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The Southern Friend

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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 Carole Treadway or Herbert Poole, Hege Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410.

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Introduction

By

Steven Jay White

Guest Editor

This year 1992 marks the fiftieth anniversary of one of the most unusual experiments in the often controversial relationship between church and state. It has been a half century since the Society of Friends and the other "peace churches" established the Civilian Public Service (CPS), which provided alternative public service for those who were opposed to the violence of the Second World War. The next two issues of *The Southern Friend* will be dedicated to the men and women whose lives were forever changed by the CPS. These issues will include my article, describing the origins and intents of CPS, which is based on a talk I gave at the 1991 annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. But more importantly, they also include the memoirs solicited from former CPS men and their wives. Better than any historian, these brave people tell an earnest story of sacrifice and unyielding dedication to Christian idealism in the face of war. There were so many rich manuscripts sent to us by former members of the Quaker CPS that we could not fit them all into one edition of *The Southern Friend*. So look for a second installment of the CPS story in our next issue.

Steven Jay White received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois in 1990 and is on the faculty of the Lexington Community College of the University of Kentucky. He has authored four previous articles in *The Southern Friend*.

Quakers, Conscientious Objectors, the Friends Civilian Public Service Corps, and World War Two

by

Steven Jay White

In the United States, World War Two was seen as the most popular war of all time. It was a “good war,” fought for noble reasons and one of the few for which the benefits seemed clearly to outweigh the costs.¹ Most Americans entered the war with firm convictions on why America was fighting. If the United States had not fought, Fascist aggression in the Pacific and Europe could have dominated the world. America fought to liberate Europe from Nazism, to limit the spread of Japanese oppression, and in the final analysis for its own existence. Although this view of World War Two has since been challenged by numerous historians, it was the prevailing mood of the American people after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Throughout the war, few Americans expressed doubts over the issues of conscription, war guilt, and the nation’s involvement. Faced with totalitarian regimes in Germany, Italy, and Japan, the United States, it was felt, had no choice but to defend itself as the champion of the free world.²

Some groups, however, rejected the war and the violence it represented. These were the “conscientious objectors” (COs), individuals whose scruples would not allow them to assist in the waging of war and their refusal to assist inevitably led to a clash between the conscientious claims that they supported and “the demands of the state that professed to believe that it is fighting to protect social values and ideals.”³ Always a minority, these “COs” lack of numbers indicated how little opposition there was to World War Two. COs understood why the war was popular and identified with many of its goals, but their consciences would not allow them to adopt the view of the majority. Many believed that:

In the beginning all wars are popular. In the beginning they do not exist. When war is only an idea it is a romantic idea. It restores to the adult that heroic proportion that leaves life with adolescence. All of us like the idea of standing up for the

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right, and it is the idea we are talking about, not the discommoding fact [of the war itself].⁴

COs simply viewed the war from a different perspective than the rest of the country. Many were willing to help alleviate the suffering of war and serve their fair share, but they could not participate directly in it. The war was a reality and could not be ignored; its existence, always present, simply had to be accepted if not embraced.

Most conscientious objectors did not have to be told that a majority of their fellow countrymen would receive their decision with hostility, that their reasons would be misunderstood, and that there would be contempt for what was considered a strange aberration.⁵ Many COs wanted to do something useful in an attempt to justify their unpopular positions. When you turn your back on war, it does not necessarily mean that you deny the suffering and shortages of manpower that result from war. Most COs wanted to do “work of national importance.” But COs found a great many roadblocks in their way.⁶ Since the CO lived in a hostile environment, he often felt on the defensive. As another CO put it: “In the battle to defend his conscience, ... he may very naturally find himself defending the peculiarities of his personality....”⁷ To the American people, among the most “peculiar personalities” during World War Two were the conscientious objectors of the Religious Society of Friends. The Quakers were the oldest group in America visibly associated with pacifism in the public mind.

Quakers’ long tradition of pacifism stretches back to the experiences of the founder George Fox. Closely connected with this historic pacifism was the doctrine of the “Inner Light.” While other religious bodies tended to exalt the teaching of the Bible on the subjects of war and state, Quakers made the Bible important only as it was interpreted by the Inner Light.

The major question that the doctrine of the Inner Light raised was the nature of the Light itself. “Was the Inner Light wholly individual or was it both individual and corporate?”⁸ And as strange as it might seem, disagreements among Quakers over this question played an important role in how various Friends saw their relationship to World War Two.

During the seventeenth century, the great Quaker writer Robert Barclay asserted that the Inner Light revealed itself only in the corporate or group experience, and he discouraged individualism. Barclay’s interpretation dominated Quakerism until the beginning of the twentieth

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eth century, when Friends witnessed a gradual breakdown of any real application of the corporate theory. This can be best illustrated by the traditional hostility of Quakers to war. This tension would create two opposing schools of thought within Quakerism concerning the correct approach to the Second World War.

Originally no member of the Society could remain a Quaker and bear arms; this was the rule through out the nineteenth century. If a Quaker joined the military, he was swiftly expelled from the Society; he was "disowned." By the First and Second World Wars, however, corporate control waned and the Inner Light took on a more individualistic tone. The official Quaker position still opposed war, but if a member joined the armed services he was still considered a member in good standing. According to historian Mulford Sibley: "There were more Quakers who accepted service in the Army and Navy during the Second World War than there were conscientious objectors."⁹

With the tendency to accept individualistic interpretations of the Inner Light, Quaker solidarity and agreement on war issues fell apart, and it is not difficult to understand why Quakers differed so radically from one another during the Second World War.¹⁰ Following their own Inner Light, some Friends sought noncombatant service in the Army or the Navy; others rejected the armed services but were able to cooperate fully within the framework of alternative *civilian* service (the idea behind Civilian Public Service [CPS]). Relatively few Quakers could not comply with the terms of the Selective Service Act in any way, declining even to register. Antiwar, for Quakers in general, did not imply renunciation of "the world" or refusal under any circumstances to deal with the state.¹¹ Many Friends pointed to the Bible and the phrase "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

While a minority of Quakers refused to register for the draft during World War Two, there were many more Friends who "believed that their social principles could best be expressed by relief of suffering, without any attempt to challenge the principle of conscription."¹² This segment, quite naturally, clashed with nonresistance groups and those who rejected alternative civilian public service. It is difficult to generalize about Friends, because when the principle of the Inner Light is interpreted individualistically, it can justify any position ranging from the acceptance of war to anarchism. The variation between Quakers was

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complicated still further by clashes between “liberal” and “conservative” Quakers and tension between rural and urban groups.¹³

But if Friends themselves could not agree on how to address the war, those opposed to pacifism were not so uncertain.

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.¹⁴

In 1940, the approximately 100,000 American Quakers faced division from within and hostility from without in dealing with the war question. In the first issue of *The Friend* published after Pearl Harbor, the magazine tried to calm the fears of Americans toward Quakers when it stated: “Friends yield to none in devotion to country.” It continued by saying that if there were some Quakers who felt they could not join their fellow citizens in supporting the war, nevertheless, “Friends have always been ready and eager to engage in forms of wartime service which succor humanity and prepare the way for a better future.”¹⁵

D. Elton Trueblood, then on the faculty of Stanford University, echoed these words when he tried to explain the puzzling Quaker peace testimony to the American public in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He wrote: “There is no logical inconsistency in condemning what is patently evil, and, at the same time, seeking to overcome this evil in other ways than the ways of military power.” He attempted to convince the public that Quaker opposition to war was not over their refusal to face reality, the nature of the issues in this particular war, or fear of physical death, but “from a conception of how the world is to be remade.”¹⁶ One such opportunity to “remake the world” was in the alternative civilian public service which was to be administered by the Selective Service Commission. The government, working with the cooperation of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), was to run the Quaker installations. The AFSC had been active since World War One in philanthropic and relief activities and peace education throughout the world. It continues to this day as one of the more visible Quaker agencies in the United States.

In January 1940, nearly two years before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the AFSC and similar agencies representing the Moravians and

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Mennonites had been fearful that if America became involved in World War Two there would be a repeat of the harsh treatment COs had received during World War One. They sent President Franklin D. Roosevelt a memorandum in which they suggested that the government should devise a scheme for COs. They suggested a plan for alternative public service for those who could not serve in the armed forces and complete exemption for “absolutists,” those who could under no circumstances cooperate with anything dealing with the war. After six months of no response, the Friends War Problems Committee suggested that broad and liberal provisions for objectors be included in the Selective Service Training Bill before Congress at that time. They received only partial victory, however, since Congress agreed to alternative public service (CPS) but refused to exempt absolutists. Additionally, Congress insisted that Selective Service have the final authority over the program.¹⁷ Later, the churches would be allowed limited control over their own installations, for which they were financially responsible, but all were still to be under the umbrella of the government.

In World War Two, COs were inducted into the CPS just as draftees were inducted into the Army. They lived in camps just like the military, fought fires, worked at soil conservation, or planted and cared for young trees — “jobs which most people thought wasted bodies badly needed for relief, medical work or reconstruction when the world was going up in flames.”¹⁸ Friends made up less than 10 percent of the 12 thousand men who were in the CPS, but their influence extended beyond their meager size. If Quakers were the most influential group, they were also the most diversified of those groups in the CPS. Looseness of organization, the heritage of the schisms that had swept the Society in the nineteenth century, and the individualistic perception of the Inner Light permitted a wide range of religious differences within a very small body.¹⁹

On May 15, 1941, the first Friends Civilian Public Service camp under the direction of AFSC welcomed 15 men who had been certified by their draft boards as “conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form.” One year later there were 800 men in Friends camps, which stretched from New Hampshire to California. Fourteen of these camps were run by Quakers during World War Two: three in Maryland; two each in New York, California, and New Hampshire; and one each in Indiana, North Carolina (Buck Creek), Ohio, Oregon, and Tennessee. By the end of the war 43 of the 152 CPS camps had AFSC connections.²⁰

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Other denominations also ran camps; however, the Friends camps were composed of the most diversified groups, with Friends themselves constituting as few as one-third of the assignees. Heterogeneity increased with each new group of arrivals. Further, those in the Friends camps were highly educated, and there was a higher proportion of professionally trained men than in other camps.²¹ But because the men in Friends camps were very knowledgeable about Quaker pacifism and world events, they sometimes found it hard to cooperate with the Society that they felt had sold them out to the government. Even though Selective Service had legal authority to run the entire program, it nevertheless assigned to committees representing the various churches the major responsibility of acting in the government's place for day-to-day affairs. This unprecedented partnership between government and organized religious agencies in a public enterprise during a time of war drew praise but also strong and varied criticism.

One reason for such criticism was that the idea of what CPS was to be never quite lived up to the high standards set by the AFSC. The AFSC envisioned the Quaker camps as "a Progressive School Workshop, a Harvard House Plan, an Adult Education Forum, a Manual Arts School, and a Missionary Training Center all rolled up into one."²² All this was too much to expect, and it raised unrealistic hopes that were soon dashed. The AFSC attempted to hold Institutes of International Relations and create a "whole life oneness" that would train the assignees to Friends camps as the harbingers of pacifism to "go forth and challenge the world." Members at Quaker CPS camps were urged to follow four ideals:

[1] Act always in such a way that you could desire your deeds might become law, [2] practice a fearless sincerity in speech and action, [3] develop a tolerance and understanding of the ideas of others and [4] seek faith enough in your fellowman to set the example ourselves of the life we profess, regardless of the consequences.²³

Franklin Briggs, one of the first members of the Friends CPS, even compared the camps to Robert Owen's nineteenth-century utopian community at New Harmony, Indiana. The expectations of many Quakers were naively high. Their goals were beyond the reach of most assignees, and the frustrations of many CPS men were vented in angry letters to the media.

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One of these angry young men was Crane Rosenbaum, a member of a Friends CPS camp who wrote that to continue to support the organization as it existed was “immoral.” He urged members of the Society of Friends to move quickly to rectify its mistakes. According to Rosenbaum, CPS had erred in four ways: (1) it did not insist on its right to have all Quaker objectors including absolutists; (2) it accepted men who were forced to come to the religious camps by the government; (3) it ignored the voice of the men themselves in running the camps; and (4) it tolerated a “make-work” program that did little real good. He went on to say that “despite twenty months of CPS, our much vaunted ‘detached service’ is today insufficient as a pacifist witness, not only in the proportions of men involved, but in the kind of work done as well.” He claimed that CPS programs did not “meet human needs and relieve suffering,” nor contribute to building a peaceful and cooperative society. It did not attack social ills at their base. According to Rosenbaum, Friends CPS was a failure, but he felt it could have value if it was totally reorganized with little or no government control and interference.²⁴

Even non-Quaker Dennis Wilcher criticized the cooperation between church and state: “The evidence is that Christian churches are at present engaged in an enterprise wherein the voice of the secular state and not the voice of God is the dominating factor.”²⁵ Wilcher’s charge was disputed by Quaker spokesman Franklin Briggs when he wrote in *The American Friend*: “We in the Civilian Public Service are not unaware of the criticism which has been honestly leveled upon us by pacifists and non-pacifists alike. [But] our real concern is not to answer that criticism or to apologize for the state into which we have allegedly fallen.” He went on to point out that the real concern of CPS was “to discover in our own midst...the essence of the community organization which will not only be applicable to our own camp but serve...to build that kind of world community which takes away the need of war.”²⁶ Quakers who were pro-CPS admitted that they felt something was lacking in the interpretation and expression of pacifist thought in the camps, but many saw the camps as valiant, worthwhile efforts even if they did fall short on several points. Despite the flaws, many Friends felt that Quaker CPS should continue.

Defenders of CPS admitted that the Quakers and others had not administered the program flawlessly and had suffered from disillusionments of their own. They argued, however, that “if intent and effect are to be judged, by and large, the program is one which history will show to

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have stood almost alone in being useful and constructive in a time when the nation was, except for a few, wholly devoted to destruction.”²⁷ Defenders such as Ian Thierman, writing in *The Friend*, urged Quakers not to give up on CPS. He wondered:

Has CPS fulfilled my desired action? In several ways it has. The most important [way] to me is in the opportunity for greater spiritual development. There are the others...where it has fallen short. But before I judge the inadequacies of the CPS, it is only fair that I consider what alternatives we might have had...“It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness.”²⁸

Another defender of CPS was Levi Pennington, who was “much disturbed, grieved, [and] hurt...over certain words that have come recently from some of the Civilian Public Service Camps, such words as ‘frustration,’ ‘futility,’ [and] low morale.” He urged Friends to count their blessings that they were in America instead of one of the Axis countries. There they would have been forced to become soldiers, shot by a firing squad, or placed in “a detention camp which would make the Civilian Public Service Camp look like heaven.” He applauded their wide and happier choices in America. Other defenders insisted that the Friends CPS workers did important work that contributed to the national welfare “in a very fundamental way,” and that to many, CPS was an opportunity to do useful work.²⁹

Still others reiterated that Quakers should be patriotic because they owed allegiance to the nation “which had been so tolerant and even almost understanding of our position.” These Friends felt they were under an obligation to demand from themselves the highest effort in physical productivity. On the part of more enthusiastic Friends there was even the expectation that meditation groups in the camps would become “powerhouses” which would “transform conventionalized ritual-ridden religious programs into living cells of Christian brotherhood.”³⁰ Once again the over-optimism of the supporters of Friends CPS would spell trouble for the program.

Sympathizers such as Paul Furnas (Executive Secretary of Friends CPS) agreed the CPS had its problems. He wrote that “the limitation of freedom of action, characteristic of war time, is probably felt to a greater degree by the men in C.P.S. than in the armed forces, and certainly more so than in private enterprise.”³¹ Able-bodied men who could have helped

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in hospitals and mental institutions were instead digging ditches and sodding gullies. It appeared to Quaker writer Daisy Newman that “some jobs, like planting saplings in nurseries and ‘manicuring trees,’ seemed a waste of the conscientious objectors’ skills.”³² Even though Friends had been trained to go abroad, Congress felt it bad for morale to send COs overseas and prohibited the use of CPS-trained medics and ambulance drivers. Great frustration existed in the camps. This frustration, in time, would lead to full-scale protest.

Radicals were bitter at what they regarded as a betrayal by the “pacifist establishment.” The peace churches compromise concerning conscription was harshly attacked.³³ A young man told an elder statesman of the historic peace churches: “If you represent the church, we have no use for the church.” Even the famous pacifist A. J. Muste, as a member of the wrong generation and an early supporter of CPS, was thought to be too concerned with prestige and the regard of men in high places. Quakers in CPS camps became the butt of jokes. One radical wrote (with tongue bursting in cheek):

One unique problem fraught with somber difficulty is the prospect of seeing, talking with, working with, and even eating at the same table with Quakers....A policy of “Jim Quake” might be “misunderstood,” he remarked, but he equally rejected the contention that Quakers should be treated just like everyone else — even to the point of intermarriage.³⁴

He urged, instead, a “Middle Way,” a “dramatic demonstration that CO’s can conciliate themselves with all mankind — even Quakers.” He was attempting to be humorous, but there were others who were more serious. One CO wrote frankly in a pacifist journal: “In this camp it is literally an emotional strain to be associated with the Friends or the Service Committee. Enough people in the camp feel distrust and resentment toward them that we are constantly aware of the feeling.”³⁵

Some CPS men decided that their ultimate protest would be to strike. “The refusal of men to perform their work and other CPS duties was the greatest crisis to confront both Selective Service and the religious agencies.”³⁶ The most bitter strike occurred at the Friends camp at Elkton, Oregon (CPS #59). The camp had been a model of harmony for two years, but when veteran protesters were shipped in from the East, organized efforts to impede work soon arose. Several factors combined to embitter the situation: poor judgment on the part of project officials in

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dealing with the men, the antagonistic attitudes of dissident COs toward the program as a whole, and the diminishing value of the work they were doing. Many in the camp wished to see Friends CPS fall apart, and they recruited members who refused to work or pretended to be sick while declining medical treatment. The AFSC wished to transfer these trouble-makers, but the protesters refused to leave and were determined to disrupt Elkton to the point that it could not operate. Selective Service did not help matters by urging the AFSC to take a hard line and suggesting that they stand firm in not tolerating any breakdown of discipline.³⁷

The leader of the strike was Americo Chiarito, who brought the issue to a head by his point-blank refusal to work and his insistence that he would stay at Elkton. He was determined to resist by every means at his disposal the administration of "enforced involuntary servitude [no one at Elkton was paid and their dependents were not compensated] disguised by our own government in the saintly robes of religion." The AFSC finally decided to ask for his transfer to a government camp. He, of course, refused and was eventually arrested along with six of his disciples. They had succeeded, however, in their goal of disrupting the administration of Friends CPS, at least at Elkton. Elkton was never the same, and only the closing of the camp brought its problems to an end.³⁸

After Elkton, other problems became more apparent. CPS men complained that their freedom was restrained and that their whole life was regimented from sunup to sundown. The Selective Service recognized no area in which the individual was free from control. Their hours of work, living and working conditions, and comings and goings were strictly regulated with little input from the men themselves.³⁹ To some participants, however, an even more explosive issue was the lack of compensation. Many COs were compelled to labor in CPS without remuneration, and their dependents had to fend for themselves without government aid or benefits of any kind. These COs were left financially unprotected in case of injury or death during service, except where assigned to work covered by state workmen's compensation laws. "These...severe financial penalties were deliberately inflicted on men who allowed their consciences to direct them into civilian rather than military service."⁴⁰

Many COs bitterly considered this a "vital farce of freedom of conscience." Men had to pay for their conscience not only by their own impoverishment but by that of their families too. Many considered their

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service close to “slave labor” and felt that CPS, by depriving COs of reasonable financial compensation, had impaired their work and violated their civil rights. To labor without pay was involuntary servitude and was patently unconstitutional.⁴¹

Moreover, linked to the lack of compensation was the fact that many men considered the CPS work as “boondoggling” or work without value. The Selective Service refused to assign COs to tuberculosis, crippled children’s, orthopedic, or cancer hospitals, or to settlement houses, infant nurseries, YMCAs, deaf schools, or homes for juvenile delinquents. Although hundreds of such institutions petitioned for workers from CPS because of acute shortages of personnel, the government refused because it did not want the COs in populated areas where they would be reminders of civil disobedience. It placed most COs in isolated national parks where they maintained and developed the forests, cleared timber trails, conducted soil conservation of doubtful value, and cut mountains of firewood. The AFSC estimated that at least half of the men in the program had been assigned to “work which did not effect the wartime social emergencies of the nation and which could, if necessary, have been largely suspended until the drastic need for manpower slackened.”⁴² The Selective Service wasted its manpower, for example, by assigning an electrical engineer to pull weeds, a research physicist to clear swamps, and one of the nation’s leading botanists to a position as a maintenance man. The government, with more pressing matters on its mind, was not concerned whether the skills of professionally trained COs were being used wisely.⁴³ Senator Monrad C. Wallgren of Washington state, after visiting several CPS camps, declared: “You are treating these fellows worse than the Japs.”⁴⁴ After a period of time, these complaints helped to bring about a few small changes.

One such success was when the historic peace churches finally convinced the Selective Service to offer work in mental hospitals. It was mean and dirty work, and as an alternative to a healthy outdoor life would not have seemed attractive to COs; however, it drew nearly three thousand volunteers. Victor Chapin, himself a CO, explained why COs jumped at the opportunity:

Since COs were neither cowards or heroes, they suffered in their isolation and rebelled against their inactivity. When the chance came to volunteer for work in the mental hospitals, it seemed to many that the answer had been given us....It was

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useful, needed work and in it, perhaps, we could find reassurance.⁴⁵

The AFSC ran eight of the 60 CPS mental hospital units and met with a certain amount of success. In the Quaker unit in the Pennsylvania State Hospital at Byberry, four young men organized a national association through which hospital attendants could call for reform. At Byberry conditions were little improved from the nineteenth century. One could smell the buildings 50 yards away, and the patients were horribly neglected. They walked naked in circles, traced imaginary lines on the walls, talked with spirits, wailed, screamed, fought with devils, and sat withdrawn on the floor in their own excrement.⁴⁶ These horror stories were at first not believed. "Laymen, with no training for the work they were doing, conscientious objectors who were considered slightly deranged themselves by many of their fellow Americans or, at best, effeminate, these men found that at first no one would listen to them."⁴⁷ Then after taking photographs and making filmstrips which eventually reached even the president's wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, they drew national attention to the problems in mental institutions. This effort produced the *Handbook for Psychiatric Aides* that launched a nationwide movement for reform and resulted in the founding of the National Mental Health Foundation. Clarence Pickett, the Executive Secretary of the AFSC, declared after the war that, "It seems fair to say,...that the intense concern of a few CPS men had measurable, permanent influence on the care of our mentally ill."⁴⁸

Those Friends who had stayed in the wilderness camps had few jobs that they felt were important, and it is not surprising to learn that the one job that produced the most satisfaction was firefighting. Among these firefighters, the "smoke jumpers" performed the most fulfilling work. These parachute-borne firefighters were doing something that was badly needed and could also prove that, while they would not fight, they were not afraid of danger. In addition to firefighting, Friends built summer camps where young people could assist in health projects for low-income families, guide the recreation of children, and engage in discussions of international questions. Various institutions of international relations were developed and the AFSC, working through these summer camps, finally accomplished a few of the goals that they had originally set for Friends CPS.⁴⁹

The most unusual "successes" of Quaker COs were by those who

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volunteered to be “guinea pigs” for medical experiments to aid in the treatment of diseases and war-related injuries and conditions. At the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, CPS men volunteered to take part in an experiment to gauge the effect of salt water on the human system. Sea water was the only liquid used in the diet of the group. Their efforts resulted in the upgrading of shipwreck rations in life boats that would compensate for the excess salt. Men at the University of Minnesota went through semistarvation to help scientists discover the best ways to restore the strength of undernourished people. Other units were tested in extremely hot conditions of 120 degree heat for six to eight hours a day to discover optimum living conditions in the desert.⁵⁰ Some stayed as long as four hours in the “cold chamber” of the University of Illinois Research Hospital, where effects of their controlled diets were monitored at 20 degrees below zero.⁵¹ Others volunteered to be subjects for test drugs for the investigations of the causes and cures of diseases, and some even carried lice to test insecticides for use in Italy and North Africa.⁵²

In the end many began to feel as if their efforts were finally going for a worthwhile task. CPS men began to feel useful and to overcome some of the feelings of social banishment as a result of this simple involvement in human events. “Saplings, cows, and waterholes did not provide the human contacts they wanted.”⁵³ Despite the many problems, criticisms, and failures of the Friends CPS, it experienced a bit of success. It was just enough for CPS men to take heart at the old axiom, “It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness.”

In the final analysis, one major question must be answered before the Friends Civilian Public Service in World War Two can be put into proper perspective. Did the Society of Friends betray religious liberty by collaborating so closely with Selective Service in the administration of CPS? Although many CPS men would bitterly answer “yes,” a number of items contradict this view. The Society did defend, sometimes quite vigorously, the objectors’ integrity of conscience. Church-administered camps provided a more congenial and freer atmosphere than the government camps and offered greater room for dissent and self-expression. The AFSC spearheaded the campaign for greater service opportunities, and many felt more at home in Friends camps.⁵⁴

The problems Friends faced with the CPS camps, however, were difficult and impaired the true expression of what they had hoped

alternate civilian public service should be. Friends lacked a unified organization to run their camps effectively, they were deeply divided in their attitudes toward war, and the Society and its administrators were extraordinarily naïve with respect to many important problems. Neither could Friends CPS seem to learn from its mistakes or replace incompetent administrators.⁵⁵ In looking at the balance sheet, it is difficult to tell if the Friends CPS was a success or a failure. Perhaps it should be simply labeled (for now) a qualified success. It achieved part of its goals but not nearly as many as it thought possible. Part of this can be explained by the extremely high standards that Friends CPS set for itself. Part, however, must be explained as the failure of America to understand the diversity in its midst when the war effort demanded oneness and solidarity.

Friends CPS left both positive and negative legacies. Overall it helped to make conscientious objection a more acceptable alternative, at least in some quarters. One could be a CO if he was not too open or flagrant in admitting it. Nevertheless, the intolerance displayed during the war lingered after the peace. Yet in the final analysis, the opinions of CPS men themselves must carry the greatest weight. "In conclusion," Ian Thierman wrote in the midst of World War Two, "it may be said that this movement and experience is unique in the annals of history. Whether it will be a significant dam or merely a powerless chip in the stream... [of] brutal world society, will depend upon the testimony of the men...and [their] supporters outside".⁵⁶ As imperfect as the Friends Civilian Public Service was, despite its many failings and problems, there were bright spots. COs were treated better in the Second World War than in the First, and this experience left a pool of men to inspire the protests for another war at another time (Vietnam) and held out the promise of greater tolerance and understanding in the future. What its true legacy was, only time can tell.

The Friends Civilian Public Service Corps and WWII

¹ Bruce M. Russett, *No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the U.S. Entry Into World War* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 17.

² Gerald N. Grob and George A. Billias, *Interpretations of American History: Patterns and Perspectives*, 2 v. (New York: Free Press, 1972), 1:407.

³ Mulford A. Sibley and Philip E. Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector 1940–1947* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1952), 1.

⁴ William Gaylin, *In the Service of Their Country: War Resisters in Prison* (New York: Viking Press, 1970), 3.

⁵ Daisy Newman, *A Procession of Friends: Quakers in America* (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 134.

⁶ Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 201.

⁷ Francis Doan Hole, “A Star for C.P.S.,” *The American Friend* (4 June 1942), 240.

⁸ Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 24

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 24–25. There were around 6,000 COs of all persuasions imprisoned during World War Two who refused to register.

¹² *Ibid.*, 26

¹³ William C. Kashatus III, *Conflict of Conviction: A Reappraisal of Quaker Involvement in the American Revolution* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990); Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 26.

¹⁴ Newman, *Procession of Friends*, 134.

¹⁵ “Friends in Time of War,” *The American Friend* (18 December 1941), 535.

¹⁶ Newman, *Procession of Friends*, 134.

¹⁷ Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 485.

¹⁸ Marvin R. Weisbord, *Some Form of Peace: True Stories of the American Friends Service Committee at Home and Abroad* (New York: Viking Press, 1968), 30.

¹⁹ Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 167; Weisbord, *Some Form of Peace*, 32.

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²⁰ Paul J. Furnas, "A Year of Civilian Public Service," *The Friend* (11 June 1942), 451; Harold Evans and Paul Furnas, "What Shall the Answer Be?" *The Friend* (1 October 1942), 104. The first camp was opened at Patapsco, Maryland, under the leadership of Earlham College's Ernest Wildman.

For a detailed table of information on all 152 CPS camps see Albert N. Keim, *The CPS Story: An Illustrated History of Civilian Public Service* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1990), 107–110.

²¹ Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 171–172.

²² *Ibid.*, 182.

²³ Franklin Briggs, "The Beloved Community," *The American Friend* (22 April 1943), 152.

²⁴ Crane Rosenbaum and Ian Thierman, "Is CPS Worthy of Our Support?" *The Friend* (18 March 1943), 293.

²⁵ Richard Brown, Charles Ludwig, and David Salstrom, "C.P.S. Camps Should Continue," *The American Friend* (22 April 1943), 161. Dennis (Denny) Wilcher was in CPS unit #37 (Coleville, California) in 1943. He worked and wrote from that camp and prepared a statement critical of CPS which was publicly posted at the camp. For many years he was a leader in the Northern California office (San Francisco) of the War Resisters' League. Bill Van Hoy to the author on November 9, 1991.

²⁶ Briggs, "The Beloved Community," 151.

²⁷ Brown, Ludwig, and Salstrom, "C.P.S.," 162.

²⁸ Rosenbaum and Thierman, "Is CPS Worthy?" 297.

²⁹ Levi T. Pennington, "Dear Fellow Conscientious Objectors," *The American Friend* (22 April 1943), 162; Furnas, "Year of CPS," 452.

³⁰ Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 175; Channing B. Richardson, "Out of the Civilian Public Service Camps," *The Friend* (14 May 1942), 422.

³¹ Furnas, "Year of CPS," 451.

³² Newman, *Procession of Friends*, 164; "C.P.S. Men for China," *The Friend* (19 February 1942), 307.

³³ The "Historic Peace Churches" are considered to be the Quakers, Mennonites, Moravians, and German Brethren (sometimes called Dunkers or Dunkards).

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³⁴ Larry Wittner, *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement 1941–1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 83–84.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁶ Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 272.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 273.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 274.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 216–217. Some CPSers received minimal payment for their services, but they were the lucky ones. It was estimated that there were eight million man–hours of free labor.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 224–226.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 230–234.

⁴⁴ Wittner, *Rebels Against War*, 75.

⁴⁵ Weisbord, *Some Form of Peace*, 26.

⁴⁶ Weisbord, *Some Form of Peace*, 27; Arthur Stevenson and Michael Marsh, “C.P.S. Ministers to the Mentally Ill,” *The American Friend* (22 April 1943), 157.

⁴⁷ Newman, *Procession of Friends*, 167.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁵⁰ Newman, *Procession of Friends*, 165; “Civilian Public Service Information,” *The American Friend* (22 April 1943), 160.

⁵¹ Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 147.

⁵² Newman, *Procession of Friends*, 165.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁵⁴ Sibley, *Conscription of Conscience*, 468–470.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 328, 470.

⁵⁶ Ian Thierman, “Civilian Public Service: Its Possible Contribution to the Future,” *The Friend* (15 October 1942), 119.

Civilian Public Service Camp #19 Buck Creek, North Carolina

by

John H. Burrowes

Ed. note: John Burrowes (presently residing in Burnsville, North Carolina) served in several CPS camps. He captures perfectly the sense of optimism and despair which made Civilian Public Service such a bittersweet experience. His is a tale of true simplicity and insight.

During the year 1940 before Civilian Public Service (CPS) was started, I volunteered to go to Cooperstown, New York, to be part of a Quaker work Camp (CPS #12) there in the poorest county of New York State. The project was an interesting effort to improve the forest management of the area, and the camp was made up of some interesting people who saw the beginning of CPS as a great opportunity to serve the world as the Quakers in the First World War had done.

I came to CPS full of those idealistic notions. It was only after some months at Buck that I began to see that that was not going to happen, and it would be many months before I could see that what CPS delivered was far better than the notions that we had been taught. Some of my learning process would be rather painful during the months at Buck Creek. I cannot claim that my lessons were more difficult than what others had to face, but I did have my own little set of ironies that challenged me.*

It was August 1941. Life was so full of so many things that I could not express them. Sally had just returned from a long recuperation from spinal meningitis and we had shared simple-minded joy for three days of wandering about from Baltimore to New Jersey and then to Philadel-

* Buck Creek, North Carolina — CPS Camp # 19.

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phia. On the last Monday of the month I kissed her good-bye and she went north to Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, on a teaching fellowship in biology. I went to the office of the American Friends Service Committee. There I was given half a load of materials and a station wagon to be delivered to the new camp at Buck Creek, Marion, North Carolina, a small town in the western part of the state.

First I was to drive to Baltimore and pick up the rest of the load of materials. I had just been transferred from the camp at Patapsco State Park* to join the four other men who had also been sent to help start the new camp. At the time, this seemed like a rare opportunity. The Society of Friends had every hope of using these men as they had used the men in the "Great War" of 1914-1918 for reconstruction and rehabilitation of the civilian populations of the war area. Oddly, It seemed too good to be true. I left the camp at Patapsco after lunch and headed south.

After staying overnight in Danville, Virginia, I headed the car through Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and westward to the mountains. I noticed that the land was a bit tilted up toward the west, but, like many another Northeasterner, I had no idea of the mountains of North Carolina. I knew that Mount Washington, New Hampshire, was important and the Rockies counted in there somewhere and there were some big ones on the west coast. After I got to the town of Marion and really began to climb a bit I began to think that I needed at some point to see a map and figure out what sort of country this really was.

Just in time for lunch, I pulled into the camp. I was tired from the long drive. The overwhelming beauty of the place was a total surprise. It was a big old CCC# camp from the Depression days, and there were people all about trying to resurrect the old equipment and establish where we were going to house all the functions of a 200-man camp. It might not be that big right off, but it was expected that it would be.

Arthur Gamble was the man in charge of things until we had the repairs and the functions of the camp in order. He was a somewhat forbidding person whose bitter experience in World War One had left

* Patapsco Camp was in Maryland, CPS Camp #3.

Civilian Conservation Corps, established in 1933 as a New Deal measure to meet the employment needs of young men 18 to 25 during the Great Depression.

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him with a keen sense of organization and order but very little concern for the foibles of human nature.

Dr. Binford,* the man who would be the ongoing director of the camp, was a quiet and pleasant person who seemed a bit old for the job. His age and deafness made him seem somewhat distant from the young men in their early twenties who were around him. I think it was hard on Dr. Binford to be under Arthur Gamble that way for the first week or two. Gamble's decisiveness and his clear notion of the work that needed to be done was effective, but it led people to think that that was the way things should be. If Dr. Binford was a forceful leader it was in a much more subtle and personal way that saw human values for what they were: evanescent, sometimes weak, still important. Dr. Marvin Palmer's words applied to Raymond Binford, "I guess, even if I were the last Quaker on earth, I'd still be a Quaker." But the steadfastness of age is often an irritation to youth.

I went to bed that night knowing that something had been stripped off of my fine notion of the way things were going to be. I was a long way from anything that I knew much about. We were going to be fighting forest fires and working on the maintenance of trails and park facilities. All of that was useful, but it seemed plain that some people were moving things in a somewhat different direction from the patterns we had learned from the leaders in the American Friends Service committee (AFSC). It was not at all clear that that was better. It was quickly apparent that the ideas of the AFSC were meant for smaller units of men and a greater sense of unity produced by volunteers. Buck Creek was clearly preparing to take any and all men who were drafted as COs, and it would soon be evident that they would dictate the daily mood of the camp.

In a few days the first draftees to our camp began to show up. They were a diverse lot of men. Over my five years in CPS my fellow internees would make me bored by the company of more conventional people. While we seemed not to have anything in common, it is clear that we all shared the convictions and the personal stubbornness to stand against war and to be sent to camp. The first morning almost everybody came to meeting and sat through silent worship as practiced by the Society of Friends. It was a good meeting, but it also became clear immediately that

* Raymond Binford, President Emeritus of Guilford College.

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some men (most men) did not find that that was the way they wanted to have morning meeting. It soon became a friendly small service for a small group of 10 or 15 attenders. Most of these were Quakers or earnest church members who wanted to keep up the habit.

In the second week of the camp Franklin Kelley came to meeting in the camp library, sat on one of the open window sills, and smoked his pipe. He was otherwise a pleasant and enthusiastic participant. The regular attenders did not take kindly to this and after about a week they were ready to undertake some action about Franklin's "smoking gun." Dr. Binford did not seem that much disturbed although he did admit that smoking in meeting was sort of a precedent. Frank was an unusual sort anyway. He had a thick beard, wore sandals even to work, and was a painter with a number of rather abstract canvases to show for his efforts. His wife and child were in England. He had been drafted because theirs was a common-law marriage. He had a peculiar rattling laugh that often carried a message of derision or contempt. In the first days none of us seemed to know how to understand him.

Ah, but he was not the only odd member of the crew. Jimmy Severino came from Hollywood, Florida. His little old brown Willys sedan puffed its way into camp on bald tires, half an engine, and seemingly no gas. Jimmy stepped out with empty pockets and the flashiest smile that ever lit up the face of a man. Even in the worst of times that smile would remain, and so would his chuckle. He had been run out of town by the local "patriots" and his little café had been burnt to the ground. Jimmy was left with nothing but the Chaplinesque figure that stood before us. He took a bed next to Kelley, with Andrews, Mercer, Stanley, Fox, and me. I cannot tell his tale. It is too long. Once he convinced a group of the men that a mixture of honey, vinegar, molasses, brown sugar, mustard, strong tea, and salt would help the scalp and the growth of hair. Half-bald himself, he was hardly a good advertisement for his product. He helped an audience of about 25 stand around and laugh while these guys rubbed the sticky stuff on their heads, and we all laughed while they tried to wash it out.

Sevvy was a vegetarian and he would often come up behind a man when he was about to drink some milk and say, "Hey, come on John, haven't you been weaned yet?" He started a vegetarian table and because his cooking was the best, he got many converts. At night he would make four rhythmic wheezing snorts at about 2 a.m. Kelley would say, "Come

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on, Sevvv, shut up!!” “Hey, man, that’s the way I snore!!” He would make the noise again. “Yeah, well that was no snore!!” “Oh, yes, it was!!” Several years later Jimmy cracked up in Gatlinburg.* He started to throw plates in the dining room. He broke about a hundred before they were able to stop him. I took him in my arms and helped him back to his dormitory while the tears ran down his face — such a gentle, fervent, clever, kindly man! I never saw him again. A couple of years later he was dead, and people rumored that he had been murdered. There are more stories about him, but they mainly say we miss him!

Jimmy Stanley was the most popular man in the early days of Buck Creek. He insisted that you couldn’t even begin to learn to work at a hard laboring job until you got so bored with it that you couldn’t stand to think about it. He could do more work in one hour than any two men I have ever seen. He was fun to work with because he never competed with other people. He just took big bites with his shovel and kept them coming. Once, we were grading a bank with a crew of at least 25. Any Buck Creeker knows that a grading hoe is involved in the dulllest tasks known to man. It was 10 minutes of 12 noon when Stanley looked up from his work and said, “Hey, what time is it?” Without breaking stride Andrews said, “It’s four minutes of 10” — the world turned, we worked — 10 minutes went by and the lunch bell was sounded. “Wow, that last two hours went by in a hurry.” Everybody laughed, but the simple fact was that Jimmy Stanley didn’t have anything that measured time while he was working. This made him a man to marvel at, but whenever I worked with him from then on I made sure that I had my watch on my wrist.

Big Bud Mercer — such a man — had been a tackle on the Penn (University of Pennsylvania) varsity football team. When he hit the ground with his pick, the earth shook all around. He was fixing a sewer line once and three soldiers passed by. One was heard to whisper, “Jesus, I’d hate to have him hit me with a load of love.” He crawled out of bed one morning with 45 bedbug bites on his back which was surely enough to put him in the CPS Book of Records. Once, he was working in a line of men trying to break up some rocks to a size to go in the crusher. Right in front of Bud was a little short fat guy doing the best he could. The little guy bent over to tie his shoe. Just then Bud’s pick came down. It was a good straight shot. The pick caught his pants and broke his belt. It must have

* Tennessee, CPS # 108; Buck Creek was later moved to Gatlinburg.

been right in line with a certain anatomical crease because it also caught his underwear and ripped it away. Close inspection could not find a single scratch on the man himself. Bud said, "What you shivering about?" "Man," the little guy replied, "it's cold and it's drafty and I'm scared as hell."

Jim Fox was a tall sandy-haired guy. He was so quiet that, with his constant habit of cleaning his ears with paper matchsticks, he almost seemed stupid. His gift for photography was amazing. He could do things with a camera and in a dark room that no one else could equal. Dexter MacBride had just discovered the novels of Thomas Wolfe and he was passing them around to people as though they were the new twentieth century gospel. He had quite a few men who were almost equally enthralled. He passed a copy of *Of Time and the River* to Jim Fox. Fox took it under some protest because he was a slow reader and he was afraid he was obstructing the path of some of Dexter's other Wolfe fanatics. Days went by. Weeks went by. Finally, on a rainy day when there wasn't much else to do Jim was seen to be reading the last few pages of the book. MacBride saw this and he came over and sat on the empty bunk next to Fox. Fox sneaked a look at Dexter over the edge of the book. He turned a page. Dexter leaned forward. Fox turned the last page and read carefully to the end. He closed the book. Dexter started to open his mouth. Fox held up his hand. Fox opened the book — checked something at the top of the page. He snapped the book shut and said, "486 pages of bullshit!" Dexter, whose mind was full of rapturous things that Fox might have said was taken back. He stood up, stuttered twice, and said, "Well, you didn't have to say it like that!" Jim was heard to say, "Well, that part of it was short and sweet."

We could go on with stories about the crowd that passed through CPS #19. It turned out that the most interesting of all the characters was not a draftee. Raymond Binford was driving Stanley, Mercer, Hammarstrom, and me to a business meeting of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. On the way there Mercer got to talking about "The Doc" in the bland assurance that Binford could not hear him. He said quite a few embarrassing things and the old Doc just kept right on driving and so the talk got looser. After about 74 miles of this Bud said something about old Doc being the clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The Doc said, "No, I used to be the clerk, but I gave that up." The car was silent for the rest of the trip. I began to learn something about old Doc at that meeting. In the middle of silent worship Raymond Binford walked forward to the

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front of the room and he got down on his knees and prayed most beautifully and urgently for greater insight in his leadership of the camp. He wanted his men to be free, but he felt some desire to protect their witness with enough regulation to be useful and helpful to them. The old man got to me that day.

It's no easy job to run such a crowd of men and that fall was a rough time. A naval officer, a friend of Sam Legg's, came to visit us. In essence he had a hard message for us: Of course, there will be a war. Have you measured the amount of money that has already been spent on it? Do you really think that there is an easy quick end in sight?

Only a month later, Victor Olsen came from Washington, D.C., to tell us that we would be drafted for an additional year. This gave us the sick feeling that it might be longer than that. Only about six weeks after (December 7, 1941), Pearl Harbor came along and Olsen was back with the information that we were drafted for the duration of the war plus six months. He also made it plain that we could forget any nice illusions about special assignments for us. The months would roll by without much relief of any kind during the next year or two. Frustration would build up. Like many others in the camp, I found myself having to rethink what I was getting at. The fact that some Quakers were "living in that spirit that takes away the occasion for war" was now a noble but irrelevant notion. Perhaps a truly superior man should go where the men were suffering and accept the world that they were living with if war was no longer a matter of choice. It would be some time before I could hammer out my real feeling that I am a very ordinary person. It is significant that even now I can see that war is a terrible wrong and I can use all of the force of myself to oppose it. Other ordinary men could come to the same conclusion, and by preserving this idea we're still looking to the possibility that in other times there will be other ordinary men who will have a further witness. I realize that these ideas seem simple enough, but in those times I had to work hard to come by them. Much of the coming years would be a sort of endurance contest for many of us.

Ray Trayer was a quiet sort of guy, but he was given to pretty heavy statements when he did speak. Ray didn't believe in regimentation of any kind. He believed in nonviolence but even more he believed in a life that was unenforced by authority. Ray found a little dog along the road. It was a cute little dog if I ever saw one. When the morning roll call was sounded, Ray took the dog in his shirt and appeared for work. One of the

foremen saw the dog and told Ray to get rid of it. Ray refused. The foreman, a man named Creitz, reported to the Superintendent, Mr. Elkington. Elkington had been waiting for just such an incident, and he got on the radio to the Roanoke, Virginia, Office of the Blue Ridge Parkway* to find out what to do. He was recommending that Ray be arrested immediately.

All of this took about an hour and more to carry out, and the entire camp of men stood around and waited. The radio was operated by some of our crowd so that there were rumors running rampant through the ranks. Everyone was hoping for the best for Ray. We were also amazed at his strength of character. We were a bit ambivalent about the dog, but that was where Ray was standing, and there we were. At last Dr. Binford and the kitchen staff helped to invent a new status known as "sick quarters" and after that Ray was taken off the work crew. At the same time word came down from Roanoke that Washington wanted no such incident to occur again.

Years later I would realize in working with prisoners that I understood some of their frustrations from direct experience. It was clear that it didn't do much good to buck the Park Service. Personal fights were a bit out of principle for us and they were not satisfying. The load was somehow passed to old Doc. "He's too old!" "Yeah, you can't even talk to him. Half the time he has that damn machine turned off." "Yeah, sometimes that machine rattles and it distracts me." "He doesn't have much power anyway." "I wish he'd just get out of the way. We shouldn't be protected from anything." "I'm just sort of sick of him anyway!" There were lots of semi-secret meetings. Finally, it was agreed that there would be a camp meeting to discuss this subject. Wilmer Cooper was appointed to represent the complaints as they had been voiced. Wilmer was not one of the complainers. He did his job because he had been appointed to do so. He did it well and every complaint was brought out clearly. Old Doc sat in the front row of the audience taking notes. After Wilmer sat down there was a silence while we waited for the Doc to reply. He turned in his chair so that he was half facing the men. His head was slightly bowed and his voice was made emphatic by the scratchy sound that goes with deafness. To see him sitting there in kindly dignity was

* which was responsible for building the beautiful and scenic road which meanders through the Appalachian mountains.

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enough to make the men look a little foolish.

I can only give the gist of what he had to say: "Men, I have my hearing aid on. I even put new batteries in it to make sure. If you have more to say, don't hesitate. I'll hear you. Now, I don't have much to say for myself. I came to camp because I wanted to be with you men and the Friends Service Committee asked me to help. I knew I was old and I guess I was foolish enough to think that I was not too old. I am a conscientious objector and I admire you men who are carrying the burden of my case to the country and to the world. These are hard days for you but I still think you are doing something significant being here. I've never been with men I admired more. I have felt that I could make up for my age by listening to you men and paying attention to your concerns.

"It is important for you men to realize that I have failed at some other things in my life and I have had a few successes. If you men do not want me to stay, I will leave. I will still admire what you are and what you are doing. I really did come to help you if I could — not to hinder you or the cause for which we stand. I will be glad to listen to any other complaints either now or later, and I will make serious efforts to meet the concerns that they imply. If you want to say something now, please say it. Otherwise, I shall leave so that you can deliberate as you please."

There was a long silence. Raymond Binford left the room, and the silence continued. At last Wilmer said, "Well, what do you want to do? Do you want a vote or a consensus?"

Someone in the back of the room said, "The Doc was right. We all want him to stay." Doc was one of us. Shortly after that he went down to Ballew's house and helped old man Ballew and Franklin Kelley slaughter a pig for their winter's food supply.

But Binford's biggest moment was yet to come. Some local person told him that there was an old orchard just off the parkway in Spruce Pine where you could pick all the apples you wanted. Doc took a crowd of men and three vehicles up where Altapass Orchards is. They picked until the vehicles were full. At that very moment a state patrolman appeared and accused him of trespassing. The owner appeared. Even though it seemed clear that someone had set Doc up for this, he asked what the apples were worth. He paid a thumping good price for them and cleared the camp of all accusations. Their sorry caravan came back to camp.

Doc had the men unload all the apples in the space at the entrance to

the dining hall. It was a mountain of fruit. Doc began to peel apples for applesauce. Men offered to help, but he smiled his diffident smile and said, "No, I got us into this mess. I wouldn't feel right unless I got us out." Day after day we passed him when we went to meals or tried to get our mail. He would smile and keep on wielding his knife. The huge kettles in the kitchen were boiling the stuff down and the cans were stored. It was good applesauce and it lasted forever. Even in the pit of despair he was quite a winner.

Doc never fit into Gatlinburg. The intentions of the Friends Service Committee were changing and they were seeking a more impersonal type of leadership. The Park Service had succeeded in moving the camp without consulting the Quakers and the sense of authority that they represented was changing. Whatever it was that we felt was the essence of Buck Creek had passed by. We would do some very interesting work in the next year or two with special assignments to mental hospitals, medical units, experiments in various medical areas, and other useful and significant projects. I suppose the most devoted group I worked with was the group at Concord State Hospital,* but there would still be the years at Buck Creek and some of the dreams that we thought we might make real.

* CPS #84.

On the Fringes

by

Sally L. Burrowes

Ed. note: John Burrowes was not the only one in his family to experience the agonies and triumphs of CPS life. His beloved Sally would join him. She adds much to the story of her husband John, the two camps at Buck Creek and Gatlinburg, and gives her own unique view (as the wife of a CPSer) to the story of Friends Civilian Public Service.

My first plunge into the reality of life as wife of a conscientious objector (CO) came in the early light of a mid-June morning in 1942. The interstate bus pulled up to the curb in Marion, North Carolina. "You all could of been lynched for what you done," the driver muttered at me as I stepped down from the long night's ride. "You best watch yourself!" This was the same driver who'd said to me when I had boarded in Washington, D.C., "I hope you know what you're doin'."

After a much delayed departure he had announced that there was one seat left in the back of the bus. I offered to take the seat if no one else wanted it. A Negro couple and I were the last ones waiting. The couple shook their heads. I stepped aboard and sidled up to that last place in the center of the back bench lined with black faces. These persons seemed momentarily surprised but they were kind to me. They made space. A grizzled migrant worker offered me a swig from his whiskey flask as it was passed along the row. Smiling, he shared some of his struggles as a farm work migrant. At the one pit stop going through Virginia I asked, "Are you going into the station?" They shook their heads. I didn't understand.

This was my first venture into the American South. I hadn't grasped the driver's dire comments, but I did know what I was doing. Two months after our marriage I was coming to join my husband, where he was interned in the Civilian Public Service camp at Buck Creek in the North Carolina mountains. John Burrowes was at the bus stop to meet me. We

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were finally together in his wartime commitment to his stand against war.

My road to this moment had been clarified for me over several years, leading to my conviction about the thrust of my life. The way had not been without barricades. One was particularly hard to broach. I recount the matter of my background simply to show how far removed from the mainstream of pacifism my upbringing was.

I had been raised in a restricted environment of social propriety by kind, intelligent parents who were limited by their own Edwardian upbringing. There was no family religious association. In high school I timidly sought my own attachment at an Episcopal church — a lonely effort. In retrospect I have wondered, at times, whether my pacifism would have been more articulate, less like rebellion, had I grown up in a Quaker meeting, surrounded by such intention. Instead, it seems to have been formulated from the impact of a picture book and film on World War One and my sense of the attitude and teachings of Jesus.

Four years at Vassar College were an enormous intellectual, social, and spiritual release for me. A major in zoology, when ecology was just becoming a field in its own right, confirmed my thinking that difficult human relationships cannot be resolved by destruction any more than can our relationships to earth and its other progeny. Occasional attendance at the Poughkeepsie, New York, Friends Meeting exposed me to the concept of the “light within” and the resource of meditation. My senior job as chair of the Vassar Community Church brought me into close contact with chapel speakers and with Student Christian Movement activities. My staunch father was highly distressed by his conviction that I was involved in radical politics. He was wrong; it was simply my intentions taking on purpose toward a life of conservation and succor.

This all leads to the biggest hurdle of my young life. In the fall of 1940 John Burrowes was at the camp at Cooperstown, New York. It was set up by cooperative efforts of the Friends Service Committee, the U.S. Forest Service, and Ed Behre’s insights and practical knowledge about forestry and its application to the life of a poor rural community. Cooperstown wanted to set an example of the kind of work and outreach that could be used in Quaker camps for COs as soon as the draft was activated.

En route back from a conference in Rochester, our chaplain suggested

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we stop in Cooperstown to see what these guys were up to. John played his flute for me. He and I talked of their forestry project and of their hopes for overseas relief work when drafted. From that brief hour I was totally smitten. On four occasions in the following year we shared thoughts and feelings. One of these was at Camp Patapsco, Maryland, after John had been drafted and assigned in the spring of 1941. These times gave us enough to know our commitment to each other and to our pacifist destiny in a war “they” said would probably be over in a year.

When John came to my parents’ home in Chicago in December of 1941 to state our intentions to marry, my father could not, as he said, “condone an engagement, let alone a marriage.” How could John support a wife on \$2.50 a month?* John found it hard to argue the point. I was not dissuaded. Back at work on my fellowship in ecology at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, I received a flow of letters from my mother crying her hurt at “losing her daughter.” She wanted my happiness but she could not agree with our views in the midst of war. Mother was a beautiful, tender person. Years later she and John became good friends. For now it hurt both ways.

In March of 1942 at age 23, I finally crossed my parents’ will. In spite of a registered letter from my father delivered on our wedding day asking “do you realize what you are doing, that you’re breaking your mother’s heart?” John and I were married at his home in New Jersey by his long-time minister in the Englewood Presbyterian Church. The Reverend Carl Elmore continued to love and support John, even after the disappointment to him of John’s leaving Union Theological Seminary,# to follow his pacifist course.

Back at graduate school, the head of the department, Dr. Anne Morgan, disapproving of married graduate students and of pacifists, terminated my two-year teaching fellowship in June. I was on my own with about a hundred dollars, Little Po Beep (the 1934 Chevy coupe I had brought off a gas station lot for \$50) and the loving kindness of John’s parents, to whose home I headed. I did not know how “things” would work out, but I knew where I needed to be. Without coupons or cash to spare for gas, I loaned Little Po to a group of women training for overseas relief

* Not all CPSers were paid; John was one of the lucky ones.

A bastion of liberal theology in New York City.

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work at the Lovett De Wees farm in Glen Mill, Pennsylvania. So, to the southbound bus ride and Buck Creek.

Tucked away up Sugar Cove, Buck Creek Camp presented itself as a rectangle of long weathered bunkhouses facing each other across a drab central area. Several bedsteads stood outside one dormitory, legs soaking in kerosene to discourage the resident bedbug army left by the preceding occupants. It seemed more forbidding to me than Patapsco. But Buck Creek had a major redemptive feature lacking in the Maryland camp. It was enclosed by the great green forest that climbed the mountain sides around it. One day during my stay John and I were walking up a trail along the creek. Out of the forest came a small dark-clad figure trotting briskly down the path with aid of a walking staff. He came to us and stopped. Smiling broadly he said, "I'm so glad you have each other!" and walked on. It was my first encounter with Quaker simple dress — and with William Bacon Evans. I've since wondered if he knew how much his cheerful greeting meant to us then and how we've treasured it through the years. I shall always think of this Friend as belonging, not to the Philadelphia area, but rather to the forests of the Black Mountains.

The other redeeming aspect of the camp for a visiting spouse was the gracious hospitality of Dr. and Mrs. Binford in their director's house. They were comfort and counsel in the two-week stay allowed. John and I were gleeful when heavy rain on the tin roof declared no project work. Most days, however, were bright and workable. The men piled into the back of covered trucks and headed for the Blue Ridge high above the camp to crush rock for the Parkway road and to clear trees for Crabtree camping area. I was not allowed to ride up in the trucks. If I wanted to see the project in action, I'd have to walk. So, climb I did, blissfully ignorant of bears and copperheads. Some inner compass must have led me up the mountain flank after I boldly left the road. I arrived several hours later at Crabtree Meadows. John and Ray Trayer shared lunch sandwiches with me. The mood of the men was not inclined by this time to please a domineering Park Service boss of the project. At quitting time they smuggled me down to camp in a truck that lurched like a tug in heavy seas around the mountain curves.

Such frolic was well and good but there were matters weighty on our minds and spirits through these days. Were we going to join a Friends meeting somewhere? Were we ready? The so-called "honeymoon" euphoria in CPS that had held high expectation of training and assignment to

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significant relief work overseas or significant social work at home had dimmed to a guttering candle. Would all the time be spent on rail-splitting and rock-crushing? What did that mean for our future endeavors when John “got out”? And how, meanwhile, was I to earn our winter shoes?

There is a web of relationships in everyone’s life, invisible, maintained somehow in the ether. Now and then, like the jet stream on a weather map, it dips down. A pertinent touch, seemingly out of nowhere, happens. Ours came in a letter from Carl Elmore. “There is need for a teacher in Vardy Community in Tennessee where our Presbyterian Church supports a church and a mission school,” said the letter. “Could John fill the position?” John had to reply that he was not free to do so, but his wife would be available. This reply was made after much discussion. I had long said to myself that I’d be anything but a teacher — ever! John had the possibility of transferring to the CPS mental hospital unit in Williamsburg, Virginia (CPS #41) where he might be able to take his wife who might have a job there. This was a time of turmoil and search for us. We questioned the validity of taking such a transfer just because Vardy Community was remote, but we decided on the Vardy school for me. There are not many times when one can look back at the consequences of a decision and find core fibers of one’s life.

Teaching and living in Vardy Community was a powerful experience for me. I had been intensely lonely for my husband. Our daily letter exchange (sustained over every separation in the five CPS years) smoothed many of the more rugged gaps and strengthened our bond. John’s letters brought his thoughts, hopes, discouragements and caring. They told news of men I had come to know: Lenny Sumner, Bryn Hammerstrom, Dan Frysinger, Jim Fox, poor distraught Jimmy Severino, and others. I had a strong urge to start a family. This resulted in a false pregnancy with the emotional distress that it entailed. Mary Rankin,* as ever, saw me through that bit. She welcomed John on the two occasions when he could get over for a day. Everyone who met him also loved him.

I was asked to stay a second year at Vardy. For all the attachments I had made, I could not face the separation in time and distance it would

* Sally Burrowes rented a room from Mary Rankin in Vardy and found in her a valuable friend.

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mean. In March, when grade books were done and we had spent two days in Sneedville working out the ration stamp allotments for the Vardy families, I headed for Buck Creek again. I can't recall how or when Little Po returned to us but I drove alone eastward through the rain. Ten hours later, after the endless mountains and valleys, I rolled over Buck Creek Gap and down the hairpin turns to the camp. There was my beloved climbing down from the project truck; there was the enfolding hug so needed. Then John paused and stared. He wondered what had happened to the front wheel, the deep dent in its rim. I hadn't laughed early in the morning when I drove off into a ditch while consulting Drew's penciled map. I heard a big bang and thump and was sure I'd burst a tire if not the gas tank out there beyond nowhere. The only way was to drive on. Back at Buck Creek I could laugh. Everything would be all right now.

But would it? Camp morale was low. These men now knew that, unlike the non-registrants condemned to a year in prison, they were in for the duration. In this spring of 1943 the end seemed very far away. Rumor now had it that the war had years to go. There were few positive projects in operation. My special friend Kay Frysinger, who had lived and worked in nearby Black Mountain, had left for Washington, D.C. with husband Dan. I found it hard to repress my desire to get a family started. For John this was both a threat and a promise of renewal. For me the possibility was both a hope and a focus for our future.

Suddenly the camp was moved, lock, shovels, and men, to Gatlinburg, Tennessee. Once again Little Po climbed and dipped, always thirsty for water. Where would I live now? It was April, a few months before the summer tourists. As John helped me seek a room to roost in, another touch of good fortune happened. Lewis and Ina Reagan were the first mountain natives to start a motel in this town of huge summer hotels. They would rent me a cabin until the season began.

I settled in with my typewriter, determined to put some stories down. Delighted with my kitchenette I gave my first "dinner party" for four men from the Gatlinburg Camp about three miles off in the Smoky Mountains. Rhubarb was ready. I made a pie and with my usual parsimony did not want to waste those splendid green tops of the stalks. A delicious cream of rhubarb soup was the first course. The meal was scarcely finished when the first guest made excuse to depart in haste. Another apologized and left at once. John and I soon realized what had hit our friends. We were sick all night. But it was years before I learned what it was I'd served that had caused the violent catharsis.

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The Reagan family took us to heart. When my luxury quarters were needed, they rented me a room in their attic. In turn I was able to help their two children with lessons. When a carload of men ineligible for the draft came by the house with their guns to show the Reagans what they thought of their harboring the wife of a Conchie, Lewis faced them from the steps of his front porch, told them it was his property and he'd do as he pleased on it.* One day when Gladys Jones and I were walking down town to the general store, there was a sound of gunfire behind us. A bullet ricocheted off the outside of the railroad overpass as we went through the tunnel. But those gun-toting, would-be intimidators never again came near the Reagan's house.

In June the smell of morning coffee made me nauseous. I took myself to the camp doctor at Pittman Center where he headed a Methodist Mission. He gave me a shot which, he said, would cause a period if I were not pregnant, told me to administer two successive shots to myself and promptly asked if I would teach in their boarding high school at the mission — another case of desperation, this time for a science teacher. Mr. Smith, the principal, showed me around the frame school building, especially the basement lab. Knowing I must get back to paying work, I accepted then and there.

In spite of Dr. Thomas's medications, I proved to be tenaciously pregnant. Some of my contemporaries thought this was a selfish and imprudent act. For us it brought our heads up and set our eyes on the future. I acquired a redbone puppy (a hunting dog the color of burgundy) from under the house across the creek from Reagans. Sugarfoot and I moved to a room in the girls' dormitory at Pittman Center.

Vardy had electricity but no running water; Pittman Center had running water, when the river wasn't too low, but no electricity. I soon learned what happens to a lamp chimney when the oil runs out. The lab in which I taught biology and chemistry was equipped in modern style for those days with high work benches, stools and sinks, and Bunsen burner gas. Its location, built into the earth up to the window sills, made easy access for an unwelcome hazard. One day at early dark I was working in the lab by light of an oil lamp. I felt something brush across

* "Conchie," a derogatory name for CPS men, short for conscientious objector.

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my shoe, testing the lace as it went. I looked down to see a huge grey river rat saunter away, sniff the arsenated cotton set out for it, then flow under the closed door. It was these rats that had chewed the labels off all the jars and bottles of chemicals. I could recognize copper sulfate, but that was about all. My fervent prayer that the rats had died of glue ingestion was not answered.

The school year progressed through August and September. So did my condition. There was little community interaction for me at Pittman Center. Pupils came and went. Two sisters who had quit the year before to have babies returned in hopes of graduating and going to nursing school. Others had shorter attention spans and were frequently distracted by the weighted-down old sedans that passed the lab windows headed for Sevierville, "the toughest town in Tennessee." Somebody's pa was running a productive still. I suspect my own attention span was not so well focused. Later experience taught me many things I could have done differently in this school.

In October John volunteered for the pneumonia experiment to be conducted in a small frame building down by the creek in the Gatlinburg camp.* The Surgeon General's Commission on Acute Respiratory Disease had ordered this investigation, headed by Dr. Thomas Abernathy, to determine why soldiers were dying of a strain of pneumonia that did not respond to the new drugs. The 15 Gatlinburg COs who became guinea pigs had their throats sprayed 150 times per day for three days with throat washings from soldiers who had died of the disease. The volunteers were kept in isolation. As they sickened, I carried my worry alone at school.

Over a six-week period the subjects worsened, then gradually recovered. Out of this effort and two successive experiments in the next summer, Dr. Ramelkamp, a researcher with the commission, was able to identify viral pneumonia as a specific infection, a big step in understanding respiratory disease. John was pleased that he had the opportunity to participate in this work. We were both pleased that all the volunteers survived. However, immediately after this first experiment, John developed a secondary pneumonia and was very ill. I quit my job at Christmas time. We spent that Christmas day together but very much alone in the

* CPS Camp #108 in Tennessee, successor to the Buck Creek Camp.

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infirmary of the experiment building, listening to the wheezing chest of one guinea pig and the clatter outside the window of the stream over its icy boulders. I had rented a cabin across from the Reagan's house. When John was released by the doctors, he was allowed leave for recovery time. We lived quietly in the cabin. Under tutelage of CO Jim Fox I cooked 'possum for a meal — my once and only venture into this in-delicacy!

While still at Vardy I had struggled with a letter requesting membership in Florida Avenue Friends Meeting in Washington, D.C. We had never attended there and it would be many years before we had the opportunity. Being in the capital, it was perhaps more used to vagrant Friends. We were glad to be taken in, although I still have twinges of feeling like a borderline Quaker, maybe because of this and maybe due in part to emphasis on birthright membership in some meetings with which we were associated in later years. Nonetheless it was commitment to a way of seeking for me. My spirit felt at home.

In February of 1944 John was sent back to forest labor high on Mount Sterling. I went by train to John's parents. There our son was born in early April. His father had leave to be there for the occasion. My mother came east to greet her first grandchild and to embrace me as a married daughter. John's mother and father were there of course. It was a happy time and a binding one. A long summer followed in which John was an attendant in the two successive pneumonia experiments in Pinehurst, North Carolina. We continued daily letters and I made strenuous efforts to be patient while our boy tripled his weight and laughed at life.

My cussed sense of independence pushed me to find a situation where the baby and I could live and be useful and self-reliant. John was assigned to Concord State Hospital in Concord, New Hampshire (CPS #84). Word came that Phil and Teddy Jacob were much in need of a helper on their subsistence farm near Sebasco Estates on the coast of Maine. During the break John was allowed for transfer to Concord our little family entrained for Bath, Maine. John had a week to spare to assist Phil with fall plowing. I stayed two months laundering for three babies in diapers, cooking, and generally surviving. Shoveling chicken manure to take back for fertilizer was considered a day of recreation away from the house. Teddy was hospitalized for a miscarriage. November was a brutal month of work and deep-freeze in the frame house on the grey rocks.

Had John and I known at this time that there was another full year of his internment for us to face would we have crumpled? Lack of

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clairvoyance is probably more often a grace than not. John was engrossed in his work on the hospital wards, deeply involved in developing humane treatment for the patients by listening and caring. He had searched out a residential job for me in Chester Moody's establishment for homeless children, about six miles from the hospital grounds.

Misled by an old wive's tale about nursing and conception, I had conceived our second child. By this time there were several CO wives in Concord. We set up a co-op house in a tenement on Spring Street where year-old Greg and I settled in April of 1945. At one time or another Bob Carey and Joan; Buck Tjossem, his wife Joan and son Norman; George Fischer, his wife Esther and son Theodore; and Reynold and Dorothy Kautz shared the space, the rent, and the food kitty. Here in September our first daughter was born.

Spring Street was also the first home of our first goat, residence of our first hive of bees, and soil for our first vegetable garden. John had thoroughly studied these efforts at self-reliance. I got into canning. I was still wearing the shoes John had made for me at Buck Creek. We felt certain that we would not be accepted by society when we got out, that our training in music, religion, literature, science, drama would have to be put by. That did not keep us from rejoicing when John's friend George Woodbury came in the snow of one late November day with his little Ford stake-body truck and scooped us up, our two babies, our bed and two cribs, one goat, and one hive of bees and drove us to freedom.

We were free long before those kindly blacks on that southbound bus so many years before. The North became our home for many years. Back now in North Carolina, next door to Tennessee, I know how much these southern mountains gave this CO wife in our years of struggle.

Buck Creek Camp —

50 Years Later

by

James Mattocks

Ed. note: There were other husbands and wives who could not stand the separation. One such man was James Mattocks and his wife Edith. He too was at Buck Creek, knew Dr. Raymond Binford, and was among those transferred with the camp to Gatlinburg. His is a short, simple story, yet eloquent in its simplicity.

In March 1942, pursuant to my understanding of the clear and imperative Quaker peace testimony, I went with my quite limited social and economic experience to Buck Creek CPS Camp, an old CCC* camp in the woods, ten miles from Marion, North Carolina, with a wild diversity of people. On one side was George Edwards, since then a Presbyterian minister and seminary professor; on the other side, Andy Cox, a Quaker from Asheboro, North Carolina, our best axeman, whose pet squirrel ate my wildflower seeds. Our building, Frog Hollow, next to the creek and septic tank, was the primary aggregation of lower economic and educational fundamentalists (when that word was less aggressive).

Middle Manor and Valhalla Heights, uphill from Frog Hollow, contained all sorts of scholastic degrees and experiences in philosophy, art, music, languages, as well as sexual preferences. I was suddenly in a close association with a wider variety of people than ever before or since.

Also, there were Raymond and Helen Binford, Raymond coming from many years at Guilford College in geology, botany and administration;

* Civilian Conservation Corps camp established under the New Deal.

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a hard-of-hearing rock of Quaker morality; and an able seaman in the ocean of bureaucracy; Helen, the epitome of gentle, loving concern that was utterly unquenchable. (She was refused service in the patriotic stores of Marion where one CPS fellow's camera was taken by the police for taking a picture of Main Street to send home.)

It took a while to understand Raymond's insistence that any work, regardless of its eventual usefulness or lack thereof, was worth doing well. One of the appealing things about breaking rocks was that any later change in work projects did not affect rocks already broken, they remained broken. We ran two rock crushers, one at Crabtree Meadows and one at Gillespie Gap. From the Crabtree rock pile, we could see Mount Mitchell (the highest mountain east of the Mississippi River) and got freezing fog directly from it. Green streaks over Mount Mitchell meant snow.

The rock crushed at Crabtree was mostly highly contorted mica schist which came from the Mount Mitchell overlook three or four miles south toward Buck Creek Gap. It was extremely difficult to break up into size to go into the crusher; and, when crushed, produced a lot of mica dust. The frequent fog and mist would keep the dust down somewhat, but would freeze in the crusher jaws and jam it. The crushed rock mainly went on the roads being graded out in the Crabtree park camping ground area.

The Park Service was, of course, misguided in some ways. We were, to my dismay, put to cutting down all the great, silvery, dead chestnut trees that could be seen from the parkway.* These gaunt and beautiful, seemingly permanent reminders of the great chestnut mantle that once made the Appalachians so fruitful were considered to be just dead trees, rather than the ghostly art of a better time.

We had a sawmill at what is now a picnic area a couple of miles south of Crabtree. A mile or so further was a little farm plot where Wilmer Cooper raised cabbages. He also had some space to garden down at camp; and the last year at Buck Creek, we had some farm acreage down on the Catawba River, which we could work with the tractor Lloyd Massey let us use.

A large truck load of canned green beans was the last thing to come

* Blue Ridge Parkway.

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from Buck Creek Camp to the new camp at Gatlinburg, Tennessee. The big old flat-bed truck was driven by Ted Banner late at night because of the questionable brakes. Ted Banner was the creator of the Banner Shift. He could shift gears up or down, slow or fast, up grade or down grade, soundlessly, without using the clutch.

If we went from a day on project directly to fighting a fire and spent the whole night, we were entitled to an individual egg at breakfast. When my wife, Edith, visited camp she learned treasures of frugal camp cooking from Charlie Hendricks.

The memories of Buck Creek are clear and important. I was (and am) naïve, but the little camp up the creek seemed to open up to me most of the things that have been important the rest of my life. All aspects of natural history, music, art, philosophy, literature, religion, history, politics, how a Quaker meeting operates, and many other things were examined in the great variety of opinion and ability concentrated in that place. There was always the perpetual urgency of a testimony of peace and sanity in a world dedicated to destruction, where fierce public contempt was so often modified by those who came close enough for a quiet word of appreciation and support. The experience resulted in an enlarged and continued independence of opinion. Many misguided social conventions lost their importance.

After Buck Creek, memories lead on to the Gatlinburg camp in the Smoky Mountains, immersed in the great forest (where there were also rocks to be broken), then to the Eastern State Mental Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia (CPS #41), the most useful time of my life, where we had the incredible experience of all the attendants on the men's side being CPS men, with substantial control of the actual operation. From there I was sent to Missoula, Montana, the land of great sky and wilderness, by parachute and by foot.

All my life since has been strongly colored by the people I knew and the experience I had in CPS. I have not lived up to the vision, but I did see it and know that it is still available.

Book Reviews

Compiled and edited by

Carole Treadway

Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women Over Three Centuries. Edited by Elisabeth Potts Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989. 200 pp. \$32.00, hardbound. \$12.00, paper.

Quaker women were "empowered" from the beginning to take an active role in development of the belief system and the governance of the sect,...they were encouraged to engage publicly as Mothers of Israel,* and ..this makes them unusually interesting to us.

Mary Maples Dunn (p. 75)

This volume presents essays based on papers given in April, 1987, at a Haverford College conference called "Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women 1650-1987." The essays are arranged chronologically by centuries to illuminate the work and influence of Quaker women over the span of time as well as within the context of their relationships to Quakerism and their particular "spheres of influence." Each chapter includes illustrative documents written by Quaker women in their time, a valuable but largely untapped addition to this book. A discussion of sources on Quaker women concludes the volume.

In her introduction, Susan Mosher Stuard reviews the significant religious roles for women before the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and relates the development of a gender ideology that delimited "woman's place" in society, and in religious movements in particular, in the

* Women who combined ecstatic public ministry and ordinary daily tasks. In some cases Quaker women ministers "preached in the streets or at meetings for worship and then came home, nursed their babies, and served supper." p. 55 Here the term refers also to Quaker women leaders who ministered publicly as well as provided nurturing, practical support to individual Quakers.

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centuries preceding the advent of Quakerism in the mid 1600s (and continues until the present). She sets the stage for understanding the amazing originality of George Fox's insight and liberating message for women in his own time.

[The] early decisions to forego dogma (relying solely on the prophetic voice) and a clergy (institutionalized authority whose agents might enforce a gender ideology) helped establish a climate of acceptance for women among the Quakers virtually unique in European life in the seventeenth century. Coupled with the affirmation of Margaret Fell as a spiritual leader, a stand confirmed by Fox and other respected men of the community over voiced criticisms, Quakerism took a clear stand for women's full and equal participation within the community. (p. 12-13)

The remaining essays illustrate the continuing strength and relevance of Quaker beliefs and practices for women through the years to the present as they individually and collectively worked to make their beliefs manifest in the world at large.

Phyllis Mack's chapter, entitled "Gender and Spirituality in Early English Quakerism 1650-1665," looks at Elizabeth Hooten's ministry in the context of her own time and the prevailing Quaker attitude toward the self as opposed to our contemporary psychological concept of personhood. She describes the Quaker attitude toward and justification of women prophets and ministers in the mid-1600s.

The Quakers' main argument for female preaching was not the glorification of weak and pious femininity; it was the assertion that, as all Quakers in the light had transcended their carnal selves, a woman preaching in public had actually transcended her womanhood. (p. 48)

Later, the point is made that Quaker men who ministered publicly were carrying out their authority while women Quaker ministers were in effect denying or subsuming their womanhood, though this may have had a liberating effect, given the constraints upon women acting publicly.

...the self-transcendence of Quaker men was different from the self-alienation of Quaker women: the public authority of the male Quaker was at least analogous to, if not derived from, his own gendered individuality; the authority of the woman

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was grounded in her total rejection of self. (p. 50)

Given this dichotomy, Mack provides biographical and psychological insights in answer to her question: "What were the deeper reasons for Elizabeth Hooten's unorthodox, unfeminine behavior?" (p. 34)

In "Latest Light on Women of Light," Mary Maples Dunn summarizes the history of American Quaker women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and contrasts their experience with that of English Quaker women, through a discussion of biography, gender-role study, and female experience.

Noting that "historian's work, like women's work, is never done," Dunn presents several intriguing topics—even mysteries—for further, careful research and study, and suggests resources available.

....In seeking to understand gender equality we have looked to parallel structures and perhaps neglected to pay adequate attention to the truly female experience of life among Friends. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has for some time been telling us how we can uncover and appreciate women's experience in a "female world of love and ritual"; and it may be that if biography was our first phase of women's history and the search to understand the conditions of gender equality was our second phase, then our coming of age will be the attempt to understand women's experience for itself and in the context of its time. (p. 81)

As a Quaker woman I am keenly interested in the stories of my foremothers and I eagerly approached this book. I want to learn more about "the truly female experience of life among Friends," and that may explain some of my initial frustration with *Witnesses for Change*.

Nancy A. Hewitt, in "The Nineteenth Century —The Fragmentation of Friends: The Consequences for Quaker Women in Antebellum America," advances the thesis that the schisms and upheavals within the Society of Friends in the nineteenth century actually benefited women as a group, though it undoubtedly caused many individual women pain.

If upheaval that blurred the boundaries of women's role fostered the female Quaker's activism, and if a strain of that activism then led to some Friends' advocacy of feminism, and if feminist Friends formed the core of the nineteenth-century woman's rights movement, and if that movement initiated transformations that began to reshape gender roles in more

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egalitarian ways, then the fragmentation of Friends was not a tragedy for Quaker women, but a triumph for us all. That is a prospect worth exploring. (p. 106)

Hewitt presents this novel idea and others for further study.

Finally, in "Dilemmas of Pacifist Women, Quakers and Others, in World Wars I and II," Barbara Miller Solomon presents an extended discussion of the leadership of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the moral dilemmas they faced, especially during World War II. The discussion includes the conflicting testimonies of pacifism and feminism and how various women Quaker leaders such as Alice Paul, Emily Greene Balch and Hannah Clothier Hull resolved these for themselves.

The section on "Sources on Quaker Women," compiled by Elisabeth Potts Brown and Jean R. Soderlund, includes a general description of how Quakers are "organized" that seems tailored for those not familiar with Quakerism. It is a good summary, but provincial in scope; for example, the authors describe the voluminous minutes and records kept (largely by women) by monthly and yearly meetings over the centuries, but list only the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College and the Quaker Collection at Haverford College as places these are deposited for safekeeping and study. A more complete list would have been helpful and more accurate for scholars and others unfamiliar with the broad spectrum of Quaker study centers today.

The broad scope suggested by the book's title set up higher expectations of content than the book delivers; indeed, one would not have anticipated the various research agendas proposed by the contributors unless one had attended the conference on which the book is based. In particular, I was disappointed that despite the claim in the preface to cover the years up to 1987, nothing was included about Quaker women who have been leaders or witnesses for change in the time since World War II. What about Elizabeth Boardman, Marjorie Perisho, Elise Boulding, and many others who have worked on civil rights, open housing, disarmament and the peace movement during the Vietnam War?

The editors state in the preface, "This volume taken as a whole asks us to ponder how, and why, a small, close band of women discovered the means to transform their society and break open new paths for others to follow." (p. viii) Upon concluding this volume, the general reader will

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probably not be satisfied in finding answers to this question. A final chapter that elucidated common threads and insights across the chronological framework, especially drawing upon selections from the first person documents included in each section, would have made this book more accessible to its many potential readers who are not scholars and who were not participants in the Haverford conference.

Ann Trueblood Raper
Greensboro, NC

Wayne B. Hadley. *A Calendar for Genealogists: Old and New Style Calendar Pages*. Hillsboro, OR: James E. Bellarts, Yeoman Genealogy Services, 1992. 18 pp. \$4.00.

A constant challenge to historians and genealogists has been how to interpret dates in Quaker documents prior to 1752 and for some time thereafter. First, there is the nomenclature, in which numbers are substituted for names of months because of the Quaker disapproval of pagan names, as in January from the Roman god Janus. Then after 1752, there is an inaccuracy in the names of the last four months of the year, which originally designated the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth months.

When in 1752 the English parliament adopted the Gregorian calendar (new style), the one we still use, to replace the Julian calendar (old style), confusion reigned. Then the year began on January first (formerly the eleventh month) instead of March 25, and it was necessary to add or subtract ten or eleven days to convert dates from one style to the other.

Practical advice has been, don't try to convert old style dates. The chances of making a mistake are great, and if the attempt has already been made in a secondary source, any further attempt only compounds any error that may have been made. It's still good advice if one is working from secondary sources, but Hadley's *Calendar for Genealogists* now makes it possible to make accurate conversions easily from original documents. (Just be sure to inform the reader that the conversion has been done.)

After a brief explanation, there is a conversion chart and calendar pages for the years 1582-2031. The compiler did not neglect to take the leap year 1700 into account, an indicator of reliability. This useful tool is available from the publisher at 2350 S. E. Brookwood Avenue, Suite 108, Hillsboro, Oregon 9723-8168.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

1991-92

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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 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.

The
Southern Friend
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Introduction

By

Steven Jay White

Guest Editor

This is the last issue of a special two-part series published by *The Southern Friend*. It commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the Civilian Public Service (CPS). CPS provided alternative public service for those who were opposed to the violence of World War Two and proved to be a unique and controversial partnership between church and state. In the Spring 1992 issue I included an article based on a talk I gave at the 1991 annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. For those who would like some of the historical background on Friends CPS, I direct you to it. But in this issue and in its predecessor, the center pieces of the series are the memoirs of those people who actually were involved with CPS. But because there were so many rich manuscripts, we could not fit them all into one edition. Thus is the genesis of this second issue in which the CPSers are themselves the narrators of their own stories. They are people to be admired. And to repeat myself from the first issue: "Better than any historian, these brave people tell an earnest story of sacrifice and unyielding dedication to Christian idealism in the face of war."

Steven Jay White received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois in 1990 and is on the faculty of the Lexington Community College of the University of Kentucky. He has authored five previous articles in *The Southern Friend*.

In The Blue Ridge Mountains Of Virginny— Some Personal Memories of Civilian Pubic Service

By

J. Henry Dasenbrock

Ed. note: J. Henry Dasenbrock (presently residing with his wife, Mary Esther, at "The Quadrangle," a life-care community in Haverford, Pennsylvania) had so many adventures in the Virginia mountains during his tenure in CPS, that he has written his own book entitled: To the Beat of a Different Drummer. After CPS, he spent 15 months in relief work with the American Friends Service Committee in France or Poland. The Dasenbrocks were married at the end of their Polish service and later led Quaker work camps in Mexico and Poland.

Perhaps it was the flick of shadow from a wingtip across my eyelids. Perhaps it was a subtle drop in temperature as a fleecy cumulus cast its shadow over the sun-warmed rocky outcrop high above the valley where I rested after a brisk climb through the autumn woods. Perhaps it was a bone-deep primal sense of warning, "Somebody, some *thing* is watching me!" For whatever reason, I snapped awake, tense, and opened my eyes to meet the baleful glare of a very large turkey buzzard hovering just a few feet above my supine body. For a long second we stared, eye to eye, before the great bird tilted away to soar along the face of the mountain, still searching for something dead for lunch.

That incredible close encounter, added to the wide panorama of Virginia hills and valleys lying before me, clad in a rainbow of fall colors such as my western eyes had never met before, constitutes one vignette of several which are my clearest memories of Civilian Public Service Camp #29, Lyndhurst, Virginia, where I spent some ten weeks in the fall

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of 1943. The black tarpaper and white battened buildings of the camp, scattered at the foot of the mountain where I had climbed, were temporary home for over a hundred young men serving out their draft requirement as conscientious objectors to military service. It was to find surcease from the pressure of confined togetherness that I had sought the heights alone on that Sunday afternoon. I was one of those conscientious objectors, nearing the end of my second year of confinement, with no end in sight.

Civilian Public Service was the product of an uneasy cooperation between church and state that was set up in the Selective Service Act of 1940, the first peacetime draft ever in the United States. In an attempt to avoid the terrible mishandling of conscientious objectors that had occurred in World War One, and having failed to get absolute exemption written into the law, the representatives of the three peace churches* agreed to a compromise program by which men would be drafted, subject to the decision of local draft boards, assigned to "work of national importance under civilian direction" in camps nominally run by the churches, but under the control of Selective Service. To facilitate cooperation among themselves and with the government, the peace church leaders formed an umbrella organization, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO) with Paul Comley French as its director. Its Board of Directors included representatives of the sponsoring organizations. Each church group also had an independent organization to operate the various camps to which conscientious objectors were assigned. For the Quakers, this was the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), with Tom Jones, Gordon Foster, and Paul Furnas serving as executive director at various times. It was a cumbersome system, but it functioned reasonably well, from 1940 to 1946, within the conditions of a nation girded for all-out war.

What had not been anticipated was that the sympathetic civilian director of Selective Service would be replaced by a career military man, General Lewis Hershey, nor that most of his key staff would change to military men. Our "civilian" directors thus were General Hershey, Colonel Kosch, and Major McLean! Nor was it anticipated that our little contingent of objectors would receive so much antagonism from mem-

* The three historic peace churches are the Quaker, Brethren, and Mennonite churches.

In The Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginny

bers of Congress and various veteran groups. Selective Service officials would never fully respond to the peace church requests for fear of congressional action against the whole structure of the draft and Civilian Public Service. This was the reason that CPS men received no pay. The Selective Service Act provided for remuneration equivalent to a private's pay in the army, but no effort was made to get Congress to appropriate funds. So the churches operated the camps and gave CPS men an allowance of \$2.50 a month for personal expenses. Assignees were encouraged to pay their own camp expense if possible, or to get their church or meeting to do so, but as the years of service continued, the financial burden on the churches grew heavy, beyond any anticipated level.

My presence in Lyndhurst, Virginia, was the result of a further example of ill-informed anti-CO reaction by Congress. Hearing that "conchies"* were being "coddled on college campuses," Representative Starnes of Alabama placed a rider on a military appropriations bill which effectively prevented any military funds being used in support of college campus based training programs for men who would not serve in the military. While those programs were funded entirely by the churches, the documents assigning us to those projects had to be signed by our "civilian" director. This technicality brought the whole program of training men in preparation for post-war relief and reconstruction work to a screeching halt. Training units on campuses such as Haverford, Swarthmore, Guilford, Manchester, and Goshen were all closed.† I had been at Manchester College. I was temporarily assigned to Lyndhurst, awaiting clearance to go to the hospital program in Puerto Rico, CPS #43.

I had been drafted in December 1941 and had served nearly two years in a Forest Service camp at Cascade Locks, Oregon. Experience there as a truck driver and mechanic brought me similar assignments in Virginia, working on the Blue Ridge Parkway. Lyndhurst was one of six camps located along the length of the Blue Ridge Mountains. It was the only Forest Service unit, the remainder (one in Tennessee, one in North

* A derogatory name for CPS men, short for conscientious objector.

† Haverford and Swarthmore Colleges are in Pennsylvania, Guilford in North Carolina, and Manchester and Goshen in Indiana. Haverford, Swarthmore, and Guilford are Quaker; Manchester, Brethren; and Goshen, Mennonite.

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Carolina, and the rest in Virginia) were under the National Park Service. Gatlinburg, in Tennessee, and Buck Creek in North Carolina were AFSC camps, with the others being Mennonite or Brethren-operated. I believe the parkway was an important project for all these units, although I was only at Lyndhurst. The parkway was mostly completed, a fine two-lane gravel road, empty of traffic with gas rationing in effect. Our job was to finish drainage structures, do final grading and seeding of slopes and do preliminary preparation of parking areas and other recreational sites on a section of the parkway crossing a national forest. Like many CPS projects, it didn't seem to be very important in a world at war, with incredible human need to be met.

It should be noted that there were other CPS projects in the southeastern United States. There were public health units at places in Florida; mental hospital units in Staunton and Marion, Virginia; and a general hospital unit in Durham, North Carolina, which was run by the Methodist Commission on World Peace. These special service units mostly came later than the less glamorous Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, and Park Service camps, which constituted the majority of early CPS units.

By the fall of 1943, war manpower demands had severely reduced available farm labor, and crops were endangered. As an alternative labor source, farmers could call on CPS camps for volunteers. They had to pick up crews at camp, and pay normal wages — but the worker never saw his pay, as it was held by the government in an escrow fund. In theory, this was to be used at war's end in some useful way. Reconstruction of war torn areas, or as an assistance fund for discharged CPS men to complete education were two suggestions. In actual fact, no decision was ever reached in Congress and the money earned just disappeared into the general funds of the U.S. government. At Lyndhurst, many men volunteered to pick apples that fall, but I declined, feeling it was too much like slave labor.

Project work could be hazardous. Another of my memories of Lyndhurst deals with a near accident as we were top dressing a very long and high fill. I swung my loaded truck across the road, backed to the edge to dump my load of topsoil, and misjudged, dropping the rear wheels over the edge! There was a sickening moment as my truck teetered with the frame down on the road edge. I scrambled out. Fast action got my truck chained to a bulldozer to hold it on the road while I cautiously dumped the load

In The Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginy

and was pulled back to safety. Shortly thereafter I was “promoted” to work in the repair shop, but another vignette of life at Lyndhurst had been recorded — the sight of that truck gently teetering on the verge of that long slope.

Every CPS camp had a life of its own, outside of work hours, created by the inhabitants. Religious activity was a common denominator. The Mennonite and Brethren camps were more active in this area than the AFSC camps. The AFSC camps tended to be less homogenous than those run by more fundamentalist sects. There were constant efforts to create a stimulating intellectual atmosphere. This was severely hampered by the nature of the work program. Campers had little free time, and for most men the physical demands of the day’s work made evenings seem all too short. As work assignments often moved men into side camps for varying lengths of time, a continuing program of study often became impossible. Nonetheless, every camp had some sort of a publication, and reading them can still give an interesting cross section of the thinking. For most men, CPS represented a cessation of normal life, and varying degrees of frustration arose as time went by and project work varied from make-work activity to useful accomplishment.

Useful accomplishment there was! According to one Selective Service report, COs during the war completed more than 5,368,700 man-days of work estimated to be worth \$18,000,000 at normal pay rates. That did not include some \$2,000,000 worth of hospital work. The sequestered wages paid into the treasury for farm work amounted to about \$1,300,000. These figures need to be considered in light of a labor rate of less than a dollar an hour at the time. We, of course, did not benefit from our labors, then or later, as we were excluded from the GI Bill of Rights post-discharge benefits to assist education and other expenses.

Some projects seemed more exciting and worthwhile than others. A Mennonite unit in Billings, Montana, was involved in a Forest Service project of “smoke-jumping” — parachuting into remote areas to fight forest fires. Without the CPS manpower during the war, this service could never have grown past its beginning. In Hill City, South Dakota, CPS #57 built an 825 foot long, 100 feet high earth fill dam, as a water supply for Rapid City and to irrigate some 12,000 acres of land. In guinea pig health experiment programs, CPS men helped develop new knowledge of disease control, nutrition, and other life-affecting matters. In mental hospitals, CPS men helped change the nature of care adminis-

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tered to the mentally ill and established the Mental Health Foundation. CPS #43 in Puerto Rico, where I finished my 49 months in CPS, provided badly needed health services in three impoverished areas, and two of our hospitals still operate a half century later. It is also worth noting that the National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors (NISBCO), successor to the NSBRO is still in operation a half century later, still working against draft and military intervention in young men's lives.

Over 12,000 men passed through 150 Civilian Public Service units between 1940 and 1946. About one of every thousand draftees refused military service. We were clearly out of step with our fellow citizens. For many of us the experience provided a broadening that changed our lives thereafter. New horizons opened as we met and worked with and came to appreciate the wide diversity of men who refused to fight. We came from some 235 different sects, from farms and cities. We ranged from barely literate to highly educated. We were a cross-section of our society, except in that one important aspect — we would not fight.

When we returned to civilian life, post war, we took that broader perspective into our homes and churches. For the succeeding 50 years, we have played key roles in the peace movement, in our religious organizations, and in the institutions of our society. Despite our misgivings at the time about the value of what we did during those years of World War Two, the men of Civilian Public Service have done "work of national importance."

J. Henry Dasenbrock's account of his war years and post war relief work, To The Beat of a Different Drummer, is available from him at \$10.95 postpaid. Mail order with check to 3300 Darby Road, #803, Haverford, PA 19041-1065.

Recollections of Buck Creek (North Carolina) and Crestview (Florida)

Civilian Public Service (CPS)

August 1941 – February 1943

By

Edward Flud Burrows

Ed. note: From the mountains of Virginia to the foothills of North Carolina to the warm climes of Florida, CPS camps were found. One CPSer tried the camps for awhile, but ultimately decided that he could not participate. He walked away from CPS and spent three years in prison. Although he did not condemn the camps, he decided they were not for him. Yet still Edward Flud Burrows's seventeen months in CPS provides valuable insights into that institution. Ed Burrows lives in Greensboro, NC. He is retired from Guilford College where he was professor of history

The Road to Buck Creek

Having been brought up in a religious family and community, from early childhood I took religion quite seriously. I was convinced that the teachings of Jesus should be a guide for my life. But it was not until 1938–39, when at the age of 21, a senior in college, I decided that I must accept a life of nonviolence as the way to live my Christian faith. This was not a snap decision, but rather one that followed months of study and participation in group discussions with fellow students whom I respected and admired.

The following year, in graduate school, my conviction was strengthened and more closely defined as I defended my position against fellow students who were bright and serious and not at all in agreement. This took place against the background of much debate on a national level

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about conscription after the outbreak of World War Two in Europe in August, 1939. That year, I joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation and found support in the sermons of the Reverend David Yates, the rector of the leading Episcopal church in Durham.

The Conscription Act of 1940 was finally passed and all men in the United States between the ages of 18 and 45 (as I recall) were ordered to register for the draft on October 16, 1940. By that date, I was teaching in a consolidated rural school in Clarendon County, South Carolina. I had become convinced that I should not register, following the example of some much-publicized theology students at Union Seminary and some well-known pacifist leaders.* But, when I told my parents of my intention, they became so upset that I agreed to register and to declare myself a conscientious objector.

October 16 had been declared a school holiday by the governor of South Carolina so school teachers could serve as registrars at their respective schools. I informed my principal that I could not register others because of my views, and he allowed me to spend that day thoroughly cleaning the separate building that served the school as bathrooms and dressing rooms for athletic teams. Apparently my actions quickly became widely known and were respected, for I never felt any antagonism toward me because of them. Instead, several of my male peers in the community came to me to get me to help them prepare the necessary forms when their draft numbers were called. When my number finally was called in the Spring of 1941, I was quickly given a 4-E (Conscientious Objector) classification without ever being called before my draft board.

Buck Creek Civilian Public Service (CPS) Camp #19

Around August 1, 1941, I was ordered to report to Buck Creek Civilian Public Service Camp #19 near Marion, North Carolina, on August 28. I arrived at the camp rather late at night after the long bus trip from Manning, South Carolina. I still have a vivid recollection of going to sleep listening to the noisy passage of Buck Creek as it rippled over its rocky bed skirting the former Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp set in a deep valley just a few miles east of the Blue Ridge Parkway from Mount Mitchell.

* Union Seminary in New York City was a center of liberal theology.

Recollections of Buck Creek and Crestview

Some 40 men arrived that day to open the camp officially, joining a small contingent of men who had come from other camps to prepare for our arrival. With a staff of Dr. Raymond Binford* as director; and Helen, his wife; Bertha Jean Otis, an American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) volunteer serving as dietician; and Edith Kelsey, another volunteer nurse, all on maintenance salaries, we had approximately 50 persons there at first. I remained at Buck Creek until April, 1942, and by then, the camp totalled more than 150 persons.

At first spirits in the camp were good; we accepted our assigned job of working on the Blue Ridge Parkway with energy and performed all necessary camp functions on a weekly volunteer basis. For a few weeks I worked on the parkway grading cuts in the mountains with hoes and hauling rocks (in wheel-barrows) to be thrown down the steep sides of the parkway. On weekends, we went on sight-seeing picnics to Crabtree Falls and other places along the Parkway.

In September, when the dietician protested that teaching a new batch of volunteer cooks how to boil water each week was unsatisfactory, I volunteered for a three-month assignment in the kitchen. There I received good training both in preparing meals and working cooperatively. As the number of men in the camp increased, the cooking crew was enlarged and eventually we had two teams each on duty for 24 hours, then off duty 24 hours. As a regular duty, this meant getting up about 4:30 A.M. to get the three big coal stoves hot enough to prepare breakfast by 6:30 or 7:00 A.M.

After breakfast, we made preparations such as peeling potatoes for the remaining meals of the day. A lunch, usually consisting of something hot such as shepherd's pie, plus sandwiches, had to be ready by 11:00 A.M. to be taken up to the parkway for those "on project." After serving lunch to those in camp, the kitchen crew on duty could take a break until about 4:00 P.M. when final preparation for the evening meal began. During that fall, the kitchen crew had to perform all the chores associated with the meals: setting tables, washing dishes, pots and pans, etc. Eventually a special crew had to be given those duties. When a fire was being fought, this meant being called on at any time between midnight and the following midnight to keep the fire-fighting crews fed.

* Raymond Binford was formerly president of Guilford College, Greensboro, NC, 1918-1934.

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On my days off, I spent much time hiking the mountains, reading, etc. My first reaction to camp, I think, was one of relief that I could express my convictions and still perform some service to my country. But, I still felt reservations about conscription. As we men struggled to govern ourselves democratically within the limits set by Selective Service, spending hours in meeting to establish rules and procedures, I became quite aware that, just because we shared some conviction that participation in war was wrong, we did not necessarily agree on much else.

My memory of those early months is that I was basically happy. I made friends; I learned new skills; and I grew spiritually and intellectually. Since I was not a Quaker, I was expected to pay \$35.00 a month for my "room and board." (Quakers may have been expected to do so also.) At first I signed a note borrowing this money from the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship (EPF), an associate group with the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). Eventually the EPF canceled the note so I never had to worry about piling up a debt as some others did.

When my term as cook expired, I joined the men "on project" as we began clearing the area to be set aside as Crabtree Meadows Park. This involved cutting and burning numbers of dead chestnut trees. I also helped Burdette Bernard survey the path down to Crabtree Falls. I recall the numbing December and January cold, but I was basically healthy and did not mind the physical work.

After Pearl Harbor, I became much more concerned about what I was doing. While I accepted the fact that the parkway was a valuable contribution to my country (and I feel even more so today), I felt that my individual "sacrifice" in no way compared with that of those fighting and dying in the Pacific. I especially recall being upset when the Bataan "death march" was being reported over the barracks radio, and I overheard someone comment "what is that to us?"

By January 1942, considerable discussion was taking place in the camps and nationally about what "work of national importance meant." As soon as the opportunity arrived, I applied for transfer to an alternative service. In April, 1942, I learned that I was to be transferred to a camp to be run experimentally by the Friends, Brethren, and Mennonites together. During the three weeks that lapsed between my notification and the arrival of my "papers" and a bus ticket to Crestview, Florida, I helped fight a major fire on the parkway some distance from camp and

Recollections of Buck Creek and Crestview

learned the rudiments of running the camp laundry from a fellow camper later killed in Germany after volunteering for military service.

The major lessons I think I learned in Buck Creek included a deep appreciation for the testimonies and ways of Friends; a heightened awareness of my previously almost unquestioned racism; a more realistic recognition of the value of individuals who could discuss differing views rationally and calmly; and a greater tolerance for individual idiosyncrasies.

Crestview Civilian Public Service (CPS) Camp #27

My experience in Crestview was quite different from that at Buck Creek. The camp was normally composed of 21 men. (Occasional individuals or groups came there to stay temporarily en route elsewhere.) In addition we had a director and his wife who served as nurse. Although two of us had come from Quaker camps, actually Smedly Bartram was the only Quaker there, as I was an Episcopalian. The director and his wife were Brethren and so were a number of the campers. There was at least one Baptist among the others, and the remaining ten or so were Mennonites. This was my first exposure to Brethren and Mennonites, and I soon learned that there were basic differences between the three faiths present, especially in terms of relationship of the individual to the church authorities. But I found no difficulty relating to individuals regardless of their religious affiliation.

During my entire ten months in Crestview I was in charge of the camp laundry as a result of my training at Buck Creek. Frankly I do not recall how we managed at first, but after some weeks, a bunkhouse with showers and a laundry room attached was constructed. In that laundry room, I labored alone washing the clothes of all in camp, hanging them out to dry on long clotheslines, and ironing the dress shirts (eventually, by agreement, limited to one per man each week) plus Mildred's dresses. This usually took two and a half or three days of the work week.

The remainder of the week, I worked as a "gofer" or assistant to crews working on the cement bases for the sanitary privies or building the preconstructed privies which were then transported by truck to be installed. The installation involved digging a pit four feet by four feet by six feet deep with a short-handled shovel, sometimes in sand that constantly caved in and, other times, in almost rock-like clay. Because

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I am only 5 feet, 6 inches, I had to shovel the sand or clay over my head to get it out of the pit. In sandy soil the pit had to be reinforced with a pre-built frame made to fit the hole. Then the cement floor and seat would be put in place over the pit and a fly-proof "outhouse" would complete the job. (Occasionally, such as at a public school, two, three, or four "holers" were set up.)

Because this work, plus also installing deep pumps for clean water, was being done in a poor county where over 80 percent of the school children were reported to have hookworm due to poor sanitary condition, I felt our work was of true significance. Getting acquainted with the families, many of whom had never had any outhouse before, often sharing a meal with them, doing volunteer work for nearby neighbors of the camp, feeling a close sense of community and friendship with my fellow draftees, I was quite happy and comfortable with what I was doing.

Yet, during almost the entire ten months at Crestview, I continued to wrestle with the problem of conscription. Working alone for hours, having more control of my schedule because of my duties, I gave much thought to the question.

Perhaps because I had grown accustomed to early rising as a cook at Buck Creek, I got into a pattern of getting up before sunrise to enjoy the beautiful Florida sunrises and to meditate. I began an extensive correspondence with friends from high school, college, and Buck Creek as well as recognized pacifist leaders such as A. J. Muste, about my concern.

I distinctly recall sitting on the back step of the main building of the camp early one morning rereading a letter from my closest friend of college days, who had received a CO classification just as I had, who was now writing to let me know that he had decided it was his duty to give that up and apply for military service. I felt a surprising and amazing sense of calm when I realized that here was someone I loved, admired, and felt very close to, yet we were going in very opposite directions and that seemed right to me.

In the fall of 1942, I experienced a real test of my pacifism. I was walking back to camp after attending a Sunday Episcopal service when a car stopped beside me. Several men and a lone woman, all seemingly under the influence of alcohol, were in the auto. One of the men asked if I was "from that camp," then they berated and threatened me. He and the

Recollections of Buck Creek and Crestview

other men insisted that I get in the car with them. I was frightened but managed to stay calm. I responded honestly to their questions and tried reasoning with them. After several minutes, the woman finally told the others that I was not harming anyone and they should leave me alone. Gradually the tension defused; I invited them to come to the camp, to let me show them what we were doing, and they went on their way. Some time later a carload of visitors did come to the camp but I was not present. I have often wondered if they were my accosters. In any case, they were friendly and seemed genuinely interested in our work.

My reflections on Crestview are strongly positive. I felt a bond of companionship with each person there, although I was closer to some than others. I respected each person there and experienced no tensions or basic differences despite widely differing backgrounds and religious training. Yet, I cannot define nearly as clearly what the Crestview experience meant to my growing maturity as I can looking back at Buck Creek. Perhaps the most important factor is that, because I was so satisfied both with the camp community of which I was a part and the good work we were doing, I was able to separate more clearly my feelings about conscription from other aspects of my life. Therefore, I could make my final decision that conscription was wrong and each individual had to accept full responsibility for his actions, without disturbing doubts due to other factors in my life; and I could more maturely set the direction which has guided me the rest of my life.

Protest Against Conscription

The last four months at Crestview were spiritually intense for me, and I finally concluded that I could no longer cooperate with conscription. I'm sure I had many discussions with my fellow CPS men there, especially certain close friends such as Edson Sowers, yet I recall none of those conversations. I decided to make the break when I went home on furlough at Christmas time, 1942; but again the anguish my parents showed at my decision (my father's oldest brother died unexpectedly on Christmas Eve and this contributed to the emotional state of the family) influenced me to return to camp.

At the urging of my parents, I wrote to the Episcopal bishop of our diocese in South Carolina, who, years before, had confirmed me as a member of the Episcopal Church (I think). He knew my parents well and had often stayed at our home when visiting our small, remote parish. He

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responded that my interpretation of Christianity was “individualism gone mad.” Yet, both a highly respected Presbyterian minister, known and beloved by my grandmother and the grandfather of my closest high school friend, and an Episcopal canon who served the small Episcopal parish in Crestview, while strongly disagreeing with me, assured me that I must do what I thought was God’s will.

In early February, 1943, I finally walked out of Crestview after informing both my local draft board (to whom I returned my draft card) and the national office of Selective Service of my decision. Before doing that, I prepared a statement in which I tried to explain my position to family and friends. After stating the basis for my action, I included this paragraph.

In no way do I intend my action to be a judgment upon those who participate in war or remain in CPS. They alone can realize their duty to God, and He alone can judge them. Nor do I wish to express objection to CPS. Although I recognize many shortcomings in the program, I am convinced they could be remedied. Should it be separated from conscription, I see great and valuable potential therein. In spite of the drawbacks, I have received much from my experiences and associations in CPS.

After a few weeks at home in South Carolina, working on my father’s farm, I was arrested by the FBI and eventually spent three years in a Federal Correctional Institution. But that is another story.

As I look back across the 50 years that separate the young idealist of 1941, from the white haired, 74-year-old, more pragmatic idealist of 1991, I think my CPS experience differed from that of many others in several respects:

1. I had just passed my 24th birthday when I entered Buck Creek; many others were only 19 or 20.
2. I never suffered financially or had to worry about how my decision was affecting the economic situation of my loved ones as did some of my friends.
3. I had grown up in a large family, including six siblings, parents, a paternal grandmother, and a mentally retarded uncle, surrounded by a large extended family of aunts, uncles, and cousins.

Recollections of Buck Creek and Crestview

I had long been accustomed to group living, lack of privacy, and acceptance of compromise and differences.

4. I had found a deep spiritual basis for my life long before CPS, and my experience there seemed to deepen and strengthen that.
5. Because of the assignments I accepted both at Buck Creek and at Crestview, I had much time alone to study and think through questions that I would not have had on other assignments.

I do not regret my 17+ months spent in Civilian Public Service. Yet, if faced with the draft today, I think I would refuse to cooperate with conscription from the very beginning.

Not On His Payroll

By
Al Holtz

Ed. note. Al Holtz also had to contend with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But after the FBI had finished with him, it was Buck Creek and Marion, North Carolina, that had to deal with "the city feller wearing an apple-green zoot suit and a pork-pie hat."

*I shall die,
but that is all that I shall do for death;
I am not on
his payroll.*

*Conscientious Objector
Edna St. Vincent Millay*

It was a brisk September morning, and he stood on the corner trying to make up his mind. To the left, the commuter train was pulling into the station to take him to work. To the right, was the firehouse where he was scheduled to register for the draft. The commuter train started to pull out. With a sigh he turned right. He sat before a motherly type who was to take his name and address. "Put me down as a conscientious objector," he said. "Oh, now, you don't want to talk like that," said the motherly type, looking a little horrified. "Oh, yes I do," said the CO firmly.

That started a two-year struggle with the local draft board. Much correspondence, many interviews, an FBI investigation, and a headline in the local newspaper that read, "Boy Draft Dodger Refuses to Wear Uniform." The local draft board consisted of three business men who bragged around town that they were "gonna fix that smart-assed kid." Their frustration mounted after a refusal to accept a 1-A classification, a refusal to be inducted, and a refusal of a 1-AO classification (non-combatant service). Finally, the chairman of the board, who was particularly hostile, said bitterly, "What do you want?" It came out loud and clear, "work of national importance under civilian direction." There was a silence. Apparently they had not been aware that there was a 4-E

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classification for COs. The state finally intervened and explained it to them. So it came to pass that he was classified 4-E and subject to being assigned to a work camp for conscientious objectors — Civilian Public Service.

The day he left for camp the entire board stayed home from work to make sure he made it. They were so delighted to be rid of him that they bought him a drawing room on the train and gave him a voucher for dinner and breakfast. The next morning he arrived in Marion, NC, to be greeted by the Friends first executive director, who was prone to calling the COs “creative pioneers.” He took one look at the “city feller wearing and apple-green zoot suit and a pork-pie hat,” and said to the group assembled, “We are going to weed out all those who are insincere.”

So started a four-year stint in the CPS.

The camps themselves were abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps and were all pretty much alike: a series of barracks buildings with a dining room, laundry, bathhouse, office and living quarters that became known as dorms. The dorms were designed to accommodate about 40 men, and there were usually four dorms. All were equipped with wood-burning stoves, which were hardly adequate in the dead of winter. The camp routine and living conditions were probably no different than any boys’ camp or logging camp: up at the sound of a bell; breakfast; off to work at the sound of a bell; (lunch was prepared and sent to the project); back down to the camp in early evening; supper and then lights out at ten. The work week was Monday to Saturday 7:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

The concept of the camps was unique and will probably never be repeated. The historic peace churches took financial responsibility for maintenance, health care, clothing, and provided a monthly allowance of \$2.50 to each assignee. In this case, the responsibility was assumed by the American Friends Service Committee — the Quakers. They were often fondly referred to as the “American Friends Circus Committee.” They became the object of many of our complaints. After all, the Quakers were the ones who were keeping us in camp. They were responsible for discipline, and they were the buffer between us and the real enemy — the government. In point of fact, the Friends took a bad rap. They were amazing in their ability to raise funds and they demonstrated great patience with the problems inherent in a group of young men forced into a work camp with their freedom limited. The Mennonites and Brethren

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had a tendency to take into their camps those who were of like mind in their church. Friends, in their liberal and nonjudgmental philosophy, took everyone regardless of the assignees' religion, background, or reason for objecting to war.

The work projects left something to be desired. Under the supervision of the National Park Service, the major task was fighting fires. The daily work was hardly that important. At Buck Creek Camp,* the task was working on the Blue Ridge Parkway. The job was to begin the development of Crabtree Meadow Recreation Area and to maintain what was then a gravel highway. The work was routine, hard, and sometimes boring — chopping down trees, clearing the area, building trails, and splitting logs for fences and picnic tables. The jolly campers who were assigned to hauling the logs became known as the “hernia crew.” The task of breaking up stone for road gravel was like convict labor.

There was a revolving camp crew that were kept in camp to provide cooks, laundry service, clean-up, nightwatch, and general maintenance. There was an administration appointed by the Friends. This consisted of a director, assistant director, a nurse, and a dietician. They served with a small stipend and had to deal with the organization and the problems. The nurse and dietician were the only women professionals. Later, when it became more difficult to recruit administrative help, Selective Service permitted the assignment of COs to these posts,

The organization was surprisingly democratic. Although the director was legally responsible for discipline, health and welfare, public relations, and leadership, there was a kind of governing body that made the rules for daily living known as “The Camp Meeting.” It was supervised by a clerk and was often our favorite entertainment. If there were 150 men in camp, it seemed that on any given subject there were 150 different opinions on how things should be done. The only unifying principle was the refusal to participate in war and the conviction that they would not kill.

In practice, each morning the camp director would turn the men over to the project superintendent, a Park Service employee, who would supervise the project work. If there were personnel problems, they were reported to the camp director each evening, and it was the director's task to settle the problem. Project superintendents were changed periodically

* CPS camp #19, near Marion, NC.

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and ranged from the very good, who grew to understand what the COs were about, to the impossible individual who was out to get these “conchies.” It was a frustrating task, since all he could do was report infractions and make difficulties on the work project. One determined “super” started by ordering the men to line up, count off, and then get on the truck. Everyone stood around and laughed. It was explained to him that we didn’t do things that way. We just got on the truck and did the work. He never got used to the fact that the men did the work, took instruction, but refused to take orders. He lasted about two months. When he left, he was asked why he was going, and he answered, “I would sooner shovel duck dung than work with the COs.”

Not much can be said for recreation at Buck Creek. There was little or nothing in Marion, and Asheville was some 50 miles away. Sometimes a truck was loaded up for a winding trip through the mountains to see a movie, shop, or hang-out. The camp provided some classes, some movies, some records, and started a mimeograph magazine, *The Calumet*, which was sent to other camps and to friends. When there was a movie, the men often became boisterous with shouted comments to go with the popcorn. One notable movie was “All Quiet On The Western Front.”* When it was over everyone left in dead silence, several with tears in their eyes.

The COs had the same furlough allowance as the men in the army. It was earned on the basis of two and a half days per month and not more than thirty days in a year. Even though money was very tight, most men managed to get away for their full allowance.

Buck Creek Camp lasted just under two years when the Park Service in its wisdom moved us to a camp in Gatlinburg, Tennessee.[#]

To poke fun at the military habit of naming camps after great generals, it was thought that there was poetic justice in naming the Gatlinburg Camp, “Camp Rufus Jones” after the well-known Quaker scholar and mystic. In contrast to the Buck Creek Camp, the Gatlinburg Camp was a great improvement. The facilities were superior, there was a huge educational building, a recreation hall with a basketball court, a

* “All Quiet On the Western Front” was an anti-war movie starring Lew Ayres.

[#] CPS camp #108.

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tennis court, and a large mall that lent itself to touch football. On the other hand, the work project left something to be desired. Once again, the main reason for the camp was to fight fire and morale always improved during fire season. The Smoky Mountain Parkway was better developed and needed less work on it than at Buck Creek, so, while the work at Buck Creek was somewhat acceptable, the work at Rufus Jones was trivial. One task was memorable in that it required a work crew to break twigs and arrange them on the roadside cuts to give it a natural look.

Camp Rufus Jones, in spite of the nominal project, became one of the better camps. More effort was put into fixing up the dorms and dining room. Many of the campers had been in long enough to have settled into an acceptable routine. The food was better. After all, we had increased the spending from 13 cents per day to 18 cents. As in any institution, the food was always something to complain about. One day a Mennonite group rolled into camp with a truck load of canned green beans. It was a great gesture, but you could hear the moans for a week. Most of the well-known pacifists and Friends visited the camps to lend support. One prominent Friend, who was known for his enthusiasm, went to breakfast and discovered that the menu included fried corn meal mush. He grinned and said, "Fried mush. **SPLENDID!**" From then on the menu always listed, "Fried Splendid."

While there was little or no contact with the public in Marion, there was amazing acceptance in Knoxville. The businessmen, doctors, the bank, and the churches all seemed friendly and certainly not hostile. There were a few incidents in Gatlinburg, but nothing too serious. Late one evening three prospective 4-Fs* came in on the bus after a visit to the doctor. Instead of calling for transportation, they started to walk back to camp. On the way they were stopped by a group of thugs who managed to push them around and maul them a bit. On another occasion a Chicago camper went in to pick up someone returning to camp. On the way back he was stopped and was asked, "Are you one of those fellows who doesn't want to fight?" Since he had been a Golden Gloves boxer, he got out of the car and said, "No, I want to fight." They ran.

In Knoxville the people could not have been more friendly. They visited the camp, had COs in their homes, and a few men met their future

* 4-F was the classification for men who were exempt from the draft for medical reasons.

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wives. On open-house weekends they joined in play readings, record concerts, dances, hikes, and general fellowship.

Of the men who passed through camp, it can only be said that there could not have been a better cross section of society. In age they ranged from 21 to 40. In education there was anything from second grade through Ph.D. There were teachers, farmers, electricians, lawyers, carpenters, plumbers, clerks, and students. They were tall and short, fat and skinny, and they usually professed a belief in at least one of the various religious persuasions. As a group they were in fact an educational experience. There was the young man who seemed to know something about everything. When asked where he got his education he said, "In da New Yawk Public Li-berry." Then there was the camper who saw a cow tied to the flag pole waiting to be butchered for supper. In a fury he rushed out, put his arms around the cow's neck, and said, "I'm sorry old fellow, I apologize for the human race." He then rushed into town, bought a pair of sneakers, and became a vegetarian. One CO was built like a football tackle, a real gentle giant. One day, stripped to the waist, he was swinging a pick axe digging a ditch. Two soldier boys were standing nearby watching him. Finally one turned to the other and said, "Boy, I'd hate to have him hit me with a handful of love."

The base camps were hardly settled before the AFSC began lobbying with Selective Service to provide work for the COs that was more significant. Slowly this idea took hold and Selective Service agreed to Detached Service Units. The earliest projects provided attendants to mental hospitals. In the next few years this was expanded to include Dairy Farm Service, staff for correctional schools, volunteers for a dozen "guinea pig" experiments with atypical pneumonia, jaundice, malaria, nutrition, and starvation. There were also volunteers for the Smoke Jumpers Unit to fight fires in Montana.

Two major debates were carried on in the camps for better than four years. The first was the question of compensation for COs. Here were a group of citizens who were drafted to serve in work camps without compensation of any kind. In fact, they were expected to provide their own maintenance. This gave rise to all kinds of difficulties, especially for those men who had dependents. All financial support became the burden for the peace churches and to their credit they stayed with it to the end. It was generally felt that government should have reimbursed the churches for the cost of running the camps at the very least. This question, in many forms, was debated in Congress a number of times, but

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Selective Service cleverly blocked any effort to resolve the financial dilemma. Selective Service even defeated a bill that would have provided Workmen's Compensation for those who were injured on a the job.

The second debate was over the establishment of government camps. Many felt that the peace churches should move out and force the government to face all the problems. At least, it was contended, the government should establish camps for those who would volunteer for work directly under the supervision of Selective Service. On the other side, it was held that the only way private citizens and strong pacifists could participate was through financial support of a program that would represent an opposition to war. Selective Service finally opened a few camps, but it was too near the end of all camps to determine whether or not it was a good idea.

Finally the war was over and the COs with all other servicemen scurried around adding up their points for discharge. Of the 12,000 men who passed through CPS, some 8,600 were subject to release.

What was to be learned from the experience varied with the individual. Do we now say: "There never was a good war or a bad peace?" Do we now understand that hate of any kind is a stupid emotion? Did we learn that we must be tolerant and understanding of people we don't agree with? To be sure, the CPS experience left its mark and changed the direction of the lives of most of the men who participated.

And what of the war itself? In the words of the poet,

"What came of it at last?"
Quoth little Peterkin.
"Why that I cannot tell," said he,
"But 'twas a famous victory."

The Battle of Blenheim
Robert Southey

Alternative Service

By

Mary E. B. Feagins

Ed. note. But at least the men could keep busy doing the "make work" of the CPS camps. Their wives were not so lucky. They often lost their jobs because their husbands were COs and had difficulty finding others. But these CPS wives bravely carried on. One such courageous woman was Mary E. B. Feagins. Mary Feagins and her husband, Carroll, are retired from Guilford College, Greensboro, NC, where they taught German and philosophy respectively. They live in the Guilford College community.

Carroll Feagins and I had been married in September, 1941, and he had joined the faculty of Sullins College in Bristol, Virginia, immediately after our honeymoon. His status as a conscientious objector who would be doing civilian public service was well known to the president of the college. Indeed, President William Martin, after he had become well acquainted with both of us and realized that I had the necessary qualifications, promised that I could step into Carroll's teaching position when he left and could hold it until his return, when he would resume this role.

As the day of Carroll's departure for CPS approached, I began to notice a change of attitude in many of our friends. They did not express outright disapproval of the position for which they had known all along he had registered, but a few began to indicate some surprise that he actually was going through with it. They displayed a bit of coolness toward him, seemed to be avoiding his company and mine, too, until after he had gone. This was in January, 1944, and by this time we had a six-month-old son. Our friends seemed suddenly to be rallying around me, expressing sympathy for a new mother and baby who had been left on their own by the father.

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Helen Barns was the only colleague at Sullins College whose attitude toward both of us remained the same. She had become almost like family. Her generosity toward us as newlyweds had included the down payment on a Steinway upright piano, which had the interesting feature of having once been a player-piano! All she had asked in return for this was permission to "come and lean on it once in a while." Sharing our views toward the war, she could understand our feelings precisely. She had sat up late with us on the evening before Carroll's final physical examination at the time of induction. We had discussed the ethics of his using his susceptibility to asthma attacks as a possible means of avoiding service altogether. If he underwent self-imposed strenuous exercise just before the exam, he might easily bring on an attack. But, since his submitted records already indicated a history of asthma (without any detailed medical records to back it up because they had been lost) and the draft board had chosen to ignore this, the three of us decided against this strategy. Carroll laughingly related afterwards that he really had suffered an attack of asthma on the way to the center because of the brisk walk in the cold air. However, waiting around in the steamy, warm room before the exam, he had recovered nicely to pass it with no difficulty.

Helen was my chief means of support in Carroll's absence. She babysat during the hours when the employed nursemaid could not be there, and she listened to my lesson plans for a course in economics which Carroll was scheduled to teach and for which neither of us was especially prepared. Without her love and kindness, this time of separation would have been much more difficult to bear. As it turned out, the very busy teaching schedule along with my care of Carroll, Jr. made the days pass quickly. Frequent letters from Gatlinburg, Tennessee, describing the new life in CPS working under the supervision of the National Park Service, helped to keep me happy.

Then, one day in March, the letters from the college administration offering contracts for the next academic year arrived. I opened mine with the assurance of seeing in print the verbal agreement Carroll and I had already reached with the president. But this is what I read:

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SULLINS COLLEGE
VIRGINIA PARK BRISTOL, VIRGINIA

March 22, 1944

Mr. & Mrs. Carroll S. Feagins
Sullins College
Bristol, Virginia

My dear Mr. & Mrs. Feagins:

These are critical days for our land and Sullins College. Her teachers, her students and her patrons believe that we are fighting to save everything which is prized by civilization.

Knowing your honest convictions about this war, and knowing your sincerity in teaching, we have definitely decided that we cannot offer you an engagement for another year.

This decision has been reached after long and serious deliberation and with fullest consideration of your high ideals and of your excellency as instructors.

You are regarded by our Faculty, by your Colleagues and by the Students as among the best teachers on our staff and your steadfast character commands the respect and esteem of all of us at Sullins. While this is true, the Faculty and Students are practically unanimous in feeling that the winning of this war should command our utmost effort, and that there should be absolute harmony at this point.

We want you to regard all of us as your friends who are ready to render any possible assistance, and when our righteous cause has been won we will be glad to work with all our might against war, which we all regard as the greatest curse of the world today.

Sincerely yours,
(signed) William Martin, President

I could hardly believe that highly respected President Martin, who had even claimed antiwar views and pledged sympathetic support for Carroll's stand as the only appropriate one for a Christian (he, himself, was a Methodist Sunday School teacher) — this man, who had allowed me to step into Carroll's classroom without a day's loss of teaching, was

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now going back on his word. I quickly went to find Helen, who had received a similar letter of dismissal. Our initial shock and dismay gradually turned to anger.

Carroll managed to get leave in order to come home to see what he could do to remedy the situation. The two of us made an appointment to see President Martin, and he asked us to come to his house. "I am as sorry about this as I can be," he began. "I wish it could be otherwise."

"But you promised!" We were speaking loudly and almost in unison.

"I did not foresee what would happen. I have received countless letters from parents saying they did not want to keep their daughters in a school where pacifism during wartime is openly countenanced and supported."

"You know, this is a good case to be censured by the AAUP," Carroll said angrily.

At this, President Martin replied with equal intensity of feeling. "I'm not afraid of any investigation by the American Association of University Professors. We've dealt with them before; and we've survived." He calmed down and began to speak with more sympathy. "You don't need to worry, Mary. I know that your parents will be glad to have you and little Carroll come to live with them for a while. It's happening to many young mothers whose husbands are in the service. It's Miss Barns that I feel responsible for. Her pacifist leanings wouldn't even have been known if she hadn't come out so openly in favor of your position and hadn't been seen so much in your company, attending FOR* and WRL# meetings and the like. I am truly sorry that I have to let her go, too. But I have to, out of fairness."

We were not comforted by his words. We were still feeling wronged and indignant. I was thinking, "I ought to resign tomorrow. I've just been a convenience to the school. You didn't have to find a replacement for the rest of this year. I just ought to resign and make it hard for you right now!" But I said nothing and left with Carroll when it became clear that our protests were leading nowhere.

* Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization that worked for peaceful resolution of conflicts and opposed the war.

War Resisters League.

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Upon investigation, it also became clear that during wartime we would have very little chance of academic or other redress for this kind of discriminatory practice. Helen agreed. We would finish the school year as professional ethics required. Soon, President Martin was also to substantiate his declaration of responsibility toward Helen. He found her a good teaching position at another private college. He continued to display sympathy toward me, but he insisted that he was sure Carroll, Jr. and I would be better off at home with my parents than with my having to combine teaching with motherhood. He did not seem to understand what a blow to my pride it was going to be to have to seek parental help from either the Browns or the Feaginses, especially since they did not approve of Carroll's position.

My father had said to Carroll in his usual blunt fashion: "I concede, it's a Christian thing to do. But it's most impractical — a damn-foolish thing to do. You'll never be able to get a decent job after the war. Why don't you apply for 1-AO and go along as a noncombatant? You could probably play in the band or something."

My mother felt pretty much the same way. Carroll would at least receive an army private's pay if he registered as a noncombatant; whereas, at the camp then under jurisdiction of the Quakers, he was getting something like \$2.50 a month for incidental spending money. And now my salary at Sullins College would no longer be available. But Carroll could not conscientiously accompany troops who would be actively engaged in killing. My Grandmother Willcutts, on the other hand, gave unqualified support for his position. She had come to visit soon after Carroll, Jr.'s birth. At the time, she had expressed pride in what she considered "real courage" on Carroll's part for taking such an unpopular stand in wartime, when it really mattered. She did not think much of "peacetime pacifists."

I could not understand why Carroll's parents were not more supportive. His father was a Southern Baptist minister after all; but they were, apparently, like many other advocates of the Christian religion who reverted to the Crusades version of "Onward, Christian Soldiers" and put the Sermon on the Mount aside for the duration of the war. They seemed actually ashamed of our position, I discovered later, when I accepted their invitation to visit them in the pastorium at Clearwater, Florida. Whenever local guests were present, my in-laws immediately began to talk about their other son, Walter, who had joined the navy and

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was assigned to the postal services. Some church members were thus led to assume that I belonged to Walter. I had to enlighten them to the fact that *my* husband was the older son, Carroll.

My mother-in-law was somewhat more open and once said to me, "I wish you'd talk to Carroll's father. He won't discuss the subject with me. And he won't read the newsletter from Gatlinburg. I do, at least, read it and try to understand.

I did try to talk to my father-in-law, but it only upset both of us. I begged him to preach just one sermon based on Jesus's sermon in Matthew, for I wanted to see how he could interpret it any differently from Carroll and me. But he never did.

Carroll and I more than once said to each other that we were glad we each had reached our stand against war independently and before we met. Neither of our sets of parents could accuse either one of us of having led the other astray! We were in agreement about objections to the war. This does not mean that I, as a CPS wife and mother, did not have to face questions on the subject:

"What are you going to tell your son someday when he asks what his father was doing during the war?" The question came from Regina, a young woman whom I met almost daily on the beach, where I took Carroll, Jr. by city bus on weekday mornings to relax in the sun and enjoy the lunch of boiled custard and sandwiches that Carroll's mother had helped to prepare. Regina had a son the same age as mine and the two enjoyed playing together while we mothers talked.

I knew that the question was meant seriously and kindly. My new friend, whose husband was in the army, was trying to understand a position that seemed most unpatriotic to her, if not cowardly. But she knew that there must be some sort of courage involved in a stand that met with such general disapproval. I had already explained the nature of Civilian Public Service. It was a chance not provided during the First World War. If it had not been for patriots like Norman Thomas* who had gone to prison as the only alternative to supporting the wholesale killing of enemy patriots, the opportunities in this war for national park service, work in mental hospitals, fire-fighting as smoke-jumpers, etc. would probably not have existed. I explained that the patriotism of conscientious

* American Socialist politician.

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objectors demanded a critical evaluation of what their government was engaged in, and, if they could not support it, they were obliged to try to change it by means of democratic action or by civil disobedience if necessary. My words as I remember them seemed to be arousing some understanding in my listener as I continued:

“We’re fortunate to live in a democracy, I know. And I know that your husband is fighting to preserve our democracy. But democracy itself is meaningless if it is not practiced — both in peace and in war time. We are acting according to our conscientious beliefs, as your husband is, I assume. We are implementing a law enacted by democratic means to express our disapproval of war and support of democracy. I don’t honestly believe that I’ll have any trouble explaining this to Carroll, Jr. when he is old enough to ask the question.”

Regina did not bring up the subject again. We remained congenial companions for the seven months I spent in Florida. How I would explain everything to Carroll, Jr. was not the question that began to gnaw at me in secret. Sometimes I asked myself whether, if I were a man, I would not have joined the armed services as a noncombatant. But when I began to notice that this question seemed important usually when I was bemoaning the fact that there was no governmental financial support for conscientious objectors outside the military while there was a private’s pay for those inside. I dismissed the question as irrelevant.

There *was* another question that bothered me. And it could not be answered until after the war was over. Did the stand against the war really count for anything except on an individual, almost insignificant, basis? I remembered a young man in political science in the graduate school of Johns Hopkins University, where I had worked as a research assistant before my marriage. He had earnestly discussed the CO position with me and had said, “I am joining the navy. I *would* take the CO stand if I thought it would count for anything. If I *knew for sure* that there would be even as many as 10,000 objectors to this war, I would join their ranks. But the time is not here yet. There are too few of us. It’s not worth the grief it would cause my parents. They’d never understand.”

I regretted very much the grief Carroll and I were causing our parents. In some respects, President Martin had been right. My parents welcomed me and their grandson, whom they’d get to know much better this way. At first, Mother had even offered to give up her first job outside the home — as director of a children’s war nursery, which provided for

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working mothers who were filling the jobs of men in the armed forces — and to take care of little Carroll while I worked. In fact, I went so far as to get a job with Baltimore Friends School one day only to give it up the next. Mother had reconsidered. “Why should I give up the first job your dad would ever allow me to take? I love my work. It would be better for you to stay home, Mary Ellen, and look after your own baby.”

I certainly could not argue with that. Besides, Mother came forward with another proposal: “You can really do us a big favor. I am usually too tired by the end of the day to feel like preparing much in the way of dinner. If you wouldn’t mind tidying up the house and fixing the evening meal, I’d love to pay you a little something. Not as much as I’d have to pay an outsider, but enough to make you more independent.”

I was very grateful for the suggestion. There was valid reasoning behind it. It also helped to preserve my pride. If my parents did sometimes remember their discussions of Carroll’s CO position and probable dire consequences, not once did either one say, “We told you so.”

I remained with my parents from June till Christmas. I felt I could not any longer turn down Carroll’s parents’ repeated and urgent invitation to come to them for the holidays and a month or so beyond. That is how I was able to spend days at the beach with Carroll, Jr. in Florida and make friends with Regina. But I might never have gone if I could have known that it would take many months before we could move to Knoxville, where I planned to find work near the camp at Gatlinburg.

Carroll had begun the search for a job and housing for me as soon as he could adjust to his new duties and could get leave to take the bus to Knoxville. And he had found what seemed an ideal position for me as an assistant in a children’s nursery similar to the one directed by my mother in Baltimore. Finding housing was more difficult. But the woman who had arranged for the job also pursued the search for housing and solved that problem quickly by locating a development for those in “war services.” The nursery was under these auspices. I made reservations for the train to Knoxville and looked forward to the end of a visit that was becoming too long for both Carroll’s parents and for me. Then came the blow. When the concerned authorities discovered that my husband was one of “those COs out at that camp,” they declared that I did not qualify for either government housing or the nursery for children of war workers. The helpful social worker who had so willingly made all the arrangements was embarrassed and indignant at the decision. She liked

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Carroll and sympathized very much with his concern for wife and son. She wrote me an apologetic letter and Carroll began the search again.

When a camper received a medical discharge and his wife left her apartment in Knoxville, I was finally able to move there, place Carroll, Jr. in a nursery, and begin my own search for a job. We still had \$200 in savings, mostly from the sale of furniture in Bristol. I had to find work before this ran out. I avoided jobs of a public nature, of course, after my experience with public housing and the nursery. I was being considered for a radio job or a teaching position at the University of Tennessee, for neither of which I had experience or special qualifications, when I was told at the employment office to apply for what I best qualified, public school teaching. The need there was great, they insisted, and there was where I obviously could be of most service. I tried to explain my reluctance to pursue this possibility but the advice was to try, at least. I did, and I got the job needed for financial independence from our families. There was one string attached; I was not to tell what my husband was doing! The public school employment officer had just employed another "CPS wife" and knew that he was allowing the shortage of teachers to influence his decision to make these unpopular appointments. I abhorred the subterfuge but agreed to answer any questions with the misleading phrase; "I am not free to talk about this." Unfortunately, the assumption was too often that Carroll was doing some secretive war work, perhaps research at nearby Oak Ridge! It was not until after the Christmas holidays that a colleague of my age, of whom I had become fond, was able to guess (at my request!) that Carroll must be at the Gatlinburg camp about which an article had recently appeared in the *Knoxville News Sentinel*. From that time on, I felt quite comfortable in my work, even though I did detect a little coolness on the part of one or two teachers, whose opinion I did not value anyway. My best friends were understanding, if not approving.

All things considered, the year in Knoxville, at Christenberry Junior High School, was a rewarding one. I discovered that I loved teaching and felt that I was cut out for that role. I became particularly involved with Jerry, a student of English, who had been labelled "delinquent" by his former teachers, but who, I learned, was easily motivated if encouraged in his creative writing. I struck a bargain with him, that if he would do his assignments in grammar, I would read and criticize his short stories. The caliber of his work never led me to believe that he would have any success as a writer, but I felt a sort of pedagogical triumph as I observed

the happiness he was deriving from my encouragement and noticed some progress in his grammatical construction.

Carroll, Jr.'s year in Knoxville did not appear to be as happy as mine. Weekend visits to Gatlinburg were pleasant for both of us at first, but soon the change in altitude and temperature began to cause regular attacks of asthma, sometimes causing him to have very uncomfortable Mondays at nursery school. Even the fact that a thoughtful camper devised and built a little sedan chair with which Carroll and he could carry our son on hikes up and down hill did not prevent asthma. Eventually, we had to give up these trips and to look forward instead to less frequent visits by Daddy from Gatlinburg. Knoxville was not nearly as pleasant for our reunions as the beautiful campsite. Perhaps Carroll, Jr.'s happiest times were spent walking to nursery school with Shirley, the CPS wife who shared our apartment and taught nearby, and playing under the supervision of loving nursery school personnel. One young couple was especially devoted to the children, and our little son looked forward to their attention.

1946 and the end of the war came without too great sacrifice on the part of either Carroll or me. (There was one critical time when Shirley's husband was released from CPS and I was suddenly left with both halves of the rent to pay. The Quakers, however, provided the needed extra funds, as they helped other conscientious objectors in financial trouble.) We had made friends and enjoyed experiences that would influence our future in beneficial ways. We had a relatively easy transition to post-war living, with Carroll's temporary work for the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia, while we "house-sat" in Haverford for a Quaker family and waited for a new position at Guilford College. Carroll had become acquainted with this Quaker school while at Gatlinburg and had even taught at the camp a philosophy course in its extension program, dubbed "Rufus Jones College" by the participants. Our unhappy departure from Sullins College had receded far to the back of our store of memories. The future held promising challenges which we looked forward to meeting. The predictions relating to the lack of job opportunities for Carroll had not materialized, thanks to the Quaker administration of Guilford College.

Much to my peace of mind, also, I was given evidence that justified Carroll's CO position. It so happened that the best way for such a position to count — and to be counted — was probably the way he had chosen. The

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numbers who participated in Civilian Public Service were carefully kept by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. Those who took the position of noncombatants in military service had no control over the keeping and the releasing of figures. If "counting" was important, those who participated in CPS alone numbered far more than the 10,000 required by my friend who had joined the navy. It was clear that there must have been many, many more objectors than were ever revealed by the Selective Service System. This should encourage those in the future who have to face conscription and who might otherwise fear that conscientious objection would be a futile gesture by an insignificant few. I no longer doubted that I would take that position myself if I were a man.

Conclusion

After all this, what can we say about CPS? The best quote comes from *The CPS Story* by Albert N. Keim. As he so aptly put it:

In the brutal world of the 1940s the 12,000 CPS men stand out as an outstanding anomaly....[Their true legacy is]...their simple but eloquent refusal to harm their fellow men. They performed great service, yet the stewardship of their service was sometimes imperfect. Their real significance lies not in their work or the nature of their organizational arrangements. It lies in what they represented and in their refusal to participate in the madness that was World War II.¹

Although this is the end of our series on Friends CPS, there are many more stories to be told. If you have a story, write it down and send it to:

Steven Jay White
964 Rockbridge Road
Lexington, Kentucky 40515

¹Albert N. Keim. *The CPS Story: An Illustrated History of Civilian Public Service* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1990), 101.

Annual Report of the Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College, 1991–1992

**By
Carole Treadway**

In June 1991 a new era of the Friends Historical Collection began. Carole Treadway, formerly curator's assistant from 1969–1980 and Quaker bibliographer from 1980–1991, was named librarian of the FHC replacing curator Damon Hickey. The change coincided with another staff reduction leaving only one full-time paid staff member, one regular volunteer, and student assistants. The responsibilities of the new position include most of the those of the former curator and all of those of the Quaker bibliographer, encompassing a full range of librarian's services and those of an archivist as well.

A plan was devised during the year to provide additional assistance in the FHC, particularly to staff the FHC Research Room, through the good services of volunteers. During the spring months Dorothy Browne, a 1990 Guilford graduate who has worked in the Greensboro Historical Museum since graduation, gave of her time and expertise to help Carole Treadway organize a volunteer program. To date, 14 people have volunteered and are presently being trained. Work will begin June 1. Research Room volunteers, or docents as they are being called, will assist genealogical researchers, answer the telephone, and work on various tasks in the collection such as indexing, filing, and answering genealogical inquiries received in the mail. Two other volunteers will work as manuscript and costume collections volunteers.

Additional assistance was offered by the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Committee on the Care of Records which has made available \$5,000 of accumulated endowment income to provide a part-time archives assistant for two years. Amy Bullock, a 1991 Guilford graduate who has worked in the library technical services area throughout her undergraduate years and in the year following her graduation, has agreed to fill this position. Now a graduate student, she looks forward to

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learning about archives work.

The FHC was affected in a major way by the automation project that has occupied much staff time and energy throughout the library. Early in the spring FHC cataloging was suspended while the new automated library system was installed and barcodes, which will make it possible to check books out electronically, were applied to all of the FHC books. Eleven volunteers worked with library staff during two weeks in May to apply the barcodes.

Carole Treadway participated in a number of special events and professional activities during the year. In August a workshop was presented to meeting historians appointed by monthly meetings around the state to gather and organize meeting historical materials, particularly in preparation for the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Tercentenary celebration scheduled to begin in 1993 and conclude in 1997. Initiated by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, the celebration is being planned and organized by a steering committee of the society with participation by members of both North Carolina yearly meetings. Joan Newlin Poole chairs the committee. Carole Treadway is a consultant to the committee.

In addition to serving the NCFHS as vice-president and ad hoc recording secretary, Carole Treadway has served on its publications and editorial boards. As a member of the latter board, which has the publication of *The Southern Friend* as its responsibility, she has shared editorial responsibilities for two issues of the journal.

Carole Treadway spoke to the History 250 class, American Thought 1870–1915, about the resources of the collection appropriate for the class; made an informal presentation for the new faculty and administrators orientation meeting; prepared a bibliography on Quaker education for the education department; met with the Feminist Theology class taught by John and Carol Stoneburner, along with Distinguished Quaker Visitor Elise Boulding, to report on the First International Quaker Women's Theological Conference held in England in 1990; taught one class session of the UNCG archives class in which the FHC was described in terms of its archives and manuscripts programs; and toured Quakers Uniting in Publication annual meeting participants through the collection and served on a panel "Working with Quaker Authors," for one session of the meeting.

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Carole Treadway participated in several special professional activities outside the collection. She sat on the panel of the Rare Books and Manuscripts pre-conference of the American College and Research Libraries conference in Chapel Hill in June in which she described the archival and manuscript resources of the FHC. She presented a program on "Quaker Influence in the Piedmont" for the High Point Museum and for the annual meeting of the board of Historic Jamestown, Inc. She also spoke to the Sesame Book Club on North Carolina Quaker women, and to the Guilford County Genealogical Society on genealogy sources in the FHC. Throughout the year she worked on plans for the 1992 Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists as convener of the steering committee. The conference will take place in June at Wilmington College in Ohio.

Summary of Uses of the Friends Historical Collection 1991-1992

Guilford College Faculty, Students, and Staff

The staff observes much activity in the FHC open stacks, but seldom do we know what projects bring students into this area. It is gratifying to see the interest in these materials. The display shelves of current Quaker periodicals get particularly heavy use.

Two classes made use of the collection: Mel Keiser's Quakerism class made its usual foray into the collection during the fall semester, and in the spring the history seminar on American Thought 1870-1915, taught jointly by Sarah Malino and Nancy Cable-Wells, introduced students to the Guilford College literary magazine, *The Collegian*, as they researched student thought during the early years of the existence of the college (1890s). Sarah Malino also used an FHC artifact for one of her classes. Carole Treadway was called upon to search college archives for various entries for the dean's office, and a student intern for the Athletic Department researched possible candidates for Guilford's Athletic Hall of Fame.

North Carolina Friends

Research on several meeting histories continued, including Deep Creek, High Point, early meetings of Eastern Quarter, and Back Creek. George and Betty Henry, members of the Friendsville Friends Meeting,

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Tennessee, and the historians of Quaker history in eastern Tennessee, spent part of their vacation researching Tennessee Friends meeting when they were still part of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. They gave to the collection a set of photographs of Quaker historical sites in their area, and arranged for the collection to receive copies of microfilms of the records of Friendsville Monthly Meeting and the William Forster home from the Knox County Public Library.

Other Researchers and Projects and Events

Twenty-two students from seven other colleges and universities carried out research in the collection. French scholar Fredric Lemaire continued his research begun here last year for his doctorate. His topic is Quaker influence on the development of democratic thought in France. Cheryl Junk, UNCG history graduate student, researched Quaker experiences of resistance to military service in the Confederate army during the Civil War, focusing on Tilghman Vestal and Himelius Hockett in particular

Kenneth Badgett, a graduate student in history at Appalachian State University, discovered during his research on the history of Dobson, North Carolina, a little known Quaker mission church that existed for a few years early in this century, the Clommell Friends Mission. He learned of the mission from references in a novel based on events involving Friends in Surry County. When he found that the collection did not own the novel, which bears the intriguing title *The Cry of a Bastard*, he located one in a secondhand book store and purchased it for the collection.

Kirsten Fischer researched early North Carolina Quaker women in the 17th and early 18th century in our earliest meeting minutes for her dissertation on women in the Albemarle, 1650–1730. She is studying at Duke University.

Other student research topics included the contrast between evangelical and liberal Quakers; Conservative Quakers; the Underground Railroad in North Carolina; another Quaker Confederate army resister, Solomon Frazer; American Quaker women; and Westfield School in Stokes County.

Seth Beeson Hinshaw completed his master's thesis "Friends' Culture in Colonial North Carolina (1672–1789)." For this project he read virtually every monthly, quarterly, and yearly meeting minute written

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during the period covered and the result is one of the finest and most thorough studies of North Carolina Quakers.

Anna Caulfield is compiling a bibliography of fiction about Quakers and spent some time in the collection surveying our fiction holdings.

Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Holladay published two more volumes, III and IV, in their series *Piedmont North Carolina Cemeteries*. Volume III features cemetery records and much more of Spring, Eno, South Fork, Chatham, and Plainfield Meetings, with additional records from Spring Friends Meeting; volume IV covers Providence, Salem, and Concord meetings, with additional records from Centre Friends Meetings.

A very fine biography of Guilford graduate T. Gilbert Pearson (class of 1897), *Saving American Birds: T. Gilbert Pearson and the Founding of the Audubon Movement*, was published by the University of Florida Press. A photograph from the collection is featured on the dust jacket. Inside are other FHC photographs, and Pearson's Guilford years are described. His many articles printed in *The Collegian* are cited.

In the fall, High Point Museum mounted an exhibit on Quakers. A number of items were loaned to the museum for the exhibit and the necessary background information on them was provided.

Other topics and projects included the following: Assistance was provided in searches for documentation that two local sites were stops on the Underground Railroad. Guilford student Carolyn Bundy used the collection in preparing a bibliography of Jamestown, NC, for Historic Jamestown, Inc. Thomas Hill came to the collection to do research for his "Index of Monthly Meetings in North America," which he revises quarterly. Two historians sought information on William A. Blair for a centennial history of Winston-Salem State University. An architectural historian, looking for links in architectural styles between Rhode Island and Core Sound, North Carolina, investigated families who belonged to Core Sound Meeting. Information was provided on Gertrude Mendenhall and Virginia Ragsdale for a book on women mathematicians. In addition, information was provided for two newspaper articles, one on Quakers and slavery for *The Carolina Peacemaker* and one that included information on the Guilford College honor code in *The High Point Enterprise*.

Gifts to the Friends Historical Collection, 1991–1992

Austin, William

History of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers, by William Sewel, 1774.

Badgett, Kenneth

The Cry of a Bastard: A Novel of the Southland, by C. B. Woltz, 1960.

Bates, Hall M.

“The Story of the Coate Coppock Estate,” by Hall M. Bates. 1991.

Bellarts, James

Hill family genealogy papers compiled by James E. Bellarts.

Benjamin, Augusta

Two photographs of Third Haven Meeting House, Easton, Md.; volunteer work.

Blackburn, Florence

Manuscript arithmetic book, compiled by James Blackburn and Azariah Blackburn, 1847–48; manuscript copy of *The Socialist: A Journal Devoted to Intellectual Improvement*, vol. 1, no. 4, 7–7–1861, published by the Madisonian Institute, St. Clair Township, Bedford County, Pennsylvania, ed. by Austin Wright and Lizzie Blackburn; 25 issues of *The Bedford Inquirer*, Bedford, PA, vol. 37, no. 19, 5–6–1864–vol. 41, no. 17, 5–1–1868 (incomplete file); *The Liberator*, Boston, 31 issues, vol. 27, no. 12, 3–20–1857–vol. 35, no. 13, 3–31–1865.

Bundy, Dr. V. Mayo

Contribution of money.

Coppock, Joseph D.

Family History and Autobiography by Joseph D. Coppock, Chap. I, 1991.

Cox, Joseph J.

“Index of Record Day Book and Diary of Joseph J. Cox, 1946 through 1948;” “Early Memories of Living at South Main and Commerce St. NE Corner, SW Corner Ragan House, NE Corner Old Hotel Then Post Office Used Until 1933.” (Both prepared in 1991 by Joseph J. Cox.)

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Deagon, Ann

A collection of journals, literary magazines, anthologies in which her poems and short stories have been published.

Dixon, Stiles, Jr.

Letters, 1883–1884, William C. Benbow to Arthur Evans Dixon (12).

Edgerton, Jewell C.

Quaker Profiles, Vol. I, by Jewell C. Edgerton, 1991.

Edgerton, William B.

Diary of Annie Edgerton Williams (1870–1957), 1898–1951.

Elder, J. W.

William Elder: Ancestors and Descendants, by Sister Mary Louise Donnelly, 1986.

Feagins, Carroll

"To See What Love Can Do" Fifty Years of Quaker Service (33¹/₃ rpm sound recording).

Gates, Evelyn

Account book of Thomas Hinshaw's store in Randolph County, NC, 1905–1918.

Grant, Claire

Some Memoirs of the Life of John Roberts (by Daniel Roberts, with transcript (typed photocopy) (possibly 3rd ed. Phila. 1751).

Haines, Albert

Contribution of money.

Haldane, Elise

"Burris Genealogy" (3 pages).

Hamm, Tom

Indiana Magazine of History, vol, LXXXVII, no. 2, June 1991 which includes "Moral Choices: Two Indiana Quaker Communities and the Abolitionist Movement," Thomas D. Hamm, et al.

Hamrick, Spencer

Minutes and papers of the Guilford College Alumni Association 1989–1991.

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Haworth, Brenda

Springfield Friends Cemetery, 1780-1991, Guilford County, High Point, North Carolina, by Brenda G. Haworth, 1991.

Henry, George B.

Photographs of historical Quaker sites in East Tennessee: Friendsville, Greene County (19).

Hill, Thomas

Inventories of the Records of Iowa Yearly Meeting; quarterly revisions of his "Index of Monthly Meetings in North America."

Hinshaw, Seth Beeson

Minutes of the Oak Grove Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1943-1951 (photocopy and typed transcript with introduction by Seth B. Hinshaw).

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

One issue of a *Woody Family Tree* (a newsletter); family tree of the Toms family, prepared by Mary Edith Hinshaw (photocopy). Additions to Woody papers: reports of profit and loss; stock certificates; by-laws and stock-holders papers; miscellaneous financial papers; an agreement; a letter; and a newsclipping (36 items in Woody papers).

Hobbs, Barbara

Four nineteenth century men's suit coats with tails, two vests, one pair of pants. Belonged to L. L. Hobbs, Richard Junius Hobbs and Nereus Mendenhall.

Hornaday, Mr. and Mrs. L. S.

Piedmont North Carolina Cemeteries, Vol. IV: Providence, Salem and Concord Friends Meeting Cemetery Records, with Additional Records from Centre Friends Meeting compiled by Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Hornaday, Jr., 1991.

Jackson, Oscar

Ancestors and Descendants of James Micajah Jackson, by Oscar Earl Jackson, 1990.

Kennen, Linda

North Carolina Architecture, by Catherine W. Bishir, 1990; one issue

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of *The American Friend*; Earlham College annual, *The Sargasso*, 1909.

Kistler, Janice

Guilford College memorabilia, ca. 1930, including a suede pillow cover; booklets; senior thesis of Otis Short, "History of the Pilot Life Insurance Co.," with comments by Pilot Life president A. W. McAlister, 1930; Guilford pennant, letters, and button.

Knox County Public Library, Tennessee

Minutes of Friendsville Monthly Meeting, 4 reels of microfilm.

Learnard, Elaine

Jericho Friends Meeting House, 1988-1988, by Margaret A. Brucia and Kathryn Abbe, 1988.

Moon, Milton L.

Contribution of money.

Moore, J. Floyd

Gift of money in memory of Hazel Johnson Straight; *Quakers World Wide: A History of the FWCC*, by Herbert Hadley, 1991; additions to the papers of J. Floyd and Lucretia Moore; sound recording of Guilford College a capella choir, nd.; photo album, Fourth Friends World Conference, Guilford College, 1967, given in honor of its compiler, Betty Taylor; copy of "Brief Personal History" by Jennifer Haines.

Mower, Mary Blair

"Quadrupeds" plate, which belonged originally to Elizabeth Starbuck; silver sugar tongs and fountain pen of George C. Mendenhall; daguerreotype, in case, of unidentified woman in Quaker dress; photographs of Abby Swift Mendenhall, Richard Junius Mendenhall, and Pearl Mendenhall Walker.

Murchison, Marian

Photograph of the faculty of Guilford College, 1888, framed.

Moger, Elizabeth

"Records of New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, and the Haviland Records Room, New York City," by Elizabeth Moger.

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Noah, Phyllis Barker

"The Colonial Barker Families of the United States," unsigned and undated typescript; "Early History of the Barker Family," by Anderson M. Barker, nd. (typescript); miscellaneous genealogical material on the Barker family; genealogy chart of the Holladay family.

N. C. Postal History Society

North Carolina Post Offices and Postmasters, 1860-1866 (NCPHS Newsletter, Winter, 1991-1992 Whole #39).

Norwood, Charles A.

Freeman, North Carolina, Approximately 1750 A. D. to 1990, comp. by Charles A. Norwood, 1991.

Perkins, Theodore

Papers, bulletins, newsclippings, manuscripts of Quaker Theological Discussion Group.

Pike, Doris

Indiana Quakers Confront the Civil War, Jacquelyn S. Nelson, 1991; will of William Pike, 1829, manuscript copy dated 1838.

Phillips, Isaac and Esther

Framed lithograph of George Fox, published 1835.

Pickett, Claude

Addition to Pickett papers: papers and articles pertaining to Clarence Pickett (7 items).

Pickett, Mrs. Craig

Pickett/Piggott genealogy collection.

Postlethwaite, Althea

Ten books and pamphlets.

Raleigh Friends Meeting

Fifty-four books and pamphlets.

Reynolds, Floyd

North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes 1886-1899, 1902-1908, 1914, 1916, 1922, 1924, 1925, 1928, 1966; *An Address to the Members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting*, 1894; American Friends Board of Friends Mission Report, 1906; miscellaneous Guilford College publi-

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cations; two issues *Friends Messenger*; North Carolina Yearly Meeting reprint of "Appeal On Iniquity of Slavery and Slave Trade of London Yearly Meeting," 1844 .

Reynolds, Paul

Genealogy of the Reynolds Family, comp. by J. Paul Reynolds, 1991.

Reynolds, Z. Smith Library

Minutes, Iowa Yearly Meeting, 1906.

Simmonds, Ethel

Byerly's of Carolina, Vol. III by Wesley Grimes Byerly, 1976.

Skidmore, William F.

James Terry of Tennessee: A Door to His Ancestry and Progeny, by Woodford Terry, 1986; *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.

Stanfield, David

Letter from Thomas Newlin to Jesse A. Stanfield, 8-10-1927; copy of article on Maud L. Gainey; and photocopies of photographs.

Stoeson, Alex

North Carolina Student Legislature papers, 1990-1961; History Department file; papers pertaining to London Summer School in England, 1977; Hoyle and Alden scholarships.

Sullivan, Audrey

Index to Volume I and Volume 2 of A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers, for the Testimony of a Good Conscience....Taken from Original Records and Other Authentic Accounts by Joseph Besse, London. 1753, Audrey Sullivan, ed., 1991.

Terrell, Harriett

The Peelle Family of Clinton County, by Ruth Esther Hussey, et al. 1990.

Terrell, Sara Beth

Yearbooks of the Women's Missionary Union of North Carolina Yearly Meeting for 1941-42, 43-44, NS 44-45; two copies of the

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Friendly Newsletter, January–February 1951 and May–June 1953;
The Piper, student arts magazine of Guilford College, spring 1974.

Thompson, Eugene

The James F. Moody Family History, by Marie Moody Foster and Emma Melton Smith, 1970.

Widdows, Donald

The Widdows Web, newsletter of Widdows family history, beginning with Vol. 1, #3, fall 1991.

Winston–Salem Friends Meeting

Books from the library of Francis C. Anscombe.

Woman's Society of First Friends Meeting

Contribution of money.

Wright, Marietta

Hitchcock's New and Complete Analysis of the Holy Bible, which contains family records of Malon and Lydia Allen Dixon.

Archival Deposits, 1991–1992

Asheboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1990–6th mo. 1991

Bethesda Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1st mo. 1968–6th mo. 1991

Cane Creek Particular Meeting

Minutes, Pastoral Committee, 2nd mo. 1904–7th mo. 1914

Cedar Square Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1990–6th mo. 1991

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 7th mo. 1990–6th mo. 1991

Centre Monthly Meeting

Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 7th mo. 1983–9th mo. 1986

Columbia Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 11th mo. 1990–10th mo. 1991

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 6th mo. 1990–5th mo. 1991; 2 membership records

Deep River Monthly Meeting

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Minutes, 7th mo. 1970–6th mo. 1975
Minutes, 7th mo. 1975–6th mo. 1981
Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 10th mo. 1955–6th mo. 1988

Durham Monthly Meeting (NCYM Conservative)

Minutes, 1st mo. 1991–12th mo. 1991

Friendship Monthly Meeting (NCYM Conservative)

Minutes, 8th mo. 1987–6th mo. 1989
Minutes, 3rd mo. 1990–4th mo. 1990

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1st mo. 1990–12th mo. 1990

High Point Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1st mo. 1964–6th mo. 1971

Historic Jamestown, Inc.

Minutes, Sept. 1990–Aug. 1991

Jamestown Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1990–7th mo. 1991

New Garden Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1st mo. 1986–12th mo. 1989

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Epistles, 1991; Memorials, 1991

Piedmont Friends Fellowship

Representative Meeting, Minutes 1987–1991

Pine Hill Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1990–5th mo. 1991
Membership list, 1991

Providence Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1983 – 12th mo. 1987

Rich Square Monthly Meeting (NCYM Conservative)

Minutes, 6th mo. 1990–5th mo. 1991

Science Hill Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1970–5th mo. 1977, with papers and photocopies;
clerk's notes and minutes, 1st mo. 1970–2nd mo. 1988 (some missing)

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South Plainfield Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1963–6th mo. 1984

Minutes, 7th mo. 1984–6th mo. 1989

Union Cross Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1979–1983; 1983–1987

Virginia Beach Friends School

School committee minutes, 1957–1987 (5 vols.)

Virginia Beach Monthly Meeting (NCYM Conservative)

Minutes, 1st mo. 1988–6th mo. 1991

Western Quarterly Meeting

Minutes, Ministry and Oversight, 2nd mo.–5th mo. 1991

Winthrop Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1972–6th mo. 1983 (includes membership lists)

Minutes, 9th mo. 1987

Minutes, 2nd mo. 1989–4th mo. 1991

Book Reviews

Compiled and edited by

Carole Treadway

***The Lamb's War: Quaker Essays to Honor Hugh Barbour.* Edited by Michael L. Birkel and John W. Newman. Richmond, Ind.: Earlham College Press, 1992. 305 pages. One illustration. \$19.95.**

This collection of essays in Quaker history and thought is a fine addition to Quaker literature and an honor to Hugh Barbour.

John W. Newman's Introduction to the 12 essays places them in the context of Hugh Barbour's work and of early Friends' understanding of the Lamb's War. The latter is used "as a model for any form of inner spiritual struggle and subsequent transformation" (p. 2). More than some *festschriften*, this work makes frequent reference to Barbour's important contribution to Quaker scholarship. In addition, many of the essays follow his lead in attempting "to deepen our knowledge of the history of Quakerism, to promote dialogue among the various branches of the Society of Friends, and to discover resources for an adequate social ethic," as Michael Birkel says in his Appreciation of Barbour (p. 11).

Although Newman's Introduction pulls the essays together in terms of the theme of the Lamb's War, I found them falling into two types of essays. One group is essentially straight history. The other group will appeal to Friends who are interested in deepening their own spiritual life through interaction with Quaker history, thought, and experience. Those who consider themselves Quaker historians should delight in the entire collection.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall gives an overview of James Naylor's spirituality as seen through his letters. Naylor's theme was that the way of Christ is by the cross of suffering. Nuttall catalogues 89 epistles, giving excerpts from those with several versions, often attributed to other authors, or not found in printed collections.

John Punshon charts the course of British Quaker economic activity to the present, with emphasis on the large Quaker firms of the eigh-

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teenth and nineteenth centuries. Other essays include: Bridget K. Bower's look at the Indiana Hicksite Yearly Meeting's struggles, played out in the discipline, between maintaining the hedge and joining other social action groups; Edwin B. Bronner's description of post-Civil War American Quakers as seen by British Quaker periodicals; Arthur O. Roberts' biography of Norwegian-American Quaker John Frederick Hanson; and J. William Frost's essay on William I. Hull's work within all three strands of the American peace movement, 1808-1920.

Six essays illuminate aspects of Quaker theology and point to issues for our own or corporate spiritual consideration. Stephen Ward Angell sees William Penn as a Puritan moderate who spoke prophetically in support of religious toleration and other ethical issues but tended to argue from somewhat inconsistent rationalistic grounds. Alan Kolp's study of the pre-Pendle Hill spirituality of George Fox is a refinement of many of the ideas presented in his *Fresh Winds of the Spirit*. Friends will be challenged by Fox as a spiritual director, and by his assumption that the Light leads into ministry. Michael L. Birkel's discussion of John Woolman's identification of the cross with the death of his own will, with suffering with the seed being oppressed in others, and with the pain of the poor and the oppressed challenges us with his invitation to redemptive suffering. Thomas D. Hamm's look at the Inward Light points to the consistent understanding of it up to 1830, then shows how it became a bellwether of the nineteenth century separations. Douglas Steere's comparison of Thomas Kelly with Brother Lawrence reminds us of the purpose of the spiritual journey. In "Theological Implications of the Image of 'the Inward Teacher'" Paul A. Lacey provides a useful discussion of that metaphor as crucial for an understanding of Quakerism and then applies it to Quaker schools. He suggests that a more conscious use of metaphors of speaking and hearing rather than of seeing might help us rediscover the richness of "minding and answering" (paying attention to and responding to) Christ's Spirit within ourselves and each other.

Eleanor Ferris Beach's meditation on the flood is a study of the Bible story which sets it in a new paradigm and asks difficult questions for Friends regarding the right use of the earth's resources and our absolute prohibition of violence. It could be fruitful to have a discussion group consider her essay in conjunction with Woolman's *Plea for the Poor*, or within an understanding of the new covenant of the law written on our hearts.

Book Reviews

There is a selected bibliography of Barbour's writings and his autobiographical "Spilgrimage" — spiritual pilgrimage — which contains a good deal of his family background. There is one photograph of Hugh with his wife and daughters. A minor complaint is that although the margins are generous, the type is small and the beige, flecked paper makes it a bit difficult to read without a good light.

The Lamb's War contains some first rate essays in Quaker history and some which challenge us to deepen of our current faith.

Martha Paxson Grundy
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

***A Quaker Family through Six Generations: The Passmores in America.* Robert Houston Smith. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992. 325 pages. \$79.95**

In *The Passmores in America*, Robert H. Smith has traced the development of this family through the migration of two brothers, William and John Passmore, who were part of William Penn's "holy experiment" in America. He has also contributed to our understanding of American migrations in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, while raising significant questions about the persistence of cultural identity.

The elder Passmore brother, William, was an entrepreneur who, like Penn himself, lived on both sides of the Atlantic, but finally chose to make his home in England. And, like many later Friends, William fell afoul of Quaker discipline by marrying outside his Friends meeting, for which he was disowned. But, sensitive to the business advantages that Friends enjoyed in Pennsylvania's transatlantic trade, he eventually repented his breach of discipline and was reinstated.

By contrast, William's younger brother, John, cast his lot with the New World, as did many other younger sons, whom English inheritance laws excluded from the patrimony enjoyed by their elder brothers. This book is, in large measure, the story of his children and their descendants.

John Passmore's first son, William, like his namesake uncle, was a Quaker entrepreneur. John's second son, John, Jr., followed another example set by his uncle William, by marrying "out of meeting;" but unlike William, John, Jr. and his family — with the exception of one daughter — never returned to the Friends. Their new-found freedom from Quaker strictures allowed them to take advantage of the increasingly diverse cultural life of republican Pennsylvania and the expanding nation. John, Sr.'s son, Augustine, moved to Maryland and became embroiled in the Quaker controversy over slaveholding by holding on to his slaves as long as possible. Along with other Friends in England and Pennsylvania, John's son, George, was a pioneer of the Industrial Revolution, investing in iron smelting as well as farming. Of John's remaining three children, Eleanor, Samuel, and Mary, there were few descendants, and less is known of them; they are treated together in one chapter.

Book Reviews

Those who are most interested in the Passmore genealogy will find the first eight chapters of greatest interest. Following an extended introduction to the main subject of each chapter (William, John, or John's children), Robert Smith attempts briefly to trace each of their descendants. For Quaker historians and U. S. historians in general, Smith's concluding chapter, "The Passmores in American Experience," will be significant. Smith speculates that some of the Passmores' migrations may have resulted from their desire to move away from restrictive Quaker communities in which they had been reared, especially when they had been disowned by the Friends for one infraction or another. But there is ample evidence that cheap, fertile western land exerted a powerful attraction on many eighteenth and nineteenth century Americans, and Friends were by no means immune. And disownment from the Quaker meeting, unlike the shunning of the Amish, did not result in exclusion from the social or religious life of the community, but merely from a decision-making role in its affairs.

Although many Passmore descendants followed the route west along the Ohio River Valley into Ohio and Indiana, and on to Iowa and beyond, surprisingly many remained in and close to Chester County, Pennsylvania, with some traveling only as far as western Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland — well within the Philadelphia orbit. Although Smith estimates that "fewer than half of the Passmores of the sixth generation were Friends," a proportion even approaching one-half would certainly be unusual for most American Quaker families of comparable lineage. Indeed, Smith notes that "several Passmore women of generations five and six were Quaker ministers," certainly a sign of strong persistence in religious conviction. As Smith concludes, "when one considers the centrifugal tendencies that were present, it is remarkable that so many Passmores maintained continuity with their Quaker heritage through the generations." Although this continuity may be related to the apparent tendency of many Passmores to remain near their ancestral Quaker origins in southeastern Pennsylvania, it would be fascinating to know how typical their experience was, and why.

This book makes us realize just how little we know about Quaker migrations, or about American migrations in general, or about their impact on cultural identity. Some historians have insisted that westward migrations contributed significantly to Americans' sense of cultural anonymity, whereas others have argued that ethnic and religious

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communities accentuated their cultural differences in order to escape homogenization. The experience of the Passmores seems to support the latter view.

Robert Smith's book is carefully researched and documented, as to both primary and secondary sources. A thorough bibliography and an index of names are particularly useful. This is an expensive book, but according to the publisher a 50 percent discount is available to individuals who order with Visa or MasterCard by telephone (716-754-2788) from the U. S. or Canada.

Damon D. Hickey
The College of Wooster

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

1991-92

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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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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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Introduction

By
Joan Newlin Poole

This is the first of five articles which *The Southern Friend* will devote to the annual themes of Vision 400: the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Tercentenary. The theme for 1993, the opening year of the celebration, is "Carolina Friends at Worship--In Spirit and in Truth."

The origins of Quaker worship in the Carolinas, and of North Carolina Yearly Meeting can be traced to the influence of traveling ministers. For almost two hundred years, starting with the 1672 visits of George Fox and William Edmundson, a steady stream of brave and hardy men and women, responding to a common concern to travel in the ministry "in the spirit of truth," provided inspiration, guidance, communication and a sense of unity among the disparate small meetings that made up the Society of Friends in what is now North Carolina.

In "Agents for Truth: Traveling Ministers and the Establishment of the Quaker Movement in North Carolina," Seth B. Hinshaw focuses on the impact of these remarkable Friends, the hardships they faced, the impressions they received and created, and the historical significance of their journals.

Titled "Vision 400" to commemorate the two North Carolina Yearly Meetings' first steps into their fourth century, the tercentenary celebration will culminate in a joint 300th yearly meeting session in 1997.



Joan Poole is coordinator for the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Tercentenary Celebrations and serves on the Editorial Board of The Southern Friend.

Agents for Truth: Traveling Ministers and the Establishment of the Quaker Movement in North Carolina

By

Seth B. Hinshaw

An amazing feature of the early Quaker movement was traveling ministers, beginning with George Fox himself, and including the Valiant Sixty who traveled far, not only in northern England, but also in Scotland and Ireland. They spread the Truth across Europe, as far as Turkey. As early as 1656 Friends reached America. George Fox, realizing that the Divine imperative which moved him to travel "in the service of Truth" would be experienced by others also, encouraged them to spread the Truth in "all countries, islands and nations."

Traveling ministers in the early Quaker movement experienced a powerful motivation in addition to, or at least in relation to, the Divine command. Inherent in human beings is a great urge to *share* a new discovery. First-generation Quakers had made a great spiritual discovery; consequently they experienced an almost irresistible desire to proclaim to others what they themselves had found in the way of a personal encounter with the Living Christ. A discovery of this kind generates tremendous spiritual power, such as was evident in the early decades of the Quaker movement.

Seth Bennett Hinshaw is well-known to readers of The Southern Friend as the author of many books and articles on Quaker history, faith, and practice. He is retired from many years of service as a pastor in Friends meetings. He also held administrative and staff positions in North Carolina Yearly Meeting and Friends United Meeting. He now devotes his time to writing.

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The ministry of these amazing evangelists was similar to the mission of the Apostle Paul in the first century of the Christian era, as expressed in the introductory statement of his letter to the Galatians: "An apostle, not from men nor through men but through Jesus Christ..."¹ Early Quaker evangelists did not wait for the results of a feasibility study, nor for favorable salary arrangements. They had made a great spiritual discovery. The Lord was saying Go! And they went. Truth could not wait.

George Fox and William Edmundson traveled toward America together in 1671, but on account of illness Fox remained in the Barbados for a time, and thus the two were separated in their colonial travels. Edmundson came to Carolina in the spring of 1672, followed by Fox in the fall of the same year. When Edmundson came out in the clearings at the spot now called Hertford in Perquimans County, what a spectacle he must have been! He said, "we were sorely soyled in Swamps and Rivers...." Perhaps at that moment no one quoted Isaiah's words: "How beautiful...are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings..." Beautiful or not, the arrival of William Edmundson in May and George Fox in October, 1672, marks the beginning of Quakerism in the Carolinas. The seeds of the Quaker faith took root and prospered.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting exists today because of the labor of traveling ministers—these two, and scores of others who were to follow. Among the earliest visitors coming to Virginia and Carolina were:²

Thomas Story, 1698, and again in 1705
Thomas Chalkley, 1703
Samuel Bownas, 1706
John Fothergill, 1707
John Richardson, 1701-2; 1731
Edmund Peckover, 1742

Thomas Chalkley was born in England, but "removed to America," where he was a member of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting for forty years. His *Journal* describes his visit to North Carolina:

About the 26th of the first month 1703 I visited Friends in Virginia and North Carolina, to the river Pamlico, where no

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traveling, publick Friends, that ever I heard of were before, and had several meetings there on each side of the river. On going out of our canoe through a marsh, I trod on a rattlesnake...it only hissed at me, and did no harm. This was one deliverance, among many, which the Lord...wrought for me...³

Itinerant Friends ministers did not organize a church in the conventional sense of the word. Sometimes a Quaker family in a new community would be visited, where a meeting would be "appointed." Neighbors would be invited to come, and if there were "convincements," as generally happened, a small nucleus would be formed around which a meeting could develop. Some of these units became strong meetings; others died away, and nothing was ever known of them.

Some writers have likened this itinerant ministry to the flow of life blood. Others have called it the cross-fertilization which kept Quakerism vigorous and growing. Still others have called it the cement which held the Atlantic Quaker community together. Henry J. Cadbury put it this way:

The intervisitation between different areas of Quakerism is one of its most important and attractive features. What the Society of Friends lacked in officialdom and bureaucracy was compensated for in this process of visitation.⁴

One practical result was the lessening of a narrow provincialism which could have arisen among North Carolina Friends on account of their geographical isolation. When the Revolutionary War broke out, British Quakers were not considered enemies, but brethren in the faith. In like manner, the Civil War did not cause any separation between Northern and Southern Friends. A spiritual fellowship stronger than political conflicts held them together.

Fortunately most traveling ministers kept journals which illuminated not only conditions existing in the meetings visited, but also their own personal spiritual experiences—expressed in quaint, vivid terms. When their hearers seemed receptive, such were said to be "tendered," or "under convincement." Members of a local

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meeting were said to be “under profession of truth.” Non-members were “those who do not profess with us,” or those who “yet stand off,” or occasionally those “somewhat in the world.”

Equally interesting is the way in which monthly meeting clerks usually recorded the coming of visiting Friends: “Our beloved Friend, A.B., with whom we have unity, appeared in the ministry, much to our edification.” Sometimes a further statement was added: “His exemplary deportment was very acceptable to us.” One clerk described the visitor as “a precious choice Friend who has a gift in the ministry.”

As a matter of procedure, individuals feeling a concern to travel in the ministry laid the matter before the local monthly meeting, where “weighty consideration” was given to the proposed travels. If there was unity in approval, a “traveling minute” was prepared and duly signed. This brief official statement served both as an introduction and as a recommendation which was presented to the meetings visited. When the projected “Gospel labors” were completed, the traveling minute was duly returned to the meeting granting it.

During the years when the piedmont section of Carolina was being settled by the Quakers, the number of visiting Friends increased. William Hunt listed ninety-seven visitors to New Garden between 1752 and 1779. Algje I. Newlin, who has made an extensive study of Friends in the Cane Creek Valley, makes this statement:

A survey reveals that between the setting up of Cane Creek Meeting and the Great Separation (Philadelphia) of 1828, a period of seventy-seven years, no less than 127 Friends traveling in the ministry visited meetings in Western Quarterly Meeting...The number given includes the traveling companions who were appointed to accompany the ministers...Of the 127, seventy-nine were men and forty-eight were women...Fifteen of these visitors were from England, one from Ireland, eight from New England, six from New York, three from New Jersey, twenty-four from Pennsylvania, three from Maryland, eight from Virginia, twenty-one from other Meetings in North Carolina, and seventeen from Ohio.⁵

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This visitation was not a one-way exercise. North Carolina Yearly Meeting soon began to send visiting Friends to other parts of the country, and even across the Atlantic. It seems that the first in this great succession of traveling Friends was Gabriel Newby. His wife Mary was the daughter of Francis Toms the elder. He visited Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1701 and in 1715. Much later, Thomas Nicholson of Perquimans County traveled to England in religious service in 1749-1750.⁶ Some twenty years later when William Hunt was preparing to make the same journey, he spent time with Thomas Nicholson "to much satisfaction and instruction."⁷

William Hunt's visit to England gives much insight into travel conditions in 1770. At that time, passengers provided their own food for the long sea voyage. Supplies for "William and Companion" included "3 sheep, 3 hogs, one barrel of cyder. 103 lbs salt petre gammons [pork]..."⁸ A further note of interest is that while the North Carolina Quaker William Hunt was well received, and most occasions were quite satisfactory, some of them went dull and flat, and he did not hesitate to say so in his *Journal*: "Next day...we had two heavy dull meetings." At Edinborough, he wrote, "We had but a low heavy meeting."⁹

In a brief unpublished account, Nereus Mendenhall lists other early Friends who traveled abroad:

Many valuable ministers were raised up...a few were called across the ocean to labor for the Lord in foreign lands. Among the latter may be named William Hunt, Nathan Hunt, Asenath Clark, Richard Jordan, John Bond, Jeremiah Hubbard, and Charity Cook.¹⁰

In her book, *The Early Settlement of Nantucket*, Lydia S. Hinchman lists the following Southern ministers who received traveling minutes to Nantucket between 1784 and 1831: Henry Stanton, William Hunt, Zachariah Dicks, Thomas Thornbrough, John Carter, William Coffin, Ann Jessup (Jesop), Lydia Hoskins, Stephen Gardner, Chalkley Albertson, Zachariah Nixon, Nathan Hunt, Matthew Coffin, Jeremiah Hubbard, and Elijah Coffin.¹¹

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Visiting Friends almost always had a traveling companion. Sometimes, but not often, a minister's wife or husband might be this companion. For example, Daniel Barker once undertook an extended program of visiting meetings all across the country. About midway in this series of visitations, his wife Lydia reported to monthly meeting: "I do believe that I stand resigned to accompany my husband through the remaining part of his visits."¹²

Something of the same reluctance is reflected in the statement of Thomas Thornburg in relation to accompanying William Hunt to England. Hunt's *Journal* says that he "gave up to accompany me therein."¹³ During the second century of the Quaker movement, the fresh enthusiasm of the early years had given way to the less exciting task of maintaining the Society. Less spiritual power is released in preserving something than in creating something. This may explain in part the greater reluctance of Friends to accept the hardships of travel.

When the early Publishers of Truth left the comforts of home, there was no guarantee of a safe return. Both William Hunt and his cousin, John Woolman, died of smallpox in England—near the same time. On the part of those who were left at home, farewells were followed by months of anxiety. When Stanley Pumphrey (England) presented his concern to enter into a prolonged visit to America "he sat down and burst into tears."¹⁴

Job Scott expressed his feelings upon preparing for a long period of travel in 1786 in this way:

I endeavored to be given up to it, but the thought of parting...with my dear wife, and tender little children, wrought so upon me...I was visited with severe sickness for a month...¹⁵

From the perspective of two centuries the question naturally arises as to *why* such responsibilities were laid upon these humble under-shepherds. Perhaps the most reasonable answer is that the Great Shepherd said, "Go feed my lambs; go feed my sheep!" At any rate, these obedient servants fed and nurtured the many scattered groups of Friends in the Carolina "back country." *Life* always depends upon care, nurture, nourishment.

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The journals of traveling Friends furnish vivid accounts of the travel difficulties encountered. For example, the English Friend, Catharine Payton (Phillips), left home “4th of Sixth month, 1753” and arrived in Charleston “Tenth month 26th”—nine weeks on board ship! In November she and some traveling companions undertook a journey toward the piedmont Quaker settlements of New Garden, Cane Creek, and other places. A few excerpts from this story are revealing:

Left Charleston 26th of Eleventh month, toward the waters of the Haw River...Left Pee Dee 20th of Twelfth month...We rode that day about forty miles through the woods without seeing any house, and at night took up our lodging in the woods, by the side of a branch or swamp...Our friends made us a little shed of the branches of pine trees...a calm, fair moon-light night, we spent it cheerfully, though we slept but little.¹⁶

The next day they “traveled about forty-five miles,” and at night found the ground wet and the weather very cold. “We spent the night very uncomfortable...but resigned in spirit.”

In the course of time they set out one morning hoping to reach a settlement of Friends at New Garden that day. It was farther than they knew, and “we have thought best to stop at Polecat [Creek]...” She states that they finally reached New Garden, “and we were the first from Europe that had visited them...”

Incidentally, she was not entirely pleased with all that she saw there: We found a sincere-hearted remnant in this meeting, unto whom the Lord united us; but there was also a dead, formal, professing spirit under which the living were sorely oppressed; as well as under a flashy wordy ministry.¹⁷

Her travel diary continues:

The 29th we got to Cane Creek, another new settlement of Friends...The 31st we went about thirty miles to a very small Meeting on the River Eno...The 4th of the First month, 1754...we had a meeting at Rocky River...The 7th

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we set out for Carver's Creek. a journey of about 160 miles. through an almost uninhabited country...¹⁸

This part of her travels was made fearsome by the presence of wolves, panthers, and other wild animals of the forest. After reaching Dunn's Creek and Carver's Creek, they headed toward the Perquimans River, on which "the main body of Friends...was settled...Our first meeting among them was at the Piney Woods meeting house." In all, she logged 8,750 miles on horseback, 1753-1756. (Did she actually travel that far, or did it just seem that far?)

Much later, Stephen Grellet found that the hardships of travel still persisted. He wrote:

On our way to Contentnea, we had, amidst imminent dangers, a remarkable preservation. About eight o'clock, on a very dark night, we came near to a creek. Our guide...rode to a cabin, not far distant, to inquire if the creek was fordable...Putting a white handkerchief round his hat that we might better distinguish him, our guide rode before us...as the descent into the creek was steep and difficult. As soon as we were in, we found the water so deep, that our horses began to swim, and the current was so strong, as to turn the body of our carriage down the stream...¹⁹

Then follows the account of their escape from the dark water. One gets the impression that Divine Providence must have assisted them in a marvelous fashion. Many more difficulties with high waters continued: "Several times we had to cross the waters in canoes, having two lashed together, two side wheels of our carriage [wagon] in one, and the opposite ones in the other, the horses swimming beside them."

In Addison Coffin's brief account of the Bush River Meeting this descriptive section is to be found:

In the Women's Meeting, on the preachers' bench, under their immense white beavers, I recall the full round faces and forms of Sisters Charity Cook and Susannah Hollingsworth ...Charity Cook was indeed a gifted woman...She traveled

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extensively...When her husband drove his stage wagon in Ruben's Creek at a time when it was high, drowned two horses and only escaped drowning himself by riding a chunk [log] to land, *she* swam to shore and thus saved herself.²⁰

Obviously Coffin thought this to be a remarkable feat, knowing what an impediment long dresses and multiple petticoats would be to a woman trying to swim.

The religious service of traveling ministers was not confined to the hour of worship at the meeting house. Usually they spent several days visiting the various families in the community. In each home there was a time of quiet worship, followed by words of loving counsel and encouragement. Special attention was given to each person, even the smallest child. At least some of these visiting Friends loved little children to the extent that each one was held on his (or her) lap for a few minutes of special loving attention and small talk. For example, when one minister came back to the yearly meeting many years later, the tiny children which he remembered had all grown up. He said, "I have held half of the Yearly Meeting on my lap!"

Local people who were visited rarely kept journals, but it is reasonable to presume that the coming of a visiting Friend was a joyous occasion. The journals of the traveling Friends sometimes contain illuminating insights. For example, William Reckett wrote that the people at Gum Swamp and Pee Dee were "truly glad to see us, they being so seldom visited." Thomas Scattergood said that in 1792 he visited Holly Spring Meeting. "After it a grayheaded old man came to me and said, 'Thou has scattered much good today; May we keep it.'"²¹

When a visiting Friend was known to be coming for an "appointed meeting," local messengers rode from house to house throughout the community spreading the word. Meeting houses were usually filled to overflowing for appointed meetings. One example of this may be gleaned from the *Memoirs* of Stephen Grellet when he visited the Rocky River Meeting in 1800:

After attending the Quarterly Meeting of Deep River...we came to Rocky River, to David Wertell's, an aged and

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faithful Friend. It was late and cold when we arrived at his house. Informing him of our wish to have a meeting the following day, he said he would take all necessary care about it; but, as he did not leave us till we retired to bed, I concluded we should have a very small meeting. I saw no more of the dear friend till next day...Wondering at the crowd of people we met I asked him why we had not seen him the whole morning? He said he had been riding all night and morning, giving notice of the meeting...²²

One can appreciate the fact that these heroes of the faith were careful not to “run ahead of their Guide” just because people expected them to speak. Unfortunately, their arduous schedules had left little or no time for prayer and meditation. The observation has been made that a cup which has not time to fill up is not likely to run over. The journals of these traveling Friends indicate that numerous times they sat through meetings with no word to say.

Most of these traveling ministers were strong and vigorous. Even so, traveling among the scattered meetings and visiting in the many homes of each community was physically exhausting. The human element of sheer fatigue naturally entered the situation. It seems that at times physically exhausted travelers were not ready to be instruments of Divine joy and inspiration. Only the inexperienced would say that one's physical condition is not related to service of this kind.

Over and over Job Scott used the plaintive expression, “I was shut up in silence.” Apparently he wanted to deliver a message, and was deeply troubled when he was not able to do so. He sometimes explained his silence by informing the people that he “did not leave home...to communicate anything in my own will.” At one point in his travels he wrote of two consecutive meetings: “In the first I got but little relief, and in the last could not open my mouth in the ministry.” On the following First-day he recorded that he sat “in suffering silence.”²³ At one time (1787) Thomas Scattergood sat through seven successive meetings “closed up as to any public communication.”

Just how did this silence seem to hungry, needy people who had traveled long distances to hear a Gospel message? Some were

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disappointed, naturally. They found it difficult to understand why the Lord had sent a messenger—without a message. Perhaps others were more perceptive, and realized that true worship and personal seeking are not entirely dependent upon words. Beyond the exhaustion which sometimes affected these ministers, the belief prevailed among Friends for more than a century that preparation could only hinder the ministry, that the “pure Gospel” had to come from immediate (spur-of-the-moment) inspiration.²⁴ The human mind was thought to be so depraved in nature that it had to be kept entirely out of the way, so that it would not defile the pure leadings of the Spirit. Advance preparation and forethought, therefore, were to be strictly avoided. Constant prayer, meditation and Scripture reading was expected, however. This emphasis upon immediate revelation was extremely important, although when carried to undue extremes it tended to overlook the underlying principle that religious service of any kind, ministry especially, is cooperative in nature: God does His part, and depends upon the human individual to do his. St. Paul's exhortation to the young minister Timothy, “study to show thyself approved unto God,” indicates that some form of human effort is a necessary part of the cooperative process (II Timothy 2:15).

Of course there were times when these early traveling ministers felt freedom and joy in proclaiming the Gospel. When Job Scott had completed his visitation in Eastern Carolina in 1789, he made his way toward the Piedmont:

On the four following days...we had blessed meetings at Rocky River, Nathan Dixon's, Pine Grove [Pine Ridge?] and Holly Spring. Truth triumphed in these meetings—its doctrines flowed like oil.²⁵

What a joyous relief it must have been to find freedom!

One especial virtue of most itinerant visitors was a sincere desire to refrain from the mere multiplying of words when these were empty. Thomas Scattergood described one experience in this fashion:

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Whilst speaking I met with a sudden stop in my mind as to the expression of mere words, and found it safest to sit down, and experienced great peace in doing so.²⁶

Many long years later (according to oral tradition in the writer's community) the legendary Rufus King suddenly stopped speaking and said aloud to himself, "Rufus, thee has said enough; sit down!" Obediently, he did so.

By way of contrast, when the British Friend Stanley Pumphrey was in North Carolina, he wrote:

In eleven days Allen Jay and I have had twenty-nine meetings, and several times I suppose I spoke fully three hours in the day. You may think it too much; but the people are hungry, and the Lord calls, and certainly strength has been given beyond what I have asked or thought of, for this Carolina work.²⁷

Occasionally amazing things happened. Some of these traveling ministers were able to "speak to conditions" beyond their own knowledge. The prophetic messenger, without having been informed of specific problems existing within the membership, would speak so directly to the situation, or to some erring individual, that the people would listen in astonishment. When the speaker did know of a problem, he generally addressed himself to it with great candor. This he called "giving close testimony among them."

Most traveling ministers expressed great appreciation for Carolina Quakers. There were exceptions, however. Some visitors to the "back country" seem to have had the idea that their major mission was to inform the people of their errors and shortcomings, and to "set things in order."²⁸ Some were quite critical. For example, when John Griffith visited among Carolina Friends in 1765, he did not find Centre Meeting at all to his liking:

It was extremely cold, and, as some observed, the like had not been known there in the memory of man; and being quite an open meetinghouse and very little of anything to be felt

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amongst them of religious warmth, it was really a distressing time inwardly and outwardly.²⁹

Of New Garden he wrote:

We went to New Garden Meeting in North Carolina, which was very large...a thick, dark cloud overshadowed the fore part of that meeting and it was a painful, distressing time...³⁰

After listening to the answers to the Queries at New Garden, 1787 Joshua Evans wrote that they gave such favorable answers to the Queries that he told them, "if they was as good as there represented there was not so many more as good on the continent as they was, but I had my fears that it was not so." He criticized the elders for "not filling their station in watching over those young in the ministry...." In general, he thought "the people's state...resembled the state of the country,—barren."

Both British and Philadelphia Friends visiting the new settlements in North Carolina had some difficulty accepting procedures which were less polished than those to which they were accustomed. One Philadelphia Friend, as late as 1828, wrote to his wife:

They do not conduct their business according to our Style by any means; there is often some confusion & want of dignity & decorum; they talk too much, & are deficient in method, yet they get along in much good will & regard for one anothers sentiments....³¹

Stanley Pumphrey, who was generally at ease with American customs wrote upon his arrival:

I cannot understand the nasal twang of everybody. Even the steam engines have it, & instead of the shrill whistle of our English ones, make a noise like a man blowing through his nose. They carry a great bell & as they move along through the streets without any protection, the bell tolls dismally to warn passers by to get out of the way.³²

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Most visiting Friends in the early years were able to transcend the fatigue and the hardships of travel, and to see the people in terms of love and appreciation. More representative are statements such as these: "A plain and honest people they seem to be. We had very good satisfaction among them." Or again, "I could say that I did dearly love them."

The itinerant ministry considered in this section occurred for the most part during the time when there was great emphasis placed upon a *free* ministry. Inevitably, the question arises, Free for whom? The service of these traveling Friends was extremely *costly*—in terms of time, energy and actual monetary expense. The dedicated donors of this sacrificial life-sharing service may have offered it freely. But what about the recipients? Does the concept of a free Gospel ministry mean that it is always to be at the expense of another? For some two centuries, Friends were not always clear as to the responsibility of those who *received*.

A decline in the number of visiting Friends began with the Hicksite separation in Philadelphia in 1827, and further declined with the Wilburite controversy in New England in 1845. Prior to these traumatic events, there had been only one unified Society of Friends. In the years following, some Friends were not considered acceptable— even in North Carolina.

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NOTES

¹Galatians I:I.

²Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 1911), 291. Samuel Bownas tells of a Friend, Joshua Fielding, who traveled five hundred miles in three weeks mostly alone from Charleston, South Carolina, to Virginia "and met but four or five homes..." Did he miss the Albemarle Quaker settlement completely?

³Thomas Chalkley, Journal, *Friends Library*, 6 (1848), 15.

⁴Henry J. Cadbury, *The Church in the Wilderness* (Greensboro: N.C. Friends Historical Society, 1948), I.

⁵Algie I. Newlin, *Friends "at the Spring"* (Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1984), 41, 42.

⁶Henry J. Cadbury, *Journal of William Hunt's Visit to Europe, 1771-1772* (Greensboro: Quaker Collection Publication, 1968), 4.

⁷*Ibid.*, 5.

⁸*Ibid.*, 7.

⁹*Ibid.*, 13, 14.

¹⁰Nereus Mendenhall. Manuscript in Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹¹Lydia S. Hinchman, *The Early Settlers of Nantucket* (Philadelphia: Ferris and Leach, 1901), 324-328.

¹²Holly Spring Minutes, 1851. Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹³Cadbury, *Hunt's Visit*, 4.

¹⁴Henry S. Newman, *Memories of Stanley Pumphrey* (New York: Friends Book and Tract Committee, 1885), 106.

¹⁵Job Scott, "*A Journal of the Life, Travels and Gospel Labours of That Faithful Servant and Minister of Christ, Job Scott*" (New York: Collins, 1797), 115, 116.

¹⁶Catharine Phillips, *Memoirs* (London: J. Phillips & Son, 1797), 75ff. At the time of this journey she was Catharine Payton. She became Phillips in 1772.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 80, 81.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Stephen Grellet, *Memoirs*. Benjamin Seebohm, ed. (Philadelphia: Longstreth, 1874), 63.

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²⁰ Addison Coffin, "Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina, Traditions and Reminiscences." 1894. Typescript prepared for the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1952, 231.

²¹ Thomas Scattergood, *Memoirs, Friends Library* 8 (1844), 35.

²² Grellet, 65. 66.

²³ Scattergood, 211.

²⁴ A comprehensive discussion of quietism as it affected the Society of Friends may be found in Rufus Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, I (London: Macmillan, 1921), chapters 2 and 3.

²⁵ Scott, 185.

²⁶ Scattergood, 31.

²⁷ Newman, 136.

²⁸ American Friends did not hesitate to take issue with British procedures and customs. For example, Charity Cook reprimanded them for the disrespect in which servants were held. William Hunt labored with British Friends to establish a women's yearly meeting. This was resisted for another twenty years.

²⁹ John Griffith, *Journal, Friends Library* 5 (1841), 424.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 425.

³¹ William Evans, *Journal..* Quoted by Larry Ingle in *The Southern Friend* (Spring, 1983), 9.

³² Newman, 36.

“Good Soldiers of Christ:”
A Case Study
of North Carolina Quaker Resistance to the
Civil War

By

Cheryl Fradette Junk

During the Civil War the North Carolina Yearly Meeting (NCYM) of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) challenged the pillars of the Confederacy--slavery, secession, and war. Three of their number were among the handful who refused all types of military duty, including alternative government work, and shunned opportunities for legal exemption. In light of these facts, two questions arise: First, what traditional values and structures grounded the yearly meeting and its members and made possible such strong collective defiance from a religious minority that made up only one-third of one percent of the white population of the state in 1862?¹ Secondly, what internal qualities of belief and character led Himelius and Jesse Hockett and Tilmon Ross Vestal to risk life and home and to suffer great hardship for the sake of their faith?

Since George Fox founded the Religious Society of Friends in seventeenth-century England, most Quakers have believed that human beings are created as children of God, in His image, and that human life is, therefore, sacred--neither to be bought and sold into slavery nor to be taken away by human hands for any reason whatsoever. It is this belief in the sacredness and equality of each person that has necessarily forced Quakerism into conflict with civil authority throughout its 350-year history. The authority of God, as Friends interpreted it, met temporal government head-on, be it King Charles II or President Jefferson Davis. This tradition, and the

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closely-knit communities that reinforced it, gave Friends the courage to disregard both their small numbers and the strength of their adversaries. In its *Account of Sufferings* of its members during the Civil War, North Carolina Yearly Meeting described those who refused to bear arms as belonging to a small but powerful army, "the Army of Peace," who "meekly, yet most nobly" kept the charge to "endure hardness as good soldiers of Christ."²

This study begins by exploring the external factors grounding the collective Quaker witness to peace from 1861-1865 and ends with case studies that stand on their own as witnesses to the power of individual faith, nurtured and supported by a strong religious community.

I

A brief demographic sketch of North Carolina Friends at the time of the Civil War will provide valuable background.

If dated from the beginning of George Fox's public ministry in 1654, the Religious Society of Friends was 207 years old in 1861, the year North Carolina seceded from the Union.³ Friends had been the first organized religious body in the Carolinas, with Eastern Quarterly Meeting in the Albemarle region of North Carolina dating from 1681.⁴ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, the main governing body for North Carolina Quakers, was established by its parent, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in 1698.⁵ Rufus Jones estimated a total of 52,000 Quakers in the United States by 1750, with approximately 4,500 of these in the Carolinas.⁶ Quaker historians identify the nineteenth century as the period of decline and conflict in American Quakerism, for two reasons. First, thousands of Southern Friends migrated to free Northern territory, especially Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Ohio, where slavery was not endemic. Leonard Kenworthy estimated that at least 6,000 Friends from the South moved to the North and West between 1800 and 1861. Virginia Yearly Meeting was so depleted that it was "laid down" in 1845, and the surviving meetings under its purview were transferred to Baltimore Yearly Meeting.⁷ North Carolina Yearly Meeting's figures show a 33 percent drop in members over five years of age in the ten years between 1851 and 1861--from 3,000 down to 2,000, most of it due to migration northward. But in 1867 the number,

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2,900, had recovered almost to the 1851 level, because many Friends in the North returned after the war.⁸ The number of adult members over age eighteen also reflects the upward trend as early as 1865: In 1861, Friends counted 1,461 adult members in a report on the use of spiritous liquors. The same type of report in 1865 shows that the number had risen to 1,796⁹

Two wrenching schisms caused conflict among nineteenth-century Friends. The first was in 1827 between the followers of Long Island Friend Elias Hicks and Orthodox Friends. The second, in 1849, split two Orthodox factions--the followers of English Friend, Joseph John Gurney, and New England Quaker, John Wilbur.¹⁰ North Carolina Yearly Meeting was spared most of that internecine strife. It was one of only three yearly meetings (including Virginia and New England) that remained Orthodox during the first split. And the small Wilburite faction in the northeast corner of the state did not form its own yearly meeting until the twentieth century. Perhaps the fact that nearly all Friends in North Carolina farmed or lived in rural communities explains the general lack of rancor, since historians of Quakerism attribute most of the strife to a clash between rural and urban Quakers.¹¹ On the eve of the Civil War that unity would prove indispensable in holding the community together during its struggles with the Confederate government over the issues of war, slavery, and secession.

In 1861, North Carolina Quakers had inherited over two hundred years of firmly-held principles and practices, based on the combined authority of scripture and the Holy Spirit's continued revelation to Friends open to its leading. These men and women knew their collective history as a persecuted religious minority. They had grown up with stories about the early Quaker martyrs, and they knew that many had paid the price of torture and death for their faithfulness. They knew that George Fox, the founder of their Society, had adopted the testimony against participation in war as a result of personal revelation and that it had put him at odds with the Crown. Fox's "Peace Testimony" was common knowledge--a declaration to the King on January 21, 1660, "from the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers, against all plotters and fighters in the world." It asserted that Quakers had always sought peace for all people. It acknowledged the source of war and strife to be "the lusts of men," and claimed that Friends were immune to

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such lusts and, therefore, to the urge to fight.¹² The most well-known passage is the most eloquent: "This is our testimony to the whole world, that the spirit of Christ...is not changeable... and we certainly do know that the Spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of God nor for the kingdoms of this world."¹³ The testimony against war also had a basis in the New Testament--to Friends, the Sermon on the Mount enjoined love, even to enemies, and superseded the old law of "an eye for an eye."¹⁴

North Carolina Friends in 1861 knew that their forbears in the state had successfully upheld their testimony against war during the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War. They also knew the penalties incurred as a result of failing to comply with colonial militia laws in the seventeenth century: When Friends refused to train, they were fined. When they refused to pay the fine, they were imprisoned, or the fee was confiscated, either in cash or in kind.¹⁵ Historian Edward N. Wright reported somewhat better treatment for nineteenth-century Friends. Although still subject to militia laws, they were often individually exempted, because the authorities were familiar with their religious opposition to military duty.¹⁶ But with the coming of the Civil War, North Carolina Quakers faced a new problem--the first national (Confederate) conscription laws.

While eschewing political activity for its own sake, the yearly meeting knew from long collective experience that it must stay abreast of political affairs in order to protect the Society's right to practice its testimonies. For example, in November 1861 the yearly meeting approved a minute rejecting the wartime militia law's requirement that Friends pay a fine in order to be exempt, because they believed that the money would be used to fund the war effort.¹⁶ Throughout the war, yearly meeting efforts to get legal protection for the peace testimony peaked with each new conscription law. The body responsible for action was the Meeting for Sufferings, which conducted yearly meeting business between annual sessions. Made up of "weighty Friends" from each of the quarterly meetings, it was empowered by the Discipline of 1854 to act with yearly meeting authority to intervene on behalf of Friends suffering any type of misfortune.¹⁷ With regard to conscription, the usual pattern

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was to appoint a committee to draft a minute or memorial for approval by the whole body. That same committee was usually charged with presenting the document to the proper authorities in Richmond, most often to the Congress or the Assistant Secretary of War. [Appendix A summarizes the pertinent military laws and the Meeting for Sufferings' responses.]

The twentieth-century reader, accustomed to a morass of bureaucracy standing between the individual and government officials, will note the ease with which Friends moved in and out of executive and legislative circles in the capital. In general, however, Friends in the South had a more difficult time securing government recognition of their testimony against war than did Northern Friends, for two reasons: First, they were sometimes suspected of militant disloyalty because they opposed war, slavery, and secession. Many had supported Lincoln in 1860 and were against secession in 1861.¹⁸ Secondly, the Southern army faced a manpower shortage of two and one-half to one against the North and needed every able-bodied man it could muster.¹⁹ For these reasons hostile feelings toward conscientious objectors ran high, and Southern objectors were treated more severely than their Northern counterparts.²⁰ Three sources give some idea of the actual numbers of men exempted from the Confederate military, including two sources that provide suggestive data on Quakers. In February 1865 Superintendent of Conscripts John S. Preston reported the total number of North Carolinians exempted for all reasons from 1861 to 1865 (no breakdown by type of exemption). His report showed 289 exemptions in the eighteen to forty-five age group, thirty-one in the seventeen to eighteen year-old group, and twenty-two men exempted in the forty-five to fifty year-old category, for a total of 342.²¹ Fernando Cartland's *Southern Heroes* gave figures for Quaker response to conscription, but these must be considered suggestive, because individuals may overlap into more than one category:

Friends conscripted and maltreated--50
Friends who died from maltreatment--5
Friends accepting non-military alternative work--27
Friends escaped into hiding--23

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Friends who paid the exemption fee of \$500 and received clear exemptions--140

Friends who yielded and joined the Army--222

Cartland implies, but does not state, that his figures are from 1861 through the war's end in spring 1865. Quaker minister John Bacon Crenshaw reported to Assistant Secretary of War John A. Campbell, on September 5, 1863, in the middle of the war, that 182 members of Virginia Half-Yearly Meeting and North Carolina Yearly Meeting had been exempted on payment of the \$500 fee. He further stated that twenty-eight non-members, with family connections to Quakers, had also been exempted after paying the fee. Seven members had refused to pay and were in custody of the military authorities in various facilities.²³ Based on these figures, one can conservatively estimate that the number of Quaker exemptions was probably at least half of the total of 342 exemptions in Preston's report. No figures were available on the number of Quaker men eligible for the draft during the war, so we don't know what percentage applied for exemptions. The best way to judge overall Quaker compliance with the peace testimony is to look at the *Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Each quarterly meeting was required annually to submit written answers to the yearly meeting's standard queries, covering most aspects of Friends' behavior. The fifth query read, in part, "Do Friends bear a faithful testimony against war?" The answers for each of the war years show the overall degree of compliance with the testimony, because they came to the quarterly meetings from the monthly meetings. Most active members had helped formulate the group response in their monthly meetings. In 1861, the Quarters reported five Friends "under notice," which means that those Friends had violated the query, but no specifics were given. In 1862, only two Friends were "under notice." In 1863 there were no reported violations of this query. In 1864 one Friend hired a substitute, a technical violation, but he was not "under notice." And in 1865, Friends were clear on this query, except for "some cases" of hiring a guard to protect property, "since acknowledged to be inconsistent." These figures cannot be considered accurate either, because not all Friends were active in the query-answering process. They are, however, the best collective data available.²⁴

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Unlike the peace testimony, which North Carolina Quakers seemed to have upheld with few exceptions, the testimony against holding slaves evolved through various stages over the course of over 150 years, as Friends grappled with the obvious conflict between slaveholding and their belief that all people were equal as children of God. Most North Carolina Quakers were yeoman farmers and held few, if any, slaves. But many hired seasonal slave labor, a practice continued by a few Friends, even after North Carolina Yearly Meeting forbade it in the Discipline of 1854.²⁵ The following list summarizes the evolution of yearly meeting policy.

- 1740: NCYM advises only that “Negroes be well used.”
- 1770: Importing slaves is labelled “iniquitous,” and buying them from dealers disapproved.
- 1776: NCYM formally considered the subject of slaveholding--no consensus reached.
- 1781: The penalty for owning slaves was disownment.
- 1787: Annual efforts begin (until 1834) to convince the General Assembly to abolish slavery.
- 1788: Slaveholding formally condemned.
- 1808: NCYM agrees to make itself, as an institution, a slaveholder, because rigid state laws would not recognize free blacks. Under yearly meeting ownership, blacks would be “virtually free,” until they could be sent to the free states.
- 1818: The yearly meeting reported that “none were held as slaves.”²⁶

From that time forward, the records show Friends clear of ownership. But throughout the war years a total of twelve Friends persisted in hiring slave labor to help on their farms. All of these cases were “under notice” and if they did not desist, the offending Friends could be “disowned” by their monthly meetings.

Weeks correctly asserted that it was opposition to slavery which set Quakerism, as an institution, apart from the larger, more powerful Protestant denominations. Other groups and individuals in North Carolina also opposed slavery, but Quakers were the only group to formally prohibit its members from holding or hiring slaves. Without this direct challenge to a cornerstone of Southern society, “Quakers would have gone almost unnoticed.”²⁷ Friends

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were aware of their unique position. The yearly meeting's *Account of Sufferings* summarized the dilemma Friends faced: "Utterly opposed, not only to war itself, but to the system of slavery, which was the leading object of the contest, they had a double portion of enmity to bear."²⁸

They might have said "a triple portion of enmity," because a third stand that set Southern Friends apart was their loyalty to the Union on the question of secession. They could not support a government founded on the cornerstone of protecting the right to own slaves. As a body, the yearly meeting spoke for its members in affirming "loyalty at heart to the Government of the United States."²⁹ North Carolina Friends were not alone in opposing secession. The state was the last to secede--on May 20, 1861. Its governor throughout most of the war, Zebulon B. Vance, had opposed secession, although he, like Friends, "accepted the situation" as a *fait accompli*.³⁰ The main problem for the public image of North Carolina Friends was that most of them lived in the central part of the state, the area that spawned the violent militant Unionist gangs which terrorized pro-Confederate citizens. This area, known as the "Quaker Belt" because of the high concentration of Friends, stretched from Wilkes County in the west to Chatham County in the east, with most Quakers living in Guilford, Alamance, Randolph, and Chatham Counties.³¹ These North Carolinians, Quaker and non-Quaker alike, shared the same culture. They came from the same ethnic background--Scots-Irish, English or German settlers from New Jersey or Pennsylvania; plied the same trade--most were yeoman farmers or artisans; and they shared a common political orientation--most were former Whigs and opposed slavery, secession, and conscription, though most did not base their opposition on religious grounds.³² Auman contends that, although Quakers did not oppose the Confederate government by violent means, the fact of their presence in this hotbed of resentment against the wealthy, slaveholding planters in eastern North Carolina, reinforced opposition to the Confederate "trinity" of war, slavery, and secession.³³

Into this "sea" of fiercely-independent yeomen, the Confederate government dropped a depth-charge--the Conscription Act of April 16, 1862. This was the country's first draft law. Militia service, regulated by the states, had been voluntary in North

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Carolina until the war began in April 1861. The reaction to the new law was predictable. Willing to put up with the Confederacy, but certainly not willing to be ordered to die for it, many North Carolinians began a pattern of avoiding military service and deserting the ranks that put the state at the top of the list for wartime desertion rates. McPherson estimates a total of 23,000 North Carolina men deserted--one-fifth of all Confederate deserters and more than twice as many as in any other state.³⁴ Almost immediately after passage of the Conscription Act, groups of militant Unionist deserters and resisters sprang up, concentrated in the “Quaker belt.”³⁵ By the fall of 1863 they had organized into marauding bands of “from fifty to several thousand,”³⁶ actively engaged in what Auman defines as “politically-motivated guerilla warfare” against their pro-Confederate neighbors. They assaulted them, burned their property, and threatened them with death. They raided homesteads for food and supplies and fled to the woods, constantly moving to avoid apprehension by Governor Vance's Home Guards.³⁷ It is no wonder that when loyal North Carolinians looked to the center of their state, they saw Quakers and militant Unionists simmering together in the same noxious stew. An army chaplain, arguing with resister Tilmon Vestal about his refusal to bear arms because he espoused Friends' principles, probably spoke for many people by asserting that Friends were the “same as the old Puritans, that they were Abolitionist and that they were the cause of the war.”³⁸

Isham Cox, an influential leader of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, devoted most of his time during the war to intervening on behalf of conscripted Quakers. In his autobiography he recalled having heard military officers accuse Quakers of giving information to the enemy or encouraging desertion.³⁹ Auman has no doubt that an “underground railroad” did exist, for the purpose of hiding “loyal North Carolinians who wished to avoid the rigid conscription of the South,” and also to help Yankee prisoners escape to Union lines.⁴⁰ At least one leading North Carolina Friend, John Carter, was active in that effort. That Friends admired his efforts is evident in the memorial written after his death, in which they praised him for working “to keep young men out of the Confederate army” by hiding them or by “passing them North via the underground railroad.” Carter affirmed that he was so busy in this activity that

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“there was often a week at a time that [he] did not take off [his] clothes to go to bed.”⁴¹

In spite of the negative associations in the public mind between Quakers and militant deserters, the general opinion of Friends was positive. A letter to the editor of *The Friend* disparaged efforts to create discord between Friends “and the people at large, with regard to the performance of military duties.” The writer quoted a Georgia slaveholder with six sons in the Confederate army who “was glad to find one Society opposed to *all* wars,” and he hoped that they would hold fast to their principles. The writer closed by summarizing the real issue--not whether Friends could be exempted, but rather whether they could “be forced to violate their highest obligations.”⁴²

While possibly sympathetic to anyone unwilling to bear arms, the evidence indicates that North Carolina Friends did not engage in militant anti-Confederate activity. Friends condemned violence as a means to any end, and the yearly meeting forbade members from engaging in partisan politics, officeholding, or political writing, on penalty of disownment.⁴³ Activities such as petitioning congress or the president were not ends in themselves. They came out of the need to protect First Amendment liberties, and only specially-selected Friends could take part in them. Quakers cared very much about being accurately represented to the general public. To that end, Quaker minister John Bacon Crenshaw of Richmond began publishing a monthly journal, *The Southern Friend* in 1864. As if to underscore Friends' aversion to political activity for its own sake, he assured subscribers that he would exclude “everything of a political character.”⁴⁴

II

In the spring of 1862, brothers Himelius and Jesse Hockett were in their mid-thirties and were well-established farmers with growing families. When they were drafted under the wartime provisions of the state militia law of September 20, 1861, they were ready for battle--a battle of the spirit for which they had spent a lifetime preparing.⁴⁵ The sons of Quaker parents, they were birthright members of Centre Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina. They had not simply listened to Friends testimonies

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and the stories of courage of the early Quakers; they believed in them so strongly that they were willing to risk death rather than compromise with temporal authority.

On April 4, 1862 they reported, as required, to their enrolling officer and told him that they were Quakers and could not fight. Since cases of war, invasion, and insurrection made exemptions under the militia law null and void, the officer ignored their protest and sent them to Raleigh as conscripts. From there they were assigned to Captain Kirkman's company in Weldon, North Carolina (no regiment named).⁴⁶ Himelius recalled that Captain Kirkman was sympathetic to them, and he did not require them to take up arms. But several days later an unnamed colonel gave them three choices: They could take guns and be soldiers; do work in camp; or be shot for refusing to obey orders. He told them, “You are in the war and must fight out of it. This is no time for religious scruples.”⁴⁷ Thinking it their “Christian privilege to suffer and any penalty for their “religious scruples,” Himelius calmly answered that they must obey God, who could destroy both soul and body, rather than man, who had control only over the body.⁴⁸ The colonel's response was not recorded, but the death threat was never carried out. Several days later the brothers were released when the quota of volunteers for their township was filled.⁴⁹ They returned home to their wives and children.

Twelve days after their conscription the Congress in Richmond passed the first Confederate Conscription Act, April 16, 1862. By April of 1863 that act had been amended to include an exemption for four denominations opposed to bearing arms for religious reasons. Friends were included, and the law provided a binding exemption on proof of membership and either payment of a \$500 exemption fee or hiring a substitute.⁵⁰ When ordered to a second enrollment, the Hocketts knew that they could not conscientiously take advantage of any of the avenues for exemption, and they failed to report. On April 4, 1863, exactly one year to the day after they were first drafted, they were arrested and taken from work in the fields for failing to obey the law.⁵¹ This time they were assigned to Captain Bunting's horse artillery battery near Kinston, North Carolina. Upon arrival, they refused to wear military clothing or to drill. Himelius explained the Gospel justification for their pacifism: “Christ taught to resist not evil, but to overcome evil with

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good.”⁵² During their four and a half months at the camp in Kinston they received the harshest treatment at the hands of General Robert Ransom.⁵³ Totally unsympathetic with their views, he came the closest of any officer to killing them, and it was not for lack of trying that he failed. He tried numerous times to force them to do duty or camp work, and they always refused. On at least two of those occasions, he ordered their torture. In May 1863 both men were ordered to "pack logs"--a method of torture in which a heavy beam is tied to the shoulders, and the prisoner must carry it, under guard, for several hours. In August both brothers were pierced with bayonets, and Himelius was hung by his thumbs for two hours.⁵⁴ It was clear to Himelius that General Ransom meant to keep them there and mistreat them until the war ended, if they survived. He wrote to his father, William Hockett, on May 25, 1863, that their only choice now was "to rely on the mercy and power of God."⁵⁵

But they did not stay at Kinston. Himelius left in June for Fort Caswell, where he served only one week of a court-martial sentence and was transferred to military headquarters at Wilmington. Jesse stayed at Kinston until August, when he joined Himelius at Wilmington. From there the brothers were transferred to a prison in Goldsboro from which they were released in November 1863. In each place the same pattern of events transpired: After refusing orders either to drill or to perform some camp duty, they were threatened, often pleaded with, and sometimes punished with threats of death. Once, General (no first name given) Daniel threatened to use them to stop bullets at the front, but he was killed in action before the order could be carried out.⁵⁶

The most extreme case of cruelty happened at Kinston, and it illustrates in microcosm the range of reactions to their testimony. The incident showed General Ransom at his sadistic worst and the brothers at their faithful best. It also showed the strong support of the men in camp. Two weeks after they arrived, the General called them into his office. Himelius recalled sensing that "his decision was already made."⁵⁷ He gave their conscientious scruples no weight and presented them with three alternatives: They could go on guard duty, carrying arms; they could pay the exemption fee and be released; or they could be assigned to alternative government duty in the salt works. But there was a "catch," which turned the choice into a matter of life and death--they were to be locked up and denied

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food and water until they yielded to one of the general's options or died. General Ransom cared little which came first.⁵⁸

As in nearly every situation they faced while in custody, their forthrightness, patience, and kindness to their persecutors did not fail to soften most hearts. In this case, as they were being locked up they “fully surrendered to Providence” and informed the captain of the guard that they had packets of food and drink prepared by their wives. Surprised by their honesty, the captain was about to let them keep the provisions, but his men were watching, so he had to confiscate them. But his attitude softened, and he advised them to yield a little, because General Ransom was hard and would see them dead.⁵⁹ During the ensuing four and a half days a procession of officers and chaplains came to try to convince them of their error in not paying the fee. Walter Dunn, the Provost Marshal asked them why they couldn't pay the tax as their Quaker neighbor Wenlock Reynolds had done just two days previously. He advised them that it was “better to compromise their little prejudices and opinions” at such times. Himelius argued that they “had no right to compromise with wrong.” They must obey God. Dunn asked if they had had anything to eat or drink since being locked up. They could honestly say that they had not, because they had given their provisions to the captain of the guard, and they had refrained even from drinking from a cup that had filled with rainwater during the night. The provost marshal was deeply moved, not only by their testimony, but by their scrupulous obedience to orders they knew were designed to kill them. That night Colonel Eaton* came to end their enforced fast with one-half pint of sugar water. He was very tender toward them, and when they thanked him for the spirit in which he gave the water, he replied that he “hoped ever to live in the spirit of doing to others as he would be done by.”⁶⁰

On the following day, April 15, 1863, they received limited rations and were released. But before they left their cell, they had a visitor who explained the circumstances of their sudden reprieve. Himelius identified him only as “Thorne,” an elderly Baptist preacher who was in sympathy with their refusal to bear arms. He urged them to stay faithful and told them that he had intervened

*Eaton's given name was not in sources consulted.

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when he learned of General Ransom's cruel sentence. He had written to Governor Zebulon B. Vance, who was so moved by the letter that he asked the messenger to wait for a reply. By executive order, he overturned Ransom's sentence.⁶¹ Himelius later learned that the officers and men had opposed the harsh treatment and that a crowd of people had gathered in Kinston to come and forcibly release them. Himelius attributed the outpouring of sympathy and concern to the workings of the Divine spirit: "It pleased the Lord to touch the hearts of the people."⁶² In June 1863, Himelius summarized the effect their witness had had on many of the men around them. "Amid all, the Lord favored us to possess our souls in patience, and our feeling of kindness caused everyone to wonder, and we believe was the means of convincing many, both soldiers and citizens."⁶³

In sharp contrast to General Ransom, Colonel Jones*, the commander at Fort Caswell, showed the most sympathy of any officer. Himelius arrived there on August 9, 1863 after a court-martial on June 11, 1863 had found him guilty of refusing to obey orders and had sentenced him to hard labor there, under ball and chain.⁶⁴ The Colonel, whom Himelius described as "admirably different" from other officers, surprised him by questioning him about the reasons for his testimonies. Colonel Jones wanted to know why he could not furnish a substitute or do other government work, rather than bear arms.⁶⁵ Himelius answered the question with a question asking the colonel who he thought would ultimately be responsible if he (Himelius) hired someone to kill the colonel. He answered that "of course" Himelius would be responsible. The question answered itself, and Himelius rested his case. Hiring someone to take a life was, to him, the same thing as doing it himself. With regard to alternate work, Himelius' logic again hit its mark. Any sort of government work was the same as being a soldier, because it would free someone else to do military duty. "We, knowing these results," he said, "do not feel free to do a soldier's work."⁶⁶ After these conversations the colonel was convinced of Himelius' sincerity and, although duty-bound to obey orders, he seems to have "fudged" quite a bit in their execution. The ball and chain was attached to Himelius' ankle, but he never

*Colonel Jones' given name was not mentioned in sources consulted.

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mentioned having to do hard labor. Instead, he gave the impression of his stay at Fort Caswell as a kind of mini-vacation, in which he spent the time “writing letters for the soldiers and conversing about religion with many inquirers.”⁶⁷ After only a week at the fort, a sergeant came to his room to tell him to get ready to leave the next day, because “the colonel had decided” to send him to military headquarters at Wilmington.⁶⁸ How Colonel Jones managed to overturn or circumvent the order of a court-martial remains a mystery.

While the Hockett brothers were staying true to their convictions in captivity, many people on the outside were trying to effect their release. Such men included members of their local community such as Quaker Jonathan Harris and, most influential of all, Richmond Quaker minister John Bacon Crenshaw. While there are big gaps in the primary record--only three letters on the subject survive--a clear picture emerges of an offer, in the fall of 1863, by "some person" to pay the exemption fee without consulting the brothers. By that time the North Carolina Yearly Meeting had changed its policy, after being reassured that the money from the fees would go into the common treasury, and it bowed to the dictates of each Friend's conscience in the matter.⁶⁹ In fact, John Campbell, the Assistant Secretary of War, had told John Crenshaw in private on September 4, 1863 that paying the fee was the only chance for exemption of Friends, and that in cases where the party refused to pay, it should be done by family or Friends without consultation with the individuals involved.⁷⁰ Crenshaw must have taken Campbell seriously, because he apparently suggested such a course to William Hockett, Himelius' and Jesse's father. We know that, because William Hockett responded to the suggestion on October 23, 1863. The elder Hockett reported having spoken to Rachel and Rebecca Hockett (the wives) “as to some person, without consulting the boys, going forward out of good will to them and paying the \$500, thereby getting a release for them, on the responsibility of such individual.” He told Crenshaw that Rachel and Rebecca Hockett did not encourage such action, but they would not obstruct its being done. Speaking for himself, he said that he could not pay the fee against his sons' wishes, and he thanked Crenshaw for his efforts on behalf of his “suffering children.”⁷¹

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Twenty-one days later, on November 13, 1863, Jonathan Harris wrote to tell Crenshaw that he had received the discharge and exemption papers for the Hockett brothers that Crenshaw had sent him, and he had forwarded them to William Hockett, their father. The identity of the benefactor was no secret to Harris--Crenshaw, himself, had paid the \$1,000 for the two exemptions. Harris revealed that fact in his explanation of how Friends planned to repay the money. "As to the money thou paid," he said "Friends would repay it by "individual subscription," but he hoped that the Hocketts would eventually pay it themselves.⁷² Harris' letter is very valuable, because it is the only source that named the donor and that revealed Friends' wishes that the money be repaid. We don't know whether or not Crenshaw expected repayment.

Harris is also the only source for the very incomplete ending to this story. Nine months later, in August 1864, the Hockett brothers had paid nothing back to Crenshaw, a fact that clearly annoyed Harris. In his letter, he assured Crenshaw that if it was not repaid before the next Meeting for Sufferings, he would bring the matter up before that body, and he would personally pay part of the debt. He was hoping that Himelius would pay his \$500, but he was less optimistic about Jesse, reporting that "Jesse did not talk like paying his." He and other North Carolina Friends were clearly embarrassed that the money had not been repaid "long since."⁷³ But the story ends there. The Meeting for Sufferings records show no mention of the matter having ever been raised. It is most likely that neither man repaid Crenshaw. Everything we know about the Hocketts' resolve points to their consistent refusal to buy their way out of military duty. If they had been willing to do so, they would probably have done it much sooner and avoided much of the suffering they endured. Another clue to the fact that they probably never even acknowledged that they had a debt to Crenshaw was Himelius' own account of their release. He says only that "On the tenth of Eleventh Month 1863, we were discharged by the authorities...thankful for the protection and favors we had received from the Father of all sure mercies."⁷⁴ He said nothing about being thankful to Crenshaw. His silence seems to indicate that, as always, he acknowledged only the Divine source in the matter.

Before leaving the Hockett brothers' case, some cautious speculation is necessary. The reader has probably noticed Jesse

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Hockett's complete silence in the account. None of the material available contains anything he wrote. He comes to life solely through the words of his brother, Himelius. And while he never directly quoted Jesse, it is clear that he was very much present, that Himelius counted on his judgement, and that they did not like being separated, even for two months. Cartland treated them as a single case, and this study follows his lead, because they were a team. They were conscripted together, endured their trials together, found strength together, and it was partly because they were brothers that their witness had such a strong moral impact. The simplest explanation, and the most likely one, is that Jesse could not read or write. That would not have been unusual in the Civil War South, where the majority of whites and nearly all of the blacks, were illiterate. There is no proof of this, one way or the other, but the fact that neither Himelius nor Cartland explained Jesse's silence indicates that it might have been nothing unusual, and therefore not worth mention.

Tilmon Ross Vestal⁷⁵ turned eighteen years old on August 5, 1862. He and his family had lived in Maury County, Tennessee, near Columbia, since 1859, after moving from Yadkin County, North Carolina, where Tilmon spent his first fifteen years. He had hoped in vain that the war would be over before he became eligible for military service. The impending draft, announced soon after his birthday, made his family and neighbors very anxious on his behalf, because they knew he would not bear arms. He had been raised with Quaker values passed on by his mother, Rhoda Mendenhall Vestal, who was a member of the well-known Mendenhall family of Guilford County, North Carolina.⁷⁶ While not formally a member himself, he had, like the Hockett brothers, so thoroughly internalized those values that he would be willing to risk death rather than bear arms or do any type of military work. When anxious friends informed him that he could purchase an exemption, he responded that he “did not deem it much better to pay out than go in the army.” He refused to report for the first call-up, and “no notice was taken” of his noncompliance. Several months later he saw another enrollment notice in the newspaper, but he did not report that time, either. Like the Hocketts, he continued working at his trade “until the very hour” that he was arrested for failing to report for enrollment, at four o'clock on February 2, 1863.⁷⁷ He was sent to the courthouse at Columbia, Tennessee, where he refused to be

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sworn into the army and was locked in the county prison overnight. The next day his father, Amos Vestal, who had been to see General Gideon Pillow, advised his son to allow himself to be assigned to a regiment so that his case could be heard by higher authorities, thereby making his release more likely. Tilmon took that advice and was assigned to the Fourth Tennessee Regiment of Colonel Braxton Bragg's army, under the regimental command of a Colonel Murray*. He arrived at regimental headquarters on March 10, 1863. An interaction there with a Colonel Fields* of the First Tennessee Regiment illustrates his direct manner and his flair for dramatic effects. He recalled the incident: "I told him that I had not come there to join a regiment and perform service, but to be executed for refusing to do so." This shocked the colonel very much, and he asked, 'Why, what have you done?' Tilmon replied, 'Nothing.'" After quizzing him and reading the affidavit of his testimony, he let the boy proceed to the provost marshal's office to try to get a passport home. The provost marshal refused and sent him to General Leonidas K. Polk's headquarters, but the general was not in. Polk's adjutant asked whether or not he would fight to defend his own life. Tilmon answered faithfully; "I told him that I would not, that I would act as nearly like our Savior as I knew." The adjutant declared him exempt and issued him the passport to go home. ⁷⁸

He remained at home until the next military enrollment in June 1863. He and his Aunt Minerva Mendenhall had intended to emigrate to Minnesota, but they were not able to leave before the enrollment began. Tilmon was not afraid to stay, because he thought he had a clear exemption from General Polk. But the enrolling officer ordered him to report anyway, threatening to punish him as a deserter if he did not do so. This time Tilmon did not give in to the temptation to stay at home on enrollment day. His father and his neighbors all urged him to pay the exemption fee. Even the enrolling officer tried to convince him, but, as he reported, "I listened to the advice of all of them, but I took my own."⁷⁹

By coincidence, he was reassigned to the Fourth Tennessee and was ordered to report to Bragg's army. This proved to be no

*The given names of Colonels Murray and Fields were not given in any sources consulted.

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easy task, because the army had moved twice, from Columbia to Tullahoma, and from there to Chattanooga. Vestal arrived at each of the first two locations just after the army had left. He obediently followed them to Chattanooga, because it never occurred to him to do otherwise. The entire journey covered 283 miles and took a little over two weeks. Vestal covered most of the distance on foot and by muleback.⁸⁰ On his first evening at regimental headquarters in Chattanooga, General Polk sent for him after learning that he was from North Carolina. The general apparently knew some of his family. Vestal showed him the exemption papers his own adjutant had written, fully expecting him to confirm them and release him. But the general's response was anything but confirming. He told Tilmon, “Yes, my adjutant did this, but he had no right to release you, for you are not exempt.” Then he erased the exemption order and tore up the passport, saying “This amounts to nothing.”⁸¹ He sent Vestal on to see General Braxton Bragg, but the general was not in. His chief of staff informed Tilmon that no one could release him if the Superintendent of Conscripts for Tennessee had considered him fit for duty, and he ordered him back to his regiment. Tilmon dutifully returned, knowing that a showdown with Colonel Murray was inevitable. When Vestal refused the colonel's order to take up arms, he expected to be shot immediately. He was not shot, but the colonel revoked his rations, saying that anyone who would not fight could not eat at camp. While this may sound like a repeat of General Ransom's starvation order, it was not. The colonel allowed Tilmon to come and go as he pleased, and Tilmon relied on the kindness of local farmers for his provisions. He welcomed the respite from camp life, because the men did not receive him well there, and their constant swearing bothered him considerably. After an absence of about two weeks, he returned to camp and found the colonel “in a good mood”—so good, in fact, that he told the boy to go to brigade headquarters to see if Brigadier General George E. Maney could help him. Colonel Murray recognized the fact that Vestal would “never be of any account in the army.”⁸²

Brigadier General Maney proved to be Tilmon Vestal's closest friend in military circles and one of his staunchest supporters. Impressed with the boy's faithful adherence to his principles and his absolute trustworthiness in following and staying with his regiment, the general tried every possible method to get him

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released. Meanwhile, he opened his headquarters and his dining table to Vestal, because the boy had nowhere to sleep, and he was not drawing rations.⁸³ Maney's respect and affection for the young man showed especially clearly in an article he wrote after the war: "Vestal's Grit: The Quaker Who Would Not Fight in the Late War." It appeared in 1876 in the Nashville, Tennessee *Banner* and in the Elgin, Illinois *Informer*. In that article he summarized his feelings about the young man: "It was the sublimest exhibition of moral courage I had ever witnessed, and it was all the more remarkable from being found in a boy of only eighteen, away from his family and friends."⁸⁴ The General was so impressed with Friends' values that he once told Tilmon "he wished the whole world were Quakers," deliberately qualifying his remark to exclude Northern Friends!⁸⁵

By late July 1863 General Maney's efforts to release Vestal had proved fruitless. Tilmon had refused the chance to work in a hospital and had refused to take an oath to support the Confederacy by "services in the army." His refusal to do the latter prevented Maney from assigning him to a company that he knew would protect the boy for the duration of the war.⁸⁶ To make matters worse, Generals Polk, Mokel, and Bragg had all rejected Maney's request for Vestal's discharge. The general even arranged a meeting between Tilmon and former Tennessee Governor Henry S. Foote, who was campaigning among the Tennessee soldiers for re-election to the Confederate Congress. He thought that perhaps a man of the Governor's stature could reason with Vestal. But after losing a battle of wits with the young man, the Governor gave up.⁸⁷ Although resolute, Tilmon was sensitive to the efforts on his behalf, and he was aware of the effect his recalcitrance was having on the officers. He recorded, with humor, the mood among the brass: "I was becoming so troublesome that the patience of all the officers was completely worn out. General Manny [sic], in a jesting manner, remarked, 'I think we had better make a present of this boy to President Davis.'"⁸⁸ The general's last hope was an appeal to Secretary of War James A. Seddon. While waiting for word from him, Maney sent Vestal on a trip to visit Lookout Mountain, where he enjoyed himself "exceedingly."⁸⁹ When he returned, the General told him that he must go to the nearest conscript camp near Knoxville to await the Secretary of War's answer. After Vestal refused both military duty and the offer of work at his potter's trade

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in a government pottery, the exasperated officers at Knoxville assigned him to the Fourteenth Tennessee Regiment of General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, headquartered at Orange County Courthouse, Virginia.⁹⁰

Tilmon Vestal spent just over three months in the camp at Orange County Courthouse, where he experienced both the cruelest treatment by an officer (Captain Everett) and the kindest sympathies of the men themselves. Captain Everett, the Fourteenth Tennessee was a “cool and deliberate” man, and Tilmon correctly assumed that he would try to force the young man to drill or perform camp work.⁹¹ A battle of wills ensued, and the showdown came on August 8, 1863 only three days after Tilmon arrived. The captain sent a sergeant and three privates to force him to clean up the camp. After he refused to take a shovel and remove a dirt pile, the men threatened him with bayonetting. His response was in the best tradition of the old Quaker martyrs: “I looked one of them full in the face and asked him if he expected me to endanger my soul's salvation.” At this, they pierced his thighs with their bayonets, and one of them struck him on the back of the head with his rifle butt. The men got increasingly angry as they were unable to force him to work, but Vestal refused either to obey them or to resist their assault. They continued to pierce him all over until the officer of the day stopped them. To further humiliate him, Captain Everett ordered him to be set on a trash pile, with the odious shovel across his knees, and to be kept there “until subdued.” In an effort to remain “as cheerful as possible” with eighteen bayonet wounds in his body, one of which was one inch deep, he passed two hours on the trash heap, conversing with the guards “about simple matters, as if nothing had been going wrong.” After he “turned sick from his wounds” the camp doctor removed him to a tent for treatment. By that time, word of the bayonetting had spread among the soldiers, and they crowded around the tent. Later on an order was issued to repeat the bayonetting that evening. Word of the order “aroused a fury in the Fourteenth Tennessee.” The men threatened to “whip” commanding General Walker “and his whole brigade” if they dared to carry out the order. Not willing to risk a riot, General Walker sent his adjutant down to destroy the order. Tilmon meanwhile was “so sore” that he “could hardly turn over.”⁹²

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Following his mistreatment, there was an apparent shake-up in command, and Captain Winfield replaced Captain Everett. In contrast to Everett, Tilmon described him as "a very kind man" who did not want him to do anything contrary to his conscience.⁹³ At this time Tilmon was "very unwell" with a lung ailment that prevented him from speaking for very long at a time. Although he never mentioned a connection between that ailment and the bayonetting, one wonders whether the two were related. He improved after a few weeks, but the problem never completely went away.⁹⁴

Later that month he learned that a decision in his case had been made at the highest levels: "Either General Lee or the Secretary of War thought best for me to go through a court-martial." ⁹⁵ Charged with "conduct prejudicial to military discipline and refusing to do duty as a soldier," Tilmon was court-martialed at Brandy Station, Virginia on November 6, 1863, during a month of several sudden troop movements which culminated two days after the trial, in a move during the wee hours of the morning to flee advancing Federal forces.⁹⁶ On or about November 17, 1863 Vestal was found guilty and was sentenced to Castle Thunder prison in Richmond for the duration of the war. He was not alarmed by the sentence, and an officer told him that he had "come off lighter than expected." On November 19, 1863 he left, under guard, for Richmond, arriving at Castle Thunder on November 20, 1863.⁹⁷

As in the case of the Hocketts, Tilmon's family and friends were working diligently to get him released. It was easier to release the Hockett brothers, because they were members of the Society of Friends, and they could prove it. Vestal, by his own admission, had never become a member, and he could not be considered a birthright Friend, because only one of his parents was a Quaker. Those who knew him had no doubt of the sincerity of his Quaker convictions: The men and officers called him a "Quaker," but because he held no formal membership, releasing him was difficult at best. The amendment to the conscription act of October 11, 1862 had been very explicit: Quakers could be exempt if, first and foremost, they could produce a signed and notarized affidavit attesting to their membership.⁹⁸ The Assistant Secretary of War had generally been lenient to men with Quaker connections who were willing to pay the fine, but there was, as yet, no order to that effect.⁹⁹

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In both Vestal's case and that of the Hocketts, Quaker minister John Bacon Crenshaw was the man most responsible for securing their release. By 1863 he was occupied nearly full time in pleading the cases of conscientious objectors to the War Department in Richmond. Although we do not know how Tilmon heard of John Crenshaw or who, if anyone, suggested that he write to the Richmond Friend, we do know that his Mendenhall relatives knew of Crenshaw's work, and his Aunt Delphina had asked Crenshaw's help for earlier Quaker conscripts. Later, his Aunt Judith began a correspondence with Crenshaw on his behalf. Tilmon was, however, the first in his family to contact Crenshaw about his case. He did so in a letter of introduction on August 21, 1863, three days after the bayonetting incident. In that letter he gave a brief autobiographical sketch, recounted the events of the second conscription, stated his reasons for refusing military duty, and listed his reasons for not paying the exemption fee. He also told Crenshaw about the bayonetting. Upon receipt of Vestal's letter, September 4, 1863, Crenshaw responded immediately. He addressed a memorial to Assistant Secretary of War John A. Campbell, with whom he was on very familiar terms. Crenshaw was able to write to Tilmon the next day (September 5, 1863) and tell him that Campbell had signed and forwarded the memorial to Vestal's commanding officers. Someone at regimental headquarters filed an application for discharge for Tilmon Vestal on September 8, 1863, only three days after Crenshaw's memorial left Campbell's desk. Although Vestal knew about the application, he did not know what prompted it. It is not unlikely that Crenshaw's appeal, carrying John Campbell's signature, provided the necessary spur.¹⁰⁰

The months from September 1863 to Tilmon's release in April 1864 fall into two phases of effort by John B. Crenshaw. During the first phase, from the beginning of their correspondence to the end of November, Crenshaw engaged in a concerted, and ultimately successful, attempt to persuade Tilmon to pay the exemption fee. In his first letter to Tilmon, September 5, 1863, he revealed a private conversation with Secretary Campbell, in which the latter “clearly intimated that he did not see any way of release except by payment of the tax.” That first letter was very important, because in it Crenshaw not only explained Campbell's position, but he answered, point by point, every one of Vestal's objections to

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paying the tax. He assured Tilmon that he had the word of Colonel Shields, Commandant of Conscripts for Virginia, that none of the money from the tax went directly to fund the war, but rather went into the common treasury. And he reported the North Carolina Yearly Meeting's recent policy change in which they "decided to leave it to the conscientious convictions of the individual as to the payment of the tax." He quoted Matthew 17:24-27 as justification for payment (the "Render unto Caesar" passage) and he argued for "surrendering all earthly goods rather than take up the weapons of carnal warfare." He explained his own views on the matter, saying that "under all circumstances" Friends may pay the tax without violating Quaker principles. The postscript was very important, because it offered a legal basis for exempting conscientious non-Quakers upon payment of the fee. In it Crenshaw had hand-copied an order from Campbell, dated September 4, 1863, the same day as Crenshaw's memorial on Vestal's behalf. In the order Campbell stressed the spirit of the exemption law over its letter. He referred to the "already-established precedent" of discharging men who had "sturdily declined" to perform all field duties. He went on to stipulate that in cases where "the faith is genuine, although the technical requirements of the act of exemption be not fulfilled," the exemption should be allowed on payment of the tax.¹⁰¹ This order clearly applied to Tilmon Vestal, and it may have been written with him in mind, coming as it did on the day Crenshaw interceded for him.

After Vestal arrived at Castle Thunder in Richmond, Virginia on November 20, 1863 Crenshaw began almost daily visits, and within a week, November 28, 1863, Vestal changed his mind and agreed to pay the exemption fee. Crenshaw did not badger him. He simply told Tilmon of his Uncle Cyrus' and Aunt Judith's desire to pay the tax for him, even if it went against his wishes. After several conversations on the subject Crenshaw gently pointed out weaknesses in the boy's logic. Tilmon recounted the conversation which led to the change. "He said he thought it was a mistake in me not to pay. I did not oppose him, but rather yielding, remarked that I knew of nothing in Scripture that pointedly opposed such a thing." Crenshaw saw his opening and reminded the young man that "we should have Scripture reasons for our conscientious convictions." After returning to his room, Tilmon considered the matter more seriously. Crenshaw's age and experience had convinced him to

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yield, but the next day he doubted his motives. He feared that Crenshaw's influence had combined with his desire for release to convince him prematurely. He argued with himself for a week, during which time Crenshaw was “particularly obliging.” He visited regularly, got Tilmon's pending transfer to Salisbury prison delayed and continued to plead his case with the War Department. (Tilmon suspected that their delay in coming to a decision presaged an unfavorable outcome.) On November 28, 1863, eight days after arriving in Richmond, Tilmon told Crenshaw that he would not be sacrificing his conscience by paying the tax. He had finally yielded. But, as he feared, it was too late. On December 10, 1863 Crenshaw came to see him, “with tears in his eyes,” to report that Campbell could not free him. No reason was given.¹⁰² The door to release seemed closed, and on February 2, 1864 Tilmon was transferred, along with more than one hundred other prisoners, to the Confederate prison at Salisbury, North Carolina.

Phase two of Crenshaw's efforts began with the transfer to Salisbury and culminated in Tilmon's release two months later. Now that he was in a North Carolina prison and was closer to family, his Aunt Judith Mendenhall visited and wrote to him often, trying to make him as comfortable as possible. She also began regular correspondence with John Crenshaw on her nephew's behalf.¹⁰³ On February 17, 1864 the conscription law was amended for the third time. The new law caused a flurry of concern among Quakers, because it extended the eligible age limits to between seventeen and fifty, and it repealed blanket exemptions for the peace sects. All appeals for exemption would have to be approved directly by President Davis and were to be granted on an individual basis by Secretary Campbell.¹⁰⁴ By this time Campbell showed almost as much concern for Vestal as did Crenshaw and Aunt Judith Mendenhall, and he asked Crenshaw if the boy would accept a government detail as a potter. Crenshaw declined to answer without first consulting Tilmon and his family.¹⁰⁵ Campbell gave him a few days to investigate the possibility, but the effort seemed to be a dead-end. Neither Judith Mendenhall nor Tilmon himself could agree to government work. Tilmon's response on March 2, 1864 to Crenshaw's offer spoke his feelings with eloquent simplicity. He was shocked to the point of not knowing how to respond. He told his chief advocate, in a firm tone that betrayed a touch of exasperation, that if he had been willing to do government work he

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would have done it much sooner and “missed all this imprisonment.” His anguish at being offered the “carrot” of release after five months in prison was clear. “I do not know what to do! I would like to work at the potter’s business, and if it, as a trade, would exempt me I would willingly do so, but to go at it as a detailed hand working for the government is more than I will promise to do without further investigation and consideration.”¹⁰⁶ In his letter to Aunt Judith on the same day, Tilmon’s longing for release was balanced by his desire to be faithful. “I would like very much to get out of prison, but if the Lord ever required anything of me, to shew [sic] publicly that I am truly, religiously, and conscientiously opposed to war is certainly one.”¹⁰⁷ With this response the chance for release once again seemed to vanish. But Tilmon could not have known that his letter of March 2, 1863 was just what Crenshaw had been waiting for. He was afraid that the boy was going to give in and accept the offer of a detail, after all of his “accumulated trials.” He was “much gratified” to have his letter declining the offer “in so simple, yet so noble a manner.”¹⁰⁸

The actual circumstances of the release brought together Vestal’s steadfastness, Crenshaw’s dedication, and Campbell’s compassion. Crenshaw knew that Tilmon’s letter would explain his refusal of a detail better than anything he could say. He took it to Campbell, and in a letter to Judith Mendenhall on March 16, 1864 he told her what happened next. “He read it attentively, turned to me and enquired if there was a pottery in the City of Richmond and if I could get him a situation there. I said I thought I could....went out and returned with the necessary arrangements completed.”¹⁰⁹ Tilmon was very pleased with the offer, since it did not obligate him to government work, and he accepted a two-year commitment to work with Parr and Sons, a well-established Richmond pottery which did not take government contracts. He formally accepted the arrangement in a letter to Crenshaw dated March 26, 1864. Tilmon Ross Vestal was released by order of Brigadier General John H. Winder on April 4, 1864, fourteen months after his arrest. He received a “clean discharge” and an exemption from further military service.¹¹⁰ Crenshaw rejoiced at the successful completion of this case and praised the power of God to “open a way where there seemed no way.”¹¹¹

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Cartland's account ends with Vestal's release, because he did not have access to the memoirs. In part two of that document Vestal outlined his activities between the time of his release and the spring of 1865, when he escaped to Union lines and made his way to Philadelphia. His first activity on reaching Richmond after release was to visit his benefactor, John Bacon Crenshaw. There he found “the most affectionate family” he had ever visited.¹¹² A summary of the main events before the end of the war will suffice to close the case. Between June and October 1864 Parr had to close his pottery because of increased military pressure on Richmond in the wake of General Ulysses S. Grant's siege of Petersburg, which began on June 14. During those months he released Vestal to go to New Garden Boarding School (now Guilford College). He had looked forward to going for many months, and he did not want to return to Richmond when Parr sent for him. His Aunt Delphina Mendenhall began to petition Crenshaw to get Parr to allow him to stay and get a job in a local pottery. Crockery was in such short supply that cheese and milk production had to be curtailed.¹¹³ He had an offer to work for potter Enoch Craven in Randolph County, but the sources are silent about the resolution of this phase of the saga. Tilmon's memoirs begin again with February 1865, the month in which he left to cross Union lines. He had been wanting to do so for quite some time: “Many years previously I had concluded to live in the North.” When militiamen began seizing students from New Garden Boarding School as conscripts, he decided that, with his previous record, there could be trouble. The closest northern garrison was at Fort Anderson near New Bern, North Carolina, and at eight o'clock on the morning of February 4, 1865 he set out on foot, carrying a character reference from his Uncle Nereus Mendenhall (the principal), his discharge and exemption papers, and a little cash (a mixture of Confederate money, greenbacks and specie, totalling about \$15.00) With help from Friends Lazarus Pearson and Needham Perkins at Goldsboro, a black guide he met in the woods, and several children, he reached Fort Anderson thirty days later on Sunday, March 4, 1865. He remarked that it was the day of President Lincoln's second inauguration, and he gave the following account of the journey--distance walked, 132 miles; railroad miles travelled, 115; twenty miles “by private conveyance owing to the kindness of Friends,” for a total of 267 miles.¹¹⁴ He arrived in Philadelphia on March 11, 1865, and six days later, on March 17, 1865, signed a

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contract to work on Friend Samuel Allison's farm for \$15.00 a month, including room and board.¹¹⁵ In 1895 when Cartland wrote his account Vestal was living in Fall River, Massachusetts. He died in Pocatello, Idaho in 1928 at the age of 84.¹¹⁶

III

Many similarities are evident in the Vestal and Hockett cases, including conditions in custody, reaction of officers and soldiers, the steadfast commitment of all three men, and their eventual release as a result of efforts by John Crenshaw. But it is the difference between them that is most interesting. In addition to minor differences, such as the fact that Vestal was not formally a Quaker and that he lived in the North after the war, the most significant difference is that Tilmon Vestal changed his mind and agreed to pay the exemption fee, even though it was too late to release him by that method. Why did Vestal reverse his decision, and the Hocketts did not? While we can never know what would have happened if the Hocketts had been imprisoned at Richmond, one thing is clear: John Crenshaw was able to visit Vestal in person. The reader will recall that it took only one week of almost daily contact with Crenshaw for Vestal to yield. It is interesting to note that, in the documents available, Himelius Hockett never cited scriptural reasons for not paying the exemption fee. It seemed more of a First Amendment issue to him. He told General Ransom's provost marshal that it was "a matter of principle, in which our religious liberty was interfered with."¹¹⁷ One wonders whether Crenshaw would have challenged Himelius to have scriptural foundations for his convictions. Regardless, he was not able to visit the Hocketts, and at Richmond Vestal had the benefit of his presence. It is important to remember that it was Vestal who first contacted Crenshaw and opened himself to his guidance. The Hocketts apparently never corresponded with him, and they did not ask his advice.

Vestal's willingness to yield a point for which he had no scriptural basis was consistent with the nineteenth-century Quaker tradition of trying to base one's actions on a combination of Biblical authority and the leadings of the Holy Spirit. By implication, one can argue that the Hocketts' lack of scriptural justification for their refusal to pay the fee was inconsistent with Quaker practice at the time. But at bottom, it was not. The authority which Friends in all

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eras have honored above all others has been the voice of the Holy Spirit speaking to the individual. If that voice persisted and was judged to be not contrary to scripture, then he or she must listen to it, regardless of where it led or what earthly authority it challenged, even if that meant, as in the Hocketts' case, breaking the rule of the Quaker community about prompt payment of debts. They felt they owed Crenshaw nothing, because they had asked him for nothing. In listening to their inward leadings and following them faithfully all three men were consistent with Quaker practice, even though they arrived at different conclusions.

Perhaps the clearest point which emerges from the accounts is that, without help from family and Friends, Vestal and the Hocketts would most likely have spent the rest of the war in Confederate custody, and they might not have survived. Respected Friend, Jonathan Harris took the initiative to notify Crenshaw of the Hocketts' plight. In Vestal's case, his Mendenhall aunts and uncles, especially Aunt Judith, played key intercessory roles. But the towering figure in both cases was John Crenshaw. Who was this man who so powerfully affected the lives of nearly everyone he met, from Private Tilmon Vestal to Assist Secretary of War John Campbell? He was a birthright Friend, born May 2, 1820 to Deborah Darby Crew and Nathaniel Chapman Crenshaw at Rocounce, the family farm in Henrico County, Virginia.¹¹⁸ In April 1861, when Virginia seceded from the Union, he was approaching his forty-first birthday. By that time, he was one of the most revered Friends in the South, a regular visitor to North Carolina Yearly Meeting since 1856, an honored and trusted minister, an advocate for the rights of blacks and passionately opposed to slavery. He was well-known to the Confederate authorities for his strong faith, direct speech, and compassionate views.¹¹⁹ Influential Friend, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs expressed his importance to Friends in words which almost canonized him: “One name should be forever held in reverence by our congregations as they succeed one another, and this is the name of John Bacon Crenshaw.”¹²⁰ She also described the character trait which made him a most effective advocate: “He was not sectarian or rigid, but so sure of the truth that he did not need to trample on the feelings of others.”¹²¹

Crenshaw could also give credit where it was due, and he recognized that much of his success in getting Quaker and Dunkard

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objectors released was due to the interest and kindness of former Supreme Court Justice, Assistant Secretary of War, Judge John A. Campbell. Crenshaw described him as a "true philanthropist." After the war, when Campbell was confined at Fort Pulaski, awaiting President Andrew Johnson's decision in his case, John Crenshaw, advocate on behalf of conscientious objectors, became an advocate for the former Confederate Assistant Secretary of War. He sent a personal appeal to President Johnson, and he was also chosen to write an appeal on behalf of Friends in North Carolina and Virginia. The latter document is a masterpiece of resolute diplomacy, and it does not mince words. "Whereas, in the late cruel rebellion we were brought into great straits by the military laws of the so-called Confederacy, we had often cause to return thanks to our Father in Heaven that there was found in that Government one man who had a heart to feel for his fellowman (sic) of whatever sects or difference of opinion."¹²² There is no way to know what weight such appeals might have had. Campbell was paroled on October 11, 1865 and returned to Alabama, but he was never pardoned. He practiced law in New Orleans immediately after the war, and he died in Baltimore in March 1889, two months before Crenshaw's death.¹²³ After the war Crenshaw served on the Committee of Nine to help negotiate Virginia's readmission to the Union, and he was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1869. He gave his last message in a meeting for worship on May 8, 1889: "Friends, mind your calling in the Lord." He died on May 10 having spent sixty-nine years faithful to that admonition.¹²⁴

At war's end North Carolina Friends had powerfully mixed emotions. While they "rejoiced at the extinction of slavery" and the Confederacy, they could not rejoice at the violent means which accomplished those ends. They saw destruction and suffering all around them. They also knew that, while the war was over and "the shackles of slavery cut," the spirit of both lived on. The yearly meeting reminded Friends that the position they had taken on slavery was "like a little taper casting a glimmering light through the surrounding gloom."¹²⁵ In a sense, the work was just beginning, because, with winter coming on, thousands would need food and shelter. Friends turned their collective attention to the poorest of the poor, the newly-freed blacks among them. *The Southern Friend* set the tone, challenging Quakers to set up committees "to look after the poor without distinction of color."¹²⁶ Only absolute standards

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satisfied these Friends--absolute honesty, absolute gentleness, absolute freedom for all people, absolute patience and kindness in the face of oppression. Theirs was, in the words of Quaker mystic Thomas R. Kelly, “no average goodness.”¹²⁷

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NOTES

¹North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, *An Account of the Sufferings of Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in Support of their Testimony Against War, from 1861 to 1865* (Baltimore: William K. Boyle, 1868) 6. Hereafter referred to as *Account of Sufferings*; "Census of North Carolina," *Greensboro Patriot* 6 Mar 1862:4.

²*Account of Sufferings*, 24.

³"A Brief Memoir of the Life of George Fox," *The Southern Friend* 1:3 (1864): 1.

⁴Leonard S. Kenworthy, *Quakerism: A Study Guide on the Religious Society of Friends* (Kennett Square, PA: Quaker Publishing House, 1981) 349.

⁵Byron A. Haworth, "Friends Organized in 1698 During Reign of King George of England," *Greensboro Daily News* 7 Aug 1927.

⁶Kenworthy, 34.

⁷*Ibid*, 35.

⁸*Account of Sufferings*, 6.

⁹Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*. Studies in History and Political Science, Extra Volume 15 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1896) 299.

¹⁰Kenworthy, 36.

¹¹*Ibid*, 35, 36.

¹²Douglas V. Steere, *Quaker Spirituality: Selected Writings*. Classics of Western Spirituality Series (New York: Paulist Press, 1984) 105.

¹³*Ibid*, 106.

¹⁴"Memorial," *The Southern Friend* 1:5 (1864): 38.

¹⁵Weeks, 171.

¹⁶Edward N. Wright, *Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931) 13.

¹⁷North Carolina Yearly Meeting, *The Discipline of Friends, Revised and Approved 1854* (Greensboro, NC: *The Greensboro Patriot* office, 1855) 28. Hereafter referred to as *Discipline of 1854*.

¹⁸William Thomas Auman, *North Carolina's Inner Civil War: Randolph County* (Greensboro, NC: University of North Carolina at Greensboro, manuscript thesis, 1978) 13, 29; Wright, 4, 91.

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¹⁹James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988) 306. 307.

²⁰Wright, 172.

²¹Ibid, 181, 182.

²²Ibid, 188.

²³John Bacon Crenshaw. Letter to Tilmon R. Vestal. 5 September 1863. John Bacon Crenshaw Papers. The Friends Historical Collection. Guilford College Library, Greensboro, NC. Hereafter referred to as: Letter--Crenshaw to Vestal. 5 Sept. 1863, Crenshaw Papers.

²⁴North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, *Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting* (Guilford County, NC: New Garden Meeting, 1861 through 1865), 4,3,3,3,5. Hereafter referred to as *Yearly Meeting Minutes*.

²⁵*Discipline of 1854*, 30.

²⁶The information for 1740, 1770, and 1818 comes from *Account of Sufferings*, 4. The remaining dates are found in Wright, 213-225.

²⁷Weeks, 1.

²⁸*Account of Sufferings*, 1.

²⁹Ibid, 8.

³⁰Auman, 299.

³¹Ibid, 295.

³²Auman, 294, 295.

³³Ibid, 6, 34, 297.

³⁴McPherson, 694-695.

³⁵Auman, 297.

³⁶Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934) 125.

³⁷Auman, 298.

³⁸Tilmon Ross Vestal, manuscript memoirs (unpublished, n.d.). Friends Historical Collection. Guilford College Library, Greensboro, NC 18. Hereafter referred to as Vestal Memoirs.

³⁹William B. Edgerton, “Autobiography of Isham Cox Records Interesting Events,” *Greensboro Daily News* 24 July 1932.

⁴⁰Auman, 239.

⁴¹Ibid, 239, 240.

⁴²Wright, 150.

⁴³*Discipline of 1854*, 31.

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⁴⁴John Bacon Crenshaw, "Prospectus," *The Southern Friend* 1:1864): 5. This monthly publication, available by subscription, linked Friends in the Southeast, particularly in Virginia and North Carolina, after secession cut them off from communication with the North--particularly from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. *The Southern Friend* served as a source of inspiration and social cohesion for Friends throughout the war years. Each issue followed the same format: accounts of early Quakers in England who suffered war and persecution; inspiring articles by and about local Friends' experiences in wartime; agricultural information and advice to farmers; information about progress of the war and any laws affecting Friends; pertinent yearly meeting decisions. Crenshaw insisted that the journal eschew articles of an explicitly political nature, in keeping with Friends' concept of a sharp division between the spiritual and the temporal worlds. *The Southern Friend* ceased publication in 1866.

⁴⁵Wright, 94; Centre Monthly Meeting of Friends, *Birth and Death Records of Centre Monthly Meeting*, Volume I (Guilford County, NC: Centre Monthly Meeting, n.d.) 155. Himelius Hockett was born on 2/27/25, and Jesse Hockett on 8/19/26.

⁴⁶Fernando Cartland, *Southern Heroes: The Friends in Wartime* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895) 254.

⁴⁷Cartland, 255.

⁴⁸Ibid, 255, 256.

⁴⁹Ibid, 256.

⁵⁰Wright, 106.

⁵¹Cartland, 256.

⁵²Ibid, 257.

⁵³Jon L. Wakelyn, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977) 363, 364. There were two Generals Ransom--Matt and Robert. They were brothers. Robert seems to be the General Ransom stationed at Kinston, NC, because his brother was never assigned to a cavalry unit.

⁵⁴Cartland, 266, 267.

⁵⁵Ibid, 267.

⁵⁶Ibid, 269.

⁵⁷Ibid, 258.

⁵⁸Ibid, 259.

⁵⁹Ibid, 260.

⁶⁰Ibid, 261.

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- ⁶¹Ibid, 262, 263.
- ⁶²Himelius Hockett. Letter to wife, Rachel Hockett. 21 April 1863. Crenshaw Papers.
- ⁶³Cartland, 270.
- ⁶⁴Ibid, 271.
- ⁶⁵Ibid, 276.
- ⁶⁶Ibid, 276.
- ⁶⁷Ibid, 280.
- ⁶⁸Ibid, 280, 281.
- ⁶⁹Letter--Crenshaw to Vestal. 5 Sept. 1863, 2. Crenshaw Papers.
- ⁷⁰Ibid, 1.
- ⁷¹William Hockett. Letter to John B. Crenshaw. 23 Oct. 1863. Crenshaw Papers.
- ⁷²Jonathan Harris. Letter to John B. Crenshaw. 2 Aug. 1863. Crenshaw Papers. 1.
- ⁷³Jonathan Harris. Letter to John B. Crenshaw. 13 Nov. 1863.
- ⁷⁴Cartland, 284.
- ⁷⁵“Tilmon” is the spelling Vestal's parents gave him. After he started attending New Garden Boarding School he adopted a more sophisticated spelling, “Tilghman,” which he kept for the rest of his life.
- ⁷⁶Thomas Hart Beeson. *The Mendenhall Family: A Genealogy* (n.p., 1969) 197. This is the *only* source, including Vestal's Memoirs, which named his mother.
- ⁷⁷Vestal Memoirs, 2.
- ⁷⁸Ibid, 4.
- ⁷⁹Ibid, 3, 4.
- ⁸⁰Ibid, 8.
- ⁸¹Ibid, 8,9.
- ⁸²Ibid, 10.
- ⁸³Ibid, 9.
- ⁸⁴Cartland, 323.
- ⁸⁵Ibid, 323, 324.
- ⁸⁶Vestal Memoirs, 11, 12.
- ⁸⁷Cartland, 324, 325.
- ⁸⁸Vestal Memoirs, 12.
- ⁸⁹Ibid, 12, 13.
- ⁹⁰Ibid, 14.
- ⁹¹Ibid, 15.

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- 92Ibid, 14, 5, 16.
93Ibid, 16.
94Ibid, 17.
95Ibid, 16, 17.
96Wright, 317. Vestal Memoirs, 26.
97Vestal Memoirs, 26, 27.
98Wright, 106.
99Letter--Crenshaw to Vestal. 5 Sept. 1863 2.
100Vestal Memoirs, 16.
101Letter--Crenshaw to Vestal. 5 Sept. 1863 2.
102Vestal Memoirs, 30.
103Ibid, 32, 33. Judith Mendenhall. Letter to John B. Crenshaw. 1 Mar 1864. Crenshaw Papers.
104Wright, 112, 113.
105John B. Crenshaw. Letter to Judith Mendenhall. 26 Feb. 1864. Crenshaw Papers.
106Tilmon R. Vestal. Letter to John B. Crenshaw and Judith Mendenhall. 2 Mar 1864. Crenshaw Papers.
107Letter--Vestal to Crenshaw and Mendenhall. 2 Mar 1864. Crenshaw Papers, 2.
108John B. Crenshaw. Letter to Judith Mendenhall. 16 Mar 1864. Crenshaw Papers.
109Letter--Crenshaw to Mendenhall. Crenshaw Papers. 16 Mar 1864. 2.
110Hand-copied (by Vestal), notarized facsimile of General Winder's discharge orders for Vestal, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, NC.
111Letter--Crenshaw to Mendenhall. Crenshaw Papers. 16 Mar 1864 2.
112Tilmon R. Vestal. Letter to Judith Mendenhall. 11 April 1864. Crenshaw Papers.
113Delphina Mendenhall. Letter to John Crenshaw. 7 Oct. 1864. John Bacon Crenshaw Papers. Friends Historical Collection. Guilford College Library, Greensboro, NC.
114Vestal Memoirs, 35, 43.
115Ibid, 49-53.
116Unsigned genealogy chart of the Vestal family. Friends Historical Collection. Guilford College Library, Greensboro, NC.
117Cartland, 259.

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¹¹⁸Margaret Crenshaw, "John Bacon Crenshaw," *Quaker Biographies*. Series II, Volume III. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, n.d.) 167. Hereafter referred to as *Quaker Biographies*.

¹¹⁹*Quaker Biographies*, 117, 118.

¹²⁰*Ibid*, 183.

¹²¹*Ibid*, 171, 184.

¹²²John Bacon Crenshaw. Undated memorial to President Andrew Johnson. Crenshaw Papers. 1.

¹²³Wakelyn, 123.

¹²⁴*Quaker Biographies*, 206.

¹²⁵*Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1865, 11.

¹²⁶No author, “Summary of News,” *The Southern Friend* 1:13 (1865) 104.

¹²⁷Steere, 298.

A Glimpse of Farm Life in a Quaker Community

By

Wilbert L. Braxton

Introduction

A glimpse of farm life in a Quaker community of the nineteenth century is presented to us through a study of three account books belonging to John Braxton (1782-1860), son of Thomas (1745-1815) and grandson of William (died 1771), planter. These account books were found in the old calfskin covered chest which was handed down through several generations to Howard Taft Braxton, brother of the author of this paper, Snow Camp, North Carolina. I remember as a child seeing the old chest in the attic of grandfather Hiram Braxton's log cabin, but it was seventy years later that Howard and I tried to organize the contents of the chest at which time we discovered the account books.

These three booklets were handmade. Two have backs (or covers) made of old newspapers, one dated February 27, 1813 and the other Friday, April 2, 1813. The three books total seventy-five pages, and list over seven hundred entries involving at least fifty-five persons, several of whom were Quakers. Each book has dimensions of about 6 1/2 x 8 inches and is made of unlined paper now brown with age. All are frayed and discolored by time and moisture. The pages in each book are sewed together through a central fold.

From the information given in the account books we are able to catch a glimpse of life in a Cane Creek farm community covering the years of 1818 to 1855. These entries portray nine aspects of life on a farm in southern Alamance County, North Carolina. The aspects portrayed relate to horses; homemade clothing, from seed to suit; the processing of molasses; crops; hogs and cattle; and rail fences. The number in quotation marks represents the value of the

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item in dollars and cents. The number in parenthesis indicates the year the entry was made.

Uses of Horses

“To Drawing wood half a Day 0.75,” (Jan 1819).

One can picture a team of horses pulling (drawing) a wagon or sled loaded with logs or poles to be cut with an axe into lengths of wood and split for the fire place.

“The two horses and Plough and finding feed 5 Days 3.00,” (1819).

In the early winter or later when the ground was not frozen the fields to be planted were ‘broken’ or ‘turned’ by a plow. The plow consisted of a beam attached to the horses with appropriate single and double ‘trees,’ clevis, and harness or gear. At the other end of the beam was fixed a mold board and share and handles to help hold the plow in position. It was the curvature of the share and mold board that turned over the top five inches of soil. “Finding feed” means that the renter must provide feed for the horses during the period of use.

“To a horse harrowing 1 Day 0.30,” (1819).

“Harrowing” means using a piece of equipment called a harrow to prepare the plowed or broken field for seeding. A “harrow” consists of a sturdy frame into which is set a dozen spikes which loosen the soil as the harrow is dragged by horses over the broken ground.

“For the hire of a horse three Days to Ride 0.30,” (1827).

“For the hire of the waggon and one horse one Day 0.35,” (1824).

The ride may have been to Fayetteville which was a trade center.

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The Growing of Corn

“For John Dropping corn two days and a half 0.50,” (April 10, 11, 12, 1820).

It is unlikely that a corn planter was available in 1820 in the Cane Creek community. Probably the planting of corn consisted of a one-horse ripper opening up a series of fairly straight and equally spaced furrows across the field which had previously been plowed with a turn plow, then harrowed with a drag tooth harrow. These furrows were about 3 1/2 feet apart. It may be that the seed corn had been selected the previous fall at the time of harvest. More likely “John” and “Anderson” selected from the corn crib the best ears for seeding just before starting to “Drop” corn. The smaller kernels at the end of each selected ear would be discarded. The dropper would shell the corn from the cob and carry a small bag of seed corn to the field or fill his overall pockets with shelled corn. He would walk a row dropping into the open furrow one or two kernels of corn every three feet. Commercial fertilizer was probably not available. To cover the seed corn in each furrow lightly with soil, a horse or mule walked the furrow pulling a pole or small log scraping dirt over the kernels of corn. Howard tells me that when we were small boys (1910s) our mule, Ole Lou, got so good at pulling a small log along the furrow from one end of the row to the other end that he would start Ole Lou across the field and she would follow the furrow while Howard sat down. At the other end of the row I would turn Lou around and get her started in another row. Then I rested while Lou walked alone covering another row of dropped corn kernels. The process would be repeated until all the rows of dropped corn had been covered by this process. Papa did not fully appreciate our energy-saving procedures, especially when the pole hit a snag or stone and threw the pole out of the furrow. If after a week it was evident that we did not get a “good stand,” the children in the family spent hours with the hoe replanting corn, putting another kernel where the sprouted corn should have been, covering it lightly with a hoe. The enemies in a corn field are grass and weeds. Usually a one-horse cultivator would control the grass and weeds in the middle between two rows of corn. In the rows themselves the effective instrument for fighting grass and weeds was the hoe. Days and days were spent “hoeing” corn. When the corn was about shoulder high it would be “laid by” with a third plowing with a one-horse

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cultivator or a sweep--a triangular blade that cuts off weeds under the soil surface.

“To Alvis and Anderson blading corn at 0.50 per day,” (Sept 8, 1819).

“For the 3 boys blading 2 days at 1 dolar pr Day 2.00,” (Sept 9 & 10, 1819).

“Blading corn” is the process of stripping the leaves (blades) from the stalk of corn after the ear has fully matured but before the blades have lost their greenness. The blades were stripped from the ear of each stalk to the ground, tied into bundles about six inches in diameter with some of the stronger blades, and stored in the barn as fodder for the mules and cows. The time for handling the bundles of fodder was at dusk when the dew made the blades pliable. After “blading” the corn, our policy was to cut and bundle the “tops” of corn, all of the stalk above the ear. These tops were stored in the barn for winter feed for the cattle and mules.

“For Alvis and Anderson agathering corn three days 60 cents per day-1.80.”

“For Anderson helping to crib corn two days at 25 cents per Day 0.50,” (Oct 1823).

Following the gathering of the fodder and the tops from a field of corn, the remaining ear or ears of corn were left on the denuded stalk to season for a while. Around October the corn ears were gathered or “pulled” from the stalk, hauled to the barn, and dumped on the ground to form a long pile about two feet high in the middle. Then following a long-standing custom neighbors were invited after supper to a “husking bee” where the men shucked, husked, or removed the husks from each ear of corn. The husks were stored in the barn for the cattle. A festive atmosphere followed the husking when the women served cakes, pies, coffee, and cider. A little courting might take place. Within the next day or so the corn was “cribbed”--put in the corn crib for use during the year for feed for the animals, corn bread for the family, and in some homes hominy grits. Corn was important on the John Braxton farm of 1818 to 1855.

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The Growing of Wheat

From the number of entries wheat also appears to have been an important grain for the Cane Creek area. For the growing of wheat the ground would be "broken" in the fall or early winter, made ready for seeding by use of a drag harrow, sowed by casting the grain by hand in a scattering motion, then finally the grains of wheat would be covered by dragging a small log over the field. It was well after 1855 that the drill for sowing wheat, rye, and oats was introduced. After dragging, the field of wheat required no more attention until it was harvested in June.

"To Epps cradling oats one day 1.00," (July (1819).

"For two hands cradling wheat and one Binder 2.00," (1822).

Here "cradling" means the use of a large scythe blade to which wooden finger-like rods have been attached. In harvesting wheat the cradle is swung to cut a swath of the wheat stalk by the blade. The four wooden fingers then caught the stems of wheat so that they may be gathered and laid by the left hand in small bunches on the ground while the right hand held the cradle. It took an experienced and coordinated man to swing the cradle and cut a swathe in one continuous operation.

"For Epps cradling wheat 2 days at 75 cents per day 1.50," (June 1821).

"For John and Anderson Binding oats one day at 75 cents per Day 0.75."

The cradling of wheat or oats was followed by "binding." The person, who did the binding, often the farmer's wife, was called the binder. Two or three swings of the cradle produced a hand of grain stalks which was then laid down on the ground. A few such hands of grain were gathered together by the binder to make a sheaf. The binder selected a few sturdy stems to bind the sheaf into a firm bundle. For further drying, and for protection from rain, about a dozen bundles were stacked together with the heads of the grain in the top position leaning against each other to form a

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fairly stable stack of wheat. This process is called "shocking" wheat. Then two sheaves were arranged to form a roof to protect the grain in case of rain.

"To the hire of the wagon and three horses to Draw wheat 0.40," (July 1823).

The wagon and horses were hired to haul the shocks of wheat from the wheat stubble fields to the barn for storage until the wheat grain could be thrashed, that is the grain separated from the chaff and straw.

"The use of three horses one Day aTreadin out wheat," (July 1823).

The three horses were hitched together so they could walk on a small, hard circular area on which the unthrashed wheat straw was spread. The twelve hooves of the horses treading on the heads of wheat loosened or knocked out the kernels of wheat. In the summer of 1936 I saw in the village near Ram Allah, Palestine two oxen "aTreading" wheat on the natural stone floor. One man was leading the oxen in a circular path over the unthrashed wheat. A boy followed closely behind the oxen with a container ready to catch any excretion coming from the oxen. After the wheat was well trodden a fork was used to toss the trampled straw into the wind in order to separate the wheat grains from the straw and chaff, a process called winnowing.

"For John a helpin to clean wheat 1 Day 0.30," (August 1823).

"For Alvis helping clean oats half a day 0.175 cents," (March 29, 1822).

"For Alvis helping clean wheat one Day 0.35," (Jan 31, 1823).

The cleaning of wheat probably involved more winnowing to remove extraneous dirt and chaff. The cleaned wheat was probably stored in "gunny sacks" or wooden bins in the granary. When the flour bin in the farm home was nearly empty, sacks of wheat would

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be taken to a water-powered stone mill, such as Lindley's Mill, to be ground into flour out of which the farm biscuits, bread, and cakes were produced in the farm home. No money was needed for the grinding of the wheat into flour. The miller took a standard portion (perhaps one-seventh part) of the wheat for his services. The mill consisted of two stones, one on top of the other. Wheat was fed through a hole in the center of the upper stone which was made to rotate by water power.

Haying Time on the Farm

“To one wagon load of hay 2.00, one load of straw 0.50,”
(March 1823).

Haying was an important aspect of Cane Creek farm life. Wild grass on a meadow seeded by nature was cut with a scythe, raked into rows, and pitched with a fork on to a wagon. Probably the same steps taken in 1918 were also taken in 1818--maybe even in the same meadow! At eleven years of age I remember well the meadow between the old spring and the site of the William Braxton homestead. Papa was the expert with the crooked-handle scythe which he honed with a special stone from time to time as he worked. He needed the rest as well as a sharp scythe blade. Mama, Grandfather, Evelyn, and Howard raked the hay into rows, then into bunches, after which the hay was forked onto the wagon pulled by our small mules, Lou and Bill. Being the youngest my contribution to this family activity was tramping down the hay as it was being loaded on the wagon. Once, as Howard picked up a fork full of hay he uncovered a snake, probably a harmless and common black snake. Without thinking he struck down on the snake with the haying fork and broke off one of the prongs. In the eyes of ten-year-old Howard, and perhaps Papa's too, the breaking of a fork was a serious matter. He was consoled by Mama and Grandfather while Evelyn and I looked on.

The many wagon loads of hay were taken to a convenient site near the barn. A fifteen-foot pole was set up with the bigger end in the ground. The hay was stacked around the pole with a radius of about three feet. The hay stack, tapering at the top to shed water, grew to near the height of the pole. We children enjoyed tramping down the hay especially as the stack grew upward. Sliding down

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one side of the stack into the arms of an adult was exhilarating. Three or four such stacks of hay were needed for feeding the animals in the winter.

The Growing and Use of Hogs on the Farm

The numerous entries in the account books for bacon, lard, and pork indicate the importance of the hog in early nineteenth-century farm life.

“To Wm helping Wm Braxton kill hogs one day 0.40,” (Dec 27, 1819).

“For helping C. Guthry to kill hogs one day 0.40,” (Jan 11, 1820).

“To four shoats 2.50,” (Nov. 1836).

“To one sow and pig 4.00,” (Feb. 1839).

“To 8 lb hog lard 0.80,” (1844).

“3 lb and a half of hog Lard 0.35,” (Feb. 25, 1820).

“To thirty three and a half of Bacon at 10 cents per lb 3.35,” (1821).

“To one hundred weight of pork 4.00,” (Dec. 1822).

Does any other animal turn waste feed into human food so efficiently? Hogs got their living from otherwise useless food scraps or “slop” and rooting in wooded areas. Many parts of the hog were useful: bristles were made into brushes; hides into pigskin leather; portions of the intestines into “chitterlings” when fried; fat into lard; and meat processed as hams, bacon, sausage, and pork.

A cold snap was important when hogs were killed, for the meat products were then less apt to spoil. Usually a neighbor came in to help. According to the entry from John Braxton's account book above, C. Guthry and W. Braxton were paid 0.40 per day for help in killing hogs. The day started early with the positioning and

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partially filling of a wooden barrel with water. The water was heated by removing hot "round head" stones from a vigorous fire and placing them in the water. Soon after the hog was killed his body was immersed in the hot water and scraped to remove the hair. The carcass was hung on a large limb high enough to keep its mouth above the ground. A two-foot-long pole with sharp ends was inserted between the tendon and bone of each rear leg. Thus elevated the belly of the hog was exposed so the carcass could be opened with a sharp knife from the tail to the throat to remove the entrails. The fat was removed from the intestines and rendered into lard. Hams and shoulders and other cuts were made and prepared for smoking or curing. Few parts of the hog were discarded.

Cattle on the Farm

The Cane Creek farmers of 1820 must have considered cows to be important, for beef, butter, leather, tallow, and veal are mentioned about fifty times:

"To 2 lb of Butter 0.40," (Nov, 23, 1820).

"To 50 lb of Beef at 4 cents per lb 2.35," (Nov. 29, 1819).

"To 3 lb tallow and 1/2 at 15 cents per pound 0.48," (July 22, 1823).

"For one side of leather 2.50," (Nov. 25, 1823).

"To a pair of half soles 0.15," (Feb. 1840).

"To under leathers for one pair shoes for one of the girls 0.40."

"Sold one cow 9.00," (Jan 1824).

"To half a dozen candles 0.05," (Jan 1820).

"To one Beef 4.00," (Oct 1826).

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Clothing from Seed to Coat

Several items refer to clothing apparently processed on the farm:

“To 6 lb Seed cotton 0.24,” (Aug 1826).

About the size of beans, cotton seeds were planted about two inches apart in rows about thirty inches apart. The plants were thinned with a hoe in a process known as “chopping cotton,” a hot, tiring task. The cotton plant grows to a height of twelve to thirty inches and develops a dozen or so bolls which are egg shaped 1 1/2 inches in diameter. Each boll has three to five compartments. In the early autumn when the boll splits, out bursts the fluffy white cotton fibers surrounding several seeds. Before the days of machinery, a picker harvested the cotton by hand, dragging a sack tied around his waist. As the sack got fuller, its weight and awkward position combined to make the picker uncomfortable. Before the cotton can be used the fibers must be separated from the seeds. Done by hand, it is said to take a day to get one pound of fibers. Thus, the cotton gin was a great boost to the cotton industry.

Sheep wool was essential to farm life at this period. We find this entry in the account books:

“Paid for carding lamb wool 0.25,” (Aug 1823).

“Paid for carding wool 0.40,” (July 1836).

Carding is the process of getting the fibers of wool, cotton, or flax ready to spin by smoothing and straightening them with the card, a wire-toothed pair of boards.

The next step was spinning, making the fibrous yarn into thread by use of the spinning wheel:

“To spinning six cuts of cotton findings 0.20,” (1839).

“To spinning nine hanks of tow and one of flax 1.00,” (1823). (Tow refers to the short or broken fibers of hemp or flax.)

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"To spinning twelve hanks 1.20," (Apr. 1823).

The thread was then woven into cloth:

"To dyeing and weaving two and a half yards of clothe 0.20," (May 1827). (The most used dyes were indigo (blue), birch leaves (yellow), madder (red), and log wood.)

"Received of Rebecca Gillam for weaving 16 yards of linsy 0.80," (1823). (Linsy is a coarse cloth made of linen and wool.)

"Weaving 45 yds of plain cloth at 5 cents per yd 2.25," (1844).

"To 9 and 1/2 yds of jeans at 9 cents per yd 0.85," (1844).

"By Eleanor (Newlin Guthrie) making a coat 0.75," (1843).

"To Sarah making a big coat 1.25," (1820).

Rail Fences

"To splitting and putting up two thousand new rails at 60 cents per hundred 12.00," (March 1818).

"To one Days Drawing Rails 1.50," (March 1818).

"To the hire of the Wagon four and a half to Draw Rails 1.12 1/2," (1823).

"To one Day and a half of the wagon to Draw Rails 0.37 1/2," (Aug 1823).

"To four Rail and board trees 1.25," (March 1850).

Fences were made at this period of time in North Carolina not to keep cattle inside an enclosed area but to keep all stock outside. Fences were made to protect the cultivated crops from cows, horses, sheep, hogs, etc., which had the freedom to come and go anywhere in the open range. Fences were made of rails split

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from logs using an axe, wedges, and a maul. These rails were carefully placed so that the rails overlapped each other near each end as one rail was placed on top of another to form a zigzag pattern which gave stability and height to the fence. With two thousand rails in production it may be that new ground had just been cleared for corn. This was a sizable operation probably by Mary McPherson Braxton, mother of John Braxton.

Cane to Molasses on Cane Creek

“To 2 gallons of molasses 0.80,” (March 1821).

“To four gallons of molasses 1.20,” (March 1850).

About one hundred years after 1821 I observed as a ten year old the process of making molasses which was probably very similar to the process used in the early nineteenth century in a setting beside the banks of Cane Creek. The cane I saw was grown on a part of the original tract granted to William Braxton in 1771 by the Earl of Granville and handed down from father to son to Papa. When the leaves of blades of the cane were ripe, we removed them from the eight-foot stalks of sorghum. At the same time the immature seed head at the top of the stalk was cut off. We hauled the sugar laden stalks of sorghum on our wagon which was pulled by our two mules, Lou and Bill. Our destination was the old Guthrie mill pond on Cane Creek where a small cane mill was established for rent. The juice was extracted from the stalks of cane by crushing the cane as it was squeezed between two revolving cylinders. The power for the squeezing the cane came from our mules as they walked in a circle around the mill. The juice flowed by gravity through a wooden trough to metal vats under which a fire was burning. As the water evaporated the juice thickened to become a syrup called molasses which we stored in crockery jugs. The hazards of buzzing bees and trapped yellow jackets wherever the molasses had dripped did not detract from the sense of satisfaction we derived from this day's accomplishments, a feeling we shared with our ancestors of the previous one hundred years; a family day at the sorghum mill!

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Other entries giving detailed glimpses of life on the John Braxton farm are:

“For one months work ay Wm 5.50,” (March 29, 1920).

“To a Horse coaltering two days 0.50,” (April 1821).

“Paid for apples for one Barrel of cider 1.00,” (August 20, 1827).

“To 1/2 bushel of Irish (not sweet potatoe) 0.25,” (Sept. 1837).

“To 3 pints of onion seed 0.15,” (April 1838).

“Paid on Sidney Martins tobaco 0.50,” (Feb 1840).

“To one tree for plow beam 0.50. To timber for plow handles,” (1844).

“To one quart of honey 0.25,” (July 1845).

“By one ounce of Opium* 0.50,” (May 1847).

“To two sets of wagon spokes 2.00,” (1849).

“6 lbs of tobaco at 6 cents per lb 0.36,” (Feb 1851).

“John Braxton five dollars to pay his tax,” (1852).

“Mother Began To Board the fifth year,” (April 10, 1833).

The above collection of glimpses taken from John Braxton's account books hopefully will produce a lively and accurate picture of farm life in the Quaker community of Cane Creek, Southern Alamance County, North Carolina, in the fifty years prior to the Civil War.

*Ed. Note: Opium was commonly used as a sedative, perhaps for farm animals as well as humans.

Brief Reviews and Notices

Compiled by Carole Treadway

Pioneers in Quaker Education: The Story of John W. and Mary C. Woody by Mary Edith Hinshaw. Greensboro, NC: North Carolina Yearly Meeting and North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1992. 119 pages. Illus. Bibliography. Paper. \$12.00.

The latest monograph of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society is an account of the lives and work of the author's grandparents whose lives serve as windows into the central concerns of American Quakers in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. As educators and administrators they helped establish or develop William Penn, Whittier, and Guilford Colleges and Friends University. John Woody served the Slater Industrial School and Academy, later Winston Salem State University, a school established for blacks, in various administrative capacities, and Mary Woody was active in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, even serving as president of the North Carolina organization. In their ministry and other service they were involved with Friends meetings everywhere they lived.

For family historians there is information given on both the Woody and Chawner families.

The book may be ordered from the society.

Saving American Birds: T. Gilbert Pearson and the Founding of the Audubon Movement by Oliver H. Orr, Jr. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1992. 272 pages. Illus. Index. \$34.95.

Saving American Birds is an account of the early life and career of one of Guilford College's most notable and most unusual graduates. Pearson came to the college from rural Florida in 1891 at

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the age of 18 with a profound knowledge of birds and other wildlife, a collection of 1100 bird eggs, and very little formal education. In exchange for tuition he offered his collection for the college's natural history "cabinet" and his services as its curator. A pioneer in conservation work, he went on to work as an educator, lobbyist, organizer, and administrator in the field of bird protection. He was the first full-time leader of the Audubon Society. Pearson's success does credit to his Quaker family for tolerating his obsession with natural history, and to Guilford College for encouraging and aiding this unorthodox student.

The author is a retired specialist in American history, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress and a long-time member of the National Audubon Society.

Quakers in Fiction: An Annotated Bibliography by Anna Breiner Caulfield. Northampton, MA: Pittenbruach Press, 1993. 170 pages. Indexes. Paper. \$13.95.

A labor of love, this bibliography of 620 adult and young people's works of fiction that have significant Quaker content, is fun to browse in for its own sake. All of the titles were published or reprinted in the twentieth century and cover an astonishing range of genres and subject matter. Of course, historical fiction predominates. Arranged alphabetically by author in separate sections for adults and young people, the bibliography also includes an index by title and one for subject and setting. Thus if one wants to identify novels about slavery in North Carolina one may consult the entries under the headings for Abolition Movement, Slavery, and Underground Railroad, and then under North Carolina to find titles that match. Teachers, librarians, students of Quaker history and thought, and all avid readers should find this book useful and enjoyable.

The book may be ordered from the publisher at 15 Walnut Street, P.O. Box 553, Northampton, MA 01061. Add \$2.00 for handling for the first book, .50 for each additional book.

Brief Reviews and Notices

Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington (Written by Herself).
Philadelphia: The Biddle Press; London: Headley Bros.,
1911. Reprint ed. London: Friends Historical Society,
1992. 119 pages. Bibliography. Paper.

Mary Penington's spiritual autobiography with a new preface
by Gil Skidmore that places Penington's work in the context of the
classic Quaker spiritual autobiographies.

A Brief Background to the Quaker Peace Testimony by Dale Hess.
Toorak, Victoria, Australia: Victoria Regional Meeting,
the Religious Society of Friends, 1992. 28 pages. illus.
Bibliography. \$8.00 (Aus.).

Based on Peter Brock's Pacifism in Europe to 1914.
Includes bibliography of works on Christian pacifism, and on
Quaker faith and practice as it relates to the peace testimony. Helpful
introduction to the topic for anyone interested in understanding
southern Quaker responses to the Revolutionary and Civil Wars.

The Quakers of Melksham, 1669-1950 by Harold Fassnidge, illus.
by Jane Townsend. Bradford on Avon, Wiltshire, Eng. :
Bradford on Avon Friends, 1992. 186 pages. Index.
\$15.00.

Includes extensive information on prominent families in
the Wiltshire meetings, especially Beavens, Rutty, and Fowler.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Proposals for papers on any aspect of Quakerism
are invited

for the tenth biennial meeting of the

Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists

The meeting will be at

Guilford College

Greensboro, North Carolina

June 24-26, 1994

Send a one-page abstract to

Charles L. Cherry

Office of Academic Affairs

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Deadline is December 31, 1993

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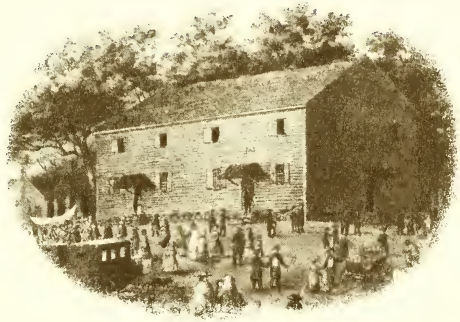
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Editorial Policy

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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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.

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The Indefatigable Yardley Warner

By

James Woodhams Hood

Ten months before she married Yardley Warner, Anne E. Horne vividly characterized in a letter a day in the life of her husband-to-be. Her description captures not only a glimpse of what occupied him on a particular day, but also something of the incredible vigor with which he pursued life itself. "He hurt his hip very seriously I fear," wrote Anne Horne,

— playing with the Pales boys during school recess, so that for days it has pained him to walk up and down stairs, and one night he could not sleep for the pain, and yet in spite of that, he walked on 2nd day up the hill *Opposite Pales* to a height as great as the Pales, to call on a poor sick friend in the early morning, then down again to the valley, and up the other hill to Pales in time for school at 9 a.m. — after school was done in afternoon the same day, he went off with only a hasty tea, up the hill once more to call on the same friend 2nd time, then back and across to Pennybont to speak at a temperance meeting, then home again to his Llandegley dwelling. He is most indefatigable.¹

Tirelessness, abundant energy, self-effacement, care, commitment, vision — these words convey something of the spirit which graced the life and work of Yardley Warner. Born on November 2, 1815, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, the youngest son of William and Letitia Warner's six children, Yardley Warner's vigorous commitment to the cause of bettering the lives of African-Americans began in his parents' home

This article was originally presented at Springfield Memorial Association meeting, August 19, 1990. James Woodhams Hood, a descendant of Yardley Warner, is assistant professor of English, Merryhurst College, Erie, PA.

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where, as a ten-year-old boy, he “seldom laid his head on the pillow at night, without breathing a prayer for the poor Negroes.”²

His parents’ farm was a stop along the Underground Railroad, and young Yardley often helped his older brothers drive a wagon load of hay under which was hidden a frightened fugitive they were transporting to the next station. In this way, Warner’s lifelong commitment to aiding African-Americans was inaugurated. Later, armed with the legal backing of the Emancipation Proclamation, Warner could provide more enduring assistance.

Two years before the end of the War Between the States, Warner secured a travelling pass in Washington, one which allowed him to cross through the lines of both armies. The peculiar reconnaissance mission that engaged him proved ultimately more seditious than any made by a Union or Southern spy, for he was seeking places to establish schools for the slaves set at liberty by Lincoln’s famous directive.

Having forsworn a fledgling career in law for a providential opportunity to teach at Westtown School, Warner taught there for a time, and in the Ohio Yearly Meeting Boarding School at Mt. Pleasant. But the formation of the Friends Freedmen’s Aid Association in 1863 provided him with the opportunity for exercising a more pressing commitment to education. By the end of his life of seventy years, Warner had helped to establish and fund some thirty schools for African-Americans in Tennessee and North Carolina, some more in Virginia, Georgia, and Kentucky, including two “normal” schools, colleges which trained African-American teachers. The most successful of these was the Freedman’s Normal School in Jonesboro, Tennessee, known informally to many of its pupils as the Warner Institute.

As Cyrus P. Frazier recorded in his 1926 talk to the Springfield Memorial Association, Yardley Warner felt there were three things that could be done with the freed slaves following the war. These alternatives were extermination, subjugation, or education; the last was the one he thought both moral and most cost effective. Warner’s theory of education was extremely progressive in an era when many still believed black Americans incapable of learning at all. Instead of aiming to set himself up as a benevolent dispenser of knowledge and charity among the poor freed slaves, Warner searched constantly for the means of putting himself out of a job. His goal in setting up schools was to make them self-supporting; he sought to provide the funds and personnel necessary to launch an educational program that could subsequently sustain itself.

The Indefatigable Yardley Warner

His focus on developing “normal” schools to train African-American teachers evidences his commitment to black self-reliance.

It is difficult for us to imagine, at our chronological remove from the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the profoundly radical nature of his mission. He firmly believed that ex-slaves were the victims of environment and circumstance, not merely the inheritors of an intractable biological destiny. For Warner, the *nature* of African-American people was no different from that of whites; all were men and women, equal in the eyes of God. It was the deforming *nurture* of slavery that had created such a perilous situation demanding the need for education. In one of his many appeals for the freed slaves' cause written while in England, Warner demonstrates his sympathetic understanding of the forces precipitating their unhappy condition in the South just after the war:

The complaints of the Southern whites against the Freedmen which strikes the most sadness through my heart is that they say the liberated blacks do not keep their word. People who make this complaint should bear in mind that formerly the slave lived by his *instincts*, now he must live by *his wits*. He had over 200 years of teaching how to do nothing — i.e., how to get along with doing as little as possible, unaccustomed to handling money and never was trusted enough to make him trustworthy; How can we expect him to jump from these conditions into self reliant ways and into positions of trust when all his antecedents *were* and were *designed* (those long years of successive generations) to make him a creature dependent on another's will and another's pleasure? I comfort myself under these reflections and consider that he is doing wonderfully well considering his opportunities and his present needs.³

A revolutionary housing development in central North Carolina provides one of the most successful examples of Warner's fervent commitment to African-American self reliance. Nearly one hundred years before the Woolworths' lunch counter sit-in fixed forever Greensboro's place in the history of the civil rights struggle, Yardley Warner established there a progressive experiment in black self-ownership housing. Two years after the War, through the auspices of “The Association of Friends of Philadelphia and Its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen,” Warner purchased thirty-five and one-half acres of property which, over the next twenty years, was subdivided into one acre

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lots that were sold to freed slaves. The period right after the War was a bewildering time for ex-slaves; their first experience of true freedom was undercut by the harsh reality of having to get a living on their own in an environment sometimes quite hostile to their interests. Warner felt that home ownership was the solution to a growing problem of homeless poverty. Having their own land and housing would provide immediate security and subsequently encourage industry and thrift.

The success of the development that became known as Warnersville exceeded all of Warner's expectations. Lots were purchased by individuals over the course of the twenty years from 1868 to 1888. There they built houses and schools and maintained gardens from which much of their food needs could be met. The happy outcome of this venture was no doubt much the result of Warner's sympathetic catering to the needs of those he served. Records in the Guilford County Courthouse for the sale of twenty-five lots in Warnersville show that the price ranged from \$25 to \$400 each, an indication that Warner developed a procedure through which freed slaves could purchase property according to their ability to pay. Never one to become long entrenched in any situation, however, Warner soon worked his way out of the management of Warnersville, handing that task over to a freedman named Harmon Unthank who became the sales agent for the Friends Association and an important local leader in Warnersville.⁴

One less than happy reason why Warner might have wanted to leave Warnersville was the bad treatment accorded him by whites. Living as he did among the ex-slaves, many whites branded him a pariah. He was more unwelcome than a carpetbagger or a Union soldier. He writes of having been "threatened with the 'halter' in Virginia by men with the power to inflict it; fired at with shotguns, (the men saying 'goodbye nigger teacher') in Hillsboro, North Carolina, and assailed with stones near Chapel Hill, and waylaid near Stevenson, Alabama."⁵

Yet he met verbal attacks with determination and a modicum of restrained Quaker wit. Riding on a train once from Memphis to Knoxville, Warner chose to sit with the blacks on the train, "the white man's car being overcrowded with vulgar white people...." After conversing with a clever young man and his wife (Negroes), he writes,

I was accosted by a white Southerner thus: "What is your position?" "Teacher," I replied. "Teacher — ha, ha, ha!" (in chorus). "We'll show you how to teach niggers." Here he was joined

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by four others in a tirade of abuse and threats too vulgar for repetition. After a lull in one of the invectives, one said, "Well, honestly, Mr. — [Warner], what would you think of a man who went and talked to them niggers as you did?" "I would think he had some business with them." "What business could he have with them?" "More than you have with me."⁶

A picture of Yardley Warner on a train heading for a new destination would perhaps be the most typical one to draw. He spent a great deal of his life travelling. In addition to his countless journeys around the South establishing and checking on the schools he administered, he went twice to Europe engaged in promoting the ex-slave cause. Friends abroad proved avid supporters of the educational projects Warner had begun, and on his first trip to the British Isles in 1873 he raised nearly \$17,000 from English and Irish Quakers. During his nine month sojourn among British Friends, Warner met the woman who became his second wife, Anne Horne, an encounter that must have encouraged his subsequent return to England. (His first wife, Hannah Allen, had died the previous year.) Although his next excursion to Europe initially brought him there as a travelling companion to his ailing brother, Warner's second tenure in the home of Quakerism lasted five years, 1876–1881, during which time he married Anne Horne.

Yet the existing letters between Warner and Horne evidence nothing in the way of romantic passion. They wrote to each other about their respective work, about seeking guidance from above in pursuing the Lord's calling. Warner only becomes effusive when speaking of the ex-slaves, temperance, or nature. He waxes poetic regarding the singing of crickets, or the "lovely and animating spread of verdure" clothing the land about him, "inviting our hearts to intimate communion with the Author and Builder of this scene of glory."⁷ He burns with the fire of indignation when railing about the demon alcohol:

Oh it is fearful this liquor pest! To think of this lady teacher just arrived asking me if I was a teetotaller — She was not — and Mrs. J. is not! For I smelt it on her the other day coming home earlier than usual. How many women can think of being anything else than a teetotal! Why should they touch liquor?⁸

The vehemence with which he pursued the cause of African-American education was only matched by that with which he sought to instill in others his value of temperance. He spoke often at temperance

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meetings and wrote about the perils of alcohol in *The Maryville Monitor*, a paper he published intermittently. His abundant energy sought many outlets. But his writings demonstrate unmistakably that what he pursued *most* fervently during his life was a deeper faith and a clearer sense of the Lord's guidance. The letters and journal reveal a man of abiding faith, often struggling to check a natural proclivity toward the desire for popular acclaim, longing to submit his own will to the divine will. "Oh for the entire subjugation of self," he writes in a journal entry a month after the death of his first wife,

...complete dedication of life and timely preparation for death. I feel that it is time for me to see my way more unclouded — to live nearer the messenger so as not to be surprised at his coming; and above all nearer to Him who only can conduct safely over Jordan. Severe have been my conflicts and my health somewhat shattered. I could go freely — Yes now.⁹

This he wrote thirteen years before his own death, before he took the two trips to England, married again, and fathered three more sons. It reveals that his energy was in fact not boundless, and that he too suffered the agony of despair.

Even though Yardley Warner was a man of great motivation and perseverance, there were limits to what he was willing to endure. A letter to Anne Horne in 1874 breaks out in a bit of his guarded humor. Quietly writing to her at nearly 1:00 in the afternoon he says,

We have been in worship or meeting ever since [8:30] a.m. and although they were much favored I think the effort in point of time has been overdone. American Friends are latterly going pretty great lengths in this way. *We have bodies!* They are the temple of the Holy Spirit; and need prudent care.¹⁰

Warner's actual association with Springfield Monthly Meeting in High Point, North Carolina, was brief and somewhat tenuous, like many of the organizational ties he made over the course of his life. His second wife once said of him, "Those who knew him best are those who loved him most,"¹¹ a cryptic statement that suggests it took a great deal of love to really get to know him. An odd, enigmatic character, he moved from place to place, in part because he never quite fit in one spot. Conservative Ohio Quakers found his decision to join their boys and girls in a single classroom and dining hall too much in the way of "temporizing" — succumbing to the times. English Friends at the school in Pales disap-

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proved of his eclectic teaching style in which, according to American Friend Barnabas C. Hobbs, “Birds, quadrupeds, insects, fishes, good manners, health, [and] cleanliness” all mixed their way into the curriculum.¹² His burial at Springfield may have been simply the chance result of his having been rejected for membership in the Burlington, New Jersey, Monthly Meeting seven months before he was accepted by Springfield, February 6, 1884. Burlington Friends found that, as their enigmatic minute records, “an obstruction appeared to exist in the minds of some of their members as to the propriety” of accepting his application.¹³ Whether his theology proved too Gurneyite to suit the Friends in New Jersey — late in his life he approved of such energetic expressions of the faith as hymn-singing and full-blown evangelism — we will probably never know. His religious sentiments were likely more in accord with those at Springfield in the final decades of the nineteenth-century, yet even there he never became too comfortable in the pews.

A contemporary of the Warner sons recalled that while at Springfield the Warners always walked to meeting,

...and looked tired and bedraggled. The other Friends always had carriages and rode to meeting, but not the Warners. I'm afraid even the Friends were not always as thoughtful as they might have been of these people whose work with ex-slaves made them outcasts by the other white people.¹⁴

While living in the Springfield community, Warner taught at the Little Davie Negro school in what was then Bush Hill, now Archdale. Energetic to the end, he worked until three weeks before he died in 1885, and local observers have told that in his late sixties he rode his small sons in a baby carriage so vigorously that people came out to see if the boys would end up sprawled in the dirt.¹⁵ His parental devotion to those sons, however, is displayed in the Noah's Ark and painted animals, purportedly carved by Warner for his boys, and now housed in the Springfield Museum.

He died of typhoid fever at Bush Hill and is buried in the Springfield cemetery. It is fitting that his obituary was published in the *North Carolina Prohibitionist*, saying that “he was a kind hearted Christian, thoroughly devoted to his work, in which he engaged from a sense of duty. Always ready to befriend the poor and oppressed, he was none the less ready to give of his means to every laudable enterprise.”¹⁶

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A photographic portrait made at the time of his second marriage in 1877 reveals a glimmer of the odd and indefatigable spirit he possessed. It shows a man with an egg-shaped face, an imposing forehead, piercing eyes, and wisps of curling hair. He's gazing aside of the camera, looking as though he's been caught thinking about the next necessary thing to do. His clothes are plain and rumpled, and he looks like the man he was: a bit misfitted into the world he sought to remold. His image and his life provide a timely reminder that conformity and propriety are less welcome to God than humility, obedience, and love.

Endnotes

¹Stafford Allen Warner, *Yardley Warner: The Freedman's Friend*. (Didcot: The Wessex Press, 1957), 158–59.

²*Ibid.*, 43.

³*Ibid.*, 174.

⁴Nell Craig, "Pioneer Venture in Home-Ownership by Means of Modest Charges and Long-Term Payments Started After Civil War," *Greensboro Daily News*, June 1, 1941. Reprinted in Stafford Allen Warner, *Yardley Warner: The Freedman's Friend*. (Didcot: The Wessex Press, 1957), 285–97.

⁵Warner, *Yardley Warner*, 64.

⁶*Ibid.*, 176.

⁷*Ibid.*, 135.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*, 241–42.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 272.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 206.

¹²Quoted in Warner, *Yardley Warner*, 173.

¹³*Ibid.*, 199.

¹⁴Craig, "Pioneer Venture."

¹⁵Interview with Sarah Richardson Haworth, 29 July 1990.

¹⁶Craig, "Pioneer Venture," 296.

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The Story of the Arthur Morgan School

By

Ernest Morgan

When Arthur Morgan was a young man, around the turn of the century, he had a vision of a new kind of school. It would be a living, learning, working community of students and teachers, sharing the work and decision-making. Within the group there would be strong mutual affirmation. Life in this school would be a happy and challenging experience. The vision was strong, but at that stage of his life Arthur Morgan had no resources with which to pursue it.

Ten years later, he had been successful in his engineering practice and felt that, on a modest scale, he might launch the school of his dreams. However, he had no college education and was lacking in experience so he started looking for someone with better qualifications who might work with him.

One of the people to whom he was referred was Lucy Griscom, a Quaker woman whose father had helped establish a school in the Pestalozzi tradition. Lucy had attended that school and gone on to college, ultimately acquiring a master's degree.

Pestalozzi was a Swiss educator of the Napoleonic era whose ideas were similar to those of Arthur Morgan. Arthur had never heard of him, but Lucy had and was familiar with his ideas and methods. She shared Morgan's vision. Arthur had been widowed some years before, and he and Lucy eventually married. They planned to found an innovative school in the country — preferably in the mountains.

After a long search they bought a couple of abandoned farms in the

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Berkshires on Jacob's Ladder Road. Observing the boulders that were everywhere, Lucy remarked "Jacob would have no difficulty finding a pillow here!" From that remark came the name of their project, Jacob's Pillow.

At about that time, Arthur was called to head up a giant flood control project at Dayton, Ohio, a difficult and challenging assignment, and the school was put on the back burner. As the flood control job neared completion, Arthur and Lucy planned to go ahead with the school but unexpectedly found themselves involved in Antioch College instead. So they set about to apply their educational ideas at the college level. Jacob's Pillow was sold to Ted Shawn and became a school of the dance, which continues to this day.

Thirty years later the "Jacob's Pillow" idea was picked up by another generation of the family. Elizabeth Morey had been taught at home. She was reading at age five and learned briskly. When she reached the age for eighth grade her parents entered her in public school. She found this exciting and raced through high school in three-and-a-half years as an honor student. Later she entered Antioch College where she got acquainted with Arthur Morgan's ideas — and married me.

During the early years of our marriage another important educational influence came to bear on Elizabeth. She had as a close friend and mentor, a cousin of Lucy Morgan, Caroline Urie, who had worked with Madame Montessori in Italy (until Mussolini ran her out of the country!).

After raising a family Elizabeth took up public school music teaching. Never having experienced public school in the lower grades she was shocked at what she found. "If they were trying to stamp out imagination, initiative, and responsibility, they couldn't do it better!" But she was successful as a public school teacher, and when the school consolidated she was offered a job in the larger school. However, she declined, remarking to me that she wasn't going to teach again in a public school if she could help it. At that point, with my encouragement, she took the "Jacob's Pillow" idea off the shelf.

In 1938 Arthur Morgan had founded Celo Community, located in a beautiful mountain valley with a good climate, near Burnsville, North Carolina, as an experiment. It had grown into a successful land trust community. In it was an innovative children's camp. Our younger son, Lee, attended this camp in the early 1950s with great benefit. That is how we got acquainted with Celo Community. For one dollar a year in

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1958 the Community leased us fifty acres of land with some rudimentary buildings in which to start the school.

We didn't have the resources to open a school right away, so for four years we conducted a teenage work camp, getting the place ready. Since the school did not yet exist, we were unable to take tax deduction on the money we were putting into it. This problem was solved by the school becoming a subsidiary of the Celo Health Education Corporation, which had been set up to operate the Celo Health Center. This gave us tax exemption and a sympathetic board. It was a member of this board, Gorman Mattison, an Antioch graduate, who suggested the name, the Arthur Morgan School. This, he said, would define its philosophy and provide a rallying point for recruitment and support. He was right about that.

We had two reasons for starting with a work camp. The obvious one was to fix up the place and get it ready for a school. A reason we didn't mention was that we had read A.S. Neill's comment in his book *Summerhill* to the effect that he had never known kids to work without being driven to it. We were projecting a working school, and we wanted to find out for ourselves whether or not kids would work willingly.

Our campers worked hard all morning and had activities in the afternoon. They ate it up! A problem was that, toward the end of camp, some of the kids were distressed by the thought that this wonderful experience was about to end — and behavior problems resulted. We resorted to various devices to wear them out during the last couple of days — such things as strenuous folk dancing and all-night hikes.

The school finally opened with the help of Bob and Dot Barrus of Camp Celo in the fall of 1962. Elizabeth was the director, but I was still tied up with our business in Yellow Springs, Ohio. However, I spent all the time I could at the school and had a good view of its operation.

Elizabeth didn't start with classes right away. At the outset staff and students sat around a campfire and discussed the meaning of community and how we should all work together and seek to affirm one another rather than be competitive. There was a lot of work to be done, so the students were busy harvesting garden produce and carrying on other activities. When one of them asked, "When is school going to start?" Elizabeth answered, "It's already started!"

Among the staff that first year was a co-op student from Antioch. A capable young man, he entered heartily into the life of the school. When

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his college work period drew to a close, he had the college shift him to another period so that he could stay on. When that period, too, drew to a close, he simply dropped out of college for the rest of the year. "I'm learning more here than I would at college!" he remarked.

Early on it became the policy of the school to house the boarding students with staff families — not over four students to a house. The aim was to maintain the quality of family life rather than use dormitories. The usual size of the faculty is twelve — half the size of the student body. Faculty salaries are modest but the psychic rewards seem to make up the difference.

Celo Community not only provided the necessary land and initial buildings for one dollar a year, community members have a great variety of knowledge and skills which they make available to the students through elective courses. Also, not surprisingly, some Arthur Morgan School faculty members become members of Celo Community.

The school was designed to serve the junior high years — grades seven, eight, and nine. Elizabeth had a logic for choosing that age group. She reasoned that children at that age are young enough so there is a good chance of influencing their basic ideals and value patterns, and they are old enough to go away to school. The other reason was that beyond the ninth grade a school tends to be centered on college preparation and needs more highly specialized academic resources. Lastly, Elizabeth felt that the junior high age level was the most neglected in American educational life. So, junior high it was!

The basic junior high curriculum was followed, though without strict grade differentiation. The students were encouraged to move ahead at their own pace and often went faster than was expected of the group as a whole. With the occasional exception of students who came to the school with serious learning disabilities, boys and girls leaving Arthur Morgan School have transferred comfortably to high school. In some cases they have even been moved ahead an extra grade.

I recall one girl who went on to high school after three years at Arthur Morgan School and then returned for a visit. I asked her how she found the transition. "Very difficult," she said. "In what particular subjects?" I asked. "Oh," she said, "academics were no problem. The hard part was going from a place where people cared about each other to a place where no one cared about anyone but one's self." However, she had developed a circle of friends and was getting along all right.

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Incidents from the daily life of the school may give a better idea of it than a general description.

Elizabeth played down competition, and that has been the custom in the school ever since. At one time there was a staff member who was an excellent folk dance leader. Arthur Morgan School students did a lot of folk dancing and entered a team in the mountain youth jamboree held at Asheville, North Carolina, at which dance teams from all over the South came to compete in a big auditorium. For two successive years the Arthur Morgan School team won first place in its category. The third year, Elizabeth forbade our team to compete. "Dancing," she said "is for joy — not to beat somebody!" She had seen children leaving the auditorium crying because their teams had lost. However, the Arthur Morgan School team auditioned for the jamboree and was accepted as an exhibition team. I remember their performance well. They danced beautifully, happy and relaxed, smiling at each other, in sharp contrast to the tension shown by the other teams.

One dance team we sent to the jamboree had as lead couple a black girl and a white boy. The boy had a very light complexion and there was some excitement in the auditorium over "the albino Negro."

In athletic events, when our soccer team played a team from another school, it was not unusual to "scramble" the teams. For sophisticated soccer that would have been disastrous, but for the level at which we played, it was fine.

The students at Arthur Morgan School are given a good deal of responsibility and participate actively in decision-making. Once some of them began to wonder just how far this process could be carried. Speaking up in all-school meeting, a student asked, "What if we decided to abolish classes?" "That's an interesting idea," Elizabeth responded. "Let's talk about it." A lively discussion followed at which the students soon came to the conclusion that classes were important.

A parallel situation arose at another time. Noise has been a perennial problem in the Arthur Morgan School dining room, and at one point the staff decided to have assigned seating in an effort to diminish the noise. The students didn't like this, and at the next all-school meeting one of them made a motion to abolish assigned seating. Ordinarily decisions were reached by consensus, but voting was occasionally practiced. All the students voted for this motion, and all the staff against it. There were more students than staff, so the motion carried. I happened to be a

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spectator at this meeting. How, I wondered, was the staff going to change this situation without being dictatorial?

At this point, Bob Barrus, our principal teacher, spoke up. "The passage of that motion brings us back to the problem which assigned seating was intended to solve — the matter of noise in the dining room. I suggest that we adopt a policy, not a rigid rule, but a policy, to the effect that when the students sit down in the dining room they leave at least one place at each table for a staff member. In this way there will be somebody at each table to quiet things down a bit if the situation gets too unruly." After a brief discussion a motion to that effect was entertained and passed with the support of the students.

I recall one entertaining incident that had substantial educational value. The woman in charge of our kitchen went into the pantry one day and found that someone had jabbed a screwdriver through the lid of a jar of peanut butter — and left it there! Naturally, she was annoyed and brought the matter up at the next all-school meeting. Lively discussion followed, and Bob Barrus instructed his English class to write papers on "Why would someone jab a screwdriver into a jar of peanut butter?" The resulting papers were interesting. Some would have done credit to a psychologist. Others would not! At the next all-school meeting these papers were read and discussion was renewed. It proved so interesting that classes for the rest of the morning were cancelled so the meeting could continue. At the end of the meeting the question was raised as to whether the pantry should be locked in the future. A consensus was promptly reached that it wouldn't be necessary to lock the pantry.

There was a period at the school when the laundry was poorly handled. Laundry problems came up for discussion at every all-school meeting. Finally, a student was chosen to take charge of the laundry and be responsible for its efficient operation. The staff selected a boy who suffered from a severe inferiority complex. The boy took hold of the laundry and did a good job with it, and emerged in the process as a happy and self-confident young person.

I recall an equally dramatic incident. A business project in Celo Community was being closed out; part of this project, a mail-order business in nonprescription pharmaceuticals, was offered to the school. One of the community members who knew the business offered to manage it for the school. Each day a student assistant went to the office to help. Suddenly the man died of a heart attack. The next morning

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Elizabeth and another staff member went to the office to see what might be done. With them went the ninth grade girl who had been the man's helper. To their surprise, the girl knew the business from top to bottom. A new manager was hired to run the project, and the student assistant was assigned to breaking him in! The effect on this girl was striking. Although intelligent and attractive, she had been extremely shy and unsure of herself. From this experience she emerged as a poised and confident young woman. I could tell a number of stories like that.

Elizabeth served as director for seven years and was succeeded by Herb Smith in 1970. At first she stayed away to avoid cramping him, but he soon drew her back into the life of the school where she functioned happily. This reflected the democratic way in which the staff had functioned under Elizabeth's leadership.

Elizabeth died in 1971 of cancer, but her ideas and methods were firmly established. It is remarkable that throughout the changes that occur every year in the staff and student body the central thrust of the school continues the same.

The democratic organizational culture of the school had a curious by-product. Directors brought in from outside always failed! This happened with three excellent men. Conversely, directors recruited from inside were always successful. In the course of time "directors" of the school were replaced by "clerks," after the manner of Friends, and Arthur Morgan School became a staff-run school. This arrangement has strong advantages and some disadvantages, too. The school still has a board which takes part in important deliberations and holds legal authority — an authority that has not been invoked since Arthur Morgan School became a staff-run school.

It is a commentary on the life of the school that when it held a celebration on its 25th anniversary some 25 percent of all the students who had ever attended returned for the occasion, some from as far away as Alaska, California, Canada, and Florida. Also attending were many former staff members.

The normal enrollment of the school is twenty-four students. One time the enrollment was allowed to grow to thirty-four, but the school seemed to lose some of its community character, so the following year enrollment was cut back to twenty-four.

Each fall the school has a recurring problem. Part of the students are fresh from public schools and bring with them the attitude "every man

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for himself." Every year the school struggles to overcome this attitude and replace it with one of mutual affirmation. The success of this effort varies from year to year.

Sometimes folks wonder if it's a good idea for young people to retreat to this remote mountain utopia, away from "the real world." That is a good point. Once a year the school closes down for a few weeks while the students and most of the staff go on field trips. These trips are taken in different directions. Sometimes they go south to the Everglades, or west into Texas where Mexican immigrants are having a hard time, or north to some city where they can help with Habitat for Humanity. Always these field trips involve some form of volunteer service work.

And there are other forms of outreach. One year recently the students got "steamed up" about a peace march planned in Washington and worked hard helping to raise the funds necessary to take part in that march. While in the Washington area they assisted in shelters for the homeless. On another occasion recently a group went to Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to witness the trial of some women who had protested nuclear developments there. On another occasion some of the students became concerned about military exercises scheduled to be held in this area and proceeded to write letters to the newspapers and legislators. The mountain valley does not seem to isolate them from the real world.

Now approaching its thirtieth anniversary, alive and vigorous, the Arthur Morgan School represents the continuity of a long educational tradition and adventure.

Lines to “Dear Brother:”
Life at Guilford College, 1892–93
Through the Eyes of a Dining Hall Worker

By

Harriet Lee Spencer

Edited by Brenda Haworth

This biography is written for all of us who don't descend from long lines of governors, planters, statesmen, and aristocrats and whose roots are not in homes like the ones we tour in beautiful Williamsburg. We didn't inherit silver tea sets, crystal decanters, and mahogany sideboards. This is written to salute those countless men and women who plodded and survived and raised families, the men and women not remembered with distinction. We stand on their broad, unlettered shoulders.

• • •

Harriet Lee Spencer was born on a farm in Gladesboro (now Glenola), Randolph County, North Carolina, on February 10, 1870. The house was a log house, consisting of two rooms with a dog trot or breezeway between them. Although the rooms were under the same roof, the family had to go outside to go from one room to the other. There was a kitchen in a separate building over to the side. There was another separate outbuilding in which a spinster aunt of Harriet's lived. There had been two aunts living there but one died in 1864 of diphtheria and pneumonia. Finally there were farm outbuildings. One of these was a big, tall, sturdy barn which is still standing.

Brenda Haworth, great grandniece of Harriet Lee Spencer, is Curator of the Museum of Old Domestic Arts, in the old Springfield Meeting House, High Point, North Carolina. She attends Jamestown Friends Meeting and lives in High Point.

Lines to "Dear Brother"

I'm sure this house had the necessary furniture — a table with benches, beds, a worktable and a few chairs — but only one chest of drawers has survived. It is five feet tall and was once five and one-half feet tall before someone sawed off the pretty, plump turnip-shaped feet it used to have.

In 1870 this family group consisted of parents, Cyrus and Abigail Coltrane Spencer; their children, Asenath Ann, Martha Frances, Allen Jay, Joseph Clayton, Harriet Lee; and the spinster aunt, Nancy Spencer, who was born in 1807 and died in 1891. There would be one more child, Isaac Sidney, who would be born in 1874. Cyrus and Abigail were lifelong members of Marlboro Friends Meeting and had many, many relatives in the cemetery there in 1870, including three more children who had died young. William died February 2, 1864 at two years of age; James died March 29, 1864 at five years of age and Lydia died April 26, 1864 at one year of age. They were probably victims of diphtheria.

Harriet was a twin. She was a blond-haired, blue-eyed girl and Joe was a brown-haired, brown-eyed boy. They were close, although Joe and Allen were closer growing up and remained closer through life. There is no evidence Harriet ever went to school, but there is evidence that Joe went to Stalker's School. I hope Harriet got to go also because her later letters indicated that she loved education.

Her letters went home to her twin brother, Joe, from Guilford College, which was a long way from Gladesboro, both geographically and culturally. She was at Guilford from September 1892–July 1893. She worked in the dining room and absorbed all the new experiences and friendships. Here are her letters which are so alive as she describes her year at Guilford College.

• • •

Guilford College. 9.1.1892

Dear Brother[,] I will write you a few lines to night to let you know how I am getting along. I am haveing a nice time up here. I went to an entertainment saturday night and an apron party[.] at the close Herbert Renolds got the prize for hemming the necest apron and setting on the rolling pin the most graceful and threading the nedle and Mr Kirkpatrick for threading it the most disgraceful. I went to Church sunday[.] I went to prayer meeting to night and washed the dishes when we came back. Well I will tell you exactly what I have to do. I get dressed and down to the kitchen by 6 o'clock. I help Ann make out french rolls for breakfast

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and help put the victuals on the table and I wait on too tables[,] Sallie Stevens and Louisa Osborne's.¹ I certainly felt like a dunce the first to or three days waiting on the table. they were always calling for something I had never heard tell of before. but I am getting so I like it splendid now. There was not but one of the dining room girls here when I came[.] Sallie Stockard came on Saturday before. Florence Kennedy is nurse but she is going to stay in the kitchen till another girl comes[.] Effie Williams is to come. Sallie Stockard and Hattie Edwards is my room mates but I and Hattie Sleep together and Hattie grites her teeth so in her sleep I hope when Effie comes her or me one will move out[.] Sallie and me liked to have died next morning laughing at her. Hattie washed the dishes and I wipe them[.] we get them done about ten o'clock and we set at the table from 1/2 to 3/4 of an hour after we ar done eating before we begin washing the dishes[.] we have the chance of setting down one and half or too hours evry morning and evening[.] Addie Wilson is staing in the cottage² and going to school[.] she halped us in the dining room last week[.] I dont think I ever saw any smarter girl than she is[.] there is 47 boys and 13 girls that board in the College[.] I had much rather work here than at the canry[.] I will close for this time[.] pleas write soon and tell all the news[.] from your sister Harriet

10.4.1892

Guilford College

Dear Brother

I take the pleasure of answering your welcame letter which I received monday night. I like up [it] here fully as well as I expected with one or to exceptions. I received a letter from Fannie and Alpeas before I did from you and one from Allen the next day but one[.] Fannie and AB sent me there photos. they want me to go out there[.] they said they would pay my way if I would come. Hattie Edwards said tell you she saw you go by the Chapel and if you would leave your Pappy and mammy she would have you[.] Sallie never named you knocking at the door[.] I think the girls ar most all ugly up here but a bout 4[.] Effie Williams is a right pretty girl[.] I room with her[.] Wilson Coltrane stayes in a cottage. I have met him

¹Sallie Stevens taught shorthand and typing, 1891–93; H. Louisa Osborne was Governess, 1892–1921, and Dean of Women, 1920–26, and also taught Latin.

²Cottages provided inexpensive alternative student housing.

Lines to "Dear Brother"

severl times at the well. The niggroes have been haveing lively times at there big meeting up here[.] they said they cut up so rappid they woke 4 sleepers in the church. Annie Cox is comeing to go to school. Who did you get your mules from[?] How did lky get his toe cut off[?] is it plum off or did you stick it back[?] The boys wrote on a piece of paper and stuck it up on a tree at archdale¹ and said that the dining room girls were walking themselves to death carrying a big dish of hash and a saucer of light bread. Clark Loflin and Cora Sumner were married the 23. I hear Ada and Dora Spencer are going to marry before long. you ought to be up here to hear Sallie Stockard and Mr Coude[.] I dont know where [whether] that is the way to spell Coude [Cude] are [or] not, but to hear them talk Politics they will sit at the table for a half hour at a time and dispute a bout politics[.] Sallie is a high strung case[.] she cant be pleased any way if the whole world was her own. The big bell broke in a few days after I came up here and they got another last week[.] it can be heard to Greensboro. it cost some where between 75 and a 100\$. Last Sunday was a week a go Hattie and Effie and me went to the College pond in the morning and got some grapes and in the evening went to Callie Edwards[.] Old Miss Fields is staying at Callies. We came back through the grave yard[.] there is bout too acres in it and worst grown up grave yard I ever saw. The train ran over a man out at the junction last evening and killed him[.] Is Elvert coming much this fall[?] if he is who all is helping him. I wish you would send me a jug of new molasses for I am geting tired of beef and butter three times a day and rosting ears and sweet potatos by the bushel

I must close[.] This leaves me well and haveing a nice time.

As ever your well wishing Sister HLS

Guilford College

Nov. 9 1892

Dear Brother[,], I will write you a few lines in answer to the ones I got from you. I did not think it worth while to tell you that I was not in the notion of going to Wilmington yet a while. I think I shall be satisfied where I am a while longer. They have expelled too fellows. [E.M.] and [E.B.] They fell a foul of one of the cottage boys and gave him a beating. he had not been doing them any injury[.] [E] threatened to shoot him[.] One of the boys

¹Archdale Hall was the men's dormitory.

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got shot in the heel one night when they were stealing chickens. Wilson Coltrane has got tired of the cottage and has gone to milking and helps get up wood on Saturdays. he boards in founders¹ now. Dora Frazier is going to teach School at Renolds this winter[.] where is Eliza going to teach[?] I heard that Miss Cranford had been offered 40 dollars a month to teach at High Point and was a bout to back out teaching at Stalkers. Another one has come to help in the dining room, Mary Williams[.] she is an old married lady. Miss Hackney² heard from Dora Welch last week[.] she is wanting to get in up here to work again There is a fellow here from Syria. he is going to School[.] he was just fifty days coming. he is mediem size and very dark complected.³ The demicrats took the day in Guilford[.] I will close for this time as I can think of nothing interisting to write. Pleas write soon[.] Ever your Sister[.] Good bye

Dec. 7 1892
Guilford College

Dear Brother

I will endeavor to answer your highly appretuated [appreciated] letter which I received the other day and was glad to hear from you all once more. Well you asked how I was getting along. I am getting along very well and aim to come back next term. I would not come home at all if it were not for my teeth[.] I want to have them worked on and if I were to go from here to Greensboro I would half to pay I expect and I would rather have it done at highpoint any way. I guess I will be at home the 20[.] Stella Farlow said she would take my place in the dining room[.] you can suit your self about coming after me but if I have to go or come either on the train I had rather go home on it so if you do come after me you will have to come the 19. I dont aim to take my trunk[.] yes I will need stockings and a good many more things. No I have not heard from Allen or Fannie but once. I answered their letters but they have not answered mine. Tell Jim Trotter to save some of his paper and candy untill I come.

¹Founders Hall, the main building, formerly New Garden Board School.

²Priscilla Benbow Hackney was matron of the school.

³Probably Naseem Sim'an of Brumana, Syria, who was first listed in the college catalog, as a junior, in 1893. He finished in 1896 and was later reported in the *Guilford Collegian* (October 1896) as teaching a "successful school in Yanceyville."

Lines to "Dear Brother"

as I have not a sine of a fellow up here. I reckon I will have to go back on him[.] I went to meeting rite often while it was warm but since it has got cold I do not go except sunday nights. There is no preachers that is much a count. David Sampson preached his fare well sermon here last sunday[.] he is going off on a preaching trip. Last sunday the boys tore down the Chicken house and killed 8 chickens[.] then on monday while they were at diner one of the barns got burned down. [A] little boy set it on fire trying to light a segar[.] it was cramed full of hay and corn. then on monday night the boys tore down their necessary house and threw it out in the field[.] Dora Welch has been over here three nights besides Sunday evening. I got turkey enough thanksgiving for one time[.] they killed 18 turkeys for dinner and had oysters and crackers for super[.] I think oysters is a nough to spern a buzzard[.] Well as I cannot think of any thing else to write I will close for this time[.] Ever your Sister[.]
Good bye

February 1 1893

Dear Brother[,] I will try and write you a few lines to let you know how I am getting a long[.] I would have wrote before now but I thout I would wait till those Photos come[.] But I have gave them out. did he send them all to you are [or] what is the matter[?] Well the train did not leave that night untill 1 oclock and Nates folks would not let me go that time of night[.] so I staid till next morning and went on the 10 oclock train[.] there was lots of folks on the train I knew[.] what time did you get home[?] did Elwood and Annie come to see you[?] I under stood they were going down there. What does Callie call her boys. I under stood she had some[.] I heard that John Rush was not expected to live. he was working in a gold mine in Virginia and it caved in on him. There is a bout 110 Students on roll and there is 58 of them boarders in founders which makes 80 boarders counting all. I wait on the same tables I did before but they have made a grate change in the dining room since they have cut the tables in to and made square ones[.] I dont like them as well as I did the others[.] there is 19 that eat at my tables. the same ones is in the dining room that was before except one[,] Josie McGee[.] she is Albert Vickreys wifes sister[.] Esper Dorset is in the Kitchen[.] she does twice as much to help us as Porter did[.] we get through one hour sooner this time after evry meal. she helps us wash the dishes evry time and I dont think Porter helped us but a bout 3 times all together. The cottage girls say Annie has been mourning ever since she heard Elwood was married. I went to the

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lecture Saturday night[.] Adison Coffin lectured on his travels to Europe and Sweeden[.]¹ it was very interesting[.] he spoke 1 hour[.] he is going to give another before long. we have all been going more this time than we did last term. Esper goes to Sunday school and tries to get us to go but we have not yet. Sallie Stevens told Effie Sunday night if she did get to going a little more she was going to get after her so wee all lit out and went to prayer meeting[.] Miss Jinkins generly spends Sunday evenings with us[.] she invites us to come and see her and I think I will visit her before many more nights. Well I got a letter from Allen yesterday[.] I did not hear any complaint. I have had 2 1/2 hours this afternoon to do as I pleased and it is getting most time to fix supper so I will close

Pleas write soon and let me know about them pictures[.] I think \$1.00 is to much to loose[.] Ida Vale went to the Conference in New Brasca and caught her self a fellow by the name of Johnson and married in about 3 weeks

March 7 1893

Dear Brother

I will try and write you a few lines in answer to your very few you wrote to me[.] I am well and haveing lots of fun. I think you ought to be up here[.] I know you would enjoy your self. if I knew a little more and was not quite so old I would go to School here next year. for I know I could not help likeing. Henrie Rayl talked awhile about leaveing but they could not get any one to take his place and I think they raised his wages. any way he has concluded to stay on. I think us dining room Girls could give up Aunt Ana as easy as we could Henrie. it don't seem to me we could make out with out him[.] he did get 12 dollars a month but he was offered 20\$ a month to tend a mill. Professor Pray gave an entertainment 2 weeks a go[.] he showed severl tricks of slight of hand like puting a 5 cent peice up his nose and leting it come out at his eye. I thought I caught on to that though. last saturday night was the anual Phylagerin² society[.]

¹Addison Coffin, 1822–1897, gave an account of his activities in the Underground Railroad in his “Early Settlements of Friends in North Carolina,” published in *The Southern Friend* in volumes V and VI, 1983–84. He wrote his autobiography, *Life and Travels*, which was published in 1897.

²Philagorean Literary Society.

Lines to "Dear Brother"

the Cox Girls and their fellows were coming to it but it was to bad oh ho so Mila and Monroe came[.] we are haveing our own fun with old Mr Shaver now but he pretends to be so good natured we cant make him mad[.] he says this is the 5th year of his widower hood but he says he is not going to let it go out and him not married. we were trying to mesmerise Hattie Edwards and we had my old light apron tied over her head and Shavers come along and pulled it off and tore 2 little holes in it and he went and got three yards to make me one[.] I dont aim to make an apron out of it[.] I will send a scrap of it[.] he treated us all on oranges last sunday[.] Those Photos did look a right smart better than I expected[.] Hattie and Effie said tell you to send them yours but they say Allen is the pretiest. I will send Allen and Fannie one[.] has Bob done anything more about that Estate[?] I heard some talk that Mary [W.] and Husband are trying to get devorced[.] Mary went to Greensboro Monday and to her Fathers thursday. a crowd of us aims to walk down to M Chapel¹ next sunday eve to preaching[.] They had a protracted Meeting here the other week but It was the usual number after sunday. They have made 2550 pounds of butter here since the first of last June and they have bought 416 pounds[.] Malen Cox is going to go to milking in a few days[.] Herbert Renolds has gone to Indianna[.] he tried me and some of the rest to Borrow money[.] he did not get but five dollars[.] Esper let him have that[.] he just went off and did not let any body know it[.] Allen did not say any thing a bout you only wanted to know how your mules looked[.] I will close as I cannot think of any thing to say[.] Miss Hackney has just come in after Miss Mary[.] there is something right smart up but they keep it so still I cant find out what it is[.] Pleas write soon and write more next time.

Ever your Sister HLS

Guilford College May 26 1893

Dear Brother

I will try and write you a few lines to night to let you know about the Commencement[.] it will be 4th and 5th days[.] the big day will be 5 day. I have just got back from the contest[.] Will Woodyly got the first Meddle[.] there will be a nother Contest to morrow night[.] it has been a rush all day to day. there is all ready 10 visitors here now[.] Miss Weatherby and

¹Muir's Chapel Methodist Church.

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Miss Yong played the Pianno and fiddle to night. Nan is well[.] Mr. Shaver has not quite proposed to her yet but he bought her a ticket both nights to go to the magic lantern show[.] he got stuck on her right away. Annie Cox and Corney Kersey has had the mumps[.] Well Miss Hackney wants me to stay through vacetion but I have not told her I would but you need not be surprised if I do not come home[.] it may be that I will tell for sertain when Nan writes home but you come to the commencement any way[.] if you do not come to the C you need not look for us untill you see us for we will not come untill second or third day

Ever Harriet

Guilford College
June 28 1893

Dear Brother[,] I will try and write you a few lines to night. I am well at present[.] Aunt Ana and Esper is complaining pretty heavy to day. We have canned 25 cans of berries to day[.] we have put up 200 cans of Cherries and berries. Miss Hackney and Henryanna¹ got back from the Fare last Sunday. they looked a bout 10 shades browner than they did when they started. They said Henryanna and Prof. Perisho² and Mary E. rode an Elephant while they were gone[.] Mr Cude says he cant tell to save his neck which Perisho is going for Henryanna or Priscilla[.] Mr Cude took Esper to the Sunday School Convention at Sandy Ridge last Sunday. and a hack load of the rest of us went to Persimmon Grove³ in the after noon[.] Colored Church preaching was over when we got there but we got there in time to see them take the Lords Supper and they ever lastingly shouted. well Miss Copeland has gone to Salsberry[.] she said Tom wanted her to board where he could stay every saturday night[.] she said she hated to leave here the worst she ever hated to leave any where. she said it had been the pleasentest 2 week to her since she has been married[.] I believe she ment it for I believe she could make any crowd lively[.] she did not seem one bit bigetty as they all expected[.] the most of them were sorry when she come and sorryer when she left. there is to

¹Henryanna Hackney was the daughter of Priscilla B. Hackney.

²Elwood Perisho taught mathematics, natural science, and elocution at Guilford College, 1887-1893.

³Persimmon Grove A.M.E. Church, about two miles from the college.

Lines to "Dear Brother"

boarders coming to night on the train[.] Mrs. Woodys mother¹ died last fourth day night[.] they Embalmed her and sent her to Indianna for buryal. Sallie Stockards mother is dead and she has gone home[.] Pleas write soon[.] your Sister Harriet

July 4 1893

Dear Brother[.] I will take the pleasure of writing to you to night. I have been to the Battle ground² to day[.] we started at 8 o'clock this morning and got back at 7 this evening[.] they took the hack and two horse wagon[.] I thought I had been jolted before but I sat right on the hind bolster going along and it liked to have jolted my dumplings out but I saw and heard enough to pay up for the jolting[.] we had a splendid time looking over the Battle ground[.] I did not count the men that spoke but it seemed to me there was 25 spoke[.] they began speaking at 11 o'clock and spoke till 2 and then they unveiled one of the monuments then had dinner and then they spoke a gain untill 5 o'clock. I saw 6 from down that way that I knew but I did not get to talk with them any[.] I heard that Eliza Coltrane had married a sick old man and is siting back with nothing to do. Well I think Esper thinks enough of Mr Cude if that will do any good[.] I saw all five of the Cude Brothers to day[.] I think Ed is the best looking one of them[.] Mr Cude said the Trustees had come to his terms and he is going to stay on[.] Well you wanted to know how Mahlon and me is geting along[.] I am geting a long very well and I recon he is to[.] he has took Rayls place but I had rather have Rayl[.] there is not any man that can go a round him in helping in the house[.] we have ice cream or ice tea nearly evry night. I have not had any letter from AE since you were here[.] I think I can get ready a most any time to go but I did not want to go as soon as you spoke of going[.] I think October would be soon enough[.] I think I will be at home the last of this month. tell Nan I am not aiming to come back next term and tell her if they dont answer my letter I will give them a paddling when I come home. Write soon as you

¹Sarah Cox Chawner, mother of Mary Chawner Woody, who, with her husband John Woody, was associated with Quaker schools and colleges in the west and midwest, as well as with Guilford College.

²Guilford Courthouse battleground, about four miles from the campus. Site of a Revolutionary War battle, March 15, 1781.

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can and let me know when you are aiming to go out there

Your sister Harriet

July 22 1893

Dear Brother[,] I will write you to this morning to let you know I am well and when I am coming home[.] I aim to come home next Friday[.] pleas meet me at the train so you can take my trunk I would not want it to stay at the Station over night. you need not tell any body when I am coming[.] I dont see why you have not got a letter from out North[.] I got one from A and F the 12 and they said they had just wrote to you. Anna Boron was buried here the other day[.] I went[.] there was the largest crowd there I have ever seen[.] Mary Woody preached the Furnel[.] Mary stoped at the Worlds Fare as she come back from Ind and staid from 8 o clock in the morning till 11 that night and they say she can tell more a bout the Fare than PB and H Hackney and Prof. Blair all put to gether[.] PB was there three weeks and Blair to months[.] Lydia Blair started this morning[.] I must close

Ever your sister

• • •

Harriet left Guilford College in July 1893 at the age of 23. I know nothing more about her till she was 38. Her granddaughter thinks that part of that time was spent "up North" with her sister Fannie (Frances) and her husband, Alpheus E. Barker. Harriet's brother, Allen, and his wife, Hattie E. Copeland, lived in the same area which was first Wilmington, Delaware and later near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Harriet's twin, Joe, married Hannah Newlin in 1896 and settled near Harriet's home. Her sister, Asenath, and her younger brother, Isaac, both married in 1904.

Harriet finally married on November 26, 1908 at the age of 38. She married Lewis A. Morgan, the son of William and Mariam Taylor Morgan of the Sandy Ridge community in Guilford County. Lewis was a 51-year-old bachelor. They moved into a log cabin with a dirt floor which had been built by Lewis's father, William. Lewis was a farmer who always seemed to be poor in body as well as poor economically.

This marriage produced two children. Nellie Mariam was born in the log cabin (with a wooden floor now) on October 23, 1910. She married

Lines to "Dear Brother"

Fred G. Wood after her mother died because her mother hadn't approved. Fred hadn't had as much education as Nellie.

The second child of Harriet and Lewis Morgan was William Cyrus who was born on September 5, 1913. He later married Clara Frazier, and he and Nellie and their spouses all settled close to the cabin of Harriet and Lewis. Their descendants still live in the Sandy Ridge community.

Lewis Morgan died on May 11, 1922 of uremic poisoning. He was buried at Sandy Ridge Methodist Church.

On October 29, 1924 Harriet Lee Morgan married Henry Wise Gray, a 62-year-old bachelor and the son of Thamer and Elizabeth Beeson Gray. Harriet was 54. Henry had always lived in this same community and had been friends with Lewis Morgan. He ran a store where he sold groceries and gas. They lived in his two-story white house and Harriet was better off economically. They had eight years together before Henry died on January 10, 1932, five days before his 70th birthday, of heart failure. He also was buried in the Sandy Ridge Methodist Church cemetery.

Harriet Lee Spencer Morgan Gray died on January 31, 1935, 10 days before her 65th birthday. She had a stroke at 12:30 P.M. and died at 6 P.M.. She was buried beside Henry Gray. Her tombstone simply says, "Harriet Gray, 1870-1935."

Sources: Family interviews, tombstone data, Guilford County death and marriage certificates, letters.

Report of the Friends Historical Collection 1992-1993

By

Carole Edgerton Treadway

Staff

This year we settled in, adapted, learned new ways of doing things, and were grateful for some relief from our critical lack of staff. As announced in last year's report, North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting) agreed to employ a part-time, temporary archives assistant to work in the collection. Amy Bullock, a 1991 Guilford graduate and current graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, began her work in this position in May. During this year she has taken over completely the tasks of checking in meeting records as they are deposited, preparing them for microfilming, processing the microfilm, and maintaining the closed stacks area where the meeting records are kept. These are only some of the many ways she has improved the operation of the collection.

In June the new volunteer program — docents for the research room — was begun with thirteen participants. They have provided assistance 495 times to family history researchers in the research room, and have volunteered well over 600 hours of their time. In addition they have answered the telephone, answered genealogical inquiries by mail, and performed a variety of clerical tasks. Their presence and their work have improved services substantially.

At an appreciation luncheon for our volunteers held in April plans were announced for the formation of a docents board, comprising three or four docents and FHC staff. They will recruit new docents as needed and coordinate the schedule and other aspects of this work.

Carole Treadway is librarian and archivist of the Friends Historical Collection.

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Augusta Benjamin completed her ninth year as a volunteer in the collection. She has done just about everything there is to do in the collection at one time or another, and now concentrates on processing manuscript collections. Her work this year has been with the papers of Greensboro attorney, mayor, and Guilford College trustee, Robert Frazier (1899–1978). This will continue to occupy her attention for some time to come.

Helen Parker used her background in textile chemistry in her work with our costume collection. She identified, labelled, cataloged, and carefully put away more than 300 items ranging from Quaker bonnets, dresses, and suits to elegant silk clothing brought back by Quaker missionaries from Japan.

Our able and versatile student workers this year were William Butler, Luis Castillo, Danny Crum, Deirdre Kielty, Deirdre Lohan, and Cheryl Whicker.

Automation

The Friends Historical Collection was as much affected by the automation of the library as was the library in general. During the summer, student workers, FHC staff, and several volunteers put barcodes in the FHC books so that they can be inventoried and checked out of the library electronically. The on-line catalogue was ready for use by the opening of the fall semester and was well-received by most users.

Planning

During the spring months the FHC joined with the other library departments and the entire campus in planning for our future. The planning committee for the FHC analyzed the many functions and complex operations of the FHC. The end result will be a five-year plan in which we hope to address our continuing needs for additional financial support and staff. Most of the rest of the planning will relate to these two critical factors without which further development of the collection can make little progress.

Outreach and Professional Activity

When the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists met at Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio in June, Carole Treadway finished her two-year appointment as convener of the steering committee that had the responsibility of planning and organizing the conference.

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The biennial conference will convene next at Guilford College in June 1994. Carole Treadway is in charge of local arrangements.

Carole Treadway spoke to the Alamance Genealogical Society at its October meeting on Quakers in the Piedmont. She participated in a panel presentation on Rare Books and Interlibrary Loan services at the fall meeting of the Solinet Users Group in December. For the second year she met with the Archives class of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro for one session in which she described the organization and work of the FHC. She continues as treasurer of the local chapter, Beta Beta Zeta, of the international library honor society Beta Phi Mu. Carole Treadway attended a statewide conference on historical records sponsored by the North Carolina State Archives and the Society of North Carolina Archivists (SNCA). The last such conference held ten years ago resulted in the organization of SNCA.

Carole Treadway continues as vice president of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and serves on the nominating committee, publications advisory board and *The Southern Friend* editorial board which edits the semiannual journal of the society. She has been meeting with the Tercentenary steering committee, serving as a consultant to the various subcommittees. This committee and its subcommittees are planning a five-year celebration of the beginning of North Carolina Yearly Meeting as an organized body.

Service to the Guilford Community

Of primary importance in service to the community, the FHC staff responds to the information needs of the Guilford College student body, faculty, and staff related to Guilford history and to Quaker history, practice, and belief.

During the summer Melvin Keiser of the Religious Studies Department explored primary and printed sources in the FHC for his Quaker Origins class. His project was a part of the Kenan Faculty Fellows program. Students of his two classes on Quakerism used the FHC resources, both primary and secondary, heavily this year, a fact only partly reflected in our circulation statistics since much of the use was in-house.

Although there is no way of knowing how many students used the collection for papers and projects, we were aware of and assisted with papers on such wide-ranging topics as environmental ethics, the Under-

Friends Historical Collection Report

ground Railroad, the Guilford College lake, the teaching of rhetoric at Guilford, the Guilford College woods, and the political philosophy of William Penn.

A bibliography of Quaker sources on aging was compiled for a course, and assistance was provided in the research for an alumni bulletin article on Japanese–American students at Guilford during World War II.

Service to the Quaker Community

The FHC librarian is also archivist to North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) and to North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) and meets with the Committee on the Care of Records of the former yearly meeting on a regular basis to report on progress, develop policies, and plan for the future. The latter NCYM, roughly one tenth the size of the former, also has a Records Committee and contributes to the work of the collection. Increasingly the records of the latter NCYM are coming into the collection, thereby expanding our coverage of Quakerism in North Carolina and consequently our usefulness to students and scholars. We also care for the archives of Quaker House of Fayetteville, New Garden Friends School, Columbia Friends Meeting in South Carolina, and are one of the depositories for the unpublished annual proceedings and steering committee minutes of South Central and North Pacific yearly meetings.

In preparation for the Tercentenary celebration each monthly meeting in North Carolina was asked two years ago to name a meeting historian. Most meetings have responded, and for the last two years Carole Treadway has held a workshop on some aspect of collecting and preserving historical documents and memorabilia. This year's workshop was on photographs.

Members of Providence, Pilot View, Centre, Poplar Ridge, Concord, and Marlboro monthly meetings were assisted in using their meeting records. Carlton Rowntree continued his research on the early Eastern Quarter meetings for the history he is writing as part of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society/North Carolina Yearly Meeting meeting history series. A history of High Point Meeting is in progress, and a video presentation on the meeting has been filmed. Other Friends conducted research on Quaker ministers, Rhodema Wright and Isham Cox, and Quaker martyr Mary Dyer. FHC staff assisted others on questions concerning sources on Quaker view of biblical authority, local

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meeting contacts, references to William Bartram in Wrightsborough (Georgia) meeting records, and Friends in East Africa.

Other Services

The FHC participated in a small way in the NEH Preservation Microfilming Project of the Quaker Collection of Haverford College. The project involves microfilming fragile and aging periodicals in the collection. We were able to provide photocopies of some missing issues. We look forward to the completion of this important project as we see our own valuable periodicals collection disintegrating.

Anna Caulfield, a Friend from Florida, saw the publication of her annotated bibliography, *Quakers in Fiction*, this spring (Pittenbruaich Press). She relied in part on the FHC to identify titles to include in this extensive bibliography.

Four graduate students from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro researched papers in the FHC. Topics covered included Quaker influence on Jewish acceptance in Greensboro, colonization of former slaves, Quaker education of freedmen, and Quaker ambivalence toward slavery. Cheryl Fradette Junk completed a paper, a case study of Quaker response to the Civil War that focuses on the experiences of Himelius and William Hockett and of Tilmon Vestal. This article has been accepted for publication in the spring 1993 issue of *The Southern Friend*.

Five students from other universities and colleges worked on Quakers and the Civil War, nineteenth century Quaker women educators, Quaker women in colonial piedmont North Carolina, a community study of the Albemarle Region, ethics in development programs in underdeveloped countries, and the Civilian Public Service program and Buck Creek camp in the North Carolina mountains.

Wesley Miller, director of the Media Resources Center of Earlham College, and a student crew videotaped FHC photographs and other pictorial matter for a program on Quaker history.

Information on Quaker minister Ann Jessop and eighteenth century Quaker theology was provided for an essay by Emily Wilson which will be part of a book on North Carolina women scheduled to be published in 1994 in connection with a women's exhibit at the new North Carolina Museum of History.

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Lewis Perez, Distinguished Research Professor at the University of South Florida, examined the papers of Zenas Martin and the memory books of Sylvester and May Mather Jones for his work on United States–Cuba relations. Martin and the Joneses were early Quaker missionaries in Cuba.

Dr. Elizabeth Hanson of the College of Charleston has done some preliminary work for a projected series of Public Broadcasting System television programs on southern women.

General Use

Our new on–line catalog system generates statistics that have never been available to us before. For the first time we can report how many items were checked out of the collection during the year, beginning in August when the system was put into operation. We were impressed with the large number of items, 681, that circulated from when we went on–line in August to the end of April, only ten months. This number doesn't begin to measure actual use of the FHC Open Books and Periodicals Room. It is apparent that much use is made of materials that are never checked out. We are pleased that students and others find so much of interest and feel so welcome and able to use what we have.

In summary, we feel that significant progress has been made in the FHC this year thanks to the work of volunteers, the cooperation of the entire library staff, and the support of many friends of the FHC. We have hope that this progress will continue.

Documents of Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends of North and South Carolina Deposited in the Friends Historical Collection, 1992–1993

Branon Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 8th mo.1942–5th mo.1985

Record of Finances, 1956–1964

Cedar Square Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo.1991–6th mo.1992

Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 7th mo.1991–6th mo.1992

USFW Minutes, 9th mo.1991–7th mo.1992

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Columbia Monthly Meeting (SC) (Southern Appalachian Y.M.)

Minutes, 11th mo.1991–10th mo.1992

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo.1991–7th mo.1992

USFW #1 Minutes, 1956–1985

Durham Monthly Meeting (NCYM–Conservative)

Minutes, 1st mo.1992–6th mo.1992

Forbush Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo.1964–6th mo.1968

Sunday School Records 1953–1965

Friendship Monthly Meeting (NCYM–Conservative)

Minutes, 9th mo.1989–6th mo.1990

Minutes, 8th mo.1992–9th mo.1992

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1st mo.1991–12th mo.1991

Records of Membership 1940–1986

Harmony Grove Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo.1977–10th mo. 1983

Minutes, 12th mo. 1984–12th mo.1991

Hood Swamp Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 10th mo. 1935–2nd mo. 1941

Membership Lists 1936, 1948, 1950–51

Hunting Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1981–6th mo. 1984

Marlboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 11th mo. 1990–11th mo.1992

Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 10th mo. 1982–11th mo.1992

Mt. Airy Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1973–1981

Nahunta Friends Meeting

Lona Edgerton Missionary Circle Minutes, 9th mo. 1974–8th mo. 1977

Ladies Missionary Society Minutes, 11th mo. 1927–9th mo. 1935

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Ministry and Counsel Spiritual Reports 1986–1987, 1991–1992

Friends Historical Collection Report

- Peace Committee Minutes, 1982–1989
Memorials, 1991–1992 (43)
- Pilot View Monthly Meeting
Minutes, 5th mo. 1979–10th mo.1992
- Pine Hill Monthly Meeting
Minutes, 7th mo.1991–6th mo.1992
- Piney Woods Monthly Meeting (Snow Hill) (NCYM–Conservative)
Minutes, Vol. I, 1904–1917
Vol. 2, 1917–1932
Vol. 3, 1932–1955
- Plainfield Monthly Meeting
Minutes, 7th mo. 1982–6th mo. 1986
- Rich Square Monthly Meeting (NCYM–Conservative)
Minutes, 6th mo. 1991–5th mo.1992
- Spring Garden Friends Meeting
Minutes, 6th mo. 1982–6th mo. 1989
Sunday School Records, 1919, 1921, 1930, 1931, 1939–1942 1944–
1946, 1948, 1949, 6th mo. 1986–5th mo.1992
- Springfield Monthly Meeting
Afternoon Circle of Friends (Sarah Haworth Circle)
6th mo. 1983– 8th mo. 1990
- USFW (General Meeting) Springfield Friends Meeting
Minutes, 12th mo. 1963–9th mo. 1974
- Winthrop Monthly Meeting
Minutes, 5th mo. 1991–5th mo.1992

Gifts to Friends Historical Collection, 1992–1993

- Barden, James F., Jr.
Graduation book of Mabel Edgerton, Guilford College class of 1915.
- Bond, James O.
*Chikamauga and the Underground Railroad: A Tale of Two Grand-
fathers*, by James O. Bond, n.d.
- Bower, David G.
*Plain Country Friends: The Quakers of Wooldale, High Flatts and
Midhope*, by David Bower and John Knight, 1987.

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Bundy, Dr. V. Mayo

The Descendants of Daniel Melvin and Jane Thomas of Braden County, North Carolina and Allied Families, by V. Mayo Bundy, ed., and Norma Melvin Bundy, assoc. ed.; contributions of money.

Byerly, W. Grimes, M.D.

Panoramic photograph of Guilford College students and faculty, 1917.

Caulfield, Anna B.

Nine books of fiction about Quakers: *The Good Soldier*, by Ford Madox Ford; *An Imperfect Joy* and *By Our Beginning*, by Jean Stubbs; *This is the House*, by Deborah Hill; *A Man Cannot Cry*, by Gloria Keverne; *Crecy*, by Edith Lawrence; *The Turquoise*, by Anya Seton; *The Devil in Bucks County*, by Edmund Schiddel, and *The Prince and the Quakeress*, by Jean Plaidy. Also, *Quakers in Fiction: An Annotated Bibliography*, by Anna Breiner Caulfield, 1993.

Craven, Duval

Additions to the Craven Family Papers; Treasurer's book, First Friends Meeting.

Davis, Donald and Helen

Photographs from the home of J. Franklin Davis (61).

Dixon, Stiles Jr.

An address by Eula Louisa Albright Dixon, given to the Women's Christian Temperance Union at Brick Lutheran Church, Guilford County, NC, 6-12-1892. Original manuscript and type-script.

Elkinton, David Cope

Family Footprints, Vol. IV.; *The Lives, Ancestry and Descendants of Joseph Scotton Elkinton and Malinda Patterson Elkinton*, by David Cope Elkinton, 1992.

First Friends Meeting

Quaker Cookery, by the Women of First Friends Meeting, 1986.

Flowers, Bill

Flowers Chronicles: Studies of Captain John Flower II (1595-1657), by P.B. Flowers, Jr. 1987.

Gallimore, Ruby

Contribution of money.

Friends Historical Collection Report

Greeson, Bob

Photograph (framed) of the 1904 Guilford College baseball team.

Hamm, Thomas

Miscellaneous genealogical and biographical materials from the papers of Willard Heiss, 90 items (photocopied); *Memories of Nixon Rush, Fairmount, IN*, n.d.

Hill, Thomas

Index of Monthly Meetings in North America, Thomas Hill, 2nd Ed., 1993.

Hinshaw, Calvin

“History of Providence School” (Revised Edition).

Hinshaw, J. Howard

Letter from Lewis Calvin Moon to Cleo Griffin, dated 11–24 1963, concerning the Cane Creek Factory and the Cane Creek community 1890–1906 (typed transcript).

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

Quaker Quimericks: Sidelong Glances, by Seth Hinshaw, 1992; Photographs, mixed subjects (17); additions to Chawner family papers (2); November issue 1992 of *A Woody Family Tree*; New Garden Boarding School account book, 1858–59; letter to Nathaniel Woody, 1878; Guilford College commencement program, 1891.

Jones, Viola

Polk County, Tennessee Marriages—1894–1907, 1989, and Fannin County & Georgia Marriages—1854–1901, 1989, both by Viola Jones.

Kemp, Allie (Estate)

2 boxes of minutes and disciplines of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and Friends United Meeting, printed; financial records of the Evangelism and Outreach Committee of NCYM, 1955–1958.

Leeper, Jean

Our Quaker Heritage: Lois (Trueblood) Hallowell's Roots, comp. by Jean Leeper, 1993.

Long, Deborah Elise

North Carolina Student Legislative papers, Guilford delegation, 1991–93.

Maness, Caroline

Norfolk Museum Service Information Sheet on Thomas Paine.

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Massey, Dorothy Hardin

“John and Winifred Gilbert...and Some of Their Descendants,” by Dorothy Hardin Massey and Clifford M. Hardin, 1992; “Family History and Genealogy,” by Wilson Gilbert, ca. 1950; “The Hopewell Neighborhood, 1821–1916,” by John W. Macy, 1916 (all typescript).

Men’s Brotherhood, High Point Friends Meeting

Videotape: “Centennial, High Point Friends Meeting, 1892–1992: A Love Story.”

Mixon, Ina

Minutes (printed) of NCYM Sessions of 1873.

Moore, J. Floyd

Gift of money in honor of Leslie and Margaret Barrett; a collection of Henry Cadbury’s writings: pamphlets, offprints, and one unpublished talk (88); a collection of the writings of Rufus Jones; Pendle Hill Bulletins (65); postcard collection of Samuel and Evelyn Haworth (88); embroidered wallhanging for Fourth World Conference of Friends; file material on the “Quaker Tapestry;” map of U.S. showing “Monthly Meetings of the United States and the Yearly Meeting Affiliations,” n.d., compiler unknown; photograph of Ernestine Milner; photographs of attenders, 4th World Conference of Friends and Greensboro Gathering, 1967; North Carolina representatives to 1967 conference and to 1952 World Conference at Oxford; collection of stamps from correspondence received by Moore as conference secretary; mock bottle of Old Quaker whiskey; photostat copies (2) of Abraham Symons deed of gift of slaves to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1826, Randolph County, NC; hand-drawn map of New Garden Friends burial ground, Ireland, 1883; “Rachel Anderson Blair, (1841–1928),” reminiscences by Stanley R. Blair, 1992 (typescript); “Life of Augustine Wilberforce Blair,” by A.W. Blair, ca. 1896 (typescript) (rec’d from Evelyn Pearson Blair); 17 pamphlets; Floyd Schmoie collection, including personal papers, 5 books authored by Schmoie, information comp. by J.F. Moore; Ferner Nuhn collection including his writings (6 pamphlets, a talk and a report), materials on Nuhn’s meeting, Claremont Friends Meeting, Claremont, CA; *The Folks*, by Ruth Suckow, Nuhn’s wife; and information on Suckow and Nuhn comp. by Moore.

Morgan, Tom

“Of Old Times and Old Places,” ed. 2, compiled by Tom Morgan;

Friends Historical Collection Report

Morgan family history and copies of documents, 1991; *Old Times and Places*, by Tom Morgan.

Nickel, Pat

Stuart and Allied Families, by Patsy Winkle Nickel, 1992.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Annual Contribution of money.

Pendle Hill Library

A Statistical Inquiry into the Condition of the People of Color of the City and Districts of Philadelphia, Philadelphia: Kite and Walton, 1849.

Perkins, Theodore

Pamphlets and booklets (20); programs, reports, obituaries and memorials, news clippings relating to local Friends and to Quaker men and United Society of Friends Meetings; "Vignettes of Some Influential People I Have Known," Sam Levering, 1992; "Some Episodes in the Levering Family," by Sam Levering (photocopies of transcript); "Marriages in Cane Creek and its Subordinate Meetings," by Theodore Perkins (typescript, 1992).

Raper, Ann and David

Contribution of money.

Rogers, William R.

"The Educational Agenda in North Carolina, Where We Are and Where We Ought To Be: the Private Colleges and Universities," talk by W. Rogers, Oct. 29, 1992.

Scarlette, Gladys

Material concerning Hopewell Friends Meeting, Guilford Co., NC, including article from *Greensboro Daily News*, 7-17-1932 (photocopy); photographs of Hopewell Wesleyan Church; tombstone readings from Hopewell cemetery.

Stewart, Bruce

The York Retreat in the Light of the Quaker Way, by Kathleen Anne Stewart, 1992.

Terry, Edith Braxton

Photograph (color) of oil painting by Mary Edith Hinshaw of the octagonal Guilford College Barns.

Tilley, Esther

The Jennett Family, comp. by Esther Jennett Tilley, 1985.

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Washburn, Anne

“Before Business Begins: Notes for Recording Clerks and Recordors,”
by William Braasch Watson, n.d. (1970s), photocopy of typescript.

Whipple, Richard

One set of Flinch cards; record account of A. L. Whipple with Miller and Derfus grocers, Meadville, PA, 1918–1921; cheese making recipe, handwritten; leaflet describing Federal Telephone and Telegraph Co. Salamanca, NY, 6–14–1912; advertising leaflet, Rochester, NY, 1908; receipts 1921–1923, Powers Hotel Stationary.

White, Jack Murray

Items concerning Guilford College 1964 basketball season, including schedule card, two *Guilfordians*, and a piece of the basket.

Williamson, Arthur P.

Offprint from *Planning Perspectives*, 1992; “Enterprise, Industrial Development and Social Planning: Quakers and the Emergence of the Textile Industry in Ireland,” by Arthur P. Williamson.

Wright, Marietta

Miscellaneous materials pertaining to Friends United Meeting Conference 1969; National Conference of United Society of Friends Women and Quaker Men, 1968; Friends World Committee Conferences, 1973 and 1976; Conference of Friends in the Americas, 1977; Westtown School (programs, reports, talks, news clippings, and photographs).

Annual Statistics for the Friends Historical Collection, 1992–1993

Acquisitions and Cataloging

Books and pamphlets	* 85
Meeting document groups	47
Manuscripts and collections received	16
Costumes	0
Artifacts	3
Pictorial items or collections	13
Serials — new titles	2

Friends Historical Collection Report

Users

Visitors recorded	35
Groups	2
Family historians	264
Guilford College faculty and staff	** 34
Scholars and researchers from outside Guilford	157
Guilford students	** 30
Students from other institutions	47

Correspondence

Genealogy	57
Requests for copies	18
Acknowledgments	*** 63
Publication orders	2
Reference and general correspondence	66

Circulation

Books and pamphlets, August 1992–April 30, 1993	681
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Microfilming

Meeting records (units, i.e. bound volumes or folders)	25
Rolls of microfilm	12

- * Represents 7 months only.
- ** Does not count open stack use.
- *** Does not count receipts for archival deposits.

Book Reviews

Compiled and edited by

Carole Treadway

Carla Gardina Pestana. *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. ii + 197 pp. Notes and index. \$47.95.

In the 1970s, one academic wag flippantly calculated that the ratio of Ph.D. dissertations to inhabitants of seventeenth-century Massachusetts was about one to one. Since then, the Bay Colony has continued to fascinate historians. Historians of Quakerism are no exception. It was in Puritan Massachusetts that persecution in North America waxed hottest in the 1650s and 1660s, culminating in the execution of four Friends in Boston from 1659 to 1661. Generations of scholars, from Rufus Jones to the present, have attempted to understand who the people were who would brave such persecution and why the Massachusetts authorities felt driven to such extremes to fight them.

Carla Gardina Pestana's approach to this problem is that of comparative history, contrasting the experiences of Quakers with the other significant dissenting groups in Massachusetts, the Baptists or, more specifically, those of the members of Salem Monthly Meeting and the Charlestown (later Boston) Baptist Church. Its results shed additional light on Friends in New England.

Pestana begins with the debate over Quakerism's relationship with Puritanism, coming down squarely on the side of those who argue that early Quakerism was a radical break with Puritan faith. Friends in Massachusetts were found in the areas with strong traditions of nonconformity and dissent. And the Friends, in Pestana's words, "departed so completely from Protestant beliefs and practices as to be unrecognizable as such to the defenders of Massachusetts orthodoxy." The Puritans, assuming that everything was either of God or the devil, could only conclude that "Quakerism was rooted in the diabolical." In contrast, the

Book Reviews

Baptists, who shared the basic Puritan theological outlook, save on the critical issue of infant baptism, faced significantly less official hostility and persecution. Here Pestana's primary target is Jonathan Chu, who in his *Neighbors, Friends, and Madmen* (1986), concluded that resident Quakers were treated better than those who came from outside the colony.

Pestana tells us much about the makeup and dynamics of the Salem Quaker community. It was "tribal," made up in large part of three extended families, the Buffums, Shattucks, and Southwicks. Particularly valuable is Pestana's account of the resistance of Salem Friends to George Fox's "institutionalization" of monthly meetings and other disciplinary and organizational structures in the 1670s. Pestana also carefully traces the development of leadership within the monthly meeting. She finds that appointment to office within the meeting usually reflected kinship ties rather than wealth and that Quaker women tended to be less likely than men to concentrate power in the hands of a few. And she concludes that, for Salem, the decision to break with the religious establishment was usually permanent. Few Quakers ever returned to the Congregational Church. The unremitting hostility of most other residents doubtless strengthened the sense of separateness. Like other historians, Pestana speculates that the witchcraft hysteria of 1692 was linked in some way to anti-Quaker sentiments; no Quakers were victims, but a number of the sufferers, most notably Rebecca Nurse, had ties with Quaker families.

Pestana's work is massively researched and documented (probably a third of the volume is made up of notes) and generally persuasive. It is not, however, easy reading. This is a book written for scholars and those already familiar with the history on which it is built.

Thomas D. Hamm
Earlham College

Samuel R. Levering. *Quaker Peacemakers: Sam and Miriam Levering*. Ed. by Ralph B. Levering, with an Afterword by Edward F. Snyder. Ararat, Virginia: Levering Fruits, Inc., 1993. 81 pages. \$7.95.

Miriam Levering's death in 1991 took from Friends and the World Federalist community a valued and beloved colleague. Never as outspoken or as controversial as her husband, Sam, Miriam's quiet and modest ways hid from public view her immense ability to organize, to emphasize shared goals, and to motivate young people to "make a difference." Whenever one tried to get Miriam to talk about herself, she would so deftly turn the questions around, or shift the conversation to a discussion of issues, that the questioner would scarcely realize what had happened.

Sam Levering, who died late in 1993, was very different from Miriam. Where Miriam was always conciliatory, seeking common ground, Sam could be combative. He realized also that biography and autobiography had a legitimate role in helping others, particularly young people, to realize that someone with determination and conviction — even if she or he did not start out as a recognized expert on a subject such as international law, disarmament, or deep-seabed mining — could learn enough to be heard in the halls of Congress and to shape major decision-making processes. And so, with the help and encouragement of his son Ralph, Sam wrote, in the short time between Miriam's death and his own, this little autobiography of his and Miriam's partnership for peace.

Sam Levering's book is anecdotal, episodic, and opinionated. It is vintage Sam, telling his stories and sharing his views in plain Quaker speech. Something of the man's temerity comes through in his account of his visit along with five other Quaker leaders to President Kennedy in 1962 to ask for humanitarian aid to famine-stricken, but communist, China. Kennedy began by telling the group what he was already doing, and Sam feared that the president would take up their entire allotment of twenty minutes: "So after exactly three minutes, I broke in: 'Mr. President, we appreciate these good things, but we want to talk about the things you are not yet doing.'" The result was a frank discussion that went ten minutes overtime.

There is also praise aplenty for Miriam Levering, but the focus of the book is less on the Leverings themselves than on their work, which was after all their passion. Unfortunately, there is not as much about the Levering family as one might wish. Sam tells briefly the story of his

Book Reviews

parents' trek from Ohio to the mountains of southwestern Virginia in 1908. He mentions the sacrifice they made to establish an orchard there (still the Levering family homestead), and he describes his own experiences growing up on the farm and developing it in his adulthood, but he does not discuss his parents' motivation to do something about rural poverty in the southern Appalachians, or their pioneering work in establishing one of the first farm co-ops in that part of the country in order to get better prices for the apples grown by the farmers of the Blue Ridge.

There is also too little about the remarkable Levering children who have become writers, scholars, teachers, ministers, activists, and farmers, with several of these occupations combined in some individuals.

Since the closest Friends meeting to Glen Orchard, the Levering farm, is Mount Airy Friends Church in North Carolina, the Leverings were members of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (F.U.M.) and of Friends United Meeting. And so, along with accounts of the founding of the Friends Committee on National Legislation and the World Federalists of North Carolina, the development of the Law of the Sea Treaty, and Sam's attempts to change the direction of the American Friends Service Committee, this book contains some interesting — but again all too brief — descriptions of episodes in the history of these Friends meetings.

In the end, this little book is not a history but the raw materials of a history yet to be written. It does, however, provide a glimpse into the lives and careers of two of twentieth century America's most fascinating Friends. Since Sam and Miriam Levering have made the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College the depository for their papers, perhaps this book will whet the appetite of scholars to explore there and to write about the Leverings' significant contribution to peace and justice.

Damon D. Hickey
The College of Wooster

*The Tenth Biennial Meeting
of the
Conference of
Quaker Historians and Archivists*

will be held at

Guilford College
Greensboro, North Carolina

June 24–26, 1994

For information on attending, contact

Carole Treadway
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Greensboro, North Carolina 27410
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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

Journal of the
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Spring-Autumn 1994

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 Carole Treadway or Herbert Poole, 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

Volume XVI

Spring -Autumn 1994

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Introduction

Quaker history is full of courageous men and women, some famous and some not, who put into action their belief in loving “that of God” in each person. This issue includes several articles about the acts of love and caring that Southern Friends have performed throughout the years to highlight the second annual theme of the Tercentenary Celebration of North Carolina Yearly Meeting: “Friends’ Caring Concerns — Love in Action.”

Southern Friends have cared for the imprisoned, the sick, the disenfranchised and enslaved, and even, as in the Tercentenary article presented in this issue, for those who fought battles. In *The Battle of New Garden* Algie Newlin describes the previously unnamed major battle which preceded the Battle of Guilford Court House and which, he reasons, is important in understanding the course of the Revolutionary War as it was fought in North and South Carolina. But Newlin also provides in some detail the Quaker context of the Battle of New Garden, planned and fought on the grounds of two Quaker communities: Deep River and New Garden. Despite their resistance to war in principle and personal hardship suffered as a result of this battle in particular, many of these Friends cared for the physical well-being of persons on both sides who were caught up in the war, thus exemplifying our theme.

The Battle of New Garden

by

Algie I. Newlin

The Quaker inhabitants of the New Garden community must have stood in silent dread as dawn broke on the morning of March 15, 1781. Prospects for the day were ominous. Everyone must have known that the two armies poised on either side of them were ready for a bloody battle. Perhaps few, if any, of them had ever heard of the Ides of March, yet, they must have sensed a fatalism which characterizes that day. Throughout the morning, from sunrise until almost noon, hostile forces maneuvered, charged, fought, and retreated along New Garden Road near their homes. Tradition pictures some of these Quakers at a safe distance, watching as much of the spectacle as they could. They were seeing battle-hardened soldiers led by officers highly skilled in the type of warfare being waged in the southern campaign. . . .

In attempting to evaluate the impact of the war on the Quakers in Guilford and adjoining counties, it is necessary to trace the courses of the opposing armies as they marched through Quaker communities in their maneuvers before and after the Battle of Guilford Court House. Although General Greene soon learned the direction taken by Cornwallis on his retreat from Guilford Court House, he could not be certain of his ultimate destination, be it Wilmington by way of Cross Creek or Virginia by way of Hillsborough. When Greene began the pursuit of the British he did not follow their trail. He chose instead a course which would enable him to keep within striking distance of the enemy no matter which destination Cornwallis might select.

The British army left Guilford Court House via the Salisbury Road and passed through the New Garden community. This was the shortest

These excerpts are from *The Battle of New Garden* by Algie I. Newlin, published by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1977. A revised version will be printed in 1995.

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route to Bell's Mill and Cross Creek. Having left Guilford Court House about ten o'clock on the morning of March 18th, the army must have reached New Garden about noon. Again it is necessary to question an account by Colonel Lee, when he says that Cornwallis ". . . put his army in motion for New Garden where his rear guard with his baggage met him." The implication is that the army stopped at New Garden for the night, and the British supply wagons which had been sent to Bell's Mill before the Battle of Guilford Court House met the army there. Without doubt this is another of Lee's errors about the location of New Garden Meeting House. It would be difficult to imagine that Cornwallis would have his army stop at New Garden for the night, only four and one-half miles from the Court House. Deep River Meeting House, on the other hand, was twelve miles away — a fair distance to march after a late start. Since they had camped there for two days before the Battle of Guilford Court House, this would be familiar ground to the British and Mendenhall Mill was conveniently near.

A statement by Colonel Tarleton may support the belief that the British army camped for a night at Deep River rather than at New Garden. "Earl Cornwallis therefore began his march on the 18th for Deep River, in his way to Cross Creek." While this reference could be to the Deep River Valley instead of to the meeting house by that name, the meeting house was in the valley and on the Salisbury Road. An order written by Cornwallis at ten o'clock on the night of March 18th shows that the headquarters of the British commander were at "Ticino's Plantation." This could have been a farm near Deep River Meeting House, although nothing has been found to verify it.

The British reached Bell's Mill on the nineteenth, where they rested and foraged for two days. Upon leaving Bell's Mill, Cornwallis left the direct road to Cross Creek and led his army eastward to Cane Creek Meeting House near Simon Dixon's Mill. Colonel Tarleton indicates that this maneuver was not to confuse General Greene, for Cornwallis knew that the American army had already crossed Buffalo Creek on the direct road to Cane Creek; rather, it was "to move through a country well supplied with forage." Tradition indicates that they were not disappointed. They took from the farmers in this Quaker community a large number of cattle and sheep and butchered them on the meeting house grounds. By robbing them of their grain and livestock, the British left their imprint on the minds of the Quakers in the Cane Creek community. Unwittingly they left a name for the community. A well known tradition

The Battle of New Garden

says a snow storm covered the countryside and caused the British camp to be called "Snow Camp" — a name which settled on the community as a permanent label.

As recorded by Colonel Tarleton, General Greene pursued the British army via a road which crossed the South Buffalo Creek watershed. It must have been the road which at that time followed a direct course to Cane Creek Meeting House. To reach this road, Greene had a choice of two roads as he was leaving Guilford Court House. One of these was the Salisbury Road to New Garden and the other was the New Salisbury Road. The American troops could have used either or both of these to reach the road across the South Buffalo Creek area. There is a tradition that General Greene stopped at New Garden to talk with Friends about their care of wounded soldiers.

Somewhere south of Buffalo Creek General Greene halted his army for two days to attend to a deficiency in his military supplies. Except for this delay, he might have been able to overtake Cornwallis at Cane Creek Meeting House.

From Cane Creek Meeting House the British army followed a road downstream to an intersection with the Hillsborough–Wilmington Road at Lindley's Mill. Here Cornwallis turned south toward Pittsboro and Ramsers Mill and removed all doubt that his destination was Wilmington. General Greene used the same roads in his pursuit of Cornwallis from Cane Creek to Ramsers Mill.

Friends in the New Garden community had felt the sting of war before the battles exploded in their midst. For several weeks prior to the battles they had been victims of foragers from both armies. The impression is given that all of the farms in the area were hit by this scouring of the country for supplies. Nathan Hunt, a young married man, lived on New Garden Road. His farm was a target for foragers. His food supplies and his livestock were taken. One party took his horses, and another took his milch cow. The raids left Nathan and Martha Hunt and their children almost destitute. Elijah Coffin, reared on a farm near that of Nathan Hunt, said, "...the citizens of that part of the country felt in various ways the cruelty and horrors of such a conflict." The struggle between the Whigs and Tories for the control of the government of North Carolina resulted in a breakdown of law and governmental authority, followed by a rash of all sorts of crimes. Robbers, pretending to be soldiers, came to the Coffin home in the middle of the night, threatened the life of William

The Southern Friend

Coffin, and then proceeded to rob one of his neighbors. At another time, soldiers came to the Coffin home and took clothing from the family. Later, Elijah Coffin continued, “. . . my dear father ever looked upon his preservation and protection as a kind of interposition of Divine Providence.” Everybody in the community suffered

As the Battle of New Garden shifted from one place to another the two contending military forces left their dead and seriously wounded lying where they fell. The grounds around New Garden Meeting House and at the Cross Roads must have been grim pictures after the fighting ended and the two forces had moved on to the next scene of conflict. Many dead and seriously wounded were scattered over these grounds. The responsibility for them was left to the conscience of the people who lived nearby. That afternoon and the following day men worked at the task of burying the dead. . . .

Burying the dead was hard work, but it was accomplished in a short time. The care of the wounded was a prolonged task requiring patient labor day and night. In some cases it must have lasted for several weeks. The number of wounded soldiers cared for by New Garden Friends can be approached only from descriptive bits of information from scattered sources. That forty or fifty were wounded in all the conflicts of the Battle of New Garden does not seem to be a reckless estimate. Of these the seriously wounded must have been cared for in local homes.

As noted, in addition to those wounded in the Battle of New Garden, the care of a large number of the fatally wounded from the Battle of Guilford Court House was thrust upon these Friends. Colonel Tarleton said that two days after the Battle Lord Cornwallis sent to New Garden wounded British soldiers “. . . to the amount of seventy with several Americans who were in the same situation. . . lodged under a flag of truce, in the New Garden meeting-house and adjacent buildings.” On the following day, March 18th, the British army left Guilford Court House to begin the long journey to Wilmington. A large number of wounded men went with the army, but “Sixty-four of the wounded, the ‘bad cases,’ had to be left behind. Cornwallis left them at the Quaker meeting-house in New Garden, under the care of the surgeon, Mr. Hill and two surgeon mates.” No corroborating source has been found for this second category of wounded left at New Garden. It is the only reference to the British having left behind any surgical or medical assistance for the wounded. If this can be relied upon, 134 wounded British soldiers and an undis-

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closed number of Americans were left to the mercy and care of New Garden Friends by the Lord Cornwallis. Add to these the unknown number of American and British soldiers seriously wounded in the Battle of New Garden and the Battle at the Cross Roads, the total number must have been between 170 and 190. This is not the end of the story of the humanitarian efforts of New Garden Friends to relieve the suffering which came out of the battles between the British and the Americans on March 15th, however.

On March 20th, General Greene wrote General David Morgan from Guilford Court House, to which he had just returned after reorganizing his army at the Speedwell Ironworks on Troublesome Creek: "The enemy are now retiring from us and have left us one hundred and seventy or eighty of their wounded." Cornwallis had left these at Guilford Court House two days before when he began his withdrawal to Wilmington. He might have justified this action as one of the exigencies of war. Greene was eager to start in pursuit of his adversary, and he in turn abandoned the wounded American and British soldiers to the conscience and care of the people of the area. In the words of his biographer, "Having received his supplies Greene immediately pursued the enemy, leaving behind him, all the wounded of the British army, that had fallen in his possession and such of his own who were unfit to be removed." No indication has been found of the number "of his own" who were left behind. Certainly the number must have been sufficient to bring the total to more than 250. Since there was no third army to receive them, this burden was left to the people in the area, with a special appeal to the Quakers for their care. After leaving Guilford Court House, Nathanael Greene is reported to have stopped at New Garden to urge Quakers to do what they could for these unfortunate men. Nearly a week later he made a second strong appeal by letter. In their reply New Garden Friends reminded Greene that they were already carrying a very heavy burden in the care of the wounded, that at that time they were caring for approximately one hundred in their meeting house, but they would do all they could for the wounded at the Court House. There was certainly not enough floorspace in the old meeting house to accommodate one hundred wounded men. This makes it apparent that there may have been tents or other forms of temporary shelter to care for the overflow. Tarleton referred to the wounded being cared for in "adjacent buildings." The letter to Greene made no reference to the great number of wounded Americans and British who were cared for in the homes in this commu-

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nity. All of these references and estimates, whatever the exact numbers, add up to a tremendous humanitarian effort on the part of New Garden Friends.

In the nursing duties at the meeting house, the men must have been the main force, but in the homes the women undoubtedly carried as much of the load as the men, if not more. History permits few glimpses into New Garden homes as they were filling the role of hospital wards. The two story log house which stood near the Cross Roads has been referred to as a hospital for the wounded and is reputed to have been filled with casualties from the battle at that place. The number of men treated in this house is not known. Caring for the wounded in the homes was done at great risk to members of families, for some of the wounded men brought the dreaded plague of smallpox with them.

Levi Coffin gives an illuminating view into two homes located on New Garden Road:

After the battle the meeting-house was used as a hospital for the wounded soldiers, and my grandfather Williams' house was occupied by wounded British officers. My grandfather Coffin's house was used by American officers as a hospital for their sick and wounded. The two farms joined, and the headquarters of the different forces were thus in close proximity.

The smallpox broke out among the British officers and my grandfather Williams caught the disease from them and died. My grandmother was left with twelve children, five sons and seven daughters.

Levi Coffin's grandparents were Richard and Prudence (Beals) Williams and William and Priscilla (Paddock) Coffin.

It is a pity that the number of patients in each of these homes was not given. In view of the tragedy resulting from the Williams family's taking wounded officers who were the carriers of smallpox, one can only wonder if, among the "sick and wounded" who were cared for in the Coffin home, there were not also some who had the disease.

At the time of the battle, Nathan Hunt was twenty-one years old and a member of New Garden Meeting. He was married and had two small children. He volunteered to do nursing duty at the meeting house where some among the wounded were being treated for smallpox. Nathan knew that his father, William Hunt, and his cousin, John Woolman, had both

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died of smallpox while on religious visits in England. Fully conscious of this, and in the face of the opposition of members of his own family, Nathan still felt it his duty to risk his own life to save the lives of these unfortunate men. He contracted the disease, but it proved to be a light case, and he recovered.

These instances give clear evidence that Quakers made no distinction between friends and so-called enemies in their efforts to bind up the wounds left by war. Here also is evidence that New Garden Friends put the call of religious faith above their own lives. Richard Williams and Nathan Hunt went voluntarily into danger's midst. One lost his life, the other survived. The members of these families must not have been alone. Others also came in harm's way, and the story is not complete until we see the women and the children sharing danger as bravely as the men. Prudence Williams, Martha Hunt, and Priscilla Coffin have been recognized among this company, and there must have been many more.

There were many less serious casualties from the battle around New Garden Meeting House. One of these was Colonel Banastre Tarleton. "A musketball shattered the first and middle fingers of his right hand." During the remainder of the day he rode in all the battles in which his men were engaged with his right hand bandaged and his arm in a sling, unable to use a weapon of any kind. Who bandaged his hand? Elijah Coffin wrote into the family remembrances of that fateful day:

During the progress of the battle, a soldier came in great haste to my mother at the dwelling, having two fingers shot off and bleeding which she kindly dressed for him as well as she could and he hastened back to the conflict.

Was it the right hand? Could two soldiers have had two fingers shot off one hand in the morning battle? Or, was this "Bloody Tarleton?" He certainly would have come in haste and would have hurried back to his command.

This must have presented a rare picture. Here was Hannah Dicks Coffin, daughter of a well known Quaker minister, herself a twenty-four-year-old mother, taking from her household rag bag a clean scrap of cloth too small for a diaper for baby Elisha, fifteen months old and probably tugging at his mother's skirt, applying tallow to one side of the rag and bandaging the raw ends of the stubs of the two fingers of the now tamed "Bloody Tarleton." Then he "hastened back to the conflict." Tarleton rode the remainder of the morning battle and through the

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afternoon at the Court House battle with his hand bandaged and his arm in a sling. Did the blood-soaked bandage come from Hannah Coffin's bag of clean rags? Or was Hannah's patient really Colonel Tarleton? She never said. Perhaps she did not know; nor may we ever.

A letter written by New Garden Friends in response to one from General Greene one week after the battle was concluded directly speaks of their caring concern for the wounded and dead.

To Major General Nathanael Greene

Friend Greene We received thine, being dated March 26, 1781. Agreeable to thy request we shall do all that lies in our power, although this may inform you that from our present situation we are ill able to assist as much as we would be glad to do, as the Americans have lain much upon us, and of late the British have plundered and entirely broken up many among us, which renders it hard, and there is at our meeting-house at New Garden upward of one hundred now living, that have no means of provision, except what hospitality the neighborhood affords them, which we look upon as a hardship upon us, if not an imposition; but not withstanding all this, we are determined, by the assistance of Providence, while we have anything among us, that the distressed both at the court house and here shall have part with us. As we have as yet made no distinction as to part or cause — and as we have none to commit our cause but to God alone, but hold it the duty of true Christians, at all times to assist the distressed.

Guilford Court House, N.C. Third Mo. 31, 1781

Clara Ione Cox

(1879–1940)

by

Brenda G. Haworth

Miss Clara is a hero. She was a Friends minister, a social worker, an advocate for education, and a tireless champion of the poor, black and white. She was also a person who went far beyond her human condition to establish a record of accomplishments which remains impressive today.

Miss Clara enlisted in many causes and worked for them single-mindedly. Her list of concerns is a long one, and her involvement in these concerns was not minimal or superficial. She founded and/or led the High Point Woman's Club, YMCA, High Point Public Library, Altrusa Club, Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), Red Cross, women's suffrage, Associated Charities, public welfare work, and a missionary society in the neighborhood that would be the future home of the Clara Cox Apartments. (In 1942 High Point completed its first public housing project and named the 250-unit complex for Miss Clara. This was very appropriate in all but one aspect — only poor whites were allowed to live there originally.) As one newspaper account stated: "No tapeline could measure the achievements of Clara Cox." A later assessment noted, "From early in the century until 1940 Clara Cox was the motivating force behind much of High Point's social and civic progress."¹

Clara Ione Cox was born on December 18, 1879 to two young people, Bertha Snow and Jonathan Elwood Cox. Bertha and Elwood, ages 19 and 22, had been married for a year and lived in the Guilford College community. Bertha came to Guilford County from New England and attended Guilford College. She met and married Elwood who was also attending Guilford and whose parents had been instrumental in guiding

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the college through the war years.²

A firstborn child for this couple should have been an exciting event. However people in this area who knew the Cox family generally believe that the baby was abnormal. Most people heard that the baby was a hermaphrodite, or, as most people called it, “morphodite,” which means the baby had both male and female characteristics. The Coxes were said to have had their choice of naming their new child a girl or a boy. Today such a baby would have chromosome testing and then its gender would be established surgically. In 1879 this baby was an oddity. Clara Cox spent a lifetime as the object of speculation and whispering.³

The Coxes moved to High Point when Clara was one year old. One of their early homes was at the corner of South Main and Clay (now Citadel) Streets. By 1910 they were living in a big frame home on East Green Street (currently the Design Center) where Clara lived for the remainder of her life.⁴

A second child, Eula E. Cox, was born in 1884 and died when she was three months and two days old on May 27. Clara grew up an only child. When she was an adult, Effie Cox became her foster sister, companion, dressmaker, secretary, and home manager. Effie may also have been a cousin. She was one of eight girls raised by a widowed mother. Elwood Cox was instrumental in moving Effie’s family from Asheboro to High Point. In 1910 Effie Cox, who was 24 years old, was listed in the city directory as a dressmaker at her home at 1107 West Commerce Street. In 1917 she was living with Elwood, Bertha, and Clara on Green Street.⁵

Effie has been described as lovely, interesting, and intelligent. She lived with the Coxes during their lifetimes. After Bertha Cox died in 1942, Effie lived with her real sister at 828 Jones (now Ferndale Boulevard). One of Effie’s main jobs was to see that Clara dressed appropriately and took care of herself because Clara’s concerns were always elsewhere. Effie died on February 3, 1957 after a four-day stay in the High Point Hospital. She is buried in the Cox mausoleum in Oakwood Cemetery with Elwood, Bertha, Clara and Eula.⁶

Elwood Cox was a banker. He was a well-known financier, respected throughout North Carolina. He founded the National Commercial Bank which was in the building still standing at the corner of South Main and West Commerce Streets. He was the only president of the bank until it closed its doors on January 19, 1932 in financial ruin. Elwood Cox was ruined too. He went home from this last tragic board meeting a broken

Clara Ione Cox

man. He never recovered and died at home on March 28. Eventually over the next year or two, his bank returned at least 98 percent of the money that had been entrusted there, but it never reopened.⁷

Bertha Snow Cox is remembered as not being a healthy or strong woman. But she was active at some point in her life in garden club and beautification projects in High Point. The whole family, including Effie, was very active at Central (now High Point) Friends Meeting. At that time the meeting house was a gray stone building on the corner across Commerce Street from the bank, facing Main Street.⁸

Elwood and Bertha didn't raise Clara as if she were abnormal. She wasn't hidden away in a back room. She was educated at a private school and then went to Guilford College as a freshman in 1896 at the age of 16. She made an A in scripture, 95 in botany, A in rhetoric, A in literature, B in Latin (Cicero and Virgil), B in algebra, and C in geometry. She made a B in physical training, an A in music and 100 in deportment. Then for some reason there's a break in her education and her next year at Guilford is 1899–1900. That year she had all As and Bs except for Cs in math and physics. Her junior year she made a D in physics with a little note beside the D — “Passed in 1902.” Her senior year she earned all As and Bs and was awarded an AB degree in 1902. She continued her studies at White Bible Institute and Columbia University, both in New York City.⁹

Sometime during these years of education, Clara I. Cox, as she always referred to herself, decided to devote her life to serving and helping others. Her parents had decided she should take her place as a leader in High Point society. To their disappointment Miss Clara showed no aptitude for that kind of life. While they supplied her with lovely clothes, money and opportunities in society, she was only interested in using the clothes and money to help the less fortunate.¹⁰

The most important of Miss Clara's achievements was her career as a Friends minister. In 1918 Springfield Meeting, located in southeast Guilford County close to Randolph and Davidson Counties, needed a pastor. The meeting had just begun to use the pastoral system in 1913 with George Welker, and it now needed its second pastor. The minutes for Seventh Month 20, 1918, read: “We recommend that the mo. meeting procure the services of Clara I. Cox as pastor for the two meetings beginning with the mo. of Aug. at a salary of \$40.00 per mo.” The two meetings referred to are Springfield and Archdale. George Welker had

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also been the first pastor for the Archdale Preparative Meeting in Randolph County, a short distance from Springfield.

Miss Clara, at 38 years of age, began what would become a twenty-one year pastorate. She was beloved by these meetings and these communities, and each year the Pastoral Committee unanimously asked that she be retained for another year. She wasn't a dynamic preacher as much as she was a quiet teacher. She brought clear, concise, and sincere messages.¹¹

She became a recorded Friends minister in 1924. In 1925 the Pastoral Committee extended to Miss Clara a call to become Springfield's "all time pastor, if way opens." They recommended this again in 1926, and soon way did open. Springfield Meeting moved into a new building in 1926, and Archdale became a monthly meeting. Clara Cox devoted all her time to Springfield Meeting and transferred her membership there from High Point Meeting in November, 1929.¹²

Most of Miss Clara's energy, talent, and love went to people, especially the poor. Her concern was great enough to encompass anyone in need. Every day found her in her car going to someone's home to comfort, help, cheer, or simply visit. One newspaper account described her visits as "bits of kindness here and there, a helping hand unobtrusively extended, warm, eager words to assuage grief, to bring cheer, to bulwark courage and the will to forge on." From July 1921 to July 1922 Miss Clara made 324 pastoral visits.¹³

One 93-year-old Springfield woman remembers how Miss Clara helped her husband get a loan so they could buy a home after they married in 1922. Then in 1926 when this same couple lost their newborn son, Miss Clara came, got the dead baby in his casket which the family had provided, took him to Springfield and buried him.¹⁴

By 1938 Clara's salary at Springfield Meeting had risen to \$800 a year, although through the years she probably gave back her salary many times over. One example occurred in December 1929. The Minutes state: "A check of \$500 was presented to the monthly meeting by Clara I. Cox. This amount had been given to her on her birthday by her father, J. Elwood Cox, to be used in payment on the church debt."

Clara I. Cox was concerned for the welfare of the African American population of this area. She was state president for the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. She was active in the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and she helped the Efland

Clara Ione Cox

School, a North Carolina reform school for young black women. Her work to improve the condition of African American people was an uphill battle even among her educated peers. In 1938 she invited the head of a school for black youths to speak at a yearly meeting session held at Guilford College. After the session Clara discovered that the woman was not permitted to eat at Founders Hall on the campus.¹⁵

Among Miss Clara's papers in the Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College, there are many letters asking for help. Here's an example of one such letter written in pencil by a High Point girl in 1932.

Dear Miss Cox,

I am writing you for a little help, and after you hear my story I am sure you will give me a little help or give me some advice.

I am a poor motherless girl and I want to finish school but my father is old and not able to support me and my sister is not working and I don't have work and I want to finish school so I can take care of my father in his old days.

If you cannot help finance me maybe you can help me secure some kind of work so I will be able to work and go to school too.

I have heard that you have helped lots of colored boys and girls and you was [sic] recommended to me so I am asking you for just a little help please.

Of course I realize that times are hard but I thought you were the only one I could call on for help.

Clara Cox was also especially interested in the youth at Springfield. Every week she drove around, picked up children and brought them to meeting. She organized and taught the Clara I. Cox (CIC) Circle for the teenaged girls of the meeting. They met regularly in each other's homes, and she provided transportation for as many as her car would hold. They loved to talk with her about anything and everything. Only once did she seem to be displeased with this circle of girls. At one of the meetings two nice looking brothers were busy in the kitchen while the girls met in the living room. The girls were sneaking peeks at the boys instead of listening. Miss Clara closed her book, and she wouldn't continue with the lesson. After a few awkward minutes, they all went home.¹⁶

Miss Clara was short and sturdily built. Her face wore a smile most of the time, and her hair was always arranged in a knot on top of her head. Her clothes, while not fashionable, were well-made dresses,

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skirts, blouses, and jackets. They were plain and serviceable without a lot of variety or fussiness. She wore a black straw hat in the summer and a black felt hat in the winter. Her only pieces of jewelry were a ring set with an opal surrounded by diamonds and a watch. Her manner was businesslike and so was her appearance.¹⁷

She loved ice cream, and one of her CIC girls remembers her often saying to herself, "Clara, thee has been a good girl today. Thee may have some ice cream." A fellow minister remembers hearing that once someone ran into Miss Clara's car. She felt so sorry for him that she paid the whole bill. Many people remarked that she was always out running around in her car. One person mentioned that one of her cars was an electric car. At a time when most women were in their homes cooking, cleaning, and raising children, Miss Clara was heading for Raleigh, Greensboro, the town hall, a political rally, a church meeting, or the house of someone in need. The words used to describe her are warm, kind, wonderful, sweet, intelligent, strong, respected, mannish, thoughtful, genuine, gentle, pleasant, selfless, unassuming. One newspaper clipping said, "Hers was a practical Christianity."¹⁸

On the seventeenth of January 1940, Miss Clara entered the hospital. Two weeks later she died at the age of sixty years, one month and thirteen days. The death certificate listed as the causes of death peptic ulcer, pneumonia, and myocarditis. The Springfield Monthly Meeting Minutes recorded: "It is with great sorrow that we record the death of our beloved pastor, Clara I. Cox, Jan. 31, 1940. The first day of Aug 1940 she would have finished twenty-one years of continuous service as pastor of Springfield Monthly Meeting. Her beautiful life and unselfish sacrificial service will ever be a challenge to us to be more faithful Christians."¹⁹

Endnotes

¹ Paula S. Jordan and Kathy W. Manning, *Women of Guilford County, North Carolina: A Study of Women's Contributions 1740-1979*. (Greensboro, NC: Women of Guilford, 1979), p. 93; article, *High Point* (North Carolina) *Enterprise*, date missing, ca. 1 February 1940.

² Jordan, p. 27; Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, *Guilford A Quaker College*. (Guilford College, NC: By the trustees, 1937), p. 112; interviews by the author. (Note: Several people who remember Clara I. Cox were interviewed by the author and any given citation of interviews may refer to several people. See list of interviewees below.)

³ Interviews by the author.

⁴ Obituary, *High Point Enterprise*, 1 February 1940; *High Point City Directory*, 1910, 1917-1957.

⁵ Cox family mausoleum, Oakwood Cemetery, High Point; interviews; *City Directories*.

⁶ Interviews; death certificate for Effie Cox, Guilford County Courthouse; Cox mausoleum.

⁷ Obituary, *High Point Enterprise*, 29 March 1932; interviews.

⁸ Interviews.

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¹⁰ Interviews.

¹¹ Springfield Monthly Meeting minutes, 1913-1940; interviews.

¹² Springfield minutes, 1924-1927.

¹³ *High Point Enterprise*, ca. 1 February 1940; interviews; minutes, Springfield Monthly Meeting, 7th mo. 1922, 21 September 1927.

¹⁴ Interview.

¹⁵ Clara I. Cox Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College; interviews.

¹⁶ Interviews.

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Autobiography of Nereus M. Hodgin (1847–1932)

edited by

Sabron Reynolds Newton

I was born in Randolph County, North Carolina, January 24th, 1847, in the limits of Centre Monthly Meeting of Friends, about two miles from Centre Meeting house.

My father's name was Abijah Hodgin: his father's name was John Hodgin, whose second wife, my father's mother, was Ruth Jenkins. My great-grandfather's name was Joseph Hodgin and his wife's name was Hannah Williams.¹ My great-great-grandfather's name was George Hodgson. [Note the change in spelling; Hodgson was the original name.] His wife's name was Mary Thatcher. This George Hodgson emigrated from Pennsylvania to North Carolina about the year 1750. His will is on record in Guilford County, N.C., and bears the date June 5th, 1774. He was without doubt a descendant of Robert Hodgson, a minister of the Gospel and one of George Fox's missionary band who came to America in Robert Fowler's vessel and landed at New Amsterdam (now New York) in 1657 while Peter Stuyvesant was Governor of the Province of New Amsterdam.²

Robert Hodgson, true to his mission, began preaching in the streets to the mixed multitude he found there and they heard him gladly, but Peter Stuyvesant did not permit such freedom and arrested and imprisoned the preacher. But this did not silence him for the people gathered about the prison and through his prison bars he continued to preach the truth as he understood it. Although the Governor had but little regard for the will of the people, so vigorously did they petition him for the

The above selections from the *Autobiography* are taken from an undated manuscript in the possession of Christine Milhous Walton, 2644 Bridgeport Road, Indianapolis, IN 46231, a granddaughter of Nereus Hodgin. They are being submitted, with her approval, by Sabron Reynolds Newton, 5406 S. University, Chicago IL 60615, a great-granddaughter.

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release of Friend Hodgson, that he agreed to release the offender on condition that he would leave the town. Robert then crossed East River to what is now Brooklyn, where he continued to deliver his Gospel message. Here he was persecuted but he continued faithful to his calling.³

Many of the New Jersey Friends followed Penn to his new Colony in Pennsylvania. It is possible that Robert Hodgson or his descendants fell in with this movement of the early Friends, for there are four different branches of the family: one still in Pennsylvania, one in Virginia, another in North Carolina, and the fourth in Illinois, all of which trace ancestry back to Pennsylvania.

I now turn back to my father's family. My father had three brothers, Thomas, Joseph and John, and four sisters Jane, Verlinda, Margaret, and Martha. None of the sisters ever married and none of them, I think, lived to be very old, perhaps none of them over sixty or seventy years. Thomas and Joseph never married but lived to be pretty old. Thomas was past eighty-two when he died, and I think Joseph must have been nearly as old. John married and raised a large family of children. His wife's name was Rachel Thornberg. The names of their children were William Abijah, James N., Mary Jane, Junius R., Sarah Verlinda, John T., Thomas C, Joseph A., George, and Ruth Ann.

My father, Abijah Hodgin, married Hannah Hiatt in the year 1838 and settled in Randolph Co., N.C., about seventeen miles from Greensboro. They belonged to Centre Monthly Meeting of Friends. In the year 1840, Feb. 13th, their first child was born and they named her Irena Jane. In 1842, Oct. 9th, a son was born and they called him John Oscar. In the year 1844, Aug. 31, Sophronia P. was born and in the year 1847, Nereus M. In 1849 Zebulon was born.

About this time there was great excitement and agitation on the slavery question. Lectures and sermons were being delivered in different localities which caused much bitter feeling on the part of the pro-slavery element in the South. It became evident to my father that a storm was coming, and he believed a civil war would be the result. So he felt that it would be best for him to get his family away from the southland which had for so many years been under the blighting curse of slavery. After a time of careful thought he decided to go to Iowa which was at that time a new and thinly settled state. So in the early fall of 1851, after selling the little personal property he had, except what he could put in a light

Autobiography of Nereus M. Hodgin

two-horse wagon, he started with his wife and five children for the beautiful prairies of Iowa.

Although I was but four years old I well remember the long, but to me delightful journey. The great variety of scenery was to me something very wonderful. Over the rugged mountain roads through North Carolina and Virginia and then out into the muddy roads of Indiana and Illinois are among the things I can never forget. After reaching Indiana we stopped near where the town of Amo now stands for about three weeks' visit with Uncle Charles Osborn's family. His wife, Asenath, was my mother's sister.

After a pleasant visit with these dear ones we continued our journey westward through Indiana and Illinois until we arrived at the great Mississippi River. We now felt that we were near our journey's end for we could look across the great river and see the little town of Fort Madison in Iowa. We were soon crossing the river on a ferry boat; we just drove the team and wagon onto the boat and soon landed in Iowa.

After landing we made our way to my Uncle Warner Davis' home, not far from where the town of Salem now stands. Warner Davis married my father's half sister, Miley. After a short visit here we again renewed our journey toward the central part of Iowa. After several days' travel we arrived in Marshall County. At that time Marshalltown was not a very large place, just one little log house. For some reason we did not tarry long here but still pressed on northwest until we arrived at the north end of the Mormon Ridge, and on the south side of Mud Creek we found a little log cabin that had perhaps been used by some trapper or hunter but had been deserted and was standing empty. There was no door shutter but we stopped and unloaded the wagon and took possession. By this time the weather was getting quite cold and the snow was flying. I do not have the exact date of our landing here but it was sometime in November 1851.

We did not remain long in the little cabin. A mile or two farther on there was a family living and in their yard there was a little vacant log house ten feet square, so we moved into that and stayed six weeks. It was pretty small for a family of seven but in the daytime we would fasten our bedding to the wall, thus giving room for our dining table, and at night when we wanted to retire we would take our beds from the wall and spread them on the floor and fasten our table to the wall.

During our stay in this place father had preempted eighty acres with

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a very fine grove of timber on it. This eighty was about one-half mile east of where the town of Bangor now stands. In the grove there was timber suitable for building a pretty good log house, and on Christmas day father raised a log house nineteen feet square. He made clapboards to cover it with. He cut poles and laid them on the top logs of the house, laid the boards on them, and then placed other poles on the boards to hold them to their place. He also made a door shutter of the same kind of boards. For a floor he cut basswood logs and split them and with a broadax dressed one side quite smooth, so they made a pretty good floor. Very few, if any, nails were used in the building. After living in the little house to which I have alluded, we moved into our new house, and I can truly say that we were all very glad to be in our new home.

It was a cold winter and a trying one in many ways to my parents. We children were not old enough to realize the care and hardships of settling a new country. During this, our first year in Iowa, my brother Thomas was born, March 3d, 1852, and in the year 1855, Nov. 28th, my brother Albion was born. He was the youngest of the children.

Hannah Hiatt, my mother, was the youngest daughter of Cuthbert and Hannah Hiatt of Deep River, N.C. Cuthbert Hiatt was born Oct. 23d, 1779. His wife, Hannah Hiatt, was born July 2d, 1780. I do not know her maiden name. I will give the names and dates of birth and death of their children so far as I know them:

	Date of birth	Date of death
Solomon Hiatt	Jan. 7th, 1807	
Wilson Hiatt	May 5th, 1809	April 8th, 1891.
Elisabeth Hiatt	Oct. 28th, 1810	June 20th, 1899
Asenath Hiatt	Apr. 17th, 1812	
Irena Hiatt	Oct. 22d, 1813	
Hannah Hiatt	Apr 23d, 1817	May 18th, 1885
Cuthbert Hiatt	Jan. 17th, 1820	Mar, 4th, 1902
Zebulon Hiatt	Dec. 3d, 1823	

Asenath Hiatt was married to Charles Osborn at Deep River, N.C., March 21st, 1833. They settled in Indiana near Amo when the country was new. Cuthbert Osborn, son of Charles and Asenath, was born Oct. 27th, 1844. He was married to Anna Grimes, Dec. 27th, 1871. After her death he was married to Asenath Carter, Dec. 20th, 1877. Elda and Elmina were born of the first wife and Oron and Ora of the second wife. Cuthbert Osborn had a brother by the name of Alpheus. His wife's name

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was Emily Wheeler. They had six children, Elen, Josephine, Allen, Mary, Charles, and Hannah.

I will now return to the history of my father's family. For several years after settling in Iowa father and mother had a pretty hard time with a family of small children to care for and none of us old enough to help much on the farm, or in any way help in making a living. Father had to do almost all the work on the farm so that little by little he got his land under cultivation. Although it was a prairie country there was a beautiful grove of pretty good timber on our land and in this grove father split rails to fence a few acres which he had gotten under cultivation. My brothers and I spent much of our time in this beautiful grove making bark whips and whistles, climbing trees, picking wild plums and strawberries and other wild fruits and nuts of which there was an abundance. These were days never to be forgotten, for surely we had a good time.

But these days of almost unrestrained liberty did not last many years. The time came when we were old enough to begin to do some work on the farm in summer and attend school in the winter. I remember well the first school I attended. It was held in a little log house nearly two miles from where we lived. There were no desks and the seats, as near as I can remember, were long slabs with holes in them and wooden pegs in the holes for legs. They had no backs and of course were not very comfortable but they were all right for a beginner in a new country. I enjoyed it and with others near my age had plenty of fun such as school boys can invent. Our teacher's name was Mary Pearson, a daughter of William Pearson, a minister of the Friends Church. He lived for many years at New Sharon, Iowa.

The country where we had located was now settling up very fast with Friends and others,⁴ so the Friends began to think about building a meetinghouse. A place was selected in the woods a little east of where John Hockett then lived and within about twenty or thirty rods of Honey Creek, which was at that time a beautiful stream. A double log house was built, one part for the men and one for the women, so the business of the Church could be transacted separately, as was the custom in those days. I shall always remember some of the meetings in the old log house, for I am sure I received impressions there for good that no doubt have been with me ever since, giving me a desire to be a true Christian.

There were many silent meetings in those days. For some time we had no recorded minister belonging to the meeting, but quite early in the

history of the meeting James Owen, with his family, moved from New London, Indiana, and settled in the community. He was a rather young man, perhaps about thirty–five years old, a tall, fine–looking man and was considered an able minister, so I was under his ministry for some years in my youthful days. Sometimes we would be favored with a visiting minister from Indiana, Ohio or North Carolina, and once in a great while, some minister from England would pay us a visit. So I had the privilege of hearing many good sermons in my boyhood days in this humble church building.

I must relate a little circumstance that occurred on a Sunday morning meeting in the old log house. The house was seated with benches without backs. There was what we called the gallery seats where the ministers and elders were seated. My father was seated on the lower gallery seat which we called the facing bench. I thought I had gotten large enough to sit by myself in meeting. One Sunday morning we had Joseph D. Hoag with us, and while he was preaching there was a man just back of where I was sitting who had a fit and fell over backwards, at the same time making a terrible noise. I looked back just as he was falling and saw his face all out of shape. I was thoroughly frightened and just leaped over some seats to where my father was sitting. The minister stopped preaching and said, “Don’t be alarmed, it’s nothing but a fit.” For a long time after this I dreaded to meet the man who had the fit for fear he would have another one.

After meetings had been held for a few years in the log house, and the country was getting pretty well settled up with Friends, a large monthly meeting known as Honey Creek Monthly Meeting was established about ten miles northwest of where we were located. Honey Creek Monthly Meeting together with Western Plain Monthly Meeting (now Bangor Monthly Meeting) organized a Quarterly Meeting, which is now known as Bangor Quarterly Meeting. Very soon after this the Friends began to feel that a larger and more commodious house was needed, and it was decided to build the new house near the little town of Bangor. The new house was seventy feet long and forty–five feet wide.⁵ Bangor Quarterly Meeting grew to be a very large meeting and was the home of some of the prominent ministers of Iowa Yearly Meeting.

I have in another place alluded to James Owen, who came to Iowa in the early settlement of Marshall County. Bangor was also the home of Isom P. Wooton, a very prominent and useful minister of Iowa Yearly

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Meeting. Stacy E. Beaven was also recorded a minister in Bangor Monthly Meeting. Luther B. Gordon in his younger days belonged to this meeting. David Hunt was also a member of Bangor Quarterly Meeting for many years. He was a man of good natural ability and of wide influence in the Church. He was quite a writer as well as preacher and wrote some books on doctrinal subjects. He lived for a number of years in the town of New Providence and, later, in or near Iowa Falls. I have mentioned only a few of the ministers that were at one time or another members of Bangor Quarterly Meeting. It was during my boyhood days in our home in Bangor that I listened with so much interest to the conversation of ministers and other Friends who were entertained in our home during Quarterly Meeting time, and I remember with what reverence I looked on a minister of the Gospel. I delighted to be in their company and listen to their conversation, and as I would hear others talk of the joys of salvation I longed to know it for myself.

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When I was about fifteen or sixteen years old I had a very sick spell. I had the measles and before I was fully over them I took the scarlet fever. I was very near death's door. I well remember my dear father, who so tenderly watched over me, told me that he was not sure that I would get well. I told him it would be all right with me if I did not, but through the goodness of the Lord I was raised up. I well remember how very happy I was for some time after getting well and felt more and more that the Lord was calling me to preach the glorious Gospel of Christ. So one Sabbath morning in a large meeting at Bangor I opened my mouth in public testimony for the blessed Master. It was something uncommon for one so young to speak in meeting those days, but I know I had the sympathy and approval of many of the elderly Friends, although they were considered rather slow and conservative. . . . There was a time after taking my stand for Christ in public I lived a happy Christian life, but after a while. . . I lost the joy and peace from my heart and became more miserable than ever before. . . . But when I was eighteen or nineteen, I was again brought into the light. . . . After my renewal I commenced work for my blessed Master who had done so much for me.

It was about this time in my life that the great spiritual awakening came to the Friends Church in America. Bangor, which was a large and influential meeting, was among the first meetings that was especially visited by the revival spirit. There were many of the older Friends who

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looked on the movement with misgiving and doubt, and on the other hand a fanatical spirit sprung up in our community and some other meetings in Iowa and Indiana. These were trying days for me. Many things among the conservative element I could not believe were right, and also many strange and fanatical demonstrations that I could not understand among what was known as the progressive element. I wanted to live up to all the true light that came to me and could not fully agree with either element. So some of the time I was in great perplexity and distress.

• • •

When about twenty years old I went with my sister Sophronia to Oskaloosa, Iowa, to attend a boarding school . . . conducted by Henry Thorndyke and his excellent wife, Anna B. Thorndyke . . . but was able to stay only a short time as my health gave way. . . . But my short stay there was very pleasant and proved a great blessing to me in more ways than one. I found Henry Thorndyke and his faithful wife Christians such as I had never met before. I found that they were truly able to give me instruction in spiritual things which was a great blessing to me.

During the short time I was in the school I became acquainted with many very fine young people. Among the number was a young woman who lived in the neighborhood and attended the school. She dressed very neatly, but plain, and was clean and tidy in her person; not very tall, a beautiful well-formed figure, fair skin, beautiful black eyes, and bright red hair; just a little reserved but a very honest, pleasing expression in her face. In the school room the way she was seated was a little to the right and also a little back of the seat I occupied, so that in order for me to see her I had to turn my head . . . but notwithstanding the position it seemed to be very easy for me to frequently cast my eyes toward that particular place. My attachment for this young woman increased during my short stay in school which was only about six weeks.

The next winter I went to school at Springdale, Iowa. My health was much better, and I enjoyed the school very much. It was a large Friends settlement and I made my home at Lawrie Tatum's. There were five or six boys staying there and Mary Ann Tatum was like a mother to us. I am sure they did all they could to make us comfortable. I remained in the school only four months. . . .

I worked on the farm during the summer and in the fall, in company with some other young folks, attended Iowa Yearly Meeting held at

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Oskaloosa. . . . Here we met John Henry Douglas, Allen Jay, Hugh Woody, and others. It was a wonderful Yearly Meeting for me, the first I ever attended. I again met the young woman who so attracted my attention while attending the Thorndyke school. . . . Her name was Martha E. Powell. We had a pleasant visit together and later as we became better acquainted with each other we became satisfied that we would be happier to walk life's pathway together. So on the 17th of March, 1870, we were united in marriage and she was truly a good and faithful wife. I shall always have reason to thank the Lord that He permitted us to unite our hearts and lives in His service. After our marriage we went to my home in Bangor where we lived for about three years. We then moved to Oskaloosa where we lived on a farm most of the time for a few years. We attended the Friends meeting held in the Yearly Meeting house. . . . I frequently spoke in our morning meetings and held some meetings in school houses. . . . There had not been a minister recorded in that Monthly Meeting for many years. I desired to be actively engaged in the Lord's work. . . . At one time He gave me a sight of a meetinghouse in the limits of Salem Quarterly Meeting where I felt I ought to hold a series of meetings, although I had never been in that Quarterly Meeting. . . .

I brought my concern before the Monthly Meeting and requested a minute giving me liberty to engage in the work that was on my heart. The meeting granted my request and an aged Friend offered to go with me. . . . When we were within a few miles of Salem we passed a little Church and I told my Friend that was where we were to hold the series of meetings. We went on to Salem and attended the Quarterly Meeting and enjoyed it very much. After meeting was over I told some of the Friends that if way could be opened for it I would like to hold a series of meetings at Cedar Meeting. So after Quarterly Meeting was over we commenced meeting at Cedar. The Lord's presence was very manifest throughout the meeting and many souls were blessed. I want to say that we had the assistance of Tamar Matox, a resident minister, and some other Friends. . . . There was also a Friend and Elder belonging to Oskaloosa Monthly Meeting who attended most of the meetings. His name was Daniel Coulson . . . a dentist [who] went from place to place doing dental work. He happened to be in the limits of Cedar meeting. . . . After going to his home near Oskaloosa he told the Meeting on Ministry and Oversight that "Nereus Hodgins should be recorded a minister of the Gospel. So after the meeting was over I returned home with peace in my heart and

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thankful for the blessing of the Lord on our work. In a few months I was recorded a minister of the Gospel.

In 1878 I received a minute from our Monthly Meeting for some service in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. I left my wife and two daughters, Anna and Grace, in Oskaloosa in some rooms in South Boarding Hall across the street from Penn College, which was not far from the home of my wife's mother. I went first to Tennessee and visited most of the meetings in that state. After finishing my work there I started to go to North Carolina and took the train for Withville [i.e., Wytheville], Va. My plan was to go from there across the mountains to Mt. Airy, N.C., a distance, I think, of about ninety miles. When I arrived at Withville, I enquired if there was any public conveyance across the mountains. . . . I was told there was no conveyance all the way, but there was a man who carried the mail in a cart half the distance and perhaps I could ride with him. So I found him and he said he had a passenger engaged for the first fifteen miles and if I could walk that far I could then ride with him. So I walked the fifteen miles and then to my great relief I rode the rest of the way which took me, I think, about half the way up the mountain. I stayed overnight with the man and the next morning I started with my grip in hand to walk to Mt. Airy, a distance of about twenty miles. I soon reached the top of the mountain and what beautiful scenery I had the privilege of beholding. After standing and looking for a while, I started on my way down the mountain, a distance of about five miles. It was a splendid road, but very crooked, winding around the gulches and ravines.

After a while I reached the level country and then [walked] through the hot sand for miles until I reached Mt. Airy where I stayed overnight. I had some large blisters on the bottoms of my feet caused by walking through the hot sand. From Mt. Airy I went on down the country east toward Guilford County, visiting Friends Meetings as I came to them on my journey. After some days I arrived at my Uncle Zebulon Hiatt's. He lived in Guilford County near Deep River meetinghouse on the place where my mother was raised. Uncle Wilson Hiatt lived near by. After visiting with them a few days, Uncle Wilson took me in his buggy down to the place where my parents lived when I was born. My Uncle Thomas Hodgkin and his brother Joseph had built a new house and lived on the place, but the old log house in which I was born was still standing in the yard. It was a great treat to me to be with them in my old home, and I just threw off all care as much as I could and rested, for I was pretty weary

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after some of my long walks. My Uncle John Hodgin lived a short distance from Uncle Thomas. They had a large family of children and some boys about grown, so I enjoyed being with them. I attended the meeting at old Centre where father and mother were in the habit of going when I was quite small.

After I had taken some time visiting my relatives I visited many meetings out in the country. It was a great treat to get in the buggy with my dear old Uncle Thomas and ride with him to the different meetings. He was eighty years old and was surely a good old man. Late in the fall I attended North Carolina Yearly Meeting and surely enjoyed it. I met Allen Jay there; he lived in North Carolina at that time. After Yearly Meeting I went down to the eastern part of the state as far as Goldsboro. I visited meetings until some time in the early winter.

I was expecting to go down to the ocean and go home by Baltimore, but very suddenly I felt I ought to change my plans and go home as quickly as possible. So I had my grip packed and [was] all ready to start the next morning and go by rail. Just before I started I received a letter from home with the sad news that my wife had slipped on the ice and broken her leg. It was not many days before I was at home by her side, very thankful for the Lord's directing me home so unexpectedly. It was quite a while before my wife was able to walk, but we had a good doctor and everything was done that could be done for her comfort and speedy recovery.

The autobiography then concludes with some account of his pastoral service in Iowa and Indiana in later years up to the time of the death of his first wife in 1901.⁶

Endnotes

¹ According to the *Mills Family History* (Paul Mills, Woodburn, Ore.), Joseph Hodgkin married (1) Margaret Williams, on Sept. 30, 1760, and she was probably the mother of his eight sons and six daughters. On 1-6-1802 he married (2) Hannah Johnson, born 12-16-1765 by whom there is no record of any children. This is reported by James M. Hodson.

² A manuscript in progress entitled "By George" by James M. Hodson (12 Eagles Next Way, Manchester, NH 03104) cites the evidence found to date for believing that George Hodgson (1701-1774) was not a direct descendant of Robert Hodgson, the missionary. Apparently orphaned in 1710 while en route to America with his parents, he may, however, have been taken in and raised by a relative, Robert Hodgson (c. 1670-1733), son of the missionary, and Sarah Borden Hodgson, his wife, who had moved with their eight sons and two daughters, and his sisters' families, from Rhode Island to New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

³ Robert Hodgson, who sailed to America on the Woodhouse, was born in 1626 in County Durham, England, and died in 1696, a recorded minister, in Portsmouth, R.I. He married, according to James M. Hodson's research, Rachel Shotten in 8-3-1665 and had two daughters and a son, also named Robert. Mentioned a few times in the writings of George Fox, accounts of his missionary work and persecution appear in Charles Evans, *Friends in the 17th Century*, Philadelphia, 1885, p. 169-70; Rufus Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1962, p. 48, 70, 219-223, 273, 278; and other sources. Arthur Worrall mentions a few incidents from his later years in Rhode Island in *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast*, Hanover, NH. 1980, p. 179 19-20, 65. Modern accounts all indicate that Hodgson preached on Long Island before his arrest and went fairly directly from New Amsterdam to Rhode Island upon his release. Nereus Hodgkin said he took his information from "Cyrus Hodgkin, a second cousin of mine, who was for many years a teacher in Earlham College and also a Minister of the Gospel. He was writing a history of the Hodgkin family but did not live to finish it."

⁴ The *Centennial Anniversary* booklet of the Bangor Friends Church in 1953 recalls: "In the year 1850, a group of Friends left North Carolina and traveled by horses and covered wagons to the northwest. . . . The following were among the first to arrive in what is now Bangor Township, Marshall Co., Iowa: Abel Bond, Elam Jessup, William Hobson, Nathan Bales, Fred Caviness. . . . In the fall of 1851 they arrived at

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Bangor after spending the winter and most of the summer near Salem, Iowa. . . . The village of Bangor was platted by Abijah Hodgkin in 1854. . . .” (p. 2) “Although the first party of Friends to settle in the vicinity of Bangor were from North Carolina, they were soon joined by Friends from other parts of the East. Some of these had migrated from North Carolina to Indiana earlier and were relatives or friends of the first arrivals, while others came from along the Atlantic seaboard. The large majority came from Indiana and Ohio, with a few from New York, New England, and other parts.” (p. 3)

⁵The *Centennial Anniversary* booklet also reports: “William Hobson and Abel Bond built a couple of benches, and in a house William Reece had rented, the first Friends meetings were held. Soon there was a demand for a permanent place of worship. A site was selected southeast of the present Bangor Cemetery and a log church was built. Here Western Plains Preparative Meeting . . . was set up by members of Pleasant Plain Meeting in 1853, and this was the regular meeting place for some two years following.” After the village was platted, “Some members wanted the meeting house nearer the village, but others were not anxious to move. Tradition tells us that a group of young men leveled the first meeting house one night, probably early in 1855. This may very well be the reason that Western Plains Monthly Meeting . . . was organized in the home of the first clerk, David Davis. On April 4, 1855, Abijah Hodgkin deeded the present meeting house grounds to William Hobson, John Hockett and Elam Jessup as trustees. Another log church was built here, and it was used until June of 1858, when the first Bangor Quarterly Meeting was held. A new frame building was being built for this occasion” but not being completed, “a rude shed was added to the old building to take care of the crowd for the day,” which included visiting English Friends, Robert and Sarah Lindsay. (p. 2) An article on “How the Quakers Came to Bangor” by Wilbur Jessup, present custodian of the historical records there, and Lois Davis, reports that 500 people attended Bangor Quarterly Meeting in 1860 when “Bangor was said to have been the largest Friends meeting in the world.” They also mention that Sophronia Hodgkin taught the younger children in the meeting house in the early years of the Friends elementary school there. (*News and Views from Bangor Liberty*, Feb. 1981, p. 1–2) Nereus Hodgkin mentions the “beautiful brick building . . . built on the same ground” which replaced the frame building, dedicated in 1917. The first wedding held in the new brick church was that of Nereus’ grandson, L. Willard

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Reynolds, who became a Friends pastor, to Sabron M. Lancaster of Bangor on 8–15–1923. Nereus was buried in the Bangor Friends Cemetery, near the graves of his mother, two sisters, and brother, Zebulon. Family tradition says that Abijah is also buried there, but his gravestone has not been located. Abijah donated the land for the Bangor town square.

⁶L. Willard Reynolds wrote of Nereus, “Grandfather Hodgkin was a good man, and a kind and friendly man. He was interested in people. He had a rather meager education, but he was intelligent and could give a good message when he preached. Grandfather was a rather tall, erect man, and looked somewhat distinguished in his long Prince Albert coat when he stood at the pulpit. He had a good hearty laugh which was often heard. When I was young I remember him with a long beard. In later years he was clean–shaven. He was handy with tools. He always had a lovely, large garden, and he did some work for the farmers round about. I remember him saying, on more than one occasion in his last years when we visited him and Melissa [Stanley Francis Hodgkin, his second wife] at Bangor: ‘Willard, these are the best years of my life.’ And this was after his retirement, when he had neither salary nor pension, and no Social Security. He was one of the first Friends ministers in Iowa to serve as a Pastor with a stipulated salary, which was probably hardly enough to be called a ‘salary’. He passed on to his descendants a number of fairly scholarly books, including a well–used volume of the *Complete Works of Josephus*, and a five–volume Bible commentary.”

The Maryland Ancestors of Rachel Wells

By

Richard M. Kelly

Introduction

RACHEL (Wells) WRIGHT (1721–1771) was a frontier Quaker woman of some note prior to the American Revolution. What we know of her life and the background of her family illustrates a Quaker experience and history which differs somewhat from the image many have of these early Friends who settled the back country of the southern colonies. She was not a descendant of the seventeenth century Quaker immigrants to the Delaware Valley who formed the backbone of the great Quaker migration down the Shenandoah Valley into Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Rather she was born in the tidewater of Maryland. Her parents were not Quakers, but they became so several years after she did. They came from radical Puritan stock as well as that of Catholic refugees seeking religious freedom in the tolerant colony of Maryland under Lord Baltimore. Several of her ancestors were members of armorial families of England while the origins of the others are largely unknown. Her ancestors were a lively group of settlers along the Chesapeake Bay who lead lusty and contentious lives. Her married Aunt Susannah and unmarried Uncle George lived together for several years before their marriage. Her grandmother, Elizabeth Plummer, was called into court for sending a servant to steal onions, bacon, and cabbages from Rachel's grandfather, Thomas Wells. Thomas himself was twice in trouble with the law for drinking and fighting. The court docket of Prince George County is filled with records of their law suits over debts and disputes.

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The dates of Rachel's birth and her parents marriage raise similar doubts about the traditional view of colonial morality.

Yet they were religious people and civic leaders. The same Thomas Wells charged with assault was at the next court session appointed constable and served as a member of the church vestry. Susannah Swanson eventually married George Wells, though the record doesn't say what happened to her husband, James Ward. Some of Rachel's ancestors were members of the established church while others had ties to the Puritans, persecuted Catholic supporters of King Charles, Quakers, or no religion at all. All of her American ancestors were land owners and tobacco farmers. Most owned slaves.

Rachel was born while her father, Joseph Wells, was farming land in Anne Arundel County belonging to his brother's stepson. The Wells's must have returned to the family plantation in Prince George's County as Joseph Wells paid taxes there in 1733. By 1742 they had moved west to the then frontier of Prince George's County in the valley of the Monocacy River in what is now Frederick County, Maryland. The Monocacy River flows south through the rolling farm land of now Frederick County, Maryland. Their land, a 40-acre tract known as Boyling Spring, was on the Tuscarora Creek which flows directly into the Potomac.

Among the early settlers of the Monocacy were Quakers from East Nottingham township in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Though not Friends themselves the Wells family became identified with this Quaker community, and all three of their children married Quakers. Rachel married about 1737 to John Wright, the son of James and Mary Wright, by whom she had sixteen children. Rachel joined the Society of Friends at the time of her marriage and subsequently became a Quaker minister. Rachel and her husband, along with other members of the Wells family, followed the Quaker migration into the south leaving the Monocacy Valley about 1750 for Orange County, North Carolina, where she was the focus of controversy in 1764 involving the Regulator movement. The Wrights removed to South Carolina where her death in 1771 is noted in minutes of the Bush River Monthly Meeting.

The following records of her ancestors are presented in the numbering format suggested by the New England Historic Genealogical Society. In the case of a female ancestor an asterisk (*) is used to designate her,

and reference is made to where further information about her descendants is found.

The Family of Thomas and Frances Wells

First Generation

Thomas Wells

1. THOMAS WELLS was born ca. 1653 probably in England.¹ He may be the son of the widow ELIZABETH MELLOWS of St. Olaves Southwark, Surry, whose 15 January 1682/83 will names THOMAS WELLS "my son who went into parts beyond the seas to Maryland or other parts in America or elsewhere when he shall come and arrive in England." Her daughter, MARY, was wife of JOHN PARKER, executor.² THOMAS WELLS died in Prince George's County, Maryland, in 1718. He was married to FRANCES whose surname is not known. She was alive at the time of his death. They had the following children:
 - i. THOMAS² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS, Jr., born in Prince George's County, Maryland, about 1680. He died 1751. He married MARTHA BOYD, daughter of JOHN and MARY (Duval) BOYD who mentions her in her will written 16 September 1721, proved in Prince George's County, 4 December 1722. THOMAS WELLS paid taxes in Prince George's County in the Patuxent Hundred in 1719 and the Mattopany Hundred in 1733.³ The names of their children and dates of their births recorded in Queen Anne's Parish Register are: JOHN, born 26 October 1712; MARY DUVAL, born 12 August 1715; THOMAS, born 28 January 1710/11.
 - ii. FRANCES² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS is mentioned in her father's will. Her name does not appear in the Queen Anne's Parish register which suggests that she is an older child.
 - iii. NATHAN² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS is named in his father's will. He died about 1770. He married at Queen Ann's Parish, Prince George's County, Maryland, 13 December 1716, MARY DUCKETT, born February or October of 1699. They had at least eleven children.⁴ He paid taxes in the Patuxent Hundred of Prince George's County in 1719 and in the Mattopany Hundred in 1733.⁵ His will was written in Prince George's County, Mary-

land, 22 January 1770. He mentions his wife, MARY, and daughters, SUSANNAH WELLS and KERSHIAN WELLS. Witnesses: CHARLES BRASHER, GEORGE WELLS, and THOMAS PLUMMER, Jr. The names of their children and their dates of birth, recorded in the register of Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County, Maryland, are: ELIZABETH, born 14 November 1717; MARY, born 27 August 1719; NATHAN, born 8 April 1723; JEMIMA, born 3 February 1724/25; RICHARD, born 26 January 1726/27; GEORGE, born 11 January 1728/29; KEZIA, born 1 November 1732; JOHN DUCKETT, born 2 January 1733; JACOB, born 21 September 1735; SUSANNAH, born 9 January 1740.

- iv. GEORGE² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS was born in Prince George's County, Maryland about 1685. He received a bequest of five shillings in his father's will.⁶ He married first SUSANNAH (Swanson) WARD. GEORGE WELLS of Prince George's County, "Upwards of seventy nine years," wrote his will 17 February 1764, proved 20 April 1770. In it he mentioned his wife, SARAH (perhaps a second wife), sons, GEORGE and JOSEPH WELLS. JOSEPH and SARAH, Executors. Witnesses: SAMUEL WHITE, JOHN EVANS SONER, J. W. WARMON.
- v. ROBERT² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS was born in Prince George's County, Maryland, 5 August 1693.⁷ He is mentioned in his father's will. He married ANN _____. The names of their children and dates of their births, recorded in the register of Queen Anne's Parish, are: THOMAS, born 2 December 1717; SARAH, born 15 May 1720; NATHAN, born 27 December 1722; ELIZABETH, born 27 March 1727; ROBERT, born 7 February 1728/29; WILLIAM, born 7 January 1730; MARGARET, born 13 August 1734; JEREMIAH, born 20 July 1732.
2. vi. JOSEPH² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS was born in Prince George's County, 30 September 1697.⁸ He was alive in 1758 and died probably in Orange County, North Carolina. He married first to MARGARET SWANSON, daughter of FRANCIS SWANSON, Jr., and SUSANNAH PLUMMER. She died before 1758. He married second about 1758 in North Carolina to widow, MARY COOK. He had at least three children.

Maryland Ancestors of Rachel Wells

- vii. SARAH² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS, twin of JOSEPH,² was born in Prince George County, Maryland, 30 September 1697. She married in Prince George's County, Maryland, 23 October 1729, ALEXANDER GAITHER.⁹
- viii. ELIZABETH² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS was born in Prince George's County, Maryland, 11 May 1699.¹⁰ She is mentioned in her father's will.
- ix. MARY² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS is mentioned in her father's will.

On 20 April 1679, ROBERT CONANT of Anne Arundel County proved he had transported a number of persons including members of his own family and others, among them THOMAS WELLS, to the Province of Maryland and was entitled to fifty acres of land for each person transported and that they agreed to inhabit the land for sixteen years. These rights were subsequently assigned to NICHOLAS LAINTEs of St. Mary's City.¹¹

On 26 August 1695, THOMAS WELLS "of Calvert County, planter" purchased a 200-acre tract called "Strife," in then Calvert County, "on the west side of the Patuxent River in the freshes of the river, being part of a warrant for 4,000 acres; bounded by land laid out for FRANCIS SWANSTONE, EDWARD ISAAK, and HENRY DARNELL, Esq. from THOMAS SMITH, recorded 26 January 1696."¹² At an unspecified date he acquired an adjoining field called "Something"¹³ in the Patuxent Hundred of Prince George's County. His name appears frequently in the records of Prince George's County.¹⁴ In July 1696 Court, THOMAS WELLS was found guilty of assaulting THOMAS SWAREINGEN and required to pay a fine and post a bond for his good behavior.¹⁵ In November 1697 Court, THOMAS WELLS was paid a bounty for "one wolves head."¹⁶ THOMAS WELLS was impaneled on a Grand Jury.¹⁷ "Docquett of Subpoena. 4th Thurs in March 1698. JOHN MERRYTON demands a Subpoena for Thomas Wells to testify inter him and His Majesty."¹⁸ "We present ELIZABETH PLUMMER, wife of THOMAS PLUMMER, for sending JONATHAN BRYAN and MATTHEW COOPER to the plantation of THOMAS WELLS to steal onions and cabbage and bacon. . . ."¹⁹ On 28 March 1698 THOMAS WELLS was again in trouble with the authorities ". . . in Contempt of the Good Laws of This Province and allso the Kingdome of England make himselfe drunke and in Such manner did beare himself in Fighting etc. Against the tennor and Provision of the good Laws of God and this Province." THOMAS plead

guilty, paid a fine and again posted a bond.²⁰ Periodic misbehavior, however, did not seem to keep men from positions of civic leadership. In 29 September 1699 Court, he and THOMAS PLUMMER served together on a jury, and the Court “Ordered that THOMAS WELLS & THOMAS PELLE be overseer of the Patuxent Hundred.”²¹ In the Queen Anne’s Vestry minutes of 7 April 1707, THOS. WELLS, Sr. was chosen vestryman.

His will, written 26 September 1718, was probated in Prince George’s County, 5 January 1718/19. In it he named his wife, FRANCES, to whom he left his property for her life. It was then divided among his four sons: THOMAS, NATHAN, ROBERT, and JOSEPH. He left five shillings to his son, GEORGE. He left slaves to his four daughters, FRANCES, MARY, SARAH, and ELIZABETH. The date of FRANCES’s death is not known. “Mrs WELLS” paid taxes in the Patuxent Hundred in 1719 but not in 1733.²²

Second generation

2. JOSEPH² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS was born in Prince George’s County, 30 September 1697.²³ He was alive in 1758 and died probably in Orange County, North Carolina. He married (1) at All Hallow’s Church, Davidsonville, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 11 April 1721, MARGARET SWANSON, daughter of FRANCIS SWANSON, Jr. and SUSANNAH PLUMMER.²⁴ She died before 1758 and may have died as early as 1752. He married (2) in North Carolina in 1758 to widow, MARY COOK. He had at least three children by his first wife.

* i. RACHEL³ (*Joseph*,² *Thomas*¹) WELLS was born, probably 7 May 1721 (see note #24 for a discussion of her age and mother) and was baptized at All Hallow’s Church, Davidsonville, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 12 July 1721. She died in South Carolina, 23 December 1771.²⁵ She married about 1737, JOHN WRIGHT, son of JAMES and MARY WRIGHT, born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 4 November 1716. They had thirteen children.²⁶ RACHEL WRIGHT became a minister of the Society of Friends and was focus of a major controversy in the life of Quakers prior to the American Revolution.²⁷ RACHEL and her family removed to Orange County, North Carolina, where she and her husband were founding members of the Cane Creek Meeting. In 1764 they removed to South Carolina. (Further discussion of RACHEL WELLS and her husband JOHN WRIGHT is to be found in the

section on the FAMILY OF JAMES and MARY WRIGHT.)

- ii. JOSEPH³ (*Joseph*,²*Thomas*¹) WELLS was born 20 July 1729.²⁸ He died in North Carolina 30 September 1803.²⁹ On 25 April 1748, he was received into membership at Monocacy Monthly Meeting.³⁰ He married in Frederick County,³¹ Maryland, 28 May 1750, CHARITY CARRINGTON, the wedding being delayed a month until they could get permission from her father “who lived far away.”³² On 25 June 1750, they received a certificate to remove to Carver’s Creek Monthly Meeting in North Carolina. In 1752 he received a gift of land in Orange County, North Carolina, from his father. He received a grant from Lord Granville, 1 November 1755. CHARITY WELLS died in North Carolina, 26 February 1818. They had ten children.³³
- iii. CHARITY³ (*Joseph*,²*Thomas*¹) WELLS died 7 February 1761. She married JOSEPH WRIGHT, son of JAMES and MARY WRIGHT.

JOSEPH WELLS is mentioned in his father’s will. There is conflicting information which some have suggested means JOSEPH WELLS was married to RACHEL prior to MARGARET SWANSON. The wedding of JOSEPH WELLS and MARGARET SWANSON is recorded at All Hallow’s, 11 April 1721. The baptismal record of his daughter at All Hallow’s reads: “RACHEL daughter of JOSEPH WELLS and his wife [my underlining] RACHEL was baptized July 12, 1721.” The records of the Cane Creek Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends in Alamance County, North Carolina, give “RACHEL [Wells] WRIGHT, dt. JOSEPH & MARGARET WELLS, b. 3–27–1720, Prince George Co., MD.³⁴ Some researchers have interpreted this to mean that RACHEL WELLS was born over a year before her baptism at All Hallow’s, and that her mother “RACHEL” (as it appears in the baptismal record) must have died shortly after the birth and her father married a second time to MARGARET SWANSON.³⁵ To explain the Cane Creek record which clearly states that her mother was “MARGARET” Ms. Montgomery suggests that RACHEL WRIGHT is simply mentioning MARGARET as her father’s spouse. It seems more reasonable to this writer that RACHEL WRIGHT would be in error as to her age by one year (the Cane Creek record having been made as late as 1758) than as to her mother’s name. The unreliability of these later recollections is seen again in her death notice reported in the Bush River Monthly Meeting which says she died

in 1771 at age about 52, giving her a supposed birth date of 1719! But as MARGARET SWANSON was likely dead by 1752 when the Cane Creek meeting was founded there was even less reason for RACHEL to misstate her mother's name. Published abstracts of the All Hallow's records only show "RACHEL, the daughter of the JOSEPH WELLS and RACHEL." The complete text includes the phrase "his wife." The All Hallow's records are difficult to read, often confusing, and out of order. However, in this instance it is clear that there is no mistake in reading the text as presented here. Further the information regarding both the baptism and the marriage are in the same hand, thought to be that of the minister, and are recorded in proper order with similar contemporaneous records.

The most likely explanation is that JOSEPH, who was at that time living in Anne Arundel County, married his childhood neighbor, MARGARET SWANSON, sometime after she became pregnant, and that the recorder of the baptism was simply in error giving her name as RACHEL, having repeated the daughter's name. Furthermore, RACHEL's Cane Creek record of her birth would probably be in the Quaker old style calendar in which 3-27-1720 would actually be *May* 27, 1720, not March as some researchers, including the IGI (International Genealogical Register of the LDS Church) state.

JOSEPH² WELLS was living in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 8 December 1726.³⁶ In 1733 he paid taxes in the Mattapony Hundred of Prince George's County, Maryland. He was in the Monocacy Valley of western Prince George's County, now Frederick County, Maryland, by 1742, when his name appears on a list of petitioners seeking creation of All Saints Parish through the division of Prince George Parish. Others appearing on the list include his wife's cousins, "SAM^{LL} PLUMMER" and "CHRIST^N PLUMMER."³⁷ He settled on a forty-acre tract, "Boyling Springs," surveyed 12 June 1743.³⁸ That same year the November Court made him constable of the Monocacy Hundred.³⁹ "1746:2:29 Joseph Wells rec in mbrp (his wife Margaret having been recd by Women's Mtg 29:11:1745) both had been 'under care for some time past'."⁴⁰ The Wells family removed to North Carolina about 1750 when JOSEPH and MARGARET sold "Boyling Spring, on Tuscorrah Creek that falls into the Potomac near the mouth of the Monquescy." On 13 June 1752, JOSEPH WELLS conveyed 269 acres of land in Orange County, North Carolina, to JOSEPH WELLS, Jr., JOSEPH PYKE, witness. On 13

September 1752, JOSEPH WELLS sold 137-1/2 acres of land to JOHN MARSHALL.⁴¹ Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in Alamance County, North Carolina, lists JOHN and RACHEL WRIGHT among its charter members. JOSEPH WELLS is also listed but not MARGARET, so she may have died prior to that date. On 27 May 1758, the New Garden Monthly Meeting records that JOSEPH WELLS of Cane Creek married second MARY COOK, widow of THOMAS COOK who died in York County, Pennsylvania, in 1752. MARY was the daughter of ALEXANDER and JANE (Harry) UNDERWOOD.⁴² MARY (Cook, nee Underwood) WELLS and her children, ISAAC, MARY, & THOMAS, transferred their membership to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting 1 July 1758. The deaths of JOSEPH WELLS and his second wife are not recorded.

The Family of Francis and Isabel Swanston

First generation

1. FRANCIS SWANSTON,⁴³ the immigrant, was in Calvert County, Maryland, as early as 19 April 1667, when his name appears as testator to the will of WILLIAM HUDDLE.⁴⁴ He died about 1675. He married before 1672 to ISABEL, also an immigrant.⁴⁵ Her surname is not known. They had one child:
 2. i. FRANCIS² (*Francis*¹) SWANSON, Jr., born before 1674.

FRANCIS¹ appears as a witness to the will of WILLIAM HUDDLE, 19 April 1667. He patented "Swansons Lott" in 1670 in what was then Calvert County, later Prince George's County.⁴⁶ His will was written 25 May 1674, and was proven in Calvert County, Maryland, 6 March 1675. He appointed his wife, ISABELLA, as executor and to live in home for life and left 600 acres "Swanson's Lot" to his only son, FRANCIS SWANSON, at the death of his mother. Testators: CHRIS RONSLY, JNO. PEERCE, JNO. RONSLY.⁴⁷

Second generation

2. FRANCIS² (*Francis*¹) SWANSON, Jr., born between before 1674 in what is now Prince George's County, Maryland. He is mentioned in his father's will as his only son. He was alive in 1697. He married SUSANNAH PLUMMER, daughter of THOMAS PLUMMER and ELIZABETH STOCKETT. They probably had four daughters:⁴⁸

- i. ISOBEL³ (*Francis*,² *Francis*¹) SWANSON. In February 1728, THOMAS STAFFORD and his wife ISOBEL devised 100 acres of Swanson's Lott to GEORGE WELLS, second husband of SUSANNAH SWANSON.⁴⁹
- ii. MARY³ (*Francis*,² *Francis*¹) SWANSON married at Queen Anne's Parish in Prince George's County, Maryland, 4 July 1706, to JOHN JACOB.⁵⁰
- iii. SUSANNAH³ (*Francis*,² *Francis*¹) SWANSON⁵¹ married first to JAMES WARD by whom she had son, NATHAN WARD, born 12 February 1713.⁵² She married second at Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County, GEORGE² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS. (See section of the Family of THOMAS and FRANCES WELLS for additional details of the life of this couple.)
- * iv. MARGARET³ (*Francis*,² *Francis*¹) SWANSON, born ca. 1705 in Prince George's County, Maryland. She died about 1750, perhaps in Orange County, North Carolina. She married at All Hallow's Church, Davidsonville, Ann Arundel County, Maryland, 11 April 1721, JOSEPH² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS. They had three children. (See the section on the FAMILY of THOMAS WELLS for details of the life of this couple.)

On 16 March 1694, FRANCIS SWANSTON of Calvert County, devised 100 acres of "Swanston's Lott" to THOMAS PLUMMER [his wife's brother], of same. Signed: FRANCIS SWANSTON, and SUSANNAH, wife. Witnesses THOMAS DAVIS and THOMAS STAFFORD.⁵³ Both FRANCIS and his wife, SUSANNAH, must have been deceased by 14 April 1720, when THOMAS PLUMMER petitioned the General Assembly of Maryland to pass a special law confirming the above deed of sale which proved to be deficient in some of its language.

During the June Court 1696/7, Prince George's County, GEORGE BURGES demanded a warrant for FRANCIS SWANSTON regarding a debt of 900 pounds of tobacco.⁵⁴ August Court, the same.⁵⁵ August 1696 Warrant against FRANCIS SWANSTON. August Court GEORGE JONES vs. FRANCIS SWANSTON, continued. September 1696 Court "Richard Keene plaintiff: Francis Swanston Defendant. The plaintiff Sues the Defendant for nine hundred and Sixty pounds of tobacco a Certain Debt for Damages as by Declaration filed and Account hereafter Sett downe Appeareth etc.

Maryland Ancestors of Rachel Wells

“Francis Swanston Debtor to Richard Keene March Court 1693.	lbs tobacco
To 3 quarts of wine 3 with Suggest 140. to a Double boule of punch	360
To 6 Dyett 60. to 5 quarts of wine on burnt 210: to 2 pints burnt Rume 50	320
To 12 Ears of Corne, to 10 Dyetts 100. to 2 quarts of wine one burnt. to 1 pint burnt Rome 25	227
To 1 Dyett and Lodgin 15: tp 1 pint burnt Rome 25, to 1/2 pint Ditto 13	<u>053</u> 960

“THE PLAINTIFF HAVING Issued out two writts against the defendant both of which was by the Seriffe of Calvert County Returned that the Said Defendant was not to be found in his balywick and Likewise have Cause[d] a Cobby of the Cause of Action to be left at the house were the Defendant Last Lived in the County of Calvert before the devision of the Counties. Whereupon the Said Richard Keene by Samuell Wattkins his Attorney prayeth an Atteachment against the goods and Chattles of Said Francis Swanson as well as the Said Sum of 960 pounds of tobaccoe his Debt for Damages aforesaid as alsoe for the Sume of pounds of tobaccoe his Cost and Charges in this behalfe Laid out and Expended by the Court here it is granted him etc.”⁵⁶

January Court, GEORGE JONES vs. FRANCIS SWANSTON, discontinued.⁵⁷ November 1698 “We the Grand Jury of this Court doe present SUSANNA SWANSON and MARY EVANS upon suspicion of killing a beef of ARCHIBALD EDMONDSON’S.”⁵⁸

The Family of Thomas Plummer and Elizabeth Stockett

THOMAS PLUMMER, the immigrant, came to America in 1667 from England transported by WILLIAM STANLEY, the latter receiving headrights for 250 acres for transporting himself, THOMAS PLUMMER, THOMAS FAIRFIELD, JOSEPH STANNWAY, and JOHN BUNTLINE.⁵⁹ THOMAS PLUMMER died in Anne Arundel County, Maryland about 1694. He married ELIZABETH STOCKETT, daughter of Captain THOMAS STOCKETT, and MARY WELLS.⁶⁰ They had four children:

- i. THOMAS² (*Thomas*¹) PLUMMER is mentioned in his father’s will. He died about 1728. He married ELIZABETH SMITH,

named in the will of her brother, JOHN SMITH.⁶¹ The family of THOMAS¹ PLUMMER removed to Prince George's County, where 6 March 1694 he purchased 100 acres of "Swanson's Lott."⁶² He paid taxes there in 1719 as did several of his sons.⁶³ He wrote his will 29 June 1726; proved in Prince George's County, Maryland, 26 June 1728.⁶⁴ At his death he still owned his portion of "Swanson's Lott." ELIZABETH (Smith) PLUMMER was indicted by the March 1698 court "for sending JONATHAN BRAYN and MATTHEW COOPER to the plantation of THOMAS WELLS to steal onions and cabbage and bacon." She was acquitted at the trial held 27 June 1699.⁶⁵ She wrote her will 28 March 1736.⁶⁶ They had twelve children.⁶⁷

- ii. MARGARET (*Thomas*¹) PLUMMER is mentioned in her father's will as the wife of HUGH REILY.
- iii. MARY² (*Thomas*¹) PLUMMER is mentioned in her father's will as "lately having intermarried with WILLIAM JACKSON."
- * iv. SUSANNAH² (*Thomas*¹) PLUMMER is mentioned in her father's will as his third daughter, wife of FRANCIS SWANSON. She and FRANCIS were married by 6 March 1694, when she signed a deed of sale as the wife of FRANCIS SWANSTON.⁶⁸ FRANCIS was the son of FRANCIS SWANSTON and his wife, ISABEL. FRANCIS, Jr. and SUSANNAH were both dead by 1720. They had four daughters. The family of FRANCIS SWANSON, JR. and SUSANNAH PLUMMER is discussed as part of the family of Francis and Isabel Swanston.
- v. ELIZABETH² (*Thomas*¹) PLUMMER is mentioned in her father's will and married in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, All Hallow's Church, WILLIAM IJAMS [Iams].⁶⁹

THOMAS PLUMMER's brother-in-law, THOMAS² (*Thomas*¹) STOCKETT conveyed 100 acres of his patent land "Bridge Hill" to him 20 May 1676.⁷⁰ On 28 July 1686, his wife's uncle, Dr. FRANCIS STOCKETT, purchased 64 acres, part of "Deden," adjacent to "Bridge Hill."⁷¹ On 15 December 1686, he was "possessed of a tract called 'Level Addition'" which was surveyed by his step father, GEORGE YATE, on the west side of the Susquehannah River.⁷² THOMAS PLUMMER purchased two further tracts: "Seamans' Delight" and the adjoining "Scotts Lot" in Calvert County. (No date for these acquisitions is given in the Patent Index of the Maryland Archives. This land fell into Prince

George's County when it was set off from Calvert in 1696. The land was in the vicinity of the WELLS and SWANSON properties.)

THOMAS PLUMMER wrote his will 12 July 1694; proved 26 February 1694/95.⁷³ In his will he states that he was a religious man, but no record of church membership has been found. He mentions his wife, ELIZABETH, and children: THOMAS, MARGARET, MARY, SUSANNAH, and ELIZABETH. Witnesses: Capt. HENRY, ELIZABETH, and JOS. HANSLAP and EDW. BRUCEBANK. He appointed his wife, ELIZABETH, Executor. "April 28, 1699. Then came Eliz. Plummer, ex of the last will & testament of Thomas Plummer, late of Anne Arundel County, deceased" and filed her account.⁷⁴

The Family of Thomas Stockett and Mary Wells

First generation

THOMAS STOCKETT and his brothers, FRANCIS and HENRY, immigrated to Maryland in 1658. In 1664 they were joined by their elder brother, LEWIS STOCKETT.⁷⁵

About or in ye year of or Lord 1667 or 8 I became acquainted wth 4 Gents yt were Brethren and then dwellers Here in Maryland the Elder of them went by ye name of Collo Lewis Stockett and ye second by ye name of Captn Thomas Stockett, ye third was Doctr Francis Stockett and ye Fourth Brother was Mr. Henry Stockett. These men were but ye newly seated or seting in Anne Arundel County and they had much business wth the Lord Baltimore then proppeter of ye Province. My house standing convenient they were often entertained there: They told mee yt they were Kentich Men or Men of Kent[shire, England] and yt for that they had been concerned for Charles ye First, were out of favor wth ye following Governmt they mortgaged a Good an estate to follow King Charles the second in exile and at their Return they had no mony to redeem their mortgage wch was ye cause of their coming hither.⁷⁶

They are thought to be the sons of THOMAS and FRANCES (Aylesworth) II of Canterbury, England, who were first cousins and grandchildren of LEWIS STOCKETT, a member of the household of Queen Elizabeth the First.⁷⁷

THOMAS STOCKETT, born in Kent, England, travelled to America in 1658. He died in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, in 1671. He

married in Maryland to MARY WELLS, daughter of Dr. RICHARD WELLS and FRANCIS WHITE. She was born in Virginia before 1653. MARY WELLS married second GEORGE YATE of Anne Arundel County, born about 1640 in Ufton Court, Berkshire, England,⁷⁸ died 1691. She was buried at All Hallow's Church, Davidsonville, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 21 January 1698/9. She and THOMAS STOCKETT probably had the following children:

- i. FRANCES² (*Thomas*¹) STOCKETT was born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, ca. 1665. She is mentioned in her mother's will as the wife of MAREEN DUVAL whom she married 1685 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.
- ii. THOMAS² (*Thomas*¹) STOCKETT was born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 17 April 1667.⁷⁹ He is mentioned in the wills of his mother and father and inherited his father's land. He married in Anne Arundel County, 12 March 1689, MARY SPRIGG.⁸⁰
- * iii. ELIZABETH² (*Thomas*¹) STOCKETT is mentioned in her mother's will as the wife of THOMAS PLUMMER. She is also mentioned in the will of her step father.⁸¹ For a full discussion of ELIZABETH STOCKETT and her husband THOMAS PLUMMER see section on the family of Thomas Plummer.
- iv. MARY² (*Thomas*¹) STOCKETT, the wife of MARK RICHARDSON, was buried at All Hallow's Church, 21 January 1698/9.

THOMAS¹ STOCKETT served in the Lower House in Maryland and was a justice of Baltimore County (1661–1664), where he owned a 400-acre tract. He owned "Obligation," a 663-acre tract north of Arundel Manor, surveyed 19 July 1669.⁸² He was Deputy Surveyor General 1670–1671 and was a captain by 1671. He wrote his will 23 April 1671, witnessed by THOMAS BESON, Jr. and THOMAS HODGE. His estate was left to his widow, MARY, with his son, THOMAS, inheriting after her death. He mentions daughters, unnamed, and "Child my wife now goeth with" and "loving Brother FRANCIS STOCKET my Silver Seale with the arms of our family Engraven thereon." He mentions also "my loving Brother Mr RICHARD WELLS."⁸³

His widow, MARY (Wells) YATE, wrote her will 14 January 1698/9, in which she mentions her son, THOMAS STOCKETT; FRANCES, wife of MAREEN DUVAL; ELIZA wife of THOMAS PLUMMER; ANN YATE;

and sons, GEORGE YATE and JOHN YATE.⁸⁴ Not named in her will but in her final distribution is MARK RICHARDSON, husband of her deceased daughter, MARY.⁸⁵

The Family of Dr. Richard Wells and Frances White

Dr. RICHARD WELLS, a Puritan, was born in England,⁸⁶ probably in Cornwall about 1610. He died in Anne Arundel County, Maryland in 1667. He married the immigrant, FRANCES WHITE, daughter of Sir RICHARD and Lady CATHERINE (Weston) WHITE,⁸⁷ born probably in Essex, England. She died before 1667. Their children were:

- i. RICHARD² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Virginia, probably Norfolk County, and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland in 1653. He is mentioned in his father's will. He sailed to England upon his father's death and returned to Maryland by 20 July 1669, when he filed claim for headrights for importing sixteen persons.⁸⁸ He married SOPHIA EWEN, daughter of RICHARD EWEN. RICHARD WELLS² died in 1671. His will was written 11 May 1671; proved 9 June 1671.⁸⁹ He and his wife had no children.
- ii. WILLIAM² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Virginia, probably Norfolk County, and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland in 1653. He is not mentioned in his father's will.
- iii. GEORGE² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland in 1653. He is mentioned in his father's will. His will was written 20 February 1695; probated in Baltimore County, Maryland, but the date is missing.⁹⁰ He married about 1667 to BLANCHE GOLDSMYTH (to America ca. 1658, daughter of Major SAMUEL GOLDSMYTH and his wife, JOANNA). Her inventory was made in Baltimore County, 1 July 1704, by HENRY JACKSON and SAMUELL COLLETT. They had the following children: SUSANNAH WELLS, who married JOHN STOKES; BLANCHE WELLS, who married RICHARD SMITHERS; FRANCES WELLS, who married THOMAS FRISBIE; BENJAMIN WELLS, died 16 April 1702; and GEORGE WELLS who married MARY GOLDSMITH; Widow GIBSON.⁹¹

- iv. JOHN² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Virginia and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland in 1653. He is mentioned in his father's will. He settled on Kent Isle, Maryland. His will was written 10 March 1713/14; proved in Queen Anne's County, Maryland, 15 November 1714. He married about 1671 to ANNE/JANE BEEDLE, stepdaughter to WILLIAM COURSEY and sister of HENRY BEEDLE. She married (2) 6 January 1714/15, THOMAS HAMMOND, but the record of the St. Margaret's Westminster Parish states that she was JANE LILLINGSTON and not widow WELLS. Her brother, CARPENTER LILLINGSTON of Queen Anne's County, died in 1724 and willed the greater portion of his estate to his niece, MARY JANE WELLS. JOHN² WELLS and his wife, JANE, had a son, JOHN³ and an unborn child mentioned in his will.
- v. ROBERT² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Virginia and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland 1653. He is mentioned in his father's will. He inherited "West Wells" in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. He entered a business partnership with his brother, BENJAMIN.²
- vi. BENJAMIN² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Norfolk County, Virginia and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland in 1653. He is mentioned in his father's will and inherited "Benjamin's Choice." He died intestate. His inventory was made 22 June 1702.⁹² He married FRANCES HANSLAP, daughter of HENRY HANSLAP. They had two children: ELIZABETH, born 9 May 1696, and buried August, same year. The mother apparently died in childbirth of a second ELIZABETH, as she was buried at All Hallow's Parish, 8 May 1697, and her daughter died 11 May, three days later.
- * vii. MARY² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Virginia and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland in 1653. She is mentioned in his father's will as the wife of THOMAS STOCKETT. For the detail of MARY STOCKETT see the section on the family of Thomas Stockett.
- viii. ANN² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Virginia and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland in 1653. She is mentioned in her father's will as the wife of Dr. JOHN STANSBURY.

Maryland Ancestors of Rachel Wells

- ix. ELIZABETH² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Virginia and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland in 1653. She is not mentioned in her father's will.
- x. FRANCES² (*Richard*¹) WELLS was born in Virginia and was transported with other members of the family to Maryland in 1653. She is not mentioned in her father's will.
- xi. MARTHA² (*Richard*¹) WELLS is mentioned in her father's will as the wife of ANTHONY STALLOWAY.

RICHARD WELLS transported himself to Virginia, before 13 September 1637, and was granted head rights in Charles City County, Virginia, and received fifty acres of land "lying on the River between two creeks."⁹³ He evidently had property in England and prospered in Virginia though no record of his other properties has survived. RICHARD¹ was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1645.⁹⁴ It is thought that his liberal Puritan politics led him to seek the religious freedom offered by Lord Baltimore. He removed with his family to Maryland and obtained head rights for the transportation of his family, plus THOMAS BOONE, HENRY SYMONDS, GEORGE HALL, THOMAS LINSTEAD, EDWARD HOWARD, and MARTHA WINDRIGHT, his servants, "being all transported since June 1653."⁹⁵ Six hundred acres were granted on Herring Bay which he named "Wells." He built a Manor House on the property and lived there the remainder of his life. On 22 July 1654, he was appointed a member of the Parliamentary Commission and served in various offices of the court. He acquired considerable land in Maryland and held a sixteenth share of the ship, *Baltimore*. He wrote his will 22 June 1667.⁹⁶ At his death he also held property in England and son, RICHARD² WELLS, sailed for England where in 1668 his father's will was probated at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

His estate was appraised 5 December 1667, by Captain JOHN HOWELL and GODFREY BAYLEY. One of the items in the inventory was "chirurgeon chest." It included an interest in the ship, *Majesty*. The total appraisement was £1,735/6/4 plus 57,145 pounds of tobacco, several servants, silver plate, £7/8/9 currency. His Majesty owed him several sums.

Endnotes

¹ In 1714 Thomas Wells was witness to the boundary lines of an adjoining tract of land where the records state "Thomas Wells, Senr aged about sixty one years." (Maryland, Chancery Record, Liber 3, folio 27)

² *American Colonists in English Records*, George Sherwood (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1961) 163, quoted from the Principal Probate Record of London.

³ *Maryland State Papers. No. 1. The Black Books*, Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland, 1943, items 161 and 265. Successor Hundred set off from the Patuxent Hundred. Unlike colonial New England, counties in Maryland and Virginia were not subdivided into towns or townships. "Hundreds" were established as taxing and administrative districts within some counties.

⁴ *Maryland and Virginia Colonials*, Sharon J. Doliente (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1991) 13.

⁵ *Maryland State Papers. No. 1. The Black Books*, Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland, 1943, items 161 and 265.

⁶ An explanation of THOMAS WELLS, Sr.'s five shilling bequest to his son, GEORGE, may come from fatherly disapproval of George's relationship with his neighbor SUSANNAH (Swanson) WARD, wife of JAMES WARD. "30 March, 1719. Ordered that the clerk summon GEORGE WELLS and SUSANNAH WARD to attend vestry meeting on Sunday the 12th April after the sermon touching their living lewdly and incontinently together." (Queen Anne's Vestry Minutes, p. 60) "12 April, 1719. Then appeared GEORGE WELLS and SUSANNAH WARD and were admonished by the vestry not to cohabit together nor frequent each others company." (*Ibid.*, p. 61) GEORGE and SUSANNAH were married at Queen Anne's by Rev. JACOB HENDERSON 16 June, 1725. This SUSANNAH (Swanson) WARD is likely the sister of MARGARET SWANSON who married GEORGE WELLS' brother JOSEPH.

⁷ Queen Anne's Parish register.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Patent Liber WC2, folio 50, 57, Maryland State Archives.

¹² Prince George's County Land Records, Vol. A, p. 26.

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¹³ It was the practice in Maryland for patent land to be assigned a name which would follow the property through successive owners.

¹⁴ *Court Records of Prince George's County, Maryland 1696-1699*, edited by Joseph H. Smith and Phillip A Crowl (Washington DC: American Historical Association, 1964).

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 26-27.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 275.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 393.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 456.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 458.

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 463-464.

²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 547-548.

²² *Maryland State Papers, No. 1, The Black Books*, Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland, 1943, items 161 and 265. "FRANCES WELLS to THOMAS LANCASTER for five pounds ten shilling current money . . . lot in Queen Ann Towne . . . left to said FRANCES according to and form of law by her beloved husband THOMAS WELLS, SENR, deceased . . . 23 Day of March 1723. Witness: ROBT. TAYLOR, RALPH CRABB."

²³ Register of Queen Ann's Parish.

²⁴ There is no record of MARGARET SWANSON's birth, and she is not mentioned in any will which would prove her parents. There can be no doubt, however, that she is the daughter of FRANCIS SWANSON, Jr. and SUSANNAH PLUMMER. This couple lived on Swanson's Lott which was next to the WELLS family land. No other SWANSON family lived in Maryland at this time. The records show that the PLUMMER, SWANSON, and WELLS families were neighbors and residents of the Patuxent Hundred. (See the court records cited regarding the indictment of ELIZABETH PLUMMER, wife of THOMAS PLUMMER.) For a full discussion of the PLUMMERs and the SWANSONs see the separate chapters on these families.

²⁵ Bush River Monthly Meeting Minutes, p. 2; Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. 1, p. 1025: "RACHEL WRIGHT, a friend of the Ministry, w/John, one of the first Beginners of a Mtg. at Bush River, d. 12-23-1771, aged about 52 yrs."

²⁶ Some sources list sixteen or more children.

²⁷ Among the more celebrated conflicts in North Carolina Quakerism was the role of its members in the movement known as the Regulators in the period before the War. HERMON HUSBAND, a principal figure in this movement was disowned by Cane Creek in 1764. "Husband came to North Carolina in 1752 from East Nottingham, Maryland. His hot temper and radical ideas later earned him the title of the Thomas Payne of the South" and "North Carolina's first great Liberal." His open political activity earned him the condemnation of the more conservative majority of the Meeting. The final break with Friends came over RACHEL WRIGHT. It seems RACHEL committed some offense as a member of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting for which she apologized and the meeting subsequently accepted her apology. ". . . in 1763 she asked for a certificate of removal to Fredericksburg. Some of the members thought she was not sincere in her explanation and opposed her certificate. Husband was caught up in this battle and when his attitude was judged quarrelsome and violent, he was disowned." (Quoted from Steven Jay White, "Friends and the Coming of the Revolution, *The Southern Friend*, The North Carolina Friends Historical Society, Spring, 1982, Vol. IV, Number 1, pp. 16–27.)

²⁸ Register of All Hallow's Parish.

²⁹ Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 367.

³⁰ Hinshaw, Vol. VI, p. 577.

³¹ The records of the Monocacy Meeting confuse some researchers as they are a part of Fairfax Monthly Meeting across the Potomac River in Virginia. Monocacy Monthly Meeting was established in the early 1730s and was identified with the later expansion of Friends into the Shenandoah Valley. Expansion on the Maryland side of the Potomac River was slower than in Virginia and the Monocacy Meeting was included with the Fairfax Monthly Meeting. Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. VI, includes the records of Monocacy under the Fairfax Monthly Meeting, leading some researchers to conclude that events reported there actually occurred in Virginia. A careful reading will distinguish the Monocacy events from the Fairfax events.

³² Hinshaw, Vol. VI, p. 577.

³³ Flo Montgomery, *Wells Family Research Bulletin*, p. 328–329.

³⁴ Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 369.

³⁵ Flo Montgomery in her profile of JOSEPH WELLS, *Wells Family*

Bulletin, p. 327.

³⁶“8 December, 1726. THOMAS WARD of Prince George’s Co. ‘planter’ for natural love and affection to bear unto my well beloved father in law GEORGE WELLS for his great care & trouble of me in my affliction of sickness — all my Indian corn and tobacco now in Ann Arundel Co on the plantation that JOSEPH WELLS dwells on [emphasis mine].” (Ann Arundel Land Records, Liber M, folio 103) Thomas Ward was a stepson of JOSEPH WELLS’ brother, GEORGE WELLS, and son of MARGARET SWANSON’s sister, SUSANNAH.

³⁷ Also appearing on a 1742 petition seeking the creation of Frederick County are the related names: MAREEN DUVAL, Jr. and Sr., RICHARD DUCKETT, E. SPRIGG, T. SPRIGG, and ISAAC WELLS. (*Pioneers of the Old Monocacy: The Early Settlement of Frederick County, Maryland, 1721–1743*, Grace L. Tracey and John P. Dern (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co. Inc., 1987) 370.

³⁸ Patent Liber LG E, folio 290, Map 80.

³⁹ *Pioneers of the Old Monocacy*, pp. 79–88, 371.

⁴⁰ Under the care of a meeting indicates that they were active participants accepted as part of the Quaker community for several years prior to their formal joining as members. (Hinshaw, Vol. VI, p. 577)

⁴¹ Register of Orange County, North Carolina Deeds, NC State Archives microfilm reel #C.073.48002.

⁴² Letter of Thomas D. Hamm to writer, 2 December 1991.

⁴³ FRANCIS SWANSTON or SWANSON is sometimes confused with the Dr. or Surgeon FRANCIS SWINFEN. They were contemporaries and their names are also spelled the same way. Dr SWINFEN married DOROTHY, widow of both GILES SADLER and HUGH STANLEY. Dr. SWINFEN died without issue in Calvert County, Maryland, in 1683.

⁴⁴ Maryland Archives, Patent Liber 12, folio 591.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Patent Liber 17, folio 39.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Patent Liber 12, folio 593.

⁴⁷ Calvert County, Will Book 2, folio 401.

⁴⁸ No birth records of children born to this couple have been found. Neither FRANCIS SWANSON, Jr. nor his wife left a will identifying children. Evidence pointing to the identity of their probable children is: 1. No other Swanson family lived in Maryland at this time so that any

SWANSON marriage recorded in central Maryland in the early 18th century is probably one of their children. 2. Two of these marriages — MARY SWANSON (first married to JAMES WARD) and MARGARET SWANSON — are to brothers, GEORGE² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS and JOSEPH² (*Thomas*¹) WELLS, who grew up on the Wells land which was adjacent to SWANSON LOTT. 3. On 5 February 1728 THOMAS STAFFORD and wife ISOBEL devised to GEORGE WELLS 100 acres of “Swanson’s Lott” on west side of north branch of Patuxent River. (Liber M, folio 398) This suggests that ISOBEL STAFFORD is another daughter, probably named for her grandmother.

⁴⁹ Maryland Archives, Prince George’s County, Liber M, folio 398.

⁵⁰ Queen Anne’s Parish Register.

⁵¹ Proof of SUSANNAH WARD’s surname: “10 December 1714 JAMES WARD of Prince George’s County planter and SUSANNAH his wife lately called SUSANNAH SWANSON of the one part and GEORGE WELLS of afsd county planter of the other part — land called ‘Swanston Lot’ on Prince George’s County.” (Maryland Archives, Prince Georges County Deed Book E, pp. 331–332)

⁵² Queen Anne’s Parish Register.

⁵³ Prince George’s County Deed Book PP, folio 336.

⁵⁴ Tobacco was often used in transactions instead of scarce currency. Witnesses at court in both Maryland and Virginia as late as 1790 were regularly paid 25 pounds of tobacco for a one–day appearance. (*Court Records of Prince George’s County, Maryland 1696–1699*, p. 110, edited by Joseph H. Smith and Phillip A. Crowl, American Historical Association, Washington DC, 1964)

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

⁵⁹ Maryland Archives, Patent Liber 11, folio 171.

⁶⁰ No connection has been established between the family of MARY WELLS, daughter of the immigrant Dr. RICHARD WELLS, and the family of the immigrant THOMAS WELLS whose son JOSEPH WELLS married MARGARET SWANSON, granddaughter of MARY WELLS.

⁶¹ Calvert County Will Liber 6, folio 143, dated 19 April 1698, filed 1

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August 1698.

⁶² Maryland Archives, Prince's County Deeds Book PP, folio 336.

⁶³ *Maryland State Papers, No. 1, The Black Books*, Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland, 1943.

⁶⁴ Liber 19, folio 409.

⁶⁵ *Court Records of Prince George's County. Maryland, 1696-1699*, edited by Joseph H. Smith and Phillip A. Crowl (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1964) 458, 489, 493-495.

⁶⁶ Prince George County wills, Liber 19, folio 409, proved: 8 July, 1738.

⁶⁷ Their son, SAMUEL PLUMMER, was a Quaker belonging to the West River Monthly Meeting in Ann Arundel County and owned large tracts of land in Frederick County and was a trustee of the Pipe Creek Monthly Meeting, successor meeting to the Monocacy Monthly Meeting. A number of their descendants removed to the Monocacy Valley and belonged to the Quaker Meeting there at the same time as JOSEPH WELLS and his wife, MARGARET SWANSON.

⁶⁸ Maryland Archives, Prince George's County Deed Book PP, folio 336.

⁶⁹ *Anne Arundel Gentry*, Harry Wright Newman, 1970, Vol. 1, p. 293.

⁷⁰ *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, 1986, Vol. 27, p. 82.

⁷¹ Anne Arundel County, Maryland Deeds, Liber IH-1, folio 52.

⁷² *Maryland Historical Society Magazine*, 1924, No. 19, p. 368.

⁷³ Anne Arundel County, Will Liber 7, folio 65.

⁷⁴ Maryland Archives, Testamentary Proceedings, 1699, Liber 17, folio 281. In addition to specific references, material is taken from the excellent article "A Line of Descent from Thomas Plummer, Maryland Colonialist," by Gale Edwin Spitler Honeyman and Agnes Winkleman, *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, Baltimore, Volume 28, Number 1, Winter, 1987, pp. 30-47.

⁷⁵ *Early Settlers of Maryland*, Gust Skordas (Maryland Archives, 1968) 443.

⁷⁶ Statement of JOSEPH TILLEY, registrar of All Hallow's Church, which he recorded in the registry.

⁷⁷ *Arthur Aylesworth and His Descendants in America*, Homer Aylesworth (1887).

⁷⁸ John G. Hunt, "English Ancestry of George Yate (ca. 1640–1691) of Maryland," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, v. 64, No. 3, pp. 176–180.

⁷⁹ Register of South River Parish.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ As ELIZABETH is not mentioned by name in the will of THOMAS STOCKETT but is mentioned in that of GEORGE YATE, it might be concluded that she was the latter's daughter. However, the will of MARY clearly indicates that ELIZABETH is her daughter. The fact that she and her husband, THOMAS PLUMMER, were well established and he was "possessed" of "Level Addition" by 1686 indicates that ELIZABETH would have been too old to have been born after 1672, when the widow of THOMAS STOCKETT married GEORGE YATE.

⁸² Anne Arundel County Certificate of Survey, Liber FF, folio 299, Patent Liber KK, folio 288.

⁸³ Anne Arundel County Will Liber 1, folio 430, filed 4 May, 1671.

⁸⁴ Ann Arundel Will Liber 6, folio 212, filed 29 March 1698/9.

⁸⁵ Material comes from "A Line of Descent from Thomas Plummer, Maryland Colonialist," by Gale Edwin Spitler Honeyman and Agnes Winkleman, *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, Baltimore, Volume 28, Number 1, Winter, 1987, pp. 30–47, and *Ann Arundel Gentry*, Harry Wright Newman, Vol. 1 and 2, 1970.

⁸⁶ Harry Wright Newman, in *Anne Arundel Gentry*, argues that Richard Wells is the son of JOHN WELLS of Saltash and his wife, ELIZABETH ELYOTT. In his argument he cites the use of seals on documents written by RICHARD's son, GEORGE, in which the "wax impression is unmistakably the arms of the Wells of Saltash, County Cornwall, which settled in that shire about 1530 from Lincolnshire. The arms . . . contain a shield with a chevron on which spots between three birds and a distinct horse's head for the crest; all of which conform to the arms of the Wells of Saltash." A full discussion of the issue and possible ancestry is found in *Anne Arundel Gentry*, Harry Wright Newman, published by the author, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 496–497.

⁸⁷ Sir RICHARD and Lady CATHERINE WHITE, because of their Catholic faith, fled from Hutton Hall in Essex, England, to Rome. It is not

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known why they sent their young daughter to America. (*Magna Carta*, John S. Wurts, 1943)

⁸⁸ Maryland Archives, Patent Liber, 1, folio 300.

⁸⁹ Will Liber 1, folio 439.

⁹⁰ Will Liber 7, folio 192.

⁹¹ St. George Parish Register.

⁹² Maryland Archives, Inventories & Accounts, Liber 23, folio 161.

⁹³ Virginia Patents Book No. 1, 1623–1643, reel 1, p. 481.

⁹⁴ *Colonial Virginia Register*, p. 55.

⁹⁵ Maryland Patent Liber AB & H, folio 347.

⁹⁶ Anne Arundel Will Liber 1, folio 287, filed 31 August, 1667.

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The Quaker Meeting Near The Narrows of Pasquotank

by

Carlton White Rountree

The Quaker Meeting near the Narrows of Pasquotank gets its name from that section of the Pasquotank River which becomes “narrow” and forms somewhat of a horseshoe at Elizabeth City, North Carolina. Elizabeth City, originally known as the “Narrows of the Pasquotank River,” was an inspection station as early as 1764, named Redding, then named Elizabethtown, and finally became Elizabeth City in 1801.¹ This meeting originated in the houses of Quaker settlers, the Cartwrights, and the Truebloods who lived near the Narrows.

Early Families

Thomas Cartwright had already settled in “pascotanke presenke” before 1693, the year of his marriage to Grace Halley of “lettle Rever.” Among the witnesses at this Quaker marriage were their friends, Thomas and Jeremiah Symons, brothers, who later became involved more closely in the lives of the Cartwright and Trueblood families.² Between the year of his marriage and 1696, Thomas Cartwright received a grant of 60 acres on the southwest side of the Pasquotank.³ As early as 1700–1701 Thomas and Grace opened their house to the Monthly Meeting of Friends in Pasquotank during certain months, and in Second month 1705 a regular meeting for worship was appointed for the

This article will be a chapter in a forthcoming book by Rountree on the history of the early meetings in Eastern Quarter of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, expected to be published for the Tercentenary Celebration by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Carlton Rountree is a retired teacher who lives in Belvidere, Perquimans County, North Carolina.

Quaker Meeting Near Narrows of Pasquotank

Cartwright house every third Fifth day.⁴ Within a few years members of the Cartwright family became members of the Trueblood family.

John Trueblood of Shoreditch, County of Middlesex, England, and Agnes Fisher Trueblood, whom he married in London around 1679, arrived up the Pasquotank at the Narrows before the end of the year 1682. They disembarked on the eastern side of the Narrows where the family would eventually receive a grant of six hundred acres.⁵ Among other English Quakers already in Pasquotank to give them advice and help were Solomon Poole, also of Middlesex County, and Zacharias Nixon of the County of Nottingham, England.⁶

Four children, Mary, Elizabeth, John, and Amos, were born between 1684 and 1692 to these first Truebloods in Pasquotank. The rigors of frontier living proved to be especially harsh for John and Agnes. John sensed his frailty and completed a will in 1692. He died shortly thereafter, leaving Agnes and the four children. In the will he left his estate, which included a land grant that was still pending, and the care of his children to his friends and Quaker brethren, Thomas and Jeremiah Symons, in case his wife Agnes should die without making a will.⁷ The Symons brothers must have completed the land grant proceedings, and in 1694 the six hundred acre tract of land became the property of young John, then only about five years old, and Amos, only two.⁸ Their widowed mother, Agnes Fisher Trueblood, eventually married William Ross and died after 1702.⁹

Nothing further about the Trueblood daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, is known.

In 1715 John and Amos Trueblood married Catherine and Elizabeth Cartwright, the daughters of Thomas and Grace Halley Cartwright and girls whom the Trueblood boys had known from the days of their youth. Their marriages occurred together in a civil ceremony before a justice. These marriages, held without the approval of Friends or according to the manner of Friends, created a disturbance among the Quakers of the Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, and the girls and their mother were disowned; Thomas Cartwright, the father, had already died.¹⁰ The records indicate that they were later reinstated, however, and became strong supporters of their faith.

John and Catherine Trueblood had children named John, Elizabeth, and Miriam. Fisher, Daniel, and a second Miriam were born to John and

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his second wife, Sarah Albertson. Amos and Elizabeth became the parents of John who died in infancy, Thomas, Abel, Miriam, Josiah, Joshua, and Caleb.¹¹ These Truebloods inherited, bought, and sold many properties. They owned land on the Camden side of the Narrows, in the Nob's Crook Creek area, today Knobbs Creek, at the Narrows, on the southwest side of the Pasquotank, and in the Flatty Creek and Little River areas of Pasquotank County.¹² In 1743 Caleb and Miriam Trueblood Coen sold 270 acres on the southwest side of the Pasquotank River "at the Narrows" to Thomas Taylor, believed to be the register for Pasquotank County.¹³ According to the Sir Henry Clinton map, dated around 1760, this property would have been a part of the Elizabeth City waterfront today.¹⁴ Miriam, daughter of John Trueblood, inherited this land through her brother John's estate.

A focal point of Trueblood property and activity developed on the southwest side of the Pasquotank in the present Charles Creek–Hollywood cemeteries area. The Sir Henry Clinton map labels the area as "Truebloods mills."¹⁵ The name "Trueblood" is also written just above "Truebloods mills." The Collet map of 1770 likewise identifies the same general location with the name "Trueblood."¹⁶

Trueblood Mills

Around 1718 Amos and Elizabeth Cartwright Trueblood settled in the area, and Amos, with help from his brother John's family, must have started the Trueblood mills. In 1731 Amos made a petition for a water mill on Cartwright's Creek.¹⁷ In 1753 he sold to Thomas Trueblood, a merchant and the oldest of his five living sons, "one Grist mill standing by the main road near the dwelling house of the said Thomas Trueblood . . . with what Land thereunto belongs on back side of the said Grist water mill. . . ." The price paid for the mill was "30 pounds current money of the Colony of Virginia."¹⁸

Amos' wife, Elizabeth Cartwright Trueblood, died in 1757, and in Twelfth month 1759, just before his death, Amos wrote his will. He left land and a plantation totaling 130 acres on Mill Creek to his son, Thomas Trueblood. The will mentions that Thomas Cartwright, Sr., gave this land to his daughter, Elizabeth Cartwright Trueblood. Likewise, Amos gave lands and plantations to his sons, Josiah, Joshua, and Caleb.¹⁹ His son, Abel, who was not willed additional land, had already purchased two tracts of land, totaling some 175 acres in the same area in 1744/5 and

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1747. They were lands which his Cartwright grandparents owned or which bordered the Cartwrights, and in 1761 Job Cartwright, son of Thomas, sold Abel Trueblood another tract of 158 acres “beginning at a gum at the head of the run, Abel Trueblood’s line tree.”²⁰ Abel operated a mill also. In addition, Amos Trueblood willed some twenty Negroes to his children and grandchildren.²¹ This reveals something about the expansiveness of his operations.

In 1757 Daniel Trueblood the son of John and the nephew of Amos, was given the right to build a grist mill on the present Charles Creek.²² As several mills operated in the area, Mill Creek must have been the former name of Charles Creek. Charles Creek probably gets its name from the Quaker family Charles, a family that was in Perquimans County as early as the 1680s.²³ The Pasquotank County deeds for the Charles family date from around 1805.

First Meeting House

The Trueblood mills generated traffic, brought people together by water and land, and eventually a Quaker meeting house was built near the Narrows, thus giving the area the appearance of an early American village. The journals of traveling Quakers often give brief accounts of Friends and others living in a certain area, and some of these traveling Friends wrote notes about their work among the settlers in Pasquotank.

After a meeting house was completed by the end of 1707 in the Newbegun Creek area, Friends at the Narrows were expected to attend meetings at Newbegun Creek on First and Fourth days and monthly business meetings which rotated between Symons Creek and Newbegun Creek. In these early years of development, travel was difficult, and travel time was lengthy even to places only a few miles away. Because of the hardships, in Tenth month 1745 Friends near the Narrows complained to the Symons Creek Monthly Meeting and requested permission to hold weekday meetings near the Narrows. The Monthly Meeting agreed with their request and granted them the liberty to have meetings on the Fifth day of the week at the house of Amos Trueblood where some meetings had already been taking place. Amos Trueblood’s son, Thomas, to whom Amos had given a plantation on Mill Creek in his will of 1759, which was also the year of Amos’s death, succeeded his father as the host Trueblood for the Quaker weekday meetings. The Truebloods hosted the meetings for such a long time that sometimes the

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Meeting near the Narrows is known as the meeting at “Truebloods.”²⁴

John Fothergill, a Quaker minister born in 1676 in Wensleydale, Yorkshire, England, an area visited by George Fox in 1652, records one of the earliest accounts of Friends and others living on the Pasquotank River.²⁵ In Fifth month 1721 John Fothergill attended the Monthly Meeting for Friends in Pasquotank in the area of Symons Creek and later traveled to the other side of Pasquotank where he had made an appointment for a meeting. Hundreds of people gathered under the shade of a large tree because of the heat.²⁶ This meeting took place on the present Camden County side of the Pasquotank as he mentions coming back over the river to Mary Glaister’s house and visiting the families of Friends on Newbegun Creek. Mary Glaister, the widow of the minister, Joseph Glaister, originally from Pardshaw Crag, Cumberland, England, who settled in Pasquotank, lived on Newbegun Creek. John Fothergill knew the Glaisters well. In Virginia Fothergill sometimes lodged in the home of Wyke Hunnicutt, the Glaisters’ son-in-law.²⁷

John Fothergill admired the settlers in the Albermarle and made a second trip to the region in Seventh month 1736. He went up the Pasquotank and held a meeting at the house of Amos Trueblood. He penned in his journal that the meeting “in the Lord’s help, was much to our satisfaction.”²⁸ Thomas Chalkley, who was born in England, became another traveling Friend and held a meeting at Amos Trueblood’s up “Paspotanck River” in 1738.²⁹

In Tenth month 1762 Friends near the Narrows requested the liberty to build a meeting house. “After due consideration therein,” Friends at the Symons Creek Monthly Meeting granted their request. No deed has been located for this meeting house which was probably built on Trueblood property. It may have been completed by Eleventh month 1765 when Friends requested the liberty to hold a three-weeks First day meeting at the weekday meeting house. This seems to be the first reference to holding First day worship in addition to weekday worship near the Narrows.³⁰ By 1769 most communities had constructed their own meeting houses, and most meetings were removed from private houses. At the Eastern Quarterly Meeting in Third month, Friends requested the liberty “to hold a meeting at every meeting house every first day. . . .” The Meeting near the Narrows is included among the Pasquotank meetings.³¹

New Meeting House is Built

The construction of a second meeting house near the Narrows began around 1794. The minutes of the Monthly Meeting held in Second month 1795 state that the meeting house near the Narrows is nearly completed. Josiah Bundy, Zachariah Nixon, Charles Morgan, Charles Overman, Aaron Morris, Jr., John Symons, John Price, Nathan Morris, Joseph Wilson, Mordecai Morris, and Thomas Jordan were appointed as a committee to inspect the building and to report at the next monthly meeting.³²

In the Third month 1795 the committee reported that the bill for the Narrows Meeting House amounted to one hundred pounds seventeen shillings nine pence, of which the Narrows Meeting agreed to raise fifty pounds seventeen shillings nine pence.³³ In this same month Friends purchased the land on which this meeting house had just been completed and had a deed recorded.

In Third month fourteenth, 1795, Abel Trueblood, the son of Amos and Elizabeth Cartwright Trueblood, sold six-tenths of an acre of land for two pounds to Zachariah Nixon, Aaron Morris, Jr., Josiah Bundy, and John Symons so that the "Quakers may from time to time and at all times peaceably, quietly, use, occupy, possess & enjoy by love and virtue these presents." According to the deed, the land was located "at the fork of the Road above Abel Trueblood's mill" on a creek, which emptied into the much larger Charles Creek, and was part of the plantation on which Abel and Elizabeth Piper Trueblood lived. The deed was registered by Thomas Jordan, the Public Register, and also one of the Quakers appointed to inspect the new Narrows building before the bill was paid.³⁴

The Meeting near the Narrows became a preparative meeting of the Symons Creek Monthly Meeting. The Symons Creek Monthly Meeting appointed overseers to give direction to the preparative meeting. In the preparative meeting the local Friends conducted their business for presentation to the larger monthly meeting. Among those who shared their faith as overseers at the Meeting near the Narrows were Abel Trueblood, Caleb Trueblood, Elizabeth Trueblood, Josiah Trueblood, Miriam Perisho, Daniel Trueblood, Mary Trueblood, John Trueblood, Joshua Trueblood, Thomas Trueblood, Nathan and Mary Perisho, and Caleb Trueblood, son of Josiah.³⁵ Fisher Trueblood and Ephraim Overman were among the resident ministers at the Narrows.³⁶

Quaker Burying Grounds

There is a record of a Quaker graveyard at the Narrows before the construction of the second meeting house and the purchase of adjoining land for a graveyard. The Quaker minutes seldom give the burial place of a Friend; however, when Miriam Trueblood Perisho died, such an entry was incorporated in the minutes: "Miriam Perisho, the wife of Joshua Perisho, died Twelfth month thirteenth, 1789, and was interred in the 'Friends Burying Ground near the Narrows' on the fifteenth." Miriam Perisho was the widow of Joshua Trueblood, a son of Amos, when she married Joshua Perisho in Fourth month 1763.³⁷ Without this entry in the minutes, no record of the Friends Burying Ground near the Narrows would exist.

At the fork of Road Street and Peartree Road in Elizabeth City is the beginning of a long stretch of graveyards in the eastern area between Peartree Road and the swamp of Charles Creek. At the very fork of Road Street and Peartree Road is the large Hollywood Cemetery. South of the Hollywood Cemetery is a single private home in a small area, then a larger wooded and only partially maintained area containing a few visible burial sites, and then the large Oak Grove Cemetery. This entire area was outside the city limits in the 1700s.

Some senior residents of Elizabeth City have been told by ancestors that Quakers are buried in the wooded, partially maintained area. The fact that it is called Quaker Cemetery may indicate that this was the Friends Burying Ground at the first Quaker Meeting near the Narrows of Pasquotank.

The earliest Quakers left few marked graves in their graveyards. It was simply too vain to want a marker or to leave a name engraved in stone. A few small pieces of ballast stone or stones from a river bed are visible in some of the early Quaker graveyards in the Albemarle. If any such markers were placed in this old burial site, they would probably be covered by layers of vegetation or they may have been removed as collector's items. There is evidence of damage to some marked burial sites which remain. The style and size of the marked stones indicate that the deceased were not Quakers, although the predominantly Quaker graveyards also contain graves of non-Quakers. The 1800 dates on the markers indicate that these people were buried during the waning years of the Quakers in the Charles Creek area. The deceased would have

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certainly known the Quakers in some way. For example, there are marked stones at the graves of Mary Rogerson, the wife of Asa Rogerson, Esquire, who died in 1828, and of Mary Forbes, the wife of John Forbes, who died in 1856. A deed of Amos Trueblood, who owned land in the Road Street area in 1825, mentions both the Rogerson and Forbes families. In Eleventh month 1825 Amos Trueblood sold to Asa Rogerson for fifty dollars

the priviledge [sic] of cutting or opening a public road through the northeasterly part of the lands whereon the said Amos Trueblood now resides and keeping the same . . . to commence from an Avenue already cut . . . the branch . . . to run in a direction for Alpheus Fobes [sic] shipyard lately purchased of Wilson. . . .³⁸

Mary and John Forbes were probably relatives of Alpheus Forbes whom the Truebloods would have known also. Three members of the Forbes family were also present at marriages at the Narrows Meeting in 1799 and 1803.³⁹

Friends sensed the need for an additional plat of land for a burial ground beside the Narrows Meeting House in 1832. Abel Trueblood, who had sold the acreage for the second meeting house had died, and in First month tenth, 1832, Joseph H. Pool, who must have purchased some of the Trueblood property, sold a portion of land for five dollars to William Wilson, Caleb White, and Anderson Morris, trustees of the NC Yearly Meeting of Friends, for the use of a burying ground for the Society of Friends near the Narrows. This burial site was eventually enclosed.⁴⁰

Early Marriages

The Quaker minutes document a few marriages registered at the first meeting house near the Narrows. Two Overman brothers married Trueblood sisters who were the granddaughters of Amos and Elizabeth Cartwright Trueblood, the Friends who hosted early Quaker meetings near the Narrows. Ephraim Overman, son of Ephraim, married Ruth Trueblood, daughter of Josiah, in Second month 1782; and Isaac Overman, son of Ephraim, married Miriam Trueblood, daughter of Josiah, in First month 1784. Friends who witnessed these two marriages “at a publick meeting held near the Narrows of Pasquotank” were:

Jonathan Blanshard
Jesse Trueblood

William Trueblood
Joseph Trueblood

Abel Trueblood	Mary Trueblood
Elizabeth Trueblood (3)	Sarah McKeel
Miriam Perisho (2)	Bailey Jackson
Joshua Perisho	Reuben Madren
David Boles	Judith Morris
Benjamin Trueblood	James Scott
John Trueblood	John Tatlock
Jemima Trueblood	William Proby
Margaret Trueblood	Demsey Nash
Fisher Trueblood	Polley Weston
Isabel Trueblood	Susannah Norris
Peninah Blanshard	Peggy Probey
Ehraim Overman	Jehu Cartwright
Joshiah Trueblood	Ahaz Cartwright
Thomas Overman	Polley Trueblood
Caleb Trueblood	Peggy Trueblood
Miriam Trueblood	James Griffin
Isaac Overman	Thomas Simson
Keziah Boles	Ephraim Overman, Jr. ⁴¹

Two other known marriages held in the first meeting house were those of Isaac Overman, son of Ephraim, deceased, and Isbel Trueblood, relict of Fisher Trueblood, in 1792; and Josiah Bundy, son of Joseph, and Miriam Perisho, daughter of Joshua, in 1793.⁴²

Among the recorded Quaker marriages which took place at the second meeting house near the Narrows were Josiah Trueblood and Abigail Overman, daughter of Ephraim, in 1795; Joshua B. Morris, son of Mordecai, and Margaret Henley, daughter of Joseph, in 1796; John Wilson, son of Joseph of Perquimans, and Milisent Trueblood, daughter of Fisher, in 1799; Exum Outland, son of Josiah of Northampton, and Miriam Overman, daughter of Isaac, in 1803;⁴³ Peggy Trueblood married Jehoshaphat Morris in 1814; and James Trueblood, son of John and Mary, married Betsey Trueblood in 1814.⁴⁴

Decline of Narrows Meeting

The Truebloods, strong supporters of the work at the Narrows and in the Albemarle, remained faithful believers in Carolina for more than a hundred years. The first United States census taken in 1790 reveals that ninety-eight Truebloods lived in Carolina, the only state with Truebloods,

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and most of the first four generations of Truebloods were Quakers.⁴⁵ After 1790 many Truebloods began to migrate, perhaps not for economic reasons but because of the tensions which the issue of slavery had created. The divine right of all men to be free so pricked their conscience that they were compelled "to give up their slaves and to move to lands where man was free."⁴⁶ Other Truebloods began to marry outside the faith and became absorbed by other faiths. Those who migrated took their faith with them. Between 1807 and 1844 numerous Truebloods, and some Overmans and others, were granted certificates of removal to Waynesville Monthly Meeting, Ohio; Whitewater Monthly Meeting, Indiana; Lick Creek Monthly Meeting, Washington County, Indiana; Blue River Monthly Meeting, Washington County, Indiana; Milford Monthly Meeting, Wayne County, Indiana; and Spiceland Monthly Meeting, Henry County, Indiana.⁴⁷

Friends near the Narrows of the Pasquotank conducted their business in the preparative meeting through the year 1835. The fate of their preparative meeting was discovered in the Suttons Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes of Women Friends held in Twelfth month 1835 at Suttons Creek in Perquimans County. These minutes state that the Quarterly Meeting held in Eleventh month 1835 directed that the Narrows Preparative Meeting be laid down and joined to the Symons Creek Preparative Meeting. At the same time the Quarterly Meeting also directed that a meeting for worship be continued at the Narrows.⁴⁸

Quaker worship at the Narrows Meeting must have continued until 1844. In Fifth month 1844 David White and Aron Elliott, representing North Carolina Yearly Meeting, sold most of the Narrows property, including the meeting house, referred to in the deed as "the Quaker Meeting House lot near Elizabeth City," to the School Committee for District No. 5 of Pasquotank County. The School Committee consisted of Timothy Hunter, Constant C. Green, and Timothy Gilbert. The graveyard on the property was enclosed and was excluded from the sale.⁴⁹ The sale of the meeting house to the School Committee for District No. 5 would indicate that this Narrows Meeting House was probably converted into a schoolhouse.

Today in the plan of Elizabeth City (as of 1991), this Quaker Cemetery near the Narrows is about a half mile north of the older Quaker Cemetery on Peartree Road and is labeled on Map 28 as Block A, Lot 12.⁵⁰ The lot is located at the south end of Road Street where there is still a

“fork in the Road” as was mentioned in the original deed of Abel Trueblood to Friends in 1795. This Quaker Cemetery is precisely on the southwest corner of Boston Avenue and Peartree Road. Lot 12 is barren except for the partial remains of the trunk of an old oak tree and some natural vegetation. No marked graves are visible. A small ditch and branch at one side reveal the evidence of a creek, now largely filled in, that existed in the earlier centuries. The Greenleaf map of Elizabeth City of 1893 also authenticates the presence of this once healthy creek.⁵¹ Directly across Peartree Road from this small Quaker graveyard is the large Hollywood Cemetery. The years “1872” and “1927” are engraved at the entrance along with “In memory of Elizabeth Overman.” Elizabeth Overman was probably a relative of the Overman brothers who married the Trueblood sisters at the meeting near the Narrows in 1782 and 1784. Some seventy families of Truebloods and Overmans still live in the Albemarle.⁵²

D. Elton Trueblood, a well known eighth generation Quaker, traces his roots through the line of Caleb Trueblood, son of Amos whose father, John Trueblood of Shoreditch, England, settled near the Narrows in 1682.

Endnotes

¹Thomas R. Butchko, *On the Shores of the Pasquotank: The Architectural Heritage of Elizabeth City and Pasquotank County, North Carolina* (Elizabeth City, NC: The Museum of the Albemarle, 1989), 133, 13.

²Gwen Boyer Bjorkman, *Quaker Marriage Certificates, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Piney Woods, and Suttons Creek Monthly Meetings, North Carolina, 1677–1800* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1988), 1.

³Gwen Boyer Bjorkman, *Pasquotank County, North Carolina, Record of Deeds 1700–1751* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1990), xv.

⁴Bula Trueblood Watson, *The Trueblood Family in America: 1682–1963, John Trueblood of Shoreditch, England, and His Descendants* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1964), 4.

Eastern Quarter, Symons Creek Monthly Meeting minutes, Vol. I, 1699–1785, Part I.

⁵Watson, *The Trueblood Family in America*, xii, 1.

⁶Bjorkman, *Quaker Marriage Certificates*, 1, 6.

⁷Watson, *The Trueblood Family in America*, 1.

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⁸ Eugene T. Hays, *Hays and Breeze Ancestors, A Genealogy of the Parents of My Father Ralph E. Hays* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1993).

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Watson, *The Trueblood Family in America*, 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Watson, *The Trueblood Family in America*, 3. Pasquotank County Deed Books A: 196, 197, 261, 262, 311; B: 39, 51, 52, 420, 542, 543; D & E: 61.

¹³ Deed Book B: 496, Pasquotank County.

¹⁴ Sir Henry Clinton Map No. 293, *Parts of the Modern Counties of Currituck, Camden and Pasquotank*. Date about 1760. On file in Office of Thomas R. Butchko, City Planning Office, Elizabeth City.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Butchko, *On the Shores of the Pasquotank*, 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7, 329.

¹⁸ Deed Book C: 129, Pasquotank County.

¹⁹ Watson, *The Trueblood Family in America*, 3.

²⁰ Deed Books B: 39, 542, 543; D & E: 61, Pasquotank County.

²¹ Watson, *The Trueblood Family in America*, 3.

²² Butchko, *On the Shores of the Pasquotank*, 133.

²³ Bjorkman, *Quaker Marriage Certificates*, 1.

²⁴ Eastern Quarter, Symons Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, Vol. I, 1699–1785, Part I, II.

²⁵ “An Account of the Life and Travels, in the Work of Ministry of John Fothergill,” *The Friends Library*, William Evans and Thomas Evans, eds., (Philadelphia, Joseph Rakestraw, 1849), Vol. XIII: 353, 361.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 378.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 419.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Watson, *The Trueblood Family in America*, 2.

³⁰ Eastern Quarter, Symons Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, Vol. I, 1699–1785, II.

³¹ Eastern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, Perquimans/Little River

1708–1792.

³² Eastern Quarter, Symons Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1785–1802.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Deed Book N: 450, 451, Pasquotank County.

³⁵ William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. I, North Carolina (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969), 160, 169, 170,

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 157, 169.

³⁷ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. I, 113.

³⁸ Deed Book X: 315; Pasquotank County.

³⁹ Bjorkman, *Quaker Marriage Certificates*, 61, 67, 68.

⁴⁰ Deed Book AA: 28, Pasquotank County.

⁴¹ Bjorkman, *Quaker Marriage Certificates*, 55, 23,

⁴² *Ibid.*, 15, 18.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 60, 58, 61, 62, 67.

⁴⁴ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. I, 171.

⁴⁵ Watson, *The Trueblood Family in America*, xii.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, xiii.

⁴⁷ Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. I, 159, 171.

⁴⁸ Eastern Quarter, Suttons Creek Monthly Meeting Womens Minutes 1794–1835.

⁴⁹ Deed Book EE: 56, Pasquotank County.

⁵⁰ Map 28, City Planning Commission Office, Elizabeth City, NC.

⁵¹ Butchko, *On the Shores of the Pasquotank*, 158, 159.

⁵² Carolina Telephone Directory, Albemarle Area, North Carolina, July 1993 (Rocky Mount: Sprint Publishing Advertising, Inc.), 203, 263.

Report of the Friends Historical Collection 1993–1994

by

Carole Edgerton Treadway

Introduction

The last three years have been marked by stressful changes in the Friends Historical Collection, some of them positive, some negative. I became director of the collection in 1991 at the same time as one full-time professional position was eliminated, leaving the collection seriously understaffed. We had only recently moved into expanded quarters and were not fully settled for several more months after that. New technologies were introduced, dramatically changing our work procedures and communications systems. These required learning new ways of doing things in several areas. A new program was introduced that required much more supervision from the librarian.

Most of the changes and innovations ultimately benefitted the collection, thereby improving technical procedures and communication within the library, and improving service to the public. This year we have been able to concentrate more on refining our techniques and programs, easing off a bit from the stress of the last few years. Given the way things are in our world today, it is surely only a temporary breathing space before more advanced technologies are introduced and we are off and running again, striving to keep up.

Docents Program

Chief among the accomplishments this year has been the expansion of the docents program. This involved recruiting more volunteers and establishing a docents board. An organizational meeting was held in November attended by four of the regular volunteers. Three committees were appointed to assist the FHC librarian in recruiting new volunteers,

selecting a volunteer coordinator, and planning special events. Ground-work was laid for establishing sometime in the future a committee to increase the endowment of the collection.

Ruth Anne Hood was asked to become the volunteer coordinator and she agreed to do so. She and the recruitment committee immediately set about their work which resulted in a schedule of docents to staff the FHC Research Room more reliably than in the past.

Visitors and researchers in the room have been warmly welcomed and helped to find their way among the many kinds of sources in the collection. The librarian has been freed to concentrate more of her time on other work, including assisting students and others who use the collection for other research than family history.

Quaker Tapestry Exhibit

In January an exhibit of needlework panels depicting Quaker testimonies and incidents in Quaker history was mounted in the art gallery. Originating in England some ten years ago, the "tapestry scheme" now includes over 70 panels made by meetings in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and now in the United States. Hundreds of visitors came into the library to see the exhibit. Hoping to draw attention to the FHC as well, the librarian arranged a small exhibit of needlework from the FHC collection that related to the larger collection and set up a special reference collection for tapestry exhibit viewers to consult. We were happy to be a part of this most joyous and significant occasion for the library, the college, the Quaker community, needleworkers, and the many other visitors interested in the combination of aesthetic, inspirational, and instructional qualities in this unique display.

Use of The Collection

Two classes, the Quaker Origins class taught by R. Melvin Keiser in the fall semester and the Carolina Quakers class taught by Max Carter in the spring semester required intensive use of both the primary and secondary resources of the collection. We were pleased that a wide variety of both were heavily used, including some primary sources from the manuscript collections that had not been used before. Considering that the use of primary resources requires skills that undergraduates are just being introduced to, it was surprising and gratifying to witness that several students made thorough and sometimes quite creative use of the materials in their investigations. Students from other classes also made use of the collection, including one whose project on Guilford

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College ghosts for a writing course resulted in a visit from a WGHP-TV reporter doing a special segment for a Halloween broadcast. More serious investigations were of the Quaker response to the Treaty of Versailles by way of coverage in Quaker periodicals of that time, changes in the Guilford College student profile over time, the Great Depression, the public welfare system, and the history of the Justice and Policy Studies program at Guilford.

As usual, several high school students, undergraduates from other institutions, graduate students, and scholars took advantage of our special materials for their papers, theses, dissertations, and books and papers. Although our part in it was small, we greeted the publication of H. Larry Ingle's significant and groundbreaking new biography of George Fox by Oxford University Press in March with eager interest and no little feeling of participation. Some of the preliminary investigation for *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism* was carried out in the FHC. Topics for theses and dissertations involved the use of materials on Nathan Hunt; our collections relating to Quaker missionary work in Cuba; materials on Quakers and slavery; photographs relating to education; and the papers of Clara Cox, a Quaker High Point minister who was ahead of her time in working to improve race relations and abolish lynching. Carole Treadway introduced the UNCG archives class to the inner workings of an archives and manuscripts collection and worked with two other students in their investigations of special aspects of the management of such a collection.

Interest in the history of the Underground Railroad continues unabated. Several students and others inquired about it, were disappointed that we do not have much documentation of these courageous activities, but pursued it nonetheless. Hal Sieber, retired editor of the local African American newspaper, *The Carolina Peacemaker* is completing his book on the subject which will be published this fall.

Research was done on two properties in the area in preparation for restoration and application for the National Register of Historic Properties.

College Archives

There has been a steady increase in the additions to and use of college archives this year. This development has made it necessary to improve access. Jennie Southard, yearly meeting archives assistant, was asked to organize the materials into a simple arrangement which has made it

easier to find information. A well-developed scheme must wait until such time as we have more staff but we are pleased with the improvement.

NCFHS and Other Publications

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society published two books this year, both of which relied heavily on collection sources. The first was *Pioneers in Quaker Education: The Story of John and Mary Chawner Woody*, by Mary Edith Hinshaw, and the second was *Friends at Back Creek*, a history of Back Creek Friends Meeting in Randolph County, by Barbara Grigg and Myrle Walker. Denzel Dickerson surveyed the New Garden Meeting cemetery for a history of the cemetery and a detailed index of the graves in it. Ralph McCracken wrote a history of the Piedmont Friends Fellowship, a gathering of unprogrammed Friends affiliated with the Friends General Conference. *The Southern Friend* published “‘Good Soldiers of Christ:’ A Case Study of North Carolina Quaker Resistance to the Civil War” by Cheryl Fradette Junk.

Gifts

Gifts of special interest include the letters of Laura E. Davis written from Ramallah, Palestine, where she was teaching in the Friends School, to friends in High Point, NC, 1939–1944 (given by Annie Barker); two travel journals kept by Ruth Outland Szittyta during her trip to Germany in 1939 given by her children; 30 issues of *Calumet*, the newsletter of Buck Creek Civilian Public Service Camp, 1941–1943, given by Charles Hendrix and William Van Hoy; a needlework picture of Woodbrooke College designed and worked by Jean Browne, 1980, given by J. Floyd and Lucretia Moore; materials relating to Friends World College from Marietta Wright; additions to the Chawner family papers from Mary Edith Hinshaw; letters from 38 Quaker leaders to Jane Ott pertaining to the Young Friends Movement in North America, 1954–55, given by Jane Ott Ballus.

Staff

Virginia “Jennie” Southard replaced Amy Bullock, now a law student, as yearly meeting archives assistant in the summer. Other assistance was provided during the year by the following students: Luis Castillo, Beatriz Juncadella, Katya Karelina, Mary Deirdre Kielty, Deirdre Lohan, Rina Luther, Aleksandar Micovic, and Nicole Robertson.

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Gifts to the Friends Historical Collection, 1993–1994

Barker, Annie

Letters from Laura E. Davis, Ramallah, Palestine, to friends in High Point, North Carolina, 1939–1944

Barnes, Diana

“Mind/Body Discourse in the Writings of Anne Conway and Andrew Marvell,” by Diana Barnes. (M.A. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1993)

Bond, James O.

Chicamauga and the Underground Railroad: A Tale of Two Grandfathers, by James O. Bond, (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1993)

Bundy, Annie, given in honor of Carolyn Ann Bundy

Joseph and Mary Nance Hoover Descendants. 1816–1991, compiled by Lucile Beamon, 1991

Cox, Samuel Doak

See Sherrill, George T.

Dickerson, Denzel

“New Garden Cemetery: Alphabetical Index for Map.” (prepared by Denzel Dickerson, 1994)

Dodd, Treva W.

The Heritage of Randolph County, Vol. I, (Randolph County Heritage Book Committee, 1993)

Forlaw, Marietta

Quaker Lace tablecloth in original box; Japanese fan (1880) given to Alma Moore; sheet music of *There is a Quaker Down in Ouaker Town*; letters from Daisy Newman, 1984, 1989 (4); 11 Quaker titles

Goodman, Judy Mower

Photograph album, 19th century, of the Mendenhall family. Belonged to Mary Blair Mower; 3 books; 2 bedspreads

Hamm, Thomas

Marcus Mote and Eli Harvey. Two Ouaker Artists from Southwest Ohio, by Rhonda Curtis and Mickie Franer, 1992; *Fairmount Friends Meeting. 1882–1992*.

Hardy, Wilberta

Cartland family genealogy charts; poems of Marietta Cartland; letters and other materials concerning the Cartland homestead in Lee, New Hampshire

Hendricks, Charles and William Van Hoy

Issues of *Calumet*, newsletter of C.P.S. Camp #19, Buck Creek, North

The Southern Friend

Carolina, 1941–1943 (30 issues, incomplete)

Hilty, Hiram .

Manuscript of Hilty's translation of *El Cristo de Espalda*, by Eduardo Caballero Calderon of Colombia, with correspondence; typescript and proofsheets of *Greensboro Monthly Meeting*; typescripts of *New Garden Friends Meeting and Toward Freedom for All*.

Hinshaw, Mary Edith

Additions to Chawner family papers.

Hoover, Eleanor Blair Floyd

Mustache cup belonging to Franklin Frazier, 1838–1923; photograph of Frazier dated 1922.

Humphreys, Doris

Commemorative map of Guilford County, NC (1937).

Jones, Peggie

Quaker bonnet, belonged to Elsie Coney, wife of the pastor of Black Creek and Somerton meetings, Virginia, in the 1950s (original owner unknown).

Joyce, Mary Lib

Notebook of information about High Point artist, David Clark, (1824–1915), principally Clark's autobiography, *The Rovina Artist*, with various articles, directory listings, biographical sketches. Compiled by Mary Lib Joyce. (photocopies)

Levering, Samuel

Quaker Peacemakers. Sam and Miriam Levering: A Saga of Fruit Growing and Christian Service, by Samuel Levering. (Ararat, VA: Levering Fruits, 1993)

Long, Deborah Elise

North Carolina Student Legislature, Guilford delegation, 1991–93, papers; NCLS photographs (2 albums and envelope of loose photos), 1987–88, 1990–93.

Mathis, Paul C.

Documentation of Paul Mathis's descendance from Strangeman Hutchins for eligibility for membership in the National Society of Early Quaker Descendants.

McCracken, Ralph

"History of Piedmont Friends Fellowship," by Ralph McCracken, 1993.

Moore, J. Floyd

Needlework picture of Woodbrooke College main building and lake,

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designed and worked by Jean Browne, 1980; wooden plaque of the motto of the 1967 Friends World Conference; 3 commemorative plates: Springfield Monthly Meeting, Town of China, Maine, Damascus Friends Meeting (Damascus, Ohio); additions to papers of J. Floyd and Lucretia Moore.

Nelson, Chris

The Hunger Year in the French Zone of Divided Germany. 1946–1947, by Joe Carl Welty, 1993.

North American Quaker Tapestry (by Philip Gilbert)

Materials relating to the Quaker Tapestry project, including descriptive brochures, instructions, 1988 calendar, promotional items.

Parsons, Bonnie

Tashme: A Japanese Relocation Center 1942–1946, by W.J. Awmack, 1993; *In China with the Friends Ambulance Unit. 1945–1946*, by J. W. Awmack, 1993.

Powell, Thomas (estate of Eleanor B. Powell)

From Friendly Quaker Kitchens, Goldsboro Friends Meeting, 1977.

Rollins, Sarah Finch

The Tugwell and Finch Families of Tennessee and Allied Families of Virginia and North Carolina. 1635–1993, by Sarah Finch Maiden Rollins, 1993.

Schoonmaker, Richard Cadbury

War: Its Causes. Consequences. Lawfulness. etc., by Jonathan Dymond, 1889

Setola, Rachel Szittyta (with Penn Szittyta)

Journals of the travels of Ruth Outland [Szittyta] in Germany, 1939

Spivey, Currie B.

Guilford College class ring, 1930; Henry Clay Literary Society pin

Stehr, Linda

Clayton genealogy (unpublished charts, photocopies)

Stratton, Thomas A.

Our Quaker Grandparents: The Ancestry of George W. Stratton. Melva Willets Holloway, John Woody Stanley, Floy Ollela Woodward, compiled by Thomas A. Stratton (Snellville, GA, n.d.)

Szittyta, Penn

See Setola, Rachel Szittyta

Tatum, Betty Ray

Letters of Flora Haines, 1920–1957; exam papers for Guilford College class Physics 41, 1947

Van Hoy, William

See Hendricks, Charles

Walters, Charles

Guilford. A Quaker College by Dorothy Gilbert, (Guilford College, 1937) inscribed by the class of 1892

Warren, Daniel

London Yearly Meeting General Epistle, 1836. (Printed by G. Stanton, Jamestown, NC, 1836)

White, Jack (for Bertha White, deceased)

Photographs of Quaker conferences and groups (28)

Wilson, Evelyn F.

We've a Story to Tell: A Family History, by Evelyn Faulk Wilson, 1993 (Wilson family)

Woodard, Grant C.

A History of the Woodard's, by Randle C. Woodard, Audie W. Woodard, and Austin M. Cooper (1990)

Wright, Marietta

Friends World College papers and other materials including by-laws, list of Board of Trustees, minutes of Executive Committee, Friends World College Association; brochure and catalogs

Contributions of money

Chatfield, Edward and Donie (in memory of Fred Hughes)

Friendship Friends Meeting

Guptill, Elizabeth

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM)

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) Committee on the Care of Records (funding of part-time archives assistant position)

Perkins, Theodore

Women's Society of First Friends Meeting, Greensboro, NC

Documents of Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends of North and South Carolina Deposited in the Friends Historical Collection, 1993-1994

Battle Forest Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1977; 1980; 7th mo. 1985-9th mo. 1993

Cane Creek Monthly Meeting

Newsletters, 11th mo. 1989-12th mo. 1993

Bulletins, 7th mo. 1989-3rd mo. 1994

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Concord Monthly Meeting

Financial Records, 1933–1951

Meeting Directories 1967; 1968; 1971; 1977; 1979; 1986

Fellowship Sunday School Class Records, 1941–1945

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1992–6th mo. 1993

Inactive Membership Records, 1992–1993

Deep River Quarterly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1981–6th mo. 1993

Durham Monthly Meeting (NCYM–Conservative)

Minutes, 7th mo. 1992–6th mo. 1993

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes and reports 1st mo. 1992–12th mo. 1992

Memorials, 1st mo. 1990–2nd mo. 1991

Graham Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1982–7th mo. 1992

Memorials, 1960s–1992

Building Program Papers, 1965–1967

Church History Spiritual Condition Reports 1966–1992

Lola Crow Circle Meeting Minutes 1965–1990

Mamie Thompson Circle Minutes 1967–1977

Friendly Workers Circle Minutes 1970–1979

Joint Meeting of Circles 1967–1977

Ministry and Counsel Minutes 1956–1964; 1981–1993

Greenville (SC) Friends Preparative Meeting (SAYMA)

Minutes, 5th mo. 1991–8th mo. 1993

Harmony Grove Monthly Meeting

Minutes 11th mo. 1983–11th mo. 1984; 7th mo. 1991–6th mo. 1993

Jamestown Monthly Meeting

USFW Mary Edith Hinshaw Circle Minutes, 9th mo. 1964–4th mo. 1985

Kernersville Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 8th mo. 1972–8th mo. 1984

Liberty Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1964–5th mo. 1976

New Garden Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1st mo. 1990–12th mo. 1992

Woman's Society Executive Board Minutes, 7th mo. 1991–7th mo. 1993

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- Woman's Society Treasurer's Reports, 7th mo. 1977-7th mo. 1993
- Woman's Society USFW Directory, 1990-1991; 1992-1993
- North Carolina Yearly Meeting
 - Epistles received for 1993
- Pine Hill Monthly Meeting
 - Minutes, 7th mo. 1992-6th mo. 1993
 - Financial Papers, 6th mo. 1992-6th mo. 1993
 - Correspondence 1992-1993
- Rich Square Monthly Meeting (NCYM-Conservative)
 - Minutes, 6th mo. 1992-5th mo. 1993
- Spring Monthly Meeting
 - Minutes, 1952-1993
 - Correspondence, 5th mo. 1967-11th mo. 1990
 - Bulletins, 10th mo. 1964-10th mo. 1984
 - Financial Papers, 7th mo. 1970-7th mo. 1975
 - Memorial, 8th mo. 1951
 - Honorarium, 4th mo. 1983
 - Miscellaneous Church History
- Springfield Monthly Meeting
 - Sarah Haworth Circle Minutes, 6th mo. 1983-8th mo. 1990
 - Martha Jay Sunday School Class Minutes, 2nd mo. 1975-11th mo. 1983
 - Minutes, 7th mo. 1982-6th mo. 1991
 - Miscellaneous Documents
 - Financial Documents, 1985-1987
 - Clerk's Minutes, 6th mo. 1982
 - Evening Circle Financial Records, 4th mo. 1949-10th mo. 1992
 - Membership Records, 1949-1992
 - Yearly Reports, 1949-1992
- Spruce Pine Monthly Meeting
 - Minutes, 5th mo. 1982-2nd mo. 1987
 - Financial Papers, 12th mo. 1985-7th mo. 1987
 - Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 8th mo. 1984-8th mo. 1987
 - Photograph Albums, 12th mo. 1977-Summer 1981; Summer 1975-10th mo. 1982
 - Guest Book, 10th mo. 1976-11th mo. 1985
- Up River Monthly Meeting
 - Minutes, (Bound) 1st mo. 1982-6th mo. 1993; (Unbound) 7th mo.

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1989–6th mo. 1993

Correspondence, 1987–1993

Virginia Beach Monthly Meeting (NCYM–Conservative)

Minutes, Ministers and Elders, 6th mo. 1973–12th mo. 1984

Wilmington Monthly Meeting (NCYM–Conservative)

Minutes, 1988–1993

Winthrop Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 7th mo. 1992–6th mo. 1993

Attendance Records, 7th mo. 1991–6th mo. 1993

Financial Records, 1985–1993

Sabbath School Records, 1952–1988

Annual Statistics for the Friends Historical Collection, 1993–1994

Acquisitions and Cataloging

Books and pamphlets cataloged	191
Meeting document groups accessioned	64
Manuscripts and collections	
Received	12
Processing completed	7
Costumes accessioned	6
Artifacts accessioned	15
Pictorial items or collections accessioned	2
Video and audio tapes	16

Users

Visitors	55
Groups	2
Family historians	348
Guilford College faculty and staff	37
Scholars and researchers from outside Guilford	181
Guilford students*	71
Students from other institutions	43

Correspondence

Genealogy	52
Requests for copies	16
Acknowledgments	64
Publication orders	13
Reference	67

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Circulation

Books and pamphlets 725

Microfilming

Meeting records** ----- 13

Rolls of microfilm ----- 2

*Does not count open stack use

** Units, i.e. bound volumes or folders

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The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

1994

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