertheless, we cannot expect that colonial Friends and their Society miraculously should have risen completely and totally above and beyond the historical tides of their time and become instant, one hundred percent egalitarians without a trace of racism or a scintilla of sexism. Nor can we fairly condemn them for not having accomplished this miraculous feat. Instead, we should recognize that although Friends were gradualists, they were moving faster than anybody else — and in the right direction; that while they were racists, they were also leaders in the evolving struggle against racism; that if they were sexist, the Society of Friends was nonetheless in the forefront of redefining gender relations; and that if they showed themselves to be paternalistic and culture-bound, their intention was honestly to help and to improve the world in which they and others lived.³³ In sum, although we should never forget that ancient Friends were not perfect, we should likewise remember that for all their flaws and shortcomings, they numbered among the best of their time and place. The list of groups who did more is short indeed. Accordingly, with respect to assessing Quakers or others, traditional comparative analysis might prove a useful yardstick by which to measure the claims of single-subject quantification.

Conclusion

The classic neo-conservative approach to dealing with those who just can't be fitted into the consensus model — whether blacks, political radicals, women, lesbians and homosexuals, Native Americans, or the

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working class, to name prominent examples — is to omit, deny or minimize their existence, which is the tendency of Chu and Jordan, or to discredit them in some fashion a la Soderlund. Nevertheless, these neo-conservative mainstreamers are clearly the current playmakers of Quaker studies about early North America, and they have established a fast game. Their work is muscular and formidable in conception, in research, and in presentation. It has been very well received by their peers. The forcefulness of their historical argument derives in some measure from the strength of its political subtext. Theirs is work which sends messages at several levels, all of which deserve our attention. We may expect to hear more from them in the future since they are relatively young and comfortably placed professionally. If anything, in fact, we must assume as they mature as scholars and acquire an even firmer grasp of their sources and subjects that their work will become even better than it already is. But even as matters stand, their challenge is most certainly significant. The issues at stake are not exotic or obscure or minute but large and fundamental — who Friends were, what they were about, the nature of their relationship with others, and the character of colonial society itself.

Those who care about the future of Quaker studies will be interested in the continuing dialogue about the Quaker past for this reason among others: because groups which become “mainstreamed” tend to disappear into the mainstream; for many, the ultimate result of assimilation is extinction. This is a particular hazard for smallish groups. A group as quantitatively small as the Society of Friends will be in danger of vanishing altogether if it is much diminished qualitatively. Indeed, neo-conservative scholarship has already moved Quaker studies in early North America far in this direction. If neo-consensus scholars are successful in trivializing the achievements and accomplishments of Friends during the earliest period, then the way would be clear to continue the same process with subsequent generations of Friends. “Mainstreaming” Quakers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would naturally invite neo-conservative attempts to mainstream Friends in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well. The entire Quaker legacy could soon stand at risk.

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¹ Charles Reagan Wilson, ed., *Religion in the South* (Jackson, Miss., 1985), 158; Samuel S. Hill, ed., *Varieties of Southern Religious Experience* (Baton Rouge, 1988), 63–68; John B. Boles, ed., *Masters & Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740–1870* (Lexington, Ky., 1988); Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, 1984), 327–29.

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), 10. Said's exposé of the role and influence of cultural subjectivity in historical scholarship has produced its own discourse; see, for example, Bernard Lewis, "The Question of Orientalism," *New York Review of Books*, XXIX (24 June 1982)11, 49–56, and "Orientalism: An Exchange," *New York Review of Books*, XXIX (12 August 1982)13, 44–48. Many of the issues aired in the discourse about Orientalism have found their way into the current debate over curriculum reform in higher education, especially the argument about whether western civilization course requirements should be reformulated as world civilization courses. For more about this, see Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: Education and the Crisis of Reason* (New York, 1987) and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "The Opening of the American Mind," *New York Times Book Review*, 23 July 1989, 26–27.

³ Actually the historical profession in the United States is in a very interesting and possibly unique phase which features evident political polarity. While many younger historians have completed their entire collegiate careers since the beginning of the current conservative political reign in 1968 and been influenced accordingly, many somewhat older scholars who had their perspectives formed by the liberal/left politics of the 1960s have laid down a solid trail of work and are now a force in the profession. For a recent acknowledgment of the latter's influence, see, for example, Michael Kazin, "The New Historians Recapture the Flag," *New York Times Book Review*, 2 July 1989, 19, 21.

⁴ Increase Mather, *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Provinces* (1684); Cotton Mather, *Memorial Providences Relating to Witchcraft* (1689) and *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702).

⁵ Arthur J. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, N.H., 1980), 43–44.

⁶ James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, 2 vols. (London, 1850–54; reprint, 2–vols.—in—1, New York, 1972).

⁷ For the earlier group, see Howard Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years: The History and Beliefs of the Society of Friends Since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (New York, 1952); William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginning of Quakerism* (London, 1912); Rufus M. Jones, Isaac Sharpless, and Amelia M. Gummere, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (New York, 1911); Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943). Some members of the earlier group such as Brinton and Russell had graduate school training but not in history. One member, Stephen B. Weeks (1865–1918), did earn a doctorate in history; his major work, still valuable and broader than its title suggests, is *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, 1896).

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For the latter group, see Edwin Bronner, *William Penn's Holy Experiment: The Founding of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1963), and Frederick Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill, 1948) and *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York, 1960). Although he took his doctorate in religion rather than in history, Hugh Barbour (b.1921) belongs with this group; see his *The Quakers in Puritan England* (New Haven, 1964) and (with J. William Frost) *The Quakers* (New York, 1988). All of these men are members of the Society of Friends and have spent the majority of their careers at Quaker institutions.

⁸ Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, 1966); Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago, 1967); Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States from the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, 1968).

⁹ J. William Frost (b. 1940; doctorate, 1968), *The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait of the Society of Friends* (New York, 1973); Jack D. Marietta, (b. 1941; doctorate, 1968), *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia, 1984); Gary B. Nash (b. 1933; doctorate, 1964), *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726* (Princeton, 1968); and Arthur J. Worrall (b. 1933; doctorate, 1969), *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, N.H., 1980). The forerunner of this group was Sydney V. James (b. 1929; doctorate, 1958), *A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).

¹⁰ Jonathan M. Chu, "The Social and Political Contexts of Heterodoxy: Quakers in Seventeenth-Century Kittery," *New England Quarterly*, LIV (1981) 365-84; "The Social Context of Religious Heterodoxy: The Challenge of Seventeenth-Century Quakerism to Orthodoxy in Massachusetts," *Essex Institute Historical Collections CXVIII* (1982) 119-43; *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen: The Puritan Adjustment to Quakerism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Bay* (Westport, Conn., 1985).

¹¹ Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, 117.

¹² *Ibid.*, 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, x. This quotation is from the foreword to Chu's book by Henry W. Bowden who in the same passage emphasizes how important it is "to see how this study stresses the value of practical exigencies over principle."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁶ Targets of Chu's revisionism include Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*. However, for a recent essay which supports Erikson by underscoring the traditional ideological clash between Puritans and Quakers, see Carla Gardina Pestana, "The City Upon A Hill Under Siege: The Puritan Perception of the Quaker Threat to Massachusetts Bay, 1656-1661," *New England Quarterly*, 56 (1983) 323-53. In 1982 the Colonial Society of Massachusetts awarded this essay the Walter Muir Whitehill Prize in Colonial History. Pestana recently completed a dissertation, "Sectarianism in Colonial Massachusetts" (U.C.L.A., 1987) which

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likewise stresses the differences and tensions between Quakers and Puritans.

¹⁷ "God's Candle' Within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1982, reprinted in *The Southern Friend*, VIII(1986)27-58 (all following citations will source the latter appearance); "Elections and Voting in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 77(1982)3, 238-65; "The Miracle of This Age': Maryland's Experiment in Religious Toleration, 1649-1689," *The Historian*, XLVII (1985) 338-59; *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland 1632-1715*, (New York, 1987). Jordan earlier co-authored a book with Lois Green Carr, *Maryland's Revolution in Government, 1689-1692* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974). Jordan appears in his scholarship to be advancing steadily in time through the colonial period toward the War for Independence. He has indicated in the work cited above that the toleration of Friends characteristic of seventeenth-century Maryland did not last. We may anticipate that his future work will document this change.

¹⁸ Jordan, "The Miracle of This Age," 339.

¹⁹ Jordan, "God's Candle Within Government," 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

²² *Ibid.*, 31.

²³ *Ibid.*, 27-28. According to Jordan (28), even when they later ceased to hold office Quakers "still continued to exercise extraordinary political influence[.]"

²⁴ Jordan is attempting a substantive revision of the work of the leading scholar of southern Quakerism, Kenneth L. Carroll, whose work includes *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore, 1970); *Three Hundred Years and More of Third Haven Quakerism* (Easton, Md., 1984); "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV(1950)215-25; "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (1952) 297-313; "Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland," *Quaker History*, LII (1964) 68-80; "Quakerism on the Eastern Shore of Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXX (1966), 170-89, and much, much more.

²⁵ Jean R. Soderlund, "Black Women in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 107 (1983) 49-68; "Women's Authority in Pennsylvania and New Jersey Quaker Meetings, 1680-1760," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., XLIV (1987) 722-749; *Quakers & Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, 1985). Soderlund co-edited with Richard S. Dunn *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680-1684* (Philadelphia, 1983).

²⁶ Soderlund, *Quakers & Slavery*, 12, 173.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

²⁸ "Economic People" is my term, not Soderlund's. However, the primacy of economics over ideology infuses *Quakers & Slavery* throughout. In this particular, she borrows from a methodology most readily associated with leftist scholarship. Materialist analysis using the base/superstructure model has been deservedly influential in recent historical writing. It emphasizes the power of economics in shaping cultural expressions, including ideology and religion. However, some

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writers have begun to question the dominance of economics over all else in every situation, suggesting that this approach can be used dogmatically in an overly reductionistic manner. In particular, they argue that ideology has been unfairly diminished by being consigned exclusively to the superstructure sphere. While they are not in general suggesting an abandonment of the base/superstructure model, they do suggest a more flexible, less rigid dialectical approach to it. See, for example, Louis Althusser, *For Marx*, translated by Ben Brewster (London, 1969); Louis Althusser and Etienne Balibar, *Reading Capital*, translated by Ben Brewster (New York, 1971); Louis Althusser, *Politics and History: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel and Marx*, translated by Ben Brewster (London, 1972). For explications of Althusser's arguments concerning Marxism, see Jacques Ranciere, *La Leçon d'Althusser* (Paris, 1974) and Steven B. Smith, *Reading Althusser: An Essay in Structural Marxism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984). Matters discussed in the foregoing are continued in Helmut Fleischer, *Marxism and History*, translated by Eric Mosbacher (New York, 1973); David-Hillel Ruben, *Marxism and Materialism: A Study in Marxist Theory* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1977); Gregor McLennan, *Marxism and the Methodologies of History* (New York, 1981); Alfred Schmidt, *History and Structure: An Essay on Hegelian-Marxist and Structuralist Theories of History*, translated by Jeffrey Herf (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Jorge Larraín, *Marxism and Ideology* (London, 1983); Paul Q. Hirst, *Marxism and Historical Writing* (London, 1985); and Stephen Henry Rigby, *Marxism and History: A Critical Introduction* (Manchester, U.K., 1987).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 174.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 184–85.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 186.

³² *Ibid.*, 187. Some ultra-liberal and leftist critiques also, of course, stress what they identify as the limited, conservative nature of reform and change in North America. However, authors of such work usually clearly reveal their stance. In the absence of such information, any serious, sustained criticism of classic “do-gooders” like Quakers is liable to be understood by most readers, especially in these times, as being a conservative critique.

³³ See Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast*, 180–85, for a more balanced assessment of colonial Friends.

Friends Center at Guilford College Annual Report 1988-1989

by

Judith W. Harvey

Friends Center at Guilford College is a southeast regional resource center established to provide education and information about Quakerism. Initiated in 1982 the center continues to develop community and campus programs and to provide liaison contacts with national and international Friends, Friends schools and Quaker organizations.

Program in Quaker Ministry

Arrangements for a program in Quaker ministry were confirmed this year by Friends Center, Duke Divinity School and the religious studies department. Noncredit seminars over a three year period will include Old and New Testament, Pastoral Counseling, Christian Education, Homiletics, Non-Western Religion, Peace Testimony and Contemporary Theology.

Old Testament was offered in the fall of 1988 taught by Dr. Lloyd Bailey at Duke. Seven pastors and nine meeting members attended.

Introduction to Pastoral Care and Counseling was held in the spring of 1989 taught by Dr. Paul Mickey. Five pastors and five meeting members attended.

Quakerism, taught by Dr. Melvin Keiser, will be offered in the fall of 1989. It will be the third course in the curriculum sequence.

A key factor in the success of this program will be a consistent recruitment effort by North Carolina Yearly Meeting (NCYM). Members of this yearly meeting recording committee have been very helpful in recruiting this year.

Community Programs

Young Adult Retreats

Retreats are sponsored by Friends Center for young adults from North Carolina Yearly Meeting, North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), Piedmont Friends Fellowship and Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association. Fran and Bill Taber, Quaker studies teachers at Pendle Hill, led a retreat in May 1988 on the nature of prayer. Jan Wood, coordinator of campus ministry at Wilmington College, led a retreat on "Spirituality and Action, A Model for Wholeness" in May 1989. The young adult retreats have been marginally successful in bringing Friends together from different traditions, but the sessions consistently receive favorable evaluations.

Chatham Friends Meeting — Quakerism Series — Fall 1988

A four week series on Quaker traditions was planned for Chatham and Spring Meetings. Melvin Keiser and Damon Hickey spoke on seventeenth-century Quakerism and North Carolina Quaker history; Patty Levering and Doyle Craven spoke on ministry and Quaker testimonies.

Recording Committee Dinner — Spring 1989

A second annual dinner for the recording committee and candidates for recording was held on campus followed by a talk on ministry by Dr. Lloyd Bailey from Duke Divinity School. The talk was open to the NCYM Ministers Association.

Community Contacts

The Friends Center director led a worship session in the Quaker tradition for the Rotary International Leadership Camp for high school students held at Guilford, August 1988. The director also participated in an ecumenical discussion on faith traditions for the Episcopal Ministers Association.

Campus Programs

Parent and Freshman Orientation — August 1988

For the sixth year the center coordinated a freshman parent orientation session "Guilford's Quaker Traditions." Friends Center and the Admissions Office also held a joint reception for parents and freshmen together.

Friends Center Annual Report

Quaker Traditions at Guilford for New Faculty and Staff — Fall 1988

Friends Center and Faculty Development sponsored four sessions on Quaker traditions at the college for new members of the college community. Sessions were held on 17th century Quakerism, Quaker education, decision making, and the curriculum.

Quaker Students

Friends Center cooperated with the Admissions Office in sponsoring a Young Friends Day on campus in September 1988 and a fellowship gathering for Quaker students in February 1989.

Guilford Today — March 1989

Friends Center coordinated a session on "Guilford, a Quaker College" for the *Guilford Today* program sponsored by the Development Office. Melvin Keiser and Judith Harvey spoke on Quaker traditions.

Landrum Bolling, 1989 Distinguished Quaker Visitor

Arrangements for Landrum Bolling's visit in October 1989 were confirmed. Cooperative programming will be arranged for the Board of Visitors' annual meeting as well as community and campus outreach.

South Africa Committee

The center's director continued to serve as staff coordinator for the committee. John Farmer directed the "Books for South Africa" project. 1,300 books were shipped to the Universities of Western Cape and Cape Town and to the South Africa Committee on Higher Education in Grahamstown. Fund-raising efforts were continued on an ongoing basis leaving a balance of \$4,000 at the end of the year. The committee cosponsored the Martin Luther King, Jr. Teach-In with two sessions on South Africa. A sub-committee met with Admissions staff to select a South African student for a Trustee Scholarship for 1989-90, and committee members continued to give personal support to South African students on campus.

Fund-Raising

Annual Fund

The annual giving program saw continued growth through the Sustainer Program (donors contributing \$250 and up) and increased

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volunteer participation. Phonathons were organized around dinners. \$20,000 has been raised in 1988–89 compared to \$16,800 in 1987–88.

Endowment

Additional gifts to endowment from individuals and the QUEST campaign have brought total Friends Center Endowment funds to \$285,000.

Friends Center Annual Dinner — Spring 1989

An annual dinner meeting was initiated for donors, volunteers, and friends of the center. 80 people attended the celebrative Friends Center dinner on April 28. Edward Snyder, retiring FCNL executive secretary, gave an address “What Can Friends Say at a Time Like This?”

Reports

Annual reports were given to NCYM and NCYM Conservative at their annual 1988 summer sessions.

Publicity

Two newsletters were published during the year. A 1989 winter newsletter was added along with the traditional summer (1988) newsletter.

Committees

Long Range Planning

The Long Range Planning Committee met at regular intervals. The committee approved a job description for a full-time director of campus ministry with half-time responsibility to Quaker students (for a student development staff position) and a half-time position for Quaker campus ministry (to be discussed in lieu of a full-time position). Neither position was approved for 1989–90 but heightened interest in campus ministry was noted on campus. The full-time position will be reconsidered in 1989–90.

LRP continued discussion on Friends Center administrative structure, a Quaker-scholar-in-residence program, and a Quaker studies concentration.

The Friends Center Steering Committee and Trustee Yearly Meeting Relations Committee

The Friends Center Steering Committee and Trustee Yearly Meeting Relations Committee met in scheduled meetings with the center's director serving as staff liaison.

Board Memberships: Friends Center Director

American Friends Service Committee
Board of Advisors, Earlham School of Religion
Haverford College, Rufus Jones Associates
Pendle Hill General Board
North Carolina Friends Historical Society.

Newsletter of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

Friends Historical Collection Undergoes Renovation

A major addition to the Guilford College Library, now the Hege Memorial Library, is nearing completion. Following the transfer of books and offices to the new addition, the site of the Friends Historical Collection will be enlarged and renovated within the older library building. Because of the disruption caused by construction and the upcoming renovation, many of the FHC materials have been placed in storage and the staff will soon move into temporary quarters. Consequently all but the Quaker circulating book collection and the vault materials will be unavailable for use and service is limited. It is expected that renovation will be complete and service restored by late spring 1990. Please contact the FHC staff before visiting the collection. The telephone number is (919) 292-5511, ext. 264.

Death of Clara Farlow

Society treasurer Clara Farlow died at the age of 88 on March 16, 1989. The board of directors of the society recognized her long and dedicated service to the society by establishing, prior to her death, a fund in her honor. Upon her death it became a permanent memorial. Contributions are welcome.

NCFHS Has a New Treasurer, and FHC, a New Research Assistant

Gertrude Beal, who assumed a new position in the Friends Historical Collection as research assistant in January, has agreed to take on the duties of treasurer for the society as well as some of the duties of secretary. Gertrude, who has a master of arts in history, has served the library as secretary for several years, and has been a very helpful addition to the staff of the collection.

Damon Hickey Earns Ph.D.

Damon Hickey, curator of the Friends Historical Collection and co-editor of *The Southern Friend*, earned his Ph.D. in history from the University of South Carolina in August. His dissertation entitled "Quakers in the New South, 1865-1920" is a study of the revival of North Carolina Friends after the Civil War, the change from traditional forms to programmed meetings, and the subsequent separation of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative).

Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the society will be held November 11 at Friends Homes. The speaker will be Hal Pugh whose account of his recent discovery of an eighteenth-century Quaker pottery on his family farm was published in *The Southern Friend* (Volume X, No. 2, Autumn 1988). A potter himself, with training in archaeology, he is well-prepared to identify and interpret the evidence on his farm. His talk will describe his experience and he will display some of the pottery he has made on the basis of his findings.

Course in Quaker History

During the spring semester, 1990, Damon Hickey will teach a history course at Guilford College entitled, "The Quakers in American History." The course will be offered two evenings each week, and may be taken for academic credit or, as an auditor, without credit. Residents of the Greensboro area who are interested in enrolling should contact Dr. Hickey as soon as possible (area 919, 292-5511, ext. 264).

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

1988-89

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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

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Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Damon D. Hickey, The Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410.

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*, *America: History and Life*, and *Periodical Source Index* (PERSI).

Publications Committee

Damon D. Hickey and Herbert Poole, editors; Carole M. Treadway and Gertrude Beal, associate editors.

Cover Illustration

"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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The Peace and Social Concerns of Wrightsborough Friends: Part III, The Taint of Slavery

by

George H. Cox, Jr.

This is the third and final essay in a three-part series concerning the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting in Georgia. Wrightsborough was a large Quaker township on the Georgia frontier west of Augusta. It maintained its identity as a Friends community from its chartering by the British Colonial Government at Savannah in 1767 until a general withdrawal to the Northwest Territory of the United States which culminated in 1807. In this brief period of 40 years, the Society of Friends wrote a small but important chapter in the social and political history of Georgia. In relating to distinctive religious communities including the Quakers, colonial Georgians learned lessons in diversity of opinion on social issues, lessons which would unfortunately be forgotten after these communities left the state or were assimilated. Gone was the appreciation for diversity. In its place was a more homogeneous value system which justified the extremes of plantation wealth and rural poverty which existed side by side in the South where cotton was king.

Three general issues subsume many of the specific peace and social concerns of the Wrightsborough Friends: proper relations with the native Americans who lived on the frontier, response to the outbreak and conduct of war during the American Revolution, and economic and religious responses to the widespread introduction of slavery. This essay addresses the last of these issues, the taint of slavery which fell upon the frontier following the American victory in the Revolutionary War.

The founders of the Georgia colony had qualms about the institution of slavery. From the settlement of the colony in 1733 onward, the Georgia trustees voiced their concerns in political circles in England and in the everyday settlement policies which they enacted through one of their number, James Edward Oglethorpe, who served as the administrator of

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the colony. Oglethorpe was himself an outspoken critic of the practice of slavery being tolerated in the American colonies. "Slavery is against the gospel, as well as the fundamental law of England. We refused, as Trustees to make a law permitting such a horrid crime."¹ The trustees lobbied the Parliament to uphold their ban on the importation of slaves into Georgia, and they encouraged groups opposed to slavery to settle in the colony.² For example, the Salzburgers who established Ebenezer west of Savannah and the Highland Scots who built up Darien south of Savannah on the Atlantic coast were both communities of anti-slavery colonists. The practical success of these free labor settlements would provide evidence for the trustees to use in justifying their appeals to keep slavery out of the Georgia colony.

The trustees were forced to give up their complete prohibition of slavery in Georgia in 1751, due largely to pressure from coastal rice plantation owners and an economic development faction of the business community in Savannah. In 1754, they relinquished control of the colony altogether. Royal governors appointed by the Crown would administer Georgia thereafter, and their position on the slavery question was far less philosophical. In the Royal governors' view, the main objection to slavery was the security threat which it represented during the period of continued Spanish destabilization of the colony. Once that concern was militarily resolved in 1763, they raised few objections to the sharp influx of slaves and new slave-owners who immigrated from South Carolina. By 1773, almost half of Georgia's population was black slaves.³

In contrast with the coastal areas, there was little slavery in the frontier areas of Georgia. Instead, small family farmers raised food crops and tobacco. In fact, in the early 1760s, there were more free black farmers outside of Augusta than there were slaves in that rural area.⁴ Of course, there were always new families moving onto the frontier, and these immigrants concerned Quakers and others who feared the establishment of slavery in the backcountry. In the five years 1759 through 1763, 55 households moved into the upcountry parts of St. Paul's Parish. Only nine of these households, or 16 percent, owned slaves. But in the next five years, 1764 through 1768, 63 families located in the area, and 21 of them, or 33 percent, were slaveholding. There was, moreover, reason to be vigilant. Yet even where slavery was present, the numbers of captive blacks was small. Of the total of 30 slave-holding households which came into rural St. Paul's Parish during the overall 10 year period 1759 through 1768, only four owned 10 slaves or more. Most slaveholding families on the frontier had only a couple of workers to help with the

The Peace and Social Concerns of Wrightsborough Friends

family farm. In the commercial arena, some of the Augusta traders and even their Creek and Cherokee trading partners owned slaves who worked in warehouses and tanneries, but the extent of the practice was very modest in frontier Georgia in the 1760s.

Once the Quaker Reserve was established in 1767, the Friends enjoyed an officially recognized right of approval for persons settling within their enormous township's boundaries. This should have restricted slavery in the immediate area to those settlers whose land grants predated the Quakers. Yet there is some evidence to suggest that practical accommodations were made in the case of otherwise attractive settlers who wanted to come into the area. Persons with documented ties to the Society of Friends like Isaac Lowe and William Candler came into the Wrightsborough Township with slaves. Lowe's wife was an active Friend, and Candler and his wife held membership certificates from a Virginia meeting. Both families produced the required certification of Quaker association as part of the approval process, but neither seems to have lived under the discipline of the local monthly meeting. One might term these individuals Friends in a technical sense, but they need to be distinguished from persons active in the local monthly meeting. Perhaps they might be described as "peripheral Friends" as contrasted with "orthodox Friends." The more orthodox Friends certainly must have disapproved of this encroachment of slave-holding into the community, but they could exert little social control over peripheral Friends whose memberships were not firmly vested in the local meeting.

We can only speculate about why influential Friends within the Wrightsborough Meeting seemed to have tolerated small scale slave-holding. There may have been economic benefits which accrued from allowing peripheral Friends leeway in this use of slave labor. It is also the case that Friends throughout the South only gradually came to the realization that all accommodation to a slavery supported economy was evil. Even when this realization was clear, the civil governments of the new American states raised barriers to abolition. Some attention to each of these considerations is warranted in our effort to understand the struggle with slavery which ultimately contributed to the Quaker withdrawal from Georgia.

One possible economic explanation for the tolerance of slavery lies in the area of public works. The settlers in St. Paul's Parish, as elsewhere in the colony, were responsible for the maintenance and repair of public roads, fords, and bridges. Once the colonial government had paid for the

construction of a roadway — possibly under arrangements with a South Carolina contractor who could use slave labor — the local inhabitants had to maintain the road in good order.⁵ This duty was a considerable burden to small farmers who would have to leave their crops and families to work on the roads. If a few area neighbors could assemble a gang of slave workers at the site, the work could be expedited. Other public works offered a similar prospect of time lost to civic endeavors. We know, for example, that the royal government agreed to the construction of a fort at Wrightsborough for the protection of the populace from Indian attack.⁶ We know that the contractor for this project used slave labor because one of the black workers was killed by Indians during the construction. Moreover, the Wrightsborough Friends seemed to distinguish between personally owning slaves and benefiting from the labor of the African workers. This distinction may have been one of convenience rather than a fine point of ethical analysis.

The orthodox Friends who were actively involved with the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting tried to be more strict with “their own.” The story of Amos Stuart illustrates the discipline employed by the meeting in such cases.⁷ In 1781, Amos Stuart, a member of the meeting, was accused of trying to buy a young black slave girl. A committee of the monthly meeting was directed to investigate the charge, and they indeed found him to be in possession of the young woman. The monthly meeting ordered that Amos set the young woman free at age 18 and that he prepare a paper promising to do that and return it to the meeting. After some procrastination on Stuart’s part, the representatives reported to the monthly meeting that they believed him unwilling to conform to the will of his Friends. A testimony was then prepared against him, and he was provided a written copy which he might contest by appearing before the monthly meeting. He did not respond, and the meeting disowned him from being any longer a member of Friends.

This incident was not the first time that the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting had trouble with Amos Stuart. In 1780, he had confessed to bearing arms and had asked to be forgiven by his Friends. His behavior was a part of a more general wave of worldliness that was affecting the community by 1780-81, and many Friends were disciplined for offenses ranging from marriage out of unity and the use of profane language to quarreling and fighting with one’s neighbors. Much to the frustration of the more orthodox Friends, misbehaving members would avoid committees sent out to meet with them and would even refuse to appear to answer formal complaints prepared against them. The monthly meeting

The Peace and Social Concerns of Wrightsborough Friends

was losing control over the population of Wrightsborough, especially its own young people.

The loss of control and communities' general dissipation had long been feared by Friends. John Woolman had warned of the particular erosion of values accompanied by the institution of slavery. He observed that "... if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them [the slaves] as fellow creatures, I believe that [the] burden will grow heavier and heavier, until times change in a way disagreeable to us."⁸ By placing economic gain before principles of human advancement, slave holders drifted away from careful attention to the Truth. Slavery was destructive of a wholesome free-labor lifestyle and would ultimately lead to the dissolution of the work ethic and the attendant social order. A dim future lay ahead for America if slavery continued; many Quakers shared a vision of social destruction expressing God's wrath. These themes were kindled by John Woolman and spread by the travels of other ministering Friends throughout the continent.

Zachariah Dicks — who visited Georgia and South Carolina in 1803 — was particularly noted for his vivid portrayals of the imminent bloodshed of slave rebellions.

During the year 1803 this minister made a visit to Wrightsborough monthly meeting in Georgia, an integral part of Bush River quarterly meeting. He there told the Friends of a terrible internecine war not far in the future, during which many men like those in the Apocalypse would flee to the mountains and call on those mountains to hide them. With reference to the time of the fulfillment, he said the child was then born that would see it; thus intimating the time, not as immediate, but not very far off.⁹

There had been slave revolts in Haiti, and many slave owners were massacred in the uprisings. News of these events in the Caribbean served to document the case of abolitionists like Dicks who foresaw a violent expression of God's wrath against the evils of slaveholding. It is important to note that fear and dread of the black slave was probably one aspect of some Friends' avoidance of slavery. Many wanted their lands to be free of blacks, while others may sincerely have wanted freed slaves to live among them. Some evidence of the latter position is found in the efforts of former Wrightsborough Quakers to come back to the area after their emigration for the purpose bringing west freed blacks who were in danger in Georgia.¹⁰

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Traveling ministers of the Society of Friends visited Wrightsborough on a number of occasions. In fact, records of visits to the Georgia meeting by at least 20 ministers are extant. Several of these traveling ministers came to witness about the evils of slave-owning and other concerns such as alcohol consumption and social dissipation. Joshua Evans' observations of Wrightsborough in 1797 capture the feeling of these visits.

I believe the Lord hath a little remnant in these parts, who testify against slavery, and are favoured to keep themselves clear. Yet it seems to me, that on account of the oppression of those held in bondage, a cloud of darkness hangs over the land.... Many negro masters attended [the meetings for worship], and some of them shed tears. But the prospect is gloomy concerning the growth of pure religion in the land of slavery. The monthly meeting being as a farewell season, I desired them to gather up the fragments, and let nothing be lost; for I did believe a time was coming that would try their foundations, when the winds and storms would beat vehemently.¹¹

Slavery polluted the people and the land where it was tolerated. The linkage between slavery as an economic institution and broader social deterioration is voiced in Henry Hull's journal entries from his 1800 visit to Wrightsborough.

I set out for Georgia, crossed the Savannah river, and after riding about fifty miles, got to the house of our friend William Farmer. This being the time when the poor slaves are allowed liberty for frolicking, the woods resounded with their songs, and with other noises made by them and their oppressors, who appeared to want that consideration, which would have induced them to set a better example. If the day called Christmas is considered by professing Christians as a holy day, surely it ought not to be devoted to drunkenness and riot, whereby the kingdom of [the] antichrist is promoted.¹²

The official organs of the denomination in the South slowly took up the cause of abolition. North Carolina Yearly Meeting — to which Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting belonged — admonished member meetings to provide religious education for captive blacks. In 1768, the yearly meeting advised against any trading in slaves, and they passed a 1770 resolution reaffirming the position that "...all Friends be careful to bear a faithful Testimony against the Iniquitous Practice of Importing Negroes."¹³ Yet Quaker organizations stopped short of advocating the

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total abolition of slavery. Some Friends did promote doing away with the practice by freeing privately held slaves, but neither North Carolina nor Georgia law would allowed such an initiative.¹⁴ Even individual manumission was restricted; the law prescribed extreme conditions such as the approval of the legislature and removal from the domain of the freed person or the posting of a large bond for the freed person's good behavior.¹⁵ Other Quakers advocated the transfer of ownership of slaves to each monthly meeting or a trustee, but that option was viewed by others as a further institutionalization of slave-holding. Overall, a pattern emerged, especially after the Revolutionary War, that each step to facilitate emancipation was frustrated by a governmental step to counteract the freeing of slaves. Friends were effectively constrained from making general emancipation practical, and they even had problems ridding their own denomination of the taint of slavery.

At the same time, public sentiment concerning the Quakers and their anti-slavery efforts hardened. There were numerous incidents brought to the attention of the yearly meeting in which Friends were accused of subverting the slaves with talk of emancipation. "The minds of the slaves are not only corrupted and alienated from the Service of their masters in consequence of said conduct, but runaways are protected, harboured and encouraged by them."¹⁶ The southern meetings were under stress from within and without.

The messages of traveling ministers after 1799 turned more and more into appeals to withdraw to new lands in the west. Some Friends thought of the migration to the west as a "foolish panic,"¹⁷ while others perceived it as the Quakers "not being disobedient to the vision opened before them."¹⁸ Borden Stanton wrote a letter to Friends in Wrightsborough in 1802 about his own decision to leave the South.

I was concerned many times to weigh the matter as in the balance of the sanctuary; til, at length, I considered that there was no prospect of our number being increased by convincement, on account of the oppression that abounded in the land. I also thought I saw in the light, that the minds of the people generally were too much outward, so that there was no room in the inn of the heart for much religious impression; being filled with other guests....Under a view of these things, I was made sensible, beyond doubting, that it was in the ordering of wisdom for us to remove.¹⁹

Free territories were opening up in the Midwest. In fact, Ohio would enter the Union in 1803 as the first state in which slavery was altogether

illegal. The time had come to leave Georgia.

Georgia had run the whole gambit from the English discouragement of slavery to the American commitment to it as an economic mainstay, all in the short span of 40 years. Cotton was quickly replacing tobacco as farmers' cash crop, and the invention of the cotton gin made large scale plantations economical. The Quakers, so welcome as free labor settlers in 1767, were a nuisance in 1807. The anti-slavery posture of Quaker ministers and local orthodox Friends was precarious. Formerly too friendly with the Indians and recently associated with Tory politics, the thrice ostracized Quakers had three limited options: they could migrate, accommodate, or be silent.²⁰

Georgia culture was heading in one direction, and the Quaker reforms were heading in another, opposite direction. The economy was learning to take advantage of slave labor at the very time that the Society of Friends was ridding itself of the institution. The values of the small farmer were giving way to those of the large plantation owner. An acquisitive ethos was displacing the older, moralistic culture. Friends of that day were aware that the changing political, economic and social culture of Georgia was eclipsing interest in a disciplined religious life. In fact, the new majority culture was winning out in the battle for the minds and hearts of Quaker young people. Ohio offered an opportunity to start again under conditions more favorable to the sustaining and growth of Friends.

¹ Quoted in James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London: W. and F.G. Cash, 1854): 203.

² Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1984): 3, 65.

³ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁴ This observation and subsequent data are from "Petitions for Land, St. Paul's Parish" (abstracted from the Colonial Records of Georgia), Dorothy M. Jones, Ed., *Wrightsborough / Wrightsboro, McDuffie County, Georgia* (Thomson, Georgia: Wrightsboro Quaker Community Foundation, Inc., 1982): 5-16 (Typewritten).

⁵ The general act upon which this practice was based was the 1755 Public Roads Act passed by the Georgia Royal Assembly and approved by then Royal Governor John Reynolds. Wrightsborough benefited from

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two awards under the act, one road running to Augusta, and another linking Wrightsborough to Savannah. Both were authorized by Royal Governor James Wright.

⁶ The ambivalence with which Friends received military or police protection from the government is discussed in Part I of this series, "Living With the Indians" (*The Southern Friend*, 10:1, Spring 1988: 11-12).

⁷ This story is found in the Minutes of the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting, 1781 (Greensboro, North Carolina: Guilford College Friends Historical Collection): 53-54 (Microfilm).

⁸ *The Journal of John Woolman* (Secaucus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1961): 53-54.

⁹ John Belton O'Neill, *The Annals of Newberry* (Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1974): 330.

¹⁰ In 1845, Richard Timberlake was appointed by West Elkton Meeting (Ohio) to go to McDuffie County (then Columbia County), Georgia and remove some freed blacks to Ohio. William and Delilah Stubbs agreed to accompany him. In early 1846, he wrote back from Wrightsboro about a mob spirit among the slave-holding element there. The rescue party left earlier than expected to avoid a confrontation and traveled night and day to get back to the Midwest.

¹¹ "Joshua Evans' Journal," in John and Isaac Comly, eds., *Friends Miscellany*, v. 10 (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. Richards Company, 1839): 156.

¹² *Memoir of the Life and Religious Labours of Henry Hull* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Friends Bookstore, 1873): 123.

¹³ J. William Frost, ed., *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery* (Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1980): 253.

¹⁴ Horatio Marbury and William A. Crawford, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia* (Savannah, Georgia: Woolhopter and Stebbins, 1802): 808. Frost, *Quaker Origins*: 254.

¹⁵ Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (New York: Bergman Publishers, 1968 [first published by the Johns Hopkins Press in 1896]): 219.

¹⁶ North Carolina Standing Committee, Religious Society of Friends, "Minutes" (Greensboro, North Carolina, Guilford College Friends Historical Collection) (Microfilm).

¹⁷ John Belton O'Neill, *The Annals of Newberry*, 330.

¹⁸ Harlow Lindley, "The Quakers of the Old Northwest," *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association* (1912): 64.

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¹⁹ Quoted in John and Isaac Comly, eds., *Friends Miscellany*, v. 12 (1839): 218.

²⁰ J. William Frost, "The Origins of the Quaker Crusade Against Slavery: A Review of Recent Literature," *Quaker History*, 67:1 (Spring, 1978): 54.

The Willcuts Family: History and Legend

by

Mary Ellen Brown Feagins

This is the story of a name and a corner cupboard that have together formed a circle, or a loop, in history. The name, spelled variously as Willcutts, Willcuts or Wilcuts, can be found in the records and minutes of New Garden and other Carolina Quaker meetings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It moved to New Garden Meeting in Indiana (by way of White Water) and back to New Garden Meeting in North Carolina. By this time the name occurs in records only as a maiden name and a given name.

According to family tradition the corner cupboard, made of cherry wood by an unknown North Carolina cabinetmaker, came into the family of Thomas Willcuts near the end of the eighteenth century, and is associated primarily with his son David. Through him and his descendants it accompanied the Willcuts name on its circular journey to the Midwest and back to North Carolina. Today its owner, a sixth-generation descendant, bears the original owner's name as a given name: David Willcutts Feagins.

The European background for the Willcuts family was found in a letter addressed to Dorothy Gilbert (later Dorothy Gilbert Thorne), then custodian of the Quaker Collection in the Guilford College Library. The undated letter is from Allena Willcuts (Mertz) Henry, of Downers Grove, Illinois. She writes:

The Willcutses were originally Scotch. While living in Scotland they left the Roman Catholic Church and became Covenanters, later called Presbyterians. This is supposed to have happened in 1643. When the Coventer [sic] trouble with the Church of England took place, the Willcutses, being peace lovers, moved to Ireland, not far from Dublin. After some years here, where they married

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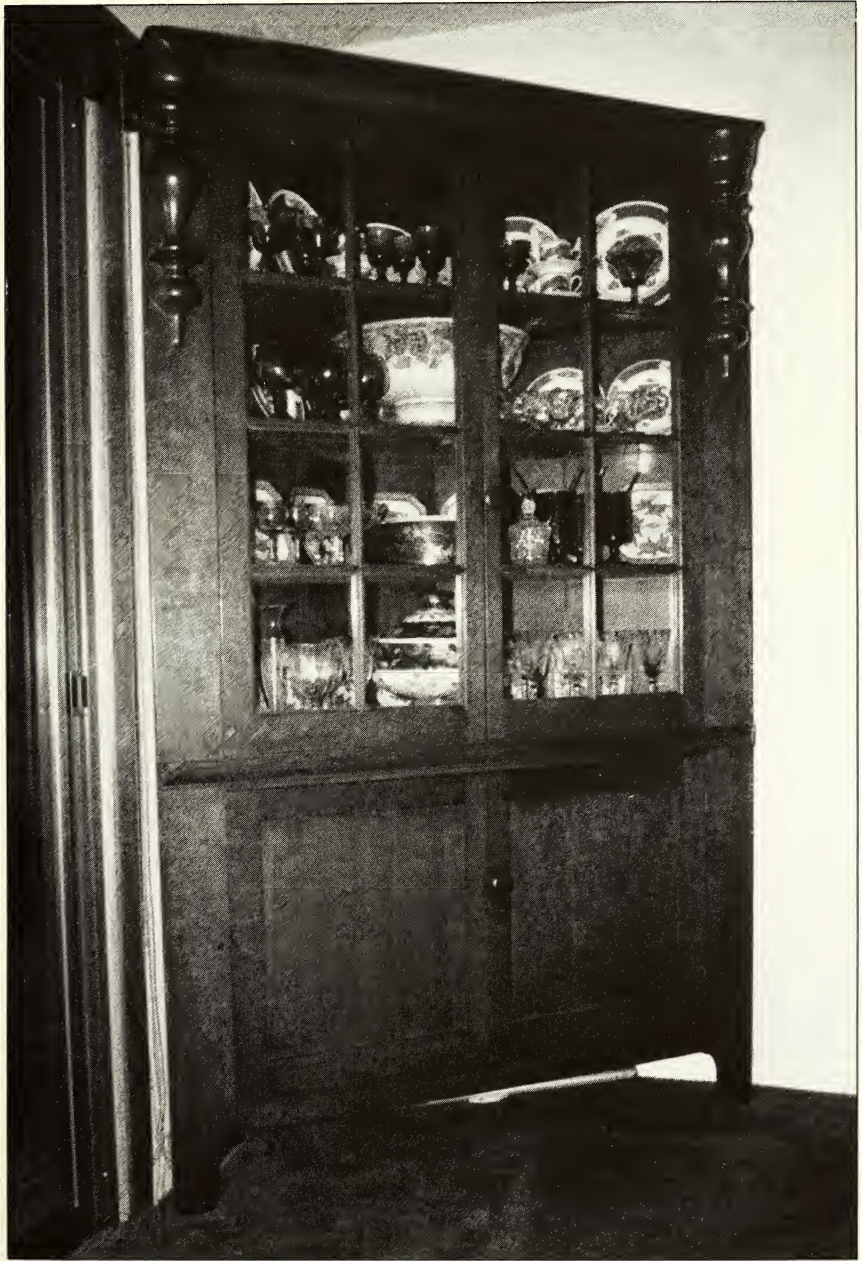
with the Irish, they became Quakers. Again, because of religious persecution, some of them moved to North Carolina, where the Quaker leader, George Fox, had established a church about 1671. For many years, in America, when you saw a Willcuts, you saw a Quaker.

It would have been more accurate to say that followers of George Fox had established meetings in Carolina, which Fox himself visited in 1672. There is reason to doubt also the accuracy of the Willcutses' becoming Quakers in Ireland; for a search of Dublin records by Mary Shackleton, Curator of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland Historical Committee, produced no mention of this name in any variation of the spelling.¹ It is still true, however, that the Willcuts name indicates Quaker roots. Its branches have spread from the Carolinas to the Pacific.²

The earliest Willcuts name found in Quaker historical records is that of Thomas Willcuts (Wilcuts), the three-time great grandfather of the author. According to an undated letter from Florence Nixon Vinton to her cousin, Suzette Willcutts Brown (the author's mother), he was one of seven brothers who came over from Ireland.³ Florence Vinton believed that the family was Welsh. The letter states that some of these brothers were in the Revolutionary War, but there was "only one ever heard of again; so he must have been this Thomas Willcuts."⁴

Family legend favors the theory that the brothers were directly from Ireland. The name itself, also spelled 'Wilcots' or 'Wilcutts,' according to the *New Dictionary of American Family Names*, is English and means "one who came from Wilcot (cottage by a spring), in Wiltshire; or from Wilcott (Winela's cottage) in Shropshire."⁵ Research shows that Thomas was received by request into membership in Deep River Monthly Meeting, North Carolina, in 1797, 10th month, 2nd day.⁶ Later, he is mentioned frequently in the minutes of Piney Grove Monthly Meeting, just over the border in South Carolina.⁷ Other records have to do with his wife, Milley (Milly) Clark, and their children. It is equally interesting and important to give her background, which can be documented further back than Thomas's.

Milley was the daughter of Francis and Christian Clark. Francis had been received at Cane Creek Meeting, South Carolina, along with his brother Christopher, in 1754, 12th month, 7th day, from Camp Creek Monthly Meeting (part of Cedar Creek), in Virginia.⁸ Later, 1783, 1st month, 4th day, Christian Clark was granted a certificate for herself, her



The David Willcuts corner cupboard

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husband, and her children, to New Garden, North Carolina. (This occurred not long after Francis had apologized to his meeting for taking sides in the American Revolution (1782, 4, 6)!)⁹ It was while the Clark family was living somewhere near New Garden that the daughter, Milley, married Thomas Willcuts. It was her second marriage, she having had two sons by James Thomas, in whose will she is mentioned in 1788. She and Thomas Willcuts had a son, Clark, born in 1792, and daughters, Christian and Rachel, born in 1793 and 1795, respectively.¹⁰

Before the birth of another son, Hursley, early in 1798, there was an intriguing entry in the Women's Minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting. A sentence, dated 6-24-1797, reads: "Milly Willcut through indisposition of body not being able to attend this meeting sent a paper condemning her outgoing which was accepted." What she was condemning may have been a marriage out of unity. As stated above, it was in 1797, 10th month, 2nd day, that Thomas Willcuts was received by request into membership at Deep River Monthly Meeting. In the same year, 11th month, 6th day, Thomas requested membership for his two stepsons, Benjamin and John Thomas, and his and Milley's son, Clark.¹¹ Had Thomas Willcuts been a "birthright" Quaker who had become inactive? Or is he perhaps the first Willcuts ever to become a Quaker?

Prior to 1802, they had moved their family to Piney Grove, on the Little Pee Dee River in Marlborough County, South Carolina. This meeting, along with other meetings in the area, was under the jurisdiction of Cane Creek, South Carolina, and later transferred to Deep River Monthly Meeting of North Carolina.¹² In Deep River's records is Milley's request for membership for Christian and Rachel, dated 1798, 12th month, 3rd day.

Piney Grove became a separate meeting in 1802.¹³ On the first two pages of its records two families later to be related by marriage are listed, at the request of the parents, Jonathan and Mary Marine and Thomas and Milley Willcuts. They are as follows:

On page one:

Jonathan Marine	b. 3...	1752
Mary Marine	b. 4-4	1746
Ch. Mary	b. 8-20	1776
*Jonathan	b. 2-15	1780
John	b. 6-28	1782
Charles	b. 6-22	1784
Jesse	b. 5-18	1786

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On page two:

Thomas Willcuts	b. 3-18	1758
Milley Willcuts	b.[12-28]	1756
Ch. Clark	b. 7-8	1792
Christian	b. 11-11	1793
Rachel	b. 12-14	1795
Hursley	b. 3-4	1798
Joseph	b. 7-16	1799
Tabitha	b. 8-7	1801
	d. 9-7	1801
Jonathan	b. 5-8	1804
*David	b. 8-7	1805

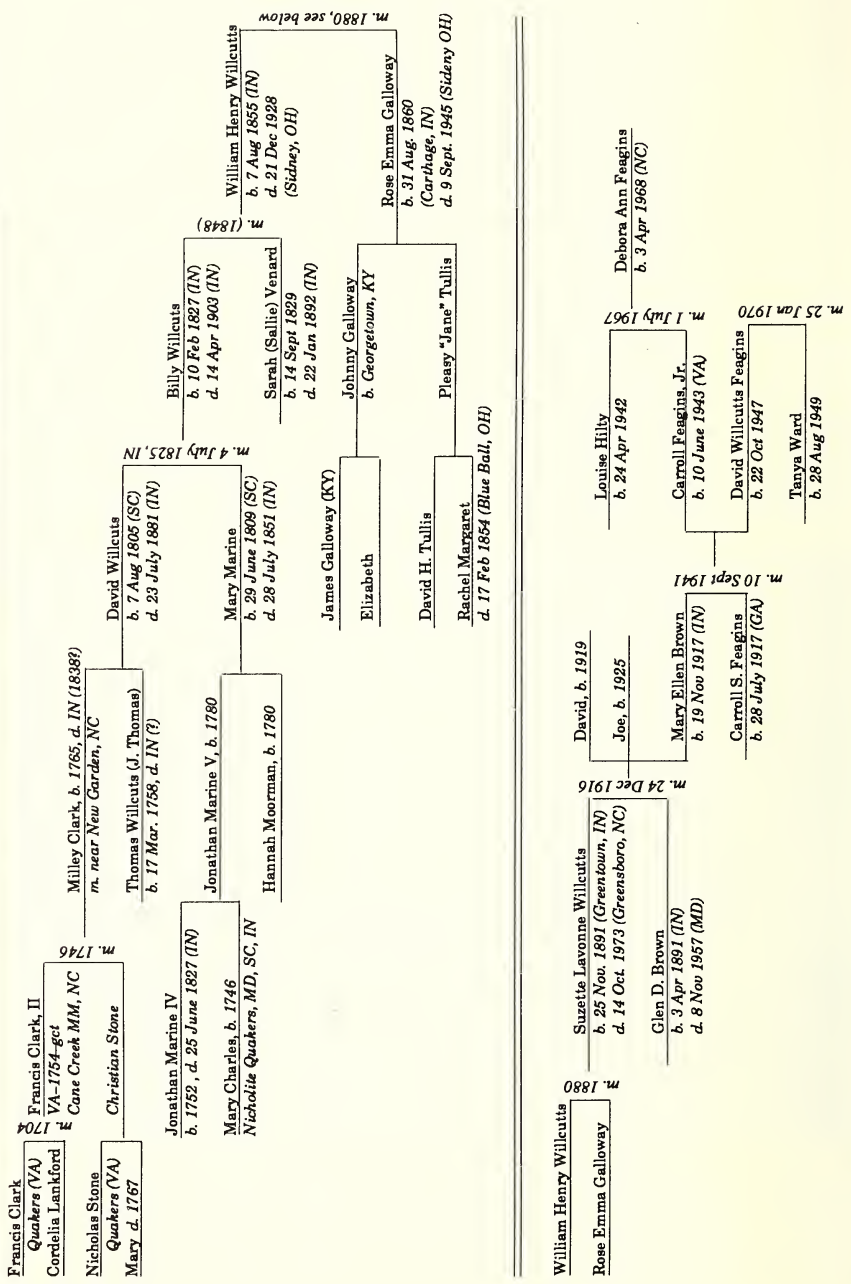
*Jonathan Marine was to marry Hannah Morman, and they were to be parents of Mary (b.1809), who would marry David Willcuts.

Perhaps a chart will help clarify the genealogy of the Willcuts family:



The old Willcuts homestead in Fountain City, Indiana. Billy Willcuts with two sons. Billy was father of William Henry, father of Suzette. "Slaves were hidden in this home during the 'Underground Railway' days...." — Suzette W. Brown, writing about her great grandfather, David Willcuts, friend of Levi Coffin.

Willcutts, Willcuts, Wilcuts



The Willcuts Family: History and Legend

The names of both Willcuts and Marine families occur frequently in the minutes of Piney Grove Monthly Meeting from 1802 until 1814, when, on the 19th day of 4th month, "Thomas Wilcuts requests a certificate for himself and family to White Water Monthly Meeting." The family moved to Indiana soon thereafter. There we read in the records of New Garden Monthly Meeting, Wayne County, Indiana, 9-25-1815, that Thomas Willcuts was appointed to a committee and, 6-22-1816, that he and others were to visit a meeting "in the lower settlement."¹⁴

Thomas Willcuts' son David was reported in the minutes of New Garden Meeting, Indiana, dated 7-17-1824 "for raising and spreading a scandalous report against a couple of young people" and shortly thereafter (10-16-1824) he was disowned "for talebearing."¹⁵ This came as an amusing shock to his descendants, who had heard his name mentioned proudly more than any other in the family. He was known to have helped runaway slaves to escape and was mentioned in Levi Coffin's *Reminiscences*. At the time, David was president of the tollroad of what was then called Newport and is now called Fountain City, Indiana. An anecdote in Coffin's book reveals a bond of good humor between two men who we know took the plight of runaway slaves very seriously. It has to do with Coffin's helping a runaway around Richmond, Indiana, in his carriage:

Just before reaching Newport we came to another tollgate, kept by an old man named Hockett, lately from North Carolina. He had lately been placed here as gate-keeper, and I was not acquainted with him. I halted, and said to him: "I suppose you charge nothing for the cars of the Underground Railroad that pass through this gate."

"Underground Railroad cars?" he drawled, sleepily.

"Yes," I said; "didn't they give thee orders when they placed thee here to let such cars pass free?"

"No," he replied; "they said nothing about it."

"Well, that's strange. Most of the stockholders of this road are large stockholders in the Underground Railroad, and we never charge anything on that road. I am well acquainted with the president of this road, and I know that he holds stock in our road. I expect to see him today, and several of the directors, and I shall report thee for charging Underground Railroad passengers toll."

The gate-keeper seemed much confused, and said that he knew nothing about the Underground Railroad. "Why!" I exclaimed, with apparent surprise, "what part of the world art thou from?"

"North Carliny," he drawled.

"I thought thee was from some dark corner of the globe," I said, and handed him the money, which I had been holding in my fingers during the conversation, and which was but a trifle. I then started to go on, but had not gone more than a few rods, when the gate-keeper called to me, and asked: "Is your name Levi Coffin?"

"Yes," I replied, "that is my name," but did not check my team, lest he should follow me and give back the money. I had had my sport with him, which was all I wanted. I think he always knew me afterward. That day, in Newport, I met David Willcuts, who was the president of the road, and reported the gate-keeper. We had a hearty laugh over my interview with him.¹⁶

It is said that David Willcuts owned a tannery on a plot of land now occupied by Fountain City Friends Meeting.¹⁷ To have been disowned by the meeting for talebearing at age 19 did not seem to trouble him. At any rate, he did not condemn his misconduct in a written report to the meeting, as did another young man involved in the same incident. Since he had been disowned, he would have had to submit his acknowledgment "to the overseers." According to the Indiana Yearly Meeting Discipline of 1819,

If the purport is judged to be suitable for the occasion, the party may present it to the Monthly Meeting and stay till it is read; and after time given for a solid pause, should withdraw, before either that, or any other business, is proceeded upon. The meeting is then to consider the case, and appoint two or more Friends to inform the party of the result.¹⁸

(It was not until 11-19-1852 that he is reported as received in membership in the same Meeting.)¹⁹

His failure to act accordingly to the Discipline did not keep him from choosing Mary Marine, the young Quaker woman mentioned above, for his wife. As a consequence, she was reported (6-17-1826) for "marrying out of unity."²⁰ and a month later (7-15-1826) was disowned for "marrying contrary to discipline," since her husband was no longer a Quaker in good standing.²¹ A son, Billy, the author's great grandfather, was born in 1827, one of six or seven children. According to census records and Florence Vinton's letter, the other known children were Jonathan, Ruth, Thomas, Hannah, Blanchard, and, perhaps, a Mary.²²

There is more to the story of Mary's family, Marine (spelled also Marain in at least one record, perhaps explaining its pronunciation in

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the author's family as Ma-rhine instead of the usual Ma-reen.)²³ Mary was the daughter of Jonathan Marine V (born 1780) and Hannah Moorman. The Marine name, with its various spellings, goes back to the 17th century in this country and much farther in France. Jonathan I was the son of Milleson Mareen of Maryland, whose father, Alexander Marin, was born in the Isle of France (1634) and died in 1679 in Sussex County, Delaware.²⁴ Mary's grandfather, Jonathan Marine (b.1752 and married to Mary Charles, b.1746) was also the great grandfather of James Whitcomb Riley and was the leader of a group of approximately 75 'Quakers' migrating from the Eastern shore of Maryland to North Carolina around 1774.²⁵ Members of this group were followers of Joseph Nichols, founder of a sect similar to the Quakers and later absorbed by the Society of Friends. Mary's grandfather was received with three sons, and later his wife with a daughter, into Deep River Meeting, in 1792-3.²⁶ They had been living 'on Gum Swamp near Little Pee Dee' just below the North Carolina border. Mary's father, Jonathan V, was the second of five children, as noted from the family births and deaths listed on page one in the records of Piney Grove Monthly Meeting.

Both Jonathan Marine IV and his wife, Mary Charles, were active members of Piney Grove Monthly Meeting, he being proposed as minister by the preparative meeting and she being proposed as elder. They were active on committees, as was Thomas Willcuts. Mary Marine, daughter of Jonathan V and Hannah, and future wife of David Willcuts, was born, as noted above, in 1809, the fifth of eight children. Her family moved to Indiana not long before the Willcutses and must be included in the historical loop described at the beginning of this article. Their move was by way of Fairfield Monthly Meeting in Ohio, which received a certificate in 1811, 5th month, 25th day, for Jonathan Marine from Piney Grove Monthly Meeting, dated 1811, 2, 26, and endorsed to White Water, Indiana.²⁷

The Willcuts name continues to appear in Quaker records, but we are following closely only the line connected directly with the cherry corner cupboard, now in possession of the author's son, David Willcutts Feagins. It is likely that both Thomas and Milley had died by 4-24-1839, the date of the second marriage of their son, Clark, to Eunice Hockett.²⁸ Clark had been disowned because his first marriage, in 1811, was "out of unity."²⁹ (We might stop here to wonder whether he was the father of "Caleb, s. of Molly & grandson of Thomas" — the Caleb listed under Thomas in the census of 1820 and received in membership at New Garden Monthly

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Meeting in Indiana (8-16-1828).³⁰ Intrigued by such recorded items, one is tempted to imagine a story of secret, romantic involvement of a young Quaker ancestor with a seductive maiden called Molly, bringing distress to the family and condemnation from the Quaker meeting. Here is where history stops and legend may begin.)

In the *Richmond Weekly News*, (Indiana) under the heading "From Fountain City," appears the notice: "David Wilcutt's funeral took place on the 23d instant at New Garden. He was 80 years of age." Since the edition was dated August 27, 1881, and his birthdate was recorded as 7 August 1805, it appears that his age at death was only approximated for the newspaper. His wife Mary had died before the census of 1860. We know little more about him except for the fact that in 1864 he was given a certificate from New Garden to Dover Monthly Meeting to marry a widow, Rachel Unthank, who in 1865 was received on certificate to New Garden from Dover.³¹

David later went to live with his son Billy, moving with him from Carthage (Spiceland Monthly Meeting) back to Fountain City and New Garden Monthly Meeting in Indiana.

Billy had married Sarah Venard, a Quaker. Their children were John D., Stephen (who died within the year of his birth), Samuel W., William H. (father of Suzette, the author's mother), Marietta, and Susan.³²

This story — of a cupboard that had traveled with Thomas and his family from North Carolina, been inherited by David and passed on to Billy (pictured with two sons before the old Willcuts home in Fountain City), and then given by Will Henry to his daughter, Suzette — can be pieced together from old letters written by cousins to the author's mother, and from descriptions and narrations of Suzette, herself. Her name, by the way, was derived from combining the names of her aunts, Susan and Marietta. She was one of eight children, the others being Harry (who died at birth), Carrie, Stephen Venard, Morton Douglas and Harrison Donald (twins), Ruth Ann, and David (who was burned to death at age 10 while trying to start a fire in the kitchen stove).

Suzette is the descendant directly responsible for completing the loop to New Garden Monthly Meeting in North Carolina. This took place when, after her husband's death in 1957, she came to the Guilford College community to become hostess of the Virginia Ragsdale Alumni House (now the college president's home). Then, from 1963 until her death in 1973, she lived in the "grandparents' apartment" in our home on the edge of the college campus. She had become a member of New

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Garden Friends Meeting shortly after her arrival in the area, thus returning to a monthly meeting of her ancestors.

The following account was found written in Suzette's neat handwriting on the back of long, narrow (11 x 3") dairy-order forms:

My father's parents were birthright Quakers, but my father refused to attend any Meetings unless forced to. He usually had a way of hiding out until services were over. He loved horses and, as soon as he was able to acquire them, secured two fine mustangs and a little buggy or carriage, which soon made him the envy of other young bucks (boys) in the neighborhood. He courted a young Scotch-Irish girl, Rose Emma, the daughter of Johnny and Plessie Galloway, from Cork, Ireland. She was a devout Methodist whom the Willcuts family admired. They were more than pleased when she told them she would marry Wm Henry in the Quaker faith. This she did at age 19.



Willcuts' home in Greentown, Ind. Mother "Mama" with "Polly" parrot. Dad "Papa" on porch. Aunt Ann Manley (Mother's oldest sister), Uncle "Bill" Manley (Will Manley), Uncle "Marsh" (John Marshall) Stevens. Aunt Carrie, Mother's youngest sister and wife of Uncle Marsh Stevens, took the picture.

Information written on back of photo by Suzette Willcuts Brown.

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She was warmly accepted in the Willcutts family as they thought this favorite son would now attend meetings. But he preferred to remain home when the children arrived. He would prepare the Sunday dinner or at least supervise the cooking so all would be ready to serve when the family arrived after services....

In time, Rose Emma decided to rejoin the Methodist Church, but she always enjoyed the fellowship of the Friends, with whom she often met. Her sister, Sara Elizabeth, married a Quaker, Joseph Henley, who was highly respected and loved....

Since my parents and Joseph & Sara Elizabeth "Aunt Lib" Henley lived in the same little town [Greentown], with all other relatives living in Knightstown, Richmond, Kokomo, Carthage, Rushville (all in Indiana), our home seemed to be the place selected for family reunions, our Quaker friends and relatives coming from Richmond and Knightstown. There was only one, small, one-room Quaker meetinghouse in our town, but it was always filled. I remember attending meetings outdoors during the summer-time, where they met in a sunny grove near a clear running stream of spring-water — an ideal place for picnic dinner, which we often had on special meeting days. I always enjoyed the outdoors since it was always hard for me to sit or keep still....

I was impressed by the Friends' manner of speech and the way they could disagree in a friendly manner. Once I overheard a dear Friend say "Thee should not have said or done such a thing, Sarah" and the answer "Thee does not know what thee is saying, John." His reply was "Think it over, Sarah." There seemed to be no malice and, youngster that I was at that time, I could see by her expression that she was doing just that, thinking it over. Chatterbox that I was, the silent meetings really impressed me. Sometimes there were no words spoken, but even a child could feel that certain something we call Spirit. One soon learns that the Holy or Divine Spirit when able to enter into the heart of a person can inspire and bring lasting peace to soul and body as nothing else can do. We who live in such undue haste would benefit ourselves and others more if we took more time to meditate.³³

A description of her parents and their home in Greentown follows. Part of this is better expressed in her own words despite the somewhat sketchy style:

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My mother was a very good, courageous woman....My father called her Emmaline and no matter when we asked our father permission to do this or that he would always reply, "Go ask your mother!" Sometimes we felt he should assume more responsibility. We knew he depended too much on her. We could go barefoot around the house and yard but never downtown, where papa was. (We always called him "papa" — also mother, "mama.") One day, she said "yes" knowing we would be sent home. After that, he would say "yes" or "no" more often to our inquiries. He worked as assessor and his bookkeeping [showed] bills marked "Paid by God."...

...Mother was a devout Christian, always quoting from the Scriptures. She would never allow us to talk against others, [saying] "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones. We all live in glass houses." She visited the poor and needy at Christmas and other times. Always spoke of quality, not quantity. Missionary work, her hobby and helping the sick or any one in need. Sometimes [she] would deliver a baby before the doctor arrived. We had plenty of fruit trees, apples, pears, cherry, apricot. Berries: goose, currant. Garden in which Papa grew corn, beans, tomatoes, potatoes, lettuce, etc. Kept chickens, cow, horse, few pigs. Mama did all her baking and canning. We needed little from store except flour, sugar, lard, coffee, tea, salt, meat, etc. We never lacked for food.³⁴

We often read descriptions of how our *pioneer* ancestors lived. It was interesting to the author to read of how a middle-class family of the 1890s and early 20th century lived in a small town. The description that follows is that of their "comfortable home." It was built by the father "before indoor toilets."

We had three bedrooms, attic, hall and closet upstairs. Hall leading to the front door and upstairs, with parlor, library, library-room, dining-room, kitchen, pantry. Front porch with veranda halfway around the house. White pillars from dining-room door to front door. [A photograph makes this part of the description clearer.] Back porch, well house with pump enclosed. Water filled trough leading from pump-house to spring-house, where we kept our milk and butter cool inside. Two barns, one for cows and other horse [s?], chicken house, pigpen for four.

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Mother and Dad's bedroom was heated by a ventilator in the floor which could be opened and closed. The heat came from the stove in the living-room beneath. Another stove, a base burner, stood between the library and parlor. Children slept in colder bedrooms except for some heat from the hallway.³⁵

Sue Brown, as Suzette came to be known by her Guilford College and New Garden friends, spent part of the last few years of her life sorting pictures and written or printed accounts of her family for the families of her two sons and daughter. She was especially proud of and had collected memorabilia about her brother, Admiral Morton D. Willcutts, who liked to use the signature M.D. Willcutts, M.D. for he was a surgeon and the first commanding officer of the National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Maryland. Upon his retirement in 1951, tribute was paid to him in a speech in the House of Representatives (March 21) commending "his fine qualities and his great ability as a surgeon and as a physician, and the exceptionally remarkable services he has rendered this Nation as an officer in the Navy of the United States."³⁶ He moved with his family to California, where he served as director of the hospital at San Quentin Prison until his second "retirement" — still serving by giving medical examinations to new recruits until shortly before his death in 1975, at age 86, at his home on Belvedere Island in San Francisco.

His burial in Arlington National Cemetery was the occasion for a reunion of many members of the Willcutts and the Brown families. His second son could have inherited the cupboard if he had been interested in it; but, upon inquiry, David Willcutts gladly relinquished this right to his cousin, David Willcutts Feagins.

Genealogical research was begun by the author only rather recently. When younger, she was led to express her feeling for family legend in a poem dedicated to David Willcuts. It holds the seed for the historical study and is offered here in closing.

Full Circle

I have returned, Grandfather of my
Grandfather, to your birthplace.
It took five generations to come round
but here I am, full circle; brought your
corner cupboard, too, and gave our son
your name so he could have it.

The Willcuts Family: History and Legend

(Mother said it was the only way:
It must return to David Willcuts.)

Found your name in Levi Coffin's book
and his name on a sign up the road —
names now weathering on tombstones
in valleys west of the Appalachians.
Brought along faces staring eternally
from a photo album linking you and me:
My father-teacher stands before his
one-room school in Terre Haute
surrounded by his students, who
could well be mine right here
with different dress. Your son there,
before his house in Fountain City,
never left his native state
like you and me.

You'd feel at home in Carolina now,
would have applauded the Greensboro
sit-ins but deplored the dynamiting
of our Revolutionary Oak, when
Eleanor Roosevelt spoke
at Guilford College.
Secret discussions of the
Underground Railroad anticipated
loud debate on crosstown busing. You
would have something yet to say.
Time loosens kindred ties, but not
too much; so when my days on earth
come to their close, I'll mix a little
Hoosier dust at last with soil your
father's plow once turned, while
Carolina bones that lie in Indiana
count, I hope, for mine that could not
stay to die where they were born.

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¹ Mary Shackleton writes, in a letter dated 21st November, 1984, that "there are many Wilcox and Wilcocks and Willcocks, but it would hardly be worth delving into these unless you were fairly certain that they were the same family."

² The author once met an Oregon cousin, the late Jack L. Willcuts, then General Superintendent of Northwest Yearly Meeting, who, while attending the Friends World Conference in 1967, was looking up their common ancestor in the Guilford College Library.

³ *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Index of Persons, Volumes 1-50, S-Z, vol. 3 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1972), 261. In the index are found under Willcutt the names of seven males: Andrew J., Francis H., John, Levi Lincoln, Thomas, William, and Zebulon.

⁴ A copy of Florence Vinton's letter is among the papers of Suzette Willcutts Brown. This earlier genealogical research was inspired by Ruth Willcutts Kerr, Suzette's younger sister.

⁵ Elsdon C. Smith, *New Dictionary of American Family Names* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1973), 551.

⁶ William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, vol. I (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1936), 844.

⁷ Piney Grove Monthly Meeting, South Carolina, Minutes. These minutes and other Quaker records cited are in the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

⁸ Hinshaw, 379.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Piney Grove Monthly Meeting, South Carolina, Records, 2.

¹¹ Hinshaw, 844.

¹² Hinshaw, 1065.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Willard Heiss, ed., *Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana*, part 2 of vol. 7 of *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1965), 89.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, The Reputed President of the Underground Railroad* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1880) 453-454.

¹⁷ The author was shown where the tannery stood. However, the census for Wayne County in 1850 lists David as a farmer and his son, Billy, as a tanner. Of course, David could have owned the tannery.

The Willcuts Family: History and Legend

¹⁸ Heiss, viii.

¹⁹ Ibid., 90.

²⁰ Ibid., 67.

²¹ Ibid., 89.

²² Federal Census of Wayne County, Indiana of 1850. The census confirms the names of four of the children. Ruth had married and left home. Perhaps Mary had not been born.

²³ Dr. Kenneth L. Carroll, emeritus professor of religion at Southern Methodist University, who is also descended from the Marines and has done extensive research on the family in connection with the Nicholites, says that the pronunciation in his family is the same as that of the English adjective.

²⁴ Nelson Osgood Rhoades, ed., *Colonial Families of North America*, vol. 7 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1966), 351.

²⁵ Kenneth Lane Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites: A Look at the "New Quakers" of Maryland, Delaware, North and South Carolina* (Easton, Maryland: The Easton Publishing Company, 1962), 46-7.

²⁶ Ibid., 51.

²⁷ William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, vol. V (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1946), 263.

²⁸ Heiss, III, 84, which lists marriage records of Mississinewa Monthly Meeting, Grant County, Indiana. The record is unclear —Clark, "s. Thomas & Milly (dec)." At Clark's third marriage, 11-21-1860 is clearly stated (both dec).

²⁹ Hinshaw, I, 1072, Minutes of Piney Grove, South Carolina, Monthly Meeting.

³⁰ Heiss II, 90.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Papers of Suzette Willcutts Brown and a letter to the author, dated December 8, 1981, from a cousin, Rebecca Vinton Tintorri.

³³ Suzette Willcutts Brown, unpublished manuscript, property of Mary Ellen Brown Feagins.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ *Congressional Record—Appendix* (21 March 1951) A1698.

The Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College Annual Report, 1988-1989

by

Carole Treadway

This has been a transitional year in the Friends Historical Collection (FHC) and has been marked by adaptation to change and by preparation for the future more than by the undertaking or completion of major projects. At the end of April 1988 Damon Hickey moved back full time into the Friends Historical Collection following the completion of his special assignment as coordinator of the First International Congress on Quaker Education, but his time here was brief since he began a year-long study leave in August to complete the requirements for a Ph.D. in history. During his absence Carole Treadway, bibliographer, managed the collection with the invaluable assistance of Augusta Benjamin and Gertrude Beal.

A major change was made in January when approval was given for the addition of a full-time research assistant in the collection on a two-year appointment. This position, which combines secretarial, library, and research and reference components, has been ably filled by Gertrude Beal. Gertrude brings her many years of experience as library secretary and her training as an historian to the position and has already made a significant difference in the level of service the collection is able to provide and has freed Carole Treadway to work on essential aspects of FHC work which had been inadequately attended to prior to Gertrude's arrival.

It should be noted that during the fall semester FHC volunteer Augusta Benjamin agreed to work part-time as assistant in the collection and made it possible for Carole Treadway to keep her head above water. Following Gertrude's appointment, Augusta resumed her valu-

Carole Treadway is Quaker bibliographer for The Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina. During 1988-89, she was acting curator of the collection.

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able volunteer work answering genealogical requests by mail and preparing manuscript collections for access and use.

At about the time Gertrude Beal assumed the research assistant position, the need arose for a replacement for the treasurer of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society (NCFHS) due to the illness of Clara Farlow who had served in that capacity for many years. Concurrently the secretary of the society felt that the time had come to relinquish most of his duties. With the approval of the FHC, library, and college administration, and of the NCFHS Board of Directors, Gertrude assumed these duties as part of her responsibilities in the FHC. Toward that work the society has agreed to make a substantial contribution toward her salary. Since the NCFHS has as its primary purpose the collection, preservation, and publication of southern Quaker history, and since it functions in many ways as a support for the work of the FHC, this move was seen as a natural one which will benefit both the FHC and the NCFHS.

In the fall the construction of the library addition began to intrude on the existing building and several weeks were spent preparing for and supervising the removal of Quaker artifacts, costumes, and other items out of library storage areas into storage areas out of the building. Since January renovation of the reading room next door has resulted in noise, dust, and the loss of the heating and cooling systems in the FHC.

Preparation continues for storage of many of the furnishings, artifacts, and portions of the collection as preparations are made for the move into temporary quarters later this year. During this time of retrenchment genealogical services will be suspended. When the move is made into temporary quarters early next winter, all public services will be curtailed, although the staff will be on hand to provide as much service as possible. Plans are for the renovation and expansion of the FHC areas in the existing library building to be complete by spring 1990.

Other notable activities this year include the following. Damon Hickey passed his written and oral comprehensive examinations and has made good progress on his dissertation entitled, "The Quakers in the New South, 1865-1920." His proposal for a course "The Quakers in American History" was approved by the history department of the college and he will teach it in the spring of 1990.

In April Carole Treadway wrote an article on the Friends Historical Collection, its history and scholarly resources for a future issue of *Library Quarterly*, the journal of the Department of Library Science of the University of Chicago.

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Carole Treadway served on two library task forces, Personnel and Library Facilities. Service on the latter required many hours of meetings as plans for the new and renovated library facilities, including FHC areas, were worked out. She also served on the campus judicial board.

The staff assisted the college in its efforts to have the campus added to the National Register of Historic Sites by providing documentation to the consultant, Linda Edmisten. Damon Hickey participated in a campus-wide meeting on other ways to dissuade the city from building a new street through the college woods.

In addition to the valuable volunteer assistance of Augusta Benjamin, Margaret Michener continues her work indexing the Guilford College Alumni Bulletin and genealogical materials. Student assistants during the year were Amy Beth Glass, Kevin Taylor, and Debra Ann Parker.

Despite the disruption of FHC space caused by construction, the staff continued to serve students, faculty, and staff of Guilford College, and the two North Carolina yearly meetings; scholars and students from other institutions; and family historians in a number of ways.

Heavy use of the collection was made by students this year, especially members of the Quakerism classes. Other students explored topics such as contributions of Quaker women to social change, and the Rich Square Monthly Meeting of Friends and its community in Northampton County, North Carolina Quaker conscientious objectors in the Civil War, and a variety of topics related to college history and personal interest. Guilford faculty pursued inquiries into the history of women's studies at Guilford, writing requirements at Guilford, student regulations at Guilford for a study of the college role *in loco parentis*. Needless to say, Damon Hickey conducted extensive research in archival and printed sources in the collection in his study of North Carolina Quakers for his dissertation. Other scholars were provided materials for their researches into the League of Nations, Quaker migration to Ohio, the incidence of tuberculosis in 19th century abolitionists, and Dolley Madison. Graduate students did research on Quaker women in England during the Interregnum, Quaker influence on public policy in the United States, Quaker response to the Civil War in the South, the management of special collections and archives, the home of an eighteenth-century Quaker for an archaeological investigation, and colonial North Carolina Quakers.

When Damon Hickey returns in August 1990 Carole Treadway will depart for the fall semester for a study leave. During the next year the staff will continue planning for new quarters and for the adjustments

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needed to adapt to temporary quarters during renovation. The suspension of some services during this time, while regrettable, will allow staff to work on special projects. This opportunity is seen as a small compensation for inconvenience for everyone. The staff looks forward to greater service to the college, to the Quaker community, and to family historians in the future when the move is made into the new Friends Historical Collection area.

Other activities of the staff, gifts to the collection, and deposits of meeting records are as follows.

American Freedom Association

Damon Hickey attended the American Freedom Association meeting in Boone, N.C. in August to speak about the Peace and Justice collection. The Association has since deposited its papers in the Friends Historical Collection.

Beta Phi Mu

Carole Treadway is treasurer of the Beta Beta Zeta Chapter of Beta Phi Mu, the international library science honor society.

Conference on Quaker Historians and Archivists

Damon Hickey and Carole Treadway attended the conference at Pickering College, New Market, Ontario in June. Carole Treadway served on the planning committee for the conference and presided at one session.

Friends Center

Despite being on leave Damon Hickey continued his involvement in the long range planning for Friends Center. This included preparing a lengthy report on the FHC. Gertrude Beal served on the planning committee of the annual Young Adult Conference sponsored by Friends Center.

Friends World Committee for Consultation

Damon Hickey attended the seventeenth Triennial of the Friends World Committee for Consultation (FWCC) in Tokyo in August. He also attended the annual meeting of the FWCC-Section of the Americas in Des Moines, Iowa in March and the Southeastern Regional Gathering of the FWCC at St. Simons Island, Georgia in October. He served on the executive committee of the FWCC-Section of the Americas and attended meetings in Seattle; Philadelphia; Worcester, Massachusetts; and Des Moines.

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Historical Society of North Carolina

Damon Hickey attended two meetings of the Historical Society of North Carolina.

Kiwanis Club and Other Local Groups

Damon Hickey spoke to the Kiwanis Club in Greensboro on the history of Friends in Guilford County. Carole Treadway spoke on the same topic to a local Girl Scout Troop.

New Garden Collective

Gertrude Beal served as convener of the New Garden Collective to publish *Friendly Woman* magazine in 1988.

North Carolina Friends Historical Society

In addition to Gertrude Beal's assumption of the duties of secretary/treasurer of the society, she also joined Damon Hickey, Carole Treadway, and Herbert Poole on the editorial board of the society which has responsibility for the editing and printing of *The Southern Friend*, the society's journal. She brings to the board her experience coordinating the editing and publishing of *Friendly Woman*, a journal by and for Quaker women. During the year three issues of *The Southern Friend* were produced. Both Damon Hickey and Carole Treadway contributed book reviews. Damon Hickey edited articles for all of the issues and contributed two articles: "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction" to the Spring 1989 issue and "'A Spirit of Improvement and Progress': John Collins' 'Summer Trip to North Carolina, 1887'" to the Spring 1988 issue. The annual report of the FHC was published in the Autumn 1988 issue. Carole Treadway continued as vice president of the society and in that role planned the annual meeting.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting Committees

Both Damon Hickey and Carole Treadway serve ex officio on the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, and on the Records Committee of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative). Carole Treadway is recorder for the former and convener of the latter. Damon Hickey serves ex officio on the Publications Board of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

Other Meeting Activities

Damon Hickey concluded his term as recording clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) and Carole Treadway was

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appointed as the new recording clerk. Carole Treadway is convener of Ministry and Worship for Friendship Monthly Meeting of Friends. Gertrude Beal serves on the nominating committee of New Garden Monthly Meeting. She is coordinating the local arrangements for the Women in Ministry Conference to be held at the college in June 1989. She is also a member of the steering committee of Thee Players for the production of "I Take Thee, Serenity" for the United Society of Friends Women-International conference to be held at the college in June 1989. Gertrude was assistant editor of the Daily Bulletin published for the Friends General Conference Gathering, Boone, N.C., July, 1988.

Quakers Uniting in Publication (QUIP)

Gertrude Beal and Carole Treadway attended the annual meeting of QUIP in Richmond, Indiana in September.

Society of North Carolina Archivists

Carole Treadway and Damon Hickey attended one meeting each of the society.

Summary of Uses of the Friends Historical Collection 1988-1989

North Carolina Friends

The History Committee of Centre Monthly Meeting continued research for a history of this meeting, one of the oldest in Guilford County. Research was also done for a brief centennial history of Edward Hill Meeting, and research continued for a history of Harmony Grove Meeting. Members of Goldsboro, Piney Woods, Cedar Grove, Marlborough, Archdale, Bethel, Winston-Salem, Liberty, and Centre Meetings also consulted their meeting records for a variety of purposes.

Tours of the collection and talks were given twice to members of High Point Meeting and their guests from Indiana Yearly Meeting.

Research was done for a brief history of the American Friends Service Committee in the Southeast by a local Friend, and another sought information on the responsibilities of social concerns committees within Friends meetings. The staff located the Blue Ridge Mission in Virginia for another Friend.

Books and file materials on Quaker weddings were provided for a meeting member, and a candidate for recording as a minister was lent several required readings under the special loan provisions for Quaker

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ministers. This special privilege was extended to several meeting members during the year to assist them in preparing First Day school and other meeting programs.

The Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records had three regular meetings in the Collection, and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society held board meetings and committee meetings here.

Guilford College Faculty, Students, and Staff

Three Guilford students wrote history seminar papers based on research in primary sources in the FHC, one on Quakers in Northampton County, North Carolina, one on North Carolina Quaker women who influenced social change, and one on Quaker conscientious objectors during the Civil War. Other students were assisted in selecting materials or did research for papers or articles on Guilford campus buildings, Mary Hobbs Hall, the admission of blacks to Guilford College, and the Quaker response to the Vietnam War.

As usual, the Quakerism classes made heavy use of the FHC book collection and file materials for their required papers and projects. An art class met in the collection in order to use valuable art works housed here.

The Development, Admissions, and Publications Offices were assisted several times in special projects. The Athletic Department searched college publications for track scores of previous years. Individual faculty members researched college publications and papers for information on writing requirements, student regulations in selected years for a study of the college role *in loco parentis*, and women's studies at the college.

Damon Hickey made extensive use of yearly meeting archives, manuscripts, and printed sources for his doctoral dissertation on Quakers in the New South from 1865-1920.

Scholars, Students, and Other Researchers from Outside Guilford

Students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (2), the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (6), Wake Forest University, the University of Richmond, Yale University, the University of South Carolina, and Duke University conducted research in the collection during the year. Topics included Guilford County Quakers, Quaker influence on public policy, the Quaker concept of simplicity, Virginia Quakers in the Revolution, and women in the American Revolution.

Anna Gray, a graduate student in archaeology at the College of William and Mary, studied records of the Symons Creek Meeting in

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Pasquotank County for information on Solomon Pool whose home site is being studied.

Two students in the Library and Information Studies program at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro were assisted in gathering information for their papers on the cataloging and management of special collections respectively.

Claire Kirch, a graduate student in the history department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, used microfilm and printed early English Quaker sources in the collection for her paper on the status of Quaker women in the Interregnum period.

Don Dowless of Baylor University continued his research in early North Carolina Quaker records for his dissertation on Colonial North Carolina Quakers.

J. Tracy Power, of the University of South Carolina, used the John Bacon Crenshaw papers for her dissertation, "From the Wilderness to Appomattox."

A reporter from *Omega News* (Greensboro) sought information on the community of Warnersville for an article, and the *Triad Style* magazine was provided with a list of names associated with the Guilford College community for a local "cultural literacy" list. For an article on Quaker costume, Doris Dale Paysour of the *Greensboro News and Record* interviewed the collection staff and examined some of its costumes. Information on Quaker costume was provided for two other researchers as well.

College publications and files were consulted by a researcher writing a history of the Greensboro YMCA. He was specifically interested in the Guilford College YMCA which operated at the college early in this century.

A researcher for the National Park Service sought local information on Dolley Madison for exhibits in the Dolley Madison home in Philadelphia.

Rhonda Curtis, curator of the Clinton County Historical Society in Ohio, spent several days in the collection during the summer reading meeting minutes for research on nineteenth century North Carolina Quakers, social change, and migration to southwest Ohio.

Statistical information on the two yearly meetings in North Carolina was provided for two persons preparing to give speeches on one or both yearly meetings.

The staff attempted to identify a Friends meeting in Iowa with

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predominantly Danish membership, without success, for a researcher working on the religious life of Danish immigrants.

A fifth grade class at Erwin Open School and their teacher collected materials on the Underground Railroad for a novel the class is writing, and a Western Guilford High School student sought information on Quaker antislavery efforts in Guilford County.

A local Girl Scout troop was given a tour of the collection and a talk on Quakerism in Guilford County was given for another troop.

Two playwrights were assisted in locating materials for projects involving, for one, the dramatization of the life of Quaker martyr Mary Dyer, and for the other a monologue of the North Carolina Quaker raconteur, Addison Coffin.

A list of articles in *The Guilford Collegian* pertaining to Florida by ornithologist T. Gilbert Pearson was compiled for a bibliography of Florida.

The following articles which involved research in the collection were published during the year: "The Peace and Social Concerns of Wrightsborough Friends: Part I, Living with the Indians," by George H. Cox, Jr. and "A Spirit of Improvement and Progress: John Collins' 'Summer Trip to North Carolina, 1887,'" by Damon D. Hickey, both in *The Southern Friend*, X (Spring 1988); "The Quaker Ceramic Tradition in the North Carolina Piedmont: Documentation and Preliminary Survey of the Dennis Family Pottery," by Hal E. Pugh in *The Southern Friend*, X (Autumn 1988). "The Peace and Social Concerns of Wrightsborough Friends: Part II, The Ravages of War," by George H. Cox, Jr.; "Hannah (Baskel) Phelps Phelps Hill: A Quaker Woman and Her Offspring," by Gwen Boyer Bjorkman; and "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction," by Damon D. Hickey, all in *The Southern Friend*, XI (Spring 1989).

Two significant groups of records deposited in the collection were published during the year as follows: *Quaker Marriage Certificates: Perquimans, Pasquotank, Suttons Creek & Piney Woods Monthly Meetings, North Carolina, 1677-1800*, compiled by Gwen Boyer Bjorkman (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1988); and *Marriages in Contentnea Quarterly Meeting of Friends, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1737-1891*, researched and compiled by Theodore Edison Perkins, 1988 (Greensboro, NC: Guilford County Genealogical Society, 1988).

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Gifts to the Friends Historical Collection, 1988-1989

Adventures of Feirrington

Donation for tour.

Allee, W. Arthur

Family group sheet for William Haig.

American Freedom Foundation

Papers of the American Freedom Foundation.

Andersen, Alfred F.

Liberating the Early American Dream: A Way to Transcend the Capitalist / Communist Dilemma Nonviolently, by Alfred F. Andersen, 1985.

Andersen, Dorothy N.

For Conscience Sake, by Solomon Stucky, 1983.

Anonymous

A strip of 5 negatives, campus scenes c.1948-50.

Aseltine, Lois Hall

Some Ancestors of Amy Ann Cox Hall, by Lois Hall Aseltine, 1986.

Baylis, Barbara

Willard family records, entered into blank pages of a copy of Barclay's *The Anarchy of the Ranters...*, 1691 (Photocopies).

Beal, Gertrude

2 pamphlets on home schooling by Kate Kerman.

Beeth, Howard

Copy of his "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies," 1988 (a paper prepared for the Conference of Quaker Archivists and Historians, Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario, Canada, June 24-26, 1988).

Benfey, O. Theodor and Rachel

The Tyranny of Mathematics: an Essay in the Symbiosis of Science, Poetry, and Religion, by Geoffrey Hoyland, 1945; papers of Josef and Anni Albers (on loan).

Benjamin, Augusta

The Terrible Voyage, by Edwin P. Hoyt, 1976; volunteer work in the collection.

Binkley, Frances J.

Guilford College Student Handbook, 1891.

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Bjorkman, Gwen Boyer

Quaker Marriage Certificates: Pasquotank, Perquimans, Piney Woods, and Suttons Creek Monthly Meetings, North Carolina, 1677-1800, comp. by Gwen Boyer Bjorkman, 1988.

Brock, Peter

The Military Question in the Early Church: A Selected Bibliography of a Century's Scholarship, 1887-1987, compiled by Peter Brock.

Brown, Charlotte

Guilford College items including Freshman Class View Book, (1966), commencement program (1967), one issue of *The Gadfly* (undated); *Walking Tall*, by Edith Dabbs; brochure describing Penn Community Services. (6 items.)

Bundy, Dr. V. Mayo

Donation of money; issues of the *Henry County Historicalog* (vols. 14-16); *Early Settlers of Lee County, Virginia and Adjacent Counties*, vols. I & II, by Anne Wynn Laningham, 1977; Supplement no. 1 to *The Descendants of William and Elizabeth Bundy of Rhode Island and North Carolina*, by V. Mayo Bundy, 1989.

Butler, Dr. Lindley

Issues of *Quaker History*, 1973-1987, inclusive; unbound copy of *North Carolina Fiction, 1734-1957, An Annotated Bibliography*, prepared by the Joint Committee on North Carolina Literature and Bibliography of the North Carolina English Teachers Association and the North Carolina Library Association, 1958.

Clark, Edyth M.

"Our Quaker Ancestors..." (see Clara Hamlett Robertson gift).

Cooley, Barbara C.

Contribution of money.

Craven, Duval

Additions to the Craven Family papers; *John Willcox, 1728-1793, of Chester County, Pennsylvania, Cumberland County, North Carolina and Chatham County, North Carolina*, by George W. Willcox, 1988.

Ferguson, C.W.

Piety Promoted,...the tenth part, by Joseph Gurney Bevan, 2nd ed., 1811.

First Friends Meeting

Contribution of money.

Goodman, Judy Mower

Light and Shadow: A Collection of Poems, by Beatrice Folger, 1988.

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(Given with Mary Blair Mower.)

Greensboro *Friendly Woman* Collective

Issues of *Friendly Woman* to complete holdings through volume 8.

Hamil, Mary

Memorials Concerning Deceased Friends; ...from the Records of the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania, etc., from the Year 1783 to 1819, Inclusive. 2nd ed., 1822.

Hamm, Thomas

Letter from Joseph Moore to Samuel Bettle, postmarked Bush Hill, NC, 3-24-1868. (Copy; original in Joseph Moore Collection, Lilly Library, Earlham College); Printed Minutes, Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1820, 1824.

Hammer Trust

A History of Sylvan School, 1866-1980.

Haverford College Library

Extracts from Letters and Other Pieces, written by Margaret Jackson. Phila., 1825; *Les Quakers de Congenies*, Idebert Exbrayat, 1987; *Elsa Cedergren: Search of Integrity*, by Ingeborg Borgstrom, n.d.

Haworth, Sara Richardson

Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (printed) 1891, 1899, 1903, 1907-8.

Heuss, Ione

Jacob Stützman (?-1775): His Children and Grandchildren, by John Hale Stützman, 1982; *The Brugh-Stuart Families*, 1977, Phoebe Brugh Stuart, 1977.

Hickey, Damon

Materials from FWCC Triennial, 1989, including reports, programs, minutes, photographs, guide, songbook, bulletins.

Hill, Thomas

"Inventory of the Records of Ohio Valley Yearly Meeting," 1988.

Hobbs, Grimsley

Faith and Practice, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1947; *Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting*, 1932, 1938; issues of *Friends Missionary Advocate* (2); 1 issue of *The Penn Quarterly*, 1937.

Howley, Kevin R.

Blackburn and Allied Descendants of John Blackburn, Sr., by Evelyn D. Gibson, 1978.

Huey, Tom

Memories of Stanley Pumphrey, by Henry Stanley Newman, 1883.

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Hughes, Fred

Proofsheets for his book *Guilford County, N.C.: Map Supplement*, 1988.

Ingle, H. Larry

Peacemaking and a Tangled Wing, by Robert C. Broome, 1985.

Intermountain Yearly Meeting

Proceedings of Intermountain Yearly Meeting, 1988.

Jones, Mary Elizabeth

William Penn's Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, Tercentenary ed., 1970; *The Business of Our Lives*, by Daisy Newman, 1961.

Marshall, Virginia Speck

"Our Quaker Ancestors..." see Clara Hamlett Robertson gift.

Mason, Barry J.

Donation of money.

Massey, Dorothy Hardin

A short article "The Wife of Thomas Symons of Pasquotank Precinct, North Carolina," by Dorothy Hardin Massey and Clifford M. Hardin.

Massey, Frank

Seven titles for the Peace and Justice and Quaker Collections.

Michener, Margaret

Contribution of volunteer work.

Milner, Charles

Minutes of Chapel Hill Monthly Meeting, July 1987-June 1988 (photocopies)

Moore, George

Moore Family History and Genealogy, by George W. Moore, 1988 (on microfiche).

Moore, J. Floyd

Photograph of Barrett and Kay Hollister and Louis and Louise Waddilove taken during Friends World Conference, 1967; Notes on the "Dr. M.F. Fox House" of Guilford College, by Eleanor Fox Pearson (typed copies).

Moore, J. Floyd and Lucretia J.

"My Spiritual Autobiography," by Louetta Knight Gilbert, and 5 newsclippings about "Aunt Lou" (photocopies).

Mower, Mary Blair

Light and Shadow: A Collection of Poems, by Beatrice Folger, 1988 (Given with Judy Mower Goodman).

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report

Nabers, Thomas A.

James Monroe Nabers Family, by Thomas Augustus Nabers; ed. by Deborah L.G. Nabers, 1983.

Neelley, Julius, Sr.

Isaac Stanley photograph collection, including late 19th century photographs of the Stanley family, Guilford College students, and unidentified individuals (20).

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)

Contribution of money.

Osborne, Byron L.

Autograph album of Lindley E. Osborne, 1881-82.

Perkins, Theodore

Marriages in Contentnea Quarterly Meeting of Friends, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1737-1891, researched and compiled by Theodore Edison Perkins, 1988; miscellaneous clippings, bulletins, pamphlets, programs; printed papers of annual sessions of NCYM, 1987, 1988; printed papers of FUM triennial, 1987; mailings of Associated Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs; program and printed materials for Sunday School Growth Conference sponsored by Christian Education Committee of NCYM, 1987; NCYM Financial Statements, 1986, 1987; *A Treatise on Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion: In Which are Illustrated the Profession, Ministry, Worship, and Faith of the Society of Friends*, by Jesse Kersey (Phila: E. Kimber, 1815); *Christmas Reflections: First Friends Meeting Christmas Reader, 1987*; First Friends Meeting bulletins, 1988 (2 sets).

Pike, Doris

Forty years among the Indians: Descriptive History of the Long and Busy Life of Jeremiah Hubbard, repr. ed., 1975.

Plotts, Lois Davis

Maryhill, Sam Hill, and Me, by Lois Davis Plotts, 1978; *Stonehenge at Maryhill*, by Lois Davis Plotts, 2nd ed., 1983.

Poolside Publications

Complimentary copy of *Bethesda Friends Meeting: the first 25 years*, by Lloyd B. Swift and Stephanie Brandes, 1988.

Rabey, Lois

Books, pamphlets, minutes (printed) and disciplines of Baltimore Yearly Meeting; framed photograph Guilford College students and faculty, 1921-22; photo album, Guilford College, ca. 1909; miscellaneous photographs (3); lithograph of Nathan Hunt's home; minute

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book, Young People's Union of Somerton Friends Meeting, 1907-1909; Guilford College banner, ca. 1921-2.

Ratcliffe, Albert Wayne, M.D.

Rooting among the Ratcliffes, by Albert Wayne Ratcliffe, M.D., 1988.

Ratcliffe, Clarence E.

Richard Ratcliff Genealogical Society Bulletin; correspondence re Dixon family between Simeon Dixon and R.H. Hutchison (photocopies); drawing of Martinsville, O. Friends Meeting House; *Quaker Sesquicentennial, 1812-1962: The Friends Church*, (Ohio Yearly Meeting, Damascus, O.).

Richardson, Ingram H.

The Burttts: A Lincolnshire Quaker Family, 1500-1900, comp. by Mary Bowen Burt, 1937 (photocopy).

Robertson, Clara Hamlett

"Our Quaker Ancestors: To Pennsylvania with William Penn or to Nearby States" by Virginia Speck Marshall, with appendix by Clara Hamlett Robertson, and an index by Edyth Clark (unpublished typescript), 1986; contribution to pay for copying and binding copies of genealogy by Virginia Speck Marshall.

St. Lawrence, Jane

Slides from the FWCC Triennial, 1973, Sidney, Australia.

Skidmore, William

Skidmore: Rickmansworth, England; Delaware; North Carolina and West, 1555 to 1983, by Warren Skidmore and William F. Skidmore, 1983.

Skinner, Jane L.

Photocopies of documents pertaining to two men named Joseph Worth, namely Joseph Worth of Randolph County, NC and Joseph Worth of Guilford County; photographs of David Gardner (1789-1871) and his wife, Elizabeth Folger Gardner (1789-1876).

Stoesen, Alex

Additions to Parsons family papers including two files of letters and one scrapbook; addition to the papers of Joseph J. Cox; personal files (2); Analytical Studies Team reports, 1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-82.

Sunley, Emil M.

"The Ancestry and Descendants of Cary Allen Traer and Ella Frazier," comp. by Emil M. Sunley, 1988.

Swarthmore College Peace Collection

Guide to Sources on Women in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, 1988.

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report

Tatum, Bobby Ray

Letters of Flora Haines and Florence McBane; cape belonging to Florence McBane; Quaker books (3). (14 items.)

Thomas, Malcolm

An Hour in His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, on Friday the 22nd December, 1820, 2nd ed., London, nd.; *The Rise and Progress of the Society of Friends in Norway*, by George Richardson, London, 1849; *Quaker Organization and Business Meetings*, by L. Hugh Doncaster, London, 1958; Directory of Friends Meetings in London; "The development of a distinctive form of Quaker dress," by Joan Kendall, offprint from *Costume*, #19, 1985; *Your Meeting's Records: Notes on Creation, Custody and Use*, London, 1986; *A Bygone Quaker Meeting: ('Tadcaster' - 'Wetherby' - 'Clifford'), 1654-1789*, by W. Pearson Thistlethwaite, 1988; Epistle from London Yearly Meeting for Sufferings, 26-6-1692.

Thurman, Ada Lee Goff

Remembering Our Goff-Hodges and Their Kin by V. Mayo Bundy, ed., and Ada Lee Goff Thurman, assoc. ed., 1988.

Treadway, Carolyn S.

Living in the Chinks, by Albert E. Moorman, 1985.

Tyler, Phyllis

Four album pages of 40 documentary photographs, late 19th or early 20th century; offprint of article "Quakers in Minnesota" by Thomas E. Drake in *Minnesota History*, September 1937; newsclipping, article by Phyllis Tyler on Quaker migration west from Raleigh (NC) *News and Observer*, March 19, 1961.

Wicker, Milton

From estate of Milton Wicker by L. Phil Wicker: Letter of Ann Kendall to Brantly Swaim, dated 8-16-(1837).

Williams, Jeaneane

Files on college buildings and commencement.

Winkler, Ruth S.

Genealogy of Hammers Relating to North Carolina, 1684-1987, by Ruth Hammer Swearington Winkler, 1987.

Wolfe, Mrs. Clifton

Welch-Welsh-Walsh: The Official Publication of the Family Association, 1959-1961.

**Documents of
Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings
of North Carolina Deposited in the
Friends Historical Collection
1988-1989**

Archdale Friends Meeting

Membership register (record book) vol. 1

Minutes, 1924-1942 (7th mo. 1924-4th mo. 1942)

Minutes, 1942-1947 (5th mo. 1942-6th mo. 1947)

Asheboro Monthly Meeting

Treasurer's book, 1940-1942

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 7-8-70 - 6-1-88

Book of Memorials, 1959-1988

Bethel Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1st mo. 1987-12th mo. 1987

Chapel Hill Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1987-6th mo. 1988 (photocopies)

Minutes, 7th mo. 1988-3rd mo. 1988

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Membership records (loose sheets, 3)

Membership register, 1939- USFW Circle #2

Minutes, 2nd mo. 1976-6th mo. 1980

Minutes, 7th mo. 1980-8th mo. 1982

Minutes, 9th mo. 1982-12th mo. 1982

Minutes, 7th mo. 1987-6th mo. 1988

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes 1st mo. 1987-12th mo. 1987

Hopewell Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 2-2-58 - 6-2-85, including membership records

Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting

Minutes of Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting 1871-1888 including a loose document in the original volume (photocopies). Given by Wilmington Yearly Meeting.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Epistles (20), 1988

Memorials (44), 1988

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 8th mo. 1980-8th mo. 1988

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Pine Hill Monthly Meeting

Membership register 1964, 1971

Minutes, 1st mo. 1978-6th mo. 1985

Minutes, 7th mo. 1987-6th mo. 1988 (loose)

Plainfield Monthly Meeting

Bear's Chapel WCTU, constitution and minutes (1887-1900), memorials, and membership list (photocopy); *Plainfield Friends Meeting, 1887-1988*

Rich Square Monthly Meeting (Conservative)

Minutes, 5th mo. 1987-5th mo. 1988

Somerton Monthly Meeting

Minutes, Young People's Union, 1907-1909

Springfield Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1969-6th mo. 1977

Minutes, 8th mo. 1977-6th mo. 1983

Virginia Beach Monthly Meeting (Conservative)

Membership list

Minutes, Treasurer's Reports, 8th mo. 1986-5th mo. 1987

White Plains Friends Meeting

Membership register, Volume I 1902?-

A Clayton Family

Compiled by

James E. Bellarts

A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Volume 1, page 406, by James Savage, incorrectly states that Thomas Clayton, b. c1600, Dover, Kent, England who came to Dover, New Hampshire and then to Rhode Island c1670, may have been father of Ann Clayton who died in Rhode Island in 1708, second wife of Governor Nicholas Easton and of the next governor, Henry Bull; and of Sarah Clayton who m. 1674-Mar-04, Matthew Borden. This statement is disproven by birth records of Lancashire Quarterly Meeting, England, which embraced Swarthmore Monthly Meeting. These records show the children of Richard and Margaret Clayton, all born at Gleaston, to have been Sarah Clayton, b. 1652; Mary Clayton, b. 1655; Abraham Clayton, b. 1658; and David Clayton, b. 1661, who removed from Rhode Island to New Jersey in 1691 where he took up land adjoining that of his brother John. Ann Clayton, b. 1664, is also shown as the daughter of Richard Clayton. Richard Clayton of Lancaster is shown to have died 1677-03 mo-07. David Clayton and John Clayton have been proven brothers in New Jersey records.

The Lancashire (England) Quarterly Meeting birth records clearly establish a relationship among Richard Clayton, Quaker missionary to Ireland in 1655, Ann Clayton, missionary to New England and later wife of two Rhode Island governors, and John Clayton, who settled in Monmouth County, New Jersey in 1676. It appears that they may have been siblings, or Richard may have been the father of one or both. It is also likely that all were on intimate terms with Margaret Fell, who eventually married George Fox.

Richard Clayton died in 1677 according to Lancashire Quarterly Meeting burial records. John's will was proved at Burlington County, New Jersey in 1704, and Ann died in Rhode Island in 1708, aged 80.

James E. Bellarts, CG, FACG, is founder and editor of *The Quaker Yeoman*.

A Clayton Family

In all likelihood all three of these Claytons became "convinced Quakers" after hearing one of George Fox's earliest sermons at Swarthmoor Hall. Marriage records of both men are also found under the Swarthmore Meeting: Richard Cleayton and Ellin Cumings, 1665 (*his 2nd or 3rd wife*); John Cleayton (*Cleaton, Clayton*) and Alice Myres, 1661.

As previously stated, the birth register shows the following under the Swarthmore Monthly Meeting: Sarah Clayton 1652; Mary Clayton 1655; Abraham Cleaton 1658; David Cleaton 1661; Ann Cleayton 1664; all from Gleaston and children of Richard and Margaret Clayton.

Rachel Clayton 1662; Zebulon Clayton 1663; Joseph Clayton 1666; Sarah Clayton 1670; all children of John and Alice Clayton.

Sarah Clayton (*died in first year*) and James Clayton, b. 1680, both from Gleaston, were children of Abraham and Ellin Clayton.

Ann Clayton was a servant of Margaret Fell and one of those who became "convinced" at George Fox's first sermon at Swarthmoor in 1652. She came to New England about 1665 with Marmaduke Stephenson, who was hanged at Boston as a Quaker. Finding refuge in Rhode Island she married in succession two governors of Rhode Island, Nicholas Easton and later Henry Bull. (See Rufus Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1962, p. 79).

Upon Bull's death Ann may have spent some time in New Jersey. In 1690 a Widow Bull lived in Gloucester [*New Jersey Archives*, Volume XXI (Deed Book)]. At any rate she died at the home of Sarah Clayton Borden, wife of Matthew Borden, in Rhode Island.

Richard Clayton was one of the earliest "publishers of the truth" to go out from Swarthmoor. Readers of early English Quaker history will find many references to his journeys, jailing, beatings and letters to and from Margaret Fell. The Lancashire Quarterly Meeting burial book records the death of both Richard and his wife Ellin in 1677.

One of the sons of John Clayton of New Jersey was Zebulon Clayton who married Mary Hartshorne. His will, proved in 1744, mentions a deceased son Zebulon and an unnamed daughter.

A Zebulon Clayton had appeared in Perquimans County, North Carolina in 1728 and soon became justice and assemblyman for the county. He died about 1737, and his will mentions one daughter. Zebulon Clayton of North Carolina also owned a tract in Bladen County before it was organized in 1635 (see *Patents in Office of North Carolina Secretary of State or various published abstracts*). One wonders whether John Clayton who was successively surveyor, justice, sheriff and clerk of

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Bladen county may have been related to Zebulon Clayton.

Another John Clayton came to Perquimans County a few years after the death of Zebulon Clayton and was appointed one of the first directors of the town of Hertford.

• • •

I Richard Clayton; b. c1600; resided at Gleaston, Lancashire; m. Margaret (--). Their son:

1 John Clayton; b. c1630, Lancashire, England. He was in Monmouth County, New Jersey in 1676 when he acquired land (*New Jersey Genealogical and Historical Miscellany*, Quit Rent List for Monmouth County, page 370). In 1691 his brother David Clayton came to New Jersey from Newport, Rhode Island, and took up land adjoining John's. David Clayton is known to have been the son of Richard and Margaret (--). Clayton (*Lancashire Quarterly Meeting* records, which embrace *Swarthmore Monthly Meeting*) and the brother of John Clayton. Therefore, John Clayton was the son of Richard and Margaret (--) Clayton of Gleaston, Lancashire. Intensive paid research by Peter Wilson Coldham, Director of Coldham (Genealogical Research), 16 Foxley Hill Road, Purley, Surrey, England CR2 2HB, incorrectly concluded that the above John Clayton may have been the son of James Clayton, son of James Clayton who was baptized 1630-Jun-06, Burnley Parish, of Dimley in Clivinger, a Parish near Clayton le Moor, Lancashire. This James could have been one of the four children of Thomas Clayton and Anne Blondell whose names are unknown. Such a son, John, did exist, and his wife, at least, was a Quaker. It is doubtful, however, that he ever came to North America. John Clayton died in Burlington County in 1704. His will was dated 1704, and his wife was named as Alice. (She was Alice Myres per Lancashire Quarterly Meeting records and *The American Genealogist*, April 1982.) His wife (possibly second) is shown as Mary on page 24 of *Chesterfield Township Heritage* (New Jersey), published by the Chesterfield Tercentennial Committee. LDS microfilms #854098 and 854099 for Upper Evesham Monthly Meeting, Burlington County, New Jersey, note the marriage of Leah Clayton and Abraham Brown "at the home of John Clayton 5th day of the week 1692-07 mo-29. Guests were John Clayton, father; Abraham Brown, father; Nicholas Brown, Sen., Uncle to the Groom; John Hampton, Brother-in-law to groom; Zebulon Clayton, brother; Mary Brown, mother; Sarah Clayton, mother" (possibly *third wife*). The Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting mar-

A Clayton Family

riage records, #14, page 23, reflect: "Abraham Brown of Shrewsbury & Leah Clayton of Middletown - at the house of John Clayton at Webeck - this 29th day of the 7th month - 1692." The children of John Clayton (biographies of Joshua Clayton, Thomas Clayton and John Middleton Clayton in *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*; *Chesterfield Township Heritage*; will in *New Jersey Archives* which lists ten children):

11 Rachel Clayton; b. 1662-09 mo-20; d. 1662-10 mo (*The American Genealogist*, p. 115, April, 1982).

12 Zebulon Clayton; b. 1663-09 mo-27, Hallbanke, Lancashire, England (*Lancashire Quarterly Meeting records* and *The American Genealogist*, p. 115, April, 1982); removed to New Jersey with his parents c1677; d. 1744, Upper Freehold, Monmouth County, New Jersey; m. 1697, Mary Hartshorne, b. 1676-Aug-14, Freehold, Monmouth County, New Jersey, d. 1744, daughter of Richard and Mary (Carr) Hartshorne.

• • •

13 Joseph Clayton; b. 1666-05 mo-06, probably d. in infancy (*The American Genealogist*, p. 115, April, 1982).

14 Leah Clayton (below).

15 Asher Clayton, b. 1674; m. Mary Hunloke.

16 Sarah Clayton; b. c1675; m. after 1696-Feb-12, Gershom Mott. Her first name is also shown as "Wesse."

17 Rachel Clayton (below).

18 John Clayton; b. 1680; d. 1716, Burlington County, New Jersey; m. c1700, Mary Wood.

19 Mary Clayton; b. c1682; m. Joseph Taylor.

1-10 David Clayton; b. c1684; m. Anne (--).

14 Leah Clayton; b. 1668, New Jersey; d. after 1704 but prior to 1711-01 mo-20; m. 1692-07 mo-29, Abraham Brown, Jr., b. 1672, England, son of Abraham Brown, Sr. (and his possible but unproven wife Mary Potter); grandson of Nicholas Brown of Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Abraham Brown, Jr. came to Burlington County, New Jersey from Rhode Island, and resided at Shrewsbury and Mansfield. Abraham Brown, Jr.; m(2) 1711-01 mo-20, Haddonfield, New Jersey, Hannah Adams; m(3) 1712-05 mo-14, Burlington Monthly Meeting, Phebe Adams. (The Northampton Township, Burlington County, New Jersey, Census of 1709, taken 28 3 month called May, 1709 shows: BROWN, Abraham, age 37; Leah, age 41; Abraham, age 15; Alice, age 13; John, age 11; Rachell, age 7; Zebulon, age 4; plus Indians Andrew, age 30, Jenney, age

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28; Will, age 2. This is conclusive proof that the following children of Abraham Brown, were the children of Leah Clayton!):

141 Abraham Brown III, named after his father and grandfather.

142 Alice Brown, named after mother of Leah Clayton.

143 John Brown, name appears in both parents' families; m. c1719, Catherine (--), b. c1702. His will was probated 1748 naming children:

1431 Clayton Brown.

1432 Theodosia Brown.

1433 John Brown.

1434 Samuel Brown; b. c1720; m. 1750-Feb-02, Ann Buffin (*Hinshaw*, Vol. II, p. 167). Samuel Brown would have been approximately 30 years of age at the time of his marriage to Ann Buffin. He may have been married previously, although no record has been found of such a marriage. Assuming three births or 6 years prior to Samuel's birth c 1720, a marriage date of 1714-24 would be indicated for Samuel's father John, who would have been born before Leah Clayton's death which occurred between 1704 and 1711-01 mo-20.

1435 Sarah Brown.

1436 Catherine Brown.

144 Rachel Brown, named after sister of Leah Clayton.

145 Zebulon Brown, named after brother of Leah Clayton. This Zebulon Brown also named a daughter Leah.

All of the children of Abraham Brown, Jr. and Leah Clayton were b. c1710. Although some sources state that Leah Clayton died young and did not have children, it is now certain that she in fact did. Leah Clayton is named in her father's will which was proved 1704-Jun-02. At that time she would have been 36 years old and would have been married 12 years. Also, the Clayton name appears in three succeeding generations of the Brown family. It is unlikely that this would have occurred unless the Clayton name was part of the family heritage.

17 Rachel Clayton; b. 1677-04 mo-16, New Jersey; d. 1712 (*The American Genealogist*, p. 115, April, 1982); m. 1697-Feb-24 (*The American Genealogist*, p. 115, April, 1982) Michael Newbold, Jr., of Springfield, Burlington County, New Jersey. They were the ancestors of Lady Diana Spencer, who became HRH, Diana, Princess of Wales, as follows (*The American Genealogist*, p. 242, October, 1982):

A Clayton Family

171 Sarah Newbold; m. Thomas Boude, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and the area surrounding Baltimore, Maryland, b. 1700, d. 1781. their daughter:

1711 Sarah Duncan Boude; b. 1790-Dec-15; d. 1860-Dec-17; m. John Work, of Baltimore County, Maryland, and Chillicothe, Ross County, Ohio, probably b. 1781-Oct-28, d. 1823-Apr-16. Their son:

17111 Franklin H. Work, of Chillicothe, Ohio, and New York, New York; b. 1819; d. 1911; m. Ellen Wood, b. 1831, d. 1877. Their daughter:

171111 Frances Eleanor (Ellen) Work, of New York, New York; and Paris, France, after her divorce; known as Mrs. Burke Roche; b. 1857; d. 1947; m. James Boothby Burke Roche, third Baron Fermoy, of New York, New York, and London, England, b. 1851, d. 1920. Their son:

1711111 Edmund Maurice Burke Roche, fourth Baron Fermoy, a resident of the United States from 1891 to 1920; b. 1885; d. 1955; m. Ruth Sylvia Gill, b. 1908. Their daughter:

17111111 The Honorable Frances Ruth Burke Roche; b. 1936; m(1) Edward John Spencer, eighth Earl Spencer; b. 1924. They are divorced. She m(2) and is now the Honorable Mrs. Shand Kydd. Her daughter by her first marriage:

171111111 Lady Diana Frances Spencer, now HRH, The Princess of Wales; b. 1961; m. Charles Philip Arthur George, Prince of Wales, b. 1948.

The remaining children of Richard and Margaret (--) Clayton (I above):

2 Sarah Clayton; b. 1652, Gleaston, Lancashire; d. 1735-Apr-19; m. 1674-May-09, Portsmouth, Rhode Island, Matthew Borden.

3 Mary Clayton; b. 1655, Gleaston, Lancashire.

4 Abraham Clayton; b. 1658, Gleaston, Lancashire.

5 Ann Clayton, b. 1627, d. 1707; m(1) Nicholas Easton; m(2) Henry Bull, successive governors of Rhode Island.

6 David Clayton; b. 1661, Gleaston, Lancashire. To Newport, Rhode Island prior to 1691, when he removed to Freehold, Monmouth County, New Jersey, where he d. 1730; m(1), 1688, Amy Cooke; m(2) ?Alice (--).

Book Reviews

Compiled and edited by

Carole Treadway

Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost. *The Quakers. Denominations in America*, no. 3. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988. 407 pages. \$65.00.

The Quakers is a book that inspires both great appreciation and outrage. The appreciation arises from the fact that here at last is a one-volume history of American Quakerism that takes into account the mass of individual studies that have been published since Elbert Russell's 1942 history. The book includes an interesting biographical dictionary (a feature of all the books in the "Denominations in America" series), a helpful chronology, an excellent bibliographic essay, and a comprehensive index. There are also maps of Friends meetings in America in 1790, 1840, and 1890, and a chart of membership figures for North American yearly meetings from 1845 to 1982. The book tries to include all regions of the country and all varieties of Friends. Although *The Southern Friend* is omitted from the list of "standard sources" consulted, Seth B. Hinshaw's *The Carolina Quaker Experience* is cited several times.

The outrage arises primarily over the price. Greenwood Press has obviously priced its series for the library market, where no price, however outrageous, seems to dampen sales. Leaving aside the ethics of such a marketing strategy, it is unfortunate that many individual Friends and Friends meetings that would benefit from this book may be reluctant to buy it at its present price. If rumors are correct, a cheaper paperback edition may be in the offing. An additional source of outrage is the length of the book. Only 280 of the book's 400 pages are text, the rest being in large measure the biographical dictionary. Again, the publisher is responsible, not only for requiring the dictionary, but also for demanding twice that the authors reduce the length of their manuscript by a third, a demand that resulted in their delaying publication in order

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to rewrite the text. The resulting book is, in effect, much less than it should have been at a price much higher than it should have had.

The book's other defects may be the result of this editorial nightmare as well. The chief of these is an inconsistency that may also be the result of its dual authorship. At several points, new terms ("Progressive Friends," p. 181; "Gurneyite," p. 180; "Holiness" and "premillenarian," p. 204), movements, and concepts are referred to as if the reader already understood them, only to be defined in some cases later in the text or in the biographical dictionary. Without the latter, the discussion of the Wilbur-Gurney division would be incomprehensible. (Students in my Quaker history course found this to be the most confusing aspect of the book.) The book is also uneven in its organization. A history book can be organized topically, chronologically, regionally, or biographically. This book is an inconsistent mix of all these, except for the regional. For example, some individuals (such as John Woolman) are dealt with extensively in the text, while others (such as John Wilbur) are mentioned without identification, receiving extended treatment only in the biographical section. It is ironic too that the only form of organization not employed — regional — turns out to be one of the book's weakest points. The authors, one a Philadelphia specialist and the other a British and Midwest specialist, frequently seem unaware that their generalizations apply only to their regions. For example, on p. 251, the authors state that "More than two-thirds of the eligible Quaker young men served in combat positions" in World War I, without making clear whether this statistic refers to all American Friends, or just to those in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

There are, in addition to these structural concerns, a number of errors. Guilford is listed as having become a college by the 1850s, when it did not make that transition until 1888. Presbyterians are said to have split over slavery between 1838 and 1840, rather than in the 1860s. Wesleyan Methodists are described as an early twentieth-century, rather than early nineteenth-century, denomination. In the chart of membership figures, New York Yearly Meeting (FGC) is shown as having had 16 pastors in 1902, while New York Yearly Meeting (FUM) is shown with none! Southwest Yearly Meeting is called Southwestern, and is listed as EFA-affiliated, instead of FUM. Nereus Mendenhall's papers are said to be at Guilford College in "New Garden, N.C.," rather than Greensboro.

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Given its shortcomings, is the book worth the price? Certainly it is to academic libraries (as Greenwood Press correctly assumed). I recommended it for my meeting's library. I also used it as a course textbook and ordered multiple copies to put on reserve for my students so that they would not have to buy it; then nine of them bought it anyway! Still, I hope that a paperback edition will be published soon. Is it too much to hope that it will contain the full text of the original manuscript, revised and corrected?

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Book Reviews

Nathan O. Hatch. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989. 312 pages. \$25.00.

In this magnificent new history of democratic evangelicalism in the New Republic, Nathan O. Hatch weaves together the stories of five religious mass movements — Baptists, Methodists, African Americans, Mormons, and the “Christian” connection that deigned any name save that of Jesus. Fiercely egalitarian, suspicious of bookish learning, hostile to notions of rank and hierarchy, and determined to articulate a religious message in the language of ordinary people, these preachers and laity produced an upsurge in religious energy unlike anything America witnessed before or since.

The inclusion of the Mormons is an intriguing, daring choice. Not, evangelical or doctrinally even Christian, the followers of Joseph Smith nonetheless shared with radical evangelicals suspicion of authority, received tradition, and social hierarchy — even social cohesion at the cost of troubled conscience — which linked them to the democratic evangelical vanguard and help us understand the values of ordinary men and women.

Thanks to Larry Ingle’s *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (1986), we can appreciate that the Mormons were not just an isolated aberration. Quaker evangelicals and their traditionalist opponents, the Hicksites, were also a complex and unpredictable set of religious rivals. The evangelical Friends were also the elitists of their Society. The urge to become evangelical proclaimers of salvation was in part a desire to participate in American pluralism and prosperity. The reformist Hicksites sought a return to primitive Quaker practice in which spirituality more than conversion was the crux of faith. Superficially, the evangelical Quakers fit Hatch’s model. Specifically, they resemble the second generation of American Methodists whose very success induced them to imbibe some of the worldliness and moral complacency early Methodists condemned. But the Hicksites were closer to black evangelicals in their uncompromising standards of discipleship.

Robert M. Calhoon
University of North Carolina
at Greensboro

Hope Hay Hewison. *Hedge of Bitter Almonds: South Africa, the 'Pro-Boers,' and the Quaker Conscience 1890-1910.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann. 1989. 406 pages. \$23.50 paperback.

In *Hedge of Bitter Almonds: South Africa, the 'Pro-Boers,' and the Quaker Conscience*, a substantial and scholarly work of almost four hundred pages, Hope Hay Hewison has presented nothing less than a thorough, one might say exhaustive, account of the role of the Society of Friends in the Boer War, both in England and in South Africa itself. The role of the Quakers in this conflict was an extremely interesting and complex one: the Society of Friends made important contributions to the "Pro-Boer" movement, a movement whose goals were in many cases as much (or more) a reaction against Britain's imperial stance as they were a matter of sympathy with the Boers' position in Southern Africa. And yet the Society's position, like the "Pro-Boer" movement itself, was not without conflict and evolution, not without its share of political intrigues and pettiness, and not without its courageous acts. Hewison has, through an impressively marshalled array of sources, documented the story of this involvement. And as she gives us this scholarly account of the role of English and South African Quakers, she also gives us insights into the origins and depth of the bitterness that underlies much of South African politics and history; this bitterness and division is well symbolized in the title of her book, which refers to Jan van Riebeeck's use of hedges of wild almonds as "a protective hedge or defensive barrier" between Europeans and "Hottentots" in the early years of the Dutch settlement.[2] Hewison astutely, and appropriately, takes this metaphor of division beyond the confines of South Africa itself, applying it to Quaker responses to the Boer War as well, saying that "even people with liberal convictions, radical principles, and humanitarian impulses...can be seen to draw the line, their own lines, at different points. This has often been the cause of division between people of the same colour and members of the same political or religious persuasion both in South Africa itself and among those looking at it with concern from outside." [3] Hewison, then, has written not only an engaging account of an important episode in Quaker history, she has written a treatise on barriers between persons, on moral division and divisiveness itself.

It could be said that the fruits of the wild almond were harvested with a vengeance in the Anglo-Boer conflict. The Boer War was a harsh and brutal struggle, one which made abundantly clear the atrocities atten-

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dant on guerrilla warfare in the modern age: concentration camps for Afrikaner women and children, the destruction of farms, brutal conditions in prisoner of war camps, the fierce fighting of "the Bitter Enders," all horrors which burned themselves into the memory of South Africans, then and now. Perhaps the most moving aspect of Hewison's book is her detailed account of the Quaker response to this devastation, both during the war and in its aftermath of suffering. Witness her description of the very remarkable Emily Hobhouse's first encounter with conditions of Boer women in the camps: "They were crowded six to twelve in one bell tent with little or no furniture of any kind, few mattresses, swarms of flies, no soap, inadequate water supply, meagre rations....These were women who had spent their lives on isolated farms, who had felt crowded if another family lived within a mile of them....Everywhere she continued to plumb the depths of family distress....She saw children dying and one young woman buried in a sack." [188-9] It was such courageous and articulate reports of such suffering as that of Emily Hobhouse which prompted English — and Quaker — reactions to the plight of Afrikaner families. Hewison chronicles the range of these reactions with a perceptive and critical eye.

On a less ponderous note, it is worth pointing out that the physical format of *Hedge of Bitter Almonds* is a delight: an extraordinary range of illustrations (many quite poignant), wide margins, and a pleasing typeface make this a book which lends itself to browsing, as well as to sustained perusal. Hewison has included thorough notes and a helpful index. Students of South African history will be grateful for the biographical notes she provides at the end of the text. On a mildly carping tone, the bibliography, though certainly good enough, could have been usefully annotated for serious students, or for those who want to delve further into the period.

For readers interested in the life of Quakers in South Africa after the Boer War, it would be hard to do better than the volumes of autobiography by the eminent South African poet and professor, Guy Butler, whose ancestors figure prominently in Hewison's book, as they figured in the life of South Africa itself. It is also worth noting that *Hedge of Bitter Almonds* gives an adequate narrative background in the events of the War for the non-specialist reader to understand the context of the Quaker drama. Nonetheless, Hewison's book does not present itself as a general and encyclopedic history of the Anglo-Boer conflict. Interested readers not previously familiar with the period would do well to acquaint

themselves both with Pakenham's *The Boer War* (Futura, London, 1979) and with Emanoel Lee's *To the Bitter End: A Photographic History of the Boer War 1899-1902* (Penguin, 1985). The latter is a powerful evocation through photographs of the Boer War, and could serve admirably as a companion volume to Hewison's book, and as a stark reminder of the particular horror and tragedy of that conflict.

To come to terms with the moral complexities of South Africa is no easier today than it was in 1900. Now, as then, there is a temptation to avoid these complexities with simple, well-meaning, and not always thoughtful reactions and prescriptions. Yet as Hewison says, "For over three hundred years the hedge of wild almonds, between black and white, has grown and spread. And the fruit of the wild almond is bitter. For those who seek to relate the principles and insights of their religious faith to decisions made by people and governments...the greatest test is the problem of how to uproot one hedge without planting another between oneself and one's own kind." [344] And clearly there is a test to be taken: if we do not look into the historical roots of where South Africa is today, then we make pronouncements about South Africa's present and future state at grave intellectual peril. Similarly, and more generally, our religious and moral stances are less than firm if we maintain them without examining their power under fire over time. And finally, there is danger in our moral condemnations, if they are too quick, *ad hominem*, too comfortably righteous, and if they thus contribute to the alienation of respect and to the end of dialogue. Hope Hay Hewison has helped, one would think both Quakers and the rest of us to avoid these intellectual — and perhaps moral — pitfalls when taking up the question of our reaction to events, past and present, in South Africa.

C. Thomas Powell
Guilford College

Book Reviews

Craig W. Horle. *The Quakers and the English Legal System, 1660-1688*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988. 320 pages. \$36.95.

Craig W. Horle's book is a lucid, persuasive treatment of a neglected aspect of early Quaker history. It takes up a subject that no modern scholar has approached, and does it so well that it is unlikely that it will be done again.

The sufferings of Friends in England from the 1650s to the 1680s at the hands of the English legal system are well-known. Friends took pains to record them at the time, and they were put into final form in Joseph Besse's 1753 *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers for the Testimony of a Good Conscience*, two massive volumes that provide one of our most complete sources for the lives of the early Friends. The prevailing note in these and other histories is one of valiant Friends suffering fines, imprisonment, and death, sometimes for specific testimonies, particularly against oath-taking, sometimes merely as religious dissenters. Through all of these trials and tribulations, Besse and other "in-house" historians represent, the Quaker saints and martyrs meekly endured, often converting their persecutors through the power of their witness.

Horle, however, posits a revisionist view of the relationship of Friends and the legal system. He argues that while Friends would not change their testimonies to accommodate the law, they were quite willing to try to use the law to their own advantage to avoid its penalties. Thus they made increasing use of lawyers, experimented with novel legal theories, pounced on every available "technicality," and, on occasion, even mixed in politics.

Horle's work is one of the latest in a series of works that have taken an overtly revisionist view of early Quaker history. Certainly it would be difficult to argue that after 1660 English Friends as a group shared the "resist not evil" attitude of the continental Anabaptists with whom they have often been linked. Interest in this particular work, however, will probably be limited to academics, since the streams of legal terminology are more than a little daunting, and Horle's point is one of somewhat narrow interest. Taken on its own terms, however, this is an exhaustive work that should be in every Quaker collection that aspires to comprehensiveness.

Thomas D. Hamm
Earlham College

Joseph Pickvance. *A Reader's Companion to George Fox's Journal*. London: Quaker Home Service, 1989. 149 pages. \$11.95.

"In an ideal world," Joseph Pickvance comments near the beginning of his *Reader's Companion*, "dictionaries and concordances would be read from cover to cover like novels for the fascination of the histories of words." While I wouldn't say it reads like a novel, I did find it interesting enough to read from cover to cover, and I believe it will be a useful tool for exploring Fox's *Journal*.

The concordance provides a significant extension to John Nickalls' fine index in his definitive edition of *The Journal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952; revised, London: Religious Society of Friends, 1975). Accompanying the 87-page "Annotated Word and Phrase List ('Concordance')," which is the bulk of the book, are a brief preface and introduction; two interpretive essays, "George Fox: 'The Man and His Times'" and "The Legacy of George Fox's Writings," a glossary; an outline of national events, 1624-1691; an explanation of how to use the concordance; a 6-page reference to social testimonies and witness; and appendices dealing with a selected chronological bibliography of works on Fox's teaching, a description of the editions of Fox's *Journal*, a list of epistle numbers in Samuel Tuke's *Selections* (1858), and a concluding paragraph "Recovering George Fox's Quaker Christian Message."

The concordance will be of great assistance because it has many more page references to terms Nickalls has indexed and considerably more terms than he cited. Page and line references and the phrase the word appears within have been helpfully provided. Nevertheless, it would be still more useful were it comprehensive, for instance referencing all, rather than most, uses of "seed" and "wisdom."

Those familiar and fond of Fox's *Journal* may be startled by the audience Pickvance assumes as his readership. He speaks to his reader as one who is ignorant of 17th-century England and would find Fox "an unsympathetic, rather aggressive character" to be dismissed as "a strange figure without relevance for today." Pickvance may be all too accurate in his assumption. I am aware of meetings in North Carolina where no member has ever opened the *Journal*, so it may be even worse than he supposes. His assumed audience is a sad commentary on the state of Friends' awareness of our religious foundations.

Pickvance's theological perspective appears close to the neo-orthodoxy of the previous Protestant generation in denying spiritual organic growth and the inherent inner presence of God in the self, and in

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asserting an other-worldliness of life in God. This would seem to be what he intends by denying both that the Seed has any connection with spiritual growth, and that the Light is an "Inner" Light (because he claims "inner" means "location") rather than an "Inward" Light (meaning "direction"); and in asserting that "Life in God" refers to "the world beyond time." While these are significant interpretive claims, which are appropriate to the essays, are they fitting for a concordance? Would it not be better there simply to give all the page references and let the reader — looking at all the references in context, drawing upon the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and reflecting on how metaphors function — arrive at whatever conclusions seem fit? In the bibliographical discussion, moreover, this theological perspective prevents a comprehensive overview of different critical points of view on early Quakerism. An example of this is the surprising absence of any mention of Hugh Barbour's pivotal work, *The Quakers in Puritan England*.

A hermeneutical principle of interpretation is also at work here that distinguishes husk and kernel. Pickvance assumes that narrative is a husk that can be stripped away to get at the conceptual kernel. He says he intends "to extract" "the distinct ideas" from the narrative. While systematic organizing of someone's thought can be illuminating, he diminishes meaning by assuming Fox's content is distinct ideas (a phrase from Descartes) rather than relational metaphors, and that their connection is more conceptual than narrational.

Finally, there is the question of how best to communicate with non-Quakers. Pickvance asserts the superiority of Quakerism. He claims that early Friends' "ideas and conduct were, generally speaking, so outstandingly superior," and that Fox was the first person since the early church to recover primitive Christianity. He concludes, speaking of sexual equality, that "Even today, Christians generally are not abreast of all his new insights." While I believe that Fox was a religious genius and that early Friends have a distinctive contribution to make to Christian spirituality and social justice, don't we obstruct our efforts at communicating this to non-Quakers by assuming Quakerism's superiority? Moreover, there is a vital dialogue going on today within Christianity about sexism and anti-Judaism in the church and how they connect with Christian origins. We can make significant contributions to this dialogue but we will need to acknowledge that Luther and Calvin, and probably every initiator of a Protestant denomination, thought, like Fox, that they were recovering primitive Christianity. We will also need to replace "Old Testament" with "Hebrew Bible" as we learn how the ways

we have articulated our Christian point of view have denigrated Judaism.

Wouldn't it be more effective and truer to our own deep commitments to engage our non-Quaker brothers and sisters, within and outside Christianity, with Woolman-like humility, as when he approached Native Americans to feel and learn from the workings of the Spirit in their lives as well as to share with them those workings from his own life?

While these are important issues for further discussion within the Society of Friends, it is my expectation that Pickvance's concordance will be a valuable help in exploring Fox's *Journal*. I hope that it will be an encouragement for Friends and non-Friends increasingly to engage the life and thought of George Fox.

R. Melvin Keiser
Guilford College

**New Title from the North Carolina
Friends Historical Society**

Seth B. Hinshaw. *Life in the Quaker Lane: An Autobiography*. Greensboro, NC: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1990. 209 pages. \$14.00.

The long-awaited autobiography of Seth Hinshaw, *Life in the Quaker Lane*, has been published. The author is well known for his previous publications for the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, *Friends at Holly Spring: Meeting and Community* (1982), *Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker: A Story of Carolina Friends in the Civil War* (1982), *The Carolina Quaker Experience 1665-1985* (1985), and *The Spoken Ministry Among Friends: Three Centuries of Progress and Development* (1987). Now he has turned his attention to his own long life, beginning with his roots in Randolph County and extending through his more than fifty years of service to North Carolina Friends as pastor, as executive secretary (superintendent) of the yearly meeting, and as writer and historian. With characteristic humor, insight, and humility he has illuminated a very significant period in North Carolina Quaker history. Illustrated, with an index. Copies may be purchased from the Society for \$14.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling.

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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

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Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Damon D. Hickey, Hege Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410.

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*, *America: History and Life*, and *Periodical Source Index* (PERSI).

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Cover Illustration

"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

The Southern Friend Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Editor's Introduction

by

Damon D. Hickey

In this issue of *The Southern Friend*, we are happy to share the fruits of many hours of meticulous labor by Mary Louise Reynolds of Spiceland, Indiana. Sparked by an interest in her ancestors from Guilford County, North Carolina, she combed the volumes of Hinshaw and Heiss's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* to reconstruct, insofar as possible, the lost minutes of Centre (or Center) Monthly Meeting. In so doing, she has added not only hundreds of entries to the Centre Meeting genealogical abstracts published originally in 1936 in volume 1 of Hinshaw's work. She has also added the names and records of about fifty families not included in his list. Her labor of love is a worthy successor to that of Laura D. Worth, who abstracted the records for the Hinshaw volume, a new reprinting of which is also announced at the conclusion of this issue.

Mary Deirdre McGinley Kielty, a student assistant in the Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College, has enhanced the accuracy and completeness of this effort. Deirdre proofread the issue with me, checking the reconstructed entries against Mary Louise Reynolds' typescript, and the reprinted Hinshaw entries against the originals in volume 1. She also checked each of the reconstructed entries against those in the Hinshaw and Heiss volumes upon which they are based. Several times, her thorough search and perceptive observation led us back to the monthly meeting minutes, to confirm errors and omissions in the Hinshaw abstracts. We even found some obvious errors in the minutes themselves. All have been noted and corrected in this issue, with appropriate explanatory footnotes.

In its thirteen years of publication, *The Southern Friend* has been fortunate to have received and published a number of articles and reviews of interest and usefulness to students of southern Quaker history. Now, for the first time, the journal is devoting not only an entire issue, but a special double issue, to a single subject. We anticipate that this issue will be of greater, lasting interest to more readers than any yet published. For that reason, we have enlarged our normal print run in order to make copies available to researchers for years to come. They may be obtained for \$20 apiece (\$15 for members) from the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, N.C. 27419-0502.

An Attempt to Reconstruct the Lost Minutes of Centre Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina

by

Mary Louise Reynolds

In 1936, comic-opera impresario William Wade Hinshaw, a non-Quaker descendant of Friends, published the first volume of his monumental series, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, 1936). This volume abstracted all the genealogical references in the early records of the monthly meetings in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, eastern Tennessee, and one meeting in southern Virginia — records now housed in the Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College. Volumes 2-6 provided similar information for the four earliest meetings in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (volume 2), New York City and Long Island (volume 3), Ohio (volumes 4-5), and Virginia (volume 6). Willard Heiss's *Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana*, in six parts, was later published as "volume 7" of Hinshaw's series (Abstracts for the remainder of the meetings in Philadelphia were recorded on index cards but never published. They are now in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.)

Laura D. Worth of Guilford College spent almost three years abstracting the records for volume 1. But when she abstracted the records for Centre (or Center, as it appears in Hinshaw) Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina, the men's minutes from 1773 to 1835 and women's minutes from 1773 to 1825 were missing, believed to have been destroyed by fire. The only records to have survived from that time period were the marriages, births, and deaths.

From the period 1785 well into the nineteenth century, Centre Monthly Meeting was the point of departure for Friends moving west into Tennessee, Ohio, and Indiana. A diligent search of the abstracts of

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the surviving records for meetings in these states can help to reconstruct parts of the Centre minutes. A reconstruction, however, can never be as complete as the original, and this effort is no exception. The disownments, requests for reception into membership, and other records which involved only Centre are irretrievably gone. Even transfers are incomplete in instances where the other meeting's records have likewise disappeared. Furthermore, the dates of some reconstructions remain conjectural, and there can be no assurance that all those who were granted certificates to Centre Meeting actually went there.

This effort to reconstruct the genealogical content of the Centre minutes was accomplished by a search through the Hinshaw abstracts for North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, and Ohio meetings as well as the Heiss abstracts for Indiana. All records of transfers to and from Centre were noted and arranged chronologically and by family in the same manner as the abstracts. An additional source of information was an article entitled "Quakers in Dixie" by Samuel A. Purdie, published in *The Herald of Peace* on 12mo 1st, 1868, which mentioned some specific entries in the men's minute book. The reconstructed entries were then integrated with the existing Centre entries. The Centre birth and death records, which appear in Hinshaw, have not been reprinted here.

In the reconstructed abstracts, the entries in Roman type are as they appear in Hinshaw; those in italic type are reconstructed. Italicized surname headings represent families whose names did not appear in Hinshaw's Centre Meeting abstracts. The following list of abbreviations and their meanings is taken from the Hinshaw volume, with amplifications by Damon Hickey based on those of Willard Heiss:

- b born.
- bur buried.
- cert certificate: a statement issued by a monthly meeting to a person (or persons) transferring their membership to another monthly meeting. Also a marriage certificate.
- ch child, children (of).
- co chosen overseer(s): selected for an important office of responsibility in the meeting.
- com complained, complained of: a person could be complained

Lost Minutes of Centre Monthly Meeting

of for an act that was contrary to the rules and advices as outlined in the *Discipline*. Unless the member could satisfy the monthly meeting of his or her innocence or repentance, the next step was usually disownment.

- concondemned: an act of confession and repentance by a member who had been “complained of” (“reported”) or even “disowned” for a violation of the *Discipline*. When a person “condemned” his or her own misconduct, the monthly meeting might then restore him or her to membership.
- d.....died.
- decdeceased.
- disdisowned, disowned for: removed from membership for violation of the rules or advices in the *Discipline*; does not imply exclusion from worship, but only from the right to participate in decision making. Unless the person later repented and “condemned” his or her own misconduct and was readmitted to membership, he or she would not be mentioned again in the minutes.
- dtdaughter, daughters (of).
- famfamily.
- formformerly.
- gcgranted certificate: permitted to move one’s membership.
- get.....granted certificate to: permitted to move one’s membership to a particular meeting.
- gl.....granted letter: permitted to move one’s membership to a church of another denomination.
- hhusband (of).
- jasjoined another (religious) society (denomination).
- L.D.W.Laura D. Worth (compiler of the N.C. abstracts): indicates information (in brackets) found by her elsewhere than in the minutes.
- ltmliberated to marry, left at liberty to marry: permitted to marry.
- mmarry, married, marrying, marriage.

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- mbr member.
- mbrp membership.
- mcd married contrary to discipline: married another Friend, but in a civil ceremony (usually resulting in disownment); sometimes used interchangeably with “married out of society” or “married out of unity.”
- MH meetinghouse: the church building.
- MM monthly meeting: the lowest administrative unit of Friends, originally comprising several particular or “preparative” meetings (congregations) that met together monthly to transact church business.
- mos married out of society: married a non-Friend, usually resulting in disownment; sometimes used interchangeably with “married contrary to discipline” or “married out of unity.”
- mou married out of unity: married a non-Friend, usually resulting in disownment; sometimes used interchangeably with “married contrary to discipline” or “married out of society.”
- mtg meeting: may refer to a Friends religious service (“meeting for worship”), an administrative meeting (“meeting for business,” “monthly meeting,” etc.), or the congregation itself.
- prc produced a certificate: transferred membership.
- prcf produced a certificate from: transferred membership from one meeting to another.
- QM quarterly meeting: the second administrative level of Friends, comprising several “monthly” meetings that met together quarterly to transact church business.
- rec receive, received (into membership).
- recrq received (into membership) by request, rather than by transfer of membership from another Friends meeting.
- relfc released from care for: no longer under consideration for a disciplinary offense; acquitted.
- relrq released by request: withdrew from membership in the

Lost Minutes of Centre Monthly Meeting

Society of Friends; unless reinstated, this person would not be mentioned again in the minutes.

- rem remove, removed: move or moved to another location and/or meeting.
- rm reported married: the marriage certificate was not included in the minutes, but the fact that the wedding took place was noted.
- rmt reported married to: the marriage certificate was not included in the minutes, but the fact that the wedding took place and the name of the marriage partner were noted.
- roc received on certificate: membership transferred from another Friends meeting.
- rol received on letter: membership transferred from a church of another denomination.
- rolf received on letter from: membership transferred from a particular church of another denomination.
- rpd reported: complained of for an act contrary to the rules and advices as outlined in the *Discipline*. Unless the member could satisfy the monthly meeting of his or her innocence or repentance, the next step was usually disownment.
- rq request, requests, requested.
- rqc requested certificate: requested transfer of membership.
- rqct requested certificate to: requested transfer of membership to a particular Friends meeting.
- rqcuc requested to come under care (of a meeting): requested to be considered for membership.
- rst reinstate, reinstated.
- s son, sons (of).
- uc under care (of a meeting) for membership.
- w wife (of).
- YM yearly meeting: the highest administrative level of Friends, comprising several "quarterly" meetings that met together annually to conduct business.

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Adamson

1829, 4, 18. Mary gct Vermillion MM, Ind.

Albertson

1783, 3, 23. John, s Joshua & Elizabeth, Pasquotank Co., m Mary Bundy.

1784? *Mary gct Pasquotank MM, N.C.*

1785? *Mary rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., requested 1785, 6, 15.*

1787? *Elizabeth rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1787, 7, 21.*

1789? *Joshua & ch, Sarah, Joseph, Benjamin, Josiah & Jane rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., requested 1789, 2, 21.*

1816? *Pritchard & s, Mark & Phinehas, rocf Sutton's Creek MM, N.C., requested 1816, 9, 14.*

1816? *Achsah rocf Sutton's Creek MM, N.C. (with h), requested 1816, 9, 14.*

1843, 1, 4. Nathan, s Pritchard & Achsah, Guilford Co., m Elizabeth Hockett.

1845, 7, 30. Phineas, s Pritchard & Achsah, Guilford Co., m Asenath Wilson.

1846, 5, 16. Mark gct Marlboro MM.

1852, 10, 16. Pritchard & w, Achsah, gct White Lick MM, Morgan Co., Ind.

1852, 10, 16. Nathan & w, Elizabeth, & dt, Hannah, gct White Lick MM, Morgan Co., Ind.

1852, 10, 16. Rebecca & Elizabeth gct White Lick MM, Morgan Co., Ind.

1865, 10, 21. Phinehas & fam gct Plainfield MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.

1865, 10, 21. Asenath & dt, Elizabeth J., Mary G. E., Amanda Roxanna & Asenath A., gct Plainfield MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.

Allen

1793? *James & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1793, 7, 6.*

1793? *Elizabeth & four dt rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1793, 7, 6.*

1799, 9, 21. *James & s, Hugh & James, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*

1799, 9, 21. *Elizabeth & dt, Mary, Sarah, Johannah, Susannah & Rebeccah, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*

1813 *John prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C. to m, dated 1813, 9, 4.*

1813, 10, 20. John, s Samuel & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Martha Clark.

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- 1814, 4, 16. *Martha gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1818? *Zachariah rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1818, 1, 3.*
1819, 10, 16. *Zachariah gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1819, 11, 20. *Nancy gct Holly Spring MM, N.C.*

Andrew

- 1795? *Mary (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1795, 1, 3.*
1807, 8, 15. *Robert & w, Mary, & ch, John, William, Ruth, Abigail & Mary, gct Miami MM, Ohio.*
1811, 2, 28. *William, s William & Hannah, Orange Co., m Hannah Farlow.*
1836, 3, 10. *Nathan F., s William & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Anna Stanton.*
1837, 4, 15. *Anna gct Marlboro MM.*

Anthony

- 1776, 12, 26. *James, Guilford Co., s Jacob & Hope, Bristol Co., Mass, New England, m Mary Way.*
1778, 10, 29. *Charlotte, dt James & Lydia, Guilford Co., m Paul Way.*
1789, 1, 22. *Obed, s James & Lydia, Guilford Co., m Sarah Macy.*
1794, 10, 30. *Johnathan, s James & Lydia, Guilford Co., m Lydia Swain.*
1796, 9, 18. *Phoebe gct New Garden MM, N.C.**
1797, 2, 23. *Jonathan, s James & Lydia, Guilford Co., m Phebe Coffin.*
1827, 11, 17. *Lydia gct New Garden MM, Ind.*
1836, 7, 16. *Alice rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1836, 7, 2.*
1863, 11, 21. *James recrq.*
1863, 11, 21. *J. Milton recrq.*
1864, 1, 16. *Jonathan G. recrq.*
1864, 7, 16. *Jonathan recrq.*
1865, 3, 18. *J. Milton gct Plainfield MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.*
1865, 3, 18. *James gct Walnut Ridge MM, Rush Co., Ind.*
1866, 1, 20. *J. Milton returned cert granted in 1865, 3mo.*
1866, 6, 16. *James returned cert granted to Walnut Ridge MM in 1865, 3mo.*
1878, 9, 21. *Obed recrq.*

* *Reconstructed from entry in women's minutes of New Garden MM for 1797, 2, 25. Date (1797, 9, 18) given by clerk for cert from Centre is in error, since later than date of meeting at which received.*

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Arnold

1793? *Susanna (with h) & dts, Mary & Miriam, rocf Contentnea MM, N.C., dated 1793, 1, 12.*

Bailey

1777, 4, 23. *John, s David, Perquimans Co., N.C., m Dorcas Lamb.*
1778? *David rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., requested 1778, 11, 18.*
1781? *Henry rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1781, 11, 21.*
1786, 3, 22. *John, Randolph Co., m Catharine Evans.*

Baldwin

1813 *Nathan prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1813, 9, 25.*
1813, 10, 21. *Nathan, s Uriah & Hannah, Guilford Co., m Margaret Hodson.*
1814, 3, 19. *Margaret gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
1815? *Daniel prcf Deep River MM, N.C., to m, dated 1815, 6, 5.*
1815, 6, 20. *Daniel, s John & Jemima, Guilford Co., m Charity Hodson.*

Ballard

1778, 11, 12. *Sarah gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1778, 12, 19. *Benjamin gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

Barker

1791 *Abner prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1791, 4, 2.*
1791, 5, 26. *Abner, s Nicholas & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Lydia Ozbun.*
1791 *John prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1791, 4, 2.*
1791, 5, 26. *John, s Nicholas & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Mary Ozbun.*
1791, 7, 16. *Lydia gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1791, 7, 16. *Mary gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1833 *David prcf Holly Spring MM, N.C., to m, dated 1833, 11, 16.*
1833, 12, 26. *David, s John & Mary, Randolph Co., m Kezia Pike.*
1834, 9, 20. *Keziah gct Holly Spring MM.*
1862, 3, 15. *Simeon & w, Ruth, rocf Holly Spring MM, dated 1862, 1, 18.*

Barnard

1779? *Anna rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1779, 8, 28.*

Lost Minutes of Centre Monthly Meeting

- 1782, 2, 21. Uriah, s Timothy & Love, Center, Guilford Co., m Elizabeth Macy.
- 1783, 3, 20. Lucinday, dt Benjamin & Eunice, Guilford Co., m Barachiah Macy.
- 1785, 4, 21. Obed, s William & Mary, late of Nantucket, in New England, m Elizabeth Coffin.
- 1799, 5, 18. *Frederick gct New Hope MM, Tenn.*
- 1801? *William rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1801, 11, 2.*
- 1801, 1, 17. *Uriah & fam (s: Jethro, Joseph & George) gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.**
- 1801, 1, 17. *Elizabeth & dt, Love, Hannah, Elizabeth, Anna & Mary, gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.***
- 1803, 12, 17. *William gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1806, __, 19. *Elisha gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1808, 7, 28. Phebe, dt Obed & Elizabeth, m William Worth.
- 1810? *Phebe, of Muddy Creek, rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1810, 3, 5.*
- 1810, 2, 1. Obed, Guilford Co., s William & Mary, late of Nantucket, Mass., m Margaret Harlin.
- 1818, 5, 28. Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m John Barnard.
- 1818, 5, 28. John, Guilford Co., m Elizabeth Barnard.
- 1830, 12, 18. Elizabeth & dt, Amy, Lucinda & Phebe, gct West Grove MM, Wayne Co., Ind. (rem with h)

Barns

- 1783? *Elizabeth rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1783, 5, 3.*

Beals

- 1773, 8, 21. *The preparative meeting informs this, that the Friends living about Jesse Hanley's & John Rich's request indulgence in holding their meetings every other First day; therefore Robert Lamb, John Mills, John (Bails), Jr., John Stone, Isaac Jones & Robert Hodgson are appointed to*

* *Reconstructed from entry found in minutes of Deep Creek MM for 1801, 5, 2, but omitted in Hinshaw.*

** *Reconstructed from entry in women's minutes of Deep Creek MM for 1801, 5, 2. Date (1802, 1, 17) given by clerk for cert from Centre is in error, since later than date of meeting at which received. Date for cert of h, Uriah, & s in men's minutes (see entry above) correctly dated 1801, 1, 17.*

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visit them on that account, & they to return their sense & Judgment to next meeting accordingly.

- 1775? *Rachel Dicks (form Beals) & h, James, rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1775, 4, 29.*
- 1778? *John Jr. prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1778, 12, 26.*
- 1779? *Susannah rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1779, 2, 27.*
- 1786, 8, 19. *William & w, Rachel, & ch, John, William, Jacob, Caleb, Parnel & Asher, gct New Garden MM.*
- 1786, 11, 2. *Lydia, Center, dt William & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Aaron Tyson.*
- 1788 *John, s Thomas, prcf Westfield MM, N.C., to m, dated 1788, 10, 18.*
- 1788, 10, 23. *John, s Thomas & Sarah, Hawkins Co., m Mary Carter.*
- 1792, 2, 18. *John gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
- 1797, 2, 2. *Sarah, dt John & Susanna, Guilford Co., m John Carter.*
- 1799, 11, 16. *John & s, John, William, Bowater, Caleb & Eleazar, gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1799, 11, 16. *Susanna (Bales) & dt, Margaret, gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1806? *Sarah (Bails) rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1806, 3, 29.*
- 1812? *Sarah (Bales) & dt, Elizabeth, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*

Bean

- 1879, 5, 17. *Alson J. & dt, Effie M., recrqu.*
- 1879, 6, 21. *Hannah rocf Holly Spring MM, dated 1879, 5, 17.*
- 1886, 2, 20. *Alson & minor ch, Effie M., gct Holly Spring MM.*

Beard

- 1778 *George prcf Deep River MM, N.C., to m, dated 1778, 11, 2.*
- 1778, 12, 3. *George, s Richard & Eunice, Deep River, Guilford Co., m Mary Way.*
- 1779, 1, 16. *Mary gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1780? *George & fam rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1780, 5, 1.*
- 1780? *Mary rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1780, 5, 1.*
- 1791, 3, 31. *Thomas, s John & Martha, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Dicks.*
- 1795, 4, 18. *Patrick & ch gct New Hope MM, Tenn.*
- 1799, 4, 20. *John & fam (s: John, Isaac, Jesse & William) gct Springfield MM, N.C.*

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- 1799, 4, 20. *Martha & dt, Sarah, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1799, 6, 15. *Thomas & fam gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1799, 6, 15. *Elizabeth & dt, Sarah & Martha, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1803, 8, 31. *Paul, s George & Mary, Guilford Co., m Hannah Pierson.*
1808? *Rachel rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1808, 12, 3.*
1812, 7, 29. *John, s George & Mary, Guilford Co., m Hannah Elliott.*
1817? *William & s, John, gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1817? *Rachel & dt, Mary, Elizabeth, Sarah & Abigail, gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1817? *Paul & s, Obed, William, Enoch & Paul, gct New Garden MM, Ind.*
1817? *Hannah & dt, Eunice & Hannah, gct New Garden MM, Ind.*
1817, 3, 19. *George, s Richard & Eunice, Guilford Co., m Isabel Pierson.*
1818? *George gct New Garden MM, Ind.*
1818? *Isabel gct New Garden MM, Ind.*
1842, 1, 15. *Charlotte Ward (form Beard) con her mou.*
1848, 3, 18. *George, of Concord, dis mou.*
1848, 6, 17. *Sarah (form Johnson) con her mou.*
1848, 12, 16. *Sarah gct Deep River MM. (rem)*
1853, 7, 16. *John gct Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind.*
1853, 7, 16. *Hannah gct Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind.*
1853, 8, 20. *David gct Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind.*

Beeson

- 1777, 12, 31. *Hannah, dt Isaac & Isabel, Center, Guilford Co., m Samuel Lamb.*
1778, 1, 28. *Jane, dt Benjamin & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m John Bond.*
1782, 9, 25. *Elizabeth, dt Isaac & Isabel, Center, Guilford Co., m Jesse Wilson.*
1782, 10, 2. *Mary, dt Benjamin & Elizabeth, Center, m Isaac Wells[, s Joseph & Charity, Cane Creek.]*
1786, 3, 29. *Dinah, dt Isaac & Isabel, Randolph Co., m Amos Kersey.*
1787, 6, 7. *Benjamin, s Isaac & Isabel, Randolph Co., m Margaret Hoggatt.*
1791, 11, 9. *Isabel, dt Isaac & Isabel, Randolph Co., m William Chamness.*
1792, 11, 8. *Isaac, s Isaac & Isabel, Randolph Co., m Hannah Hoggatt.*

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- 1794, 5, 17. *Mehitable (Beason) gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1797, 3, 22. Rachel, Randolph Co., m Joseph Bull.
- 1802, 9, 29. Lorohame, dt Richard & Abigail, Randolph Co., m William Hinshaw.
- 1803? *Hannah (Beason) rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1803, 4, 4.*
- 1803, 1, 15. *Benjamin & Henry gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
- 1805? *Ayles (Beason) rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1805, 1, 5.*
- 1805, 3, 20. Margaret, Randolph Co., m Jesse Bull.
- 1809, 6, 21. Hannah, dt Benjamin & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Seth Hinshaw.
- 1813, 10, 16. *Bethiah gct Fall Creek MM, Ohio.*
- 1815, 11, 29. Hezekiah, s Isaac & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Mary Reynolds.
- 1817, 8, 10. *Benjamin, Jr., gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1818? *Benjamin (Beason) & w, Margaret, & ch, Margaret, Rachel, Asenath & Ruth, gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1818, 2, 21. *Benjamin & fam (s: Silas, Ithamer & Charles) gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1822? *Zachariah gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
- 1823? *Jonathan gct Marlborough MM, N.C., to m.*
- 1823? *Mahlon & Absalom gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
- 1823? *Sally & dt, Betsy & Lydia, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
- 1824, 3, 25. William, s Benjamin & Margaret, Guilford Co., m Rachel Newman.
- 1826? *Jesse gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
- 1826? *Isaac gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
- 1826, 9, 16. Mary & ch gct Westfield MM.
- 1828? *Benjamin B. gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
- 1828, 5, 28. Isaac, s Seth & Alice, Randolph Co., m Rebecca Lamb.
- 1828, 7, 23. Zeruah, dt Isaac & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Jesse Wilson.
- 1829, 1, 17. Eunice, Elizabeth & Seth, ch William, gct Springfield MM, Ind.
- 1829, 1, 17. Isaac (Beson) & fam gc.
- 1829, 1, 17. Hannah (Beson), w Isaac, & ch [*Elwood & Isaac Newton*] gc [*to Springfield MM, Ind.*].
- 1835, 10, 17. Isaac W. gct Springfield MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
- 1838, 4, 21. David L. con his mou.
- 1838, 7, 21. Hannah P. rocf Cane Creek MM, dated 1838, 6, 2.

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- 1839, 8, 17. David L. & w, Hannah, & dt, Sarah Jane, gct Bloomfield MM, Park Co., Ind.
1839, 9, 21. Mary (form Branson) con her mou.
1839, 12, 21. Mary gct Springfield MM, Wayne Co., Ind. (rem)
1845, 2, 15. Isaac K. dis.
1845, 7, 19. Rebecca & fam gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
1847, 5, 16. William, Sr. gct Springfield MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
1847, 7, 19. Alice gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
1847, 11, 20. Jehu dis mou.

Benbow*

- 1780? *Benjamin prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1780, 11, 25.*
1781, 1, 11. Benjamin, Guilford Co., s Charles & Mary, m Lydia Reynolds.
1825 *Benjamin Jr. prcf Hopewell MM, N.C., to m, dated 1825, 1, 8.*
1825, 2, 3. Benjamin, s Benjamin & Lydia, Guilford Co., m Rachel Hockett.
1825, 4, 16. *Rachel gct Hopewell MM, N.C.*

Bennet

- 1826, 10, 21. Ruth & fam gct New Garden MM, Ind., *endorsed to Cherry Grove MM, Ind.]*
1827? *Zechariah & Solomon — minors, gct New Garden MM, Ind.; endorsed to Cherry Grove MM, Ind.*

Berry

- 1867, 3, 16. Charles & s, George W. F., Jesse W. C. & Joseph J. G., recr^q.
1867, 4, 20. Lydia C. & dt, Martha Jane, recr^q.
1875, 11, 20. Charles & s, George W. L., Jesse W. C., & Joseph J. G., rq rel from mbrp. Rq withdrawn.

* *Entry in Heiss for Whitewater MM, Ind., 1815, 5, 27, for Benbow: Cert rec for John & s, Evan, Benjamin, Aaron & Moses from Center MM, N.C.; end[orsed by] New Garden MM. Also, same date, Charity & dt, Mariam rocf Center MM. But it seems likely this is an error by Heiss or the Whitewater clerk, since this family came there from New Garden, N.C., by way of Center MM in Ohio, not N.C.*

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- 1875, 11, 20. Lydia & dt, Martha Jane Armilla, rq rel from mbrp. Rq withdrawn, 1876, 3mo.
1876, 3, 18. Jesse W. C. relrq.
1877, 7, 26. George W. relrq.

Blair

- 1775, 5, 10. Enos, Guilford Co., s Colbert & Sarah, m Hannah Millikin.
1793, 11, 16. *Enos & fam (s: Jesse, Enos, Abner, Solomon & Josiah) gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1793, 11, 16. *Hannah & dt, Sarah, Jane, Martha & Hannah, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1806, 4, 19. *Abigail gct Springfield MM, N.C.*

Bond

- 1778, 1, 28. John, s Joseph & Martha, Guilford Co., m Jane Beeson.
1780, 10, 21. *John & w & ch, Martha & Joseph, gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1785? *Jane & ch roc Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1785, 4, 4.*
1788? *John roc Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1788, 5, 5.*
1795, 10, 17. *John (Bonds) & ch (s: Joseph, Benjamin, Joel, Isaac & William) gct Newhope MM, Tenn.*
1807, 12, 19. *Jean gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*

Bool

- 1805? *Jesse roc Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1805, 3, 4.*

Boswell

- 1793? *Elisabeth & Huldah roc Pasquotank MM, N.C., requested 1793, 3, 16.*
1793? *Miriam, w Joshua, roc Pasquotank MM, N.C., requested 1793, 3, 16.*
1793? *Joshua & ch, Pharaby, Mary & Samuel, roc Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1793, 4, 20*
1793? *Ezra, minor s Isaac, dec., roc Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1793, 9, 21.*

Boyd

- 1836, 3, 19. Rachel roc Springfield MM, dated 1836, 3, 9.

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Bradley

- 1786? *Rachel roc f Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1786, 10, 7.*
1790, 12, 22. *Rachel, Randolph Co., m George Stalker.*

Branson

- 1782? *Thomas roc f Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1782, 11, 2.*
1782, 11, 20. *Thomas m Elizabeth Norton.*
1790? *Thomas & Henry roc f Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1790, 5, 1.*
1790? *Jane (with h) & ch roc f Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1790, 5, 1.*
1792, 1, 21. *Thomas gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1807, 4, 18. *Sarah gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1828, 9, 20. *Mary roc f Cane Creek MM, dated 1828, 7, 5.*
1839, 9, 21. *Mary Beeson (form Branson) con her mou.*
1861, 10, 19. *Eleanor Jane (form Wilson) dis mou.*
1863, 2, 21. *Jane recrq.*
1863, 2, 21. *John recrq.*
1865, 11, 18. *Margaret D. recrq.*
1870, 10, 15. *Margaret D. Cox (form Branson) [w Jeremiah S., L.D.W.] gct Holly Spring MM.*
1874, 1, 17. *Joseph A. Branson recrq of grandfather, Hiram Wilson.*
1886, 10, 16. *Sarah E. roc f Holly Spring MM, dated 1886, 8, 21.*

Brittain

- 1787? *Center meeting informed by New Garden that William was ltm Lydia Davis 12mo, 1786, but m was not accomplished & William was m to another woman by a justice.*
1796, 8, 30. *Martha (Brattin) gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1801, 3, 21. *Robert & fam (s: Paul & Jonathan) gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1801, 3, 4. *Mary & dt, Jane, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*

Brooks

- 1793? *John roc f Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1793, 10, 5.*
1793? *Jane roc f Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1793, 10, 5.*
1797, 7, 15. *John & fam (s: Joel & Samuel) gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1797, 7, 15. *Jane & dt, Mary & Sarah, gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1798? *Jane & ch roc f Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1798, 6, 4.*

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- 1798? John & fam rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1798, 9, 3.
1813, 9, 19. Jean gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.

Brown

- 1776? Jeremiah rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1776, 2, 24.
1781, 5, 19. Jeremiah gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.
1790, 7, 17. Mary gct Springfield MM, N.C.
1800? Joseph rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1800, 2, 1.
1802? Mary & fam rocf Deep Creek MM, N.C., dated 1802, 4, 3.
1871, 12, 16. Mary J. (form Kirkman) rpd mou; relrq.

Bull

- 1794? Mary Beeson & s, Jesse & William Bull, rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1794, 11, 3.
1797? Joseph rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1797, 3, 6.
1797, 3, 22. Joseph, Randolph Co., m Rachel Beeson.
1805, 3, 20. Jesse, Randolph Co., m Margaret Beeson.

Bundy

- 1763, 3, 9. Samuel, s Gideon, Pasquotank Co., m Huldah Hill.
1782, 10, 2. Christopher, s Gideon & Miriam, m Margaret Hill.
1783, 3, 23. Mary, dt Samuel & Huldah, Pasquotank Co., m John Albertson.

Campbell

- 1831, 4, 16. Hannah rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1830, 12, 9.
1839, 5, 18. Hannah gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.
1843, 7, 15. Hannah rocf Holly Spring, dated 1843(?), 12, 17.
1844, 8, 7. Hannah [*née* Carter] gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.

Canada

- 1798, 10, 20. Matilda (Canaday) gct New Garden MM, N.C.
1821, 1, 20. Walter (Canedy) gct Marlborough MM, N.C.
1823? Walter (Kenada) rocf Marlborough MM, N.C., dated 1823, 10, 4.
1830, 7, 17. Walter & fam gct Springfield MM, Ind.
1830, 8, 21. Hannah & dt, Mary & Lydia, gct Springfield MM, Ind.

Carter

- 1788, 10, 23. Mary, dt Sarah, m John Beals.

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- 1797, 2, 2. John, s John & Ann, Orange Co., m Sarah Beals.
1798, 1, 20. Sarah gct Springfield MM, N.C.
1801? Sarah (with h) & fam rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1801, 5, 1.
1801? John & fam rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1801, 6, 6.
1804, 10, 24. George, s John & Ann, Orange Co., m Miriam Wilson.
1805, 1, 19. Meriam gct Spring MM, N.C.
1811, 5, 29. Stephen, s William & Jane, Orange Co., m Mary Wilson.
1811, 7, 20. John & w, Sarah, & ch, Enoch, Jesse, Margaret, Eli, Susanna & Lydia, gct New Garden MM, N.C.
1812? Rebecah rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1812, 6, 27.
1835, 10, 17. John & s, David E., William A., Jehu C. & John R., roc.
1835, 10, 17. Dinah & dt, Jane E., Mary M. & Dianna, rocf Holly Spring MM, dated 1835, 4, 18.
1837, 9, 16. Isaac dis.
1838, 10, 20. David E. dis.
1839, 12, 21. Alson dis.
1843, 8, 18. Stephen dis mou.
1845, 5, 17. Jane gct White Lick MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
1846, 1, 17. William dis mou.
1847, 5, 15. James dis mou. (rem)
1848, 7, 15. John & w, Dinah, & dt, Mary & Dinah, gct White Lick MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
1848, 7, 15. Jehu dis mou. (residing in Ind.)

Chamness

- 1786? Hannah rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1786, 5, 1.
1786, 12, 20. Sarah, dt Joseph & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Obadiah Elliot.
1789, 3, 25. Elizabeth, dt Joseph & Margaret, Randolph Co., m William Pierson.
1791, 11, 9. William, s Joseph & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Isabel Beeson.
1792, 11, 28. Mary, dt Joseph & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Joseph Elliott.
1795, 9, 23. Margaret, dt Joseph & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Frances Reynolds.
1797, 9, 20. Martha, dt Joseph & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Robert Moffitt.
1797, 10, 5. Anthony, s Joseph & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Amy Reynolds.

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- 1803, 5, 21. *Lydia gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1805? *Hannah rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1805, 6, 29.*
1806, 3, 15.* *Joseph & s, Samuel & Joel, gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1806, 3, 15. *Morning gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1806, 3, 15. *Ruth gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1806, 4, 19. *Martha gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1807? *Morning rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1807, 8, 29.*
1808? *Ruth rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1808, 5, 28.*
1808, 3, 13. *Mourning, dt Joseph & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Daniel Ozbun.*
1812, 11, 25. *Susanna, dt Joseph & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Jeremiah Reynolds.*
1813? *Joseph gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1813? *Samuel & Joel gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1813? *Ruth gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1818, 9, 23. *Margaret, dt William & Isabel, Randolph Co., m Elisha Dennis.*
1818, 10, 21. *Joseph, s William & Isabel, Randolph Co., m Susanna Reynolds.*
1819? *Nathan gct Marlborough MM, N.C., to m.*
1819? *Mary rocf Marlborough MM, N.C., dated 1819, 8, 7.*
1819 *Joshua prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1819, 3, 6.*
1819, 4, 22. *Joshua, s Joshua & Rachel, Chatham Co., m Lydia Hockett.*
1819, 7, 17. *Lydia gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1819, 12, 29. *William, s Anthony & Amy, Randolph Co., m Edith Lamb.*
1826? *William gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
1828, 9, 20. *Edward & fam gct White Lick MM, Ind.*
1828, 9, 20. *Hannah & dt, Eleanor, Mary, Jane, Marth, Edith & Emily, gct White Lick MM, Ind.*
1828, 12, 20. *Hannah rocf Cane Creek MM, dated 1828, 10, 4.*
1832? *Isaac, ch, Andrew, John, David, Elwood, Sanford & Elias, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.; endorsed to Springfield MM, Ind.*
1832, 6, 16. *Ruth rocf Cane Creek MM, dated 1832, 4, 7.*
1832, 8, 18. *Joshua & fam gct Cherry Grove MM, Ind.*
1832, 8, 18. *Hannah, w Joshua, & dt, Mary, gct Cherry Grove MM, Ind.*

* *Date mistakenly transcribed in Hinshaw from Back Creek MM minutes as 1805, 3, 15.*

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- 1832, 8, 18. Nathan & fam gct Cherry Grove MM, Ind.
1832, 8, 18. Mary, w Nathan, & dt, Martha, Abigail & Eunice, gct
Cherry Grove MM, Ind.
1834, 8, 16. Jesse & w, Ruth, & dt, Mary, gct Springfield MM, Wayne
Co., Ind.
1837, 5, 10. Ann, dt Anthony & Amy, Randolph Co., m Joseph Lee.
1838, 8, 18. William, Sr. & w/, *Isabel?*,* gct Springfield MM, Wayne
Co., Ind. Cert rq for Hannah & Mary, withheld.
1838, 10, 20. Anthony dis mou.
1839, 4, 20. Mary gct Springfield MM, Wayne Co., Ind. (rem)
1839, 5, 18. Hannah gct Cane Creek MM (rem)
1840, 3, 21. Dun gct Marlboro MM, to m.
1840, 7, 18. Rebecca rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1840, 7, 4.
1841, 5, 15. Hannah dis (rem)
1842, 1, 12. Hannah, dt Anthony & Amy, Randolph Co., m Mordecai
Lamb.
1842, 5, 21. Abigail & dt, Emily Eliza, recrqs.
1843, 5, 20. Miles dis.
1844, 6, 15. Anthony, Sr. recrqs.
1844, 8, 17. Dun dis.
1847, 4, 17. Milo gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
1847, 7, 19. Eliza Jane rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1847, 6, 5.
1848, 12, 16. Rebecca & ch gct Marlboro MM.
1850, 7, 20. Milton gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
1852, 1, 17. Amy Reynolds (form Chamness) dis mou.
1852, 6, 19. Mary McMasters (form Chamness) dis mou.
1854, 8, 19. David S. gct Cane Creek MM, to m.
1855, 2, 17. Elizabeth D. rocf Cane Creek MM, dated 1855, 2, 3.
1860, 6, 6. Anthony, s Anthony & Amy, Randolph Co., m Jane C.
Wilson.
1864, 4, 16. Lorenzo S., minor, recrqs of father.
1864, 10, 15. Hannah Emeline recrqs of mother, Eliza J.
1864, 11, 19. Miles & s, Arlando, recrqs.
1872, 9, 21. Lorenzo con his mou.
1872, 10, 19. David S. dis.
1879, 3, 15. Arlando G. relrqs.

* *Conjecture based on entry for 1838, 10, 20, in minutes of Springfield MM, Ind., recording reception of William and w, Isabel, on cert from Centre MM, N.C.*

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- 1879, 12, 20. Elma Siler (form Chamness) con her mou.
1880, 2, 21. Emily Cox (form Chamness) rpd mou.
1882, 9, 16. Isabelle rocf Marlboro MM.
1883, 2, 17. David S. dis
1884, 1, 19. Isabelle relrq.

Chappell

- 1881, 3, 19. Julia recrq.

Charles

- 1789? *Samuel & ch, Abigail, Elisabeth & John, rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1789, 4, 1.*
1789? *Gulielma rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1789, 4, 1.*
1789? *Joseph rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1789, 6, 3.*
1864, 6, 18. Caroline D. gct Cherry Grove MM, Randolph Co., Ind. (rem)

Clark

- 1793? *Mary rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1793, 1, 7.*
1803, 11, 19. *William & s, Dougan, Alexander, Caldwell, Thomas & John, gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1803, 11, 19. *Eleanor & dt, Mary, Margaret, Hannah & Rachel, gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1813, 10, 20. *Martha, dt Daniel & Mary, Randolph Co., m John Allen.*
1817, 1, 18. *Hezekiah gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1822? *Nancy rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1822, 3, 27.*
1822? *Mary rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1822, 10, 30.*
1823? *John & s, Jediah, gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1823, 11, 15. *Nancy gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1823? *Hezekiah & fam rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1823, 5, 31.*
1823? *Abigail (with h) & fam rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1823, 7, 26.*
1827, 1, 20. *Samuel & fam gct Marlboro MM.*
1827, 1, 20. *Mary & dt, Emily, gct Marlboro MM, Ind.*
1834, 3, 15. *Louisa con her mou.*
1834, 11, 15. *Mary & dt, Mary, gct Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind.*
1835, 6, 20. *Louisa gct Marlboro MM.*
1835, 7, 18. *Hezekiah & w, Abigail, & ch [Richard Mendenhall, George*

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Cicero, Eliza Kinzey, Daniel Addison, John Wilberforce Long, Cynthia Ann, Hezekiah Franklin, Abigail Jemima & David Worth*] gct Duck Creek MM, Ind.

1838, 11, 17. Hezekiah gct Walnut Ridge MM, Ind. (having rem)

1861, 4, 20. Asenath gct Greenwood MM, Hamilton Co., Ind.

Clearwater

1795, 12, 19. *Jacob* gct Newhope MM, Tenn.

Cloud

1790 *Joseph prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1790, 4, 3.*

1790, 4, 22. *Joseph, s Mordecai & Abigail, Pa., now of Randolph Co., m Hannah Hoggatt.*

1790, 6, 19. *Hannah gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*

1802? *Hannah rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1802, 3, 6.*

Coffin

1783, 4, 19. *Aaron gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

1784? *Aaron & fam rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1784, 7, 5.*

1785, 4, 21. *Elizabeth, dt Benjamin & Elizabeth, Center, Guilford Co., m Obed Barnard.*

1791, 3, 24. *Elizabeth, widow Benjamin Coffin, Guilford Co., m Henery Macy.*

1792? *Anna, of Muddy Creek, rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1792, 5, 7.*

1794, 6, 21. *Adam & w & ch gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.*

1794, 6, 21. *Anna & dt, Catherine, gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.*

1797, 2, 23. *Phebe, dt Benjamin & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m Jonathan Anthony.*

1809, 8, 19. *Aaron & s, Moses & William, gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

1809, 8, 19. *Mary & dt, Elizabeth, Phebe, Ruth, Anna & Mary, gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

1810? *Abigail (with h) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1810, 3, 31.*

1810, 8, 18. *Benjamin & s, William, gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

1814? *Thomas rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1814, 8, 1.*

1814, 9, 17. *Susanna gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

* Appears as "Eliza Wincy" in Centre MM minutes.

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- 1814, 10, 27. Thomas, s Samuel & Mary, Guilford Co., m Miriam Worth.
- 1818? Thomas & s, Simon & Carr, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.
- 1818? Miriam & dt, Clorinda, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.
- 1819? William rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1819, 6, 3.
- 1822? William prcf Union MM, N.C., to m, dated 1822, 11, 27.
- 1823? Susanna rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1822, 12, 28.
- 1823, 1, 1. William, s Aaron & Mary, Stokes Co., m Anna Swain.
- 1823, 7, 19. Anna gct Union MM, N.C.
- 1830, 5, 15. Miriam con her mou.
- 1834, 4, 19. Anna gct Nantucket MM.
- 1837, 6, 17. Miriam gct Marlboro MM.
- 1860, 10, 20. Aletha produced sojourning minute from Mill Creek MM, Hendricks Co., Ind., dated 1860, 8, 1.

Coggins

- 1834, 2, 15. Jane dis mou.

Coltrane

- 1841, 4, 17. Margaret dis mou.
- 1864, 2, 20. Miriam E. recr q.
- 1864, 2, 20. William, a minor, recr q with approval of parents.
- 1864, 4, 16. Mary Ann recr q.
- 1865, 5, 20. Margaret & dt, Eunice L., Sarah T., Martha E. & Esther Jane, recr q.
- 1866, 6, 16. Lindsay & s, Jonathan W. & Albert L., recr q.
- 1866, 6, 16. Solomon H. recr q of father.
- 1866, 8, 18. Rachel Mary Ann Osborne (form Coltrane) con her mou.
- 1869, 2, 20. Miriam E. Murphy (form Coltrane) con her mou.
- 1874, 4, 18. Solomon H. con his mou.
- 1876, 7, 15. Sonisa Smith (form Coltrane) con her mou.
- 1879, 4, 19. Esther J. Hodgkin (form Coltrane) rpd mou.
- 1879, 12, 20. Emma A. recr q.
- 1884, 3, 15. Shubel G. & Albert C. recr q of father, Solomon H.
- 1898? Jonathan W. (Colterain) gct Dover MM, Ind.

Common

- 1793? William & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1793, 10, 5.
- 1793? Sarah (Commons) (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1793, 10, 5.

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Cox

- 1781, 12, 6. Joseph, s Benjamin & Martha, Cane Creek, m Dinah Rich.
- 1782, 4, 20. *Dinah gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1816 *Benjamin prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1816, 9, 7.*
- 1816, 10, 23. Binjamin, s Nathaniel & Ruth, Randolph Co., m Rachel Reynolds.
- 1817, 2, 15. *Rachel gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1839, 9, 5. Joseph, s Joseph & Ruth, Randolph Co., m Ann Reynolds.
- 1839, 12, 21. Ann gct Holly Spring MM.
- 1841, 8, 21. Enoch & s, Silas, Elihu & Isaiah, rocf Holly Spring MM, dated 1841, 7, 17.
- 1841, 8, 21. Mary & dt, Ruth, Rebecca, Mary, Margaret, Catharine, Amy & Hannah, rocf Holly Spring MM, dated 1841, 7, 17.
- 1846, 1, 1. Silas, s Enoch & Mary, Randolph Co., m Asenath Hadley.
- 1848, 2, 23. Rebecca, dt Enoch & Mary, Guilford Co., m Jesse D. Hockett.
- 1850, 10, 2. Mary A., dt Enoch & Mary, Randolph Co., m Henery Macy.
- 1853, 10, 26. Daniel, s Abijah & Ruth, Randolph Co., m Ruth Cox.
- 1853, 10, 26. Ruth, dt Enoch & Mary, Randolph Co., m Daniel Cox.
- 1854, 7, 15. Ruth gct Holly Spring MM.
- 1858, 4, 28. Margaret, dt Enoch & Mary, Randolph Co., m Nathaniel Woody.
- 1859, 5, 21. Asenath (with h) rqct Plainfield MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
- 1860, 1, 21. Silas & fam gct Plainfield MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
- 1860, 3, 17. Sally Hockett & dt, Sophronia P., Achsah R. & Elizabeth A. Cox, rocf Neuse MM, dated 1860, 3, 1.
- 1860, 3, 17. Jesse J., a minor, rocf Neuse MM, dated 1860, 3, 1.
- 1861, 5, 29. Elihu, s Enoch & Mary, Randolph Co., m Mary E. Reynolds.
- 1867, 4, 20. Sophronia P. Perkins (form Cox) con her mou. (rem)
- 1870, 10, 15. Margaret D. (form Branson) [w Jeremiah S., L.D.W.] gct Holly Spring MM.
- 1871, 1, 21. Elizabeth A. Hocket (form Cox) con her mou.
- 1873, 7, 19. Achsah R. Davis (form Cox) con her mou.
- 1875, 8, 21. Elihu & fam rqct Greenwood MM, Hamilton Co., Ind. (rq withdrawn, 1876, 6 mo).
- 1877, 12, 15. Elihu & w, Mary, & ch, Gurney L., Cyrus E., Mahlon R., Amy E. & Ella M., gct Friendsville MM, Blount Co., Tenn.
- 1879, 12, 30. Enoch L. rocf Holly Spring MM.

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- 1880, 2, 21. Enoch L. con his mou.
1880, 2, 21. Isaiah con his mou.
1880, 2, 21. Emily (form Chamness) rpd mou.
1880, 2, 21. Jane (form Hockett) con her mou.
1882, 1, 15. Isaiah relrq.
1882, 7, 19. Catharine, dt Enoch & Mary, Randolph Co., m Solomon Fraizer.
1882, 9, 16. Sabra R. (form Hinshaw) rpd mou.
1883, 5, 19. Elihu & w, Mary, & ch, Cyrus E., Mahlon H., Elizabeth A. & Ella M., rocf Friendsville MM, Tenn., dated 1883, 4, 7.
1883, 10, 20. Jesse J. gct Neuse MM, N.C.
1883, 11, 17. Nancy Jane & ch, Jesse Franklin & Parris Jay, gct Estacado MM, Crosby Co., Texas.
1885, 4, 17. Hannah gct Holly Spring MM.
1886, 4, 17. Sabra gct Holly Spring MM.
1887, 6, 18. Jeremiah S. & w, Margaret D., rocf Holly Spring MM, dated 1887, 4, 16.
1890, 4, 19. Cora E., adopted dt Jeremiah S. & Margaret D., recrql.

Cranford

- 1881, 1, 15. Nancy M. (form Hockett) con her mou.

Crawford

- 1773? *Eva (Crofford) (with h) rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1773, 3, 6.*
1773? *Sarah (Crofford) rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1773, 3, 6.*
1836, 10, 15. James' death rpd.

Crow

- 1790? *Reuben & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1790, 12, 4.*
1790? *Abigail (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1790, 12, 4.*

Cude

- 1840, 5, 16. Eleanor con her mou.

Davidson

- 1842, 3, 16. James, s James & Loranee, Randolph Co., m Martha Reynolds.

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1842, 12, 17. Martha, of Concord, gct Marlboro MM.

Davis

- 1775? *Hannah rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1775, 5, 6.*
1777, 1, 18. *Hannah gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1781, 1, 11. *Jesse, Center, Guilford Co., m Elizabeth Reynolds.*
1784 *John prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1784, 9, 25.*
1784, 10, 21. *John, s Thomas & Hephshibah, Guilford Co., m Jane Mills.*
1785? *Alice rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1785, 4, 4.*
1787? *Tristram prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1787, 3, 31.*

1792, 1, 21. *Love gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
1792, 7, 12. *Eve, dt James & Patience, Randolph Co., m Thomas Stalker.*
1793, 4, 4. *Rachel, dt James & Patience, Randolph Co., m Francis Reynolds.*
1793, 4, 4. *Rebekah, Randolph Co., dt James & Patience, m William Hiatt.*
1801, 3, 5. *Edith, dt Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Robert Holaday.*
1803? *Lydia rocf Mt. Pleasant MM, Va., dated 1803, 8, 27.*
1807, 2, 21. *Joel gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1807, 11, 21. *James gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1811? *Adam gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1811? *Lydia & dt, Ruth, Elizabeth, Mary, Phebe & Jemima, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1812? *Henry & w rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1812, 3, 28.*
1812? *Huldah rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1812, 3, 28.*
1813? *John & ch rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1813, 1, 30.*
1813? *Rachel & dt, Elizabeth & Mary, rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1813, 12, 25.*
1813, 7, 17. *Huldah gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
1814, 3, 3. *Warner, s Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Milly Hodson.*
1814? *Warner gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
1814? *John & ch, William, Haisley, Rich, Peter, Aaron, Beniah & Charles, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1814, 6, 18. *Phebe & dt, Martha, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1815? *Jesse gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*

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- 1845, 3, 15. Annas (form Lamb) dis mou.
1863, 11, 21. Robert Yancy recrq.
1863, 12, 19. Francis S. recrq.
1863, 12, 19. Ruth recrq.
1863, 12, 19. Samuel recrq.
1864, 5, 21. James H. recrq of father, Francis S.
1864, 5, 21. Delilah J. recrq of mother, Ruth.
1864, 7, 16. Jemima recrq.
1868, 3, 21. Robert Yancey gct New Garden MM.
1873, 7, 19. Achsah R. (form Cox) con her mou.
1873, 9, 20. Achsah R. gct Back Creek MM.
1874, 3, 21. Martha C. (form Shelton) gct Marlboro MM.
1876, 7, 15. Mary J. (form Hodgkin) con her mou.
1876, 10, 21. James H. con his mou.
1881, 8, 20. Delilah Hodgkin (form Davis) con her mou.
1882, 1, 21. Ellen (form Lee) rpd mou; dropped from mbrp.

Davison

- 1801? *Margaret, dt Samuel, rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1801, 2, 7.*
1811? *Rachel rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1811, 10, 5.*
1812? *James (Davisson) & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1812, 1, 4.*
1812? *Lurena (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1812, 1, 4.*

Dawson

- 1851, 5, 17. Cyrena (form Osborne) dis mou.

Dear

- 1792, 2, 23. Cloe, Guilford Co., m Solomon Hodson.

Dennis

- 1790, 5, 16. William, s Thomas & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Delilah Hobs.
1813, 3, 24. Thomas, s William & Delila, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Wilson.
1818 *Elisha prcf Marlborough MM, N.C., to m, dated 1818, 9, 5.*
1818, 9, 23. Elisha, s William & Delilah, Randolph Co., m Margaret Chamness.

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- 1818, 11, 21. *Margaret gct Marlborough MM, N.C.*
1828, 2, 16. *Rebecca con her mou.*
1829 *Absalom prcf Marlborough MM, N.C., to m, dated 1829, 4, 9.*
1829, 4, 23. *Absalom, s William & Delilah, Randolph Co., m Eunice Stanton.*
1829, 8, 15. *Eunice gct Marlboro MM, Ind.*
1830, 4, 17. *Rebecca gct Marlboro MM.*
1835, 5, 16. *Rebecca rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1835, 5, 2.*
1838, 7, 21. *Rebecca gct Springfield MM, Ind.*

Dicks

- 1775? *James & w, Rachel (form Beals), rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1775, 4, 29.*
1791, 3, 31. *Elizabeth, dt James & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Thomas Beard.*
1792? *Agatha (with h) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1792, 1, 28.*
1793? *Zacharias rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1793, 5, 4.*
1793? *Ruth (Dix) rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1793, 5, 4.*
1796, 12, 29. *Ruth, dt James & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m Joseph Hodson.*
1797, 10, 26. *Peter, s James & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Ann Hodson.*
1797, 11, 30. *Tamar, dt James & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Solomon Hodson.*
1798, 3, 17. *Ruth gct Spring MM, N.C.*
1800? *Mary (Dix) & dt rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1800, 8, 2.*
1800? *Peter & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1800, 8, 2.*
1805, 8, 7. *Rachel, dt James & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Benjamin Marmon.*
1806? *Mary (with h) & ch rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1806, 3, 29.*
1809, 10, 26. *Elizabeth (Dix), dt Nathan & Mary, Randolph Co., m Ebanazar Doan.*
1812? *Nathan & s, Zacharius, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1812? *Mary & dt, Ruth, Rachel, Mary, Lydia & Rebeckah, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1812? *Peter & s, Zachariah, William, Jonathan & Ezekiel, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*

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- 1812? *Elizabeth, dt Peter, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1814? *Elizabeth & dt, Jemima, Mary, Betty & Rachel Vestal & Lydia Dicks, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1826 ? *Rachel rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1826, 7, 5.*
1831, 1, 15. Amy dis mou.
1831, 4, 16. Sarah (Dix) dis.
1841, 12, 8. Cornelius (Dix) dis mou.
1842, 7, 16. Esther & Rachel dis.
1847, 8, 17. Alfred M. rpd mou. (living at Bloomfield MM.)
1848, 6, 17. Alfred M. dis by advice from Bloomfield MM.
1864, 1, 16. William Clarkson, a minor, recr q with approval of parents.
1864, 9, 17. Cornelius T. recr q.
1864, 11, 19. Margaret recr q.
1865, 12, 16. William C. dis.

Doan

- 1809 *Ebanazar prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1809, 9, 2.*
1809, 10, 26. Ebanazar, s John & Elizabeth, Chatham Co., m Elizabeth Dix.
1810, 7, 20. *Elizabeth gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*

Dodd

- 1793? *Rebecca (with h) & dt, Mary & Sarah, rocf Contentnea MM, N.C., dated 1792, 12, 8.*

Dorothy

- 1829, 9, 19. Mary gct Springfield MM, Ind.

Edgerton

- 1869, 10, 16. Sarah E. (form Hodgin) con her mou.
1869, 10, 16. Sarah E. gct Nahunta MM.
1885, 10, 17. Sarah A. (form Hodgin) gct Nahunta MM, N.C.

Edwards

- 1784? *Morgan rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1784, 2, 7.*
1784? *Mary (with h) & ch, Mary & Hannah, rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1784, 2, 7.*
1832, 7, 21. Elizabeth dis mou.
1864, 10, 15. Jonathan B. recr q.

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1874, 4, 18. Jonathan B. dis.

Elliott

- 1775? *Sarah & ch, Mary, Elizabeth, William & Rachel, rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1775, 4, 1.*
- 1777, 1, 1. Hannah (Ellot), dt Jacob & Elizabeth, Center, Guilford Co., m Stephen Ward.
- 1781, 7, 21. *Jacob (Ellot) & w, Elizabeth, & ch, William, Abraham, Elizabeth & Rachel, gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1781, 9, 26. Rhoda, dt Thomas & Sarah, Perquimans Co., m William* Reynolds.
- 1782? *Jacob rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1782, 5, 1.*
- 1784? *Jacob (Ellot) & w, Elizabeth, & ch, William, Abraham, Elizabeth, & Rachel, rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1784, 1, 31.*
- 1786, 12, 20. Obadiah (Eliot), s John & Mary, Randolph Co., m Sarah Chamness.
- 1788, 3, 19. Axum (Elliot), s Jacob & Zilpha, Randolph Co., m Sarah Pearson.
- 1790, 3, 24. Axsom (Elliot), s Jacob & Zilpha, Randolph Co., m Catharine Lamb.
- 1792, 3, 17. *Jacob gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1792, 11, 28. Joseph, s John & Mary, Randolph Co., m Mary Chamness.
- 1793, 12, 21. *John gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1796, 9, 17. *Israel & s, Jacob, gct New Hope MM, Tenn.; accepted by Lost Creek MM, Tenn., instead, 1797, 5, 20.*
- 1796, 9, 17. *Welmet & dt, Eve & Esther, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1798, 2, 17. *Jacob gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1799, 9, 21. *Abraham (Elliot) gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1804, 5, 19. *Ann gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1804 *Jacob prcf Back Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1804, 3, 31.*
- 1804, 5, 24. Jacob, s Abraham & Mary, Randolph Co., m Hepzibah Stanton.
- 1804, 7, 21. *Hepsibeth gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1806, 3, 15. *Obediah & s, Obadiah, Nathan & Ephram, gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1806, 3, 15. *Sarah & dt, Mary, Hannah, Edith, Sarah & Elizabeth, gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*

* *Misprinted in Hinshaw as "Williamd."*

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- 1807? *Obadiah & s rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1807, 8, 29.*
1807? *Sarah & dt rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1807, 8, 29.*
1807? *Jacob rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1807, 11, 28.*
1807? *Hepsibeth rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1807, 12, 26.*
1812, 7, 29. *Hannah, dt Obediah & Sarah, Randolph Co., m John Beard.*
1818? *Jacob & w rocf Marlborough MM, N.C., dated 1818, 1, 3.*
1818? *Hepsiba rocf Marlborough MM, N.C., dated 1818, 1, 3.*
1819, 9, 1. *Elizabeth, dt Obediah & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Henry Watkins.*
1825? *Nathan gct Marlborough MM, N.C., to m.*
1826, 7, 15. *Sarah rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1826, 7, 6.*
1827? *Obediah gct Marlborough MM, N.C.*
1828, 5, 17. *Armella (Elliot) rocf Marlboro MM.*
1828, 10, 1. *Sarah, dt Obediah & Sarah, Randolph Co., m William Rich.*
1831, 3, 19. *Nathan & fam gct Marlboro MM.*
1831, 3, 19. *Sarah, w Nathan, & dt, Malinda & Betsy, gct Marlboro MM.*
1832, 2, 22. *Abigail, dt Obediah & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Samuel Rich.*
1833? *Joseph & w rocf Marlboro MM, N.C., dated 1833, 5, 9.*
1833, 7, 20. *Obediah & fam [w: Armelia & ch: Benjamin, Seth, Calvin & Clark] gc[t Spiceland MM, Ind.]*
1833, 7, 20. *Armilla gc.*
1833, 7, 20. *Ruth & dt, Jemima, rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1833, 5, 9.*
1834, 8, 16. *Obadiah & w, Sarah, gct Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind.*
1841, 7, 17. *Joseph & w, Ruth, & dt, Jemima, gct Marlboro MM.*

Evans

- 1786, 3, 22. *Catharine, Randolph Co., m John Bailey.*

Farlow

- 1796? *Mary rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1796, 5, 9.*
1799? *Hannah rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1799, 10, 7.*
1800? *Ruth rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1800, 3, 3.*
1800? *Sarah rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1800, 6, 28.*
1806, 2, 15. *Joseph gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1806, 2, 15. *Ruth & dt, Deborah & Ann, gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*

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- 1811, 2, 28. Hannah, dt Nathan & Ruth, Randolph Co., m William Andrew.
1812? George & s, John, Simon & Hiram, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.
1812? Ann & dt, Alice, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.
1831? Enoch Jr. roc f Marlboro MM, N.C., to m, dated 1831, 9, 8.
1831, 10, 6. Enoch, s Michael & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Mary Stanton.
1832, 3, 17. Mary gct Marlboro MM.

Farmer

- 1784? John, Moses & Benjamin roc f Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1784, 2, 7.
1788? Joseph roc f Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1788, 1, 5.
1788? Mary roc f Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1788, 1, 5.
1788, 8, 20. Moses, s John & Rachel, Randolph Co., m Mary Pierson.

Fentress

- 1777? Pharoh & ch roc f Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1777, 2, 19.
1778? Elisabeth roc f Pasquotank MM, N.C. (her previous certificate was lost), dated 1778, 3, 18.
1885, 6, 20. Mary roc.

Fields

- 1807, 4, 18. Hannah (Field) gct Springfield MM, N.C.
1811? Hannah (Field) roc f Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1811, 7, 6.
1817? Hannah gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.
1867, 9, 21. Emily L. (Field) (form Wilson) con her mou.
1878, 9, 21. Delphinia rq mbrp; refused 1879, 7 mo.

Folger

- 1777, 11, 27. Latham, s Reuben & Dina, Nantucket, m Matilda Worth.
1781, 9, 15. Latham gct Deep River MM, N.C.

Ford

- 1792? Henry (Fourd) roc f New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1792, 10, 28.
1798, 2, 17. Henry gct New Garden MM, N.C.

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Frazier

- 1781? *James rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1781, 7, 28.*
- 1784, 1, 29. *William (Fraizer), s John & Abigail, Randolph Co., m Susanna Woodward.*
- 1789, 10, 1. *Mary (Fraizer), dt Aaron & Sarah, m Jonathan Hodson.*
- 1791, 9, 1. *Isabel (Fraizer), dt Aaron & Sarah, Center, Guilford Co., m Robert Hodson.*
- 1793, 1, 19. *William & ch, Abraham, Eli, John & Elisha, gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
- 1796, 12, 17. *Aaron gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1797? *John rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1797, 5, 6.*
- 1798? *Abner gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1799? *Francis & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1799, 8, 3.*
- 1799? *Elizabeth (Frayzer) (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1799, 8, 3.*
- 1800, 11, 26. *Matthew (Fraizer), s Aaron & Sarah, Center, Guilford Co., m Mary Hodson.*
- 1801, 12, 2. *Abel (Fraizer), s Aaron & Sarah, Center, Guilford Co., m Rebeccah Hodson.*
- 1802 ? *James (Frazer) rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1801, 12, 5.*
- 1804, 3, 7. *Ann (Fraizer), dt Isaac & Rebecca, m Isaac Hodson.*
- 1805, 2, 16. *Abel & fam gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1805, 2, 16. *Rebekah & dt, Rachel, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1807, 9, 30. *John (Frazer), s Francis & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m Lydia Way.*
- 1808? *Margery (Frasher) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1808, 3, 26.*
- 1810, 4, 21. *Lydia (Frasure) gct Fairfield MM, Ohio.*
- 1810, 4, 24. *John & s, Nathan, gct Fairfield MM, Ohio.*
- 1810, 4, 28. *Francis (Fraizer) & s, Davis, Thomas, Gidian & Francis, gct Fairfield MM, Ohio.*
- 1811, 1, 19. *John & fam (s: James, John, Thomas, Nathan, Stanley, David & Samuel) gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1811, 4, 20. *James & w, Susannah, & ch, Levinah, Samuel, John, Frances, Elizabeth, Sarah, Susannah & James, gct Fairfield MM, Ohio.*
- 1816? *Mary & dt, Sarah, Rachel, & s, Jonathan, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*

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- 1829? *Isaac gct White Lick MM, Ind.*
1829? *Henry gct White Lick MM, Ind.*
1832, 7, 21. Dorcas (Frazer) dis mou.
1863, 7, 18. John T. recrq.
1863, 8, 15. David L. & s, Jeffrey H., Benjamin F., Jonathan A. & Daniel B., rocf Springfield MM, dated 1863, 8, 5.
1863, 8, 15. Hannah rocf Springfield MM, dated 1863, 8, 5.
1864, 4, 16. Ruhama recrq.
1864, 9, 17. James H., a minor, recrq of guardian, John T.
1866, 8, 18. David L. dis
1868, 8, 20. James H. dis
1873, 7, 19. Benjamin F. gct Ind.
1875, 4, 17. Jeffrey H. dis
1882, 7, 19. Solomon, Randolph Co., s Isaac & Mary, m Catharine Cox.

Gamble

- 1880, 9, 18. Martitia (form Hodgin) con her mou.

Gardner

- 1798? *Mary rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1798, 6, 4.*
1798? *Shubael & w rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1798, 9, 3.*
1830? *Abigail & Mary rocf Marlboro MM, N.C., dated 1830, 7, 8.*

Gifford

- 1806? *Mary rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1806, 2, 3.*

Gilbert

- 1801? *Dorothy & dt rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1801, 11, 18.*
1801? *Josiah rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1801, 12, 26.*
1804, 2, 18. *Josiah & fam gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1804, 2, 18. *Dorothy & dt, Miriam & Elizabeth, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*

Gilbreath

- 1885, 7, 18. Amy J. H. recrq.

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Green

- 1774, 5, 27. Benjamin, s James & Mary, Guilford Co., m Huldah Stoan.
- 1795, 12, 3. Rachel, dt Benjamin & Huldah, Randolph Co., m Ebanazar Reynolds.
- 1799, 5, 23. Patience, dt Benjamin & Hulda, Guilford Co., m John Way.
- 1809, 11, 23. Gravner, Randolph Co., m Ruth Ozburn.
- 1817? *Gravner & Ruth (Ozburn) & s, Joel & John, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*

Griffin

- 1788? *Hannah rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1787, 12, 15.*
- 1790? *Sarah, Elisabeth, Jacob, James & Lyddia, ch of James, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1790, 2, 20.*

Gurley

- 1823? *Charles & w rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1823, 3, 6.*
- 1823? *Ruth (Gurly) rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1823, 3, 6.*
- 1838, 3, 17. Charles & w, Ruth, & dt, Eliza & Rhoda, gct Dover MM.

Hadley

- 1845, 4, 19. Asenath recriq.
- 1846, 1, 1. Asenath, dt John & Alice Davis, Randolph Co., m Silas Cox.

Hale

- 1809? *Jacob & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1809, 10, 7.*
- 1809? *Martha (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1809, 10, 7.*

Hall

- 1777, 4, 30. Jemima, widow, dt Henry Powell, Guilford Co., m Ebenezer Whitney.
- 1787, 12, 26. Benjamin, s Benjamin & Sarah, Pasquotank Co., N.C., m Elizabeth Newby.
- 1807? *Elizabeth & ch, Samuel, Sarah, Rhoda, Joseph, Benjamin, Anna, Caleb & William, rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1807, 1, 3.*
- 1815? *Elizabeth & dt, Rhoda & Anna, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*

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1815? *Joseph, Benjamin, Caleb, William, Stephen & Branson gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*

Hammer

1790? *Rachel rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1790, 7, 3.*

1790? *Abraham Jr. rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1790, 7, 3.*

Hammond

1792? *Sarah (Hammon) rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1792, 2, 4.*

Hancock

1794? *Hannah rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1794, 10, 25.*

1794? *Sarah (Hancock) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1794, 10, 25.*

1798, 11, 17. *Sarah gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*

Hannah

1846, 11, 21. *Mary dis mou.*

Harlan

1810 ? *Abigail rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1810, 1, 6.*

1810, 2, 1. *Margaret (Harlin), dt Stephen & Mary, Randolph Co., m Obed Barnard.*

1817 *Hiram prcf Springfield MM, N.C., to m, dated 1817, 10, 8.*

1817, 10, 29. *Hiram, s Stephen & Alice, Guilford Co., m Sarah Hodgkin.*

1818, 7, 18. *Sarah gct Springfield MM, N.C.*

1820 *Enoch prcf Springfield MM, N.C., to m, dated 1820, 6, 7.*

1820, 7, 6. *Enoch, s Stephen & Alice, Guilford Co., m Rachel Osborn.*

1820, 12, 16. *Rachel gct Springfield MM, N.C.*

Harrison

1818? *Henry & s, Abram & Benjamin, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*

1818? *Ann & dts, Mary Cortney & Candis, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*

Harvey

1784, 4, 21. *Lydia, dt Michael & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m John Hobson.*

1786, 5, 24. *Jesse, s Michael & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Kezia Ward.*

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- 1800? Sarah (Harvy) (with h) rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1800, 6, 9.
1806, 9, 20. Caleb & w, Sarah, & ch, Jesse, Joshua & Hannah, gct Miami MM, Ohio.

Hasket

- 1775? Joseph rocf Bush River MM, S.C., dated 1775, 11, 25.

Hauner

- 1880, 11, 20. Thomas K. recrq.

Henley

- 1773, 3, 20. The Friends which inhabit about Jesse (Hanley's) request that their meeting be held every fourth First day, which this meeting grants until further orders.
1773, 8, 21. The preparative meeting informs this, that the Friends living about Jesse (Hanley's) & John Rich's request indulgence in holding their meetings every other First day; therefore Robert Lamb, John Mills, John Bails, Jr., John Stone, Isaac Jones & Robert Hodgson are appointed to visit them on that account, & they to return their sense & judgment to next meeting accordingly.
1777? John & ch rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1777, 3, 19.
1777? Mary rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1777, 3, 19.
1787, 9, 16. Milicen, dt Jesse & Ann, Randolph Co., m Phinehas Nixon.
1788? John Jr. gct Pasquotank MM, N.C., to m Keziah Nixon.
1788? Keziah rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1788, 11, 15.
1790, 11, 10. Penelope, dt John, Randolph Co., m Joseph Newby.
1794? Nathan prcf Back Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1794, 1, 25.

Hiatt

- 1791? Mary Hodgson & s, Christopher Hiatt, rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1791, 5, 28.
1793 William rocf Deep River MM, N.C., to m, dated 1793, 3, 4.
1793, 4, 4. William, Guilford Co., s John & Mary, m Rebekah Davis.
1794, 7, 19. Rebekah gct Deep River MM, N.C.
1803, 12, 17. Christopher gct New Garden MM, N.C.
1815 Sarah rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1815, 6, 24.
1835 James rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1835, 12, 3.

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- 1836, 1, 16. James rocf Deep River MM, dated 1835, 12, 3.
1836, 10, 15. Achsah dis mou.
1839, 7, 20. Achsah recrq.
1839, 9, 21. Achsah gct New Garden MM, Wayne Co., Ind.

Hicks

- 1827, 1, 20. Margaret con her mou.
1833, 11, 16. Margaret dis.

Hill

- 1762, 11, 10. William, s Aaron, Pasquotank Co., m Mary Smith.
1763, 3, 9. Huldah, dt Aaron, Pasquotank Co., m Samuel Bundy.
1776? *Mary, w William, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1776, 2, 21.*
1776? *Aaron rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., requested 1776, 3, 20.**
1777? *Jacob rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., requested 1777, 3, 19.*
1778? *William & ch rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1778, 11, 18.*
1779? *Jacob's cert endorsed to Pasquotank MM, N.C.**
1781, 11, 8. Aaron, Center, m Sarah Rich.
1782, 10, 2. Margaret, dt William & Mary, m Christopher Bundy.
1789? *Ann rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1789, 2, 21.*
1789? *Thomas & s, Jesse, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1789, 3, 21.*
1790? *Mary, w Jesse, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1790, 1, 16.*
1791? *Jesse rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1790, 12, 18.*
1792? *Ann rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1792, 4, 7.*

Hinshaw

- 1781? *William Jr. rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1781, 2, 3.*
1782? *William gct Deep River MM, N.C., to m, dated 1782, 5, 6.*
1782? *Margaret rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1782, 8, 5.*
1783, 6, 21. *William Jr. & w, Margaret, & dt, Alice, gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
1788, 4, 5. *Ruth gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

* *Pasquotank MM minutes say Aaron rqct Gilford Co. MM, Jacob rqct Center MM, and Jacob returned from Gilford MM. It is inferred therefore that "Gilford Co. MM" is Center MM.*

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- 1796? *Thomas rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1796, 8, 6.*
- 1796? *Rebekah (with h, Thomas) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1796, 8, 6.*
- 1801? *William & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1801, 10, 3.*
- 1801? *Rachel (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1801, 10, 3.*
- 1802? *William Jr. prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1802, 8, 7.*
- 1802? *Joseph rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1802, 4, 5.*
- 1802, 8, 21. *William & fam (s: Adam & Jesse) gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1802, 8, 21. *Rachel & dt, Mary, Sarah, Ann, Rabacha & Elizabeth, gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1802, 9, 29. *William, s Ezra & Ruth, Randolph Co., m Lorohame Beeson.*
- 1803, 11, 19. *Joseph gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1806? *Jesse & fam rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1806, 7, 7.*
- 1806? *Eunice & dt rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1806, 7, 7.*
- 1809, 6, 21. *Seth, s John & Ruth, Stokes Co., m Hannah Beeson.*
- 1810? *Susanna, of Muddy Creek, rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1810, 11, 5.*
- 1811? *Joseph, of Muddy Creek, rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1811, 4, 1.*
- 1813? *Benjamin & fam rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1813, 5, 3.*
- 1813? *Anney & two dt rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1813, 5, 3.*
- 1813, 1, 16. *Joseph gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1815? *William & fam rocf Lost Creek MM, Tenn., dated 1815, 3, 25.*
- 1815? *Rachel & dt rocf Lost Creek MM, Tenn., dated 1815, 3, 25.*
- 1817? *Enoch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1817, 7, 5.*
- 1828, 12, 24. *Adam, s William & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Sarah Wells.*
- 1833 *Jabez prcf Marlboro MM, N.C., to m, dated 1833, 7, 11.*
- 1833, 7, 24. *Jabez, s Seth & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Mary Lamb.*
- 1833, 8, 17. *Mary (form Lamb) gct Marlboro MM.*
- 1849, 3, 17. *Rachel's death rpd.*
- 1852, 3, 20. *William, Jr. & fam rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1852, 3, 6.*
- 1852, 3, 20. *Hannah & dt, Eunice M. M., rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1852, 3, 6.*
- 1853, 8, 20. *Adam & w, Sarah, & ch (dt: Rebecca & Susanna) gct Richland MM, Hamilton Co., Ind.*

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- 1859, 10, 15. E. M. Mariah Pope (form Hinshaw) dis mou.
1868, 3, 21. Rebecca rocf Cane Creek MM, dated 1868, 1, 4.
1869, 11, 20. Mary & ch, Zebedee M., Sabra R. & Hannah S., recrql.
1875, 10, 16. William & w, Hannah, gct Deep River MM.
1882, 9, 16. Sabra R. Cox (form Hinshaw) rpd mou.
1884, 2, 16. Caroline rocf Holly Spring MM, dated 1884, 1, 19.

Hobs

- 1785, 8, 24. Abigail, dt Thomas, Choan Co., N.C., m Obediah Overman.
1790, 5, 16. Delilah, dt Elisha & Fanney, Randolph Co., m William Dennis.

Hobson

- 1784 *John prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1784, 4, 3.*
1784, 4, 21. John, s William & Mary, Cane Creek, Orange Co., m Lydia Harvey.
1784, 6, 19. *Lydia gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1787? *John & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1787, 1, 6.*
1787? *Lydia (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1787, 1, 6.*
1825? *William & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1825, 4, 2.*
1825? *Ruth (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1825, 4, 3.*
1828, 8, 16. William & fam [s: Milton] gct Honey Creek MM, Ind.
1828, 8, 16. Ruth & dt, Eunice, Eliza & Virena, gct Honey Creek MM, Ind.

Hockett

- 1784, 5, 5. *Joseph (Hoggatt), Center, Guilford Co., s William & Hannah, m Ann Thornbrugh, New Garden MM, N.C.*
1784? *Ann (Hoggatt) & s, Daniel Thornbrugh, rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1784, 7, 31.*
1786? *Stephen (Hockett) gct New Garden MM, N.C. to m.*
1787, 6, 7. Margaret (Hoggatt), dt William & Hannah, Guilford Co., m Benjamin Beeson.
1788 *Jesse (Hoggatt) prcf Deep River MM, N.C., to m, dated 1788, 10, 6.*
1788, 8, 6. Jesse (Hoggatt), s John & Ruth, Randolph Co., m Jane Millikan.

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- 1789, 5, 16. *Jane (Hoggatt) gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1790, 4, 22. Hannah (Hoggatt), dt John & Margaret Beals, Guilford Co., m Joseph Cloud.
- 1791, 12, 28. William (Hoggatt), s William & Hannah, Guilford Co., m Hannah Reynolds.
- 1792, 11, 8. Hannah (Hoggatt), dt Hannah Cloud, form Hoggatt, Guilford Co., m Isaac Beeson.
- 1793, 2, 16. *Deborough gct Springfield MM.*
- 1796, 1, 6. Hezekiah (Hoggatt), Guilford Co., m Martha Reynolds.
- 1799, 6, 15. *Joseph (Hoggatt) & w, Ann, & ch, John, Nathan, Hannah, Margaret, Jean, Elizabeth & Ann, gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1802, 1, 16. *Stephen (Hoggatt) & w, Margaret, & ch, William, Joseph, Isaac, Ann, Hannah, Phebe & Stephen, gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1809? *Mahlon (Hoggatt) & fam rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1809, 11, 4.*
- 1809? *Sarah (Hoggatt) (with h) & fam (dt: Phebe) rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1809, 11, 4.*
- 1814, 11, 30. Phebe, dt Mahlon & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Job Reynolds.
- 1815, 8, 19. *Hezekiah (Hoggatt) & w, Martha, & ch, Tabitha, Nathan, Mary, Edith, Zaddock & Milly, gct Fairfield MM, Ohio.*
- 1819, 4, 22. Lydia, dt William & Hannah, Guilford Co., m Joshua Chamness.
- 1819, 12, 22. John, s Malon & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Hannah Wilson.
- 1821? *William (Hoggath) gct Marlboro MM, N.C., to m.*
- 1822? *Hannah rocf Marlboro MM, N.C., dated 1822, 6, 1.*
- 1822, 2, 15. *Samuel gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1825? *Jesse gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1825, 2, 3. Rachel, dt William & Hannah, Guilford Co., m Benjamin Benbow.
- 1827, 6, 16. Mahlon & fam gct Springfield MM.
- 1827, 6, 16. Sarah & dt, Ann, gct Springfield MM.
- 1843, 1, 4. Elizabeth, dt John & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Nathan Albertson.
- 1843, 11, 18. William, Sr.'s death rpd.
- 1845, 11, 15. Cyrus dis mou.
- 1847, 1, 16. Jesse M. (Hocket) dis mou. (rem)
- 1847, 5, 15. Sarah Hodgin (form Hockett) dis mou.

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- 1848, 2, 23. Jesse D., s William & Hannah, Guilford Co., m Rebecca Cox.
- 1852, 7, 17. Himelius (Hocket) con his mou.
- 1854, 9, 5. John, s Malon & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Lydia Leonard.
- 1856, 7, 19. Rachel (Hocket) & dt, Mary Roxanna, recrq.
- 1857, 3, 21. Zimri dis mou.
- 1858, 6, 19. William B. rpd mou.
- 1859, 12, 17. William gct Neuse MM, to m.
- 1860, 3, 17. Sally Hockett & dt, Sophronia P., Achsah R. & Elizabeth A. Cox, rocf Neuse MM, dated 1860, 3, 1.
- 1861, 2, 16. Warner M. gct Springfield MM, Ind.
- 1861, 5, 18. John rpd mou. (living at Springfield MM, Ind.)
- 1862, 1, 18. Sibyl B. rocf Back Creek MM, dated 1861, 12, 14.
- 1864, 6, 18. Sarah Elma gct Richland MM, Hamilton Co., Ind.
- 1865, 10, 21. John (Hocket) con his mou. (recommended by Springfield MM, Ind.)
- 1865, 11, 18. John, Jr. gct Springfield MM, Ind.
- 1866, 1, 20. Isaac con his mou.
- 1866, 9, 15. John C. (Hocket), minor, recrq of father, William B.
- 1866, 9, 15. Mary A. (form Wilson) rpd mou.
- 1870, 9, 17. Seth B. rpd mou.
- 1871, 1, 21. Elizabeth A. (Hocket) (form Cox) con her mou.
- 1871, 2, 18. Jane (Hocket) recrq.
- 1876, 3, 18. Seth B. con his mou.
- 1879, 2, 15. Sarah E. rocf Nahunta MM.
- 1880, 2, 21. Jane Cox (form Hockett) con her mou.
- 1881, 1, 15. Nancy M. Cranford (form Hockett) con her mou.

Hodgin

- 1781? *John Jr. rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1781, 3, 31.*
- 1816? *William & w, Mary, & ch, Joseph, Margaret, Lydia & Mary, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind., endorsed to Blue River MM, Ind.*
- 1816, 8, 29. Elizabeth, dt Joseph & Ruth, m David Mecracken.
- 1817, 10, 29. Sarah, dt Robert & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Hiram Harlan.
- 1819? *Hur (Hodgins) & s, Jesse & Robert, gct New Garden MM, Ind.*
- 1821, 11, 21. Margaret, dt Joshua & Dorcas, Guilford Co., m David Vestal.

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- 1823, 10, 30. Esther, dt Solomon & Tamer, Guilford Co., m Solomon Vestal.
- 1825, 10, 15. Elizabeth & dt, Luzena, Jane, Margaret & Ann, rocf Springfield MM, dated 1825, 9, 7.
- 1825, 11, 19. Elizabeth (with h) & fam gct White Lick MM, Ind.
1826? Joel & s, Clarkson, gct White Lick MM, Ind.
1826? Elizabeth & dt, Luzena Jane, Peggy & Ann, gct White Lick MM, Ind.
- 1830, 11, 20. Eleanor dis. (complaint from Cherry Grove MM, Randolph Co., Ind.)
- 1835, 11, 21. Joseph con his mou.
- 1835, 11, 21. Sally con her mou.
- 1836, 1, 16. Asa dis mou.
- 1837, 9, 16. Dicks dis mou.
- 1839, 1, 19. Abijah gct Deep River MM, to m.
- 1839, 8, 17. Hannah rocf Deep River MM, dated 1839, 8, 1.
- 1840, 10, 29. Micajah C., s Jonathan & Deborah, Guilford Co., m Sarah Stanton.
- 1841, 7, 7. Nathan gct White Lick MM, Morgan Co., Ind.
- 1842, 6, 18. Jane & Rebecca dis.
- 1843, 2, 18. Jonathan, Jr. gct Springfield MM, to m.
- 1843, 11, 18. Jane rocf Springfield MM, dated 1843, 8, 1.
- 1847, 5, 15. Zimri dis mou.
- 1847, 5, 15. Sarah (form Hockett) dis mou.
- 1850, 8, 17. John con his mou.
- 1850, 8, 17. Sarah & minor dt, Fatima Jane & Hannah Caroline, recr. q.
- 1850, 8, 17. Zimri recr. q.
- 1852, 4, 17. Abijah & w, Hannah, & ch (dt: Irena Jane & Sophronia Page) gct Spring Creek MM, Mahaska Co., Iowa.
- 1852, 4, 17. Joseph & w, Sally, & ch (dt: Nancy Eliza, Phebe Jane, Martha, Margaret & Sarah Hiatt) gct Spiceland MM, Henry Co., Ind.
- 1856, 9, 20. Nathan gct Western Plain MM, Marshall Co., Iowa.
- 1856, 12, 20. Nathan's cert granted in 9th mo. returned. Dis mou.
- 1857, 12, 19. Nathan gct Western Plain MM, Iowa. (with approval of that mtg.)
- 1860, 6, 16. Gurney dis mou.
- 1861, 3, 16. David S. dis.

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- 1861, 5, 18. Jonathan B. con his mou. (living at Cottonwood MM, Kans.)
- 1861, 7, 20. Jonathan B. gct Cottonwood MM, Breckinridge Co., Kansas.
- 1863, 10, 17. Joseph J. G. recrq.
- 1863, 10, 17. Henry recrq.
- 1863, 10, 17. William M. recrq.
- 1863, 11, 21. William recrq.
- 1864, 2, 20. Huldah I. Stanley (form Hodgin) con her mou.
- 1864, 4, 16. George M., Wyatt Yancey, Henry A. & William S., minors, recrq of father, William.
- 1864, 5, 21. Rachel & minor dt, Sophronia E., Anna E. & Mary J., recrq.
- 1865, 6, 17. Deborah A. Smith (form Hodgin) con her mou.
- 1866, 2, 17. Fatima J. Smith (form Hodgin) con her mou.
- 1866, 4, 21. David con his mou.
- 1866, 10, 20. William A., James M., Junius R., John T., Thomas C., Joseph A. & George W. recrq of father, John.
- 1866, 10, 20. Rachel & dt, Mary Jane & Sarah V., recrq.
- 1866, 12, 15. William & fam gct West Grove MM, Wayne Co., Ind. (rem)
- 1866, 12, 15. Rachel & two dt [*Anna E. & Mary J.*,] gct Fairfield MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
- 1867, 3, 16. Jonathan & fam gct Raysville MM, Henry Co., Ind.
- 1867, 3, 16. Martitia Jane, dt Jonathan, gct Raysville MM, Henry Co., Ind.
- 1868, 10, 17. Rebecca recrq.
- 1869, 6, 19. Hannah C. Smith (form Hodgin) con her mou.
- 1869, 9, 18. W. Milton gct White Water MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
- 1869, 10, 16. Sarah E. Edgerton (form Hodgin) con her mou.
- 1870, 11, 19. David L. gc.
- 1872, 9, 21. Amos M. dis.
- 1875, 2, 20. Joseph, Jr. dis.
- 1875, 3, 20. James A. con his mou.
- 1875, 3, 20. Thomas E. con his mou.
- 1876, 1, 15. Thomas E. gct Nahunta MM.
- 1876, 7, 15. Mary J. Davis (form Hodgin) con her mou.
- 1879, 3, 18. Sarah A. & Julia E. recrq.
- 1879, 3, 18. Eunice Vicory (form Hodgin) con her mou.
- 1879, 4, 19. Esther J. (form Coltrane) rpd mou.

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- 1879, 4, 19. Velna R. (form Lamb) rpd mou.
1879, 11, 15. Robert A., a minor, recrq of father.
1880, 9, 18. Martitia Gamble (form Hodgkin) con her mou.
1881, 8, 20. Delilah (form Davis) con her mou.
1882, 11, 18. Shubal G., minor, recrq of father.
1882, 11, 18. Edgar A. recrq.
1883, 12, 15. David L. recrq.
1884, 2, 16. Rebecca & minor dt, Hattie E., Sarah E. & [Florri]* A.,
recrq.
1885, 10, 17. Sarah A. Edgerton (form Hodgkin) gct Nahunta MM, N.C.
1886, 7, 17. Martha rocf Springfield MM, dated 1886, 6, 9.
1886, 12, 18. Hattie N. recrq.
1887, 4, 16. Alone P. recrq.

Hodson

- 1773, 8, 21. *The preparative meeting informs this, that the Friends living about Jesse Hanley's & John Rich's request indulgence in holding their meetings every other First day; therefore Robert Lamb, John Mills, John Bails, Jr., John Stone, Isaac Jones & Robert Hodgson are appointed to visit them on that account, & they to return their sense & judgment to next meeting accordingly.*
- 1781? *John Jr. rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1781, 3, 31.*
- 1788, 11, 27. David, s Robert & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Esther Lamb.
- 1789, 10, 1. Jonathan, s Robert & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Mary Fraizer.
- 1790, 4, 29. Phebe, Guilford Co., dt George & Rachel, m Samuel Ozbun.
- 1791? *Mary (Hodgson) & s, Christopher Hiatt, rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1791, 5, 28.*
- 1791, 9, 1. Robert, s Robert & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m Isabel Fraizer.
- 1792? *Solomon prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1792, 1, 28.*
- 1792, 2, 23. Solomon, s John & Mary, Guilford Co., m Cloe Dear.
- 1792, 4, 12. *Clowa gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1792, 10, 4. Rebeccah (Hodgson), dt Joseph & Margret, Center, Guilford Co., m Isaac Thornberry.

* Incorrectly shown as "Flarrs (?)" in Hinshaw.

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- 1793, 10, 10. Elizabeth, dt Robert & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m Jesse Ozbun.
- 1794? *Rachel rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1794, 4, 26.*
- 1794, 12, 11. Jesse, s Robert & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m Mary Wilson.
- 1795, 2, 26. John, s Joseph & Margaret, Guilford Co., m Ruth Jinkins.
- 1795, 12, 19. *Richard (Hodgson) & s, Reuben, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1795, 12, 19. *Elizabeth (Hodgson) & dt, Hannah, Rachel & Rebeckah, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1796, 12, 29. Joseph, s Joseph & Margaret, Center, Guilford Co., m Ruth Dicks.
- 1797, 10, 26. Ann, dt Joseph & Margaret, Guilford Co., m Peter Dicks.
- 1797, 11, 30. Solomon, s Joseph & Margaret, Guilford Co., m Tamar Dicks.
- 1798? *George & w, Rachel, rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1798, 2, 24.*
- 1800? *Sarah rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1800, 6, 7.*
- 1800, 11, 26. Mary, dt Robert & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m Matthew Fraizer.
- 1800, 11, 26. Rachel, dt Robert & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m John Williams.
- 1801, 1, 17. *Robert (Hodgson) & fam (s: Jesse, Aaron, Isaac & Robert) gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1801, 1, 17. *Isabel & dt, Sarah, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1801, 12, 2. Rebeckah, dt Robert & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m Abel Fraizer.
- 1802? *Hannah rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1802, 5, 1.*
- 1802, 5, 15. *Jesse (Hodgson) & fam (s: Robert & Jesse) gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1802, 5, 15. *Mary gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1802, 5, 26. Mary, dt George & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Obed Ward.
- 1803, 12, 29. Martha, dt Robert & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m Abraham Ozbun.
- 1804, 3, 7. Isaac, s George & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Ann Fraizer.
- 1807, 8, 15. *John & s, John, Henry, Benjamin & Uriah, gct Center MM, Ohio, endorsed to Fairfield MM.*
- 1807, 8, 15. *Sarah & dt, Charity, Naomy, Sarah & Abigail, gct Center MM, Ohio, endorsed to Fairfield MM.*
- 1807, 8, 15. *Ann gct Center MM, Ohio, endorsed to Fairfield MM.*

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- 1807, 8, 15. *Zachariah gct Center MM, Ohio, endorsed to Fairfield MM.*
- 1811, 1, 30. *Susanna, dt George & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Aron Maris.*
- 1811, 9, 21. *Jonathan & w, Mary, & ch, Enos, Mathew, Elizabeth, Sarah, Jonathan & John, gct Center MM, Ohio.*
- 1812? *Sarah (Hodgson) rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1812, 12, 5, endorsed to Fairfield MM, Ohio.*
- 1813, 5, 15. *George gct Center MM, Ohio, endorsed to Caesars Creek MM, Ohio, 1814, 2, 5.*
- 1813, 10, 21. *Margaret, dt David & Esther, Guilford Co., m Nathan Baldwin.*
- 1814, 3, 3. *Milly, dt John & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Warner Davis.*
- 1814, 8, 31. *Hur, s Robert & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Elizabeth Pierson.*
- 1815, 6, 20. *Charity, dt David & Esther, Guilford Co., m Daniel Baldwin.*
- 1816, 9, 21. *Joel gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1825? *Joel & fam rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1825, 9, 7.*
- 1825? *Elizabeth (with h) & fam (dt: Luzena, Jane, Margaret & Anne) rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1825, 9, 7.*
- 1830? *Samuel gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
- 1833? *Jacob gct New Garden MM, Ind.*
- 1833? *Zechariah, after having been disowned by Center MM, N.C., granted permission by them to be recr by Springfield MM, Ind.*
- 1835, 3, 5. *Jabez, s Jonathan & Deborah, Guilford Co., m Sarah Stanton.*

Holaday

- 1801, 3, 5. *Robert, s William & Jane, Orange Co., m Edith Davis.*
- 1812? *Robert & s, William, Jesse & Aron, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
- 1812? *Edith & dt, Jane & Elizabeth, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*

Hoover

- 1794, 6, 21. *John gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*

Hunt

- 1785? *Phineas rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1784, 12, 25.*

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- 1789 *Eleazar prof New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1789, 1, 21.*
- 1789, 2, 22. Eleazar, s Eleazar & Catherine, Guilford Co., m Ann Newby.
- 1808, 4, 20. Jesse, s Isaiah & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m Mournin Wilson.
- 1808, 7, 16. *Mourning gct New Garden MM.*
- 1818, 12, 30. Thomas, s Isaiah & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m Lydia Wilson.

Jackson

- 1793, 11, 28. Jacob, s William & Sarah, Orange Co., m Martha Thornberry.
- 1780, 4, 15. *Absolam gct Wrightsborough, Ga.*

Jenkins

- 1795, 2, 26. Ruth (Jinkins), dt Thomas & Martha, Randolph Co., m John Hodson.
- 1796, 10, 20. Mary (Jinkins), dt Thomas & Martha, Randolph Co., m Henry Macy.
- 1832, 8, 18. Mary gct White Lick MM, Ind.

Jennett

- 1872, 10, 19. Barney C. (Jinnett) rocf Neuse MM, to m.
- 1872, 10, 31. Barney C. (Jinnett), Neuse MM, s Needham E. & Hollen E., m Lucetta Reynolds.
- 1874, 10, 17. Barney C. rocf Neuse MM, N.C.
- 1885, 9, 19. Barney C. & w, Lucetta R., & ch, Ora H., Robert E. G. & Lilian L., gct Springfield MM.

Jessop

- 1780, 2, 19. *William & w, Mary, & ch gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1796? *Joseph, s Jacob, rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1796, 2, 27.*
- 1799, 11, 16. *Joseph gct New Garden MM, N.C.*

Johnson

- 1844, 9, 21. Sarah recr. q.
- 1848, 6, 17. Sarah Beard (form Johnson) con her mou.

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Jones

- 1773, 8, 21. *The preparative meeting informs this, that the Friends living about Jesse Hanley's & John Rich's request indulgence in holding their meetings every other First day; therefore Robert Lamb, John Mills, John Bails, Jr., John Stone, Isaac Jones & Robert Hodgson are appointed to visit them on that account, & they to return their sense & judgment to next meeting accordingly.*
- 1795, 1, 17. *David & s, Isaac, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1795, 1, 17. *Sarah & dt, Abigail, Mary, Sarah & Jemima, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1796, 9, 17. *Isaac gct New Hope MM, Tenn., rec by Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1796, 9, 17. *Esther gct New Hope MM, Tenn., rec by Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1797, 8, 21. *Jesse gct New Hope MM, Tenn., rec by Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1797, 9, 16. *James & Isaac, minors, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1797, 9, 16. *Hannah & dts, Jane & Martha, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1799? *Elener rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1799, 1, 6.*

Julian

- 1815? *Isaac (Julen) gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
- 1815? *Sarah & dt, Keziah, Sarah & Barbara, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
- 1844, 4, 20. *Elizabeth (Julin) gct Marlboro MM. (rem)*
- 1848, 2, 19. *Elizabeth (Julin), of Providence, dis mou.*
- 1866, 2, 17. *David C. Julian recr q of grandfather, William Osborne.*
- 1872, 9, 21. *David C. con his mou.*

Justis

- 1797? *Hannah (with h) rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1797, 5, 8.*

Kemp

- 1783? *Benjamin rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1783, 3, 1.*
- 1839, 3, 21. *Jeremiah, s John & Patience, Randolph Co., m Amy Reynolds.*
- 1839, 7, 20. *Amy R. gct Holly Spring MM.*

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Kendall

- 1787 *William prcf Deep River MM, N.C., to m, dated 1787, 4, 2.*
1787, 5, 2. *William, Guilford Co., m Elizabeth Williams.*
1787, 12, 15. *Elizabeth gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

Kersey

- 1786 *Amos prcf Deep River MM, N.C., to m, dated 1786, 3, 6.*
1786, 3, 29. *Amos, Guilford Co., s William & Hannah, m Dinah Beeson.*
1787, 5, 19. *Dinah gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1808 *Benjamin prcf Springfield MM, N.C., to m, dated 1808, 6, 4.*
1808, 6, 1. *Benjamin, s Amos & Dinah, Guilford Co., m Ann Ozbun.*
1808, 7, 16. *Ann gct Springfield MM, N.C.*

King

- 1879, 2, 15. *William recr.*
1882, 9, 16. *Rebecca E. (form Wilson) con her mou.*

Kirkman

- 1845, 7, 19. *Emily Ann [form Swain, dt Jethro, L.D.W.] dis mou.*
1864, 12, 17. *Emily & dt, Mary J., Martha A. & Nora, recr.*
1865, 1, 28. *James & minor s, William Oliver, Peter Alphonso, James Elzeran & George Lindsey, recr.*
1871, 12, 16. *Mary J. Brown (form Kirkman) rpd mou. Relrq.*
1875, 10, 16. *William O. gct Cane Creek MM, to m.*
1877, 7, 26. *William O. gct Cane Creek MM.*
1879, 6, 21. *Emily Ann Northam (form Kirkman) con her mou.*
1879, 6, 21. *Adaline Short (form Kirkman) rpd mou; relrq.*
1879, 6, 21. *Nora Short (form Kirkman) rpd mou; relrq.*

Knight

- 1885, 10, 17. *Deborah Ann gct New Garden MM.*

Lacy

- 1809? *Miriam (Lasey) rocf Suttons Creek MM, N.C., dated 1809, 9, 9.*

Lamb

- 1773, 8, 21. *The preparative meeting informs this, that the Friends living about Jesse Hanley's & John Rich's request indulgence in holding their meetings every other First day;*

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therefore Robert Lamb, John Mills, John Bails, Jr., John Stone, Isaac Jones & Robert Hodgson are appointed to visit them on that account, & they to return their sense & judgment to next meeting accordingly.

- 1776? *Esau & ch rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1776, 10, 16.*
1776? *Elizabeth, w Esau, & dt, Darcus, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1776, 10, 16.*
- 1777, 4, 23. Dorcas, dt Esau, Guilford Co., m John Bailey.
1777, 12, 31. Samuel, s Robert & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m Hannah Beeson.
- 1778, 4, 9. Elizabeth, dt Robert & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Thomas White.
- 1778, 4, 18. *Samuel & w gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
1786, 12, 27. Simeon, s Robert & Rachel, Center, Guilford Co., m Mary Reynolds.
- 1788, 11, 27. Esther, dt Robert & Rachel, Guilford Co., m David Hodson.
1790, 3, 24. Catharine, dt Jacob & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Axsom Elliott.
- 1794, 3, 16. Huldah, dt Jacob & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Nathan Pierson.
- 1796, 3, 19. *Caleb gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1798, 4, 21. *Josiah gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1798, 11, 22. Ann, dt Robert & Rachel, Guilford Co., m David Reynolds.
1799, 10, 24. John, s Robert & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Phebe Macy.
1800, 6, 21. *Albert gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1805? *Rachel (Lamm) rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1805, 1, 26.*
- 1805? *Albert rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1805, 2, 23.*
1806, 1, 18. *Rachel gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1819, 12, 29. Edith, dt Nathan & Mary, Randolph Co., m William Chamness.
- 1822, 5, 18. *Caleb gct Marlboro MM, N.C.*
1823, 5, 17. *Mordecai & s, Abner, gct Marlboro MM, N.C.*
1828, 4, 20. *John & fam (s: Simeon) gct Honey Creek MM, Ind., endorsed to Vermilion MM, Ill.*
- 1828? *Phebe & dt, Polly & Lydia, gct Honey Creek MM, Ind., endorsed to Vermilion MM, Ill.*
- 1828, 5, 28. Rebecca, dt Thomas & Massy, Randolph Co., m Isaac Beeson.

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- 1829, 1, 17. Anna dis mou.
1829, 4, 18. Joseph & fam gct Vermillion MM, Ind.
1829, 4, 18. Lydia, w Joseph, & dt, Esther & Mourning, gct Vermillion MM, Ind.
1833, 7, 24. Mary, dt Henry & Rebecca, Randolph Co., m Jabez Hinshaw.
1833, 8, 17. Mary (now Hinshaw) gct Marlboro MM.
1834? Samuel gct Springfield MM, Ind.
1834, 8, 16. Henry & fam [*w: Rebecca & ch: Salathiel, Benjamin & Allen*] gct Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind.
1835, 9, 19. Miles, of Providence, dis mou.
1835, 12, 19. Asenath dis.
1835, 12, 19. Henry dis mou.
1836, 3, 19. Thomas & w, Massy, & ch (dt: Mary Ann & Mahala) [*s: Martin E. & Thomas*] gct Springfield MM, Ind.
1836, 3, 19. Kendall gc [*to Springfield MM, Ind.*].
1837, 2, 18. Jane dis.
1837, 6, 17. Anderson dis mou.
1840, 12, 19. Rachel dis.
1842, 1, 12. Mordecai, s Albert & Rachel, Randolph Co., m Hannah Chamness.
1843, 7, 15. Hannah H. gct Marlboro MM.
1843, 8, 18. Joab rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1843, 6, 3.
1844, 10, 19. Edmond dis mou.
1844, 10, 19. Low dis mou.
1844, 10, 19. Obed con his mou.
1845, 3, 15. Annas Davis (form Lamb) dis mou.
1845, 4, 19. Abigail B. rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1845, 4, 15.
1847, 7, 19. Rachel & dt, Anna, gct New Garden MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
1849, 8, 18. Edward dis.
1852, 11, 20. Eleanor (form Reynolds), of Providence, dis mou.
1853, 7, 16. Yancy dis mou. (residing at Bloomfield, Ind.)
1859, 10, 15. Obed & fam gct Back Creek MM, Dallas Co., Iowa.
1859, 10, 15. Abigail & fam gct Back Creek MM, Iowa.
1863, 8, 15. Sarah J. recr. q.
1863, 8, 15. Thomas C. recr. q.
1863, 11, 21. William A., of Providence, recr. q.
1865, 1, 28. Luzena recr. q.
1866, 4, 21. William C. & Joseph M. recr. q of father, Thomas C.

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- 1866, 4, 21. Velna R. recrq of mother, Sarah J.
1872, 9, 21. William A. con his mou.
1875, 2, 20. Susanna & dt, Mary Elizabeth & Barbara Luzena, recrq.
1875, 5, 15. Luzena Macy (form Lamb) con her mou.
1879, 4, 19. Velna R. Hodgins (form Lamb) rpd mou.
1882, 2, 18. William Penn & w, Rebecca Jane, & ch, Elwood E. & Julia E., rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1882, 1, 7.
1883, 3, 17. Elizabeth rocf Marlboro MM.
1886, 2, 20. William A. & w, Susanna, & ch, Mary E., Barbara L., Uriah F., Arlando B., Joh[n] C., & Adeline, gct Cane Creek MM.
1886, 9, 18. Nancy I. recrq.

Laton

1780, 3, 18. *Joseph gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

Lee

- 1790? *William rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1790, 10, 2.*
1831, 6, 18. Patience & dt, Rachel & Elizabeth, rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1831, 4, 7.
1834, 10, 1. Elizabeth, dt Isaac & Patience, Randolph Co., m Elihu Reynolds.
1837, 5, 10. Joseph, s Isaac & Patience, Randolph Co., m Ann Chamness.
1838, 2, 17. Ann gct Marlboro MM.
1874, 10, 17. Ephraim & w, Bridget, & ch, Wm B., Ellen C., Rachel Ann & Martitia E., rocf Marlboro MM.
1880, 12, 18. Rachel Ann & Martitia E. rocf Marlboro MM.
1880, 12, 18. Rachel Ann gct New Garden MM.
1882, 1, 21. Ellen Davis (form Lee) rpd mou; dropped from mbrp.

Leonard

- 1783, 10, 2. Eleanor (Lenard), dt Joseph & Mary, Guilford Co., m Peter Stout.
1787, 2, 22. Joseph, s John & Abigail, Guilford Co., m Phebe Macy.
1790, 9, 9. Phiniah, dt John & Abigail, Guilford Co., m Isaac Perkins.
1790, 9, 9. Solina, Center, dt John & Abigail, m James Moon.
1802? *Rachel rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1802, 4, 24.*
1807, 2, 21. *John & w, Abigail, gct Miami MM, Ohio [rcd 1807, 5, 4].*
1807, 2, 28. *John & w, Abigail, gct Center MM, Ohio [rcd 1807, 5, 2].*

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- 1807, 3, 4. Susanna, dt Joseph & Phebe, Guilford Co., m Jethro Swain.
- 1808, 9, 17. *Abigail & Sarah gct Center MM, Ohio.*
- 1811, 4, 24. Sarah, dt Joseph & Phebe, m Thomas Swain.
- 1827, 6, 16. Sarah dis mou.
- 1836, 3, 19. John con his mou.
- 1838, 8, 2. Charles S., s Joseph & Rachel, Guilford Co., m Anna York.
- 1844, 5, 2. Rachel S., dt Joseph & Rachel, Guilford Co., m William Stanton.
- 1854, 9, 5. Lydia, dt Joseph & Rachel, Guilford Co., m John Hockett.
- 1864, 6, 18. Alfred recr.
- 1868, 3, 21. John, minor s Jonathan, gct Carthage MM, Rush Co., Ind.
- 1869, 12, 18. Job W. gct Carthage MM, Rush Co., Ind.
- 1873, 7, 19. Jonathan gct Ind.
- 1873, 7, 19. Abigail gct Carthage MM, Rush Co., Ind. (rem)
- 1873, 8, 16. Eunice Vicory (form Leonard) gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
- 1879, 4, 19. Parintha C. Macy (form Leonard) gct Carthage MM, Rush Co., Ind.
- 1879, 5, 17. Cordelia B. rocf Springfield MM, dated 1879, 5, 7.

Lindley

- 1867, 11, 20. James T., s William & Nancy, Chatham Co., m Asenath C. White.
- 1869, 9, 18. Asenath C. gct Spring MM.
- 1878, 5, 18. James T. & w, Aseanth, & ch, Ulysses Allen, Ida M. & John W., rocf Spring MM.
- 1888, 9, 15. Feriba recr.

Lineberry

- 1848, 6, 17. Anna dis mou.
- 1861, 2, 16. Anna recr.
- 1866, 3, 17. William G. recr of father.
- 1872, 9, 21. William G. con his mou.
- 1873, 10, 18. Anna gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
- 1874, 12, 19. William G. gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.

Low

- 1877, 12, 15. Mary S. (form Stanton) con her mou.
- 1878, 3, 16. Mary S. rqct Back Creek MM.

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Lowder

- 1782? *John & ch rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1782, 3, 30.*
1782, 11, 21. *Mary, dt John, m William Ozbun.*
1782, 12, 26. *Caleb, s John, Center, Guilford Co., m Ann Ozbun.*
1789, 3, 21. *Joseph gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
1789, 4, 18. *Caleb & w, Ann, & ch, Matthew, Sabithar & Ralph, gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
1790, 4, 17. *John & s, William, Job, Joshua & Nathan, gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
1791? *Caleb & w & ch rocf Westfield MM, N.C., dated 1791, 2, 19.*
1792? *Samuel rocf Westfield MM, N.C., dated 1792, 9, 22.*
1796? *Job rocf Westfield MM, N.C., dated 1796, 6, 18.*
1797, 4, 18. *Caleb & s, Matthew, Ralph, Joseph & Charles, gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
1804? *Caleb rocf Westfield MM, N.C., dated 1804, 5, 19.*
1814? *Ruth rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1814, 4, 2.*
1817? *Achsa gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
1817? *Catharine gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
1819? *Joseph gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
1824? *Matthew & s, Warner & Charles, gct White Lick MM, Ind.*
1824? *Ruth & dt, Charity, gct White Lick MM, Ind.*

McCracken

- 1795? *Martha (Mccraken) (with h) & ch rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1795, 4, 6.*
1796? *William rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1795, 12, 5.*
1816, 8, 29. *David (Mecraken), s Robert & Martha, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Hodgin.*

McCulloch

- 1837, 9, 16. *Elizabeth con her mou.*

McDorman

- 1823? *James rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1823, 11, 13.*
1836, 7, 16. *James dis.*

McMasters

- 1852, 6, 19. *Mary (form Chamness) dis mou.*

Macy

- 1775? *Joseph & fam rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1775, 10, 28.*

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- 1776, 12, 26. Mary Way, widow, Guilford Co., dt Joseph Macy, Nantucket, New England, m James Anthony.
- 1782, 2, 21. Elizabeth, dt Joseph & Mary, Center, m Uriah Barnard.
- 1783, 3, 20. Barachiah, s John & Eunice, Guilford Co., m Lucinday Barnard.
- 1787, 2, 22. Phebe, dt Henry & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Joseph Leonard.
- 1787, 11, 29. Rhoda, dt Joseph & Mary, Randolph Co., m Job Worth.
- 1788, 8, 16. *Hulda gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1789, 1, 22. Sarah, dt Henry & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Obed Anthony.
- 1791, 3, 24. Henery, Guilford Co., m Elizabeth Coffin.
- 1792, 4, 26. Deborah, dt Henry & Sarah, Guilford Co., m George Swain.
- 1793, 11, 21. *Lydia gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1796, 10, 20. Henry, s Henry & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Mary Jenkins.
- 1799, 10, 24. Phebe, dt Joseph & Mary, Randolph Co., m John Lamb.
- 1800? *Mary, of Muddy Creek, rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1800, 2, 3.*
- 1800, 11, 15. *Joseph gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.**
- 1800, 11, 15. *Mary & dt, Phebe, gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1818? *William & s, Obed, Tristram, Stephen, John, Jonathan, Reuben & Franklin, gct Whitewater MM, Ind., endorsed to Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
- 1818? *Mary gct Whitewater MM, Ind., endorsed to Silver Creek MM.*
- 1829, 9, 19. Judith gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.
- 1832? *Joseph W. gct Duck Creek MM, Ind.*
- 1832, 9, 15. Rebecca & dt, Lucinda, gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.
- 1837, 9, 16. David con his mou.
- 1839, 12, 21. Thomas dis mou.
- 1841, 6, 19. Lydia dis mou.
- 1850, 10, 2. Henery, s Henery & Mary, Guilford Co., m Mary A. Cox.
- 1864, 4, 16. Frederick H. & Thomas recr q of father, David.
- 1864, 6, 18. Lucinda & dt, Sarah H., Mary & Martha, recr q.
- 1874, 1, 17. David & w, Lucinda, & ch (dt: Sarah H., Mary & Martha) gct Westland MM, Hancock Co., Ind.
- 1874, 1, 17. Frederick H. gct Westland MM, Hancock Co., Ind.
- 1874, 1, 17. Thomas gct Westland MM, Hancock Co., Ind.

* *Reconstructed from entry found in minutes of Deep Creek MM for 1801, 5, 2, but omitted in Hinshaw.*

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- 1875, 3, 20. Henry con his mou.
1875, 5, 15. Luzena (form Lamb) con her mou.
1875, 11, 19. Esther C. recrq.
1879, 4, 19. Parintha C. (form Leonard) gct Carthage MM, Rush Co., Ind.

Maris

- 1803? *Jane (Meris) rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1803, 7, 4.*
1810? *Aaron (Marrice) prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1810, 12, 29.*
1811? *Thomas gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1811? *Jane & dt, Sarah, Elinor, Mary & Ann, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1811, 1, 30. Aron, s John & Jane, Guilford Co., m Susanna Hodson.
1811, 3, 16. *Susannah gct New Garden MM, N.C.*

Marmon

- 1805, 8, 7. Benjamin, s David & Elizabeth, Northampton Co., m Rachel Dicks.

Marsh

- 1777? *Eli rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1777, 5, 3.*

Marshall

- 1777, 2, 27. Hephsibah, Guilford Co., dt Benjamin & Mary, Nantucket, New England, m John Stanton.
1804, 5, 24. Hepzibah Stanton, dt Benjamin & Mary Marshall, m Jacob Elliott.

Massey

- 1797? *Mary & two ch rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1797, 1, 9.*
1797, 10, 21. *Ruth gct Spring MM, N.C.*
1806, 9, 20. *James gct Center MM, Ohio.*
1809? *Jane gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*

Maxwell

- 1790, 7, 17. *Elizabeth gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*

Mecca

- 1774, 12, 21. Phebe, Center, m Joseph Ruddux.

Lost Minutes of Centre Monthly Meeting

Mendenhall

- 1775? *Aaron prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1775, 11, 25.*
- 1776, 1, 17. *Aaron, s Mordecai & Charity, Guilford Co., m Miriam Rich.*
- 1810? *Aaron prcf Springfield MM, N.C., to m, dated 1810, 12, 1.*
- 1811, 1, 3. *Aron, s Isaac & Rhoda, Guilford Co., m Mary Stanton.*
- 1822? *Himelius & fam rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1822, 8, 1.*
- 1822? *Priscilla & dt rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1822, 8, 1.*
- 1832, 10, 4. *Ira W., s Mordecai & Margery, Guilford Co., m Mary Reynolds.*
- 1833, 3, 16. *Mary gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1837, 3, 18. *Himelius & w, Priscilla, & ch (dt: Phebe C., Elvira & Miriam) gct Massasinaway MM, Ind.*

Millikan

- 1775, 5, 10. *Hannah, dt William & Jane, m Enos Blair.*
- 1788, 8, 6. *Jane, dt Samuel & Ann, Randolph Co., m Jesse Hoggatt.*
- 1788, 11, 6. *Elizabeth, dt Samuel & Ann, Randolph Co., m William Woodward.*
- 1793, 11, 16. *Samuel & fam (s: William, John, Samuel, Benjamin & Jesse) gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
- 1793, 11, 16. *Ann & dt, Sarah, Ann & Mary, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*

Mills

- 1773, 8, 21. *The preparative meeting informs this, that the Friends living about Jesse Hanley's & John Rich's request indulgence in holding their meetings every other First day; therefore Robert Lamb, John Mills, John Bails, Jr., John Stone, Isaac Jones & Robert Hodgson are appointed to visit them on that account, & they to return their sense & judgment to next meeting accordingly.*
- 1782, 2, 21. *Sarah, dt John & Sarah, Center, m Elihu Swain.*
- 1784, 10, 21. *Jane, Center, dt John & Sarah, m John Davis.*
- 1786, 9, 30. *John & w, Sarah, & ch, William, Mary, John, Zachariah, Alice, Lydia & Rachel, gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1787? *Micajah & fam rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1787, 6, 30.*
- 1791, 11, 19. *Samuel gct Westfield MM, N.C.*

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- 1805? *Micajah & fam rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1804, 12, 29.*
- 1805? *Mary (with h) & fam rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1804, 12, 29.*
- 1826, 9, 16. *Mary gct White River MM, Ind.*
- 1827? *Solomon & s, Jesse, Josiah & Isaac, gct White River MM, Ind.*
- 1827? *Ann, Sarah & Rebecca gct White River MM, Ind.*

Moffitt

- 1797? *Robert prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1797, 8, 5.*
- 1797, 9, 20. *Robert, s William & Mary, Randolph Co., m Martha Chamness.*
- 1797, 11, 18. *Martha gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*

Moon

- 1790 *James prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1790, 7, 31.*
- 1790, 9, 9. *James, Guilford Co., s Simon & Judith, New Garden, m Solina Leonard.*
- 1790, 11, 20. *Selina gct New Garden MM, N.C.*

Morris

- 1808? *Lydia rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1808, 4, 16.*
- 1811? *Aaron & s, John & Samuel, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1811, 7, 20.*
- 1815? *Aaron & s, John, Samuel & George, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
- 1815? *Lydia & dt, Elisabeth, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*

Morrow

- 1846, 1, 17. *Meriam M. dis mou.*
- 1873, 11, 15. *Miriam M. recrq.*
- 1878, 12, 16. *Margaret Dora (Morrow) recrq.*

Munden

- 1793? *Nathan rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1793, 5, 18.*

Murphy

- 1869, 2, 20. *Miriam E. (form Coltrane) con her mou.*
- 1879, 2, 15. *John L. recrq.*

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Newby

- 1766, 10, 8. William, s Samuel, Perquimans Co., m Elizabeth Ratcliff.
1775? William Jr., rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1775, 3, 1.
1783? Robert, s Joseph, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1782, 12, 18.
1787, 12, 26. Elizabeth, dt Samuel, Randolph Co., m Benjamin Hall.
1789, 2, 22. Ann, dt William & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Eleazar Hunt.
1789, 12, 21. Joshua, s William & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Rachel Nixon.
1790, 11, 10. Joseph, s William, Perquimans Co., m Penelope Henley.
1793? Nathan rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1793, 2, 16.
1797, 8, 15. Frederick gct Back Creek MM, N.C.

Newlin

- 1803? John & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1803, 12, 3.
1803? Sarah (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1803, 12, 3.
1804? James rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1804, 8, 4.
1804? Thomas rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1804, 9, 1.
1804, 10, 21. James, s John & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Symons.
1809, 7, 27. Thomas, s John & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Margaret Symons.

Newman

- 1824, 3, 25. Rachel, dt John & Rachel, Guilford Co., m William Beeson.
1824, 7, 22. John, s Joseph & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m Huldah Stanton.
1826, 2, 18. Eleanor dis mou.
1832, 5, 19. Ruhamah dis mou.

Nicholson

- 1777, 3, 23. Caroline, dt Joseph, Pasquotank Co., m John Winslow.
1784, 10, 20. Zachariah, s Joseph, Pasquotank Co., m Elizabeth Pritchard.

Nixon

- 1787 Phineas prcf Pasquotank MM, N.C., to m, dated 1787, 7, 21.

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- 1787, 9, 16. Phinehas, s Phinehas & Mary, Perquimans Co., m Milicen Henley.
- 1788? *Phineas rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1788, 1, 19.*
- 1789? *Joseph, Rachel, William & Jacob, minor ch of Pierce, dec, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1789, 6, 20.*
- 1789, 12, 21. Rachel, dt Pierce & Peninah, Perquimans Co., m Joshua Newby.
- 1790? *Mary Jr., rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1790, 1, 6.*

Norman

- 1837, 11, 18. Lydia con her mou.
- 1853, 7, 16. Lydia gct Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind.

Northam

- 1843, 3, 18. Matilda [form Swain, dt Jethro, L.D.W.] of Concord, con her mou.
- 1853, 3, 19. Matilda gct Walnut Ridge MM, Rush Co., Ind.
- 1879, 6, 21. Emily Ann (form Kirkman) con her mou.

Norton

- 1777, 11, 5. Mary, dt Edward & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m George Thornbrough.
- 1782, 11, 20. Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Thomas Branson.

Osborne

- 1774? *Abigail (Ozburn) rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1774, 7, 2.*
- 1776, 4, 11. Abigail (Ozbun), dt Matthew & Mary, Guilford Co., m William Way.
- 1776, 10, 10. Hannah (Ozbun), dt Matthew & Mary, Guilford Co., m Joseph Stout.
- 1777, 2, 15. *Thomas (Ozbun) gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1777, 2, 15. *Hannah Stout (form Ozburn) gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1777, 11, 15. *Thomas Pierce & w & ch & David Osborn, an apprentice lad, gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1781? *David (Ozburn) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1780, 12, 30.*
- 1782, 11, 21. William (Ozbun), s William & Rebecca, Guilford Co., m Mary Lowder.

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- 1782, 12, 26. Ann (Ozbun), dt Joseph, Center, m Caleb Lowder.
1787? Lydia (Ozburn) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1787, 9, 29.
1788? William (Ozbun) gct New Garden MM, N.C., to m.
1788? Ann (Ozburn) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1788, 6, 28.
1789 ? Sarah (Ozburn) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1789, 10, 31.
1790, 4, 29. Samuel (Ozbun), s Samuel & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Phebe Hodson.
1790, 11, 11. Sarah (Ozbun), dt John & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Caleb Reece.
1791, 5, 26. Lydia (Ozbun), dt Matthew & Mary, Randolph Co., m Abner Barker.
1791, 5, 26. Mary (Ozbun), dt Matthew & Mary, Randolph Co., m John Barker.
1792, 3, 17. David (Ozburn) & w, Lydia, & ch, Matthew, Thomas, & Rachel, gct New Garden MM, N.C.
1793, 1, 19. Tamer & Hannah gct Deep River MM, N.C.
1793, 4, 20. William Abraham (Ozbon) gct Deep River MM, N.C.
1793, 10, 10. Jesse (Ozbun), s Samuel & Elizabeth, Center, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Hodson.
1795, 5, 16. Daniel (Ashbourn) & w & ch (s: Charles, William & Isaac) gct Newhope MM, Tenn.
1798? William, of Muddy Creek, rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1798, 1, 1.
1798? Tamer & Hannah rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1798, 1, 1.
1798? Ann (Osburn) rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., requested 1798, 4, 28.
1798? Abraham (Ozborn) rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1798, 9, 29.
1800, 10, 18. William (Osburn) & s, Richard, Thomas, William, Jonathan, Matthew & David, gct Westfield MM, N.C.
1801, 3, 21. David (Ozburn) & w, Elizabeth, & ch, Nancy, Mary, Jonathan, Esther & Elizabeth, gct New Garden MM, N.C.
1801, 10, 11. Ann (Osbin) gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.
1801, 10, 17. William (Ozborn) & fam (s: Abraham & Jesse) gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.

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- 1802? Sarah (Ozburn)* rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1802, 3, 6.
- 1803, 4, 6. Sarah (Ozbun), dt John & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Joseph Way.
- 1803, 10, 26. Huldah (Ozbun), dt John & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Nathan Way.
- 1803, 12, 29. Abraham (Ozbun), s Abraham & Abigail, Center, Guilford Co., m Martha Hodson.
- 1807, 4, 2. Tamer (Ozbun), dt Abraham & Abigail, Guilford Co., m Jeremiah Reynolds.
- 1808, 3, 13. Daniel (Ozbun), s John & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Mourning Chamnes.
- 1808, 6, 1. Ann (Ozbun), dt John & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Benjamin Kersey.
- 1809, 11, 23. Ruth (Ozbun), dt Samuel & Phebe, Randolph Co., m Gravner Green.
- 1811, 4, 20. John (Ozbun) & s, John, gct Fairfield MM, Ohio.
- 1811, 4, 20. Mary gct Fairfield MM, Ohio.
- 1811, 4, 20. Sarah & dt, Susanna & Elizabeth, gct Fairfield MM, Ohio.
- 1812, 4, 18. Daniel (Ozbun) & w, Mourning, & s, Exum, gct Fairfield MM, Ohio, endorsed to Clear Creek MM, Ohio.
- 1812, 9, 19. John gct Miami MM, Ohio, endorsed to Clear Creek MM, Ohio.
- 1813? Jonathan gct Miami MM, Ohio.
- 1815, 10, 21. Enoch (Osbourne) gct Deep Creek MM, N.C., to m.
- 1816? Sarah (Ozbern) rocf Deep Creek MM, N.C., dated 1816, 3, 2.
- 1817? Abraham & s, David & Jesse, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.
- 1817? Martha & dts, Abigail, Rachel, Mary, Rebecca, Hannah & Elizabeth, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.
- 1819? Enoch & s, Zeno, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.
- 1819? Sarah gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.
- 1820, 7, 6. Rachel (Osborn), dt Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Enoch Harlan.
- 1822? Jesse (Osburn) gct Marlboro MM, N.C., to m.
- 1824? Rebecka (Ozburn) rocf Marlboro MM, N.C., dated 1824, 5, 1.

* Incorrectly listed in *Hinshaw* as "Ozbum."

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- 1825? Sarah rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1825, 6, 25.
1825? Henry & w, Sarah, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.
1825, 4, 20. Eli (Osborn), s William & Anna, Randolph Co., m Edith Reynolds.
1825 Eli & w, Edith (form Reynolds), gct Lick Creek MM, Ind., endorsed to White Lick MM, Ind., 1825, 10, 15; rec by Whitewater MM, Ind., 1826, 1, 14.*
1827, 7, 21. Lydia (Osborn) dis.
1828, 7, 19. Jesse & fam gct Marlboro MM.
1828, 7, 19. Rebecca (Osborn) & dt, Eliza, gct Marlboro MM.
1829, 12, 19. Elizabeth dis.
1831? William gct Springfield MM, Ind.
1833? Jesse Jr. gct White Lick MM, Ind.
1833? Charles gct Deep River MM, N.C., to m.
1833, 10, 19. Simon gct Holly Spring MM, N.C.
1834, 1, 18. Asenath rocf Deep River MM, dated 1834, 1, 2.
1835, 5, 16. Mary gct White Lick MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
1835, 5, 16. Richard & w, Rachel, & ch [s: Richard, Thomas, Elwood & Robert] (dt: Esther, Rebecca, Achsah & Rachel Eliza) gct White Lick MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
1835, 5, 16. William (Osborn) & fam gcft White Lick MM, Ind.]
1837, 4, 15. David dis.
1838, 3, 17. Matthew gct Spring MM, to m.
1838, 9, 15. Matthew gct Spring MM.
1838, 11, 17. Alexander gct Back Creek MM, to m.
1839, 9, 21. Alexander dis.
1841, 11, 20. John gct Springfield MM, to m.
1849, 5, 24. Obed, s William & Anna, Randolph Co., m Hannah Watkins.
1850, 6, 15. Daniel con his mou.
1851, 4, 19. Charles & fam gct Mill Creek MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
1851, 4, 19. Asenath, w Charles, & dt, Elizabeth, Hannah H. & Martha, gct Mill Creek MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
1851, 5, 17. Cyrena Dawson (form Osborne) dis mou.
1852, 9, 18. William P. dis.
1855, 11, 17. John gct Springfield MM, to m.
1856, 7, 19. John & dt, Beulah Luzena, gct Deep River MM.

* There is no record in the minutes of White Lick MM of their being received there.

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- 1864, 5, 21. Sarah gct Oak Ridge MM, Grant Co., Ind.
1866, 2, 17. David C. Julian recr of grandfather, William Osborne.
1866, 6, 16. Lorenzo recr.
1866, 8, 18. Rachel Mary Ann (form Coltrane) con her mou.
1869, 3, 20. Jeremiah gct Marlboro MM, to m.
1869, 3, 20. Jeremiah gct Minneapolis MM, Minn.
1869, 5, 15. Louesa E. White (form Osborne) con her mou.
1871, 10, 21. Diana (form Shelly) con her mou.
1874, 9, 19. William P. recr.
1879, 2, 15. Lindley C. recr.
1883, 7, 21. Delphina C. roc Marlboro MM.

Overman

- 1781? *Ephraim, s Isaac, roc Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1781, 11, 21 (to be delivered on settlement of his affairs).*
1782? *Ephraim roc Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1782, 11, 4.*
1783? *Rachel roc Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1783, 2, 3.*
1783? *Obediah & fam roc Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1783, 4, 7.*
1783? *Martha roc Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1783, 4, 7.*
1785, 8, 24. Obediah, s Isaac, Pasquotank Co., m Abigail Hobs.
1791? *Nathan roc Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1791, 6, 18.*
1812? *James roc Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1812, 5, 2.*

Palin

- 1793? *Henry, minor s Henry, dec., roc Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1792, 12, 15.*

Parker

- 1787? *Jonathan Ballinger roc New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1787, 10, 27.*
1879, 6, 21. Wyatt roc Back Creek MM.

Parsons

- 1846, 1, 17. Elvira [form Swain, dt Jethro, L.D.W.] dis mou.
1850, 2, 16. Rachel L. (form Swain), of Concord, dis mou. [dt Jethro, L.D.W.]
1867, 5, 18. Mary gct Plainfield MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.

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Peirce

- 1776? *Hephzibah (Pierce) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1776, 1, 27.*
1776? *Abner rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1776, 7, 3.*
1777, 11, 15. *Thomas & w & ch and David Ozbon (an apprentice lad) gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
1788? *Abner gct Perquimans MM, N.C.*

Pennington

- 1780? *Martha rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1780, 7, 1.*
1780? *Levi rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1780, 9, 2.*
1800, 4, 19. *Levi gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

Perkins

- 1790 *Isaac prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1790, 7, 31.*
1790, 9, 9. *Isaac, s Joseph & Ann, Guilford Co., m Phiniah Leonard.*
1790, 11, 20. *Phenia gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
1867, 4, 20. *Sophonra P. (form Cox) con her mou. (rem)*
1867, 5, 18. *Sophonra P. gct Neuse MM.*

Petty

- 1830, 10, 16. *Lydia rocf Deep Creek MM, dated 1830, 6, 5.*
1839, 10, 19. *Lydia gct Back Creek MM.*

Phelps

- 1789? *Eliza rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1789, 4, 1.*

Picket

- 1789, 3, 21. *Samuel (Piggot) & w, Rebecca, & ch, Eleazar, Sarah, Mary & William, gct New Garden MM, N.C.**
1821, 1, 24. *Simeon, s John & Hannah, Chatham Co., m Martha Reynolds.*

Pidgeon

- 1826, 8, 30. *David, s Charles & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m Rachel Wilson.*
1827, 6, 16. *Rachel (Pigeon) gct Dover MM.*

* *Incorrectly transcribed as Deep River MM in Hinshaw.*

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Pierson

- 1781, 2, 22. Betty, dt Jonathan, Wayne Co., m Richard Stalker.
1781, 7, 21. Samuel gct New Garden MM, N.C.
1785? Samuel rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1784, 12, 25.
1787, 4, 21. Thomas gct Deep River MM, N.C.
1788? Thomas & fam rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1788, 8, 4.
1788? Elizabeth (Peirson) (with h) & ch rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1788, 8, 4.
1788, 3, 19. Sarah (Pearson), dt Jonathan & Sarah, Perquimans Co., N.C., m Axum Elliot.
1788, 8, 20. Mary, dt Thomas & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Moses Farmer.
1789, 3, 25. William, s Thomas & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Chamness.
1790, 3, 20. Thomas & ch gct Deep River MM, N.C.
1790, 5, 15. Elizabeth (Pearson) gct Springfield MM, N.C.
1791? Phebe (Pearson) rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1791, 10, 1.
1793? Rebeckah (Pearson) rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C. (rem with h & dt, Sarah & Anna), dated 1793, 3, 16.
1794? Thomas Jr. (Person) rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1794, 5, 3.
1794, 3, 16. Nathan, s Jonathan & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Huldah Lamb.
1794, 6, 21. Huldah gct Back Creek MM, N.C.
1794, 6, 21. Samuel (Parson) & fam (s: William & Nathan) gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.
1794, 6, 21. Phebe (Pearson) & dt, Elizabeth, gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.
1795? Nathan (Pearson) & fam rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1794, 12, 20.
1795? Sarah (Person) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1795, 2, 28.
1797, 9, 16. William (Pearson) & fam (s: John, William & Joseph) gct Springfield MM, N.C.
1797, 11, 18. Sarah (Pearson) gct Springfield MM, N.C.
1797, 11, 18. Isaac (Person) gct Springfield MM, N.C.
1799, 2, 16. Elizabeth gct Springfield MM, N.C.
1803? Hannah rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1803, 4, 2.

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- 1803, 8, 31. Hannah, dt Thomas & Elizabeth, Rowan Co., m Paul Beard.
1804? *Isabel rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1804, 4, 7.*
1811? *Elizabeth (Pearson) rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1811, 4, 6.*
1814, 8, 31. Elizabeth, dt Samuel & Phebe, Roan Co., m Hur Hodson.
1817, 3, 19. Isabel, dt Thomas & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m George Beard.

Pike

- 1833, 7, 20. Kesiah recrq.
1833, 12, 26. Keziah, dt Samuel & Susanna, Orange Co., m David Barker.
1863, 9, 19. George W. recrq.
1863, 10, 17. Samuel O. recrq.
1864, 8, 20. Samuel O. gct Cane Creek MM.
1865, 5, 20. Talitha C. recrq.
1865, 7, 15. Alfred Florence, Doctor Leonedas & John Elder recrq of father, George W.
1866, 4, 21. George W. & w, Talitha C., & fam gct Westfield MM, Hamilton Co., Ind.

Plunkett

- 1863, 12, 19. John L. recrq.

Pope

- 1859, 10, 15. E. M. Mariah (form Hinshaw) dis mou.

Potter

- 1873, 7, 19. Lonora H. (form Reynolds) cori her mou.
1884, 3, 15. Lois G. & Mary E. (Potter), minors, recrq of father, Henry.

Powell

- 1777, 8, 21. Susanna, dt John & Ann, Center, Guilford Co., m Salathial Stone.
1782, 1, 23. Elijah, s Henry & Elizabeth, Center, Guilford Co., m Morning Wilson.
1794, 10, 18. Henry, s Henry & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Sarah Rich.
1808, 3, 31. Henry, s Henry & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Susanna Swaney.

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1824? Henry, & w, Priscilla, & s, Murphy, Emsley & Edmond,
gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.

1824, 5, 15. Elizabeth gct Marlboro MM, N.C.

Presnell

1791, 7, 17. Daniel, Randolph Co., m Christian Reece.

Pritchard

1784, 10, 20. Elizabeth, dt Benoni, Pasquotank Co., m Zachariah
Nicholson.

Purdie

1867, 2, 16. Samuel A. rocf Smyrna MM, N.Y., dated 1867, 1, 4.

1869, 1, 16. Samuel A. gct Back Creek MM, to m.

1870, 11, 19. Samuel A. gct Back Creek MM.

Pyper

1788? James rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1787, 12, 15.

Ratcliff

1766, 10, 8. Elizabeth, dt Joseph, m William Newby.

1789? Eliza (Ratliff) rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1789, 4,
1.

1791? Cornelius (Ratliff) & ch, Mary, Elisabeth & Joseph, rocf
Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1791, 2, 2.

Reece

1775? Christian (Reese) rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1775,
11, 25.*

1781, 12, 15. David (Reese) gct New Garden MM, N.C.

1785, 9, 17. Caleb (Reese) & s, Daniel, gct Deep River MM, N.C.

1785, 9, 17. Mary & dt, Hannah, Rebekah & Mary, gct Deep River MM,
N.C.

1790 Caleb prcf Springfield MM, N.C., to m, dated 1790, 10, 2.

1790, 11, 11. Caleb, s Caleb & Hannah, Pa., m Sarah Ozbun.

1791, 3, 15. Sarah gct Springfield MM, N.C.

1791, 7, 17. Christian, Guilford Co., m Daniel Presnell.

1797, 6, 17. Hannah (Rees) gct Back Creek MM, N.C.

* Date incorrectly transcribed as 1775, 10, 28, in Hinshaw.

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- 1800, 4, 19. *Thomas & s, Caleb, Thomas, Yarnel, David, Isaiah & Abiher, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1800, 4, 19. *Hannah (Rees) & dt, Hannah Rachel, Christianna & Catherine, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1819? *Dempsey rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1819, 5, 26.*

Reynolds

- 1781, 1, 11. Elizabeth, dt David & Mary, Guilford Co., m Jesse Davis.
- 1781, 1, 11. Lydia, dt David & Mary, Center, Guilford Co., m Benjamin Benbow.
- 1781, 9, 26. William, s Jeremiah & Susanna, Center, Guilford Co., m Rhoda Elliott.
- 1786, 12, 27. Mary, dt Jeremiah & Susanna, Randolph Co., m Simeon Lamb.
- 1791, 12, 28. Hannah, dt Jeremiah & Susanna, Randolph Co., m William Hoggatt.
- 1792? *Francis rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1792, 7, 7.*
- 1793, 4, 4. Francis, s John & Edith, Chester Co., Pa., m Rachel Davis.
- 1795? *Elizabeth rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1795, 1, 5.*
- 1795? *Mary rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1795, 3, 9.*
- 1795, 9, 23. Frances, s John & Edith, Chester Co., Pa., m Margaret Chamness.
- 1795, 12, 3. Ebenezer, s Jeremiah & Susanna, Randolph Co., m Rachel Green.
- 1796, 1, 6. Martha, Randolph Co., m Hezekiah Hoggatt.
- 1797, 10, 5. Amy, dt William & Ann, Guilford Co., m Anthony Chamness.
- 1798, 11, 22. David, s Jeremiah & Susanna, Randolph Co., m Ann Lamb.
- 1799, 1, 30. Christian, dt Jeremiah & Susanna, Randolph Co., m Samuel Wilson.
- 1804, 1, 5. Ann, dt William & Ann, Guilford Co., m David Stanton.
- 1805? *Rhoda rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1805, 6, 1.*
- 1806? *Hannah rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1806, 2, 1.*
- 1807, 4, 2. Jeremiah, s William & Rhoda, Randolph Co., m Tamer Ozbun.
- 1809, 10, 26. Lewis, s William & Ann, Guilford Co., m Sarah Stanton.
- 1812? *Hannah rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1812, 4, 4.*
- 1812, 11, 25. Jeremiah, s William & Ann, Guilford Co., m Susanna Chamness.

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- 1814, 11, 30. Job, s Francis & Rachel, Randolph Co., m Phebe Hockett.
 1815? *Charity rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1815, 4, 1.*
- 1815, 11, 29. Mary, dt Ebenezer & Rachel, Randolph Co., m Hezekiah
 Beeson.
- 1816, 10, 23. Rachel, dt Anthony & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Benjamin
 Cox.
- 1818? *Jeremiah gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
- 1818? *Tamer gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
- 1818, 10, 21. Susanna, dt Ebenezer & Rachel, Randolph Co., m Joseph
 Chamness.
- 1819? *Ebenezer (Raynold) & s, Elijah, John, Ezra, Zimry &
 Mills, gct New Garden MM, Ind.*
- 1819? *Rachel & dt, Polly, Ann, Delilah & Millie, gct New Garden
 MM, Ind.*
- 1819? *David & s, Mahlon, Robert, Moses, Parker & David, Jr.,
 gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
- 1819? *Ann & dts, Rachel & Susanna, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
- 1819? *Mary rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1819, 5, 1.*
- 1819, 8, 21. *Job & fam gct Marlboro MM, N.C.*
- 1819, 8, 21. *Phebe & dt, Sally & Achsa, gct Marlboro MM, N.C.*
- 1820? *Jesse & s, Abel & Nathan, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
- 1820? *Welmet & dt, Polly, Amy & Hannah, gct Lick Creek MM,
 Ind.*
- 1821, 1, 24. Martha, dt Francis & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Simeon
 Picket.
- 1823? *Anthony & ch, Isaac & Levi, & nephew, Newby Wilson, gct
 Springfield MM, Ind.*
- 1823? *Job & fam rocf Marlboro MM, N.C., dated 1823, 9, 6.*
- 1823? *Phebe (with h) & ch rocf Marlboro MM, N.C., dated 1823,
 9, 6.*
- 1824? *Wenlock gct Marlboro MM, N.C., to m.*
- 1825? *Susanna rocf Marlboro MM, N.C., dated 1825, 3, 5.*
- 1825, 4, 20. Edith, dt Francis & Margaret, Randolph Co., m Eli Osborn.
- 1825 *Edith Osborne (form Reynolds) & h, Eli, gct Lick Creek
 MM, Ind., endorsed to White Lick MM, Ind., 1825, 10, 15;
 rec by Whitewater MM, Ind., 1826, 1, 14.**
- 1825, 11, 19. William & fam [s: Lewis & Kinsley & dt: Deborah] gct

* *There is no record in the minutes of White Lick MM of their being received there.*

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- White Lick MM, Ind.
- 1825, 11, 19. Deborah (with father, William) gct White Lick MM, Ind.
- 1827? Isaac gct Marlboro MM, N.C., to m.
- 1827, 8, 18. Sarah rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1827, 7, 12.
- 1829, 7, 18. Elizabeth rocf Spring MM, dated 1829, 6, 27.
- 1831, 8, 20. Isaac & fam [*w, Sarah, & ch, Clarkson & Milton*] gct Bloomfield MM, Ind.
- 1832? Jesse gct New Garden MM, Ind.
- 1832, 4, 21. Rachel con her mou.
- 1832, 10, 4. Mary, dt Lewis & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Ira W. Mendenhall.
- 1832, 10, 20. Thomas & fam gct White Lick MM, Ind.
- 1832, 10, 20. Charity & dt, Mary Rachel & Sarah, gc.
- 1834, 10, 1. Elihu, s Wenlock & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Lee.
- 1835, 7, 18. Jemima rocf Spring MM, dated 1835, 5, 30.
- 1836, 2, 20. Aaron & w, Elizabeth, & ch [*s: Milton*] (dt: Ruth, Hannah, Phebe & Mary) gct Bloomfield MM, Park Co., Ind., [*endorsed to New Garden MM, Ind.*]
- 1836, 8, 20. Francis & w, Margaret, gct New Garden MM, Ind.
- 1836, 8, 20. David & w, Jemima, gct New Garden MM, Ind.
- 1837, 12, 16. William gct Springfield MM, to m.
- 1838, 5, 19. Abigail H. rocf Springfield MM, dated 1838, 5, 9.
- 1839, 3, 21. Amy, dt Lewis & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Jeremiah Kemp.
- 1839, 7, 20. Job & w, Phebe, & ch (dt: Elma, Margaret, Mary Ann, Phebe, Eunice, Asenath & Susan) gct New Garden MM, Ind.
- 1839, 9, 5. Ann, dt Lewis & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Joseph Cox.
- 1842, 3, 16. Martha, dt Wenlock & Hannah, Randolph Co., m James Davidson.
- 1843, 5, 11. Hannah, dt Jeremieh & Susanna, Guilford Co., m Joel Watkins.
- 1843, 7, 15. Lewis gct Springfield MM, to m.
- 1845, 6, 21. Asenath gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
- 1845, 9, 20. Wenlock gct Holly Spring MM, to m.
- 1846, 1, 17. David gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
- 1846, 1, 17. Mary H. rocf Springfield MM, dated 1845, 12, 10.
- 1846, 2, 21. Joshua gct Springfield MM, to m.
- 1846, 2, 21. Dinah D. rocf Holly Spring MM, dated 1846, 1, 17.
- 1846, 6, 20. Cynthia E. rocf Springfield MM, dated 1846, 5, 6.

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- 1847, 6, 19. Hannah dis.
1848, 7, 15. Joash gct Springfield MM, to m.
1849, 2, 17. Anna rocf Springfield MM, dated 1848, 12, 16.
1850, 5, 18. Catharine P. Shepherd (form Reynolds) dis mou.
1850, 11, 16. Eleanor, of Providence, recr. q.
1851, 7, 19. William & w, Abigail, & ch (dt: Emily Ann & Sarah Jane)
gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
1851, 8, 16. Sarah & Miriam gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
1851, 11, 15. Lewis gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
1852, 1, 17. Amy (form Chamness) dis mou.
1852, 6, 19. Milo gct Springfield MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
1852, 11, 20. Eleanor Lamb (form Reynolds), of Providence, dis mou.
1853, 8, 20. Amy recr. q.
1853, 12, 17. William, of Providence, recr. q.
1857, 1, 17. David dis.
1858, 5, 15. William con his mou. (living at Richland, Ind.)
1858, 6, 19. Susanna gct Plainfield MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
1858, 10, 16. Jeremiah gct Plainfield MM, Hendricks Co., Ind.
1858, 11, 20. Joash & fam [s: Cyrus, Lindley H., Franklin Emlon &
Enos] gct Springfield MM, N.C.
1858, 11, 20. Anna E. (with h) & fam [dt: Cordelia, B. Veturia & Lurena]
gct Springfield MM.
1858, 11, 20. Wenlock dis mou.
1861, 5, 29. Mary E., dt Elihu & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Elihu
Cox.
1864, 5, 21. Wenlock, Jr. recr. q.
1866, 8, 18. Amy dis.
1867, 5, 18. William (Reynold) & ch, Mary Ellen, Milton E. & Alpheus
Allen, gct Cottonwood MM, Kans.
1870, 3, 19. Dinah D. gct Westfield MM, Hamilton Co., Ind.
1872, 10, 31. Lucetta, dt Lewis & Mary H., Center, Guilford Co., m
Barney C. Jinnett.
1873, 7, 19. Lonora H. Potter (form Reynolds) con her mou.
1874, 7, 18. Joseph (Reynold) con his mou.
1875, 2, 20. Joseph dis.
1875, 3, 20. Perin gct Deep River MM, to m.
1875, 12, 18. Perin gct Springfield MM.
1876, 3, 18. Joseph recr. q.
1876, 11, 8. Smith dis.
1877, 6, 16. Valina Willis (form Reynolds) con her mou.

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- 1878, 2, 16. Verus relrq. (rem)
1883, 4, 21. William H., a minor, gct Coloma MM, Park Co., Ind.

Rich

- 1773, 8, 21. *The preparative meeting informs this, that the Friends living about Jesse Hanley's & John Rich's request indulgence in holding their meetings every other First day; therefore Robert Lamb, John Mills, John Bails, Jr., John Stone, Isaac Jones & Robert Hodgson are appointed to visit them on that account, & they to return their sense & judgment to next meeting accordingly.*
- 1775? *John gct New Garden MM, N.C., to m.*
- 1776, 1, 17. Miriam, dt John & Sarah, Guilford Co., m Aaron Mendenhall.
- 1776? *Martha rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1776, 1, 27.*
- 1781, 11, 8. Sarah, dt John & Sarah, Center, m Aaron Hill.
- 1781, 12, 6. Dinah, dt John & Sarah, Center, m Joseph Cox.
- 1785, 11, 10. Martha, dt John & Sarah, Randolph Co., m Ennion Williams.
- 1794, 10, 18. Sarah, dt John & Martha, Randolph Co., m Henry Powel.
- 1811, 10, 19. *Joseph gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1811, 10, 19. *Aaron gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1828 *William prcf Marlboro MM, N.C., to m, dated 1828, 9, 11.*
- 1828, 10, 1. William, s Moses & Amy, Randolph Co., m Sarah Elliott.
- 1829, 1, 17. Sarah gct Marlboro MM.
- 1832 *Samuel prcf Marlboro MM, N.C., to m, dated 1832, 2, 9.*
- 1832, 2, 22. Samuel, s Peter & Mary, Randolph Co., m Abigail Elliott.
- 1832, 7, 21. Abigail gct Marlboro MM.
- 1863, 11, 21. Henry recrq.
- 1871, 4, 15. Henry gct New Garden MM, Wayne Co., Ind.

Richardson

- 1809? *Mary rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1809, 3, 25.*
- 1811, 10, 19. *Mary gct New Garden MM, N.C.*

Ricks

- 1776? *Martha rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1776, 1, 27.*

Robbins

- 1821? *Joseph (Robins), a minor, rocf Union MM, N.C., dated 1821, 6, 27.*

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1821? *Levina (Robins) & dt, Mary, rocf Union MM, N.C., dated 1821, 6, 27.*

1835, 11, 21. Joseph dis.

Rudduck

1774 *Joseph prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1774, 11, 26.*

1774, 12, 21. Joseph (Ruddux), New Garden, Guilford Co., m Phebe Mecca.

Saferight

1864, 7, 16. Jeremiah recr. q.

Saint

1789 *Rachel rocf Perquimans MM, dated 1789, 4, 1.*

Sell

1787? *Enos rocf Wrightsborough MM, Ga., dated 1787, 4, 7.*

Sewel

1832, 5, 19. Mary rocf Springfield MM, dated 1832, 5, 9.

Shelly

1834, 1, 18. Belinda dis mou.

1864, 6, 18. William recr. q of mother, Elizabeth.

1866, 10, 20. Elizabeth & dt, Dianna, recr. q.

1867, 2, 16. Enoch, minor, recr. q of mother, Elizabeth.

1867, 10, 19. William dis mou.

1871, 10, 21. Diana Osborne (form Shelly) con her mou.

1876, 10, 21. Enoch con his mou.

Shelby

1864, 1, 16. David recr. q.

Shelton

1869, 7, 17. Martha recr. q.

1874, 3, 21. Martha C. Davis (form Shelton) get Marlboro MM.

Shepherd

1850, 5, 18. Catharine P. (form Reynolds) dis mou.

1885, 1, 17. Mary (Sheppard) recr. q.

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Short

- 1879, 6, 21. Adaline (form Kirkman) rpd mou; relrq.
1879, 6, 21. Nora (form Kirkman) rpd mou; relrq.

Shugart

- 1824 *Zachariah prcf Deep Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1824, 1, 3.*
1824, 1, 18. Zechariah, s John & Susanna, Surry Co., m Elizabeth Wheeler.
1824, 3, 20. *Elizabeth gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.*

Siler

- 1833, 7, 20. Margaret dis mou.
1873, 6, 19. Hannah E. (form White) con her mou.
1879, 12, 20. Elma (form Chamness) con her mou.

Small

- 1787? *Benjamin rocf Pasquotank MM, dated 1787, 1, 17.*
1791? *Joseph rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1791, 2, 19.*
1793? *Joseph gct Pasquotank MM, N.C., to m.*

Smith

- 1762, 11, 10. Mary, dt John, Perquimans Co., m William Hill.
1789? *John Jr. & ch, Caleb, Robert, Mary, Nathan & Rachel, rocf Perquimans MM, dated 1789, 11, 4.*
1789? *Tishey rocf Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1789, 11, 4.*
1865, 6, 17. Deborah A. (form Hodgkin) con her mou.
1866, 2, 17. Fatima J. (form Hodgkin) con her mou.
1869, 6, 19. Hannah C. (form Hodgkin) con her mou.
1876, 7, 15. Sonisa (form Coltrane) con her mou.
1878, 4, 20. John W. & ch, Arlando Winfield, Fanny Jane, Robert Harrison, Zachariah Taylor & Anna Martitia, recrqr.
1880, 4, 17. Caroline dropped from mbrp. Joined elsewhere.
1889, 1, —. Fanny dis.

Stafford

- 1792? *Abigail rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1792, 3, 17.*
1792? *Thomas, Sarah, John & Elizabeth, minor ch Samuel, rocf Pasquotank MM, dated 1792, 3, 17.*

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Stalker

- 1781, 2, 22. Richard, s Joseph, Wayne Co., m Betty Pierson.
1790 George prcf Deep River MM, N.C., to m, dated 1790, 12, 6.
1790, 12, 22. George, Guilford Co., m Rachel Bradley.
1791, 2, 19. Rachel gct Deep River MM, N.C.
1792 Thomas prcf Deep River MM, N.C., to m, dated 1792, 6, 4.
1792, 7, 12. Thomas, Guilford Co., s George & Sarah, m Eve Davis.
1792, 12, 15. Eve gct Deep Creek MM, N.C.
1795? Thomas & fam rocf Deep Creek MM, N.C., dated 1795, 11, 7.
1795? Eve & dt rocf Deep Creek MM, N.C., dated 1795, 11, 7.
1799? Keziah rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1799, 1, 7.
1799? John & fam rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1799, 2, 4.

Stanley

- 1784? John & fam rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1784, 2, 28.
1823? Joshua & fam rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1823, 9, 10.
1823? Abigail (with h) rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1823, 9, 10.
1833? Nathan rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1833, 11, 30.
1836, 1, 16. Nathan gct Milford MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
1844, 2, 17. Joshua & w, Abigail, gct New Garden MM.
1848, 2, 19. Joshua & w, Abigail, rocf New Garden MM, dated 1847, 12, 29.
1858, 11, 20. Isaac H. rocf New Garden MM.
1858, 11, 20. Isaac H. dis mou.
1862, 4, 19. Isaac F. gct Marlboro MM.
1863, 11, 21. Isaac H. recr q.
1864, 2, 20. Huldah I. (form Hodgins) con her mou.

Stanton

- 1777 John prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1777, 1, 25.
1777, 2, 27. John, Guilford Co., s Henry & Lydia, Carteret Co., m Hepsibah Marshall.
1779? John & fam rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1779, 2, 27.
1783? John & fam gct Core Sound MM, N.C.
1798, 12, 15. Ruth & Lydia gct New Garden MM, N.C.
1801? Lydia rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1800, 12, 27.
1802? Huldah rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1802, 2, 27.

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- 1802, 2, 20. *John & fam gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1802, 2, 20. *Mary & dt, Hannah, gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1802, 9, 2. Elizabeth, dt Samuel & Mary, Randolph Co., m Eleazar Winslow.
1804, 1, 5. David, s Samuel & Mary, Randolph Co., m Ann Reynolds.
1804, 5, 24. Hepzibah, dt Benjamin & Mary Marshall, Randolph Co., m Jacob Elliott.
1805? *Samuel gct Bush River MM, S.C., to m.*
1805, 8, 17. *Samuel gct Miami MM, Ohio.*
1809, 10, 26. Sarah, dt Samuel & Mary, Randolph Co., m Lewis Reynolds.
1811, 1, 3. Mary, dt Samuel & Mary, Randolph Co., m Aron Mendenhall.
1824, 7, 22. Huldah, dt Francis & Christian Reece, Guilford Co., m John Newman.
1825? *Margaret rocf Springfield MM, N.C., dated 1825, 8, 10.*
1829, 4, 23. Eunice, dt David & Anna, Randolph Co., m Absalom Dennis.
1831, 10, 6. Mary, dt David & Ann, Randolph Co., m Enoch Farlow.
1835, 3, 5. Sarah, dt Levi & Huldah, Guilford Co., m Jabez Hodson.
1835, 10, 17. William gct Marlboro MM, to m.
1836, 3, 10. Anna, dt David & Ann, Randolph Co., m Nathan F. Andrew.
1837, 5, 20. Nathan gct Deep River MM, to m.
1838, 8, 18. Ruth H. rocf Deep River MM, dated 1838, 6, 7.
1838, 9, 15. Jesse & fam gct Center MM, Clinton Co., Ohio. (cert returned, 1839, 3mo.).
1838, 9, 15. Margaret, w Jesse, & dt, Lydia & Sarah, gct Centre MM, Clinton Co., Ohio. (rem)
1840, 8, 15. Nathan & fam gct Springfield MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
1840, 8, 15. Ruth (with h) & dt, Hannah, gct Springfield MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
1840, 8, 15. Samuel dis.
1840, 10, 29. Sarah, dt David & Ann, Randolph Co., m Micajah C. Hodgin.
1841, 5, 15. Jesse dis. (rem)
1844, 5, 2. William, s David & Ann, Randolph Co., m Rachel S. Leonard.
1844, 8, 17. Lydia gct New Garden MM, Wayne Co., Ind.

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- 1848, 3, 18. Margaret & dt, Lydia & Sarah, gct New Garden MM, Wayne Co., Ind. (rem)
1850, 4, 20. George F. con his mou.
1861, 8, 17. William & w, Rachel S., & fam gct Cottonwood MM, Breckinridge Co., Kans.
1861, 8, 17. Mary gct Cottonwood MM, Breckinridge Co., Kans.
1861, 9, 21. David rqct Cottonwood MM, Breckinridge Co., Kans. (withheld).
1864, 2, 20. Ruhama & dt, Martha Ann & Mary Susanna, recrqu.
1867, 1, 19. David gct Poplar Run MM, Ind.
1870, 3, 19. Julius Porgan, Samuel Milnor, David Absalom & George Elwood recrqu of father, George F.
1877, 12, 15. Mary S. Low (form Stanton) con her mou.

Stephens

- 1812? *Prudence & s, David, rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1812, 7, 25.*
1833? *David gct Cherry Grove MM, Ind.*
1833? *Prudence gct Cherry Grove MM, Ind.*

Stephenson

- 1832, 3, 17. Prudence gct Springfield MM, Ind.

Stone

- 1773, 8, 21. *The preparative meeting informs this, that the Friends living about Jesse Hanley's & John Rich's request indulgence in holding their meetings every other First day; therefore Robert Lamb, John Mills, John Bails, Jr., John Stone, Isaac Jones & Robert Hodgson are appointed to visit them on that account, & they to return their sense & judgment to next meeting accordingly.*
1774, 5, 27. Huldah (Stoan), dt John & Catherine, Guilford Co., m Benjamin Green.
1777, 8, 21. Salathiel, s John & Catherine, Center, Guilford Co., m Susanna Powel.

Story

- 1842, 3, 19. Elizabeth dis mou.

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Stout

- 1776? *Joseph prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1776, 9, 7.*
1776, 10, 10. *Joseph, s Peter & Margaret, Orange Co., m Hannah Ozbun.*
1777, 1, 18. *Hannah (form Ozburn) gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1783 *Peter, s Samuel, prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1783, 9, 6.*
1783, 10, 2. *Peter, s Samuel & Rachel, Orange Co., m Eleanor Lenard.*
1783, 12, 25. *Elenor gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1801? *Eleanor & ch rocf Lost Creek MM, Tenn., dated 1800, 12, 20.*

Swain

- 1780? *Nathaniel & ch rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1780, 3, 25.*
1781? *Elihu rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1781, 8, 25.*
1782? *Joseph rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1782, 7, 27.*
1782, 2, 21. *Elihu, s Nathaniel & Bethiah, Center, Guilford Co., m Sarah Mills.*
1789? *Miriam rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1789, 10, 5.*
1791, 9, 29. *Thomas, s Nathaniel & Bethiah, Guilford Co., m Lydia Worth.*
1791, 11, 19. *Elihu & w, Sarah, & ch, John, Nathaniel & Hannah, gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
1792? *George rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1792, 3, 31.*
1792, 4, 26. *George, s Howland & Jemimah, Sherborn Co., Nantucket, New England, m Deborah Macy.*
1793, 9, 21. *Deborah gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1793, 9, 21. *George & fam gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1794, 10, 30. *Lydia, dt Nathaniel & Bethiah, m Johnathan Anthony.*
1807, 3, 4. *Jethro, s Joseph & Jedidah, Guilford Co., m Susanna Leonard.*
1810, 5, 3. *Silvanus, s Joseph & Jedidah, Guilford Co., m Rhoda Worth.*
1811, 4, 24. *Thomas, s Nathaniel & Bethiah, Guilford Co., m Sarah Leonard.*
1815? *Phebe rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1815, 9, 30.*
1816? *Lydia rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1816, 5, 6.*
1818? *Jonathan gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*

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- 1818? *Lydia & Elvira gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1818? *David gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1818? *Phebe & dt, Ruth, gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1819? *Thomas & s, Job, Obed, Zeno & Charles, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.; all except Job endorsed to New Garden MM, Ind.*
1819? *Elizabeth gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1819? *Mary gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1819, 4, 28. *Lydia, Guilford Co., m Reuben Worth.*
1820? *Silvanus & s, Elihu, Nathaniel, George, Reuben & Shubal, gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1820? *Miriam & dt, Hannah & Lydia, gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1823, 1, 1. *Anna, dt Joseph & Jedidah, m Wm Coffin.*
1826, 4, 15. *Rhoda W. & ch, Cynthia, Irene, Narcissa, Eunice & Eliza, gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
1828, 9, 24. *Phebe, Guilford Co., m Hiram Worth.*
1838, 6, 16. *Joseph con his mou.*
1842, 6, 18. *Anuel dis mou.*
1843, 3, 18. *Matilda Northam [form Swain, dt Jethro, L.D.W.], of Concord, con her mou.*
1845, 7, 19. *Emily Ann Kirkman [form Swain, dt Jethro, L.D.W.] dis mou.*
1846, 1, 17. *Elvira Parsons [form Swain, dt Jethro, L.D.W.] dis mou.*
1850, 2, 16. *William T. dis mou.*
1850, 2, 16. *Rachel L. Parsons (form Swain), of Concord, dis mou. [dt Jethro, L.D.W.]*
1855, 1, 20. *Jethro & w, Susanna, & fam (dt: Susanna) gct Walnut Ridge MM, Ind.*

Swaney

- 1792? *William (Swainy) & fam rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1792, 2, 4.*
1792? *Lydia (Swainy) (with h) & ch rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1792, 2, 4.*
1808, 3, 31. *Susanna, dt Joseph & Lydia, Randolph Co., m Henry Powel.*

Swindel

- 1826, 8, 19. *Huldah, of Providence, dis mou.*

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- 1867, 1, 19. Gulia E. (form Wilson) con her mou. (rem)
1867, 9, 21. Gulia E. (Swindell) gct Plainfield MM, Hendrick Co., Ind.

Symons

- 1778? *Joseph rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1778, 2, 18.*
1790? *Moorning, dt John, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1790, 3, 20.*
1793? *Abraham rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1793, 3, 16.*
1797? *Sarah rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1797, 11, 25.*
1804, 10, 21. Elizabeth, dt John & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m James Newlin.
1808? *Margaret rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1808, 9, 24.*
1809, 7, 27. Margaret, dt John & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Thomas Newlin.

Talbert

- 1813, 7, 17. *Margaret gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1816? *Jesse & w rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1816, 11, 11.*
1820? *Margaret gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1820? *Jesse & nephew, Jesse, gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.*
1825, 12, 17. Rahab* & dt, Margaret & Charity, gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.

Teague

- 1863, 11, 21. Samuel recrq.
1868, 2, 15. Samuel gct Westfield MM, Hamilton Co., Ind.

Thornburgh

- 1777, 11, 5. George, s William & Martha, Guilford Co., m Mary Norton.
1784, 5, 5. *Ann (Thornbrugh), New Garden, dt Joseph & Ann, m Joseph Hoggatt, Center, Guilford Co.*
1790 *Thomas Jr. prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1790, 2, 27.*
1790, 4, 7. Thomas, s Thomas & Ruth, Guilford Co., m Miriam Winslow.

* Followed in Hinsaw by "(?)" but spelling in minutes is clear.

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- 1790? *Thomas, Jr., roc New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1790, 7, 31.*
- 1792 *Isaac prcf New Garden MM, N.C., to m, dated 1792, 8, 25.*
- 1792, 10, 4. *Isaac (Thornberry), s Joseph & Ann, New Garden, Guilford Co., m Rebecca Hodgson.*
- 1793, 2, 6. *Rebecca (Thornburg) gct New Garden MM, N.C.*
- 1793? *Henry, at an apprenticeship, roc New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1793, 4, 27.*
- 1793, 11, 28. *Martha (Thornberry), dt William & Martha, Randolph Co., m Jacob Jackson.*

Townsend

- 1814? *Nancy roc Rich Square MM, N.C., dated 1814, 4, 16.*
- 1814? *Eli & Josiah, s William & Nancy, roc Rich Square MM, N.C., dated 1814, 4, 16.*
- 1820? *William & s, Eli & Josiah, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
- 1820? *Nancy & dt, Elizabeth & Catherine, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*

Trotter

- 1832? *Ruth produced offering at Cherry Grove MM, Ind., condemning the misconduct for which she had been dis by Center MM, N.C.*

Trueblood

- 1789? *William & ch, Mark & Mourning, roc Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1789, 1, 17.*
- 1789? *Elisabeth, w William, roc Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1789, 1, 17.*

Tulin

- 1839, 4, 20. *Elizabeth con her mou.*

Turner

- 1789? *Ezekiah, of Wells, roc Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1788, 12, 3.*
- 1799, 11, 16. *Ezekiel gct Springfield MM, N.C.*

Tyson

- 1786 *Aaron prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1786, 10, 7.*

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- 1786, 11, 2. Aaron, s Cornelius & Jane, Cane Creek, m Lydia Beals
1787, 1, 20. *Lydia gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*

Underhill

- 1784? *Hannah rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1784, 9, 6.*
1792, 5, 19. *John & fam (s: William, John & Daniel) gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1792, 5, 19. *Hannah & dt, Neomy & Ruth, gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1799? *Hannah & dt, Ruth, rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1799, 3, 30.*
1799? *Daniel rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1799, 3, 30.*
1800? *John rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1800, 10, 25.*
1801, 10, 17. *John gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
1801, 10, 19. *Hannah & dt, Ruth, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*

Underwood

- 1795, 11, 7. *Abigail gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*

Vernon

- 1789, 2, 3. *Robert gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

Vestal

- 1814? *Elizabeth Dicks & dt, Jemima, Mary, Betty & Rachel Vestal & Lydia Dicks, gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1814? *Samuel gct Whitewater MM, Ind.*
1821 *David prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1821, 10, 6.*
1821, 11, 21. *David, s William & Mary, Chatham Co., m Margaret Hodgin.*
1823 *Solomon prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1823, 9, 6.*
1823, 10, 30. *Solomon, s William & Mary, Chatham Co., m Esther Hodgin.*
1824, 6, 19. *Hester gct Springfield MM, N.C.*
1840, 8, 15. *David dis mou. (rem)*

Vicory

- 1835, 5, 16. *Rachel con her mou.*
1837, 5, 20. *Rachel gct Marlboro MM.*
1840, 9, 19. *Rachel rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1840, 5, 2.*
1842, 7, 16. *Luzena dis mou.*

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- 1846, 10, 17. Rachel rqt Marlboro MM.
1864, 7, 16. Harmon (Vickrey) & minor s, Jesse, recrj.
1866, 11, 17. Harmon gct Carthage MM, Rush Co., Ind.
1869, 3, 20. Jesse S. gct Bloomfield MM, Ind.
1873, 8, 16. Eunice (form Leonard) gct Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind.
1879, 3, 18. Eunice (form Hodgkin) con her mou.

Wall

- 1829, 9, 19. Hannah (Walls) gct Silver Creek MM, Ind.
1840, 2, 15. Jereter (woman) dis.

Ward

- 1776? *Stephen prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1776, 12, 7.*
1777, 1, 1. Stephen, s William & Susanna, Cane Creek, Orange Co., m Hannah Elliot.
1777, 4, 19. *Hannah gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1786, 5, 24. Kezia, dt Timothy & Susanna, Randolph Co., m Jesse Harvey.
1786, 11, 29. Timothy, s John & Mary, Randolph Co., m Grace Williams.
1802 *Obed prcf Back Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1802, 3, 27.*
1802, 5, 26. Obed, Randolph Co., s Timothy & Susannah, m Mary Hodson.
1802, 9, 18. *Mary gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
1805? *Obed rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1805, 1, 26.*
1805? *Mary & dt, Susanna, rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1805, 1, 26.*
1805? *Grace rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1805, 1, 26.*
1819, 9, 18. *Grace gct Clear Creek MM, Ohio.*
1819, 9, 18. *Obed & w, Mary, & ch, Susanna, Timothy, George & Rachel, gct Clear Creek MM, Ohio.*
1842, 1, 15. Charlotte (form Beard) con her mou.
1846, 6, 20. Lucinda (form Watkins) con her mou.

Watkins

- 1819 *Henry prcf Marlboro MM, N.C., to m, dated 1819, 8, 7.*
1819, 9, 1. Henry, s William & Lydia, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Elliott.

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- 1819, 11, 20. *Elizabeth gct Marlboro MM, N.C.*
1837, 8, 19. *Henry & fam rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1837, 7, 1.*
1837, 8, 19. *Elizabeth & dt, Lucinda & Lydia, rocf Marlboro MM, dated 1837, 7, 1.*
1843, 5, 11. *Joel, s Henery & Elizabeth, Guilford Co., m Hannah Reynolds.*
1843, 11, 18. *Joel & w, Hannah, gct Deep River MM.*
1843, 11, 18. *Hannah (with h) gct Deep River MM.*
1844, 7, 20. *Hannah rocf Deep River MM, dated 1844, 6, 6.*
1846, 6, 20. *Lucinda Ward (form Watkins) con her mou.*
1849, 5, 24. *Hannah, dt Jeremiah & Susanna Reynolds, Guilford Co., m Obed Osborne.*
1850, 2, 16. *Silas con his mou.*
1856, 6, 21. *Jesse dis.*
1870, 2, 19. *Henry rpd mou.*
1873, 8, 16. *Henry dis.*

Way

- 1776, 4, 11. *William, s Paul & Mary, Guilford Co., m Abigail Ozbun.*
1776, 12, 26. *Mary, widow, Guilford Co., dt Joseph Macy, Nantucket, New England, m James Anthony.*
1778, 10, 29. *[Henry],* s Paul & Mary, Sherborn, Nantucket Co., Province of Mass Bay, New England, m Charlotte Anthony.*
1778, 12, 3. *Mary, Center, Guilford Co., dt Paul & Mary, Sherborn, Nantucket, Mass, New England, m George Beard.*
1780, 5, 20. *Paul gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1781? *Paul rocf New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1781, 7, 28.*
1799, 5, 23. *John, s William & Abigail, Guilford Co., m Patience Green.*
1802, 4, 17. *John & w, Patience, and ch, Mary, gct Piney Grove MM, N.C.*
1803, 4, 6. *Joseph, s Henry & Charlotte, Guilford Co., m Sarah Ozbun.*
1803, 10, 26. *Nathan, s Henry & Charlotte, Guilford Co., m Huldah Ozbun.*
1807, 9, 30. *Lydia, dt Henry & Charlotte, Guilford Co., m John Frazer.*
1809, 10, 21. *Paul & dt, Hannah, gct Center MM, Ohio.*

* *Incorrectly shown as "Paul" in Hinshaw.*

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- 1810, 8, 18. *Henry & w, Charlotty, & ch, Mary, Anna, Charlotty, Henry & William, gct Center MM, Ohio,* endorsed to Caesars Creek MM, Ohio.*
- 1810, 8, 18. *Joseph & w, Sarah, & ch, Rachel, Jonathan & Joel, gct Center MM, Ohio, endorsed to Caesars Creek MM, Ohio.*
- 1810, 8, 18. *Seth & w, Sarah, & ch, Thomas, Lydia & Hannah, gct Center MM, Ohio.*
- 1815? *John, Nathan & Anthony, minor ch of Nathan & Hulda (Osborn) gct New Garden MM, Ind.*
- 1815? *Huldah & dt, Huldah, gct New Garden MM, Ind.*

Weatherly

- 1851, 7, 19. *Lydia dis mou.*

Webb

- 1778, 6, 30. *Joseph gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1779? *Joseph rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1779, 9, 4.*
- 1788? *Jesse rocf Wrightsborough MM, Ga., dated 1787, 12, 1.*

Weisner

- 1806? *Michael, s Micajah, rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1806, 11, 3.*
- 1808, 6, 18. *Micheal gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

Wells

- 1782 *Isaac prcf Cane Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1782, 9, 7.*
- 1782, 10, 2. *Isaac, s Joseph & Charity, Cane Creek, Orange Co., m Mary Beeson, [d Benjamin & Elizabeth, Center.]*
- 1782, 11, 16. *Mary gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1826, 2, 18. *Sarah rocf Cane Creek MM, dated 1826, 7, 1.*
- 1828, 12, 24. *Sarah, dt Isaac & Mary, Randolph Co., m Adam Hinshaw.*

Wheeler

- 1816? *Benjamin rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1816, 8, 3.*
- 1817? *Elizabeth & s rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1817, 2, 1.*
- 1824, 1, 18. *Elizabeth, dt Benjamin & Mary Piggatt, Guilford Co., m Zechariah Shugart.*

* *Clerk of Caesars Creek MM incorrectly recorded that cert was granted to Miami MM, Ohio.*

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1825, 7, 16. Benjamin & s, William, gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.

1848, 3, 18. Joseph dis.

White

1778, 4, 9. Thomas, Guilford Co., s Thomas & Catharine, m Elizabeth Lamb.

1837, 5, 20. John rocf Springfield MM, dated 1837, 4, 5.

1837, 8, 19. Thomas recrq.

1839, 7, 31. John, s Simon & Mary, Chatham Co., m Jane Wilson.

1840, 2, 15. Jane gct Spring MM.

1841, 6, 19. John & w, Jane, rocf Spring MM, dated 1841, 5, 30.

1844, 5, 18. Thomas dis.

1851, 11, 15. Hannah rocf Spring MM, dated 1851, 10, 25.

1854, 7, 15. Lewis C. recrq.

1855, 1, 20. Lewis C. con his mou.

1857, 9, 19. John dis.

1857, 9, 19. Lewis C. gct White Lick MM, Ind.

1861, 1, 19. Simon & s, John Wesley, rocf Spring MM.

1861, 1, 19. Hannah E., Amy C. & Ruth E., dt Simon, rocf Spring MM.

1867, 11, 20. Asenath O., dt John & Jane, Randolph Co., m James T. Lindley.

1869, 4, 17. Amy C. & Ruth E. gct Cane Creek MM.

1869, 5, 15. S. W. con his mou.

1869, 5, 15. Louesa E. (form Osborne) con her mou.

1873, 6, 19. Hannah E. Siler (form White) con her mou.

1875, 5, 15. William A. gct Bridgeport MM, Marion Co., Ind.

1876, 7, 15. William A. rocf Bridgeport MM, Ind., dated 1876, 6, 1.

1882, 1, 15. John W. gct Bear Creek MM, Iowa.

1888, 3, 17. Roxie Dixon rocf Cane Creek MM, dated 1888, 2, 15.

Whitney

1777, 4, 30. Ebanazar, s Elnathan, New England, m Jemima Hall.

1799? Jemimah rocf Contentnea MM, N.C., dated 1798, 12, 8.

1836, 3, 19. Eli con his mou.

1874, 6, 20. Eli's death rpd.

Williams

1783? William rocf Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1783, 3, 1.

1785? Ennion rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1785, 6, 6.

1785? Grace & Mary rocf Wrightsborough MM, Ga., dated 1785, 7, 2.

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- 1785? *Abigail roc Wrightsborough MM, Ga., dated 1785, 11, 5.*
1785, 2, 5. *William gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
1785, 11, 10. *Ennion, s Joseph & Abigail, Randolph Co., m Martha Rich.*
1786, 11, 29. *Grace, dt Joseph & Abigail, Randolph Co., m Timothy Ward.*
1786? *Elizabeth roc Wrightsborough MM, Ga., dated 1786, 11, 4.*
1787, 5, 2. *Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m William Kendall.*
1789? *Deborah & Margaret, ch David, roc Cane Creek MM, N.C., dated 1789, 8, 1.*
1800, 11, 26. *John, Center, Guilford Co., m Rachel Hodson.*
1816? *John & s, Isaac & Robert, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
1816? *Rachel & dts, Rachel, Rebecca, Dinah, & Elizabeth, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*

Willis

- 1877, 6, 16. *Valina (form Reynolds) con her mou.*

Wilson

- 1774? *George roc New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1774, 8, 27.*
1774? *Micahel roc New Garden MM, N.C., dated 1774, 12, 31.*
1776, 1, 21. *William, Center, m Eunice Worth.*
1777? *Thomas[s William,] gct Perquimans MM, N.C., to m [Elizabeth Newby, d Samuel; m 1777, 9, 7.]* Thomas rem to Perquimans area "for some time" prior to 1777, 8, 6.*
1779? *Jonathan roc Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1778, 12, 2.*
1779? *Jesse roc Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1778, 12, 2.*
1780? *Jane roc Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1780, 9, 4.*
1781? *Jonathan gct Perquimans MM, N.C.*
1782, 1, 23. *Morning, Center, dt William & Mary, m Elijah Powel.*
1782, 9, 25. *Jesse, s William & Mary, Perquimans Co., m Elizabeth Beeson.*
1790? *Samuel, s Thomas, a minor, roc Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1790, 1, 6.*
1793? *Silvanus roc Perquimans MM, N.C., dated 1793, 1, 2.*
1794? *Eunice & ch, Elizabeth, Mary & Metilda, gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

* *Bracketed material taken from marriage certificate in Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.*

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- 1794, 12, 11. Mary, dt Jeremiah & Elizabeth, Grayson Co., Va., m Jesse Hodson.
- 1799, 1, 30. Samuel, s Thomas & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Christian Reynolds.
- 1799, 11, 16. *George & s, John, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1799, 11, 16. *Catherine & dt, Elizabeth & Margaret, gct Lost Creek MM, Tenn.*
- 1804, 10, 24. Miriam, dt Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m George Carter.
- 1805? *Abigail rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., dated 1805, 5, 24.*
- 1805? *Samuel, minor, rocf Back Creek MM, N.C., 1805, 5, 25.*
- 1806? *Mary (Willson) rocf Spring MM, N.C., dated 1806, 3, 29.*
- 1808, 4, 20. Mourning, dt Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Jesse Hunt.
- 1809, 3, 18. *Samuel gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1811, 5, 29. Mary, dt Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Stephen Carter.
- 1813, 3, 24. Elizabeth, dt Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Thomas Dennis.
- 1815, 8, 19. *William gct Lick Creek MM, Ind., endorsed to Fall Creek MM, Ohio.*
- 1816, 8, 19. *Michael gct Fall Creek MM, Ohio.*
- 1816, 12, 21. *Lydia gct Marlboro MM, N.C.*
- 1818? *Lydia rocf Marlboro MM, N.C., dated 1818, 8, 1.*
- 1818? *John, a minor, gct Lick Creek MM, Ind.*
- 1818, 12, 30. Lydia, dt Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Thomas Hunt.
- 1819, 12, 22. Hannah, dt Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m John Hockett.
- 1823? *Anthony Reynolds & ch, Isaac & Levi, & nephew, Newby Wilson, gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
- 1826, 8, 30. Rachel, dt Jesse & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m David Pidgeon.
- 1826, 12, 16. *Thomas gct Cane Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1828, 7, 23. Jesse, s Samuel & Christian, Randolph Co., m Zeruah Beeson.
- 1828, 9, 20. Christian gct Springfield MM, Ind.
- 1828, 9, 20. Jesse & fam gct Springfield MM, Ind.
- 1828, 9, 20. Zeruah gct Springfield MM [Ind.]
- 1830, 4, 17. Rebecca rocf Spring MM, dated 1830, 3, 27.

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- 1832, 10, 20. Pheriba gct Springfield MM, Ind.
1835, 7, 18. Hiram gct Spring MM, to m.
1835, 11, 21. Mary rocf Spring MM, dated 1835, 10, 31.
1839, 7, 31. Jane, dt Isaac & Mary, Randolph Co., m John White.
1841, 1, 16. Stephen con his mou.
1842, 7, 16. Asenath recr. q.
1842, 10, 15. Jabez recr. q of father, Stephen.
1845, 7, 30. Asenath, dt Isaac & Mary, Randolph Co., m Phineas Albertson.
1848, 10, 21. Stephen dis. (rem)
1850, 4, 20. Asenath & fam, of Providence, gct Mississinewa MM, Ind.
1853, 3, 19. Isaac gct Pipe Creek MM, Miami Co., Ind.
1853, 3, 19. Jabez r. qct Pipe Creek MM, Miami [Co.,] Ind.
1855, 12, 15. William dis mou.
1856, 6, 21. Stephen gct Western Plain MM, Iowa.
1856, 10, 18. Hiram dis.
1858, 7, 17. Hiram recr. q.
1858, 10, 16. Hiram gct Richland MM, Ind.
1860, 6, 6. Jane C., dt Jesse & Rebecca, Randolph Co., m Anthony Chamness.
1861, 10, 19. Eleanor Jane Branson (form Wilson) dis mou.
1864, 3, 19. William L., of Providence, recr. q.
1866, 9, 15. Mary A. Hockett (form Wilson) rpd mou.
1867, 1, 19. Gulia E. Swindel (form Wilson) con her mou. (rem)
1867, 6, 15. William A. gct Westfield MM, Hamilton Co., Ind. (rem)
1867, 9, 21. Emily L. Field (form Wilson) con her mou.
1871, 3, 18. Cyrus C., a minor, recr. q of father, William L.
1871, 3, 18. Martha & dt, Sarah E., Rebecca E., Arkadelphia & Adda B., recr. q.
1874, 1, 17. Joseph A. Branson recr. q of grandfather, Hiram Wilson.
1882, 9, 16. Rebecca E. King (form Wilson) con her mou.

Winslow

- 1774? *Thomas & fam & brother, John, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1774, 3, 16.*
1777, 3, 23. John, s John, Perquimans Co., m Caroline Nicholson.
1778? *Caroline rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1778, 3, 18 (her earlier one, dated 1777, 5, 21, having been lost).*
1790, 4, 7. Miriam, dt Thomas & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Thomas Thornbrough.

Lost Minutes of Centre Monthly Meeting

- 1791? *James & John Woolman, orphans of Josiah, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1790, 12, 18. (already in the limits)*
- 1791? *Sarah & Mary, dt Josiah, rocf Pasquotank MM, N.C., dated 1790, 12, 18.*
- 1802, 9, 2. *Eleazer, s Thomas & Elizabeth, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Stanton.*
- 1802, 11, 20. *Elizabeth gct Back Creek MM, N.C.*
- 1808? *Eleazar prcf Back Creek MM, N.C., to m, dated 1808, 6, 26.*

Woodward

- 1784, 1, 29. *Susanna, dt Abraham & Hannah, Randolph Co., m William Fraizer.*
- 1788, 11, 6. *William, s Abraham & Hannah, Randolph Co., m Elizabeth Millikan.*
- 1792, 10, 20.* *Abraham & ch, Abraham & Elizabeth, gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
- 1793, 4, 20. *Aaron gct Westfield MM, N.C.*
- 1795, 4, 18. *Elizabeth & s, Samuel, gct Newhope MM, Tenn.*
- 1796, 9, 17. *William gct Newhope MM, Tenn.*

Woody

- 1858, 4, 28. *Nathaniel, s Samuel & Eleanor, Alamance Co., m Margaret Cox.*
- 1858, 9, 18. *Margaret gct Spring MM.*

Worth

- 1776, 1, 21. *Eunice, dt Joseph & Judith, Center, m William Wilson.*
- 1777, 11, 27. *Matilda, dt Joseph, Jr. & Judith, Guilford Co., m Latham Folger.*
- 1780, 3, 18. *Jethro gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1785, 5, 21. *Charles gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
- 1787, 11, 29. *Job, s Daniel & Eunice, Guilford Co., m Rhoda Macy.*
- 1791, 9, 29. *Lydia, dt Daniel & Eunice, Guilford Co., m Thomas Swain.*
- 1795, 12, 19. *George gct Deep River MM, N.C.*

* *Reconstructed from entry in minutes of Westfield MM for 1793, 2, 16. Date (1793, 10, 20) given by clerk for cert from Centre is in error, since later than date of meeting at which received.*

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- 1796? *Abigail rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1796, 11, 7.*
1797, 4, 14. *Silas gct Deep River MM, N.C.*
1800? *Eunice rocf Deep River MM, N.C., dated 1800, 1, 6.*
1808, 7, 28. William, s Job & Rhoda, Guilford Co., m Phebe Barnard.
1810, 5, 3. Rhoda, dt Job & Rhoda, Guilford Co., m Silvanus Swain.
1814, 10, 27. Miriam, dt Zeno & Abigail, Guilford Co., m Thomas Coffin.
1819, 4, 28. Reuben, Guilford Co., m Lydia Swain.
1828, 9, 24. Hiram, Guilford Co., m Phebe Swain.
1831? *Thomas rpd for mcd to a first cousin & deviation from plainness by Springfield MM, Ind., dated 1831, 10, 15.*
1831, 9, 17. Reuben & fam gct Springfield MM, Ind.
1831, 9, 17. Lydia & dt, Laura Ann, gct Springfield MM, Ind.
1832? *William & fam gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
1832? *Obed gct Springfield MM, Ind.*
1832, 9, 15. Belinda & Anna, dt William, gct Springfield MM.
1832, 12, 15. Sarah (form Swain), of Concord, dis mou.
1840, 8, 15. Joseph S. dis mou.
1840, 8, 15. Lydia & Rhoda rocf Deep River MM, dated 1840, 8, 6.
1846, 1, 17. Thomas C. dis.
1846, 1, 17. Barzilla G. dis mou.
1846, 3, 21. Eveline gct Springfield MM, Wayne Co., Ind.
1859, 9, 17. Daniel dis mou.
1866, 1, 20. Rhoda gct Dover MM.
1866, 3, 17. Joseph S. [s Hiram C., L.D.W.] gct Springfield MM, to m.
1869, 7, 19. Joseph S. gct Springfield MM.
1872, 4, 20. William H. [s Hiram C., L.D.W.] gct New Garden MM.
1884, 12, 20. Hiram C. gct New Garden MM.
1884, 12, 20. Phebe S. & Rhoda M. gct New Garden MM.

York

- 1838, 5, 19. Anna recrq.
1838, 8, 2. Anna, dt Thomas & Nancy, York Co., m Charles S. Leonard.

New Books

Quaker Genealogy Classic Reissued

Readers of this issue of *The Southern Friend* may be particularly interested in the recent reprinting of William Wade Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, Volume I: North Carolina*. Last reprinted in 1973, this volume is indispensable for research in southern Quaker genealogy. As the publisher's announcement states,

The North Carolina volume is complete in itself for the monthly meetings of the Carolinas and Tennessee which were part of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The records consist of every item of genealogical value, including births, marriages, deaths, and minutes of proceedings, grouped together for each meeting by families, in alphabetical order, and covering the period from 1680 through the early 1930s. The minutes relating to certificates of removal are numerous and of great genealogical interest, as they give evidence either of membership in a previous monthly meeting or membership in a new meeting, thus enabling genealogists to trace Quaker ancestors from one place to another. Records in this volume are from the following monthly meetings:

Perquimans (Piney Woods),
N.C.

Pasquotank (Symons Creek),
N.C.

Suttons Cree, N.C.

Rich Square, N.C.

Core Sound, N.C.

Contentnea (Nahunta), N.C.

Neuse, N.C.

Woodland, N.C.

Cane Creek, N.C.

Spring, N.C.

New Garden, N.C.

Dover, N.C.

Hopewell, N.C.

Greensboro, N.C.

Center, N.C.

Black Creek, N.C.

Marlborough, N.C.

Deep River, N.C.

Springfield, N.C.

Union, N.C.

High Point, N.C.

Westfield, N.C.

Deep Creek, N.C.

Mt. Pleasant (Chestnut Ck.),
Va.

Bush River, S.C.

Wrightsborough, S.C.

Cane Creek, S.C.

Piney Grove, S.C.

Charleston, S.C.

New Hope, Tenn.

Lost Creek, Tenn.

Newberry (Friendsville),
Tenn.

The Southern Friend

The only major shortcoming of this volume is the sometimes faint reproduction of the original, resulting in some entries that are very difficult to read.

At present the publisher has no plans to reissue the other five volumes, but welcomes suggestions of which ones would be most in demand (see the list at the beginning of Mary Louise Reynolds' article in this issue of *The Southern Friend*). If and when other volumes are reprinted, each person who has expressed interest will be notified.

Volume 1, (ISBN 0-8063-0178-3) which consists of 1,197 pages, paperbound, sells for \$75.00, plus \$2.50 postage and handling for one copy, and \$1.00 for each additional copy. Maryland residents should add 5% for sales tax; Michigan residents add 4%. A 10% discount is available to libraries and other institutions. Orders may be placed by telephone, toll-free (1-800-727-6687), using MasterCard or VISA; or by mail by check or money order from Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1001 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, MD 21202-3897.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

1990-91

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Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Carole Treadway or Herbert Poole, Hege Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410.

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"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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Introduction

At the conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists in 1988, held at Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario, Canada, the opening presentation was a critique of current trends in Quaker historiography offered by Howard Beeth. His challenging claims that earlier views of Quaker contributions to American life and culture have been revised unfairly by a younger generation of historians in a way that threatens to obscure Quaker contributions, was the topic of conversation and debate throughout the conference. With so much interest generated, planners for the 1990 conference at George Fox College, Newberg, Oregon, were glad to devote an entire session to the issue. First was a response to Beeth by Steven Jay White, whose work has appeared in earlier issues of *The Southern Friend*, followed by responses to Beeth and White by two of the historians challenged by Beeth in his 1988 talk, Jean Soderlund and Jonathan Chu. Beeth was invited to reply to all three and to add his further thoughts on the subject. As before, the exchange generated much interest and invited all students of Quaker history to take another look at their own interpretations.

A version of Howard Beeth's 1988 talk appeared in *The Southern Friend* XI (Autumn, 1989): 17-32, under the title "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies." Comprising this issue of *The Southern Friend* are a reprinting of that talk so that new readers can be introduced to the debate and long-time readers can be reminded of it; the replies of Steven Jay White, Jonathan Chu, and Jean Soderlund; and Howard Beeth's response to the replies. The editors hope that the debate will be broadened and deepened by this exposure to a wider audience.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EARLY NORTH AMERICAN QUAKER STUDIES

by

Howard Beeth

Introduction

Three recent state-of-the-art anthologies about religion in North American culture are emblematic of a current effort to marginalize Quakers and their Society. This tendency to reduce Friends is extreme, so much so that were it a degree or two more complete, Quakers would be "disappeared" altogether from the historical record. Even when the subject under examination is religious culture in which Quaker contributions have previously been recognized as significant, Friends are increasingly absent from scholarly discussion. *Religion in the South*, edited by Charles Reagan Wilson in 1985, includes only one reference to Quakers. In Samuel S. Hill's edited collection, *Varieties of Southern Religious Experience*, which appeared in 1988, Friends once again merit mention in only a solitary essay. *Masters & Slaves in the House of the Lord*, edited by John B. Boles in 1988, fails to include any recollection at all of the Society and its members. This virtual exclusion of Quakers from collections focusing narrowly on religion is mirrored in some anthologies which provide a more expanded, general coverage of North American society. For example, *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, co-edited by Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole, is arguably the best anthology on the subject currently available. However, it includes only fleeting references to Friends in a single essay.¹ Since it is the purpose of anthologies to gather together and present the most important scholarship on significant topics, the near absence of Quakers in many such collections is cause for concern and apprehension.

Howard Beeth is associate professor of history at Texas Southern University in Houston. The author would like to thank Edwin B. Bronner, Christopher Densmore, Arthur O. Roberts, and especially J. William Frost for their comments on an earlier version of this paper that was presented at the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists at Pickering College in Newmarket, Ontario, June 1988.

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The disappearance of Quakers from early American history, already well advanced, is being encouraged and facilitated by a crop of young neo-consensus historians who are busily transforming Quakers from “outsiders” who differed significantly in belief and behavior from their contemporaries into much more conforming people who are now being portrayed essentially as “insiders” that happened to be a bit off center in a few conspicuous but not fundamental respects. As outsiders, Friends once occupied a secure place in early North American history. Recast as insiders, however, they are in the process of being submerged and blended invisibly into mainstream colonial society.

This neo-consensus attempt to reconceptualize Friends as insiders instead of outsiders and comfortably to assimilate them into mainstream society is one of the most interesting, important developments in Quaker studies. Yet it should not come as a complete surprise. A secularizing tendency in writing about Friends has been evident for some time, as we shall see, even if those who promoted it could scarcely imagine to what length it would develop. Furthermore, text always exists in context; rather than being politically or culturally innocent, scholarship is affiliated with the time and place of its production. Hence any given historical work is actually a dense ensemble of relationships including those between past and present as well as those between subjectivity and objectivity. “No one,” Edward W. Said reminds us in *Orientalism*, his pathbreaking analysis of imperial constructions of reality, “has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of a society. These continue to bear on what he does professionally[.]”²

Scholarship, then, is an embodiment of the conflation of power, knowledge, time, place, and more. As an historical artifact itself, its character is always bi-anthropogenic — a compound mixture of a complex past with a complex present. The historiography of scholarship is thus not only intellectual genealogy but political and cultural genealogy as well. In this century, for example, historians have long recognized the close relationship between the development of political progressivism and the progressive school of historical interpretation prior to World War I just as they have noted the parallel between political conservatism and the flowering of the conservative consensus school of historical interpretation following World War II. Since we are now once again

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many years into the throes of another profoundly conservative political period dating from the election of Richard Nixon in 1968, it should not come as a great shock that neo-consensus scholarship has made a resurgence. Rather, the appearance of conservative, neo-consensus scholarship should have been expected and its political stance anticipated.³ However, before discussing in greater detail the current conservative attempt to “mainstream” the Society of Friends into a freshly homogenized version of the American past, let us quickly survey the key characteristics and contributions of earlier generations of writers who portrayed Quakers and history in a much different fashion.

The Traditional View

The traditional view of the early history of Friends stressed their ideological commitment in times of great social conflict. This was, in fact, the view which ancient Quakers presented of themselves, and its veracity was confirmed by their principal adversaries. Most anti-Quaker writers, such as Increase and Cotton Mather, were officials or lay activists in rival religious organizations. Their denunciation of Friends was, as might be suspected, scathing. They disputed ideology with members of the Society point by point and concept by concept. When they had the power to do so, they sometimes persecuted Friends severely.⁴

Most of the earliest pro-Quaker literature issued from the pens of committed Friends, including George Fox, who were staunch defenders and advocates of the Society. Their major concern, according to a student of early Quakerism, was not balanced, impartial history. “Rather,” Arthur J. Worrall has written, “they sought the development of usable tradition patterned on Pauline epistles...and on martyrologies[.]” The heated chronicles they wrote, according to Worrall, continued to be used for many years “in accounts that repeated earlier instances of persecution and added new ones.”⁵ James Bowden’s two-volume *History of the Society of Friends in America* carried this earliest version of the Society’s own history into the mid-nineteenth century and beyond.⁶ Thus was born and nourished the image of the heroic Quaker — by turns either effusively verbose, aggressive, and argumentative, or quiet, patient, but intrepid — witnessing in a time of heated, acute ideological conflict, and often suffering in consequence.

Subsequent generations of scholars largely accepted this traditional characterization of highly motivated, ideological Quakers operating in

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conflict-ridden societies. However, as standards of scholarship evolved, so did standards for historical writing about Friends, most of which continued to be written by committed members of the Society. For example, while many late nineteenth and early twentieth-century writers such as Howard Brinton (1884–1973), William C. Braithwaite (1862–1922), Amelia M. Gummere (1859–1937), Rufus M. Jones (1863–1948), Elbert Russell (1871–1951), and Isaac Sharpless (1848–1920) had at least undergraduate degrees, most later writers including Edwin Bronner (b. 1920) and Frederick Tolles (b. 1915) were professionalized historians with graduate school training. These latter writers firmly established in Quaker writing such modern fixtures as the chapter format, source citations, and stricter rules of evidence. They collectively made a more successful attempt to place Friends within the context of a larger society. While obviously sympathetic to Quakerism, the tone of their work was more dispassionate and less hagiographic. In a measured way, they advanced the secularization of Quaker historiography. Nevertheless, they continued to present ideology as the animating, controlling force of early Quakers and as a group stressed the centrality of conflict in Quaker history during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁷

The wider academic establishment adopted the portrait of the embattled Friend in troubled times. Scholars who investigated events in which members of the Society played a part largely incorporated into their own work the heroic Quaker-figure promoted by specialists in Quaker studies. Thus in 1966 Kai T. Erikson, a sociologist, chose Puritan New England to examine deviant behavior. While Erikson focused on Puritans, Friends played a central role in his analysis. They were none other than the deviants of his study — courageous, ideologically driven outsiders battering against the legal foundation of Puritan theocracy in Massachusetts. A year later, in 1967, Arthur Zilversmit's fine book, *The First Emancipation: the Abolition of Slavery in the North*, again featured the by now familiar idealistic, driven Quaker as a key player in American reform politics into the nineteenth century. And in the following year, 1968, Peter Brock's massive survey of pacifism in the United States carried the archetype Quaker crusader into the twentieth century.⁸

In historical writing, few historical images have rivaled that of the Quaker. Few had been as carefully planted and as continuously cultivated and reinforced. Few had enjoyed such a stable reputation for so long a time. And few such images could claim a greater degree of support and a higher level of acceptance among Quaker specialists as well as

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their colleagues in the wider scholarly community. The Quaker had become the quintessential “outside agitator.” Nevertheless, even while the reputation of the Quaker as a champion of human rights was at its apogee in the 1960s, the secularization of Quaker historiography took another step in the writings of a rising group of young historians which included J. William Frost, Jack D. Marietta, Gary B. Nash, and Arthur J. Worrall. All of them took doctorates in history during the 1960s. Their dissertations were secular in tone and increasingly so in substance.⁹ Nash, in particular, sharply devalued Quaker ideology as an explicator of Friends’ behavior in his revised dissertation, *Quakers and Politics*, which appeared in 1968. Collectively, this scholarship — certainly among the best written about Friends — contributed to the secularist trend which has now, in another evolutionary development, spawned in the 1980s a budding neo-conservative school of colonial scholars who have followed the secularist impulse to the point of defusing the conflicts of American colonial society, negating or debasing Quaker ideology, and mainstreaming Friends into a homogenized majority white population.

Individually, few of these younger neo-consensus scholars are members of the Society of Friends or affiliated with Quaker institutions. Neither, as a whole, are they specialists in Quaker studies. Rather, their research contact with the Society resulted from their interest in matters in which Friends have been involved instead of a direct, primary concern with Quakers themselves. In their writing these neo-conservative historians display the beginning of virtuosity in their use of quantification and other social science methodologies either unavailable to their predecessors or little used by most of them. Collectively they prefer a cooler, more detached prose used analytically rather than as descriptive narrative; hence they tend to produce short, directly-to-the-point books and essays instead of lengthier presentations. Building on the scholarship which came to the fore during the preceding two decades, these secularizing scholars, who have yet to finish their work, nevertheless already have made a strong, strong case for a major reinterpretation of Quaker character, the role of Friends in colonial society, and the overall nature of that society itself. They have done so by accelerating the transformation of Friends from outsiders to insiders — that is, from people whose beliefs marked them as fundamentally different into people who happened to be peculiar in a few obvious but not really important respects. Cumulatively, the oeuvre of these neo-conservative secularists bids fair to displace and replace the traditional, orthodox

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portrait of early colonial Quakers. Before examining the possible consequences of “mainstreaming” the Society of Friends and its members, it is appropriate first to examine the work of three of the ablest mainstreamers whose work surveys Quakers during the colonial period in New England, the Middle Colonies, and the South.

The Work of Jonathan M. Chu

In two articles as well as in a lean, taut monograph which appeared in 1985, Jonathan M. Chu — an historian at the Boston campus of the University of Massachusetts — has presented us with a de-ideologized Bay Colony composed of generally pragmatic, practical people who are certainly a far cry from the savagely intolerant Puritans of old.¹⁰ Towards Quakers, who necessarily play a central role in his analysis, Chu skilfully employs what might be called a divide-and-conquer strategy which effectively reduces Friends to clones of their bland, unideological Puritan neighbors.

The first critical division Chu makes is sharply to differentiate visiting Public Friends from resident Quakers. Only Public Friends bear any resemblance to Quaker heroes of earlier literature. However, they are not heroes to Chu. He briskly dismisses them while denigrating their importance. Specifically, Chu denies that these wandering proselytes were in any way responsible for the eventual reform and liberalization of Puritanism in Massachusetts Bay Colony. The movement from intolerance to tolerance in the Bay Colony, he insists, had nothing to do with “the early religious martyrs.”¹¹ Their sacrifice meant nothing. Instead he credits resident Quaker moderates connected to their Puritan neighbors by commerce and marriage as being effective agents of change. The minimalization of radicals and the promotion of a tradition of conservative reform within a basically homogeneous white society in North America is a hallmark of conservative scholarship.

The second critical distinction upon which Chu insists is a divorce between Quaker beliefs and Quaker behavior. As part of his overall aim of de-ideologizing the Bay Colony and presenting it as a mild habitat of reasonable people, Chu assigns scant value to the beliefs of either Friends or the Puritan majority. Friends, he says, were “heterodox in belief and peaceful in demeanor,” so their beliefs had little effect on their relations with others.¹² Puritans likewise were only too willing to accommodate ideologically. According to Chu, they “recognized domestic tranquility as more important than orthodoxy, social practicalities more

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weighty than religious conformity.”¹³ Hence they consistently chose “to sacrifice religious conformity for other social ends.”¹⁴ Chu thus has peopled the Bay Colony with Puritans and Quakers of a new type — non-sectarian sectarians. As we shall see, this was a prolific breed not confined to Massachusetts.

In his introduction to Chu’s book, Henry W. Bowden explains that the relationship Chu posits between sober, reasonable Quakers and their equally sober, reasonable neighbors “helps us to understand the beginnings of religious freedom in America.” The acceptance of Quakers in the Bay Colony, he says, “laid the foundation of religious pluralism along the whole Atlantic seaboard.”¹⁵ This view of the history of Puritans and Quakers as a beginning of an American tradition of toleration may jar those more accustomed to understanding Puritan behavior as one of the taproots of white American ethnocentricity, nativism, slavery, militarism, and genocide.¹⁶

The Work of David W. Jordan

What Jonathan Chu does for Massachusetts Bay Colony and, by implication, also for New England, David W. Jordan does for Maryland and, by extension, for other Southern colonies. Like Chu, Jordan’s primary interest is not the Society of Friends and its members. Rather it is Maryland itself, particularly early, seventeenth century Maryland about which he has published during this decade several articles and one book.¹⁷ These works combine to give readers a highly detailed portrait of Jordan’s Maryland, which is largely without blacks or slavery, without Native Americans, without women, and without classes or class conflict. Instead, Jordan has described a mostly harmonious society of adult, white males indulging in their favorite pastime — politics. But, as was also the case in Chu’s presentation of politics in Massachusetts, politics in Maryland are politics without ideology. Only occasionally do spats disrupt the ordinarily untroubled world in Maryland, and then their cause or causes are obscure. This “new” history thus has many of the trappings and shares many of the perspectives of traditional consensus history.

Jordan’s Maryland, like Chu’s Massachusetts, is a place of toleration and appeal. During its early years, Jordan informs us, the colony was a place of “widesweeping toleration” where Catholics and Protestants of all sorts and sects lived “peaceably together in a small area, working side by side as planters and agricultural laborers, intermarrying and inter-

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acting socially, and, even more significantly, serving together as voters, jurymen, and officeholders on all levels of government.”¹⁸

Quakers were an accepted, respected part of this bucolic society. Indeed, Jordan criticizes earlier descriptions of Friends as “strange isolates who withdrew or were excluded from active participation in politics[.]”¹⁹ This “traditional picture,” he believes, is “seriously distorted.”²⁰ Instead, Jordan argues, Quakers were “full and rightful participants in the life of the colony rather than disruptive intruders[.]”²¹ Economically he has found that Friends were “generally solid, prosperous planters and merchants who enjoyed favorable reputations[.]”²² Politically he maintains that Quakers

became integrally involved in struggles to create viable political institutions; they worked assiduously to fashion a polity that could accommodate an increasingly heterogeneous society in a peaceful and reasonably tolerant manner. As freeholders and as occupants of numerous elected and appointed positions of civil trust, Friends contributed substantially to the early evolution of county and provincial government in Maryland.²³

Thus does Jordan, like Chu, transform Quakers from deeply ideological outsiders into hard working, de-ideologized insiders.²⁴ The current attempt to reconceptualize seventeenth-century Massachusetts and Maryland along neo-conservative, consensus lines has resulted in — and probably required — “mainstreaming” the Society of Friends and its members. There can be little room for dissidents in a homogenized society.

The Work of Jean R. Soderlund

Jean R. Soderlund, the last historian under consideration, carries secular mainstreaming straight to the historic capital of colonial Quakerdom, Pennsylvania. She also carries the neo-consensus impulse out of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century and beyond. This is not the only detail that distinguishes her from her neo-conservative colleagues, professors Chu and Jordan, for unlike them she has something of a direct interest in the Society of Friends. Until recently, when she joined the history department of the University of Maryland/Baltimore County, Soderlund worked for the larger part of a decade as an archivist at Swarthmore College where she curated the world-class Peace Collection that is housed there. Her scholarship to date has been focused almost entirely on Pennsylvania, and her most important

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single work is centered directly on Quakers and their Society.²⁵

Other particulars worth noting also distinguish her work from that of Chu and Jordan. For instance, she uses social science techniques such as quantification to a much greater extent than either of her colleagues. Her principal work, *Quakers & Slavery*, a revised dissertation published in 1985, is less than two hundred pages in length but is packed with an impressive assortment of nearly fifty useful charts, graphs, tables, compilations, and maps. More importantly, unlike Chu and Jordan, Soderlund is willing, if only in passing, to admit that Quaker ideology actually had something to do with being a Quaker, and that Friends and their Society were in some measure unique in early North American society. Hence she can briefly acknowledge that “eighteenth-century Friends were indeed a ‘peculiar people’ because their drive to eradicate slavery among themselves was a success” and that “Quaker beliefs...provided the basis for antislavery thought.”²⁶ But these brief asides do not keep Soderlund from the main business of *Quakers & Slavery* which is in fact to deny Friends any substantial uniqueness and to impugn their accomplishments in anti-slavery reform and race relations.

Soderlund joins Chu and Jordan in attempting to mainstream Quakers by arguing that Friends basically were like other white people. She even uses the word “mainstream” in her emphatic rejection of the notion that Quaker ideology made Friends “an extraordinary group, cut off from mainstream colonial society[.]”²⁷ Rather, it is Soderlund’s contention that Quakers, and presumably everyone else, were “Economic People” — that is, people whose behavior and even ideas were largely determined by economic considerations. Thus Friends bought into slavery when it was profitable and abandoned it when it ceased to be. Their moral and humanitarian concerns shifted accordingly. For Soderlund, marketplace economics and pocketbook finances shaped Quaker ideology and largely determined Quaker behavior in Pennsylvania. This materialist analysis radically diminishes the historical force and value of ideas and beliefs as well as reducing quite considerably the stature and character of ancient Quakers, to say nothing of humanity in general. As went the marketplace, Soderlund argues, so went Friends — and so go we all.²⁸

A second way by which Soderlund diminishes Quakers and their ideology is to attack Friends in one area where traditionally they have been credited with major accomplishments — abolitionism and race relations. But Soderlund reconfigures these accomplishments into an

anti-monument. She reminds us, for instance, that many Friends were racist and anti-black even as they were against slavery. "The primary concern of those general reformers," she writes, "was not justice for enslaved blacks. Rather they believed that slavery — and perhaps the slaves themselves — polluted their religion and Delaware society as a whole."²⁹ She reminds us further that few blacks joined or were welcomed into the Society, and that Friends treated even those blacks whom they manumitted in a condescending, paternalistic manner.³⁰ She suggests that a major purpose many Friends had in financially assisting such blacks was not so much to help them as "to insure that the ex-slave would give outsiders no reason to criticize Friends."³¹ The Quaker commitment to justice and to help others is thus reduced to a pathetic, disgusting display of collective vanity and shallowness. In fact, according to Soderlund Friends contributed nothing positive to the American anti-slavery movement or to the growth of freedom on this continent. Their contributions, such as they were, were wholly negative — in her words, "gradualist, segregationist, and paternalistic" — and hence Soderlund comes close to suggesting that it would have been better for the development of liberty in North America if Quakers had done nothing at all, or had not existed. In the last sentence of her book about Quaker abolitionism, Soderlund points to the crippling, poisonous effects of the Quaker model and legacy on the freedom struggle. "Under their [Quaker] influence," she concludes, "the white abolitionist movement continued forward into American history the gradualist, segregationist, and paternalistic policies developed for almost a century within the Society of Friends."³²

The complimentary reviews that greeted the appearance of Soderlund's book have catalogued its many fine qualities, including its laudable attempt throughout to quantify and to be exact. But this methodology, useful though it is, can damage the very analysis it is intended to improve by inclining all of us towards addressing problems and using data that are susceptible to quantification — and to shy away from those that are not. Since beliefs and ideology are notoriously resistant to approximate measurement, let alone exact calibration, they are given short shrift by Soderlund in favor of more easily managed economic and administrative data. However, the Society of Friends was, among other things, a kind of hothouse that nourished an ideological culture with a strong humanistic flavor. The fact that this culture remains difficult to quantify should not lead us to underestimate or to

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dismiss its qualitative importance.

As for the charge that ancient Friends and their Society were gradualist, segregationist, and paternalistic, most students of reform and revolution understand that social change typically occurs with frustrating slowness that sorely tests the patience and commitment of those who promote it. Would that it were otherwise. Moreover, even when change does occur, often its path is not steadily in one direction but is rather in a back-and-forth pattern wherein an advance of two steps may be followed by a retreat of one — or several. The countervailing movement in the United States from the explosive 1960s to the strong conservatism of the 1980s offers a recent example of this see-saw phenomenon. So do events in China, Poland, and the Soviet Union. Such irregularity is also frustrating to those who struggle for a better world, and is sometimes confusing to scholars trying hard to understand the struggle. Nevertheless, we cannot expect that colonial Friends and their Society miraculously should have risen completely and totally above and beyond the historical tides of their time and become instant, one hundred percent egalitarians without a trace of racism or a scintilla of sexism. Nor can we fairly condemn them for not having accomplished this miraculous feat. Instead, we should recognize that although Friends were gradualists, they were moving faster than anybody else — and in the right direction; that while they were racists, they were also leaders in the evolving struggle against racism; that if they were sexist, the Society of Friends was nonetheless in the forefront of redefining gender relations; and that if they showed themselves to be paternalistic and culture-bound, their intention was honestly to help and to improve the world in which they and others lived.³³ In sum, although we should never forget that ancient Friends were not perfect, we should likewise remember that for all their flaws and shortcomings, they numbered among the best of their time and place. The list of groups who did more is short indeed. Accordingly, with respect to assessing Quakers or others, traditional comparative analysis might prove a useful yardstick by which to measure the claims of single-subject quantification.

Conclusion

The classic neo-conservative approach to dealing with those who just can't be fitted into the consensus model — whether blacks, political radicals, women, lesbians and homosexuals, Native Americans, or the working class, to name prominent examples — is to omit, deny, or minimize their existence, which is the tendency of Chu and Jordan, or to

discredit them in some fashion á la Soderlund. Nevertheless, these neo-conservative mainstreamers are clearly the current playmakers of Quaker studies about early North America, and they have established a fast game. Their work is muscular and formidable in conception, in research, and in presentation. It has been very well received by their peers. The forcefulness of their historical argument derives in some measure from the strength of its political subtext. Theirs is work that sends messages at several levels, all of which deserve our attention. We may expect to hear more from them in the future since they are relatively young and comfortably placed professionally. If anything, in fact, we must assume as they mature as scholars and acquire an even firmer grasp of their sources and subjects that their work will become even better than it already is. But even as matters stand, their challenge is most certainly significant. The issues at stake are not exotic or obscure or minute, but large and fundamental — who Friends were, what they were about, the nature of their relationship with others, and the character of colonial society itself.

Those who care about the future of Quaker studies will be interested in the continuing dialogue about the Quaker past for this reason among others: because groups that become “mainstreamed” tend to disappear into the mainstream; for many, the ultimate result of assimilation is extinction. This is a particular hazard for smallish groups. A group as quantitatively small as the Society of Friends will be in danger of vanishing altogether if it is much diminished qualitatively. Indeed, neo-conservative scholarship has already moved Quaker studies in early North America far in this direction. If neo-consensus scholars are successful in trivializing the achievements and accomplishments of Friends during the earliest period, then the way would be clear to continue the same process with subsequent generations of Friends. “Mainstreaming” Quakers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would naturally invite neo-conservative attempts to mainstream Friends in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well. The entire Quaker legacy could soon stand at risk.

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¹ Charles Reagan Wilson, ed., *Religion in the South* (Jackson, Miss.: University of Mississippi Press, 1985), 158; Samuel S. Hill, ed., *Varieties of Southern Religious Experience* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 63-68; John B. Boles, ed., *Masters & Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1988); Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 327-29.

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 10. Said's exposé of the role and influence of cultural subjectivity in historical scholarship has produced its own discourse; see, for example, Bernard Lewis, "The Question of Orientalism," *New York Review of Books*, 24 June 1982, 49-56, and "Orientalism: An Exchange," *New York Review of Books*, 12 August 1982, 44-48. Many of the issues aired in the discourse about Orientalism have found their way into the current debate over curriculum reform in higher education, especially the argument about whether western civilization course requirements should be reformulated as world civilization courses. For more about this, see Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: Education and the Crisis of Reason* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987) and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "The Opening of the American Mind," *New York Times Book Review*, 23 July 1989, 26-27.

³ Actually the historical profession in the United States is in a very interesting and possibly unique phase which features evident political polarity. While many younger historians have completed their entire collegiate careers since the beginning of the current conservative political reign in 1968 and have been influenced accordingly, many somewhat older scholars who had their perspectives formed by the liberal/left politics of the 1960s have laid down a solid trail of work and are now a force in the profession. For a recent acknowledgement of the latter's influence, see, for example, Michael Kazin, "The New Historians Recapture the Flag," *New York Times Book Review*, 2 July 1989, 19, 21.

⁴ Increase Mather, *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Provinces* (Boston, 1684); Cotton Mather, *Memorial Providences Relating to Witchcraft* (Boston, 1689) and *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Boston, 1702).

⁵ Arthur J. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1980), 43-44.

⁶ James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, 2 vols. (London: C. Gilpin, 1850-54; reprint, 2-vols.-in-1, New York: Arno Press, 1972).

⁷ For the earlier group, see Howard Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years: The History and Beliefs of the Society of Friends Since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (New York: Harper, 1952); William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginning of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan, 1912); Rufus M. Jones, Isaac Sharpless, and Amelia M. Gummere, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 1911); Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York: Macmillan, 1943).

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Some members of the earlier group such as Brinton and Russell had graduate school training but not in history. One member, Stephen B. Weeks (1865–1918), did earn a doctorate in history; his major work, still valuable and broader than its title suggests, is *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1896).

For the latter group, see Edwin Bronner, *William Penn's Holy Experiment: The Founding of Pennsylvania* (New York: Temple University Publications, 1962), and Frederick Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948) and *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York: Macmillan, 1960). Although he took his doctorate in religion rather than in history, Hugh Barbour (b.1921) belongs with this group; see his *The Quakers in Puritan England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964) and (with J. William Frost) *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988). All of these men are members of the Society of Friends and have spent the majority of their careers at Quaker institutions.

⁸ Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: Wiley, 1966); Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States from the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

⁹ J. William Frost (b. 1940; doctorate, 1968), *The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait of the Society of Friends* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973); Jack D. Marietta (b. 1941; doctorate, 1968), *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); Gary B. Nash (b. 1933; doctorate, 1964), *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681–1726* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968); and Arthur J. Worrall (b. 1933; doctorate, 1969), *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1980). The forerunner of this group was Sydney V. James (b. 1929; doctorate, 1958), *A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

¹⁰ Jonathan M. Chu, "The Social and Political Contexts of Heterodoxy: Quakers in Seventeenth-Century Kittery," *New England Quarterly*, LIV (1981) 3, 365–84; "The Social Context of Religious Heterodoxy: The Challenge of Seventeenth-Century Quakerism to Orthodoxy in Massachusetts," *Essex Institute Historical Collections CXVIII* (1982) 2, 119–43; *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen: The Puritan Adjustment to Quakerism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Bay* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985).

¹¹ Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, 117.

¹² *Ibid.*, 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, x. This quotation is from the foreword to Chu's book by Henry W.

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Bowden who in the same passage emphasizes how important it is "to see how this study stresses the value of practical exigencies over principle."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁶ Targets of Chu's revisionism include Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*. However, for a recent essay that supports Erikson by underscoring the traditional ideological clash between Puritans and Quakers, see Carla Gardina Pestana, "The City Upon A Hill Under Siege: The Puritan Perception of the Quaker Threat to Massachusetts Bay, 1656-1661," *New England Quarterly*, 56 (1983) 3, 323-53. In 1982 the Colonial Society of Massachusetts awarded this essay the Walter Muir Whitehill Prize in Colonial History. Pestana recently completed a dissertation, "Sectarianism in Colonial Massachusetts" (U.C.L.A., 1987) which likewise stresses the differences and tensions between Quakers and Puritans.

¹⁷ " 'God's Candle' Within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1982, reprinted in *The Southern Friend*, VIII (1986) 27-58 (all following citations will source the latter appearance); "Elections and Voting in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 77 (1982) 238-65; "The Miracle of This Age': Maryland's Experiment in Religious Toleration, 1649-1689," *The Historian*, XLVII (1985) 338-59; *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632-1715*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Jordan earlier co-authored a book with Lois Green Carr, *Maryland's Revolution in Government, 1689-1692* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974). Jordan appears in his scholarship to be advancing steadily in time through the colonial period toward the War for Independence. He has indicated in the work cited above that the toleration of Friends characteristic of seventeenth century Maryland did not last. We may anticipate that his future work will document this change.

¹⁸ Jordan, "The Miracle of This Age," 339.

¹⁹ Jordan, "'God's Candle Within Government,'" 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

²² *Ibid.*, 31.

²³ *Ibid.*, 27-28. According to Jordan (28), even when they later ceased to hold office Quakers "still continued to exercise extraordinary political influence[.]"

²⁴ Jordan is attempting a substantive revision of the work of the leading scholar of southern Quakerism, Kenneth L. Carroll, whose work includes *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970); *Three Hundred Years and More of Third Haven Quakerism* (Easton, Md.: Queen Anne Press, 1984); "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (1950) 215-25; "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Cen-

tury," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (1952) 297–313; "Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland," *Quaker History*, LII (1964) 68–80; "Quakerism on the Eastern Shore of Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXX (1966), 170–89, and much, much more.

²⁵ Jean R. Soderlund, "Black Women in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 107 (1983) 49–68; "Women's Authority in Pennsylvania and New Jersey Quaker Meetings, 1680–1760," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., XLIV (1987) 722–749; *Quakers & Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). Soderlund co-edited with Richard S. Dunn *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680–1684* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1983).

²⁶ Soderlund, *Quakers & Slavery*, 12, 173.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4–5.

²⁸ "Economic People" is my term, not Soderlund's. However, the primacy of economics over ideology infuses *Quakers & Slavery* throughout. In this particular, she borrows from a methodology most readily associated with leftist scholarship. Materialist analysis using the base/superstructure model has been deservedly influential in recent historical writing. It emphasizes the power of economics in shaping cultural expressions, including ideology and religion. However, some writers have begun to question the dominance of economics over all else in every situation, suggesting that this approach can be used dogmatically in an overly reductionistic manner. In particular, they argue that ideology has been unfairly diminished by being consigned exclusively to the superstructure sphere. While they are not in general suggesting an abandonment of the base/superstructure model, they do suggest a more flexible, less rigid dialectical approach to it. See, for example, Louis Althusser, *For Marx*, translated by Ben Brewster (London: Vintage, 1969); Louis Althusser and Etienne Balibar, *Reading Capital*, translated by Ben Brewster (New York: Pantheon, 1971); Louis Althusser, *Politics and History: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel and Marx*, translated by Ben Brewster (London: NLB, 1972). For explications of Althusser's arguments concerning Marxism, see Jacques Ranciere, *La Leçon d'Althusser* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974) and Steven B. Smith, *Reading Althusser: An Essay in Structural Marxism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984). Matters discussed in the foregoing are continued in Helmut Fleischer, *Marxism and History*, translated by Eric Mosbacher (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); David-Hillel Ruben, *Marxism and Materialism: A Study in Marxist Theory* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1977); Gregor McLennan, *Marxism and the Methodologies of History* (London: Verso; NY: Distr. by Schocken, 1981); Alfred Schmidt, *History and Structure: An Essay on Hegelian-Marxist and Structuralist Theories of History*, translated by Jeffrey Herf (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); Jorge Larrain, *Marxism and Ideology* (London: Macmillan, 1983); Paul Q. Hirst, *Marxism and Historical Writing* (London: Routledge, Kegan, Paul, 1985); and Stephen Henry Rigby, *Marxism and History:*

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A Critical Introduction (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1987).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 174.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 184–85.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 186.

³² *Ibid.*, 187. Some ultra-liberal and Leftist critiques also, of course, stress what they identify as the limited, conservative nature of reform and change in North America. However, authors of such work usually clearly reveal their stance. In the absence of such information, any serious, sustained criticism of classic “do-gooders” like Quakers is liable to be understood by most readers, especially in these times, as being a conservative critique.

³³ See Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast*, 180–85, for a more balanced assessment of colonial Friends.

Quaker Historiography Revisited: Another Look At Early American Quaker Studies

by

Steven Jay White

Nearly three years ago at Pickering College in New Market, Ontario, Canada, Howard Beeth delivered a paper entitled "Quaker Historiography Enters Stage Three." In both the paper and subsequent article Dr. Beeth sounded an alarm that "neo-conservatives/neo-consensus historians" were killing Quaker history. Indeed their efforts were said to endanger the entire Quaker legacy. To quote Professor Beeth, "There is a current effort to marginalize Quakers and their Society."¹ He fears that "this tendency to reduce Friends is extreme, so much so that were it a degree or two more complete, Quakers would be 'disappeared' altogether from the historical record." According to Howard Beeth these young Turks, whose work is "muscular and formidable in conception" are hard at work attempting to "omit, deny...minimize [,]...discredit" and trivialize the Quakers of early America.² Their work, according to Dr. Beeth, accounts for the fact that Quakers are often underrepresented in general works about the history of early America.

This is a mistaken notion. There is no current effort to marginalize the place of Quakers within American society. There is no conspiracy. In fact the variety and depth shown by the scholarship of the last decade about early American Friends has strengthened rather than weakened Quaker studies. My thesis is that not only are these new historians not a threat to Quaker history and the Quaker legacy, but that they are actually one of the great strengths of Quaker studies. Their "muscles"

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will help carry Quaker history and Quakerism well into the twenty-first century.

I do agree, however, that in the *past* Quaker history has been shamefully left out of general treatments dealing with the colonial period. But what has helped delegate Quakerism to the status of historical footnote in the mainstream of early American history? It is certainly not the fault of the "revisionists" whom Professor Beeth attacks. "Revisionist" is a much more accurate description for these new historians than "neo-conservative." To link these revisionists to the historical neo-conservative movement of the past is both misleading and damaging to any historical discussion. Thus for the sake of argument, I will divide the two camps into traditionalists (such as Rufus Jones, Frederick Tolles, and Howard Beeth), and revisionists (such as David Jordan, Jonathan Chu, and Jean Soderlund).

Although I have already expressed my disagreement with the traditionalists, I do not disagree with them entirely. I agree, yes, there *has* been a tendency for Quakers to be underrepresented in histories of early America. But I think that this is more the fault of traditionalists, like Beeth, who help perpetuate a whole set of myths about the Society of Friends in early America which obscure the real contributions of Quakers to the intellectual and cultural heritage of America.³

What are these myths? What are of the foundations of the traditionalist point of view which finds the varied opinions of the revisionists so threatening? They may be broken down into two major groups. One group of ideas may be called the "Legend of the Good Quaker," while the other revolves around the "ideal of unity."⁴

First the legend of the "Good Quaker." The French have always admired the Society of Friends. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they heaped extravagant praise upon Quakers. They helped create the legend of the "Good Quaker." Voltaire wrote that "William Penn might glory in having brought down upon the earth the so much boasted golden age, which in all probability never existed but in Pennsylvania."⁵ One need only read the papers of William Penn to discover what he would have felt about this particular statement. Early Pennsylvanians were human beings, not angels. And Penn knew it, even if Voltaire did not.

The French were so enamored with Friends that they believed that the Quakers, at least in Pennsylvania, had achieved the perfect natural

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society. They felt that the Friends, alone among their contemporaries, closely fit Jean Jacques Rousseau's ideal of the perfect natural man. The French also thought Benjamin Franklin was a Quaker.

Ancestor worship and the writings of well-meaning traditionalists, who rightfully take great pride in being Quakers, have perpetuated the image of the early American Quaker as a larger than life figure, Quaker saints and heroes who could do no wrong.⁶ This legend survives to this day in romanticized portraits taken from traditional works.⁷

Daisy Newman in *A Procession of Friends* wrote how the legend of the "Good Quaker" caused many Friends to suffer during World War II. She wrote that:

During the 1940s, the popular image of the Quaker — that quaint, anachronistic figure on the cereal box, that quixotic anomaly, who mops up the world after others have destroyed it — suddenly altered. In the minds of certain people, whose extravagant, sentimental praise had up to that time been embarrassing, the Quaker became overnight a coward and a threat to national security.⁸

Friends suffered because the legend of the "Good Quaker" made Friends no longer human, and gave shoes of angelic proportion for them to fill. The traditionalist historians helped perpetuate this legend.

Professor Beeth, in his own way, also perpetuates the legend of the "Good Quaker" by promoting a highly romantic image for early American Friends. He sees the seventeenth and eighteenth-century members of the Society of Friends as "archetype Quaker crusaders" who were the "quintessential outside agitators." The role of "outside agitator" has always been central to Dr. Beeth's understanding of early American Quakerism. His overromanticism of early Friends, however, stifles other points of view. Even though Howard Beeth, himself, says that we must not exaggerate the character and accomplishments of early members of the Society of Friends in America, his views do create an image of a sort of "super-Quaker" in one's mind.⁹ Dr. Beeth's work summons up a super-hero dressed in the somber colors of gray and black with a large white "Q" emblazoned upon his chest. Broad-brimmed hats optional.

But to be serious and to be fair, to an extent Professor Beeth is correct: Quakers were different and functioned as outside dissenters who were different from the mainstream in early America. But this was only one of their roles. The revisionists are exploring other facets of the early

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American Quaker experience that do not fit into the legend of the "Good Quaker." Friends in early America were a complex group whose vast array of functions and roles in colonial society cannot be easily pigeonholed.

Another idea which traditionalists have long supported is that there was total unity not only within the early American Quaker community but within the entire transatlantic Quaker community as well. This developed into the "ideal of unity" and the search for it has dominated Quaker studies and Quakerism itself since the days of George Fox. Traditional historians of early Quakerism see such things as public Friends, epistles, and Quaker publications as greater unifying forces than they actually were.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, many who write about this great unity are themselves Quakers. It is the "ideal of unity" which some revisionists are attacking. Unity lies at the heart of Quakerism and it is not surprising that some traditionalists would find this alarming. But the insistence that unity exists in Quakerism (even when it did not) can have grave consequences for members of the Society of Friends. To deny that conflicts exist only allows these conflicts to fester until they explode. The Hicksite-Orthodox split of 1827 is an excellent example. Open discussion would have benefited Quakers more than a false sense of unity. Margaret Bacon in *The Quiet Rebels* hit upon the emphasis on unity as one of the key elements to the understanding of Quaker history. She wrote: "Quakers were taught to conform to their family and their Society, though they were nonconformists to the outside world. Quakers have always believed that the best way to resolve a conflict is to bring it out into the open and find a creative solution. Like other people, however, they sometimes short cut this process by simply pretending that the conflict doesn't exist....Some Quaker psychologists have noted a tendency among Friends to refuse to face their own anger, or to turn it inward."¹¹

These two beliefs are strong in those who represent the traditionalist point of view. For someone to question these icons would produce a strong response from the traditionalists and Professor Beeth has written it. Now that we have examined the major tenets of the traditionalist point of view, let us turn to the work of the three revisionists attacked in Dr. Beeth's paper.

These revisionists have collectively exposed several of the inherent weaknesses in the traditionalist approach as represented by Professor Beeth. As stated earlier, the three young upstarts who are condemned

most soundly are Jonathan Chu, David Jordan, and Jean Soderlund, although Jack Marietta, Jerry Frost, and Gary Nash do not escape complicity. Due to the emphasis of Dr. Beeth's remarks, however, my comments will be limited to the former rather than the latter.¹²

Jonathan Chu, author of *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen: The Puritan Adjustment to Quakerism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Bay*, is Dr. Beeth's first target. Chu is attacked as one who "effectively reduces Friends to clones of their bland, unideological Puritan neighbors."¹³ But his real sin in the eyes of most traditionalists, is that he has had something good to say about the Puritans. The Puritans were not paragons of virtue, but neither were they, as Dr. Beeth puts it, major "taproots of white American ethnocentricity, nativism, slavery, militarism, and genocide."¹⁴ That responsibility must be widely shared in American history. The Puritans were not the focus of evil in the early modern world. They were not an evil empire. They were far from perfect, and I believe that they *have* been praised too warmly in the past few decades, but all the evils of mankind cannot be laid at their feet. It is too easy, too simple to paint the Quakers as always the "Children of Light" and the Puritans as always the "Forces of Darkness." It is hard to fit Darth Vader's helmet on John Winthrop.¹⁵ Chu is criticized for presenting Puritans that were human rather than the old stereotypical "savagely intolerant Puritans of old."¹⁶

Chu makes the relationship between Quaker and Puritan more complicated than the traditionalists would have us believe it was. Quakers were not perfect and Puritans were not devils. Professor Chu makes it clear that his book is not "intended as an excuse or apology for the treatment of Friends in seventeenth-century Massachusetts. Rather, it is an attempt to establish that the response of the Puritans was more than a single persecuting reflex of the narrow-minded, bigoted populace." Professor Chu writes that Puritans acted out of deep fears rather than pure mean-spiritedness when they brutally punished Quakers. According to Chu: "What made Quakerism in Massachusetts vulnerable to punishment was that the early disruptive nature of the visiting Quakers gave credence to the assumption that heterodoxy was inimical to public peace."¹⁷

Indeed, how would we act today if stark naked dissenters entered our Sunday worship, as seventeenth-century Quakers did, to show us the bankruptcy of our beliefs?¹⁸ Professor Chu skilfully shows that in drawing the conclusion that Quakers were dangerous, the inhabitants

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of New England were in many ways no different from those of old England. He tries to understand why the Puritans acted this way toward Quakers. He does not try to “minimize” the existence of the Quakers, he simply is trying to do what every good historian is supposed to do — examine all points of view in an historical dispute and leave as many of his own prejudices as he can at the door. He works hard to go beyond easy generalizations that have become sacred icons.

Chu further writes, “Moreover, there was some truth to the charges from the colony’s point of view. Quakers from abroad said they intended to level all the distinctions of social hierarchy in Massachusetts.” These public Friends were “aggressive, abrasive, and most insistent that all men follow their lead.”¹⁹ It is here that Professor Chu attacks both of the great myths of the traditionalists. Chu’s body of work clearly points out that different regions of New England reacted differently to different kinds of Quakers. Traditionalists would have us believe that there were no differences among Quakers worldwide.²⁰ Dr. Chu attacks the “ideal of unity.”

Professor Chu illustrates that differences did exist between English public Friends and those Quakers who resided in the New England area year around. He clearly shows that the Quakers of Kittery were “a special brand of Quaker” who “were not given to the kinds of demonstrations of faith that had caused widespread opposition in the seventeenth-century Anglo-American society.” Here Dr. Chu attacks the other great myth — the “Legend of the Good Quaker.” His Quakers were not all heroes; they were just human. New England Quakers were influenced by the fact that they lived in New England in close proximity to a powerful Puritan establishment.²¹ Chu’s conclusion hints that the makeup of the transatlantic Quaker community was more complex than traditionalists have written. Chu writes, “If the movement included the obviously seditious and disorderly, it also encompassed persons of long residence who were reasonably well behaved.”²²

At first the magistrates of Massachusetts made the same mistake that traditionalists still do today — they assumed that all Quakers everywhere were alike. Not so! There was a New England Quakerism which was different from the Quakerism being taught by the English public Friends. Indeed there was also a Delaware Valley Quakerism, a North Carolina Quakerism, and London Quakerism.²³ Old World Friends did not have to deal with an all powerful Puritan church. New England Quakers did, and had eventually to adjust their actions to survive.

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Thankfully for all, the Puritans, according to Professor Chu, also adjusted their actions and became, in time, more tolerant. Even Cotton Mather, the great Quaker-hater, called for reconciliation between Puritan and Quaker in his twilight years.²⁴

Chu simply states that in this particular case the Puritans were not totally evil and the Quakers were not totally pure. It is not Jonathan Chu who is guilty of trivializing Quakers but the traditionalists. When traditionalists deny that Quakers had any effect on the world (in this case the Puritans), they are guilty of trivializing the idealism born of truth that is early Quakerism. Traditionalists undermine the very fortitude, courage, and character and faith that made early Quakerism what it was.

While Professor Beeth accuses Jonathan Chu of smearing the name of New England Friends, **David Jordan** is the assigned villain for the southern colonies. Jordan, who wrote the outstanding article "God's Candle Within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland," is an unlikely heavy. His article not only does not denigrate the place of Friends in early Maryland, but indeed honors them by calling them "God's Candle within Government." Quakers were the honest brokers who made sure that the Maryland provincial government was honest and fair. They were a part of their society and contributed to it. They were the conscience of the government.²⁵

Nevertheless Dr. Jordan is attacked for leaving the subjects of blacks and slavery, native Americans, and women out of his works. Professor Beeth, once again, attempts to denigrate and trivialize the influence of Quakers on the province in which they lived. He ignores the fact that the simple presence of Quakers in Maryland helped to make it a place of toleration and appeal.

Dr. Jordan then attacks both the "ideal of unity" and "legend of the Good Quaker" at the same time. He criticizes traditionalist descriptions of "Quakers...as strange isolates who withdrew or were excluded from active participation in politics" as inaccurate. He further relates that "they usually appear as anomalies, only footnotes to the real political history of the colonies." With this statement he earns the wrath of Dr. Beeth. Jordan believes that the traditional picture of the isolated Quaker is seriously distorted. Quakers were influenced by where they lived and were after all members of colonial society in Maryland, whether they liked it or not.²⁶

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Dr. Jordan believes that Maryland, far from being the "homogenized society" that Professor Beeth accuses him of writing about, was an heterogeneous society in which the Quakers of Maryland were forced to adjust to or disappear.²⁷ Jordan does not attempt to enforce a model of consensus upon colonial Maryland. What he does try to do is to show that the Quakers of that colony were agents of good who helped make Maryland one of the better colonies in which to live. "The prosperity, stability, and moral example of Quakers contributed to their political and social importance, for Maryland colonists were still [in the late seventeenth century] overwhelmingly poor, ill-educated and often illiterate, undisciplined, generally ill-fitted, in contemporary eyes, for political responsibility."

Jordan presents the Quakers as role models which the rest of the colonists followed. Their fellow colonists saw Friends as "unusually high-minded and honest" members of their society who "helped stimulate a more open discussion of governmental proceedings and to involve colonists more extensively in the affairs of the legislature."²⁸ Far from minimizing the role of Quakers in early America, Jordan's works build a robust and healthy image of a people determined to make the place in which they lived a better place.

Finally it is the work of **Jean Soderlund** that is pummeled in Professor Beeth's final critique of his "neo-neo-conservatives." Dr. Soderlund's book *Quakers and Slavery* is attacked for diminishing the traditionalist image of the "Good Quaker." Beeth insists that "the main business of *Quakers and Slavery*...is to deny Friends any substantial uniqueness and to impugn their accomplishments in antislavery reform and race relations."²⁹ Nothing could be further from the truth. Professor Soderlund simply wants to cut through all the mythology that encircles Quakers and slavery to find the truth.

Professor Soderlund's work states very simply that Quakers were not perfect when it came to opposing slavery. She also proves rather convincingly that the "ideal of unity" (at least over slavery) was one of the biggest of myths about Pennsylvania Quakerism. The subtitle of her book is, after all, "A Divided Spirit." Soderlund, to Beeth's horror, dares suggest that some of the Quakers were motivated by economic self interest. But are not we all motivated by both ideology and self interest? Why should Quakers be above human frailty?³⁰

Soderlund's book makes important contributions to our understand-

ing of Quakers, slavery, and motivation of reformers, but it does leave room for misinterpretation. It would appear that it is this misinterpretation that most worries Howard Beeth. For example, Seymour Drescher of the University of Pittsburgh was so influenced by *Quakers and Slavery* that in a 1987 presentation on “the most successful civil rights movement in history” — the black emancipation movement in nineteenth-century Britain — he failed to mention Quakers once in an hour presentation. When asked why, Professor Drescher declared that after having read Professor Soderlund’s book, he was not so sure that the reputation of Quakers as abolitionists was deserved.³¹

But Dr. Soderlund should not be attacked, for this was Drescher’s fault; his ignorance of Quakers caused him to misinterpret the thesis of *Quakers and Slavery*. Rather than deny all credit to Friends, Soderlund’s thesis is that the Quaker stance toward slavery was complex and the simplistic image of the legendary “Good Quaker” could not in good conscience still be used in an historical examination.³²

In 1972, Daisy Newman in *A Procession of Friends* asked some of the same questions that the revisionists are just now attempting to answer. She saw that it was wrong to make superheroes of historical Quakers. She knew that the history of the Society of Friends is a series of “baffling contradictions.” She asked:

Why were eighteenth-century Friends increasingly fanatical about their speech and dress, when the people around them no longer cared how they spoke or what they wore? With so many individuals and Monthly Meetings opposing slavery, how was it that the Society of Friends did not corporately renounce slaveholding until the 1770s? Yet it was during the siege of Boston in 1775 that American Quakers established their principle of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked ‘without distinction of sects or parties.’³³

And she adds that eighteenth-century Quakerism gave us John Woolman, “the most lovable, consistent and influential American Quaker of any age.” But Daisy Newman recognizes the inner darkness in each human being, as well as the inner light, and marvels at how different the historical reality is from the image. She does not deny that Quakers were a force for good in the world, she just recognizes that they were human as well.³⁴ In her foreword Daisy Newman admits that she has no answers to these paradoxical questions. But this is what the revisionists are

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trying to do. They are trying to find the answers to these very questions. One need not agree with their conclusions, but in all fairness they must be allowed to try.

But finally, what of Professor Beeth? He does raise one legitimate concern. In our eagerness to demonstrate the importance of the influence of Quakerism on American culture we must not forget the spirituality that in the eighteenth century drew members of the Religious Society of Friends together. Historians of Quakerism must never ignore the spiritual aspects of those we study. Too often, it appears that Dr. Beeth is criticizing the revisionists because they are not Quakers.³⁵ Because they are not Quakers, this argument goes, they cannot understand the spirituality and specialness of the Society of Friends. Some fanatics would emotionally say yes. But it is their emotion that betrays them and prevents them from presenting an unbiased, "warts and all" view of their subject.

One need not be a Quaker to study the Religious Society of Friends. Indeed to be a Quaker who studies Quakerism may present some limiting factors. A member of the faith may be blind to flaws apparent to a non-Quaker. The Quakers are not alone in this. Any time a member of a religious group writes the history of his own beliefs this problem occurs. The works of non-Quaker revisionists provide an important and different perspective that those scholars who are themselves Quakers may miss through no fault of their own.

But there is hope, hope that with the help of the revisionists the rightful place of Quaker thought and culture in early America can be recognized. Let us look at one of the most recent survey works on colonial America. It would be the most recent example of revisionism. By mainstreaming Quakers as one of the four most important influences on colonial America, David Hackett Fischer in *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* has credited Quakers with important influences on the early beginnings of American culture. Professor Fischer devotes two hundred pages to Quakers in his mammoth nine hundred page book.³⁶ Although I do not agree with all of his conclusions, Fischer's concept of a total cultural history is a good one. A group as important as the Society Friends in early America cannot be studied in isolation from the world in which they lived.

The existence of Fischer's book and of Jon Butler's *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, proves that Quakers are not disappearing from the pages of early

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American history but are making a vigorous comeback. Butler advances the theory that denies that Puritanism was the dominant religious force in the first half of American history. He insists, correctly I think, that a religious pluralism in America built the religious traditions and values of this land. Mentioned prominently in the book is the place of the Religious Society of Friends. Of the fourteen denominations and sects listed in the index, Quakers rank fourth in the number of entries.³⁷

Frederick Tolles, who in many ways is one of the great traditionalists, realized that the traditional view of Quaker studies had great limitations. Tolles addressed this problem in an essay written in 1948. Borrowing from Robert Barclay, he called it "Apology for Quaker History." When Tolles and other Quaker scholars were criticized for specializing in too narrow a field (i.e. Quakerism) he tried to show the critics how Friends have always been a part of the outside world. Tolles saw the study of Quaker history as a broadening rather than a narrowing discipline.³⁸ But he realized that there were some traditionalists who wanted to keep the field of Quaker studies a narrow one. To quote the master:

The weakness of Quaker history in the past...has been its too-exclusive preoccupation with what has happened within the borders of the Society of Friends. Too much of historical writing, like that of most other religious groups, has been narrowly sectarian if not parochial. We have written as if the Society had led a wholly autonomous existence, as if its members had somehow been immune from the historical forces that have affected the lives of other men.³⁹

Tolles goes on to say that while it is important and interesting to emphasize the peculiar and the distinctive in Quaker history, it is also important to be aware of more than the history of the Society of Friends. Tolles believed deeply that the story of Quakerism must be studied "in its full context if it is to yield up its full meaning."⁴⁰

Quakers, like all religious people in early America, were caught up in the dilemma of staying in the world yet not being a part of it. Quakers were always a part of their world whether or not they realized it. No one is an island, entire unto himself. Quakers were not all saints, nor were they all sinners; they were simply human. And it is the work of the revisionists that reminds us of this. We are writing about flesh and blood human beings, not caricatures on oatmeal boxes. Quakers may have

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been the best of their times, but they were still human with human blemishes, doubts, and failings.

These revisionists attack by implication the legend of the "Good Quaker." The image of the "Good Quaker" is the one that traditionalists always bear in mind. Revisionists attack the image of the "benevolent old man in a broadbrim black hat, beaming out from the box of oats." They attack the image of Quakerism as only William Penn shaking hands with the Indians, a plain-dressed couple helping a runaway slave across the Ohio River, or Gary Cooper refusing to fight in the Civil War in the movie *Friendly Persuasion*.⁴¹ In other words they attack the mythology of Quakerism. But Quakers in early America were more than what the body of mythology written about them implies. They were a people who wanted to spread the message of love as interpreted by Jesus Christ. The toleration, humbleness, and spirit of freedom they introduced into American culture has left its own legacy which will never die no matter how many books or articles are written about them.

The message of such revisionist scholars as David Jordan, Jonathan Chu, and Jean Soderlund is that there are no black and white distinctions in the field of Quaker studies. Quaker history is a complex and ever-evolving field. Simplistic models and comparisons do little to advance our understanding of the past. In conclusion, there is really only one conclusion: There is room within Quaker studies for all points of view. This is the great strength of the Quaker faith — its tolerance. Let us hope in that in the years to come it will be the great strength of Quaker historiography as well.

¹ Howard Beeth, "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies: Book Review Article," *The Southern Friend*, XI, (Autumn 1989) 16-28.

² Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 22, 28.

³ Henry F. May considered Quakers to be the sole province of Quaker writers and did not include them in his majestic *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976). May writes: "In the interest of brevity, I have reluctantly decided not to treat Quakers in this book. Their relation to the Enlightenment is excellently discussed in the works of Frederick Tolles." May, *The Enlightenment in America*, 369.

⁴ For examples of the "Good Quaker" see Frederick Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 6, 9, 13, 16, 19-20, 22, 36-39, 41,

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54, 131; Tolles' introduction to John Woolman, *The Journal of John Woolman and A Plea for the Poor: The John Greenleaf Whittier Edition Text* (Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel Press, 1961), vi-xii; Arthur Mekeel, *The Relation of the Quakers to the American Revolution* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1979), 5, 308; Peter Brock, *Pioneers of the Peaceable Kingdom: The Quaker Peace Testimony from the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), xv, 63, 114. Other works to look at include those of Rufus Jones, particularly *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, (London: Macmillan, 1911).

For the best examples of works which stressed the "Ideal of Unity" see Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*, 3, 4, 5, 13, 20-21, 24-33, 90; Mekeel, *Relation of Quakers to the American Revolution*, 329; J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait of the Society of Friends* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 5-7, 221-225; Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1979), 529-537; Howard Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years* (New York: Harper & Row, 1952), xiv-xv, 106, 107, 110, 112, 114, 116, 117, 131, 191, 196, 218.

⁵ Jack Marietta, *Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), xi.

⁶ Edith Philips, *The Good Quaker in French Legend* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932).

⁷ For traditional works see James Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America*, 2 vols. (London: C. Gilpin, 1850-54); Howard Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years: The History and Beliefs of the Society of Friends Since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (New York: Harper & Row, 1952); William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginning of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan, 1912); Rufus Jones, Isaac Sharpless, and Amelia Gummere, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (New York: Macmillan, 1911); Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York: Macmillan, 1943). Although Frederick Tolles and Edwin Bronner were professional historians who tempered their enthusiasm for Quakerism with an historical eye, they too helped perpetuate some of the myths. See Frederick Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948) and *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York: Norton, 1960); Edwin Bronner, *William Penn's "Holy Experiment" The Founding of Pennsylvania 1681-1701* (New York: Temple University Publications, 1962).

⁸ Daisy Newman, *A Procession of Friends: Quakers in America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972), 134.

⁹ Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 27. Beeth states, "In sum, although we should never forget that ancient Friends were not perfect, we should never forget that for all their flaws and shortcomings, they numbered among the best of their time and place." Also see Howard Beeth, "The South and the

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Outsider: Origin of a Partnership," *Southern Humanities Review* (Fall 1975), 345–357, and Howard Beeth, "Outside Agitators in Southern History: The Society of Friends, 1656–1800," (Ph.D. diss., University of Houston, 1984).

¹⁰ Howard Beeth preaches the "ideal of unity" within the transatlantic Quaker community in "Between Friends: Epistolary Correspondence Among Quakers in the Emergent South," *Quaker History* 76 (1987), 108–127.

¹¹ Margaret H. Bacon, *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of the Quakers in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), 203–204.

¹² Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 21, 30.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁵ For the best works on the overpraise of Puritan intellect see Perry Miller, *Errand Into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956) and Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930). While these men were guilty of praising Puritans too highly and ignoring their flaws, traditionalists are equally guilty of doing the same for the Quakers. Too many traditionalists still see the Puritans through the view-points of Vernon Parrington and H. L. Mencken.

¹⁶ Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 22.

¹⁷ Jonathan Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen: The Puritan Adjustment to Quakerism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Bay* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), ix (the first quotation), 163 (the second quotation).

¹⁸ Kenneth Carroll, "Early Quakers and 'Going Naked as a Sign,'" *Quaker History*, 67 (1978), 69–87.

¹⁹ Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, 163.

²⁰ Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*, 19–20, x; Thomas Drake, *Patterns of Influence in Anglo-American Quakerism*, *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, supplement 28, (London, 1958), 1; Rufus Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 314–315; and Tolles, *Meetinghouse*, ix are best examples of this point of view.

²¹ Chu, Jonathan, "The Social and Political Contexts of Heterodoxy: Quakerism in Seventeenth-Century Kittery," *New England Quarterly* 54 (Sept., 1981), 384.

²² Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, 163, see also 153.

²³ Steven Jay White, "Early American Quakers and the Transatlantic Community: 1700–1756 (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1990).

²⁴ Arthur Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1980), 53–54.

²⁵ David Jordan, "God's Candle within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1982 reprinted in *The*

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Southern Friend, VII, (Autumn 1986), 27–58. (All quotations cite the latter appearance.)

²⁶ Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 23–24; Jordan, "God's Candle," 27, 50.

²⁷ Jordan, "God's Candle," 27–28.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 31 (first and second quotations); 50 (third quotation).

²⁹ Jean Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 25. Forest G. Wood in *The Arrogance of Faith: Christianity and Race in America from the Colonial Era to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990) also makes this mistake. See his section entitled "Quakers and the Arrogance of Humility," 277–287. For an endnote specifically about *Quakers and Slavery*, see 457.

³⁰ Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery*, 173.

³¹ Seymour Drescher to the author, remarks given after "Slavery and the Democratic Process," presented at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, November 11, 1987.

³² Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery*, 187.

³³ Newman, *A Procession of Friends*, viii–ix.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. But even the saintly Woolman was not perfect and there is more than a grain of truth to what the great philosopher William James said of him. James believed that Woolman's excessive purity sometimes led the Quaker "saint" to be overly simple in his social and economic outlook. "Samuel Johnson, in reflecting on such Quaker scrupulosity, once remarked that a man who could not get to Heaven in a green coat could not get there any easier in a grey coat. William James made the same point years later when he used Woolman's life to illustrate the danger of excessive purity...James correctly recognized that others following Woolman's advice might not be as successful in living a simple life of piety in the world." David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 46–47.

³⁵ Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 21, 24. This is ironic because, as Professor Beeth points out, he is not a Quaker.

³⁶ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Fourth British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 419–603.

³⁷ Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990). The rankings for the number of entries in the index for each denomination are (1) Puritans–40; (2) Baptists–26; (3) Anglicans–22; (4) **Quakers–21**; (5) Presbyterians–17; (6) Catholics–16; (7) Methodists–13; (8) Mormons–9; (9) Jews–9; (10) German Reformed–

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4; (11) African Methodist Episcopal Church—2; (12) Congregationalists—2; (13) Unitarians and Universalists—2; and Mennonites—1.

³⁸ Frederick Tolles, "Apology for Quaker History — An Editorial," *BFHA* 38:1 (1949), 4, 7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Barbour, Hugh and Frost, J. William, *The Quakers* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1988), 3. For a good examination of the mythology of Benjamin West's painting of Penn and the Indians see Wesley Frank Craven, *The Legend of the Founding Fathers* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965), 77; also see Ellen Starr Brinton's "Benjamin West's Painting of Penn's Treaty With the Indians," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 30 (1941), 99–189.

Response to “Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies”

by

Jean R. Soderlund

Steven White has done a nice job of addressing some of Howard Beeth’s concerns — pointing out that Jonathan Chu, David Jordan, and I (along with other historians not criticized quite so harshly, J. William Frost, Jack D. Marietta, Gary B. Nash, and Arthur J. Worrall) have sought to demonstrate the centrality of Friends in American history, not make them disappear.¹ White’s other major point, that the behavior of Friends varied from one colony to another depending upon the legal, political, and social context in which they lived, is also well taken.

I would like to address a few of Beeth’s charges — to do all of them full justice in a short paper is impossible. Some of his points may seem silly, but because Beeth published these charges in a journal, they should not be ignored.

Beeth writes that unlike my “neo-conservative colleagues, professors Chu and Jordan” (whose work I admire) I have “something of a direct interest in the Society of Friends” because I was curator of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection “for the larger part of a decade” (actually about five years).² That may seem like an innocuous comment, but I had to ask why Beeth thought my former affiliation worth mentioning in a review article. My conclusion is that he thought I should have avoided publishing anything that might be considered critical of Friends because I was employed by a traditionally Quaker school. I am grateful that there was never even a hint of censorship at Friends Historical Library or the college.

A related issue is Beeth’s suggestion that non-Quakers have no business writing Quaker history. White’s answer seems sensible, that Friends and non-Friends bring different strengths to the study of

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Quakers in early America and that a balanced history requires both. Whatever the inherent drawbacks of Friends studying Quaker history — I haven't a clue as to what they may be — I do know that Quaker historians such as Henry J. Cadbury, Thomas E. Drake, Frederick B. Tolles, Edwin B. Bronner, and J. William Frost have not seemed blinded by their faith — all have pointed out the shortcomings as well as the moral strengths of early Friends. Perhaps the most challenging piece of evidence to Friends' reputation in relation to African-Americans — that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting refused membership to blacks until the 1790s — is from Cadbury's work.³

Further, Beeth charges that I am an economic determinist who contends "that Quakers, and presumably everyone else, were 'Economic People' — that is, people whose behavior and even ideas were largely determined by economic considerations."⁴ In an endnote he admits that "Economic People" is not my phrase, but readers who ordinarily skip the notes would never know. He then suggests that with this materialist analysis I borrow the methodology "most readily associated with leftist scholarship,"⁵ despite the fact that I am, according to him, a neo-conservative.

When I first read Beeth's comments about my book I was willing to accept his incorrect evaluation as representing an honest difference of opinion based on his selective reading of my work. But from the work of Chu and Jordan, too, Beeth created simplistic arguments out of their multidimensional analyses; thus, a pattern emerged. For example, in regard to my work, he states that I acknowledge the importance of Quaker beliefs and Friends' primacy in abolitionism in two brief instances (providing the quotations), when in fact I demonstrate both points throughout. He carefully excises all other references to Quaker philanthropy, benevolence, compassion, and primacy. I do say that most eighteenth-century Quakers were racist (like other whites) and that their antislavery movement was "gradualist, segregationist, and paternalistic," because that is the truth. Beeth ultimately agrees — and so I must ask, why can he say it but I cannot?⁶

Let me explain, then, what I believe *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* says and why it conveys those thoughts.⁷ Most basically it demonstrates that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the first organized body known to have declared slavery offensive, arrived at that decision only after a decades-long struggle that pitted abolitionists like William

Southeby and Benjamin Lay against a slaveholding Quaker elite. Drake also says this in his early chapters.⁸ I go on to demonstrate the pattern of slaveholding among the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting elite and among Friends and their neighbors of other religions in four colonial New Jersey and Pennsylvania localities. I suggest that slaveholding Friends were influenced by economic concerns when addressing the issue of slavery, but I also show that Friends disengaged themselves from the institution earlier than adherents of other religions. Indeed, I was especially pleased by uncovering the very early withdrawal from slaveholding by Friends in East Jersey — an area where slavery flourished. My point, derived from the evidence I discovered as I worked, was that the position Quakers took on slavery was a result of the complex interaction, in individual minds and local meetings, of religious belief and perceived economic need. In the fundamental fact that Friends formed opinions and adopted behaviors on the basis of often conflicting demands, I would argue that Friends were, and still are, no different from other humans. That Quakers had (and still have) a distinct set of religious beliefs that led them to see earlier than other people the injustice of slavery sets them apart. I said that in my book and the evidence still stands. One could never attempt to deny that John Woolman and Anthony Benezet transcended materialism and were a significant force against slavery. But slaveholders Isaac Norris, Richard Hill, Samuel Jennings, Samuel Carpenter, Phineas Pemberton, David Lloyd, and others, who ran the governments of New Jersey and Pennsylvania as well as the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, were also part of the story and their behavior also has to be explained. Indeed, their control of Pennsylvania's government and high profile in New Jersey's, and the laws they passed legitimizing slavery, place the history of Quakers and slavery firmly in the mainstream of American history, regardless of any effort on my part. Quaker decisions to participate in New Jersey's settlement and William Penn's plan to found Pennsylvania made rulers out of Quakers and gave them responsibility for the commonweal. Whatever the decisions of later sectarian Quakers, we cannot understand the history of early America without studying Friends — the Norrises as well as the Benezets.

To go back, then, to what I believe divides Beeth and me (and many others) most fundamentally is the framework within which we interpret past events. Historians deal with two sets of phenomena — the facts we know about the past and our own backgrounds and, to use a phrase of Edward Said quoted by Beeth, "circumstances of life."⁹ The first rigorously limits (or should limit) what professional historians write —

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otherwise we become novelists. But our backgrounds and circumstances also affect the questions asked and the explanations offered in any scholarly work. Historians embrace those influences, because our job is not only to unearth facts but to interpret them for a readership that also lives in contemporary society and has experienced recent historical events. Each generation of scholars should move the body of historical literature forward, adding evidence made available by newly-discovered sources or the use of new research methods, and interpreting the evidence on the basis of their experience. Unfortunately for each generation our "truth" is ephemeral and our students come to question our assumptions, understandings, and methods.

We have before us already two analyses of the historiography concerning Quakers in early America, that of Howard Beeth who sees the ongoing contest between conflict and consensus as the appropriate framework, and that of Steven White who rejects that model and instead sees competition between traditionalists and revisionists. I too think there are grave shortcomings with the consensus-conflict dichotomy and would like to discuss it briefly.

According to analysts who accept the consensus-conflict model (and these are historians who generally belong to one of these schools or the other), consensus, Eisenhower, and the clash of capitalism vs. communism dominated the 1950s. The most influential historians dutifully glorified American democracy, liberalism, and capitalism in the face of the Soviet threat. This school emphasized the preeminence of ideology without a materialist component, used the metaphor of the melting pot, and employed what we now call traditional sources and methods (meaning they avoided social science techniques). Then in the sixties a new brash generation of historians emerged who pointed out the failures of American society, both in the past and in their own time. This conflict school did not question the intellectual construct of clashing ideologies — rather, they generally took some variant of the Marxist against the capitalist side. They challenged their elders both ideologically and with new methods — the new social history, the new political history, "history from the bottom up," the history of African-Americans, women, and "the lower sort" all came out of this ferment and testify to their belief in pluralism.¹⁰

These schools are clearly very different, but they share the conviction that the clash between their ideologies defines the world. Commentators like Howard Beeth, who place themselves in one camp or the other,

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define anyone who does not precisely agree with them on the other side. Thus, because Beeth apparently sees himself as a conflict historian and disagrees with the interpretations of Chu, Jordan, and me, we must be neo-conservatives.

But I would argue that there is, and has been for a long time, a third group of historians, who for these purposes I'll call empirical (without meaning to suggest that they reject the significance of theory and ideology), who attempt to get beyond both economic and ideological determinism to understand the myriad motivations for past human behavior. Our group of "revisionists" is not the first to take a multilateral approach — we learned our craft from such masters in early American history as Edmund Morgan, Richard Dunn, Winthrop Jordan, Bernard Bailyn, Edwin Bronner, and Frederick Tolles. But we also represent our place in time, just as the consensus and conflict historians interpreted past events for an audience immersed in the Cold War, Vietnam, and the Civil Rights movement.

Today's audience has heard the word *détente* for over two decades, witnessed the hard-liner Nixon's trip to China, and (however they voted in elections) were generally appalled by Reagan's "Evil Empire" remark. At some point in time, most people in this country stopped seeing a world divided forever between the forces of capitalism and communism, evil and good. On the domestic side, years after passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts, they witness the failure of both so-called liberals and conservatives in the White House and Congress to solve the fundamental problem of poverty in an affluent society, a failure resulting from varieties of greed, meanspiritedness, ideology, and lack of will. Nor has there been much evidence that the Soviet model is the answer.

This is the perspective from which I wrote *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit*.¹¹ I did not view Quakers as outsiders because in colonial Pennsylvania and New Jersey they were not. In Pennsylvania and West Jersey they formed the social, economic, and political elite, and I hoped through them to understand how the behavior and attitudes of people in authority have changed in past societies. Quakers were the first to abolish slavery and I saw them as a model for social change. Unfortunately, the message of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Quakers is that governmental authority and the impetus for substantial social change do not easily combine. For we know from almost everyone who has studied Pennsylvania Friends that only as outsiders — individuals like Benjamin Lay and Woolman, and Friends meetings during the

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Seven Years' War and during and after the Revolution — did Quakers serve as effective spokespersons for reform. I cherish that tradition as much as Howard Beeth, but cannot erase the other part of our history.

¹ Steven Jay White, "Quaker Historiography Revisited: Another Look at Early American Quaker Studies," above; Howard Beeth, "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies: Book Review Article," *The Southern Friend* 11 (1989) 17–32 (reprinted above).

² Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 24.

³ Henry J. Cadbury, "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends," *Journal of Negro History* 21 (1936), 151–213.

⁴ Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 25.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 25–27.

⁷ Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

⁸ Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 1–67.

⁹ Beeth, "Historiographical Developments," 18.

¹⁰ Of course, not all practitioners of the "new history" were Marxists, but leftist scholarship served to galvanize these fields. For a recent discussion of the 1960s confrontation, see "A Round Table: What Has Changed and Not Changed in American Historical Practice?," ed. with an introduction by David Thelen, *Journal of American History* 76 (1989). 393–488.

¹¹ Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery*, 12–14.

Recent Developments in Early North American Quaker Historiography: A Reply

by

Jonathan M. Chu

By their use of terms, Howard Beeth and Steven Jay White imply that Jean Soderland's and my work represents a break with previous Quaker historiography. Essentially both White and Beeth allude to a classic tradition of characterizing Friends as a people apart driven by an intense ideological commitment to truth and argue we have changed the terrain on which Quaker history is discussed. In Beeth's eyes, Soderland and I have minimized Quaker radicalism, assimilated Quakers into the larger culture, marginalized their experiences, and revealed our subliminal neo-consensus conservatism. More gently, White notes how Soderland and I examined the tensions embedded within Quakerism and revised a traditional image of the "Good Quaker."¹ Whether neo-consensus conservative or revisionist, we have presumably altered the direction of Quaker historiography. Although flattered to be included with Soderland as a scholar with such profound influence, I would like to suggest there are far fewer discontinuities between our work and that of the giants of early Quaker history and our more immediate predecessors. Also, I believe our work has far more limited achievement and is part of more recent scholarly developments in Early American religious and social history generally.

In what Beeth and White refer to as the classic tradition, historians like Isaac Sharpless, William Braithwaite, and Rufus Jones were careful to distinguish those ideological positions that differentiated Friends

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from Puritans and Anglicans. Crafted during a period when scholars in general were confident that ideas had an enormous capacity to dictate the most far reaching forms of behavior,² all three presumed that intellectual positions could define, explain, or even dictate social and political behavior. Because there were obvious differences between Puritans and Quakers, it was crucial and not surprising to see the latter's commitment to the Inner Light as providing the basis for a radically different social culture — to see them, if you would, as a peculiar people.

This proclivity to mingle social and intellectual history and to distinguish Friends from a larger culture, as White notes, found a critic in Frederick Tolles, who, if not a contemporary of Jones, Sharpless, and Braithwaite, nonetheless deserves to be in their illustrious company. Tolles' treatment of Friends as part of a larger trans-Atlantic society partially sustains the idea of a separate people; but it also suggests that Quakerism was an integral component of a larger imperial community.³ When taken with his study of Pennsylvania, however, Tolles makes his most telling criticism of the previously mentioned historians. In describing early Pennsylvania, Tolles saw the decline of religious impulses and the rise of a secular, provincial culture. The need to labor in the outward plantation of Pennsylvania subverted the inward one of the heart. In short, the colony's material success undermined the intent to create a Holy Experiment in the New World.⁴

Tolles' paradigm of religious decline paralleled that of Perry Miller, the still dominating presence of New England Puritan studies. Miller also saw the corrosive effects secular life had upon a colony dedicated to becoming a model of Christian charity. Initially, Miller saw that the terms of Puritanism's evolution rested primarily upon intellectual tensions within theological assumptions. For Miller change was an intellectual construct of a narrowly defined process of the declension of ideas operating independently of any social context. The problem for Adam's progeny in New England was a language increasingly becoming rendered anachronistic and irrelevant by developments external to the life of the mind in England and America. Subsequently, in *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*, Miller came to recognize that social and economic life also provided conflicts with ideology and undermined Puritanism's ability to define reality. He saw that by the first quarter of the eighteenth century theology no longer had the capacity to

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describe New Englanders' secular reality.⁵ The model was not original to either Tolles or Miller. Ernst Troeltsch had argued in *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* that the evolution of evangelical sectarian movements into denominations carried with it regularizing, institutional constraints. For Troeltsch, the discipline imposed in the transformation of a sect into denomination dampened or restricted the enthusiasm or religious freedom that gave the movement life and meaning. Thus a denomination too dependent upon discipline and orthodoxy would inevitably find itself at odds with a changing social and economic reality.⁶

Tolles' argument was, in retrospect, stronger for Quakers than Miller's for Puritans. Once stripped of political power by imperial fiat, Puritans could only establish criteria for piety through an examination of personal behavior. Yet the application of temporal criteria as a guide to personal piety, as Puritans were well aware, was tautological and thus ambiguous. Saving faith transcended mere civil behavior, and was, despite superficial similarities, qualitatively different. Unlike Miller's Puritans, the case for Tolles' Quakers relied less upon ambiguous criteria of personal sanctification and justification and more upon behavioral choices linked to specific theological issues. Following the dictates of private conscience had obvious public consequences: doctrines like the peace testimony demanded specific forms of action in the everyday world of politics.⁷ In addition, Friends had to adapt to the enormously corrosive effects material wealth and consumption had upon religious life. While Puritans had always been ambiguous in their treatment of wealth, Quaker insistence upon the plain style provided a highly visible and symbolic constraint upon the enjoyment of one's prosperity. Seeing the evolution of Quakerism as the movement from meeting house to counting house, Tolles could explain the withdrawal of Friends from both colonial assembly and religious association as an obvious decline in piety. Those unwilling to surrender their devotion to the Truth were forced to withdraw from politics and those unwilling to give up material comforts like a coach and four no longer could find their way past the meeting house door.⁸

In the process, Tolles compelled us to recast the issues raised by the three giants of Quaker history on a number of different levels. First, he presented the possibility of a social and intellectual reality that evolved over time and place. After Tolles, it was no longer possible to see Quakerism as a static entity. Moving from meeting house to counting

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house or withdrawing from the assembly dictated a consideration of the multiple ways in which theological principles changed or adapted to new social and political realities for specific individuals. Even if one presumed an unchanging orthodoxy, its ability to dictate public acquiescence obviously changed.⁹ Second, by noting the withdrawal of some Quakers from the meeting, he introduced us to the internal dynamics of the theological debate within the meeting as they applied to special forms of behavior.¹⁰

These are clearly the themes that a more recent generation of scholars tried to address. Sydney James, J. William Frost, Arthur Worrall, and Gary Nash among others sought to ascertain the contexts in which Friends found themselves and then how theology interacted with other social, political, and cultural institutions. Both Frost and James looked at the specific effects Quaker belief had upon family and philanthropy respectively. Alternatively, Worrall tried to define a commonality of experience that accounted for seeming differences occasioned by time and place. Nash took a slightly different approach. While he agreed Friends were distinctive and apart, Quakerism became an intellectual and social experience that was in flux, and, thus, subject to the interaction of religious ideas and temporal behavior.¹¹

In sum, these scholars sought to widen the scope of inquiry to ascertain better the causal relationship between religious thought and specific action. This is, after all is said and done, what scholars of early New England have been saying in their town studies during the past three decades. As doctoral students in the late 60s and early 70s applied the insights of French historical methods to American social history, it became clear that Puritan sermons obscured or downplayed English cultural connections and failed to account for a wide variety of social phenomena.¹²

Despite, however, the myriad of local town studies, the New England Mind as defined by Miller retained much of its power for explaining the course of the seventeenth century even while subjected to criticism. John Demos presumed the existence of a coherent, consensual community. Similarly Kenneth Lockridge saw the typical New England town as a closed corporate Christian community, and his description of its change rested upon a social and demographic version of Miller's intellectual model.¹³ Even critics of Miller succumbed to his model of decline.¹⁴ The remarkable revisionism of Darrett Rutman rests less upon a direct challenge to the fact of Puritan declension and rather more to the rate of

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changes caused by the corrosive forces of commercialism and materialism.¹⁵

Still, at the heart of the so-called New History was an attempt to establish the causal relationships between thought and action by addressing the specific experiences of small groups of people in close detail, hence the use of local history and the frequent and puckish commentary that never had so much been written about so few. In the course of that examination, however, the difficulty of connecting religious intensity to specific action became apparent. Robert Pope in his study of the Half-way Covenant stood Miller on his head by suggesting that increased levels of piety might produce fewer not more church members.¹⁶ In a subtle and ironic inversion of the model, Christine Heyrman perceived a reassertion of religiosity in the very process of Puritan declension. For Heyrman, the economic and social forces that Miller, Lockridge, and even Rutman saw responsible for the demise of a Puritan ethos in fact impelled attempts to recapture a religious *mentalité*. Far from declining, Heyrman's Puritans seemingly became more rather than less pious.¹⁷ Indeed, Heyrman argues, intolerance of religious differences grew rather than declined in early eighteenth-century Gloucester, Massachusetts.¹⁸

The dissatisfaction with Miller's model for New England led to a heightened awareness of reconciling specific concrete details of experience with supposedly systematic theological structures made up of intellectual composites. That awareness translated itself into a perception that Miller's intellectual comprehension of Puritanism was too static and inflexible.¹⁹ Recent studies have shown a much more fluid and dynamic Puritanism reacting to the demands of preaching both in its form and mode of discourse and in its interaction with a social context. Harry S. Stout saw Puritan preaching as an intellectual phenomenon susceptible to a variety of structural, theological, and political influences both in England and North America. Patricia Tracy broadened our view of Jonathan Edwards by placing his theology in the context of his role as pastor. Her Edwards is a more multifaceted person subject to the influence of Northampton as well as to the constraint of theological prescription.²⁰

Developments in English local history appearing in the seventies reinforced the criticism of Miller's perception of American exceptionalism. As studies of English village life began to appear, they suggested to students of the New England town the heightened importance of a more traditional and specific set of social and cultural values in the shaping

of the North American Experience. David Grayson Allen summarized this point by arguing that variations in the local experience of Massachusetts towns could be explained by a more detailed understanding of English regional differences. The most vital functions of local institutions, argued Allen, were adaptations from English backgrounds.²¹ Allen may have, as his critics have noted, overstated the case, but he nonetheless established clearly the necessity to place New England Puritans within a larger, secular context.²² Other scholars went further in diminishing the exceptionalism of Puritan social institutions. Timothy Breen saw the emphasis upon localism not in Puritanism but an English heritage. Allegedly distinctive local institutions like the militia and town meeting were ascribable to traditions carried across the Atlantic to the New World.²³

*Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*²⁴ was intended to build upon this theme. Its purpose was to examine the way in which Puritans approached the issue of religious dissent. Quakers were the window through which one saw the evolution of a process dealing with persistent religious dissidence, an issue at the heart of any notion of social and political cohesion and thus order for seventeenth-century Anglo-America. The book further intended to examine the movement of an assumption, the necessity to root out heterodoxy, through the layers of social, political, and legal institutions. As a number of reviewers noted, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen* was a decidedly one-dimensional view, based upon what I thought was, in Beeth's words, an assumption of an ideological commitment at a time of great social conflict for Puritan and Quaker alike. The assumption permitted, if not encouraged, a reading of the sources that emphasized context, social structures, and institutional inertia while downplaying issues of individual conscience and piety.²⁵ One significant theme of the book, as White correctly suggests, was an attempt to deal with the translation of ideology into action and presumed a common intense allegiance to the respective faiths of Puritans and Quakers. Assuming a parallel ideological commitment to their respective orthodoxies, I was especially hopeful that the interaction of those intense allegiances from a Puritan perspective would shed light upon Miller's model.

If there was a political message embedded in the work, it was not a celebration of consensus; rather, it was despair over the narrow limits of toleration. The most frightening attribute of seventeenth-century Massachusetts was not its suppression of conscience but the very narrow,

invidious, and circular way it defined inclusiveness: that toleration was accorded to those already similar to or part of the dominant culture. In effect Puritans tolerated neighboring, as opposed to visiting, Friends because they represented versions of themselves and not because Puritans came to respect courage and idealism or to value diversity of religious belief.²⁶

Recent Quaker historiography has attempted to make similar links between ideas and behavior. That is, it seems to me, to be the contribution of Soderland's and Jack Marietta's work on Pennsylvania Friends and H. Larry Ingle's on nineteenth-century Hicksites. Marietta described the specific tensions that arise as a result of internal differences and linked the exercise of religious discipline to events external to the meeting. Ingle, by linking Hicksite reform theology to geography and economic interest, attempted to define the way in which theological issues could reflect deep cultural differences even when the rivals were connected historically and religiously.²⁷

Unlike Ingle and Marietta, Soderland looked at a specific attribute shared by both Friends and a larger Anglo-American culture. By selecting slave ownership, she tackled an issue that compelled Friends to consider the radical egalitarian ideas implicit within the doctrine of the Inner Light as they pertained to race. It compelled Friends to face what would have been so fundamental and egregious an error as to expose hitherto presumably exemplary lives as ones of sham and hypocrisy, and it did so on an issue that was not, from the perspective of eighteenth-century Quakers and Englishmen, an unambiguous evil. What strikes me as especially significant about Soderland's work was its attempt to deal with an issue that joined cultural assumptions to religious belief. The strength of her work is in its functional approach to religion: she describes the way in which religious belief could lead to conflicting prescriptions for life. Soderland's Friends faced a series of unpalatable and contradictory alternatives. Those opposed to slavery for conscience sake might also have to forbear individual reform action because of equally and no less deeply-held convictions to abide by the sense of the meeting. Basing her analysis upon the specific time and place in which the battle over Quaker slaveholding was waged, Soderland explained why Friends came to the issue of abolition at different moments and illustrated the difficulties encountered and courage required to face the ambiguity of conflicting moral principles.²⁸

Indeed, this seems to be the central contribution of Steven White's

paper: unless historians of early Quakerism can account for a myriad of social and intellectual variations they will be unable to understand the full implications of Friends' moral contributions to a larger American culture. Quakers shared with Puritans and Englishmen a number of social assumptions and constructs. These assumptions as Soderland and others have demonstrated must be examined in close, specific detail if historians are not to fall into the same trap with Quaker history that Miller led historians of early New England: of presuming that an intellectual collage dictates specific social or institutional action.

Howard Beeth does have a point: our preoccupation with social history has put the intellectual history of Friends somewhat on the back burner of recent scholarship.²⁹ But this is also largely true of all religious history that tends to focus either upon the explicit exceptionalism evident when using terms of denominational orthodoxy or intellectual genealogy. To insist upon a return to this kind of analysis would, I submit, hasten, not retard, the isolation of Quaker studies from the mainstream of current scholarship. It would, for example, artificially isolate Quakers from the broad-based radicalism that Philip Gura and Christopher Hill saw as essential parts of a trans-Atlantic intellectual community.³⁰ To insist upon treating Friends as different, as Daniel Boorstin did, would only reduce the historical significance of Friends and return scholarship to that period when consensus historians ruled.³¹

The emphasis upon social history had also tended to diminish our efforts to determine the form, nature, and intensity of Quaker piety and thus tended to marginalize that particular attribute. *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, as Carla Pestana and Melvin Endy correctly pointed out, did not consider the religious *mentalité* of the local Quakers.³² When the book reviews noted this, my response would have rested upon the limitations of the documentation — for the most part the court records of Massachusetts Bay — precluded such an analysis. The crux of my argument, after all, rested upon records neither Quaker nor religious in nature and thus arguably made the examination of the personal piety of Friends impossible. Only recently have I been convinced that such an analysis might be possible.

We ought to consider some of the ways in which questions about individual Quaker piety can be ascertained. One extremely promising direction is charted out by Pestana in a recent *American Quarterly* article. By looking at one occasion in which an internal Quaker dispute spilled out into the Essex County Courts in Massachusetts, Pestana

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imaginatively recreates the social context of the dispute and thus elucidates the respective intellectual positions that precipitated the controversy in the first place.³³ Pestana's ability to broaden the terms of discussion was further confirmed by another suggestion to subject both Puritan and Quaker documents to an analysis using the new literary criticism. Might it not be possible to assess Quakers' religious message by considering their public actions as forms of symbolic discourse?³⁴

Moreover, as scholars of Puritanism like Charles Cohen, Charles Hambrick-Stowe, and David Hall have demonstrated, it is possible to see how theological principles translate into individual perceptions and practice. Thus the somewhat theoretical shortcomings of applying the new literary criticism to Puritan documents could be supplemented by a more imaginative reading of Quaker materials. Cohen, Hambrick-Stowe, and Hall, like Miller, apply perceptive and original analyses of language, ritual, and symbolism to patterns of lay piety. All four convince us that the prism through which they analyze their evidence is sufficient to carry the weight of their generalizations.³⁵ Still, even here, the task is not so simple. Michael Winship juxtaposed the dual meanings of Providence to the Puritan minister and his parishioner as one means of examining the transfer of theology to the laity. While Winship's careful reading in the end suggested that lay understanding of theological concepts did not necessarily hew closely to that of the minister, he again opened another window into the mind of the laity.³⁶

Historians of Quakerism in a pursuit of religious sensibilities have a decided advantage over Winship, Cohen, Hambrick-Stowe, and Hall. Unlike Puritan sermons, published Quaker testimonies and history provide a broader-based view of popular belief. Quaker spiritual testimony invariably takes the form of the history of ideological confrontation between Friends and their opponents, and the collective nature of those testimonies and the manner in which they are created and issued establishes them as sources representing a far broader cross-section of religious opinion in which the laity have a specific function.³⁷

To focus only upon Quaker exceptionalism, as Beeth enjoins us, is to distort our view of Friends and their history. To look solely at the ideological culture of Friends in isolation has an enormous potential for error that gives further impetus for the marginalization that Beeth wishes to avoid. Were we to examine the rise of an evangelical Quaker reform movement in antebellum Lynn, Massachusetts purely from the standpoint of the ideas and individual personalities involved, we would

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only place Friends on the margins. The episode would be no more than a denominational squabble of limited interest. These Lynn reformers were, seemingly, proto-Hicksites who objected to the alleged worldliness of their opponents many of whom were owners of the emerging shoe industry. We might, in light of Larry Ingle's work, presume that these reformers represented a rural agrarian reaction to the rise of industrialization and capitalism. The story, however, is far more complex because the material culture of the reformers in one area, gravestones, indicated the reverse: an embrace of mainstream culture. Unlike their alleged worldly opponents, reform Friends in Lynn abandoned traditional Quaker names for dates and built taller, more elaborate and decorative gravestones. In short, they acted just like the non-Quaker newly-rich in Lynn while the traditionalists, accused by the reformers of being corrupted by the world, retained Quakerly precepts in their material culture.³⁸ The episode indicates the enormous potential a broader view has for understanding not only the dynamics of Quakerism, but the many ways in which it illustrates and dramatizes what is taking place in the dominant culture. More especially for those concerned about the place of Quakers in contemporary historical scholarship, it demands a consideration of the broader social context in which the "cultural hothouse of humanist ideology," to use Beeth's terms,³⁹ operates if we are to assess accurately the contributions Friends made to some of society's noblest ideals.

By always placing Friends outside the mainstream because of one facet of their lives, their religious beliefs, and seeing them as exceptional or contrapuntal, we underestimate the courage and radicalism it took to question fundamental assumptions that defined people's lives. Thus we risk losing sight of their real achievements and contributions. This is especially true when dealing with a group whose numbers have historically been small. If one assumes that Friends stand apart, that their commitment to their faith is relatively homogeneous, and that they were taking "advanced" positions, they become historically anomalous, eccentric, or irrelevant. In effect, a study of the mainstream culture would not have to deal with the Quaker ghetto other than to define its parameters and to dismiss its ideas and values literally beyond the pale — perhaps even characterizing them as mad, a result neither historically accurate nor, for me, morally instructive.

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¹ Howard Beeth, "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies: Book Review Article," *The Southern Friend* XI (Autumn 1989) and Steven Jay White, "Quaker Historiography Revisited: Another Look at Early American Quaker Studies," Paper presented to the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists, 25 June 1990.

² See the most obvious example in Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1958 [1904-05]), 170-181.

³ Frederick Barnes Tolles, *The Atlantic Community of Early Friends* (London: Friends' Historical Society, 1952).

⁴ Frederick Barnes Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1963 [1948]) 3-4.

⁵ Compare Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964 [1956]), 13 and Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 51-52.

⁶ Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian*, 2 vols., trans. Olive Wyon (New York: Harper, 1960 [1911]), 1:381-382. Miller's model of declension also has an analog to Ernst Troeltsch's paradigm of the evolution of religious movements from sect to denomination.

⁷ Richard Bauman, *For the Reputation of Truth: Politics, Religion, and Conflict among the Pennsylvania Quakers, 1750-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971).

⁸ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 141-42, 243.

⁹ This is obviously the process that Miller describes in 1953 in *The New England Mind*. Like Tolles, he transformed a static orthodoxy, admittedly one of his own making, to one subjected to internal contradiction and social solvents.

¹⁰ Note that the absence of a response would have been as significant as the presence of one.

¹¹ Sydney V. James, *A People among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait of the Society of Friends* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), Arthur J. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1980), and Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968).

¹² For a summary of the current literature on Puritanism, see David D. Hall, "On Common Ground: The Coherence of American Puritan Studies," *William and Mary Quarterly* series 3, 44 (April 1987): 193-229.

¹³ John Demos, *Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), and Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736*, enlarged ed. (New York: Norton, 1985).

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¹⁴ The one significant exception to this is the much criticized Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth-Century* (New York: Norton, 1978 [1970]). See also, David Grayson Allen, "The Zuckerman Thesis and the Process of Legal Rationalization in Provincial Massachusetts," and Zuckerman's rebuttal in the *William and Mary Quarterly* series 3, 29 (July 1972): 443–68.

¹⁵ Darrett Bruce Rutman, *Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630–1649* (New York: Norton, 1972 [1965]).

¹⁶ Robert G. Pope, *The Half-Way Covenant: Church Membership in Puritan New England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

¹⁷ Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690–1750* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 413–414. See a similar phenomenon in the evolution of Puritan ideas alone in Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596–1728* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), and E. Brooks Holifield, *The Covenant Sealed: The Development of Puritan Sacramental Theology in Old and New England, 1570–1720* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

¹⁸ Heyrman and I disagree, I think, on the contextual meaning of intolerance. I would consider, for example, the eighteenth-century private prejudice against Quakers she describes as an assertion of religious orthodoxy in no way inconsistent with the de facto toleration I saw developing during the seventeenth century. That legal intolerance would be relegated to private prejudice is a significant statement in seventeenth-century terms. Where we disagree most directly is on the connection of Quakerism to the witchcraft trials. Heyrman's argument rests upon indirection, that associates of and not Friends themselves were accused of witchcraft. The evidence, even in its indirection, that Quaker associations led to being charged with witchcraft is, at best, mixed. For example, she avers that the presence of a Quaker ward in the home of Rebecca Nurse contributed to her being accused of witchcraft. Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 113, 122, 141–142, 161–162. The Nurse family's difficulties with their neighbors were more immediate and of much longer standing. See their controversies with the Ann Putnam, Jr.'s uncle Nathaniel in my "Nursing a Poisonous Tree, Litigation and Property Law in Seventeenth-Century Essex County, Massachusetts: The Case of Bishop's Farm," *American Journal of Legal History*, 31 (July 1987): 230–232. Furthermore, the experience of Samuel Shattock, son of the Quaker who returned from London with the royal decree suspending the capital punishment of visiting Quakers, showed that the immediate circumstances of some Friends placed them directly on the other side of this particular controversy: the younger Shattock was one of the principal accusers of Bridget Bishop. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds., *The Salem Witchcraft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692*, 3 vols. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), 1:97, 2:664–665 and *Vital Records of Salem Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, 6 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1918–25), 2:298.

¹⁹ See for example Holifield, *The Covenant Sealed*, 225–226, and more

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recently, Stephen Foster "English Puritanism and the Progress of New England Institutions, 1630-1660," in *Saints and Revolutionaries: Essays on Early American History*, David D. Hall and others, eds., (New York: Norton, 1984), 3-37 and "The Godly in Transit: English Popular Protestantism and the Creation of a Puritan Establishment in America," in *Seventeenth-Century New England, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. 63 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1984): see 215 and 222-227. For a summary of the criticisms of Miller and the current state of Puritan studies, see Hall, "On Common Ground," 193-229.

²⁰ Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 3-124. Patricia J. Tracy, *Jonathan Edwards, Pastor: Religion and Society in Eighteenth-Century Northampton* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980), and Heyrman, *Culture and Commerce*, 407-409. Note also that these historiographical developments are paralleled in the work of English historians of Puritanism. See for example, Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of the Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 189-283.

²¹ David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 5. See also Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villages in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974) and David Underdown, *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

²² Lawrence Stone, "Original Sins," *New York Review of Books*, 5 February 1981, 34, 34n, and David T. Konig's review in the *American Journal of Legal History* 26 (July 1982): 264-68. For a less critical reading, see Philip Greven's review in the *William and Mary Quarterly* series 3, 39 (April 1982): 365-70.

²³ Timothy H. Breen, "Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions," *William and Mary Quarterly* series 3, 32 (January 1975): 3-28.

²⁴ Jonathan M. Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen: The Puritan Adjustment to Quakerism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Bay* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).

²⁵ Beeth, "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies," 19. W. Clark Gilpin, review of *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, by Jonathan M. Chu, in *Church History* 55 (September, 1986): 379-380, R. Melvin Endy, Jr., review of *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, by Jonathan M. Chu, in *William and Mary Quarterly* series 3, 44 (April 1987): 382-383, and Carla Gardina Pestana, "Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen: The Puritan Adjustment to Quakerism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Bay," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 122 (1986): 259-62.

²⁶ Beeth, "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies." Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, 3, see the closing paragraphs for chapters 6, 7, 8 on 117, 142-43, 163 respectively.

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²⁷ Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1743–1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), and H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986). See also Sally Schwartz, "A Mixed Multitude": *The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), see 2–4.

²⁸ Jean R. Soderland, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 14–17.

²⁹ See for example Gertrude Himmelfarb's comment about the young historian doing an eighteenth-century town study who deemed the American Revolution as being irrelevant to his inquiries. *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), 13–14.

³⁰ See his (Philip E. Gura's) treatment of Samuel Gorton in *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620–1660* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1984), 292–294. Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1972), 75–78, 205–206. See also Hall, "On Common Ground," 211.

³¹ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Random House, 1958), 33–34, 35–48.

³² Endy, *William and Mary Quarterly* and Pestana, *Essex Institute Historical Collections*.

³³ Carla Gardina Pestana, "The Social World of Salem: William King's 1681 Blasphemy Trial," *American Quarterly* 41 (June 1989): 308–328. One might take issue with the ability of this one example to bear the burden of the generalities Pestana imposes upon it. To have Quaker disputes aired outside the meeting is, of course, anomalous. Beeth might also object to the support King received from a non-Quaker middle ground and to Pestana's sense that King's opponent violated a general sense of neighborliness because it represents an assimilationist approach.

³⁴ I am indebted to Professor Sarah Deutsch of Clark University for this suggestion.

³⁵ Note for example how both Cohen and Hall use the interactive nature of published sermons and personal experience and how Hambrick-Stowe integrates the functions of public and private worship. Charles Edwin Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1972). Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), and David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York: Knopf, 1989).

³⁶ Michael Winship, "Encountering Providence in the Seventeenth Century: The Experiences of a Yeoman and a Minister," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 126 (1990): 28, 36. For a discussion of the rise of alternative cultures, see also Richard Gildrie, "Taverns and Popular Culture in Essex County,

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Massachusetts, 1678–1686,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 124 (1988): 158–85.

³⁷ The work of James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, 2 vols. (London: Charles Gilpin, 1854), William Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers: Intermixed with Several Remarkable Occurrences*, 2 vols. (New York: Baker & Crane, 1844 [1725]), and George Bishop, *New England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord* (London: T. Sowle, 1703 [1661]) are essentially histories of Quaker martyrs providing in the process specific examples of the application of belief to practice. Even individual testimonies like those of George Fox and John Woolman are testimonies that define orthodoxy.

³⁸ Eileen O'Connor, “Shoemakers and Stone Markers: Gravestones as Material Culture of the Quakers from Lynn, Massachusetts,” (M.A. thesis, University of Massachusetts–Boston, 1990). O'Connor is reluctant to identify the group as Hicksite and prefers to use the term New Light.

³⁹ Beeth, “Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies,” 26–27.

Methodology, Perspective, and Utility in Early North American Quaker Studies: A Reply

by

Howard Beeth

Introduction

Rather than discuss directly the important particulars that Steven White has raised about an earlier historiographic article of mine, I would like instead to approach his comments circuitously via a more general discussion of methodology, perspective, and the uses our scholarship have to us within academe as well as to others outside our professional community.¹ The notion of perspective might be an entrée into these matters. “Perspectivalism” — the idea that one’s perspectives are largely shaped by individual experiences and specific cultural conditioning — appears to some historians to be about all that is certain in these days of enormous change. Internationally, the disruption of a globalizing Marxist system is readily apparent. Within our own country, liberalism — the “L-Word” — is being dismantled and has lost much of its respectability. In academe the concept of “knowability” itself has become increasingly problematic as the arguments of the post-structuralists take hold. If “knowability” is out, then of course the search for “truth” is a fool’s game. In a smoke-and-mirrors world where nothing can really be known, we could not recognize the truth, even supposing there was such a thing and we managed to find it. Instead of truth, we shall now perhaps have to settle for “understanding” — and understanding, of course, is always based on perspective. It depends on where and when we stand, who we are individually, categorically, and statistically, and much more. Learning may thus be autobiographical; self may be a prelude to all. If it is, then even collective understanding is beyond us because we are all different people with a unique history. Perhaps, after everything is said and done, thoughtful dialogue is all for which we can hope. Indeed, that may be the message of historiography.²

All of this bears directly upon the subject and study of history, and greatly disturbs it. It is hard, albeit exciting, to be an historian these days, what with the simultaneous destruction and construction of

theoretical formulations and the methodological retooling they require. Moreover, many of these theories come from other disciplines, particularly from linguistics and anthropology. They are thick, hard reads, embedded in their own languages and terminologies, and they are difficult to wrap one's mind around, even after several readings. However, a convenient point of entry into these challenging realms is language and terminology.

Language & Terminology

Current research now seems to indicate that language must precede thought. Without language, investigative scientists have discovered, there can be no real thinking and no conceptualizing, only reactions and impulses that appear to be automatic and instinctive. What saves our animal relatives as well as us humans from a life of mute ignorance is a brain that gives us the ability to learn. As we learn language, we learn to think. Always, it is language that forms the arena of our thought and even our imagination, and that determines the quality of our conceptual and intellectual conversations. Modern linguistic theory and semiotics go even further. As one trenchant critic of this trend has summarized its claims, "language, broadly conceived as systems of signification that extend well beyond mere words to include the symbols and structures of all ways of communicating (from the articulated to the subliminal), is the essential ground within which social life is embedded. Language thus constructs being: it orders the relations of classes and genders, ever attentive to specific hierarchies; it is the stage on which consciousness makes its historical entrance and politics is scripted." As the social anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss, a major proponent of this position, has written, "the real question is the question of language."³

In the essay I wrote that Steven White has critiqued, I used commonplace terms to help emphasize the conceptual argument I was intent to make. In brief, I argued that some very able younger scholars, including Jonathan Chu, David Jordan, and Jean Soderlund, were in the process of changing early Quakers from "outsiders" to "insiders" — that is, *from* people who were different from their neighbors, and often in conflict with them because of those differences, *to* people who were essentially like their neighbors with whom they got along tolerably well. In particular, I noted that Jonathan Chu's work de-ideologized the Bay Colony and in the process blurred the difference between Quakers and their Puritan neighbors, creating an odd new breed of Friends whom I described as

“non-sectarian sectarians.” In his work on Maryland, David Jordan placed Quakers at the center of what he described as a placid, peaceful, Maryland society largely accepting of Quakers. And Jean Soderlund, in her major work about Pennsylvania, has done an influential job of diminishing the reputation early Quakers long enjoyed as abolitionists, and thus as humanitarian reformers, in an attempt to have us accept them as less exceptional and less unique people. To their number may now be added Steven White, who emphasizes that different groups of Quakers in scattered, widely separated, locations adapted their behavior to their particular circumstances, assuming many of their neighbors’ conventions, thus making it difficult and perhaps impossible to make accurate, collective generalizations about early Friends at all.⁴

The attempt by these writers to “mainstream” Quakers into an essentially homogeneous society in which ideology and conflict have been systematically de-emphasized, and in which Quakers lived in relative peace and tranquility, is one that I have termed a “neo-consensus” tendency because thematically it bears an obvious relationship to what we all know as “The Consensus School” of historiography that flowered in the post-World War II period. Since many of the historians who composed that school were self-conscious political conservatives, and because the term “conservative” was often used interchangeably with “consensus,” I followed that fashion by calling current neo-consensus scholars “neo-conservatives” as well. Indeed, throughout my essay I referred to my colleagues as both “neo-consensus” historians as well as “neo-conservative” historians.⁵

Professor White objects to these terms. He thinks that because Chu, Jordan, and Soderlund are trying to revise our perception of early Quakers, they should simply be called “revisionists,” and that because I am criticizing them for trying to make change and am more partial to the traditional portrait of early Friends that I should just as simply be called a “traditionalist.”⁶

I considered using these terms myself, but rejected them. One of the reasons was because they seemed temporary and lacking in permanence. Today’s revisionist, after all, is tomorrow’s traditionalist; both labels, at different times, might be appropriate for the same group. All historiographical schools have been regarded as revisionist when they first appeared, but as time passed and they themselves were revised, they too came to be regarded as dated and traditional. Accordingly, I rejected these terms as too nebulous and indeterminate. Instead, I took

a clue from the fact that the names given to the major schools of American historiography — Imperialist, Nationalist, Progressive, Consensus, New Left — were each and all explicitly political, and had, moreover, worn well over the years. The names of these schools continue accurately to reflect both their historical thesis as well as their political orientation, and give them an identity and a character visible at a glance. Since the younger historians whom I wished to group appeared to have strong interpretive links to the Consensus school, I decided to call them, as I have mentioned, “neo-consensus” or “neo-conservative” historians. However, because Steven White particularly objects to the use of political terminology in connection with historical scholarship, commenting in a footnote that such a connection “is both misleading and damaging to any historical discussion,” I would next like to touch upon the question of politics and scholarship as well as on the vexing problem of objectivity and subjectivity to which it is related.⁷

Politics & Scholarship, Objectivity & Subjectivity

The important issue of objectivity and subjectivity goes back at least as far as Aristotle and Plato. A part of this issue is the question of “presentism” that is of particular concern to any who study the past, including historians. Steven White acknowledges the problem of presentism and its close companion, perspectivalism, in his paper when he writes that scholars who are themselves members of the Society of Friends might view historical Friends in a more favorable, less critical light than those scholars who are not Quakers. Although I think he assumes, mistakenly, that I must be a member of the Society because I appear to him to be defending early Quakers from their critics, his point nevertheless is well taken and often made.⁸

The most obvious dimension of presentism is that our habitation in the present inevitably influences our perceptions of the past. This is so because all scholars are culturally loaded with time-specific baggage that they cannot possibly jettison. There are no neutral authors; there is no disinterested “I.” We cannot evacuate ourselves or empty ourselves or deny or escape ourselves when we sit down in office or study and behave as scholars. In an influential book written over a decade ago, the litterateur Edward W. Said wrote that no one “has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of a society.

These continue to bear on what he does professionally[.]”⁹ More recently, in a 1989 article discussing the impact of post-structuralism and post-modernism on historians, Thomas C. Patterson, an historian himself, reiterated this point by concluding that “historians can no longer separate their practices from the shifting objectives and values of the wider society; they can no longer support the separation with claims about the necessity of maintaining objectivity and value-neutrality.”¹⁰ This sentiment was echoed in a 1990 piece written by the distinguished political scientist, Benjamin R. Barber, who wrote that “there are and can be no impartial spectators and thus there is no such thing as historical truth. For however wedded to impartiality historians may be, they always live in two worlds: a world of the past...and their own world of the present, which imbues them with values, preferences and biases from which historical meaning can never be entirely disentangled.”¹¹ In short, as human beings we have only the ability to achieve a limited degree of objectivity within our overall subjective character. Even the attempt to escape human subjectivity via quantification, favored by the current generation of objectivity-cultists who call themselves “empiricists,” has not proven entirely successful. As the controversy about *Time on the Cross* some years ago indicated, quantification can also be a numbers game just as statistics can have politics.¹² Rather than banishing subjectivity, quantification instead may conceal it, making it harder to detect. Useful though it can be, quantification no longer is regarded, except by the most religious empiricists, as an unimpeachable methodology with the authority of science, but only as another often useful yet imperfect tool available to scholars in their quest.

Another difficulty concerning presentism and the problems of knowing is that while we assume that the more we study, think, and write about the past, the better and more clearly we will understand it, this may not be so. Something close to the reverse may instead be the case. It might be that the farther we get from the past, and the more we study and write about it, the larger and more complicated and murkier and less understandable it becomes. After all, every interpretation of the past necessarily increases the size and complexity of the past. Professors Chu, Jordan, and Soderlund, for example, have added to colonial American history and in effect made it bigger than it was before. Prior to their work, students of the period had less to consider than after their work. Historical literature adds to the size, depth, and complexity of the past, which is not at all static, and actually may further obscure it in the very

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process of trying to clarify it. The more historians there are at work, and the longer they work and the more they write, the more difficult the whole enterprise of understanding may become. It may, in fact, become impossible. History — the past itself — may get so clothed and costumed by generations of interpretations that eventually it will sink and disappear under the weight of historiography, or simply become historiography. If history ever were to be transmogrified into historiography, that of course would be a complete triumph of subjectivity, presentism, and perspectivalism. In the meantime, there seems no way for scholars to escape the terrible conundrum that the more they seek to reveal the past, the more they are also probably contributing to its concealment.¹³

A final difficulty concerning presentism and subjectivity — and one I wish to emphasize — is that while the present certainly influences our understanding of the past, as we have discussed, the reverse is equally true: the past also plays an important role in the present. Various people and groups have used the past for their own purposes. The past has always been contested territory, in part a commodity that many have found and continue to find useful. The novelist William Faulkner, no happy man himself but a brooder filled with anguish, was certainly right in holding that the notion of “the past” was itself an oxymoron since the past is never really past at all. The Progressive historians were far from alone in their search for a “useable past.” All historians who have written within recognized interpretive schools, be they Imperialists, Nationalists, Consensus, New Left, or whatever, have had a vision of the past that had something to do with the politics of their present. Historiography, no less than history itself, has a close association with politics. One would have to make the argument of historical “exceptionalism” to assume that the work of the present younger generation of historians does not also contain a political component that is politically relevant to us today, whether they would wish it or not. This is as true for the empiricists, regardless of their stats and charts, as it is for others.

Given the difficulty of knowing the past, it may actually be the case that an important function of scholarship is the role that it plays in the present. Here, in the present, a scholar can see the palpable effects of her work, watch it actually contact human society, observe it being used to some end. Scholarship has implications and possibilities. To assess the possible or probable utilizations of a work, one has to ask such questions as, “What is to be gained by understanding the past in this way? Who is hurt and who is helped by asking this question or making that argu-

ment? Which cause or what agenda will this book advance? Which will it retard? How will this scholarship likely be appropriated and in what ways will it probably be used?" When reading the works of Chu, Jordan, and Soderlund, I registered some disquiet and concern about the direction they were leading. Let me conclude by discussing further the disagreements I have with them, and with Steven White, in this regard.

Agreements & Disagreements

One can easily agree with the sentiment expressed by Frederick Tolles nearly forty years ago, and quoted approvingly by Steven White, that early Quaker historiography was too interior, too non-contextual, and not attentive enough to the world in which colonial Quakers lived.¹⁴ One can also easily agree that much of the early writing about Quakers by Quakers was filiopietistic. My disagreement with my colleagues is that collectively they portray early American society as too homogeneous and too tranquil, discounting differences and conflict, and that they describe early Quakers essentially as "happy campers": practical folk without important ideological concerns who in most ways resembled their neighbors, with whom they generally cooperated. This perspective is one associated with consensus and neo-consensus scholarship, much of it produced by those who personally are politically associated with conservatism and neo-conservatism, and it is a point of view about the past that is celebrated and promoted by conservatives repeatedly and with good effect. Many of those who speak ingratiatingly about a "kinder, gentler" contemporary America also favor a kinder, gentler interpretation of our nation's history.

An interesting development is that some of this kind of history is being written by people whom we might call "cross-over scholars" and whose work we could call "cross-over scholarship." That is, these are people who personally are liberal/left in their politics, who use methodologies and approaches that are rooted in liberal/left scholarship and politics, and yet, oddly, who produce work that substantively validates a conservative view of the past and is used by contemporary conservatives to promote a rightist agenda.¹⁵ If these cross-over scholars were judged on the basis of their intention, it might not be fair to label them as neo-conservatives. It likewise might not be fair to label them as neo-conservatives based upon the techniques they employ, many of which were pioneered by liberal and especially left scholars. Nevertheless, but with some misgiving, I think it is acceptable — and even required — to

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identify such academics as neo-consensus, neo-conservative scholars based upon the commodity they produce (i.e., their writing) and the uses to which the commodity is put, often by people who do not, in fact, share their personal politics.

Regardless of who promotes it, whether scholar or politician, I disagree with the vision of a homogeneous, tranquilized colonial American society full of "happy-camper" Quakers living at peace with their clone-like neighbors. Colonial America was part of an imperial expansion that brought three continents and three races — the peoples of Africa, America, and Europe — into contentious and often violent conflict with one another. Quakers moved in this environment with distinction; they were people who regarded themselves as different, and who were regarded by others as being so, often in negative and sinister ways. Of course, in many aspects Friends were like other whites; they were parents and farmers who put on their shoes in the morning, just as did most other Euro-Americans. Interestingly, however, this ordinary behavior, although of compelling interest to practitioners of the New Social History today, is not what most impressed colonial people who observed Friends. Native Americans, African Americans, and other Euro-Americans — virtually all those who had contact with members of the Society of Friends — tended mostly to focus and remark on ways in which they perceived Quakers as different. It would be ironic to say that early Friends were at war with government or the larger society, but certainly they were often at great odds with both. They may have contributed to (or could themselves have comprised) a "culture of opposition," a notion associated with the Italian Marxist theoretician Antonio Gramsci, who died in a fascist jail cell in 1937.¹⁶ In sum, what made Quakers memorable during colonial times to those who interacted with them were their differences from others, and the behavior that resulted from those differences. And this behavior is what I think makes them important as historical actors to us today.

As historical players, colonial Friends belonged to an organization that believed it had a mission in the world, and encouraged its members to be "good Quakers," a characteristic that Steven White finds objectionable.¹⁷ Nevertheless, I think there are a number of corporate characteristics besides that of the "good Quaker" that could be ascribed to colonial Friends without risking essentialism. In addition, White's thoughtful objections notwithstanding, early Atlantic Quakers certainly aspired to the ideal as well as the practice of unity, another trait much noted by

their contemporaries, and they put in place several mechanisms such as a discipline, an elaborate meeting and oversight system, epistolary correspondence and more, all reinforced by constantly circulating mobile activists, in order to maintain a high degree of unanimity.¹⁸ Of course the unanimity was not perfect; being ideologically concerned people despite what neo-consensus scholars have argued, Friends had occasion among themselves to discuss and dispute. Schisms sometimes resulted. Certainly, as Jean Soderlund has argued, economic considerations sometimes played a role in these disputes. Naturally, as Jonathan Chu and Steven White have said, geography and differing circumstances influenced Quaker tactics and behavior. These factors aside, however, early Friends remained an ideologically motivated and generally tribal group that generated a formidable reputation for corporate activism. Others often had occasion to rue the beliefs of Friends, and to lament their success in acting collectively. To write Quakers off, as Steven White does, as "simply human" is to "mainstream" them into a homogeneous "simply human" culture where all differences become trivialized, and where Quakers, along with others, risk being blended and merged into sameness, silence, and extinction.¹⁹ That, of course, would be the ultimate in reductionism. Is it acceptable for this to happen to ancient Friends? No, I think it is not, neither in terms of the past nor of the present.

¹ Howard Beeth, "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies," *The Southern Friend*, XI (1989), 17–32.

² Although they have important intellectual antecedents, structuralist as well as post-structuralist theory and practice, including deconstruction, is presented in the works of Louis Althusser, Roland Barthes, Paul De Man, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Claude Levi-Strauss, among others. An enormous, politically loaded literature has grown up around their work. Some of this recent work includes (in order of appearance) John Sturrock, ed., *Structuralism and Since: From Levi-Strauss to Derrida* (New York: Oxford, 1979); Frank Lentricchia, *After the New Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Simon Clarke, *The Foundations of Structuralism: A Critique of Levi-Strauss and the Structuralism Movement* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1981); Annette Lavers, *Roland Barthes: Structuralism and After* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982); Michael Ryan, *Marxism and Deconstruction: A Critical Articulation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1982); Jonathan Culler, *Barthes* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983); William C. Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx: An Introduction to the Political Unconscious* (Ithaca, NY:

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Cornell University Press, 1984); Allan Megill, *Prophets of Extremity: Nietzsche, Heidegger, Foucault, Derrida* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); J.G. Merquior, *From Prague to Paris: A Critique of Structuralist and Post-Structuralist Thought* (London: Verso, 1986); Peter Dews, *The Logics of Disintegration: Post Structuralist Thought and the Claims of Critical Theory* (London: Verso, 1987); Richard Harland, *Superstructuralism: The Philosophy of Structuralism and Post-Structuralism* (London: Methuen, 1987); Christopher Norris, *Derrida* (London: Fontana, 1987).

A spirited Marxist attack on post-structuralism can be found in Bryan D. Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990). A stimulating look at the historical controversy among historians about the "objectivity question" is Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), winner of the 1989 Albert J. Beveridge Award. The ongoing debate between historians is sketched in Karen J. Winkler, "Challenging Traditional Views, Some Historians Say Their Scholarship May Not Be Truly Objective," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 16 Jan. 1991, A4-A6.

³ The long quotation is from Palmer, *Descent into Discourse*, 3, and the short quote from C. Charbonnier, *Conversations with Claude Levi-Strauss* (London: Cape, 1973), 154. For the theory upon which much of the current discourse is focused, consult the earlier works of Ferdinand de Saussure and Roman Jakobson. Also note that many scholars make a distinction between humans and other animals; see, for example, Derek Bickerton, *Roots of Language* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981) and *Language & Species* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

⁴ Jonathan M. Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen: The Puritan Adjustment to Quakerism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Bay* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985); Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers & Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); Steven Jay White, "Early American Quakers and the Transatlantic Community" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1990). Jordan's arguments are mostly contained in a series of articles: "'God's Candle' Within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., XXXIX (1982), 628-54, reprinted in *The Southern Friend*, VIII (1986), 27-58; "Elections and Voting in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 77 (1982), 238-65; "The Miracle of This Age': Maryland's Experiment in Religious Toleration, 1649-1689," *The Historian*, XLVII (1985), 338-59. See also his book, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632-1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For my critique of Chu, Jordan, and Soderlund, see Beeth, "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies," *The Southern Friend*, XI (1989).

⁵ Ibid., Beeth.

⁶ Steven Jay White, "Quaker Historiography Revisited: Another Look at Early American Quaker Studies," paper presented at Conference of Quaker

A reply by Howard Beeth

Historians and Archivists, George Fox College, June, 1990.

⁷ Ibid., page 2, fn 3.

⁸ Ibid., 13–4.

⁹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 10. Said is a contemporary leader in examining the role and influence of cultural subjectivity in historical scholarship. One direct consequence of the debate over provincializing ethnocentrism has been the controversy over curriculum revision and the Eurocentric focus of education in the United States. For more about this, see Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: Education and the Crisis of Reason* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "The Opening of the American Mind," *New York Times Book Review*, 23 July 1989, 26–7.

¹⁰ Thomas C. Patterson, "Post-structuralism, Post-modernism: Implications for Historians," *Social History*, 14 (1989), 83–8, quote from 86.

¹¹ These comments were part of his essay-review of the literature of the French Revolution entitled "The Most Sublime Event," *The Nation*, 12 March 1990, 351–60, quote from 351.

¹² In an earlier incarnation, empiricists were wont to call themselves "cliometricians." Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, authors of *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974) and *Time on the Cross: Evidence and Methods — A Supplement* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), were for awhile the leading practitioners of cliometrics. Their pioneer attempts at quantification were quickly subjected to searching criticism in Herbert G. Gutman, *Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of "Time on the Cross"* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1975) and Paul A. David, Herbert G. Gutman, Richard Sutch, Peter Temin, and Gavin Wright, *Reckoning with Slavery: A Critical Study in the Quantitative History of American Negro Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976). In his book, Gutman noted (p. 3) that sophisticated methodology notwithstanding, "[t]he intelligent reader does not need to know the difference between a chi-square test and multiple-regression analysis to learn that ordinary enslaved Afro-Americans did not conform to the patterns of belief and behavior emphasized in [*Time on the Cross*]."

¹³ The problematics of "doing history" might lead some to ask themselves: "Why bother?" The answer to that, I think, combines fatalism and existentialism; like Sisyphus, we must accept our fate as stone rollers without ever knowing either the ultimate value of our work or the uses to which it eventually may be put.

¹⁴ White, "Quaker Historiography Revisited," 15–6.

¹⁵ Although the terminology is mine, others are likewise concerned about political switch-hitters in academe. For example, in *Descent into Discourse*, xiii–xiv, historian Bryan Palmer confesses an interest "in why and how social historians once committed to historical materialism as a way of understanding

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the world of the past and the present have come to embrace theories and perspectives that often stand in opposition to a Marxist analysis of social relations and structures.”

¹⁶ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971). Gramsci is exceptionally dense which makes him attractive to some intellectuals. Others might wish to read about his ideas in a more accessible form prior to confronting them directly; see, for example, Walter L. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

¹⁷ White, “Quaker Historiography Revisited,” 3–5.

¹⁸ For White’s objections, see *ibid.*, 5–6. However, Quaker tribalism and the mechanisms Friends used to build it and to maintain it were evident to many in early America, including enemies of the Society of Friends, and have been noted by scholars since then, including me; see “The South & The Outsider: Origin of a Partnership,” *Southern Humanities Review*, IX (1975), 345–57; “Know Thyself: The Uses of the Queries among early Southern Quakers,” *The Southern Friend*, IX (1987), 3–14; “Between Friends: The Function and Content of Epistolary Correspondence among Quakers in the Emergent South,” *Quaker History*, LXXVI (1987), 108–28.

¹⁹ White characterizes Quakers as “simply human” in “Quaker Historiography Revisited,” 16. But it was not their humanity which separated Friends from others. It was their ideology and their behavior.

Annual Report of the Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College, 1990–1991

by

Damon Hickey and Carole Treadway

As with 1989–90, the year 1990–91 was marked for the Friends Historical Collection by both expansion and contraction. The expansion was spacial, as the move of the collection into renovated and expanded space was completed. The collection itself also expanded, as the American Freedom Association archives were brought out of storage and returned to the library, albeit still boxed and unprocessed. The staff, however, contracted. Beginning with an all-time high of three full-time employees (two professional, one support) in January 1990, the staff decreased to two in the spring, when research assistant Gertrude Beal took a job elsewhere on campus and her position was discontinued. Contracts for 1990–91 reduced the staff further, to one and one-half, when bibliographer Carole Treadway's time was split between the collection and library technical services. In the fall of 1990, curator and associate library director Damon Hickey was asked to take on additional responsibility, as acting library director, in the absence of library director Herbert Poole, who was leading the Munich Semester Abroad Program. In the spring Damon announced his resignation in order to accept the position of director of the library at the College of Wooster in Ohio, effective 1 July 1991. In June, Carole returned to the collection full-time, as librarian of the Friends Historical Collection, and now its only paid staff member.

Facilities

New and refurbished quarters provided Friends meeting records with much-needed space for expansion. Previously crowded into a tiny vault with floor-to-ceiling shelves around the walls, these materials were placed on new shelves around the periphery of the lower level of the new closed stacks. Considering the space they occupy in their new quarters, it seems hard to believe that they ever fit into the old.

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Genealogical materials were also allowed to expand into newly-built bookcases in the Research Room, itself an enlargement that includes both the old Research Room and the former collection office. The room also provides ample space for displaying publications for sale, on slanted display shelves. A Persian rug, donated to the college by emeritus trustee Joseph Cox, complements the larger one donated by the late Sidney Jeffries. The room also boasts a new receptionist's desk, indirect lighting, a handsome new entrance, and a closet (the former vault) that contains clothes hangers and lockers, microfilm copies of the meeting records, and (eventually) a large-document cabinet.

Increasing the shelving in the Research Room has resulted in a reduction in the number of pieces of antique Quaker furniture displayed there. Some of these pieces are displayed in the new, large case outside the collection, in an exhibit prepared by senior history major Lori Meeks, with the curator's assistance, as part of an independent study in history and women's studies. It focuses on Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, public Friend, leading promoter of education for women, mother, and wife of Guilford's first president. Other pieces will be featured in future displays.

The collection's expanded and renovated quarters offer an advantage in addition to increased space. The separation of non-rare periodicals and circulating materials from rare materials, and the placement of the former in an unlocked room where they are accessible whenever the Hege Library is open, gives students and other users of the collection increased, self-service access.

The FHC's new quarters also include a handsomely outfitted Peace Studies Reading Room and a Peace Studies Office, as well as the office of the director of the Friends Center. The Peace Studies Reading Room functions as a reading room containing current printed materials, as a meeting room for small groups, and as an occasional seminar room. Regular use has been made by a variety of groups, including the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, the Steering Committee and the Long-Range Planning Committee of the Friends Center, the college trustees' Committee on Yearly Meeting Relations, and the Peace Studies Steering Committee. Groups of students needing to work together also use the room from time to time. Student assistants for the Peace Studies program have worked in the office regularly, as has Vernie Davis, its

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director. A personal computer and printer were recently added for Peace Studies' "Options" program.

The relocation of the Friends Center office in the FHC complex has made possible, as expected, a broad range of consultations with both Peace Studies and the FHC staff. Max Carter, newly appointed this year as coordinator of campus ministry under the auspices of the Friends Center (with his office in Founders Hall), has functioned also as an active member of the Peace Studies Steering Committee. He, Vernie Davis, Friends Center director Judy Harvey, and Damon Hickey met regularly in the fall and occasionally in the spring as the Quaker Activities Council, a coordinating body. Its work included setting policies for use of the Peace Studies Reading Room and meeting with President William Rogers to discuss program possibilities.

Equipment

In the fall it became apparent that expanded space, the presence of the Friends Center office, and the absence of regular clerical assistance argued strongly for a new, multi-line telephone system and telephone answering machine to assist in keeping track of phone calls. An AT&T "Spirit" Communication System and an AT&T Model 1330 Answering System were purchased with FHC restricted funds.

As part of the collection renovation, a new announcing system was installed. Anyone entering the Research Room sets off a motion detector mounted in the ceiling, and an audible electronic signal is heard in the Work Room. Closed-circuit TV cameras, also mounted in the ceiling, transmit pictures of the Research Room to wall-mounted monitors in the Work Room. The staff is able, without leaving the room, to see who has come in, and whether it is someone who needs staff help. Although the system is designed primarily to help the staff do its job better, it has the added virtue of providing surveillance that may deter theft.

In the fall, the North Carolina State Library announced that it was unable to continue preservation lamination of records because the only manufacturer of the laminating tissue has ceased to make it. The Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records, which was preparing to have a number of record books deacidified, laminated, and rebound, decided to adopt an alternate method of preserving these materials. Since the greatest stress on documents comes from handling, and since virtually all of the records have been microfilmed, the committee purchased for the collection a new, zoom-lens Minolta RP 605Z microfilm/

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microfiche reader/printer, and a new Savin 7230 photocopier. Researchers are now required to use microfilm of meeting records, unless the film is unclear or incomplete, or unless another researcher is already using the reader/printer. Clear, positive, dry copies can be made easily from the film. In the few cases where original records must be copied directly, a staff member makes them on the new photocopy machine. Having a photocopier in the collection has eliminated much waste of staff time.

Use of the computer terminal in the collection was enhanced by the installation of a Hewlett Packard Laser Jet IIP printer, purchased with FHC restricted funds. After some initial problems caused by new campus-wide telecommunications wiring, the printer now gives fast, dependable service.

Use

Use of the collection this year by Guilford faculty and students has been good. Part of the use reflects the final month of the course, "The Quakers in American History," taught last spring by the curator, as well as several independent studies and papers for the junior-year history seminar. Several graduate students have also done extensive research in the collection.

The staff's subjective impression is that use of non-rare and circulating materials has increased. But the fact that staff assistance is no longer needed to gain access to them has meant that accurate records of the number of users could not be kept. Hence, while this year's use figures provide a baseline for future years', they cannot be compared to those of previous years.

Resumption of genealogical services, after nearly a year's lapse during construction, has not resulted as yet in a return to previous levels of genealogical use. This fact may be attributed to economic recession, which may have discouraged genealogists from traveling as much; or to the slowness of getting out the word that the collection is once again open for service. In anticipation of greater demand along with reduced staffing, the staff decided this year to make genealogical research as much of a self-service operation as possible. Damon Hickey prepared a new, one-page guide to genealogical research, as well as a multi-page explanation of the abbreviated terms used in the abstracts of William Wade Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, volume 1. Genealogists are asked to read these materials carefully before they are offered further assistance. Student workers have provided assis-

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tance when requested, with the professional staff as backup. With this reduction in staff services, genealogists are no longer charged for use of the collection, but are asked to make voluntary donations of at least \$10 per day. Most have complied, sometimes giving more than the minimum.

Gifts

A number of gifts were received this year and are listed in the accompanying summary. The most notable was a bequest from the estate of the late Ernestine Cookson Milner. Together with the funds raised previously by the Friends of the Guilford College Library to endow the Clyde and Ernestine Milner Collection in International Quaker Studies, this bequest brings the Milner endowment to more than \$80,000. It is anticipated that the income from this endowment will be sufficient to pay a large part of the operating expenses of the collection in future years, as well as to buy new international Quaker materials. The collection also receives annual income from several yearly meeting trust funds, as well as from gifts and user contributions. Since North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends makes a generous contribution toward Carole Treadway's salary, the Friends Historical Collection will be able to operate in 1991-92 with very little support from Guilford College.

Special Events and Professional Activities

The return of the collection to its enlarged and expanded quarters called for public celebration. The FHC partook in the general rejoicing over the completion of the library construction at the formal dedication of the Hege Library in September. Rather than have one special event for the FHC in particular, the staff hosted a series. In August the annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society was held in conjunction with the sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. FHC curator Damon Hickey spoke to a group of more than one hundred in the Carnegie Room of the Hege Library, on the topic, "To Save Our Children to Our Own Church': The Post-Civil War Revival of North Carolina Yearly Meeting," followed by a reception in the FHC Research Room. Carole Treadway arranged and presided at the meeting. Later that month, as part of New-Student Orientation at the college, President William Rogers spent a day in the collection greeting new students and inviting them to sign an official college register. In October, the college hosted the autumn meeting of the Society of North Carolina Archivists, which included a tour of the FHC. Damon Hickey was part of

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a panel presentation on "Moving Archives," and handled local arrangements for the meeting. The following week, the college welcomed the Historical Society of North Carolina with a reception in the FHC Research Room. Damon Hickey had hoped to present a paper, "'A Spirit of Improvement and Progress': A Philadelphia Quaker Visits North Carolina, 1887," but because of scheduling conflicts it was deferred until the spring meeting at Elon College in March.

Both Damon Hickey and Carole Treadway attended the biennial meeting of the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Friends Association for Higher Education at George Fox College in Newberg, Oregon, in June. Carole served on the Program Committee for this conference and presided at the archival program session. She was appointed convener of the Planning Committee for the next conference, to be held at Wilmington College in Ohio in 1992.

As a result of his successful course, "The Quakers in American History," presented in the spring of 1990, Damon Hickey was made adjunct assistant professor of history in the fall. During the fall semester, he served as faculty supervisor for student Douglas Hall's internship at the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem. In July, he presented Guilford College's report to North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Conservative. Also in July, he gave the Summer Institute of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts a tour of the collection, spoke to them about its resources, and discussed the relation of Quakers to material culture in the Carolina backcountry before 1820. In August, he reported on the collection to North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting). Also in August, he spoke to the Newlin Family Reunion about the Conservative Quaker heritage in North Carolina. In September, he led groups from Friends Homes retirement community on a tour of the library, including the FHC. In October, he presented an overview of the history of Friends in North Carolina to the Southeastern Regional Gathering of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Section of the Americas. In November, he talked to several eighth-grade social studies classes at Kiser Middle School about early Quaker settlement of North Carolina. In March, he spoke to two history classes at Grimsley High School about Quakers and conscientious objection in World War I and in "Operation Desert Storm." Also in March, he talked to a young Friends' membership class from Greensboro Monthly Meeting about the Quaker heritage of Greensboro. Although scheduled in March to present

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a paper on changes in post-Civil War southern Quakerism, to the Quaker history conference at Lancaster University in England, he was prevented by illness from participating. In April, he discussed early British Quaker history with Timothy Kircher's "Tudor and Stuart English History" class at Guilford. In May, he spoke to the men's group at Friends Homes about the Friends for whom its buildings are named. He spoke also to the book club at the Presbyterian Home retirement center in High Point on North Carolina Friends. In June, he is scheduled to speak to Charlotte Friends Meeting about the evolution of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. In the spring, he was selected to contribute an article on southern Quakers during the Civil War for the *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy*, to be edited by Richard N. Current and published by Simon & Schuster.

In March, Damon Hickey completed his second three-year term on the Executive Committee of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Section of the Americas. He completed his second year as clerk of Friendship Monthly Meeting in May. He edited the spring 1990 and autumn 1990/spring 1991 issues of *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society*. He served on the Board of Directors, the Editorial Committee, Tercentenary Celebration Committee, and the Publications Advisory Committee of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. He served ex officio on the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records and the Publication Board of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. He represented the collection on the Friends Center Steering Committee and Long Range Planning Committee and helped to design its workshop retreat on developing Quaker leadership in North Carolina.

In June, Carole Treadway reported to North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Conservative, on the collection and on the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. In July, she participated in the First International Theological Conference of Quaker Women and clerked the Epistle Committee. She reported on the conference and presented "A Brief Introduction to Conservative Quakerism," to the Southeastern Regional Gathering of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Section of the Americas, in October. In March, she spoke to the Chatham County Historical Society on "Quakers in Piedmont, North Carolina: An Overview." In April, she addressed the Women's Society of Greensboro Monthly Meeting on "Quaker Women in North Carolina."

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Carole Treadway served as recording clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Conservative. She was vice president of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and served on its Editorial Committee, Tercentenary Celebration Committee, and Publications Advisory Committee. She was associate editor of *The Southern Friend* and will be a part of an editorial board which will assume responsibility for editing and publishing the journal in future issues. She was a member ex officio of the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. She served on the Membership Committee of the Friends Historical Association, of Philadelphia.

Staffing

With the reduction in staff to one and one-half, and with the fall semester's increase in Damon Hickey's general library responsibilities, limited progress was made this year in unpacking materials that had been boxed for the collection's two moves and in processing materials recovered from storage. In order to assure at least minimal service and security during the hours when the Research Room was open (weekdays, 9:00 a.m. – 12:00 noon and 2:00 – 5:00 p.m.) student workers were hired for thirty hours a week in the fall and twenty-seven in the spring. Deborah Parker, Stephanie O'Neal, Deirdre Kielty, and (in the fall) Kimberly Austin provided basic assistance to genealogists, brought out materials for other researchers, and worked on a variety of projects. Augusta Benjamin continued to volunteer her time, giving valuable service answering genealogical reference questions by mail. Helen Stanfield also served as a volunteer in the collection several weeks during the fall. With the exception of Augusta Benjamin, however, none of the students or volunteers has yet gained sufficient experience to take over any of the kinds of tasks performed previously by paid staff.

Retrospect and Prospect

This report represents the completion of eleven years in which Damon Hickey has served as curator of the collection, and Carole Treadway, as its bibliographer. With Damon's departure and Carole's assumption of responsibility for the collection, it seems appropriate to summarize the developments of the past eleven years and to look ahead.

First, it should be noted that each curator of the collection has made a distinct contribution. Dorothy Gilbert Thorne collected the book and manuscript materials that, together with the meeting records, form the solid core of today's collection. Treva Mathis Dodd brought a librarian's

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expertise to the organization of the collection. Damon Hickey has expanded the educational and programmatic role of the collection and made it more visible in the college community, the Friends community, the larger local community, and the community of Quaker historians and archivists.

Second, it is important to bear in mind the fact that Carole Treadway has worked, for twenty-one years, with each of the curators, and has participated and assisted in each of the stages of the collection's development. During the last eleven years, after she completed the master's degree in library science, Carole has been partly responsible for the management of the collection for five years when the curator had other responsibilities as well, and was fully responsible for it for three years when he was away on leave. It is especially appropriate, therefore, that she will now assume full responsibility for the collection in her own right.

During the last eleven years, the collection has expanded, with the addition of books, manuscripts, meeting records, artifacts, and microforms. The name of the collection has been changed from the "Quaker Collection" and "Quaker Room" to Dorothy Gilbert Thorne's original "Friends Historical Collection." A small collection of peace materials has been added. The collection's physical facilities have been renovated and more than doubled in size, and its equipment upgraded and expanded. Other, related campus offices have accepted the invitation to share the collection's enlarged space. The staff has worked closely with the yearly meetings and the Friends Center to offer Quaker programming to the Friends community. Guilford's first course in American Quaker history was taught by the curator, and the use of the collection by Guilford students, especially in history, has greatly increased. Endowment funds have been raised, enabling almost all of the collection's operating budget and part of its staff budget to be underwritten. Carole Treadway's position has been upgraded from support staff to professional/faculty level. Financial support for the collection from the Quaker community has increased, including a budgeted commitment by North Carolina Yearly Meeting to contribute substantially to Carole Treadway's professional-level salary and benefits. The staff of the collection has been central to the leadership of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, its publications program, and its journal. Both professional staff members have sought and obtained national certification as archivists. They have helped to develop the Society of North Carolina Archivists and have taken leadership in the Conference of Quaker Historians and

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Archivists. They have written, published, and spoken widely on topics related to Quaker faith and practice, Quaker history, genealogy, and archival management. Their personal commitment to and involvement with Friends, locally, nationally, and internationally, have enhanced the collection's reputation and placed it in a network of relationships that have brought it gifts of materials and funds, researchers, articles, and the kinds of referrals that make the difference between a good collection and an outstanding one.

Guilford College and North Carolina Friends have reason to be proud of their Friends Historical Collection despite the serious reduction in the size of its staff. The FHC preserves the South's important Quaker heritage and makes it available for study. It constitutes a laboratory for the humanities, especially for history and religious studies, that is unparalleled in most colleges the size of Guilford. It has been widely regarded as the most outstanding Quaker collection outside London and Philadelphia. Its facilities are ample, beautiful, and serviceable. It is well equipped. It continues to attract scholars and genealogists, who often seem surprised to learn how much it contains. Although not wealthy, it has a modest endowment. With the Friends Center, campus ministry program, and Peace Studies, the FHC is part of a synergistic complex of people and programs ready to become an integral part of the college's educational program and a vital tool for the development of Quaker leadership.

**Gifts to the Friends Historical Collection
1990–1991**

Albright, Leigh

Jonathan Lindley: The Paoli Pioneer, by Nancy Lindley Oslund, 1947 (photocopy).

Allred, George H.

“Allen–Dixon–Councilman Families,” by Edith C. Puckett, n.d. (photocopy of typescript).

Anderson, Jean B.

“Early Quakers in the Eno River Valley, ca. 1750–1847,” by Mary Claire Engstrom, which is vol. 7, #2 of the journal *Eno* (n.d.).

Atkins, J.W.

Dover Cemetery records, compiled from tombstones, records in the Friends Historical Collection, and D.A.R. tombstone readings, by J. W. Atkins, 1990.

Bailey, Pat Shaw

Land Grant Records of North Carolina. vol. 1: *Orange County, 1752–1885*, compiled by Pat Shaw Bailey, 1990.

Bayler, Catherine

Materials pertaining to Dr. A. D. Beitel, former academic dean of Guilford College, including letters, clippings, and excerpt from a biography (photocopies, 8 items).

Benjamin, Augusta

Volunteer work; “Quaker Lady Detaining the English General,” (print, 18th century, origin unknown).

Bonney, Margaret Kemper

Quakerism in the Pisquataqua: A Historical Address, by Charles I. Pettingell, 1945 (photocopy of a pamphlet).

Bundy, Carolyn

Materials relating to Springfield Monthly Meeting and the Springfield Memorial Association, including papers of the West Hill Debating Society, pictures, brochures, programs, books, membership directories, a paper by John J. Blair, calendars, financial papers, and Sabbath school record books.

Bundy, V. Mayo

The Descendants of Neil Culbreth of Sampson County and Cornelius

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Astry of Edgecombe County, North Carolina and Allied Families, by V. Mayo Bundy, 1990; contribution of money.

Carlson, James R.

Candle in the Straw, by Judson Jerome, 1964.

Carroll, Kenneth

"The Honorable Thomas Tailor: A Tale of Two Wives," by Kenneth Carroll. Offprint from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 85 (Winter 1990).

Coppock, Barbara (by Lester Allen)

Epistle of London Yearly Meeting, 1873, printed for North Carolina Yearly Meeting by the Patriot Office, Greensboro, NC.

Craven, F. Duval

Additions to Craven family papers.

Deagon, Ann

Hugh Wynn, Fighting Quaker, by S. Weir Mitchell. Continental ed. New York: Century, 1899; issues of journals and magazines and copies of anthologies in which poems by Ann Deagon have been published.

Duke Divinity School Library

Pamphlets and brochures of the American Friends Service Committee.

Feagins, Carroll and Mary

Correspondence from East German Quakers, including Everhardt Tacke whose original prints are on two of the pieces, 1980-87 (9 items).

Ford, LeRoy

"The Browns of Nottingham," n.d. (photocopy).

Forsyth County Public Library

Marriage certificate of Thomas Wilson and Elizabeth Newby, Perquimans Co., N.C. dated 9-7-1777.

Fredricks, Dan

5 Quaker titles.

Greensboro Public Library

35 mm. film, "The Silver Thread," a dramatization of the history of Centre Monthly Meeting.

Guerrant, Mary Moon Taylor

Group photograph taken in front of New Garden Hall (now Mary

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Hobbs Hall), circa 1911.

Gust, Frances Osborne

Two photographs, one of the Osborne tombstone, Knightstown, Ind.

Haldane, Elise

Information on the Burris and related families (photocopies).

Hall, Louise B., estate (by Florence Blakely, executrix)

"Epistles. From the Women's Yearly Meetings in London and Philadelphia belonging to Shields Meeting," England (bound MS volume).

Haworth, Sara Richardson

Letter from J. M. Tomlinson to David Jordan dated 7-9-1867 concerning a subscription for building a schoolhouse at Springfield. With photocopy and transcript.

Hill, Hershel

22 books.

Hill, Thomas

Inventory of the Ohio Yearly Meeting (Conservative) records in the vault at Olney Friends Boarding School, Barnesville, Ohio; copies of documents pertaining to Ohio Yearly Meeting records on deposit in the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College; revisions of "Monthly Meeting of North America: An Index," dated May, July, October 1990 and March 1991; Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting minutes, 1803-1871, typed transcript; inventory of contents of Salem (Ohio) Quarterly Meeting safes; inventory of Northwest Yearly Meeting records.

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

Additions to the Chawner and Woody papers, including letters, diaries, clippings, financial papers, and genealogical materials; *Hinshawtown and Roundabout: Facts and Folklore, Community Events*, by Seth B. Hinshaw, 1989; collection of glass slides compiled by John W. Woody; letters of James Terrell, 1898-99; "Genealogy of the Vestal family from 1693-1893," anon., 1893; letters from Margaret Crownfield, Hurley Simpson, 1980-84.

Historic Jamestown, Inc. (by Margaret Harris)

Minutes, Board of Directors of Historic Jamestown, Inc., 1974-1990.

Hole, Francis

Allen David Hole and Mary Doan Hole: A Biography of Two Hoosier Quaker Educators, 1866-1940, by Francis D. Hole, 1991.

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Hoover, Eleanor Blair Floyd

Letters of Eunice Henley Blair (8); pamphlets (2); AFSC pin; clippings; exemption papers for David V. Henley, 1864.

Hornaday, L. S.

Piedmont North Carolina Cemeteries, compiled by Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Hornaday. Vol. I: *Cane Creek Meeting*, 1981. Vol. II: *Rocky River Friends Meeting With Additional Materials from Cane Creek Friends Meeting*, 1990.

Jamestown Public Library

Books (31) and pamphlets (66).

Johnson, Barbara—Anne Steegmuller

Iiams Family History, by Alta Cecil Koch, rev. by Barbara—Anne Steegmuller Johnson, Carolyn Robison, Dale Robison, 1990.

Kaiser, Geoffrey

The Society of Friends in North America — 1661–1989 (chart) 14th rev. ed., by Geoffrey D. Kaiser.

Knuth, Jill Carter

The Stubbs Index, compiled by Jill Carter Knuth, 1990 (microfiche).

Leake, Roy E.

The CPS Story: An Illustrated History of Civilian Public Service, by Albert N. Keim, 1991; *Hommage à Marquerite Czarnecki: Temoinages sur Ce Au Peut "Etre" Et "Faire" une Femme Quaker*, compiled by La Société Religieuse des Amis, 1988.

Lilly Library, Earlham College (by Thomas Hamm, archivist)

Printed minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1820–36, 1837–54 (bound vols.) 1883 (women's only), 1888–89, 1891–92, 1895, 1898–99; tracts (20), pamphlets (6), books (4), and a genealogical chart of the Jordan family.

Long, J. D.

Blueprint of the town of Guilford College, including principally the Guilford College campus, by Dobson Long, 1909; Long family papers, principally letters, photographs, documents of J. Dobson Long and John A. Long; Guilford College memorabilia. 33 items, 1905–1920.

Macon, Seth

Additions to Levi Cox papers, 1855–1858 (3 items).

May, Nila Hunt

"A Saga of the Hunts, 1690–1961," compiled by Nila Hunt May.

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McCarthy, Anne L.

The Hill Family of Chowan County, North Carolina, by Anne L. McCarthy, 1990.

Melvin, Katharine Shields

A Portraiture of the People Called Quakers, by Horace Mather Lippincott, 1915.

Merrell, Barbara

Disciplines of Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1892 and 1905: Memorials of Jonathan Hodgson, by Sarah Estell Surface and others, 1907.

Messick, Aaron and Brent

"Maynes—Mains Genealogy," n.d. Given in memory of Esther Mains Lumadue.

Mills, Robert G.

Contribution of money.

Moore, J. Floyd

Memorabilia of Oxford Friends World Conference, 1952 (2 items); photograph; audio recording of a speech by Henry Cadbury; contributions in memory of Frances Haworth and Hazel Johnson Straight; correspondence and documents (photocopies) confirming that the large yellow poplar in the Guilford College woods is the fourth largest in North Carolina; insignia patches from J. Floyd Moore's AFSC uniform, 1948 (Quaker relief in Germany), with a paper label pertaining to the relief effort.

Morrow, Mrs. Robert C.

Memorabilia of Julia S. White, including her calling card, a certificate, and three photographs including one of her in the Guilford College library taken between 1909–1912 during the time she was librarian.

Mortimer, Jean E.

Quakers in Gildersome: the History of a Yorkshire Meeting, by Jean E. Mortimer, 1990.

Muse, Margaret Cox

The Cox Family of Wayne County, North Carolina, compiled by Henry Eugene Cox, rev. by Margaret Cox Muse, 1974.

Mussgang, Dora G.

AFSC uniform insignia patches and pin (9 patches), 1948 (German relief).

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New Garden Monthly Meeting

5 books.

Orr, Oliver H., Jr.

Unbound copy of T. Gilbert Pearson's *Birds of North Carolina*, 1919, autographed and with an informal photograph of Pearson taken in 1918; copy of *Tales from Birdland* also by Pearson, 1920, autographed.

Pearce, Edward

Material on Dymond City, N.C., Mattamuskeet Meeting, and the Quaker Road in Hyde County, N.C. (photocopies of newsclipping and pages from *Martin County Heritage*).

Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Epistles and extracts of minutes of the women's meetings of London and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, 18th c. (manuscripts).

Perkins, Theodore and Eugenia

Antique glass punch bowl and stand (on permanent loan); miscellaneous clippings, programs, brochures and papers relating to local Friends and Friends meetings.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Records Committee,

Lyman W. Riley, clerk

Guide to the Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1990.

Powell, Tom

Hedge of Bitter Almonds: South Africa, The 'Pro-Boers,' and the Quaker Conscience 1890-1910, 1989.

Price, J. Hampton, estate of

Websterian Literary Society oratorical contest prize medallion, 1920.

Rich, William V.

History and Genealogy of the John Milton Rich Family in Montgomery, Randolph and Other Counties of North Carolina from around 1766 to the Present Time, by William Virgil Rich and Betty Rich Hedrick, 1989.

Skidmore, William F.

James Terry of Tennessee: A Door to His Ancestry and His Progeny, by Woodford Terry; *Thomas Stonestreet of...Charles County, Maryland, with His Posterity Down to the Sixth Generation*, by Warren Skidmore, 1983; *John Skidmore of Harlan County, Kentucky*, by William F. Skidmore and Holly Fee, 1987; *The Scudamores of Upton Scudamore...*, by Warren Skidmore, 1982.

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Sommers, Greg

Advice for Conscientious Objectors in the Armed Forces, ed. by Robert A. Seeley. 5th ed. 1984.

Stinson, Malone

The Man Who Moved a Mountain, by Richard C. Davids, 1970.

Stoesen, Alex

Guilford College charter, 1946, with correspondence from Richard Hobbs and Thad Eure, secretary of state, North Carolina.

Stubbins, Marguerite

Photographs of Guilford College scenes, early 20th century (9, mounted).

Sullivan, Pauline B.

One issue of *The Student* dated 10th mo. 1888, with an article in it on Guilford College by Lyndon Hobbs (president of the college).

Tatum, Betty Ray

Photographs of Florence McBane, et al.; memorial of Florence McBane (6 items).

Thompson, Eugene

"Quaker Relations with Midwestern Indians to 1833," by Max Leon Carter. Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1989.

Treadway, Carole

Our George: The Early Years of George Fox, the Quaker, 1624-45, by Joan Allen, 1990.

Winchester, Ethel

Clippings, programs concerning the Fourth Friends World Conference, 1967.

Witt, George and Phyllis

"An American Family: the Dixons," by Phyllis and George Witt, 1989 (draft copy).

Woman's Society of First Friends Meeting

Contribution of money.

Z. Smith Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University (Sharon Snow, Curator of Rare Books)

Printed minutes of Canada Yearly Meeting (1910, 1926), Ohio Yearly Meeting (1904, 1926), New England Yearly Meeting (1904), Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1877), and *A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Friends' Boarding School Near Barnesville, Ohio,.... 1890.*

**Documents of Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings
of the Society of Friends of North and South Carolina
Deposited in the Friends Historical Collection
1990-91**

Asheboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1984 – 6th mo. 1987

Minutes, 7th mo. 1989 – 6th mo. 1990

Cane Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 12th mo. 1958 – 6th mo. 1968

Minutes, 7th mo. 1968 – 6th mo. 1976

Minutes, 7th mo. 1976 – 6th mo. 1982

Cedar Square Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 6th mo. 1964 – 4th mo. 1970

Minutes, 7th mo. 1978 – 6th mo. 1985

Minutes, 7th mo. 1985 – 6th mo. 1990

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 6th mo. 1980 – 6th mo. 1989

Columbia Monthly Meeting, Columbia, S.C.

Minutes, attached papers, and newsletters, 10th mo. 1989 –
10th mo. 1990

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 8th mo. 1988 – 6th mo. 1989

Minutes, 8th mo. 1989 – 6th mo. 1990

Membership record sheets (14)

Durham Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1st mo. 1988 – 12th mo. 1990

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1st mo. 1989 – 12th mo. 1989

Marlboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 6th mo. 1984 – 10th mo. 1990

Nahunta Monthly Meeting

Minutes, Lona Edgerton Missionary Circle, 1977-1987

New Garden Monthly Meeting (Received from Hiram Hilty)

Baraca-Philathea Class papers, including reunion minutes,
membership lists, scrapbook, history notes, notes and essays
on local history. Compiled and kept by Clara Farlow.

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North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Peace Committee minutes, 1982–1989

Memorials, 1989–90

Epistles received, 1990

Epistles from Young Friends

Young Friends Yearly Meeting minutes, 1982–1985

Ministry and Counsel minutes, 1990

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)

Minutes, Ministers, Elders, and Overseers, 11th mo. 1919 –
8th mo. 1963

Pine Hill Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1989 – 6th mo. 1990

Bible School registers (11), 1938–1952

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 7th mo. 1968 – 6th mo. 1986

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 7th mo. 1986 – 7th mo. 1989

Rich Square Monthly Meeting (Conservative)

Minutes, 6th mo. 1989 – 5th mo. 1990

South Fork Monthly Meeting

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 9th mo. 1974 – 1st mo. 1985

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 1st mo. 1985 – 12th mo. 1987

Up River Monthly Meeting

Records, 1 bound volume, ca. 1986

1 folder unbound records

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**Annual Statistics for the
Friends Historical Collection, 1990-91**

Acquisitions and Cataloging

Monographs	205
Meeting document groups	33
Manuscript items or collections received	17
Costumes	0
Artifacts	15
Pictorial matter (items or collections)	26
Serials — new titles	1

Users

Visitors	272
Groups	13
Genealogists	242
Guilford College faculty and staff	35
Scholars and researchers from outside Guilford	123
Guilford students	33
Students from other institutions	64

Correspondence

Genealogy	118
Requests for copies	19
Acknowledgments	106
Publication orders	10
General reference	59

Book Reviews

Compiled and edited by

Carole Treadway

William C. Kashatus III. *Conflict of Conviction: A Reappraisal of Quaker Involvement in the American Revolution*. Lanham, MD.: University Press of America, 1990. xiv, 168 pages, illustrations, index and appendices. \$20.75, paperback.

Although William Kashatus's book raises important questions about long-neglected aspects of Quaker history, its potential is never realized. Years ago Frederick Tolles wrote that after a number of years of writing essays, he discovered (much to his surprise) that he had written a book. In four interesting and provocative essays, William Kashatus has attempted to do the same. Unfortunately where Tolles succeeded, Kashatus has failed.

Although the essays are, for the most part, first rate, to link them together under the broad theme of "Quakerism and the American Revolution" does a disservice to Mr. Kashatus's fine scholarship. Each essay makes a solid, although perhaps controversial contribution to Quaker studies, and each is worthy of the attention of scholars; together as a book, they simply do not work.

The content of the essays generally is fine, although the author's logic is sometimes a bit cockeyed. The four essays deal with (1) Thomas Paine (only marginally a Quaker by 1776), (2) Nathaniel Greene (a disowned Quaker who became an American general), (3) the Quaker community of Valley Forge, Pennsylvania during the Revolution, and (4) the Free Quakers who fought on the side of the patriots during the conflict. Unfortunately, Kashatus's overenthusiasm toward the Free Quakers clouds his objectivity. The importance he places on patriotism as being part of Quakerism is also somewhat puzzling. Quakers have always believed that their first allegiance is to God, above and beyond that of their country. Further, the author claims that the Free Quakers were the true Quakers, while the majority who embraced pacifism somehow betrayed the original spirit of Quakerism.

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The strengths of the essays lie elsewhere. Kashatus shows that Quakers during the era of the American Revolution were much more complicated than previously believed. His approach is interesting, even if some of his claims are unsubstantiated. For example, where is the proof for the statement that Thomas Paine would “doubtless have become” a Free Quaker if he had stayed in the Delaware Valley? Kashatus does make a good case for the Free Quakers, and he rightly points out that they unjustly have been left out of previous histories concerning the Quakers and the American Revolution. His views must now be included in any further discussion about the place of the Society of Friends in the war.

Unfortunately, there are some problems of style. Because of its organization, the book reads unevenly. There is little transition between each of the chapters and the book lacks any type of conclusion. A longer introduction would have strengthened the text. The end notes are far too long and could have been cut in half by eliminating the needless catalog of examples. Long block quotes should have been summarized and key phrases extracted. There are a few misspellings and troublesome spacing errors throughout the text, and the one-page index is poor. These inconsistencies denote a lack of careful attention to detail. Unfortunately there is no bibliography at all!

Yet in spite of these problems, I think Kashatus has made an important contribution to our knowledge about Quakers and war. The final essay on the Free Quakers holds great promise, and I am hopeful that it indicates the direction in which Mr. Kashatus concentrates his future research. I think that the author is on the right track when he looks for proof that Quaker thought played a critical role in the formation of American ideals, but I also think that he has misinterpreted his evidence. This book is a fine beginning, but I want to hear more from Mr. Kashatus, especially on the subject of the Free Quakers.

Steven Jay White
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Wilmer A. Cooper. *A Living Faith: An Historical Study of Quaker Beliefs*. Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1990. xv, 217 pages, indexes, bibliography. \$13.95.

It just so happened that during the time I was reading Wilmer Cooper's *A Living Faith* I was also browsing through an article in *Organic Gardening* magazine that sought to dispel myths about compost. The thought occurred to me that Wilmer Cooper is doing the same thing with myths of Quaker faith and practice. I don't want to stretch the analogy too far, however. In comparing compost with Quakerism I might offend some sensitive gardeners!

Indeed, Wilmer Cooper's great contribution in *A Living Faith* is his profound ability to enable Friends and others to examine their own beliefs and become aware of their theological assumptions. He does so in clearly written, highly readable chapters on Quaker history, sources of religious authority, views of God, Jesus Christ, human nature, and the Church, sacraments, testimonies, and eschatology. The book concludes with an overview of Quaker mission and service and an assessment of the contemporary Quaker community and its future prospects.

Along the way, Wilmer Cooper draws on his deep experience across the broad spectrum of Quakerism to critically analyze cherished Quaker "mythologies" and truth claims. Perhaps unique among current Quaker scholars, he brings the perspective of his youth in the Wilburite (Conservative) tradition, his doctoral studies in theology, his work for the Friends Committee on National Legislation, his instrumental role as founding dean of the Earlham School of Religion, active membership in Friends United Meeting, and vital participation in the Faith and Life Movement and the Quaker Theological Discussion Group.

When Wilmer Cooper cites the writings of contemporary Quaker thinkers in his book, he is quoting not only from the creative forefront of Friends scholarship, he is often also citing his former students. Even when referring to late luminaries such as Everett Cattell and Rufus Jones, he writes out of personal acquaintance. It is helpful to know, for example, that the book's discussion of Rufus Jones' death-bed ruminations on the meaning of "that of God in everyone" is based on Cooper's long talks with Jones while at Haverford in 1948.

A Living Faith fills a void in Quaker apologetics. Skillfully blending historiography and theology, it provides a systematic examination of the Quaker movement that will be at least a necessary supplement to (and

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probably replace in importance) Trueblood's *The People Called Quakers* and Brinton's *Friends for 300 Years*.

Unfortunately, some American Friends have used the book's brief mention of Everett Cattell's thoughts on a realignment of Friends in America (pp 160–163) to support a scheme to realign Friends United Meeting. In a very helpful "open letter" to Friends in the July/August, 1991, issue of *Quaker Life*, Wilmer Cooper further explains his ideas and proposes important considerations that must be given to any plan for reshaping the Society of Friends in America. This letter is a necessary appendix to his book.

Friends inevitably make acronyms of their organizations and even of their literature (AFSC, FCNL, ESR, QL, FJ, etc.). And just as certainly, Wilmer Cooper's book will be referred to as ALF. I would hope no one will treat it as an Alien Life Form, though. At least two kinds of people should read ALF: those who think they know a lot about Quaker faith, and those who know little.

If for no other reason, Friends should obtain a copy of ALF to read Cooper's closing articulation of "normative Quaker testimonies." These religious and social testimonies provide a very useful basis for describing Friends' unique witness in the world today. Wilmer Cooper truly helps us separate the "compost" from the real essence of Quakerism.

Max L. Carter
Guilford College

Other Publications

Brenda Haworth. *Springfield Friends Cemetery. 1780-1991.* High Point, NC: Springfield Memorial Association/Museum, 1991. Illus., index, 90 pages. \$12.00 postpaid.

The compiler of this very useful addition to published sources for historians and genealogists is the curator of the Museum of Domestic Arts which is housed in one of the oldest surviving Friends meeting-houses in the state. The meetinghouse is next to the Springfield Cemetery where many early residents of southwestern Guilford County are buried. The compiler has meticulously recorded every surviving tombstone with all dates, names, and epitaphs, and has provided an index. Some of the most frequently occurring names are Blair, English, Haworth/Hayworth, Kersey, Mendenhall, and Tomlinson. Order from Brenda Haworth, 803 Kingston Drive, High Point, NC 27262.

Audrey Sullivan, ed. *Index to Volume 1 and Volume 2 of A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers, ... Taken from Original Records and Other Authentic Accounts, by Joseph Besse.* Ft. Lauderdale, FL: Genealogical Society of Broward County, 1991. iv, 157 pages. \$20.00 postpaid.

This is a major step forward for anyone who uses Joseph Besse's 1753 compilation of records of sufferings of early Friends. The two volumes contain eight separate indexes each, and one list of names for a total of 12,000 names. The combined indexes provide quick and easy access to a valuable source of information about early Friends inasmuch as the original entries identify place of residence and sometimes give information about family relationships, trade or profession, or place and time of death. Although one has to look at the books themselves to learn the full information, the editor has provided a guide to the locations for each name, a feature made possible by the geographical arrangement of the Besse volumes. Credit for the combined indexes goes to Dr. Lorand Johnson, compiler of the original work, and to Audrey Sullivan who carefully edited his work, correcting many errors, adding omissions, and deleting duplications. The foreword includes a list of libraries that own Joseph Besse's work. The index can be ordered from the Society at P.O. Box 485, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida 33302.

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***Guide to the Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.* Compiled by Jack Eckert. Philadelphia: Haverford College, Records Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Swarthmore College, 1989. Index, bibliography, xix, 288 pages. \$20.00 postpaid.**

Scholars in the field of Quaker history and genealogists will find this new guide a great help in identifying and locating surviving records of preparative, monthly, quarterly, and half-yearly meetings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting as well as the records of the yearly meeting itself. The guide not only lists the records of each meeting, if any, but lists all known meetings, including worship groups, indulged meetings, and particular meetings in an alphabetical arrangement with an historical summary of each. Each listing gives the inclusive dates of each record unit, the affiliation of each meeting (Hicksite, Orthodox, unaffiliated, etc.), the location of the records (Haverford or Swarthmore), and where microfilm copies, if any, are deposited. An introduction gives all the necessary background for understanding the information included. A bibliography lists publications and manuscript sources that describe Friends meetings, Quaker organizations, and their records, and that may be found in either the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College or the Quaker Collection at Haverford College. Other aids are a glossary, a list of locations of original records of other yearly and monthly meetings in the USA and Canada, and an index. The guide may be ordered from The Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA 19041, or from Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA 19081.

Ruby Simonson McNeill. *Quaker Queries*. Vols. 1-19. Spokane, Washington, 1986-1991. 25 pages plus index. \$7.25 postpaid each.

For five years the editor and publisher of *Quaker Queries* has published queries sent in by researchers who have encountered problems in identifying Quaker ancestors. Volume 19 and earlier volumes also include book reviews and brief news notices. All volumes are available from the editor at P.O. Box 986, Chehalis, WA 98532-0996.

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