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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

VOLUME XXIII

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NUMBER 1

*The Forgotten Quaker Meeting
of Richmond County, N.C.*

BY TRENT STRICKLAND

*The Tomlinson Steam Tannery,
1825-1900*

BY DANIEL W. WARREN

*Friends Historical Collection
Annual Report, 1999-2000*

BY GWEN GOSNEY ERICKSON

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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. All copy should be typed double-space, and should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. The author–date form of referencing is preferred. See section 15:4ff in *Chicago Manual*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Carole E. Treadway, Hege Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410–4175.

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

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The Forgotten Quaker Meeting of Richmond County, N.C.

By

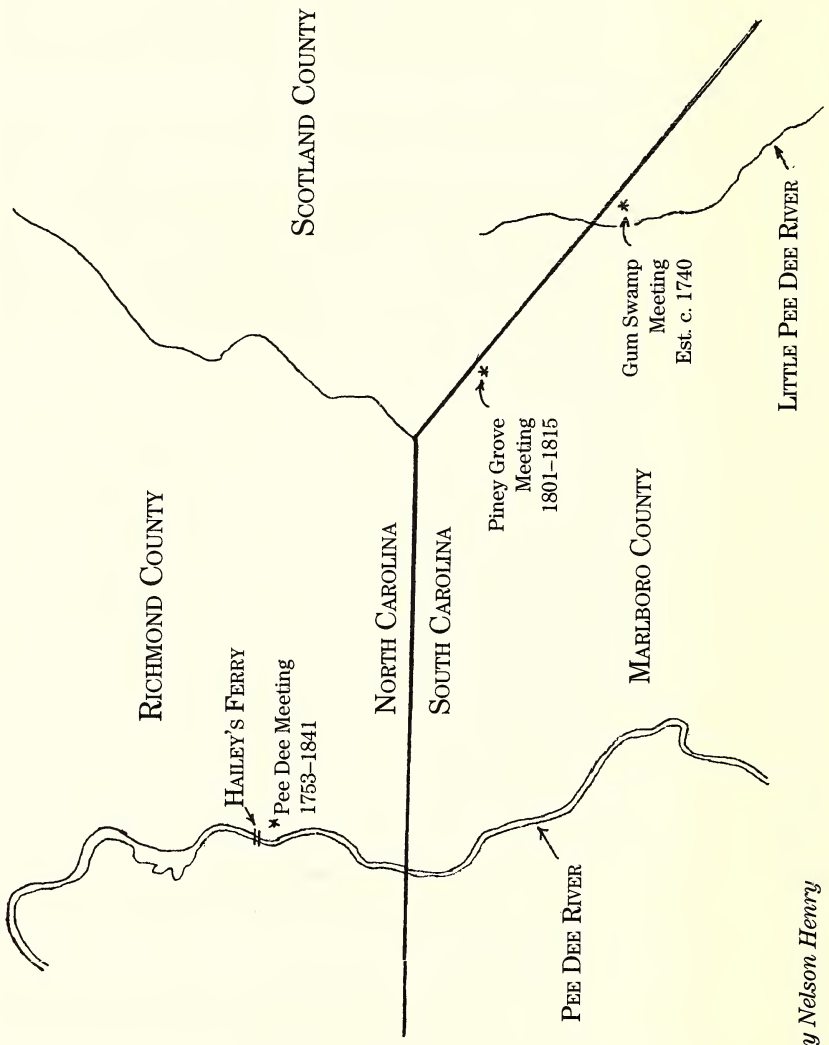
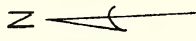
Trent Strickland

Richmond County, North Carolina, was formed from Anson County in 1779 and has as its western boundary the Pee Dee River. The first white settlers began moving into the area as early as the 1740s, establishing land claims along the river. One of the earliest settlements was at a river crossing about one mile south of the present day community of Cordova and approximately five miles north of the boundary with South Carolina. The river crossing was the site of Hailey's Ferry named after William Hailey, a Quaker, who moved into the area and began operating the ferry in the 1750s. William's son Isham later took over the operation of the ferry (*Richmond Record* Vol. I, No. 2, May 1989.) The ferry was a major east-west crossing for many years and was the site of a settlement also known as Hailey's Ferry. In addition to the Haileys, other Quaker families, including the Clarks and the Moormans, settled in the area near the ferry (Hutchinson 1998).

An examination of land deeds shows that a Quaker meetinghouse was constructed at Hailey's Ferry by 1775 and that a cemetery was a

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QUAKER MEETINGS IN RICHMOND COUNTY N.C. AND MARLBORO COUNTY S.C.



Prepared by Nelson Henry

part of the meetinghouse site. Unfortunately, no name for the meeting is given in the land deed records. However, deed records of the site do show that the meetinghouse existed as late as 1841 (Anson Co. Deeds, K, 367; Richmond Co. Deeds, PP, 81).

Today, the Hailey's Ferry settlement and river crossing are abandoned and nearly forgotten. The only physical evidence of the early settlement is a cemetery known as The Old Quaker Cemetery. The Richmond County Historical Society has worked on two occasions to reclaim the burial ground from the forested area where it is located. In the 1980s and in 1999, the society organized workdays to clear off trees and undergrowth to reclaim the cemetery.

The evidence is clear that a Quaker meeting existed at the Hailey's Ferry site in Richmond County, N.C., from the early 1750s–1841. Since the Hailey, Clark, and Moorman families moved to the area in the 1750s (Anson Co. Library, Genealogy file; *Rockingham Post-Dispatch* 1927), it is likely that the Richmond meeting began in the 1750s, making it one of the earliest meetings in southcentral North Carolina and northcentral South Carolina. However, there is no name identifier with the meeting in local history records nor is the meeting included in written historical accounts of the Quakers in North and South Carolina. It is, in fact, a “forgotten” or lost Quaker meeting in local and Quaker historical accounts. A study of local records as well as documents housed in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College has led to the conclusion that the meeting at Haileys Ferry, in present day Richmond County N.C., was the Pee Dee Meeting that was thought to be located in South Carolina. The following research findings are presented in support of this conclusion.

Land Deeds Prove a Quaker Meeting Existed in Richmond County, 1775–1841

As stated above, land deeds from 1775–1841 in Anson and Richmond counties mention the Quaker meetinghouse and cemetery (Anson Co. Deeds, K, 367; Richmond Co. Deeds, PP, 81; O, 34; P, 180). In 1775 a two-acre site “including the Burying Ground and Meeting House of the Society of People called Quakers” was sold to George Matthews, Francis Clark, and Thomas Moorman (Anson Co. Deeds, K,

367). The deed states that the three men were acting on behalf of the society or meeting. It can be argued that the meeting was formed much earlier than its first mention in the deed records. As mentioned earlier, Quaker families, including the Haileys, Clarks, and Moormans had moved into the area by the 1750s and possibly even earlier. The 1750s would be a reasonable date for the establishment of the meeting. Additional evidence to be presented later will support this premise.

In the period 1801–1815 there was a Piney Grove Meeting just over the state line in South Carolina about twelve miles southeast of Hailey's Ferry. Beginning in 1803 and continuing until 1814, the Piney Grove Meeting minutes contain references to the Pee Dee Meeting. Unfortunately, these minutes do not include the location of the Pee Dee Meeting or any mention of the members of the Pee Dee Meeting (Piney Grove Meeting Minutes). But the Piney Grove Meeting records are undeniable proof that a Pee Dee Meeting existed in the early 1800s.

Two Early Quaker Meetings in the Region

As early as the 1740s two Quaker meetings existed in the region along the Pee Dee River and the Little Pee Dee River in present day Marlboro County, S.C., and Richmond County, N.C. Gum Swamp Meeting and Pee Dee Meeting are mentioned by Stephen B. Weeks in *Southern Quakers and Slavery* and by William Medlin in *Quaker Families in South Carolina and Georgia*. Medlin's work includes a list of members who belonged to the Pee Dee Meeting. Visiting Quaker ministers, Catherine Phillips and Mary Peisley in 1753, William Reckitt in 1758, Job Scott in 1789, and Thomas Scattergood in 1793, describe visiting meetings on the Pee Dee. It must be noted that two historians, Weeks and Seth B. Hinshaw, mention that Pee Dee and Gum Swamp may have been the same meeting (Weeks 1896; Hinshaw 1972). This assumption was likely drawn because neither author, nor anyone else, has been able to identify the location of the Pee Dee Meeting.

Weeks states that the Pee Dee Meeting and the Gum Swamp Meeting were in Marlborough (presently spelled Marlboro) County, South Carolina (Weeks 1896, 95). No doubt this assertion helped establish the generally held belief that both meetings were in South

Carolina. The location of the Gum Swamp Meeting does not seem to be in doubt. It was located near or on the Little Pee Dee River in eastern Marlboro County near present day Dillon S.C. and Rowland, N.C. Weeks states that Gum Swamp Meeting was located twelve miles northeast of Bennettsville, S.C. (Weeks 1896, [338]). However, no one has been able to identify where in Marlboro County, S.C. the Pee Dee Meeting was located. As noted earlier, Hinshaw believed that the Gum Swamp Meeting and the Pee Dee Meeting were one and the same. Medlin states that the Pee Dee Meeting may have existed as early as 1740 and attempts to locate the meeting on a map of the region, but he includes a question mark after "Pee Dee." Clearly, neither Hinshaw nor Medlin was ever able to determine the location of the Pee Dee Meeting (Hinshaw 1972, 65; Medlin 1982, 67).

The written history of Marlboro County gives little mention of the early Quaker settlers. The confusion concerning the location of the Pee Dee Meeting is very likely due to the fact that it was located not in South Carolina but about five miles north of the state line at Hailey's Ferry in Richmond County, N.C.

Further Proofs of the Existence and Location of Pee Dee Meeting

The confusion concerning the location of the Pee Dee Meeting is understandable because the boundary line between North and South Carolina was in dispute in the Pee Dee River region until the 1760s. During the time Quakers were moving into present day Richmond and Marlboro counties, the location of the boundary line between North and South Carolina was not clear. Conflicting land claims resulted in disputes so bitter that, in some cases there was bloodshed (Powell 1989, 95). In 1759, the North Carolina governor reported to the British Board of Trade "that there was such confusion that the bordering Counties can't be settled" (Lefler and Newsome 1954, 150). In 1735, the two colonies had agreed to run the line on a northwest course from thirty miles south of the mouth of the Cape Fear River to the 35th parallel. The line was begun in 1735 and run for about seventy miles. In 1737, the line was continued to what was thought to be the 35th parallel. However, an error was made, and the point reached was



Old Quaker Cemetery

about eleven miles short of the 35th parallel. In 1764, the line was continued westward from the terminus of the 1737 line, establishing the line between present day Richmond and Marlboro counties (Lefler and Newsome 1954, 95).

It is interesting to note that if the 1737 line had been run correctly to the 35th parallel, the lower one-third of present day Richmond County, N.C., including the Hailey's Ferry site, would be in South Carolina. In light of the long standing boundary dispute, it is easy to understand how visitors to the Pee Dee Meeting and the Gum Swamp Meeting could have assumed that both meetings were in South Carolina.

The Old Quaker Cemetery is Physical Proof

The only physical evidence that Quakers lived in Richmond and Marlboro counties is what is known as The Old Quaker Cemetery. Local legend, oral and written local history, and land deeds verify that the cemetery at Hailey's Ferry, in Richmond County, N.C., was part of a Quaker meeting from 1775–1841. But there is no mention of the

meeting by North Carolina Quaker historians. This is because the historians place the two early meetings—Gum Swamp and Pee Dee—in South Carolina, when in fact the Pee Dee Meeting was at Hailey's Ferry in Richmond County, N.C.

Medlin lists the household heads and family members who were affiliated with the Pee Dee Meeting. Among the names listed are William Hailey, Francis Clark, Andrew Moorman, John Moorman, and Charles Moorman. As mentioned earlier, William Hailey began Hailey's Ferry which was run by William and his son Isham for many years (Hutchinson 1998, 58). The settlement, Hailey's Ferry, was likely named after William. Francis Clark is one of the three trustees who purchased two acres of land for the meetinghouse and burying ground in 1775 (Anson Co. Deeds, K, 367). In 1751, Andrew Moorman had purchased the land from which the two acres were sold in 1775 for the Quaker meetinghouse and burying ground. He sold the land in 1754 to Charles and Benjamin Moorman (Anson Co. Deeds, Bk. 1, 500–501; Carriker 1984). Benjamin Moorman was the seller of the two-acre parcel in 1775 containing the meetinghouse and cemetery (Anson Co. Deeds, K, 367). The period of time or specific date that Medlin indicates these four men were affiliated with the Pee Dee Meeting ranges from the 1750s to the 1770s, dates which are consistent with the land records.

Medlin also lists a John Moorman I as belonging to the Pee Dee meeting and includes a date of 1753 for Moorman's affiliation with the meeting. It is significant that three of the men listed by Medlin as belonging to the Pee Dee Meeting—Francis Clark, Charles Moorman, and John Moorman—were also included in the accounts of visiting ministers who traveled through the region in 1753 and 1758.

In 1753, Catherine Phillips and Mary Peisley traveled from England to the American colonies in order to visit and minister to the “many scattered groups of Friends” (Hinshaw 1984, 63). Phillips and Peisley sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, and with several companions traveled north toward the Quaker settlements in the North Carolina piedmont at New Garden and Cane Creek. Traveling north by horseback, Phillips recounts in her *Memoirs* how they traveled toward the river Pee Dee where they had heard there was a settlement of Friends.

They were able to find the settlement described by Phillips as “a few newly convinced friends and some others under conviction with whom we had two meetings to good satisfaction” (Phillips 1797, 78). She states that the Friends had not settled a meeting, but she learned later that as the guides who accompanied her from South Carolina were returning home they observed the Pee Dee Friends busy in building a meetinghouse and she “afterward heard that a meeting, was settled among them” (Phillips 1797, 79).

Phillips adds that as they left the Friends at Pee Dee to travel north they were accompanied by John and Charles Moorman. As mentioned earlier, both men were listed by Medlin as belonging to the Pee Dee Meeting. In a 1754 Anson County deed, Charles Moorman is listed with Benjamin Moorman as the two men who purchased a two hundred and fifty-acre tract of land from which the two-acre parcel was sold to the three trustees in 1775 for the meetinghouse and burying ground (Anson Co. Deeds, K, 367). Based on this evidence, it seems very likely that Phillips and Peisley’s visit to the Quaker settlement on the Pee Dee was at Hailey’s Ferry in present day Richmond County. It can also be considered proof that the meetinghouse at Hailey’s Ferry was being constructed in 1753.

Another traveling Friend passed through the area in 1758. William Reckitt in his written account describes visiting “one meeting of friends . . . which was settled upon a river called P.D.” (Reckitt 1776, 96). Reckitt visited the meeting on his way south and then visited again when he returned north. After his first visit Reckitt stated that “Francis Clark with whom we had quartered bore us company one day and night in the woods” (Reckitt 1776, 97). His return visit to the meeting included another mention of Francis Clark, “and I with Francis Clark, went toward Crane–Creek. His company was so agreeable, that time did not seem long” (Reckitt 1776, 100–101).

Francis Clark, noted earlier as one of the three trustees who purchased land for the Pee Dee Meeting and was listed as a member of the meeting, owned other parcels of land along the Pee Dee in present day Richmond County (Anson Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, 120). The Clark family file in the Anson County Library indicates that Francis

Clark moved to the area along the Pee Dee in the 1750s from Louisa County, Virginia. (Clark File, Anson County Library Local History Room). Reckitt's two visits to the meeting and his mention of Francis Clark are strong evidence that Reckitt was in fact at the Hailey's Ferry settlement in present day Richmond County.

Established in 1751, Cane Creek Meeting was the first monthly meeting in central North Carolina. The Quaker organization of that time allowed preparative meetings to be under the guidance and support of a monthly meeting. The Pee Dee Meeting was one such preparative meeting under Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. The Cane Creek minutes show that the Pee Dee Meeting requested approval of a meeting for worship in 1755 (Cane Creek Minutes, Ninth mo. 1755). The history of Cane Creek Meeting erroneously states that the Pee Dee Meeting was located in Lancaster County, S.C., on the Little Pee Dee River (Teague 1995, 26). This is clearly incorrect because the Little Pee Dee River is located about one hundred miles east of Lancaster County, S.C.

The Cane Creek minutes provide clear proof that the Pee Dee Meeting was near the Pee Dee River in Richmond County, N.C. The minutes include marriage certificates dated 1756 and 1782 that mention Anson and Richmond counties and list individuals who were members of the Pee Dee Meeting and residents of Richmond County. A 1756 certificate of the marriage of Benjamin Moorman and Lucy Hailey [or Haley] shows Benjamin was the son of Andrew Moorman and Lucy the daughter of William Hailey. The marriage took place at the home of Thomas Moorman (Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3-10-1756). On May 15, 1782, Thomas Moorman and Susanna Crew were married at the Pee Dee meetinghouse in Richmond County, N.C. The record in the Cane Creek minutes of this marriage shows twelve witnesses were present at the marriage ceremony, one of whom was Francis Clark. This is likely the same Francis Clark who, in 1775, along with the other two trustees, purchased two acres for the meetinghouse and burying ground.

A third marriage certificate shows that, on November 9, 1782, Stephen Hobson and Mary Crew exchanged their vows before eleven

witnesses at the Pee Dee meetinghouse. Several of the witnesses are also mentioned in Richmond County land deeds and/or are included in Medlin's list of Pee Dee members. The Cane Creek minutes clearly prove that the Pee Dee Meeting existed by 1755 and that it was located in present day Richmond County, N.C.

The Forgotten Quaker Meeting

The evidence seems clear that there was a Quaker meeting in present day Richmond County, N.C., beginning perhaps as early as 1753. As such it would be one of the earliest meetings in this part of North or South Carolina. The evidence also supports the conclusion that the meeting was the Pee Dee Meeting that is mentioned in several Quaker histories and accounts of visiting Friends. This information is presented in order to recognize the meeting as an important part of Richmond County history and to honor the Quakers who were among Richmond County's earliest settlers.

History of the Land Transactions for the Richmond County, N.C. Quaker Meeting 1751–1841

- 1751 William Stone sells two hundred acres on the east side of the Pee Dee River to Andrew Moorman (Anson Co. Deeds, Bk. 1A).
- 1754 Andrew Moorman sells the two hundred acres plus fifty additional acres to Benjamin and Charles Moorman (Anson Co. Deeds, Bk. B–1, 500–501).
- 1775 Benjamin Moorman sells a two-acre plot to Thomas Moorman, Francis Clark, and George Matthews. The plot of land includes the “Burying Ground and Meeting House of the Society of People called Quakers” (Anson Co. Deeds, K, 367).
- 1804 Charles Moorman, *et al* sells land adjoining the meeting-house to Randol Hailey (Richmond Co. Deeds, O, 34).
- 1806–1817 Randol Hailey passes the land to George Hailey (Will dated 1806, Richmond Co., Bk. 1, 108).
- 1817 George Hailey sells the land adjoining the meetinghouse and cemetery to Charles Hailey (Richmond Co. Deeds, P, 180).
- 1841 Charles Hailey sells the land to John Covington (Richmond Co. Deeds, PP, 81).

The above transactions are also summarized in David Carriker’s “Eighteenth Century Churches in Richmond County” (1984).

Please note that Richmond County was a part of Anson County until 1779.

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The Tomlinson Steam Tannery

1825–1900

By

Daniel W. Warren

Imagine this area [High Point, N.C.] in 1760: no Springfield, no cabins, no farms, no roads. The closest semblance to civilization was an Indian path, following more or less the route of the present Main Street. It was this endless forest, broken only occasionally by a natural clearing, that greeted William Tomlinson and other Quaker settlers emigrating from Bush River Monthly Meeting near Camden, South Carolina. They later chose this spot, this “field of springs,” as the site for their meetinghouse.

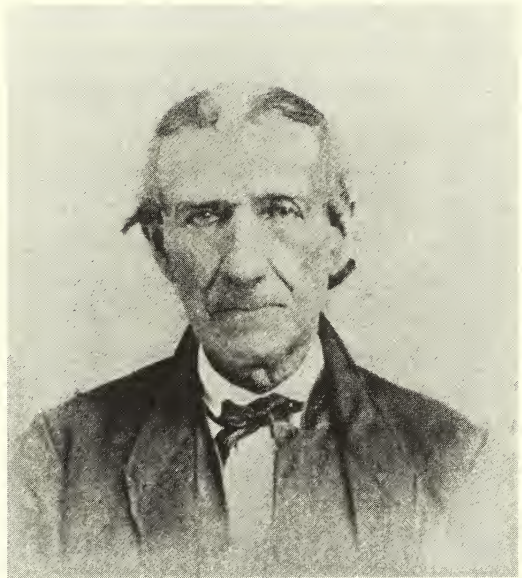
It was in 1786 when this same William Tomlinson bought for five pounds ten acres of land from John Hoggatt, the first recorded land

“The Tomlinson Steam Tannery” was presented to the Springfield Memorial Association, Springfield Friends Meeting, High Point, North Carolina, Eighth month 17, 1997, on the occasion of the association’s 90th annual meeting.

Dan Warren is a graduate of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. He is currently vice president and on the board of directors of the Springfield Memorial Association, is assistant curator of the Museum of Old Domestic Life, and is curator of the Archdale/Trinity Historical Museum. The town historian for the city of Trinity, Dan writes a column for and about Trinity High School alumni for the *Archdale/Trinity News*, was on the committee to publish *The Heritage of Randolph County*; and is working with others to complete and publish a history of the town of Archdale.

transaction in Randolph County. In 1787 he was granted three hundred more acres, at ten pounds for every one hundred acres, by Governor Samuel Johnston. And it was on this land that William and his wife Martha established their home and farm and raised nine children.

William had, as was common practice in those days, also established a small tannery on the land. It was upon William's death that his youngest son, Allen Unthank Tomlinson, took over the tannery and his share of the farm.



Allen U. Tomlinson

Allen U.'s oldest brother Josiah was an expert leathersmith, and many area boys were apprenticed to him. As his business grew and the need for leather increased, Allen U. decided to go into the tanning business. This was 1825.

At this point it might benefit by explaining the tanning process. First of all, the hides were usually soaked in a vat of lime water, then scraped with knives to remove the hair. After this, they were transferred to a vat of "bate," a mixture of hen manure and water. Then (thankfully) they were scrubbed long and hard with fresh water.

Now the hides were ready to enter the tanning process itself. Brick-lined vats were layered with hides and crushed tree bark (a fine source of tannin), then covered with water. Periodically they were turned in the liquor, but they soaked there at least six months.

After removal from the vats the hides were again washed, then dried, by hanging over poles in a loft. Finally, the leather was scraped,

beamed,* and rubbed with a mixture of tallow and neatsfoot oil.

Starting with the small tannery left him by his father, and with twenty dollars in borrowed capital, Allen U. entered into business in a limited and almost primitive way. He had to improvise tools and methods. For example, he peeled oak bark by hand and beat it to pieces with a hammer until he was able to build a bark mill on the place.

By Allen U.'s hard work, ambition, and initiative, the small tannery succeeded and grew. In 1842 it incorporated as Tomlinson, Lines, and Company and eventually grew to be one of the largest in the state. A mill, powered by steam, was built. At a time when average tanneries [employed] one or two men, Tomlinson's was employing over thirty. It was easily the most important commercial concern in the Springfield/Bush Hill area, not only from an employment standpoint but also from monies pumped into the community [from the purchase of] cord wood, bark, and hides. It also drew buyers and suppliers from, as some accounts say, as far as one hundred miles around, they too bringing revenue to the area. It is no wonder the Bush Hill/Springfield community became known as a "Beehive of Industry."

In August 1845 a major catastrophe struck: the tannery, factory, and a large amount of wood, bark, and finished goods were destroyed by fire. A new company, Tomlinson, English, and Company, was formed and the business rebuilt.

The community [continued] to grow. In 1845 two brothers and their brother-in-law, David and Clinton Petty and Moses Hammond, bought land up the present Trindale road from the Tomlinsons and established a sash-and-blind factory.

Clinton Petty, a master mechanic, invented a machine for making wooden pegs for shoes, and a lathe for turning shoe lasts, forms upon which the shoes were fitted and made. These innovations greatly increased production potential for the factory.

1861: the outbreak of the War Between the States. The citizens of Springfield and Bush Hill, loyal to the government, vehemently op-

* To beam: to dress or work hides on a beam, a sloping board or frame. —Ed.

posed secession. Still, after the war broke out, a draft or conscription law was passed by the Confederate government requiring the enrollment of all men between the ages of eighteen and forty–five years. This range, of course, included a number of the area men who, due to their strong peace testimony, were bound to stay out of the war.

Because of the blockade,* materials and equipment for the making of shoes were in short supply. Allen U. Tomlinson, diplomat that he was, traveled to Wilmington and contracted, at great personal expense, for the tannery to produce shoes for the Confederacy. For every three pairs of shoes produced daily, a man would be exempt from the draft. A few experts, who were more proficient, thus saved others who could not meet the production requirements. A local newspaper reported that Governor Worth said that during the War Between the States, due to Allen U. Tomlinson’s efforts, the settlement around Bush Hill “was the only green spot in North Carolina.”

Allen U. Tomlinson died May 16, 1879. At his death the business came under the competent hand of his son Allen J. Tomlinson. After the death of Allen J.’s brother Sidney, the company was reorganized; and, on August 20, 1886, the company was incorporated as the Tomlinson Manufacturing Company. Its corporate purpose was to operate as a steam tannery and manufacturer of shoes, saddles, and leather goods. Under Allen J. Tomlinson’s direction, and with the increasing trade and population in the area, business at the tannery and the shoe and saddle factory steadily grew. Although most of the work was still accomplished by hand, production procedures had by this time been honed to an almost assembly–line keenness. In a 1970 interview made by Darrell Taylor with Rufus K. Hayworth of Archdale, Mr. Hayworth [described] working at the tannery in the late 1890s:

Tanning bark was hauled in on a wagon and stacked up all around the buildings. A one–story building—finished the shoes here (in the rough). Then they were moved up to the other building for the blacking process—all the shoes were black.

* In April 1861, President Lincoln established a blockade along the southern coast from Virginia to Texas. The blockade prevented ships from entering or leaving southern ports, thereby severely inhibiting commercial trade. —ED.

The finishing house was about 150 feet behind and above the main building. The shoes were carried in little pushcarts to the finishing house for dying. The finishing room doubled as a shipping room. The finished shoes were put in a pine box for shipment.

Rufus's father [James Madison Hayworth] paired the shoes up. They were placed on a long table. There was a little hole in the back of the shoes and Rufus put a string in the holes and tied them together.

They made a brogan. Boys had shoes with a brass band around the toe of the shoe. They had cloth shoe strings. Leather soles had wooden pegs driven in with a wooden mallet. Soles were about a quarter-inch thick. These were heavy-duty shoes.

The women's shoes were of softer leather and thinner soles.

They were high-topped shoes and laced with cloth shoe strings.

Allen J. was as beloved a leader as his father had been. Respected by all, he served the community in various capacities, not the least of which was chairman of the Board of County Commissioners of Randolph County. It was while hurrying from a meeting at the courthouse in Asheboro to catch the train for home that he was struck by lightning and killed.

The entire community mourned the loss of Allen J. Tomlinson. The tannery and factory soon closed, and the Tomlinson family focused its energies on a new venture: the Tomlinson Chair Company, which was to become an institution in the twentieth century as its predecessors, the Tomlinson steam tannery and manufacturing companies, had [been] in the century before.

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report, 1999–2000

By

Gwen Gosney Erickson

Introduction

This year was a time of transitions and changes. Some were positive and others were unexpected losses. Recently retired library director and longtime Friends Historical Collection enthusiast Herbert Poole passed away in November. His successor, Betty Place, died unexpectedly in December. In the absence of a library director, Carole Treadway agreed to assist the college as library coordinator, making her last semester as Friends Historical Collection librarian much busier than expected. She also chaired the search committee for a new director. Gwen Gosney Erickson, currently Friends Historical Collection librarian and college archivist, also assisted the library during this time by chairing the search committee for the library's circulation librarian and redesigning the main library web page. These time commitments to other areas of the library decreased staff availability for processing of materials in the collection.

As mentioned in last year's report, we are steadily increasing our use of technology to assist with record keeping and remote access to information for researchers. A newly developed web site was launched in November and additional components have been added. The new web site provides potential researchers with expanded information and tips for using the collection. The number of researchers visiting

the collection in person has continued to decline. However, correspondence continues to increase. This trend supports the development of the web as a means of delivering information about the collection as researchers' expectations increase for research capability. Additional planning about the best ways to address researcher needs and changing uses of the collection will be taking place over the next year.

Staff

The largest staff change this year was the continued phased retirement of Carole Treadway. Carole's time was decreased to one-third time and Gwen assumed a full-time position in the collection. During the spring semester Carole increased her time commitment with the college to halftime in order to serve as library coordinator.

Jane Miller, who began as North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting) archives assistant in September 1998, left May 2. Bette Cline, a docent in the research room for the past year, began duties as archives assistant at the beginning of May. Jane was able to work with Bette for her first day and we are thankful for a smooth transition.

Student assistants this year were Rachel Miller during the summer months, and Erik Edgerton and Rachel Miller during the school year. Erik worked during the summer as a part of the college's Cadre student work program.

Docents and Collections Volunteers

Bette Cline ended her year as a docent to join the Friends Historical Collection staff. Otherwise, the docent schedule has remained stable this year. The annual docent luncheon was held in the Walnut Room in Founders Hall on April 28. Rather than hosting a speaker, this year's luncheon was held in honor of Carole Treadway. Docents and others who have worked closely with Carole shared their appreciation for Carole's work in the collection and her presence in their lives.

Archives and Manuscripts

Minutes and records were received from twenty-six meetings, including sixteen meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM),

one of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), and ten of Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association.

Elizabeth Very continued to volunteer and worked on preliminary processing for the following collections: Joseph J. Cox Papers, Samuel Doan Cox Papers, Fred Hughes Papers.

Major Acquisitions and Gifts

Collection funds purchased a 1922 limited edition portfolio of Violet Oakley's *The Holy Experiment; A Message to the World from Pennsylvania*. The collection's Milner Endowment enabled the purchase of the second part of the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends Records Committee filming project which now completes our microfilm collection of Iowa Yearly Meeting records.

Mary Ellen Sarbaugh continued her generous financial support and assisted Wilbert Braxton in donating his papers to the collection. Anna Winslow Newbold donated several items from her family's possessions, including the correspondence of former Guilford College faculty member J. Franklin Davis (1850–1934). Elizabeth G. Parker gave the papers of former New Garden Boarding School student Deborah Peele Parker.

Research Projects and Notable Events

Though visits to the collection were fewer this year, there were several interesting research projects that made use of the collection. Carole Treadway corresponded with Licia Kuenning on her research of early North Carolina Yearly Meeting Disciplines in preparation for the publication of *The Old Discipline: Nineteenth Century Friends' Disciplines in America* (1999). Several inquiries were received from Civil War historians about information in the John Bacon Crenshaw Papers. Carl York used the William Perry Johnson Papers to research eighteenth century Surry County tax lists. Neva Specht, who used the collection several years ago in preparation of her dissertation, continues her research of Quaker migration as she revises her dissertation for publication. Todd Shiver, choir director at Georgia College and State University in Milledgeville, researched his predecessor and former Guilford choir director Max Noah. Other research included the following topics: Mary Fisher, Belvidere Academy, Quaker House

of Fayetteville, Quaker responses to the 1936 Olympics, Quaker influence on the Free Will Baptists, and Civil War era schools and textbooks.

One research area of notable interest is the growing use of the collection for African American history and genealogy. A descendant of an emancipated slave of George C. Mendenhall used items from the Mendenhall Papers to find out more about her family, and there was an electronic mail inquiry from another genealogist researching her emancipated ancestor. Claude Clegg of Indiana University consulted Quaker records for information about African American emigration to Liberia in the early nineteenth century. African Americans and the Underground Railroad continues to be a popular research topic.

Staff of several area cultural institutions used our collection to assist them in their documentation. Historic Latta Plantation studied the construction of early nineteenth century clothing. Mendenhall Plantation looked at Quaker children's clothing (1840-1850). North Carolina Museum of History staffer Rae Lana Poteat researched samplers. Tannenbaum Historic Park searched for information about the Hoskins family.

The staff made a presentation to North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) Teen Group. Staff worked with Guilford College's Quakerism students and provided tours to assist students in locating research materials. Students from the Underground Railroad class also made use of collection files.

John Robertson completed his investigation of Hunting Creek Monthly Meeting's history, and the history of South Fork Monthly Meeting was researched by Judy Andrew Clayton.

Professional Activity

Carole Treadway was appointed to the advisory board of the Historical Dictionary of Quakerism, which is to be published in 2002 by Scarecrow Press, and wrote the entry on "Migrations." She was also appointed to the Quaker Studies International Advisory Board. In November she made a presentation on "Quaker Settlement in the Carolinas in the 17th and 18th Centuries" at the North Carolina Genealogical Society Annual Meeting. Carole served as a faculty

representative on the college's Judicial Board, and in the absence of a library director she represented Hege Library at various meetings and committees.

Gwen Erickson served the final year of her term on the program committee for the Society of North Carolina Archivists and attended the fall meeting of the society. She completed her term as president of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society in December 1999 and continues on their board as an ex officio member. She served on the program committee for the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists held in June 2000. In September, Gwen attended a conference for library and museum professionals titled "Rethinking Cultural Publications: Digital, Multimedia, and Other 21st Century Strategies" at the Museum of American History in Washington, D.C. She also participated in a Leadership Conference on Access to Special Collections in March that brought together librarians and curators from North Carolina to discuss collaborative efforts in providing electronic access and promoting our cultural resources.

New books

Becoming Myself: My Life in Letters and Verse

By Mary E. Brown Feagins

Foreword by Ann Deagon

The author—teacher, poet, traveler, Quaker—has drawn on her extensive letters, journals, and poems to recreate a personal life influenced by the critical historical events and philosophical issues of the twentieth century. The work is rich in political, social, and psychological awareness, and is leavened with a gallant sense of humor. Living Mary Feagins's life through this book will leave the reader wiser and more optimistic about the human spirit.

— *from the foreword*

Illustrated, x+195 pages

Cost: \$15, plus \$2 for postage and handling

Published by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

Books can be ordered by sending a check to the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27410. You can write to the same address or e-mail (ncfhs@thedepot.com) for a complete list of NCFHS publications.

New books

George Fox's "Book of Miracles"

Edited by Henry J. Cadbury

Forewords by Rufus M. Jones, Jim Pym, and Paul Anderson

George Fox claimed over 150 instances of healing miracles. The "Book of Miracles" lists the miracles, which were critical to spreading the word about Quakerism in the initial years. The text of this edition is the result of years of work by Henry Cadbury to make it accessible to modern audiences. New introductions by Paul Anderson and Jim Pym guide readers and help them appreciate the historical importance and spiritual significance of the text, which provides a new and more complete understanding of Fox's contributions to Quakerism.

176 pages, index, softcover

Cost: \$17, plus \$2 for postage and handling

Publisher: Quakers Uniting in Publication (QUIP), of which North Carolina Friends Historical Society is a member.

Proceeds from book sales benefit NCFHS. The book is an ideal Christmas gift to anyone who values George Fox's Journal.

Books can be ordered by sending a check to the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27410. You can write to the same address or e-mail (ncfhs@thedepot.com) for a complete list of NCFHS publications.

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2000–2001

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NUMBER 2

*Friends Near the Frontier:
An Account of the Development
of the Hunting Creek
Friends Meeting, 1794–1828*
BY JOHN KENT ROBERTSON

*Clyde and Ernestine's College:
Guilford, 1930–1965,
Patterns of Power*
BY ALEXANDER STOESEN

*Friends Historical Collection
Annual Report, 2000–2001*
BY GWEN GOSNEY ERICKSON

Book Reviews

Brief Notices

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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The Southern Friend is published semiannually in spring and autumn by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Members of the society, for whom the annual dues are \$20, receive the journal without charge. Single issues for Volumes I–XII may be purchased for \$3 per number; subsequent single issues are \$5 per number. Double issues may be purchased for \$10.

Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the southeastern United States. Articles must be well written and properly documented. Contributors 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* in preparing manuscripts. Submissions should be sent in both paper and electronic versions. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to the editor at editor@ncfhs.org or mailed to Gwen Gosney Erickson, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410-4175.

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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.

North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Dedicated to
Carole Edgerton Treadway

Editor, *The Southern Friend*

1995–2001

Associate editor, 1984–1995

While Carole Treadway remains on the editorial board in an advisory capacity, Volume XXIII concludes her oversight of the journal. Her longtime commitment to this publication brought *The Southern Friend* through its second decade of production and into the twenty-first century.

Friends Near the Frontier

An Account of the Development of the Hunting Creek Friends Meeting, 1794–1828

By

*John Kent Robertson **

Introduction

In order to appreciate two hundred years of Quaker history in America, one must view it from an informed perspective. Early Quakers arrived in Boston in 1656 and although severely persecuted, their teachings took root. Yearly meetings were established for New England (1661), Maryland (1672), Virginia (1673), Philadelphia (1681), New York (1695), and North Carolina (1698). In 1671-72 George Fox and William Edmundson sailed for America for “missionary labors.” The pair ultimately made their way (separately — Fox fell ill in Barbados and was delayed) across the Great Dismal Swamp and into

* John Robertson is a Johnson descendent who currently lives in the area of his ancestors. This article came out of his leading to keep the history of this early Quaker meeting alive. Through the writing of the Hunting Creek history, as well as that of its parent meeting, Robertson hopes to inform us of the significant Quaker presence in the Upper Yadkin basin beginning in the mid to late seventeenth century. He writes, “Developing and interpreting the early [Quaker] records not only enrich the cultural heritage of the area but may quite possibly strengthen us as members of the Society of Friends today.”

coastal North Carolina where “meetings for worship” were held under the most primitive conditions. As the years passed, meetings were “settled” in different communities in the Perquimans–Pasquotank area. By 1698 the yearly meeting replaced one quarterly meeting; thus, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting was born (Hinshaw and Hinshaw 1972, 12).

During this same era William Penn and John Archdale, colonial governor under the Carolina Charter, were making their colossal efforts. Two other, lesser known but important Quakers, John and William Bartram (father and son pioneer botanists) were walking in the same tracts. Around 1725 Quakers began to leave the northern colonies.

Religious persecution had ceased in New England and Virginia, hence the major reason for Quaker immigrations into Piedmont North Carolina was economic. Conditions in England and Ireland were such as to put great pressure on Friends to seek a better life in the New World. In Ireland, after the wool and linen weaving trade had been suppressed, for many young people there was a grim choice: migration or starvation! Ireland ... simply could not support a dense population ... no land available for the younger sons of an Irish family and little other employment Opportunities in the New World were presented in glowing terms by landowners and developers America was described as a country where there was total freedom This prospect was totally appealing. Immigrants by the thousands turned their faces toward America Many of these immigrants coming down through Virginia left the Great Wagon Road (or Quaker Road) soon after crossing the Virginia line, making their way southeastward toward the area now know as Alamance, Chatham, Guilford, and Randolph Counties (Hinshaw 1984, 19).

The journal of John Woolman, young New Jersey tailor, abolitionist, and friend to the Indians, reveals that he traveled (sometimes walking) to North Carolina in 1746 by way of eastern Virginia and into the Perquimans area. Between 1751 and 1778 numerous meetings were established in the general piedmont area including Cane Creek (1751), New Garden (1754), Western Quarterly Meeting (1754), Springfield (1773), Centre (1773), and Deep River Monthly Meeting (1778). According to Francis Anscombe, following the settlement of New

Garden in Rowan, now Guilford County, Friends began to gather at Deep Creek, located well to the west in the Upper Yadkin River basin (Anscombe 1959, 338).

To conjure up a “frontier” image one has only to consider that the only way into the settlement area at the time was along Sherrill’s Path which began at Shallow Ford on the Yadkin and extended southwest across Fourth Creek to Sherrill’s Ford and the Catawba River. The land grants along this route were dated in the 1750s. Fort Dobbs was built near Fourth Creek in 1756 to protect the settlers from the Indians (Genealogical Society of Iredell County 1980, 6). A few years earlier in Surry County (1748) Morgan Bryan and George Forbush had moved their families into the Shallow Ford/Deep Creek area. Also, Daniel Boone was in and out (his parents lived here), escorting settlers across the mountains to Kentucky between 1756 and 1779. By 1760 the Moravians had established Bethabara and Bethania north of the Yadkin and near where the Wagon Road entered North Carolina (Rutledge 1965, 7–8). The Westfield Friends Meeting was established in 1771. This sounds like a lot of activity when in reality it was a more or less steady stream of slow-moving traffic disappearing into the vast wilderness of the huge Yadkin basin. Hinshaw described it this way: “One fact is obvious: travel into the wilderness country was dangerous and difficult, and exceedingly slow.”

It was into this wild, new country that the Welch family came, a husband, wife, and five children. Samuel Welch and Chloe Hendrick were married in Halifax County, Virginia in September 1783. The list of witnesses suggests it was a big event with both families well represented. Now several years later, they headed down the Wagon Road: Samuel is thirty-two, Chloe is twenty-nine, their first child, Ruth, is eight and their youngest, Mary, is only seven months old. Both parents came from pioneering families in Virginia who had ventured into the wilderness out of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. It is largely due to the relative adequacy of information available on the Welch family that we are now able to enjoy some insight into the life of the early Hunting Creek community and certainly Hunting Creek Friends Meeting.

Samuel and Chloe Welch had been a part of South River Friends

Meeting (named for its location, just south of the James River at the site of present day Lynchburg, Virginia) where Samuel was received into membership by his own request in March 1781. The meeting had been established in 1757. From the meeting's history, we read:

Our South River Quakers came unarmed, by covered wagon and ox cart, trusting in kindness and their own unexcelled confidence to protect them from the savages The first members of the monthly meeting were old stock Quakers ... English extraction from the Tidewater section of Virginia ... very strong and vigorous meeting in its day (Hinshaw 1950, 289).

The Welches must have observed and absorbed some of the finer principles and practices of Quakerism here, particularly the opposition to slavery and care for a wholesome community, both of which would be continuing concerns in their future.

Deep Creek and Hunting Creek Meetings: Parent and Progeny

The origins of Deep Creek and Hunting Creek Friends meetings cannot be considered separately. The latter was the offspring of the former. Figuratively, the parents moved as a family westward into the upper Yadkin River basin. But they did not reach the Yadkin directly; years were spent making their way south out of Nantucket, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Very likely individual families had known one another along the way or more recently were neighbors at Cane Creek, Deep River, or New Garden. Francis Anscombe said, "Soon after the settlement of New Garden [circa 1750] Friends began to assemble at Deep Creek. By 1775–1780 there was a considerable gathering, and meetings were held at various dwellings" (Anscombe, 1954, 338). Nancy Shore Reece states essentially the same in her earlier history of Deep Creek Meeting. "It was during this period of expansion westward that Deep Creek Meeting began. As early as 1784, a preparative meeting under the jurisdiction of Deep River Monthly Meeting was in existence. A meeting house was built in 1789 and the monthly meeting was established in 1793" (Reece 1949, 2). Anscombe stated further that "the meeting was probably authorized by the Westfield Quarterly Meeting" (Anscombe, 1954, 338).

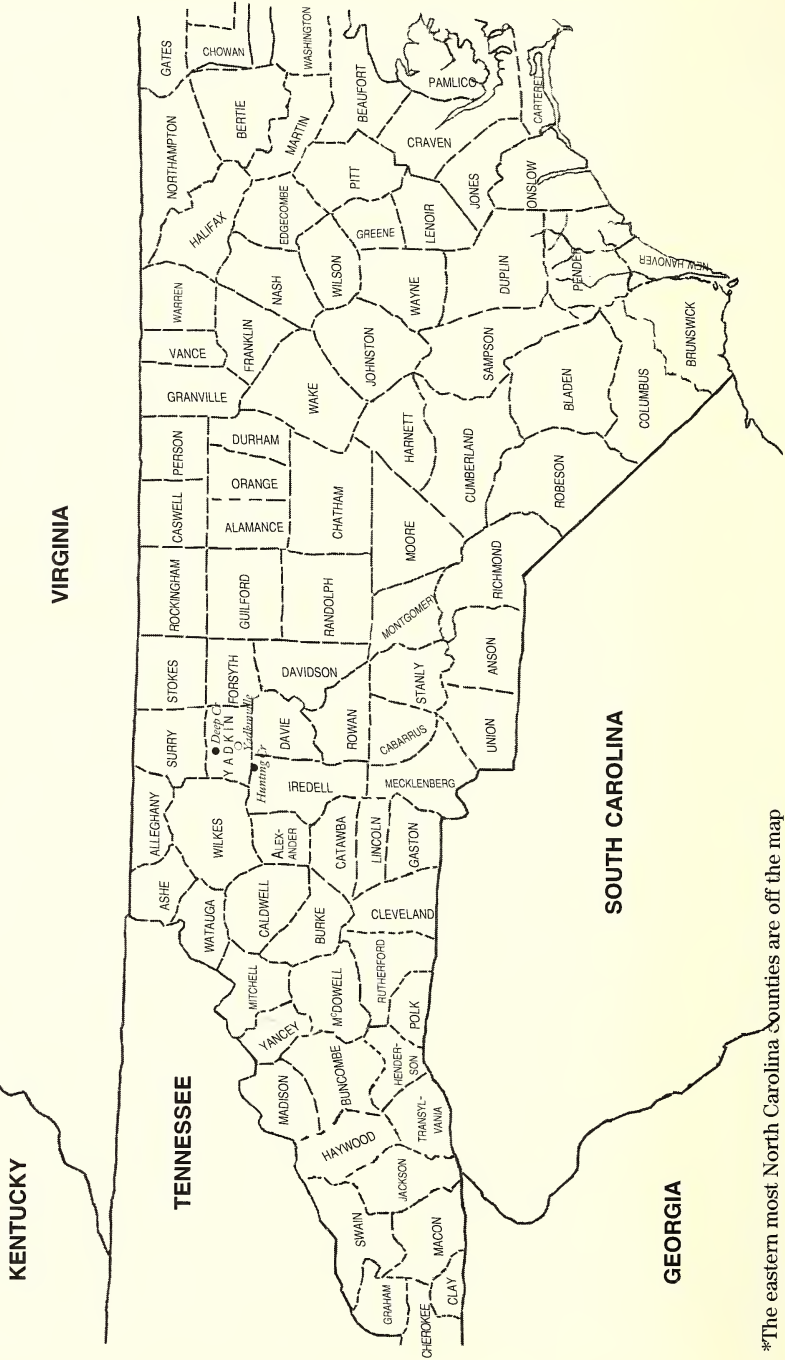
The new settlement area was extensive — bounded on the north by the Yadkin River, on the south by Hunting Creek (a distance of approximately twenty miles as the crow flies), and on the west by the foot of the Brushy Mountains. At this point one can hardly avoid the question: What motivated the move away from the centralized and established nucleus of Friends at Cane Creek, Deep River, and New Garden? Were they uncomfortable with concentration? Were they looking for more and cheaper land, other economic opportunities, greater personal and spiritual freedom? True, they had been “sojourners” before, but surely some or many were of the age to realize that stability (i.e., a well built home, farm, or business) was preferable.

Whatever the reason, within a few years the number of Friends in the area was sufficient to have caused them to come together in meetings for worship. The next step toward an authorized monthly meeting was to petition the nearest quarterly meeting as a preparative meeting. Various sources indicate this action may have taken place in late 1792.

Documentation of the Deep Creek Preparative Meeting provides the names of some of those who composed the original membership. The listing includes almost seventy family names, many still identified with that community today. There are also several names affiliated with the Hunting Creek Meeting such as Barnard, Coffin, Johnson, Welch, and Wales. There were about twenty families represented in the original membership. Seven had come from various meetings in Virginia, two from Nantucket Island in New England, another from New Jersey, and still another from Tyrone County, Ireland. Several could not be traced out of North Carolina (Reece, 1949, 4–5).

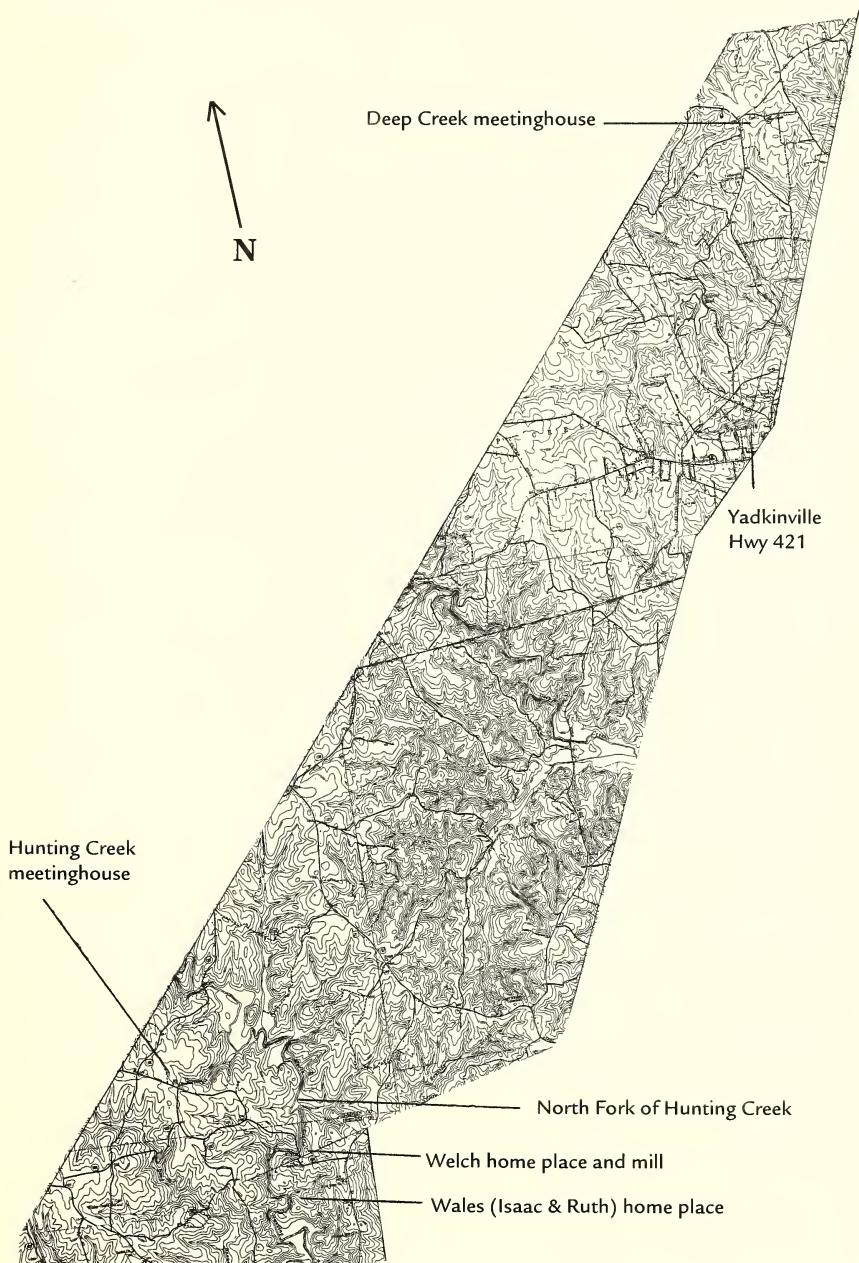
Early Friends tended to make good use of credentials or “certificates.” A certificate could be requested by a Friend from his or her monthly meeting for a particular purpose such as travel or the transfer of membership. The certificate would provide name, monthly meeting, purpose, destination, comments, and signature of the clerk. Obviously, certificates made for good record keeping for both the issuing and receiving meetings. In many instances and with enough research, certificates, meeting minutes, land, and genealogical records can be brought together to reveal in some detail where a family lived,

North Carolina Counties, circa 1890 *



*The eastern most North Carolina Counties are off the map

Topographical Map Showing Portion of Surry County



source of livelihood, even life style within the community. This attempt at reconstruction rides on information as reported in the Deep Creek Monthly Meeting minutes, as well as land and family records for identifiable families.

The monthly meeting minutes were typically taken up with granting and receiving certificates, visiting Friends, complaints against errant members, requests and declarations of marriage, appointments to tasks, and the reading and answering of the Queries; almost nothing is included in regard to location or occupation (i.e., residence, business, livelihood). Today's researcher must be patient and appreciative of the original transcriber's limitations, dedication, and viewpoint when evaluating relevancy and substance of these recordings. Also, if it is not clear already, it should be understood that little or no documentation (meeting minutes, etc.) survives that reveals early organizational efforts in the Hunting Creek community.

Abstracts from the Deep Creek Monthly Meeting minutes identify a few families and circumstances from the early years which tend to distinguish the two meetings:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| May 4, 1793 | Samuel Welch from the South River MM, Campbell County, Virginia presented a certificate for himself and his family, dated 1792 and naming Deep River as the destination, but accepted here. ¹ |
| January 1794 | Francis Barnard produced certificate from Deep River Monthly Meeting for himself and family (wife, sons Francis Christopher, James Rubin, and Samuel). |
| February 1794 | Samuel Welch appointed to read paper at first day meeting [involved the conduct of man and wife prior to their marriage]. |
| April 1794 | Hunting Creek requests privilege of holding meetings amongst themselves [first mention of Hunting Creek]. |
| May 1794 | Friends appointed to visit Friends of Hunting Creek on account of holding meetings among themselves ... reported it most safe to grant their request to hold a weekday meeting only. Francis Barnard and others appointed to read paper at |

- quarterly meeting [epistle from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting].
- September 1794 Adam Coffin presents certificate for himself, wife, and daughter from Centre Monthly Meeting. Samuel Welch and others appointed to correct and transcribe monthly meetings up though the year 1774.
- December 1794 Meeting complains of ... Jonathan Johnson for ... not keeping to pleasing speech, behavior, and apparel ... Frances Barnard appointed to labor with him.
- September 1795 Samuel Welch appointed to visit with errant member.
- December 1795 Samuel Welch and others appointed as representatives to quarterly meeting.
- May 1796 Strangeman Johnson complained of for taking too much strong drink and taking off his clothes in public. Samuel Welch will provide copy of testification against Johnson.
- May 1797 Preparative meeting complains, Benjamin Johnson for going out in marriage
- June 1797 The committee appointed to visit Friends of Hunting Creek Meeting reports they attended the appointment and give it as their sense and judgement that said meeting be discontinued ... with which judgement this meeting concurs Jacob Dobbins, Daniel Huff, William Zachery are appointed to go and inform them of this proceeding.
- January 1798 Samuel Welch [and others] appointed to assist Clerk in correcting and transcribing 1797 monthly meeting minutes.
- May 1798 Samuel Welch [and others] appointed to write to Cane Creek MM.
- June 1798 Samuel Welch [and others] appointed to make necessary inquires in order to issue certificate for requesting member.
- July 1798 Samuel Welch appointed to read paper on errant member at First day meeting.
- December 1798 Francis Barnard Sr. appears, offering a paper condemning his injury to another member.

- February 1799 Strangeman Hutchins appears, offering a paper condemning his misconduct in hiring slaves.
- April 1799 Adam Coffin and Robert Walker appointed to attend the Huff–Burnside marriage — see that it is accomplished in good order used among Friends.
- May 1799 Friends near Hunting Creek request the privilege of holding meeting among themselves. Daniel Huff, William Hough, Benjamin Hutchins and others are appointed to visit and inspect into their situation and circumstances and report their sense and judgement to the next meeting.
- June 1799 Hunting Creek Friends request approved (with limitations, may meet every fourth day).
- November 1799 Hunting Creek Friends request to meet on first day (rather than fourth). Deep Creek grants request but excludes monthly meeting day.
- November 1799 S. Wales requests membership — bond records show relationship with S. Welch.
- January 1800 Samuel Welch appointed clerk to replace William Hough [Deep Creek Meeting].
- February 1800 Adam Coffin appointed overseer at Hunting Creek.
- February 1801 George and Isaac Wales [son and grandson of above] request membership.
- March 1801 Hunting Creek requests their meeting be established. Representatives of monthly meeting will visit.
- circa 1804 Requests by Friends to travel with their families to Ohio and Indiana appear to increase dramatically. Slavery, cheap land, wanderlust?

The foregoing is at least informative in identifying a small group of active Friends, remote from Deep Creek, interested in having their own recognized preparative meeting. Very likely the motivating factor was the matter of convenience. They understood well enough the importance of maintaining a cohesive unit throughout the settlement area, but the time and difficulty involved in traveling back and forth to monthly meeting had become an arduous challenge. Imagine the

resolve and stamina required to face at least thirty miles of winter wagon road to reach and return from meeting (not to mention the north and south Deep Creek hills, which lie between). By September 1804 Hunting Creek's request to have its own preparative meeting recognized was approved. Again, it is important to understand that to piece together the history of this early Friends meeting the researcher must depend on information recorded on and around the lives of its earliest members.

One can hardly fail to observe the frequency with which the Welch and Wales family names appear and will continue to appear in the minutes. Their willingness, interest, and competence probably indicate leadership roles in the Hunting Creek and Deep Creek meetings. However, their involvement in the Hunting Creek community also is known through land and business ownership records. The two families had intermarried by 1802 and, according to family records, a mutual concern about slavery would become a destabilizing issue for both.

An emerging view of the early Hunting Creek Meeting and community can be further enhanced by filling in still other recorded information on both the Welch and Wales families. Abstracts from the records of the South River Meeting in Campbell County, Virginia, show that the Welch family's certificate was requested in May 1792 but was "delayed as there was an obstruction." The delay appears to be related to Samuel's monthly meeting assignment of August 1791. However, the certificate was finally granted in November 1792 (Hinshaw 1950, 344). At this point the Welches were faced with the decision as to when they would begin their travels. Would they head down the Wagon Road in late November with winter already underway? Or would it be better judgement to wait until spring? There were five young children to consider; the most recent was only four months old.

They, of course, were not the first to make this journey. From those traveling north on "The Road," long distances, rough terrain, and hazardous weather and trail conditions were common knowledge. Handling draft animals and stout wagons and living off the land were essentially a part of their normal way of life. In other words, preparing food around the campfire and sleeping in or under the wagon was not

so different from cooking in the fireplace or bedding down in the loft at home. All things considered it may have seemed that winter travel was feasible.

Evidently no diary was kept, so travel details are not available. However, it is a matter of record that the Welch family certificate was received at Deep Creek Meeting May 4, 1793, with a note by the clerk, "Directed to Deep River Monthly Meeting but accepted here." As to the route taken, there was little choice other than to proceed south along the well-worn Wagon Road to the North Carolina line, then southwesterly to the New Garden/Salem area, a distance of approximately 150 miles. (Today's U.S. Highway 29 from Lynchburg, Virginia to Danville, Virginia and Greensboro, North Carolina probably provides a fairly close parallel.)

Samuel was already here buying land along the North Fork of Hunting Creek in early January 1793. Witnessing the deed for 150 acres are Edward Williams, John B. Hoy, James Williams, John Templer, and Isaac Johnson. It is known that Edward Williams is another local landowner, and John Hoy is Samuel's stepfather. Also known is the fact that Isham Welch bought 105 acres along the North Fork from Edward Williams in early August 1794. Witnessing this transaction were: Samuel Welch, Isaac Johnson, and John Johnson. Still another deed with Samuel buying a small tract from Edward Williams in early December 1794 lists as witnesses: Isham Welch, Mary Hoy, and John Johnson (Surry County Deeds, F, 15; G, 13 and 139). The information set forth in these three early deeds suggests that making the trip to North Carolina with Samuel was an entourage made up of not only of his immediate family but also his brother Isham, his mother Mary, and stepfather John Hoy. But did they all come down together? Does the deed of January 4, 1793 and the departure date of late November 1792 from South River indicate that Samuel and John Hoy made a fast trip down on horseback to locate land and buy it? Did Brother Isham bring down the women and children and the loaded wagons at slower pace? However it came about, the Welch tribe seems to have arrived either all together or within the year 1794. In the meantime Chloe has had their sixth child, Martha.

Over the next twenty years (1793–1814) the Welch and Wales families would be active in both the Deep Creek Monthly Meeting and the Hunting Creek Preparative Meetings. Together, the two families would own close to a thousand acres of land along the North Fork of Hunting Creek, beginning with the Welch/Nicholson home place and running downstream approximately two miles. The Welches owned smaller tracts that included the land on which the Hunting Creek meetinghouse now stands. The Waleses were farmers and blacksmiths. Extensive adjoining properties indicate a close relationship between the two families. In addition, Samuel and Chloe Welsh's daughter, Ruth, married George Wales' son, Isaac, in May 1802.

Although the Wales family appeared early in the Deep Creek records with the filing of Samuel and Mary Wales' birth dates (10/21/1767 and 1/12/1774 respectively), no birth places are shown. So at this time, where they came from we simply do not know. However, according to early Iredell County land records, George Wales was selling Dutchman Creek land (in the same general vicinity as Hunting Creek) in 1791 (Iredell County Deeds, A, 233). This could mean the Wales family was one of the earlier Quaker families to move into the settlement area and may have been one of the original families of the Deep Creek Meeting but for whatever reason was never recorded as such. Anyway, the monthly meeting minute abstracts do indicate it is not until November 1799 and February 1801 that Samuel, George, and Isaac are requesting membership. For clarification, Samuel is the father of George, and George is the father of Isaac (who married Ruth Welch).

Another key element of the Hunting Creek Meeting story which may not have been noted in the Deep Creek minutes was the purchase of two acres of land along Salisbury Road from Isham Welch and Robert Walker for the use of a graveyard, meetinghouse, and school. Representing "the society of the people called Quakers," Samuel Welch and John Johnson paid the sum of four dollars. The deed is dated January 6, 1799.

Although the Deep Creek minutes are quite clear from the beginning about Hunting Creek Friends meeting among themselves for

worship, no mention is made of a meetinghouse or school. As the story unfolds it will become fairly evident there was a log meetinghouse and school building by the time of the 1799 deed and perhaps even earlier.²

In 1800 the tax records for Iredell County show:

Samuel Welch	House	valued over \$100.
	5 out buildings	
	2 acres	
	Grist mill, saw mill	225.
	2 stables	10.
	462 acres	450.
	19 acres	19.

This information serves as a reliable indicator that Samuel and Chloe Welch had prospered materially in the seven years since their arrival. However, considered carefully and in relation to other aspects, it may reveal a great deal about their personal goals and priorities in life as well as the learned skills they had acquired and brought with them.

To begin with, the Welches and Isaac Wales simply did not live in squat, shed-like log houses. Through first person observations, written accounts, even artist sketches we have a reasonably accurate composite description of these homes. Their most visible features were: sawed lumber, peaked roof, two-storied and painted. Inside there were small but somewhat ornate fireplaces and mantels on the second floor and a staircase with a decorative railing. The yards and gardens were fenced with palings. Construction, appearance, and livability of these homes seemed more in keeping with the Boston or Philadelphia areas than the advancing frontier of eastern America.

As the story continues it will become obvious there were two very similar homes. First, the Samuel and Chloe Welch place, probably built circa 1795 (after the sawmill was up and running), located overlooking the North Fork and Cascade Mill on the north side of Barnard Mill Road today. Later it would be known as the James Nicholson place and still later as the Reavis place. Today only the old barn and chimneys remain, which can be seen at some distance from the road. The site is on the National Register of Historic Places. Second, the Isaac and Ruth Wales place, probably built between 1800

and 1803 (they were married in 1802), is located less than a mile downstream from the Welch home (Ruth's parents) also on the north side of the creek. Later it would be known as the John Nicholson, Jr. home and, still later, the Chaffin place. In more recent times (1930s and 1940s), the Blankenship family lived in the house and farmed the land. They also added two unusual features of this home: the ornamental woodwork in the peaked roof gullies and the masonry-filled walls (all exterior walls are said to be filled with handmade blocks/bricks ten to twelve inches thick). This site is not on the National Register but is well known to Johnson and Nicholson descendants. Recently, the site has been totally cleared and no evidence of the house or other buildings remains. There are artist sketches and written descriptions for both homes, which in combination suggest that both were constructed by the same builders.

The ownership of a comfortable home and business, together with their record of activity in the Deep Creek Meeting seems to establish clearly their motivation: the Welch family was intent on enhancing their lives, while at the same time making a lasting contribution to their developing community.



From this point on, much of the story depends on material provided by a Welch/Wales descendent in Indiana, Elizabeth Steele Creveling. Included are excerpts from an account by a granddaughter of Samuel and Chloe Welsh which we believe lends credence to the current reconstruction.³ Jane Wales Nicholson's recollections provide detailed descriptions of locations of home sites, livelihood, schooling, and Grandfather Welch's strong feelings on slavery. At this point the story goes beyond mere dates, names, and places; it provides a brief glimpse of real, everyday life along the North Fork of Hunting Creek in the early 1800s. To summarize we will attempt to gather the gist of the material around prominent personalities and subjects. We are indeed fortunate today that our predecessors were concerned, studious, and talented enough to leave this revealing evidence for us.

Jane Wales Nicholson was the second daughter of Isaac Wales and Ruth Welch, born along North Hunting Creek in the Wales home located downstream from her grandparents, Samuel and Chloe Welch.

Sister Mary was the first child, born December 1803 and Jane was the second, probably born in 1805. No birth dates are available on the two other siblings, Nancy and Thomas Montgomery. At the age of eight Jane moved to Ohio with her family and Welch grandparents. Eventually she would marry Valentine Nicholson (cousin to the Hunting Creek Nicholsons) and give birth to three daughters: Elizabeth, Mary, and Martha.

Jane's daughter Elizabeth would supplement her mother's account by visiting relatives in North Carolina, sketching the old home sites, and making copious notes on family history. Elizabeth Nicholson visited North Carolina on two occasions, once during the 1880s, when she kept a diary of her visit, and again in the 1890s, when she made sketches of Wales, Welch, and Nicholson home sites (per correspondence with Elizabeth Steele Creveling, 1992). About the time of the 1880s visit, she notes, "I came home by way of Salem, N.C. and visited the Boarding School for Girls, formerly the Moravian School, where my great aunts, grandmother Wales' sisters Mary and Martha Welch, went to school." She notes further that in the conversation with the president of the college he confirmed they were, "the daughters of Samuel and Chloe Welch, planter and miller Quaker."

Some of Jane Wales Nicholson's earliest memories are of her school days. Although she does not date the experience, it must have been around 1810–1814, considering her birth date of 1806 and the fact she left the meeting with her parents and grandparents in the fall of 1814.

The first school I attended was in a log house near our little meeting house ... had a dirt floor patted down by little bare feet We sat on benches without backs, our faces toward the wall except when we recited, then we had to turn around and face the harsh master. An old Quaker named John Johnson who was afflicted with the toothache, which made him very cross One day he whipped a whole bench full of us tired little ones because we were not looking at our books. I expected to get sympathy, for we children were not punished at home. I said, "Father, the master whipped me." The reply, "I reckon thee deserved it."

One log was left out to let in light and air. Through this opening we could see what was going on outside The graveyard was close

by and my grandmother's tomb stone stood in plain view and I could look out and see her initials, which were mine also [Grandmother Mary Wales, wife of Samuel].

We had no regular reading books — when pupils mastered the spelling book [Webster's], they took up the Testament and afterward read in the Bible My mother opposed using the Bible as a school reader because she thought that there was so much in it which if unexplained was not prudent for children to hear.

One morning a black bear was seen standing in the road not far from the school house. We little children went trembling by the place looking for the tracks.

At 2:00 every summer afternoon we heard, from the schoolhouse, Moody's horn blow for the negroes to quit work and eat their dinner. They had but two meals a day, breakfast and dinner at two. Slavery had a bad influence on children, about half the children in the school were of slaveholding families. They would say to us "You have no niggers."

Jane's sense of place — the land, the idyllic home — was remarkable:

The place contained 250 acres, with a small stream (Hunting Creek) running through it All was tillable land except on the west there was quite a hill, covered with laurel, sloping down to the creek where we had a fish trap and could go every morning and get a fish for breakfast Halfway up this hill was a spring house ... where butter and milk for the family were kept. One day as I was carrying a bucket of milk up from the spring I heard the patter of little feet behind me. Looking back, I saw a little spotted fawn trotting up; it put its nose to the bucket. I had never seen one before and did not know what it was, but it was so pretty I was not afraid.

The climate is very attractive. The cattle could feed, all winter long, upon the wild pea vines that grew by the streams and remained green all winter. The two or three inches of light and rare snowfall lay very softly upon the pines and soon melted away.

On every spot of ground that was not cultivated, bushes and vines sprung up ... blue grape vine on the little white oak was juicy and large; the woods were fragrant with muscadines, dogwood, black haws, spicewood, sassafras, sarvesberry, wild plum, persimmons in abundance ... always plenty of wild strawberries in their season In the fall we had chestnuts, chinquapins, and hazel nuts; so mild was the climate, so plenty the native productions, that the

people had not much need to practice forethought in laying up stores.

Also the yard and garden:

A pine board fence enclosed a large yard, in which stood four great forest trees ... a white oak, a black oak, over the cider-house spread a large mulberry tree that dropped a plentiful crop of delicious berries every year. At the west of the house was a garden ... in which were beds of fragrant herbs — camomile, thyme, worm wood, balm, hyssop and rhue; nor was the garden wanting for flowers, but had sweet pinks, merigolds, holly hocks and beautiful roses.

In *Memories*, Jane Wales Nicholson tells us of an exemplary mother (Ruth Welch, Samuel Welch's daughter) and her adorable father (Isaac Wales) who can do anything but certainly does no wrong. Directly or indirectly, the parents influenced Jane Wales Nicholson's life and memories.

My parents went regularly to meeting (1802–1814) at Hunting Creek, here assembled about ten families of Friends, which constituted the preparative meeting. The monthly meeting was held at Deep Creek. We were not taught any catechism or any theology by our parents. As I remember, we thought it was an established custom to attend meeting and went for the ride on horseback. We had a small horse and a small saddle and it was fun to trot.

My parents prospered by their industry and good management. Owing to my mother's management we always had wheat bread, which was unusual in the South ... because the weevil was in the wheat. But my mother would scald the wheat to kill the insect and dry it on the garret floor, after which it would keep and we had white bread the year round.

But some of the neighbors (slaveholders) did not fare as well.

I remember seeing a lady ride up on horseback, early one morning and ask my mother if she could let her have bacon for breakfast; she had visitors and was anxious to get back before they got up. She wanted to spin to pay for the bacon I remember feeling proud of my mother weighing out her bacon to a poor lean slaveholder.

Jane wrote with admiration and respect for her father.

My father once brought Sister Mary and I each a primer; that was a treat, being the second I had seen with pictures.

I remember the house my father built for his young family ... two

story frame, painted Spanish red on the outside and sky blue on the inside On the hearth were andirons with negro heads, over the fire swung a large crane with hooks to hang pots in which the meals were cooked Comfortable buildings stood near the house, back of the yard was the corn crib, the cider house and the hen house, nearer the loom house and the ash house ... a garden enclosed with palings ... a row of bee hives, forty or more along the fence ... a thrifty young orchard bore an abundance of fruit ... all kept in the cellar under the kitchen floor.

Many a farmer had his blacksmith shop and carpenter chest and not only made shoes for the family but tanned the leather. My father could do all work of this kind and yet I am told he had time to meet and enjoy all that was intelligent and public-spirited in the neighborhood.

He was patriotic in feeling and I know from the books he had and the songs he used to sing to us that he was in sympathy with the French Patriot. He often described to me the sham burial [reenactment] of General Washington which he had attended in Salisbury.

I well remember what a gloomy time it was when my father was drafted for the army of 1812. Idlers would come (to his blacksmith shop) to spend the rainy days. My father did what he could to inform them.

My father was all patience and kindness. The parents' looks, tones, and words of cheer to the young child has had a lasting effect on its mind.

Jane's respect for her parents is matched only by her admiration for her maternal grandparents, Samuel and Chloe Welch. There is an overtone in Jane's writing that suggests they were strong figures in the family hierarchy and must have appeared as monumental to their own sons and daughters, to their grandchildren, and even to those marrying into the family. Obviously Ruth Welch's parents were a great influence in the life of her husband Isaac Wales. Jane Wales Nicholson is careful to bring out that both of her grandparents had come from family backgrounds where initiative and leadership roles were the norm.⁴

Although she does not mention it, it would seem without doubt that Jane Wales Nicholson had been duly impressed with Grandmother Chloe Welch's home and life style. This place was less that a

mile up the North Fork from where Jane lived with her parents, and overlooked Cascade Mill. From drawings and building remains it appears this home may have been more elaborate and earlier built than the Wales (see discussion of houses on page 20).

Sooner or later Jane becomes quite familiar with her grandmother Welch's family history and obviously makes a point of this in the latter half of *Memories*. Grandmother Chloe's sister, Bettie Hendricks, was said to be a "zealous Friend." Jane used that description in relating a story about her great-aunt's meeting in Halifax County, Virginia. Something had gone wrong and the Banister Meeting was being "laid down."

She went regularly to meeting and sat alone a silent hour for several weeks. It was wintertime and some woodchoppers working in sight of the road wondered to see a young woman walk by at regular hours on certain days of the week. Their curiosity led them to follow, and they were interested to see a young woman sitting alone in silent worship. They went again and were instrumental in inducing others to come, thus the meeting grew and was continued.

The childhood of Jane Wales Nicholson was filled with stories about her grandmother Chloe who had made the trip from South River to Hunting Creek with five children, one of whom was an infant. She would have seven more children in this remote new home and then twenty years later set out again in the wagon to go to the free state of Ohio. Grandfather Samuel was only fifty-four years old, but in Jane's mind (at age eight or eighty) he was the patriarch, the venerable one who made the decisions. Can there be any question as to whom had the stature and resolve to inform these well-fixed families that they must give up their "good homes" and remove themselves from this place of slavery? We can see him (just as his family did) leading "the train of moving wagons ... climbing the Blue Ridge Mountains." It was Samuel, who had been over the trail before and had important Friends/friends along the way. By the time the Welch grandparents were leaving North Carolina they had served more than thirty years in South River, Deep Creek and Hunting Creek meetings. They possessed the character from which role models are created.

Negroes and slavery are mentioned often in the *Memories*. Apparently during this period Jane was exposed to numerous black people in the Hunting Creek community, almost as an everyday experience. In some instances Quakers had inherited slaves (chattel in a bequest) and continued their “ownership” in the form of a protective custody arrangement as opposed to outright slavery. “The negroes, in particular were superstitious and fond of marvelous tales. When we children would go to Old Billy Grimes’ cabin on an errand, he, glad of an audience, would tell of his ghost stories until we were afraid to go home.” Jane heard her great-grandmother Welch tell this story:

She had an old Guinea negro named Juda that she had owned since she was a young girl (actually given to her by her father); Juda was purchased as soon as she landed from Africa. This poor negro thus told the story of her capture in her native land. She was picking up some brush to cook her dinner when two white men came along and took her forcibly to their ship where there were many others chained on deck and in the hold of the ship, waiting to sail for free America. Juda was very unhappy. She was waiting to die for then she expected to get back to Africa. She had one child named Guy; he lived to be grown; it was a great grief to her when he died. He was buried in the Friends burying ground near the meeting house, where old Juda never ceased to go of nights and talk with him. Many superstitious persons were frightened when passing late at night, to hear her talking and see a shadow walking among the graves like a ghost.

The next two stories may come from a Wales family source or even Jane’s personal observations.

There were two other Guinea negroes belonging to relatives, Old Sam and Phillis, his wife. We children, young as we were, did not consider them hardly human, their talk was so broken and their wrinkled faces looked some like monkeys. Poor old Sam had only one pair of cow hide shoes allotted for him during the year and he would always bring them to my father to get Massa Wales to put iron on the heels and toes to make them last longer.

One day while we were at school, Phillis (a younger slave) came to the door and called us out to say goodbye. She stood there with her bundle of clothes on her back. She had been sold and was going to her new master. We wept with her. She was a faithful house servant and when told that she must change her home, she cried out, “Oh!

Master, what have I done to you that you should treat me so?" Her owner told her to "Hush up and go along," for she had been sold for three months [ago].

There was an occurrence in our neighborhood that worked greatly on my feelings. A slave woman had a little girl, six or eight years old, her only child. Her master and mistress wanted to make a visit to Lebanon, Ohio to see a sister, so they sold the child to get money to dress and buy a carriage to make the journey. They did not want to spare the mother so they separated her child from her. She went almost insane, she grieved so. I wondered the neighbors suffered such things to be enacted, but not one seemed to care as I did.

I had seen in Thomas Clarkson's work on the slave trade a picture of a slave ship showing how they were packed in the hold of the vessel. It made my heart ache to see them in such a cramped condition during the long, slow voyage. It is said that this picture of the distress did more than the eloquence of Wilberforce to abolish the slave trade [in Britain, ed.].⁵

Abstracts of the minutes of Deep Creek Meeting indicate slaveholding by members of the meeting at Hunting Creek or both. All along Jane's story has been laced with experiences of black people and slavery, and the intimacy with which she discusses the subject leads one to assume it is occurring "just down the road." There is credible support of her concern. Esteemed Iredell historian Homer Keever wrote, "Slaves were in Iredell County soon after the first settlements By 1790, when the first federal census was taken, slavery had grown, with 15.8 percent of the entire population non-white." This account goes on to list the "large slave holders," those holding fifty to one hundred negroes, these were the plantation owners. Also the "small planters ... a score of whom had twenty to fifty slaves." Shown in this category were at least two well-known larger landowners in the Hunting Creek area (Keever 1976).

Whatever the reason, the crucial period narrows to a point (late summer-early fall 1814) when it seems that Samuel Welch and Isaac Wales had experienced enough and felt clear in their duty to remove their families to the free state of Ohio.

The climax of Jane Nicholson's *Memories* comes at the middle under the subtitle "Moving To Ohio." The remainder of her story is a taste of the trauma of decision making, leaving, then traveling up over

the Blue Ridge into the Kanawha Valley and, several weeks later, settling in Ohio. Her words reach the level of eloquence as she describes the departure.

What pecuniary sacrifice my parents made for the future of their family by moving away from the slave influence. They sold the farm for \$900 and took in part pay a horse for \$90. After a sale of all the effects, which their prudence and industry had gathered, they packed the household essentials in a large blue-bedded wagon drawn by four good horses with bells on the harness; for the family there was a buggy and a saddle horse to change and ride at pleasure.⁶

We drove out of our lovely yard one morning in the autumn of 1814 for the last time. The leaves were beginning to fall and rustle at our feet; as we drove slowly down the lane, all stopped and looked back; my mother sat in the buggy holding her little two year old son, Tommy, in her lap. I did not understand until long afterward, the depth of sorrow felt by my parents in this tearful leave taking of their first comfortable home. Their backward glance saw ... its background of mountains in the young orchard every tree bending with its crop of red apples ... fields of cotton, white with bursting bowls. They were again as pioneers in an almost wilderness, in a colder and fare less attractive climate; this sacrifice was made for the future of their children that they might be removed from baleful influences.

My grandfather, Samuel Welch, with his large family of young sons and daughters came also. Grandfather and grandmother rode in a gig. Besides the lighter vehicles there were five wagons; the horses had bright trappings and bells that made quite a chime and could be heard at a distance sufficient to bring the natives out of their cabins to the road to see the teams, men women, children, dogs and all assembled to see us pass.

We will bid farewell now to the Welch/Wales families and continue our story along the North Fork, but in doing so there remains one final magnanimous gesture by Samuel which begs to be revealed. According to the Deep Creek minutes of March 1814, an old friend of Samuel and a founding member of the meeting appears at monthly meeting:

John Bond informs meeting of his weighty concern that hath attended his mind for a considerable length of time to visit most of the families belonging to the Westfield Quarterly Meeting.⁷ The meeting concurs ... and our friend Samuel Welch expressed in this

meeting a willingness to accompany our friend John Bond on the appointed religious visit with which this meeting concurs.

The visit was a large undertaking and Samuel knew the rigors of it from his experience at South River. The “leading” was there and he felt a profound obligation to encourage and assist his old friend in this adventurous outreach, but he also was planning a long and final trip north and west to Ohio. As fate would have it, Samuel would not be able to keep the commitment to accompany John Bond.⁸

After more than twenty years of effort, accomplishment, and accumulation Samuel Welch leaves the North Fork of Hunting Creek, North Carolina to relocate in Highland County, Ohio. Within a short time both families have moved on to Warren County, Ohio and the Miami Monthly Meeting. Samuel buys 1,600 acres between Harveysburg and Waynesville and Isaac settles on a smaller but adjacent tract.⁹



1815–1828

With the departure of the Welches and Waleses a new and more difficult era would begin for the Hunting Creek Meeting. The general tenor of the parent meeting’s monthly minutes, especially those years following 1800, reflects a burdensome diversity and detail of matters brought before it. There was much coming and going (certificates received and issued), more references to slavery, treatment and condition of black people, many disownments (for “marrying out,” errant conduct, etc.), and exhaustive attention devoted to the declaration and completion of marriage. Much or most of these discussions were surely serious and probably well founded, but in some instances they may have been frivolous and meddlesome. Overall, it seems that these are the kinds of issues that would keep the meeting edgy, uneasy and use up an inordinate amount of time and patience. There is no indication of neglect by the parent meeting, but it is fairly obvious that the “little meeting over on the North Fork” did not always receive attention as promptly as they wanted.

As noted previously, Friends at Hunting Creek had held meetings for worship more or less regularly since 1794 (or earlier). These were

probably rotated through the homes of the families involved. The parent meeting was informed of the matter and also made aware that Hunting Creek would like their meeting recognized. Monthly meeting disapproved the request (May 1794). Following several such “requests” and “visits” over many years the Hunting Creek Meeting was apparently established in a minute from New Garden Quarterly Meeting dated March 1801.¹⁰ Over the years on several occasions Hunting Creek would alert the parent meeting of its need for “help and encouragement” and “assistance in a matter of difficulty.” Within a few more years due to the pressures of slavery, westward migration, indifference of members, “itchy feet,” and other reasons the requests for assistance would sound more like distress signals.

The Deep Creek Monthly Meeting minutes of 1806 informs of more positive activity; Hunting Creek reports that it is working with Friends in the nearby community of Swan Creek to organize a meeting for worship. No details are provided in these or subsequent minutes as to how this came about or was developed. We can only assume that, with new people coming in and the Hunting Creek Meeting somewhat more established and better known, the potential for this occurring was good. Anyway, in the Deep Creek Monthly Meeting minutes of July 1807 we read: “Hunting Creek Preparative Meeting informs that Friends of Swan Creek request to have their meeting established.” In the August minutes it is noted: “Swan Creek granted permission to hold preparative meetings.” Although the meeting had its high moments it seemed inevitable that its vitality was ebbing away. We know the Hunting Creek Meeting was small to begin with (ten families) and without a membership roll to check against, it is impossible to determine the net effect of the new members added and that continuous flow of requests for certificates by departing families. At best the membership was not only small but also transient.

There were signs of strain in the monthly meeting minutes: “Hunting Creek representatives fail to attend. Hunting Creek complains.... Some members not attending, Friends of Swan Creek request to have their meeting laid down” And again in 1824, “Hunting Creek complains members’ failure to attend” and in 1826, “Hunting Creek representatives fail to attend monthly meeting” Evidently the

decline of the meeting was nearly precipitous to the point we read, "This meeting [Deep Creek] thinking it best to extend care towards that meeting [Hunting Creek] Those appointed to visit Hunting Creek Preparative Meeting report that they did so with little satisfaction." And finally in July 1828, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting minutes state, "Friends of Hunting Creek request to have their meeting laid down."

The response of Deep Creek Monthly Meeting was characteristic. "Stephen Hobson, John Bond, Joseph Davis, John Healton, and Zachariah Reece are appointed to visit said meeting and on this action report their sense and judgement." The phrasing used in the minutes is classic for the situation; however, it is important to recognize who was appointed to deal with the matter. John Bond, Stephen Hobson, and Joseph Davis had known and worked with Samuel Welch and Isaac Wales for at least thirty-five years and surely felt a profound obligation to go and do all possible to preserve their early efforts. This is more than a "go, return and report command" Listening carefully we hear, "I (we) want to go and help this struggling child of ours." The minutes are brief but no doubt they did "visit" their offspring but found the circumstances hopeless. The Hunting Creek Preparative Meeting was in fact laid down.



Hunting Creek Meeting

Almost a year later (May 1829) another monthly meeting minute informs us of how the “offspring” (Hunting Creek) reacted to their “laid down status.” The Friends appointed to visit Friends of Hunting Creek on account of their request to hold meeting among themselves reported that “most of them attend the appointment and give it as their sense and judgement that it would be best to grant them indulgence of holding meeting on each first day.” Again, when we read/listen quietly and thoughtfully we hear the “progeny’s” plea: “We are weak, few in number and we regret our incapability of meeting, that which is expected but we do sense deeply the leadings of ‘The Light’ and we suffer in this estrangement from our parent meeting.” Perhaps the clerk’s use of “indulgence” is a bit stiff and limited, but at the same time the minute surely conveys the message of “bending over backwards” to accommodate these old North Fork Friends/friends. Neither the plea nor the response would alter the jurisdictional facts (meeting laid down) but did provide the opportunity for expressing unconditional love as found in the ancient story of the “Prodigal.”



1828–1844

Another sixteen years would pass before Hunting Creek regained its preparative meeting status in 1844. In retrospect it appears there were few, if any, severe consequences. Sure, there was some initial emotional trauma from the loss of their recognized meeting status, but they could and would continue to “meet among themselves” and had only to travel over to Deep Creek Monthly Meeting to participate in the traditional Friends decision–making process.

These were not “lost” years. Prior to, during, and following the “laid down” period, families had moved into the general area. Most would eventually move on, but a few stayed and will serve as a basis for the continuation of the Hunting Creek story. Again, we remind the reader there are no records for Hunting Creek Friends apart from Deep Creek Monthly Meeting minutes and whatever is available from family genealogical, land, census, and tax records. As mentioned earlier, by using all the various material together it is possible to determine who, where, and what for at least a few families.¹¹

To continue the story it is necessary to return to early Quakers in Virginia and a family that will eventually play a significant role in both the Hunting Creek meeting and community. Robert Johnson was born in Amelia County, Virginia, circa 1737. His father, Ashley Johnson, Sr., may have been Episcopalian. Not much is known about Robert Johnson except that he married Virginia Cecilia Elmore in 1758 at her home meeting, Cedar Creek in Hanover County, Virginia. Soon they would commence a wandering and child-bearing period of twenty years or more, during which they managed to live in several widely scattered places in both Virginia and North Carolina while at the same time producing ten children. In North Carolina they lived in both Guilford and Stokes counties and chronologically in that order. Around 1779 they would return to New Kent County, Virginia. Important to our story is the fact that the lives of two of their sons, Archelaus and Anderson, would eventually become closely associated with the Deep Creek and Hunting Creek meetings (Hinshaw 1936, 821 and 990).

Archelaus Johnson, twenty-four years old, married Mary Hutchins, daughter of Nicholas and Sara Hutchins, original members at Deep Creek Meeting, in February 1788. They were to have either nine or eleven children who appear to have been born in Surry County. This, together with the fact that he had married into a prominent Deep Creek family, suggests they lived in the immediate Deep Creek area. The genealogical record reveals that he was a planter/farmer and died in Dayton, Ohio, circa 1830 (Cook, n.d).

His twenty-two year old younger brother, Anderson Johnson, married Sarah Brooks, daughter of David and Sarah Brooks, in Stokes County in October 1792. He was a farmer, and he and Sarah would raise a large family of nine children with at least the last five children born in Iredell County (Hinshaw 1936, 822 and 977). Although not confirmed by search of land records, we assume Iredell County means Hunting Creek. Tradition has it that the early Johnson land (several hundred acres) lay along and on both sides of Long Branch for some distance, at a point generally south of the Hunting Creek meeting-house. Anderson is mentioned in the monthly meeting minutes of March 1822 in which he requested to be relieved of his duties as

overseer. The Robert Johnson family genealogy record indicates a death date of September 1857 in Iredell County and that he was probably buried in the Hunting Creek Meeting graveyard (Cook, n.d.). If so, it is an unidentifiable grave, perhaps located in the cleared “memorialized” area.

To ensure clarity, we should restate where the story stands at this point. It is the early 1800s, and there are two Johnson brothers (sons of Robert) who are firmly ensconced in the Deep Creek Monthly Meeting. However, Anderson Johnson and his family live along Long Branch and attend the small meeting for worship at Hunting Creek. At the same time, Archelaus Johnson and his family live within the Deep Creek community and attend that meeting. In other words, it seems entirely reasonable to assume that these two men and their wives, all in their prime, with large families, are surely making significant contributions in their respective areas, as well as to the monthly meeting as a whole.

Two of Anderson’s older children were born in Guilford County: Thomas, his first son, in 1794 and David Brooks in 1795 (Hinshaw 1936, 977). Thus, we know it is following the later date that he settles along Long Branch in the North Fork community. The Deep Creek Monthly Meeting minutes will show that in 1818 Thomas “condemned his marrying out of unity with the discipline” before the meeting. The genealogical record indicates he was a farmer and died after 1857 in Iredell County. Did he farm along Long Branch and raise a family? Although we have a place of death, where is he buried? Hunting Creek? In the “memorialized” area? After all, he was a birthright Quaker. All remain unanswered questions.

Conversely, the slightly younger brother, David Brooks, would leave a far more visible Quaker record and lengthy list of well-identified descendants, many of whom are buried in the Hunting Creek burying ground. There is a row of “Johnson” graves here beginning with David and Fressannah, then direct descendants and a surrounding cluster of associated family names (Nicholson, Critz).

David and Fressannah’s life together, like so many others, began in controversy. The meeting minutes of February 1822 show that the following complaint was made: “David Johnson’s wife is not a mem-

ber of the Society and they already have a child.” David Brooks then had to decide whether to accept disownment from the meeting or to acknowledge that he had acted contrary to the approved practice of Friends by “condemning” his having married out of unity. If his apology was felt to be sincere, he was retained as a member. This may have been a time of soul searching as he considered his deep Quaker heritage, his love of his hilly land with its clear rock-bottomed streams, and the cherished principles of Light, harmony, and care of total community which Friends value so much. Finally he must have reasoned, “To preserve those things most important I will submit to this mean little exercise and get on with my life; this too will pass.” He was not disowned. By 1838 he and Fressannah had eight children, four sons and four daughters.

During the years that followed, the “little meeting” on the North Fork continued to decline from loss of members and leadership. As discussed earlier, the meeting was discontinued in 1828. There is little question that David and Fressannah Brooks as well as their entire family suffered from the collapse of the preparative meeting. However, in 1843-1844 when the meeting was revived, the monthly meeting minutes are quite clear in revealing the support of David Brooks Johnson and his family.

In the interim it can be assumed as fact that this family had been steadfast in their support of the local meeting for worship (at Hunting Creek) and had led the effort to return to preparative meeting status.

The revival of the preparative meeting provides a note of optimism on which to end the initial installment of the history of Hunting Creek Friends Meeting. The meeting did continue and, over the next hundred years, survived the slavery issue, the exodus to Ohio and Indiana, and two wars. Over this period it would realize modest growth, build a new meetinghouse, and see education as a priority. Member families conducted schools for their own children as well as those of their non-Quaker neighbors. Some would send their children to Westtown School in Pennsylvania. Several educators, physicians, and other professionals would come from the Hunting Creek community — and many good farmers, millers, and tradesmen as well. There were many colorful personalities in the earlier development of the Deep Creek

and Hunting Creek meetings but the likes of Lucy Vestal, Rosa Coffin Nicholson Edgerton, and Isaiah York were still to come. But the information is scant, the extant minutes are sketchy, and the story will depend heavily on genealogical records of member families and oral tradition handed down through descendants. As the story unfolds there is a resiliency among these people and their meeting, even to the extent of spawning three other preparative meetings, two of which would fade away but the third, Winthrop, survives today. These are precious and worthy memories to be preserved and reconsidered as we make our way into the future.

Endnotes

¹The Samuel Welch Family is representative of sojourning Quakers of the late 1700s to early 1800s. They lived along the North Fork of Hunting Creek for around twenty years and were leaders and sustainers of both the Friends meetings and the greater community. The Quaker records for this family are illuminating, and genealogical research by descendants is quite complete. Two Welch descendants have come forward in recent years: Elizabeth Steele Creveling of Indianapolis, Indiana, and Edith Irwin of Thomasville, North Carolina. Another researcher who has been most helpful in tracing early Hunting Creek land records, including the Welch/Wales family, is Emory Coleman, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

²Regarding the 1799 land purchase: from what can be observed in the Deep Creek Meeting minutes, the parties (including buyers and sellers) were all Quakers already living on and/or around the property. Considering this, together with the information developed later in the story, it seems likely that consensus had been reached earlier (the Welches and likely the others had been there since January 1793) as to the need and use of the property. The deed may have been simply a formality.

³Jane Wales Nicholson's *Memories of Long Ago*, appears to be published material on the basis that it is presented in columnar format with typical newspaper typeface; however, the publisher's name does not appear. There is a penned in date of December 10, 1886 in the lower margin of the first page. The material, from the personal genealogical files of the late Theodore L. Steele, was made available by his daughter, Elizabeth Steele Creveling.

⁴The story of a great-aunt and her role in restoring life to a Friends meeting in Virginia is related on pages 26 and 27. Another story

introduces great-grandmother Mary Welch who, “sued to come and stay with us for weeks ... her maiden name was Gilbert, daughter of Mary and Aquilla Gilbert from Holland.”

⁵ William Wilberforce, who led the abolition movement in the British Parliament, and Thomas Clarkson, who collected evidence of the evils of the slave trade, were key individuals in the antislavery movement. Slave trade to the British colonies was abolished in 1807.

⁶ Various Iredell County land records reveal that for both families (Wales and Welches) it would take several years to liquidate their holdings along Hunting Creek.

⁷ Westfield Quarterly Meeting, the area to which John Bond refers, was a large and remote area lying directly north and across the Yadkin River and probably extending north to include the Tom’s Creek (later Westfield) Meeting established in 1771 (see Fred Hughes’ *Documentary Map of Surry County*). During its earlier period, Deep Creek Meeting was included in Westfield Quarter.

⁸ Considering his imminent departure for Ohio, Samuel Welch’s appearance at Deep Creek Monthly Meeting in September 1814 reflects a deep sense of responsibility. He reminded the meeting of the commitment he made in March to accompany John Bond and, with humility, requested to be excused.

⁹ The story may leave the impression that the entire Welch family moved away. That is not the case. When the Welch family moved to Ohio in 1814, John Welch (Samuel and Chloe’s first son and second child) was twenty-eight years old, married and had children. We do not know precisely where he was living at the time of the Welch family departure in 1814, but eventually he would settle or resettle in Huntsville (Shallowford–Yadkin River) area. John’s son, Samuel Columbus Welch, would serve as the first constable of Huntsville and later as the sheriff of Yadkin County (1876–1880). Sheriff Welch’s great-great-granddaughter, Edith Irwin of Thomasville, North Carolina, has worked for many years compiling the family history and has contributed significantly to the reconstruction of the Hunting Creek story.

¹⁰ Any confusion indicated here likely results from the author’s

inability to interpret the minutes.

¹¹Earlier, reference was made to several family names which could readily be associated with the Hunting Creek Meeting, including Welch, Wales, Barnard, Coffin, and Johnson. The Welch and Wales families and their contribution to Hunting Creek meeting and community were discussed in some detail. The Barnard and Coffin families were also part of the original membership of the Deep Creek Meeting, dating back into the 1780s or earlier. But to develop a lineage placing them in the community and meetings will require much more work. There are other families who came to the area about the same time or only a little later — Walker, Windsor, Barron, Bell, Thomasson, Nicholson, Welborn, and others (not all Quaker but constituents of the community nonetheless); there is a need to know more about them and their descendants. Connecting the Robert Johnson family of Virginia with both the Deep Creek and Hunting Creek meetings not only provided insight as to the relationship between the two meetings, but also was essential in filling in the genealogical charts of many Johnson descendants. Much is owed to Mary Belle Weaver Allred (born 1909), great-great-great-granddaughter of Robert Johnson, for her thoughtful protection over many years of letters, pictures, and other evidence of her early Virginia ancestor. Also of great import in developing the Robert Johnson and sons story is the well-ordered detail available in Gerald Wilson Cook's genealogical record for this family.

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Clyde and Ernestine's College: Guilford, 1930–1965, Patterns of Power

By

Alexander Stoesen *

The purpose of this paper is to examine the more than three decades during which Clyde and Ernestine Milner were at Guilford College. In order to do that it seems necessary to begin with the mythology of the college, and to consider the period prior to the Milners' arrival at the college.

The folklore of Guilford College begins with the legend of New Garden Boarding School's charter. The words "Society of Friends" were nowhere to be found in that document.¹ This resulted in a legend that the General Assembly would not have chartered the school if they had known Quakers were its sponsors. But, anyone reading the names of the petitioners would have known who they were. The state needed schools; the legislators approved the charter.

Slavery produced a parable that the school was a station on the Underground Railroad and, later, a place where draft resisters found succor during the Civil War. Was the school involved? Quakers were, but the story that New Garden Boarding School (NGBS) was a station on the railway is doubtful. It is very unlikely that the school's leaders would have endangered children by involving it in these activities.

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The Civil War was equally productive of fables. The school never closed; the daily schedule was maintained. Fables about that time have described desperation and slow recovery. The opposite was closer to the truth. My wife's great-grandmother and great-aunt, students at the school, seemed happy enough. They complained about the food and enjoyed the camaraderie of a shared candle with other students around a study table. They even traveled to and from Perquimans County without any harassment as they crossed into Union lines. After the war, Quakers in the North, as well as in Great Britain, sent money. The school would end up better off than before.²

During Reconstruction the school and the North Carolina Yearly Meeting came to the same conclusion on how to deal with the Lost Cause. Since Quakers had opposed slavery and not supported the Confederacy, anger and bitter words were directed at them. To fend this off Quakers lost interest in African Americans and assumed the mantle of victimhood. This, in turn, led them to become as southern as possible and to blend fully into the emerging culture of segregation in the late nineteenth century. Examples: when the "Model Farm" was created near High Point to demonstrate techniques for improving rural life, blacks were never invited. First Friends Meeting in Greensboro, did not allow black members until after the 1960s.³ They were certainly never enrolled at New Garden Boarding School.

NGBS did enroll Benjamin N. and James B. Duke in the 1880s. This connection would lead to the fabrication of a tale that Guilford College might have received the Duke millions but lost them because the trustees refused to take tobacco tainted money. Robert Durden shattered the myth in his book, *The Dukes of Durham*.⁴ The brothers were Methodists. They did give the college \$10,000 for a building to memorialize their sister, Mary Elizabeth Lyon, but insisted that it be called "Memorial Hall" to avoid advertising their largesse.

There is also an intensely held belief which claims that Guilford College is better than the other small colleges of the state. This is derived in part from the conceptualization that North Carolina is different from the rest of the South because of the presence of Quakers. They presumably have served as a conscience which the rest of the region lacked. Reinforcing this was the fact that New Garden

Boarding School remained open during the Civil War, giving rise to a conviction about the intervention of some higher authority. To be a Quaker, and especially to have a connection with the school and college, became important to the self-image of many North Carolina Quakers. This, in turn led them to see themselves as an elite. Quakers kept to themselves, seeking no converts.

Reality was somewhat different. NGBS solved a financial crisis in the 1840s by admitting non-Quakers. The war slowed things down, but the school began to prosper by the 1870s. The outside help mentioned above enabled the trustees to turn the school into a college by 1887 and graduate its first class in 1889. Whether it was a cut above other colleges would remain to be seen.



Dr. Raymond Binford

The first decade of the twentieth century saw a resolution of a long standing [dispute] between the Yearly Meeting and the trustees over ownership of the college. The trustees won. By 1903 the college had electricity. In 1908 the library burned, but this was turned into a triumph when Andrew Carnegie agreed to pay for half of a new building. By 1910 the trustees had decided that typewriters and telephones were here to stay.

In 1917 a dispute erupted in which the faculty forced out a president, but the trouble ended in 1918 with the arrival of Raymond Binford as president. Binford hired new faculty, eliminated the prep program, and paid off the debt. By 1926 Guilford's endowment equalled Davidson's. It was an accredited institution, in good financial shape, and with plans for a campaign to erect several new buildings. It had a strong faculty, especially in the sciences. Binford's major achievement came in 1928 when he gained faculty approval for a new curriculum.

Plagiarized from elsewhere, Guilford's "core curriculum," was praised as "out of the ordinary" by officials of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (SACS).⁵ By this time any idea

of Quakers being victims had disappeared. But the world would soon be confronted by a catastrophe in which nearly everyone became a victim.

The impact of the Great Depression on Guilford meant fewer students, frozen bank accounts, salaries in kind from the college farm, and stagnation. It could have been worse. Elon and High Point went bankrupt, but Guilford with its endowment in real estate didn't. Even so, the depression began to eat away at the fabric of the institution.

By 1930 Raymond Binford was stone deaf, tired, and dazed by the unrelenting financial pressures created by the depression. For too long he had tried to be president, dean, business manager, and teacher, all in one. Binford never took a vacation. In him the trustees had their ideal: the equivalent of a loyal hard-working mill hand. An outside study in 1930 indicated strong faculty resentment over some of his ways. He was described as "unapproachable," "tactless," prone to lose his temper, and "lacking in a spirit of cooperation."⁶ But a rumored "revolt" over his practices never developed. Binford knew he needed help and also knew who might give him that help.

He had become acquainted with Clyde and Ernestine Milner on visits to Earlham where they were deans of men and women, respectively. Binford learned they were leaving Earlham. He inquired. Clyde telegraphed that what he had heard was true but that their future must include an appointment "where Mrs. Milner could also be a member of the staff."⁷ William C. Dennis, Earlham's president, privately wrote Binford that he would have kept Clyde but "did not want both Milners" because he had "not been satisfied" with Ernestine's work. Officially claiming financial exigency, Earlham fired the Milners, with Dennis explaining: "we can better spare them than someone else."⁸ These remarks passed over Binford's head. After all, the Milners were a young couple with administrative background, ideas, and energy — perfect for Binford's needs. He hired the Milners for "an indefinite period of service."⁹

Clearly this was a critical moment for the Milners, and Clyde would later label Binford's offer a "Macedonian Call."¹⁰ They promised to support Binford's seven-year program aimed at Guilford's centennial



Ernestine and Clyde Milner, c. 1940

in 1937 and to orient themselves “to the ... traditions of Guilford, the customs of the South, and the viewpoints of the constituency.”¹¹

In the summer of 1930 Clyde and Ernestine were living in a “splinter shack” at Guilford College.¹² Like other newcomers they probably heard the myths, but the campus they saw when they looked out in the morning was no myth. *The Guilfordian* described the facilities as “deplorable.”¹³ Dirt trails connected deteriorating buildings. Chickens from the college farm scratched about. There were about 230 students, down by one hundred from the previous year. Some were being given financial assistance by faculty members hard strapped for cash themselves. It was clearly a place in need of help.

Binford named Clyde dean, the duties of which included everything from academics and discipline to public relations. Clyde quickly made the latter his forte and spoke to dozens of groups in the next few years. He would turn his experience as dean into a doctoral dissertation at Hartford Theological Seminary and then into a book titled *The Dean of the Small College*. Clyde taught philosophy and religion

courses and sought to fulfill Binford's dream of a syllabus for every course. Most of the faculty never produced a syllabus.

Ernestine became associate professor of psychology and was appointed "Director of Personnel" and Dean of Women. Binford had given her a blank check in spite of Dennis's warning. She would make the most of it. There was no job description. What did it mean? What personnel? What were its limits? In the end it would mean that she would become the unofficial vice president of the college with virtually unlimited authority over all personnel, including, some came to believe, her husband.

Ernestine quickly defined an academic role for herself with her courses in psychology. Some students who had never heard of the subject found themselves in a course which delved into the mysteries of the mind and spoke of forces within themselves over which they might have no control. One alumna said it "opened a whole new world" to her.¹⁴ It was exciting, certainly better than anything else around, and, with Ernestine's lab experiments, which included a live chicken — fun.

Not only did Ernestine offer self-knowledge, she sought to improve everyone's cultural background. A course with the unlikely title of "Philosophy 24" was really art appreciation. It became a requirement for graduation. Everyone had to take it. In the early years Ernestine took classes to Brookgreen Gardens, south of Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. With its required art project the course became the most intense experience many students had at Guilford.

Ernestine then touched the cutting edge with a course on marriage and the family. A local news story about the course was picked up by the Associated Press. The editor of a racy magazine in Philadelphia wrote asking for a picture of Ernestine with four "attractive coeds" and statements from the students.¹⁵ He got a photo of Ernestine and was told that "the course was not given for the purpose of securing publicity and certainly not intended to secure us notoriety." Rather it was to help students "solve some of the problems of life."¹⁶ The course is still praised by older alumni as helpful to their lives. Later vicious, nasty stories about the Milners' sex life, complicated by their childless state, would limit Ernestine's work in this area.

The Director of Personnel was “responsible for the rules” which itemized an absolute scale of conduct and morality. The rules “made [Ernestine’s] presence felt” throughout the college.¹⁷ The student handbook told them what clothing to bring, and when to wear it, and included detailed rules on dating. These included feet on the floor in the Founders lounges and chaperones when female freshmen left campus. Table manners were explained. Simplicity began to give way to propriety. One alumna recalled being penalized on a grade by Ernestine because she “did not dress properly.”¹⁸ A Committee on Counseling was appointed which did little counseling but, in the words of one faculty member, had the purpose of “kicking students out of the college.”¹⁹ Some would wonder what had become of the Quaker belief in the worth of the individual — especially individuals with problems.

But Raymond Binford had the help he needed and seemed oblivious to any possible problems that the Milners’ appointment might have created. History professor Algie Newlin, who had roomed with Clyde at Haverford, was not happy and began, probably correctly, to suspect that the Milners’ objective was to make Clyde president.²⁰ They had, after all, turned down an offer from Bates College to come to Guilford. Did they accept Binford’s offer with the intention of dislodging Binford?

On taking the presidency in 1918 Raymond Binford wrote that the job would require “the heroic.” His struggle during the first years of the Great Depression would be his last heroic act. By the summer of 1934 he had lost the confidence of the trustees who abruptly dismissed him and elected Clyde Milner president.²¹ Binford was summoned to the office of board chairman Dudley D. Carroll in Chapel Hill on July 12 and informed of his fate. Helen Binford, commenting in her diary three days later on Raymond’s fifty–eighth birthday, wrote it was “A day of sunshine and sadness. We can’t help but feel relieved — we can’t help but feel downcast some.”²²

Binford dutifully tried to complete unfinished presidential business, but to his dismay found that Milner refused even to provide him with secretarial help.²³ He would compose a bitter letter to the new president about his treatment but would never send it.

Dynamic speechmaking aimed at raising the profile of the college, had been Milner's greatest asset in his quest for the presidency. He also used the possibility of taking another job as a threat. The trustees decided they could not afford to lose him and made him president. Algie Newlin came to see Binford's removal as the result of a conspiracy among several administrators, but this is unlikely.²⁴ Binford's



Clyde Milner greeting students, c. 1943

deafness had reached a point where it limited his usefulness, and he never really had much faculty support because of his unilateral leadership style. Singleminded in his determination to preside over the centennial, he did not realize that he was slipping out of touch.

Thus, in 1937 Clyde Milner would preside over Guilford's centennial. The celebration was carried off with considerable aplomb, although the Quaker tradition of not singling out individuals was violated by the creation of an honor society, and the requirement of caps and gowns for the ceremonies violated simplicity. A legend about Ernestine inspecting the faculty lineup at graduations for proper shoes and socks would emerge. Certainly the number of formal occasions increased with receptions that featured Ernestine's famous cucumber punch.

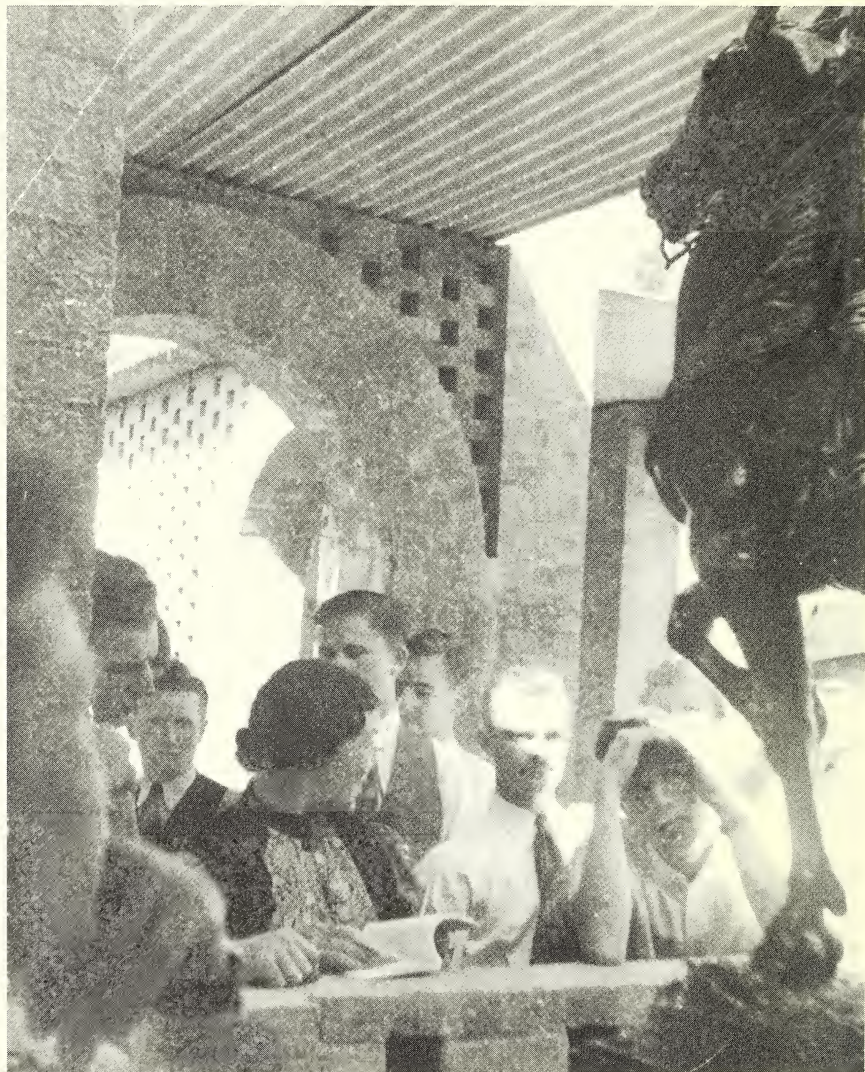
The college was on the move under Milner. By 1940 eleven Ph.Ds graced the faculty, tenure had been granted, and benefits were established through the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association (TIAA). But Milner's administrative methods paralleled Binford's in that the faculty was seldom consulted on any issue unless it was known that they favored it. Committees, all appointed by Clyde, were often bypassed, leading one faculty member to recall that Milner had made his life easy.²⁵ On the other hand, every person I interviewed praised Clyde for standing up for academic freedom.²⁶

In 1939 the trustees loaned the Milners \$12,000 to build a house.²⁷ They called it "Halcyon Hall." Few others did. The house deal led to rumors that Milners were overpaid. But the record indicates that their combined salary was only a little over \$6,000 in 1940, certainly not unreasonable. Nevertheless the rumors lingered.

If Quaker principles were being evaded, there was one that held firm under the Milners — pacifism. It has always been the bedrock of the college. World War II put pacifism to the test when the Army Air Force, which had a large base in Greensboro, sought to rent dormitory space. Desperate as the college was for cash it did not yield to this temptation. During the war Clyde Milner led an effort to save Japanese Americans from the internment camps. Nine were enrolled at Guilford, but he never succeeded in getting all of the Quaker colleges to

join the effort. This was Clyde's best moment: it seemed almost as if he had turned the war to Quakerism's advantage.

World War II was hard on Guilford as enrollment fell to about 120 students, mostly females, men under eighteen, and disabled persons. Thirty-one alumni died in the war. By this time Ernestine's power was



Ernestine Milner with students at Brookgreen Gardens, Charleston, S.C.

unquestioned and included unrelenting surveillance of student's lives. One alumna, responding to my request for recollections, said she "hated Mrs. Milner with a passion," adding that it was easier to repel the groping fingers of the soldiers on trains than to fend off Ernestine's prying into her life.²⁸

If the authoritarian personality seeks power for its own sake and enjoys control over others, Ernestine appears to have been such a person. Confronted by this, some students were baffled, but others accepted it. A phenomenal memory allowed her to greet students by name. She also knew their home towns, who they were related to, and was even prepared to give advice about whom they should marry. About a third of those I interviewed said they feared her, including veterans of World War II. Others said they "respected" her. Clyde was said to fear her too, which led to the legends that no decision could be made without her approval. Algie Newlin believed the decision-making story and added that there was also fear among the faculty after several teachers who crossed Ernestine were dismissed.²⁹

Ernestine wanted Guilford to be an orderly place with students on their way to becoming cultured young ladies and gentlemen. There was, however, little real warmth felt for her among the alumni I interviewed. One alumnus remembered a "looming figure, much more so than Clyde." He stood in "awe" of her.³⁰ Gradually awe and respect turned into derision. As early as 1940 she was called the "Queen," and practical jokers would later turn her classes and labs into farces. Something about Ernestine's demeanor seemed to invite it.

By 1946 a group of weighty Quakers, trustees, and faculty determined to eliminate the Milners from the college. They described Ernestine as the "unelected vice president of the college." Led by Samuel R. Levering of Ararat, Virginia, board chairman Dudley D. Carroll, and Algie Newlin, a bitter dispute ensued. If they couldn't eliminate both Milners, the group sought to sever Ernestine's connection with the college, except as the president's wife. Other matters were alluded to, including "unsatisfactory spiritual and moral conditions" on campus, as well as statements Ernestine had made.³¹

Observing this from a distance, was Robert Frazier, trustee since 1931, attorney, alumnus, ex-diplomat, and seeker of power. He was

winding up work at a wartime agency in Washington and thus seemed to stand above the controversy. Saying “all of us cannot be satisfied completely,” he helped to develop a plan for Ernestine to remain on the faculty but give up her administrative work.³² This led Dudley D. Carroll to send a letter of resignation to the very board he chaired which was answered by Robert Frazier, as secretary of the board, saying the trustees accepted his resignation.³³ Richard Hollowell, a man in such poor health that trustee meetings were held in his home, became chairman. Frazier was the de facto chairman and was elected to the post officially in 1950.

I have often wondered why Carroll abandoned his post. Apparently he decided that the power of the Milner–Frazier combination was unassailable and simply gave up.

A dean of women was hired, and other changes were made, which seemed to reduce Ernestine’s power, but she soon chaired the “Com-



Robert Frazier

mittee on Counseling” and still controlled the destinies of students. When I mentioned the 1946 episode to a group of women from the class of 1964, saying: “you know the trustees thought they had stripped her of power,” it was greeted with prolonged hooting and laughter.³⁴

The most important aspect of Frazier’s 1946 ar-

rangement was a change in the bylaws which stripped Clyde of control over finances. The purse strings were handed over to business manager, David Parsons, who became Frazier's minion. Milner was now a mere figurehead. By 1951 Frazier controlled not only Guilford College, but was mayor of Greensboro and chairman of the Board Trustees of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College.

A strong segregationist, Frazier made sure that no black students would enter the college. Faculty members who sought to change this tradition found themselves frustrated at every turn either by being ignored or outmaneuvered on procedure. A sham "Committee on Time and Place" was created to look into the matter, but the reality was that any application from a person thought to be black went to the board where Frazier killed it.

There was plenty of work to be done. The science facilities were antiquated, the dorms were firetraps, the classrooms in King Hall were little Siberias in winter. The library was inadequate. At least three plans for the campus were announced in the forties and fifties. In 1948 a campaign resulted in a new science building, but serious problems remained in every other aspect of college facilities and operations. Two low-budget residence halls, married students' housing, and a misplaced student union building were erected in the 1950s. Most of the money for these projects came from a few alumni and friends of the college. Borrowing was shunned in the name of Quakerly caution, and there was no sustained development program to raise money.

Then suddenly, from out of the blue, came Charles A. Dana, who had made a fortune manufacturing truck transmissions. The legend holds that sometime in 1959 Dana sent Milner a postcard with the words, "Tell me about your college," on it. Milner ignored the message until alerted to its real meaning by a staff member. He replied, and the results were fabulous.

Dana studied the campus to determine its needs and began to attend trustee meetings to tell the trustees what they had to do. He demanded that the college present him with "thorough plans as detailed as possible, so we can, without delay ... make the dirt fly."³⁵ At a place where four figure sums were the norm, six figures began

to appear. By early 1961 Dana had promised \$250,000 if the college campaigned to raise \$150,000.

To obtain Dana's money Milner organized "The Greensboro Associates for the Dana Challenge Program." Friends in town came to his aid. Dana became especially interested in the Greensboro Division, which appealed to him because it was aimed at helping working students. The trustees had promised a groundbreaking there in January 1960 and kept the promise.³⁶ Soon plans appeared for a "multipurpose building" on the main campus to be ready by September 1961.³⁷ Dana said the size of the student body should be increased and suggested improvements in the dining hall, the library, and dormitories.³⁸ He also presented a detailed plan for Dana Scholarships.³⁹ The early sixties would see additional Dana money coming for construction of a men's dormitory, apartments, and other projects. Dana, himself, gave the commencement address in 1961.

In pitting himself against Robert Frazier, Dana would demonstrate that money not only talks, but has the potential to derail those in positions of power. Frazier yielded to Dana momentarily, and Clyde was soon running Dana's errands. Ernestine was, to Dana, merely the hostess of Halcyon Hall.

In 1962, when the college celebrated its Century and a Quarter Program, the haphazard ways of the past seemed over, and new buildings were available both downtown and on the main campus. But the appearance of planning was an illusion. Mostly a reaction to Dana's demands, it touched only the material surface of things and lacked any real depth. For example, the future of the downtown campus was never adequately studied. Ten years later it was sold.

Guilford College was only one of the colleges Charles A. Dana challenged. His plan was to energize boards of trustees with the promise of large sums of money and to threaten to cut off funds if things didn't move fast enough. The plan certainly worked at Guilford. I think he took great satisfaction in dominating trustee meetings and putting intense pressure on administrators to produce plans and create fundraising organizations. I don't think he was malicious but rather benevolent and, perhaps, somewhat in awe of himself. Today one finds his name in daily use at a number of colleges across the

region. The fact remains, however, that the Dana initiative was vital to the creation of a better Guilford.

Unfortunately, while this was going on, Clyde's position was becoming so ambivalent as to be meaningless. On requesting funding for a project, one new faculty member was shocked when Milner referred him to Parsons and Frazier who proceeded to kill the proposal.⁴⁰ Another faculty member recalled that Frazier told him that the faculty would receive a pay raise "over his dead body."⁴¹ Semi-humorous comments were made about the college having two presidents — the real ones, Parsons and Frazier, and the public one, Milner.

The aura surrounding Ernestine also began to erode. Alumni who sent their children to the college discovered that the content of her courses remained unchanged, including the jokes. Psychology entered new ground, but not Ernestine. She remained "The Queen" but no one ever called her that to her face. A tradition known as "Boys May Day" included skits poking fun at faculty and administrators. The skits about Ernestine became so vicious that efforts had to be made to tone them down.⁴² The pranks continued: fix a lectern so it fell apart when Ernestine leaned on it, tamper with electrical connections for the contraptions she used for demonstrations to make them fail.

By 1963 the college was under a mandate to prepare a self-study for SACS, which seemed to terrify Clyde. Ed Burrows recalled that Milner would engage in hour and a half monologues about it to the faculty. The faculty just took it, and lapsed into a kind of limbo of awaiting Milner's retirement. Talk about desegregation or curricular reform disappeared. Instead of hard thinking the faculty got a fantastic scheme for a World Cultural Center which became the butt of ridicule for the next decade. I think the faculty should be heavily faulted for taking the easiest way out at this time.

If the basic Quaker principles are equality, simplicity, community, pacifism, and caution, except for pacifism all of these were violated during the Milner era at Guilford College. Caution was turned on its head and used to avoid the admission of black students which might bring community disapproval. It also was used to avoid debt, a little of which might have been a good thing. Some of the other lapses have been detailed above. It did not have to be that way. On this point one

can place heavy blame on Robert Frazier for his indifference to Quaker principles and resistance to change. But, in the end, everyone must share the blame for Guilford's failures.

Sometimes I think there is a striking resemblance between Guilford College and the Citadel* in spite of their obvious differences. The Milner era at Guilford coincides with the presidencies of two four-star generals at the Citadel, Charles P. Summerall and Mark W. Clark. The Summerall-Clark era was discussed in an article in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* in 1991. There are parallels between the colleges which show an authoritarian leadership at both, which conceded no dissent. Both colleges also exhibited a conservatism which never relented. The author of the Citadel article centered on the fact that nothing was done at the Citadel, as time went by, to bring about integration. The same was true at Guilford. It was only the prospect of obtaining the meeting of the Fourth World Conference of Friends at Guilford in 1967 that induced the college to admit blacks. In this comparison, the Citadel might have an advantage. At least it remained true to archaic military precepts and the folkways of South Carolina. Guilford had the universal principles of Quakerism to guide it but faithfully followed only one: pacifism.

There was a sort of coda to Clyde's banishment from finances.

When the first SACS self-study was completed in 1964, one of the leading deficiencies of the college was pointed out in these words: "As one of the administrative officers under the President, the Business Manager should receive direction from the President under administrative regulations The By-Laws should not specifically assign to the Business Manager ... responsibilities which lie within the President's administrative sphere."⁴³ This was a solution which had seemed obvious to the least experienced faculty member, but the ruling came too late, by about twenty years, for Clyde Milner and the college.

The Milners retired from the college in 1965 and were treated by Charles A. Dana to a two-year round-the-world trip to drum up

* South Carolina military academy and alma mater of Alexander Stoesen.



Ernestine and Clyde Milner at time of their retirement

enthusiasm for the World Conference. When they returned to Greensboro, Ernestine put her efforts into the Altrusa Club which maintains a scholarship in her memory. Clyde threw his energies into the creation of Friends Homes, clearly his greatest achievement. In 1970 Ernestine suffered a debilitating stroke which left her unable to speak. They remained for a time in Halcyon Hall, before moving to Friends Homes.

What about the folklore? It still has its uses but is no longer useful as a source for victimhood. The claims about the charter are permanently embedded in Dorothy Gilbert Thorne's 1937 book, *Guilford: A Quaker College*.⁴⁴ As recently as January 1999 an editorial in *The Guilfordian* declared, without any verification, that: "Our college was an actual stop on the Underground Railroad."⁴⁵ In the 1980s the Civil War fable was used in an appeal for money.⁴⁶ In 1967 an attempt was made to revive Duke interest in the college by renaming Memorial Hall Duke Memorial Hall. It failed and certainly was not aided by D. Elton Trueblood who, at the rededication of the building, described the original version as the "ugliest building in the state." There was

even a new myth which held that Guilford students participated in the 1960 Woolworth Sit-Ins.⁴⁷ None did, fortunately for Clyde, who was said to have been seriously worried that some might. If you want to believe the ratings in *U.S. News and World Report* or the *Princeton Review*, Guilford ranks above the other small colleges in North Carolina. Many doubts have been raised about these ratings, but they persist, much to the delight of Guilford's administrators. But, alas, the current entering class* numbers only 240, eighty below the intended goal. The SAT score for this batch is said to average 1129. A compromise between quantity and quality?

In the end, the best person in this story is Ernestine Milner. Folklore came to surround her image. There is the famous tale of the tourists at the Parthenon. Someone said: "If only the Queen could see me now." Instantly, another tourist said, "You must have gone to Guilford." But, more important, I think, were those who said she "opened my eyes to art" or that "her courses followed me all of my life." Testimonials include statements such as, "I am a better woman for having known her." Another common theme concerned her "fantastic memory." She had mastered everyone's name and hometown by the day of their arrival at the college and never seemed to forget them. Even those who found her "officious" or "dominating" admitted their feelings were mellowed by time. Of one thing there is no doubt. Ernestine Milner provided the single common bond of experience that every student at Guilford College encountered for over a third of a century — Philosophy 24. The experience of a common bond is something the college has been seeking to recapture ever since.

* Statistics refer to the class of 2002 that entered in Fall 1998.

Endnotes

¹ Charter of New Garden Boarding School, 1833, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

² Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert Thorne, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro: Jos. J. Stone and Co., 1937, reprinted, 1967), Chapter III, "To sustain the School, 1849–1865."

³ Hiram Hilty, *Greensboro Monthly Meeting of Friends: A New Meeting for a New Age* (Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society and North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1987).

⁴ Robert F. Durden, *The Dukes of Durham, 1865–1929*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1975), 5.

⁵ Guilford College Trustee Minutes, 1828–1931; M.C. Hunley, Secretary of SACS to Binford, October 12, 1931, Binford Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

⁶ Comment in letter to Raymond Binford, January 24, 1927, Binford Papers.

⁷ Milner to Binford, telegram, February 27, 1930, Binford Papers.

⁸ W.C. Dennis to Milner, March 14, 1930, Binford Papers.

⁹ Binford to Milner, March 1, 1930, Binford Papers; Guilford College Trustee Minutes, June 2, 1930, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

¹⁰ Abe D. Jones, Jr. *Greensboro 27* (Bassett, Va. Bassett Printing, 1976), "Ernestine and Clyde Milner," 212–229.

¹¹ Clyde and Ernestine Milner to Binford, telegram, March 27, 1930; Clyde Milner to Binford, March 27, 1930, Binford Papers.

¹² Author's interview with Clyde Milner, June 1977.

¹³ *The Guilfordian*, October 7, 1931.

¹⁴ Author's interview with Marianna Dow Edgerton ('40), May 18, 1990.

¹⁵ Robert A. Simmons to Guilford College, March 9, 1933, Binford Papers.

¹⁶ Binford to Robert A. Simmons, April 1, 1933, Binford Papers.

¹⁷ Author's interview with Marianna Dow Edgerton, May 18, 1990.

¹⁸ Author's interview with Dorothy Neece Boling '48, September 15, 1998.

¹⁹ Author's interview with James R. Boyd, Professor of Mathematics, Emeritus, December 12, 1998.

²⁰ Author's interview with Algie Newlin, October 22, 1984.

²¹ Guilford College Trustee Minutes, July 12, 1934.

²² Helen Binford, Diary, July 15, 1934, Binford Papers.

²³ Milner to Binford, September 18, 1934, Binford Papers.

²⁴ Author's interview with Algie Newlin, October 22, 1984. Newlin to Robert Frazier November 23, 1946, Robert Frazier Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

²⁵ Author's interview with Carroll S. Feagins, May 19, 1982.

²⁶ Author's interview with Carroll S. Feagins, May 20, 1982.

²⁷ Notarized letter of agreement between the Milners and the college May 2, 1939. Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

²⁸ Kathleen Kirkman ('44) to author, March 20, 1982.

²⁹ See "Exhibit A — Some Examples and Evidence." Frazier papers.

³⁰ Author's interview with S. Beaman Griffin ('55), April 1, 1999.

³¹ Samuel R. Levering to David White, February 12, 1947, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

³² Robert Frazier to Samuel Levering, December 9, 1946, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

³³ Dudley D. Carroll to Board of Trustees, July 23, 1946, Friends

Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

³⁴ Author's interview of March 15, 1998, Carolyn Harmon, Leah Edgerton, Jane voss Fairly, Nancy Judd Martin, Priscilla Allen Smith, all of the class of 1964.

³⁵ Charles A. Dana to Milner, September 14, [1959]. Milner Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

³⁶ C.A.M, Memorandum to Dana, October 16, 1959. Milner Papers.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Memo in 1959–60 file, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

³⁹ Undated trustee document, early 1961, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

⁴⁰ Author's interview with Robert Bryden, Professor of Biology, Emeritus, March 12, 1984.

⁴¹ Author's interview with Edward F. Burrows, May 14, 1980.

⁴² Author's interview with E. Daryl Kent, Professor of Philosophy, Emeritus, May 29, 1980.

⁴³ Excerpts from Minutes of Trustees' Meeting, November 6, 1964. See also: "A Self-Study of Guilford College." Guilford College, 1964, and "Findings of the Visiting Committee to Guilford College, November 1–4, 1964. Submitted to The Commission on Colleges of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools," Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

⁴⁴ Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert Thorne, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, 25.

⁴⁵ Jacob Noble, "Lack of Dollars and Sense," Editorial, *The Guilfordian*, January 15, 1999.

⁴⁶ Author's recollection from serving on Development Committee, 1985.

⁴⁷ William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 153.

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report 2000–2001

By

Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson

Introduction

The year began with a busy pace as Carole Treadway completed her time as Friends Historical Collection Librarian while serving as the Library Coordinator for Hege Library during the college's search for a new library director. Gwen Erickson became the Friends Historical Collection Librarian and College Archivist on June 1. A few weeks later it was learned that Mary Ellen Chijioke, Curator of the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, had accepted Guilford's offer to become director of Hege Library. The Friends Historical Collection staff is pleased that Hege Library's new director not only has skills in the management of an academic library, but also knowledge of the needs of a special collections department and, more specifically, of Quaker collections.

The combined factors of a new staff in the library and college planning initiatives gave an overall climate of evaluation and change. Extensive research on funding and budgets should give the Friends Historical Collection a more accurate view of actual income and spending needs. All of the book collections within the Friends Historical Collection underwent significant shifts as shelf space became crowded with the addition of items previously in storage and to allow

space for future growth. Preparations began for more information to be available on the Friends Historical Collection web pages as Gwen Erickson continued her work with the Friends Historical Collection pages begun in 1999. Research on college archives programs was undertaken with hopes of proposing a more effective archives and records management program for the college.

Staff

Gwen Erickson focused her attention on learning all aspects of the Friends Historical Collection in order to prioritize future projects. She benefited greatly from having worked in the collection for five years prior to her appointment as Librarian and Archivist.

Carole Treadway retired from full-time work in the collection. However, she continued working approximately one-third time as the Special Projects Librarian. Her concentration this year was on cataloging books and depleting the backlog of materials that were not entered in the online catalog during the conversion process several years ago. Her progress on this project is evident in the jump in cataloging statistics from last year's fifty to 548 this year. Carole also lends her expertise in the area of institutional memory due to her longtime involvement with the Friends Historical Collection.

Bette Cline continues as the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives Assistant. Her processing skills from her previous work in public libraries has increased our ability to get new books on the shelves quickly. She also has repaired many of the books that were becoming worn and completed a shelf reading of both the Research Room and the open stack area. In between these projects, she entered new deposits in the North Carolina Yearly Meeting archives and assisted researchers with requests.

Student assistants this year were Erik Edgerton during the summer months and Bryan Warf and Clayton Steinwinter during the school year. Elizabeth Baltaro, the first student to officially register with the new Quaker Studies concentration, worked in the collection during the first semester and used her knowledge of the collection to provide additional help to students as the teaching assistant for the fall Quakerism class.

Docents and Collections Volunteers

The Friends Historical Collection benefited from the presence of fourteen volunteer docents this year. New to the docent roster is Betsy Farlow, a Guilford graduate and retired music professor from Western Carolina University who has extensive experience in genealogical research and family connections to the area. This fall brought the loss of longtime manuscript processing volunteer Elizabeth (Betsy) Very. Betsy Very began volunteering in Spring 1993 and did the preliminary processing for numerous collections, including most recently the Joseph J. Cox Papers, the Levering Papers, and various papers for the college archives.

The annual docent luncheon was held in the Walnut Room in Founders Hall on May 18. Mary Ellen Chijioke spoke on mid-Atlantic Quaker records and resources at the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College based on her previous position as curator of that collection. Following the luncheon, docents signed up to begin training on how to use the new computer terminal now available in the Research Room. This training will continue into the summer.

Archives and Manuscripts

Minutes and records were received from twenty-seven different monthly meetings, including twenty-one meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM), four of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), and two of Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association (SAYMA). There was a notable increase in deposits from meetings in North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) as a result of a mailing to all meeting clerks and quarterly meeting contacts. Staff had contact with members of several meetings working to update their meeting's holdings as a result of the mailing. A second mailing is planned for this fall to thank those that have deposited records and reminding those that have not deposited the importance of properly archiving their records.

Only a few manuscript collections received original processing this year. Student workers Erik Edgerton and Bryan Warf completed an inventory of the newly acquired J. Franklin Davis Correspondence. Some preliminary processing of the recently acquired Algie Newlin

Papers began this spring. Focus was placed on updating finding aids for collections with complete processing in hopes of providing access to this information on our web site. Several finding aids were updated and put into electronic format. These should be available to researchers in the coming months.

Major Acquisitions and Gifts

Collection funds purchased microfilm sets of *The Friend (Philadelphia)* and *Friends Review* so that our most fragile periodical holdings could be moved to storage. This served the dual purpose of providing additional space in the open stack area and limiting use of fragile nineteenth century periodicals without prohibiting access to their information. Plans call for purchase of additional microfilm sets if funds allow.

The largest acquisition this year was the official transfer of the Algie Newlin Papers to the Friends Historical Collection. Algie Newlin, a 1921 graduate and professor of history and political science at Guilford College from 1924 to 1966, was very active in the Quaker community and did extensive research about Quakers in North Carolina. Preliminary processing has begun and use of the collection is currently limited. However, a researcher has already found the collection to be a valuable source for her research on the Battle of New Garden and the areas of Deep River and New Garden Meetings during the Revolutionary era.

Several recent acquisitions supplement previously held holdings. Retired Guilford history professor Alexander Stoesen brought additions to the papers he donated a few years earlier. John Campbell White and his sister, Mrs. J. Kimball Harriman, donated the Roxie Dixon White Family Papers. Roxie White was a student at New Garden Boarding School and several of her writings were already in the manuscript collection holdings. Byron Branson donated his collection of items relating to Young Friends' conferences in the 1940s and 1950s. Charlie Hendricks also donated, along with several other photographs, a framed photograph of the 1953 American Young Friends Conference. These items nicely complement the documents in our collection from these conferences and the papers of the 1985

World Gathering of Young Friends to provide a history of Young Friends in North America during the twentieth century.

Rich Square Monthly Meeting donated an anonymous document written in 1832. The writer expresses concerns and prayer for the problems of slavery and the challenges faced by Friends in Eastern North Carolina. A transcription of the document will be published in an upcoming issue of *The Southern Friend*.

Research Projects and Notable Events

There was a notable increase in use of the Friends Historical Collection by Guilford College students, faculty, and staff. This was most dramatically shown by the 54 percent increase in open stack book circulation since last year. This increase is certainly due in some part to the implementation of a new student library orientation tour for all First Year Experience classes. Each tour included a stop at the Friends Historical Collection where students met Gwen Erickson and were shown how to locate circulating books in the Friends Historical Collection. The collection was also a key resource for several classes and independent studies. Anne Glenn's course on Women in Science incorporated use of college archives to study women science majors at Guilford and prepared oral histories of several graduates. Susan Payne spent several weeks during the summer researching the history of the college's adult education program in preparation for writing her thesis. Her completed thesis will be a valuable resource for individuals studying the history of Guilford and, more specifically, the role of the Center for Continuing Education.

Scholars and students from other institutions also made use of the collection. The number of researchers coming in person has decreased but there has been a comparable increase in the number of researcher inquiries through mail and e-mail. A senior from Appalachian State University studied eighteenth century Quaker women in Piedmont North Carolina. A University of North Carolina at Greensboro student read minutes from the 1780s to study North Carolina Quakers during the American Revolution. Some other research topics included: Yardley Warner and the Warnersville community, treatment of Quakers during the Civil War, care for the chronically ill

and elderly in Quaker retirement facilities, pre-Revolutionary migration to western Carolina, revivalism in North Carolina history, Quakers in politics, Quaker schools for freedmen, and the manumission of slaves. As always, North Carolina Quakers and the Underground Railroad was a popular topic. Among the more in-depth studies on the topic was a look at connections between North Carolina Friends and antislavery activities in New Bedford, Massachusetts. Several inquiries were received from authors trying to verify accuracy in their portrayal of Quaker characters and one children's author visited the collection for a day to look for inspiration in our manuscript holdings.

Architecture was a popular topic this year as campus architects and restoration contractors consulted collection staff for information on Quaker architecture in general and the history of specific buildings on campus. Seth Beeson Hinshaw spent a day going through photograph files of North Carolina Friends meetinghouses for his MS Thesis in Historical Preservation titled, "The Evolution of Quaker Meeting Houses in North America, 1670-2000."

The most influential meeting history project this year was one undertaken by Trent Strickland of Hamlet, North Carolina. He conducted extensive research to document the location and history of Pee Dee Meeting in Richmond County, North Carolina. The results of his research were used to have a state historical marker placed near the site. Research also was done on the history of Chapel Hill Meeting.

Numerically, the largest group of researchers continues to be those studying family history. The number of preliminary letters sent out has decreased but visitor statistics have not. This is probably due to increased information about the collection on the web site. Researchers came from as far as New Zealand to study their Quaker ancestors.

The Friends Historical Collection assisted Friends Center in sponsoring the Quiet Helpers Exhibit that told the story of the American Friends Service Committee's (AFSC) relief work in Germany during and after the World Wars. Gwen Erickson served as the docent coordinator during the exhibit's display at the college in September. The topic coincided nicely with holdings in the Friends Historical Collection that include papers of former AFSC relief workers.

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society (NCFHS) approved plans to sponsor a writing award and a biennial fellowship for a researcher in the Friends Historical Collection. Gwen Erickson chaired the NCFHS Fellowship Committee that designed the proposal for this new initiative that offers an opportunity to increase researchers' use of the collection. The Seth and Mary Edith Hinshaw Fellowship will first be offered in 2004. The Herbert Poole Writing Award will be offered in the spring of 2003.

Professional Activity

Gwen Erickson began the year by attending the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists held in conjunction with the Friends Association for Higher Education conference at Earlham College in June. Following up on last year's Leadership Conference on Access to Special Collections, she attended the second annual conference in April and viewed the new NC-ECHO web site with links to cultural institutions in North Carolina. The Friends Historical Collection is linked to the site and plans call for increased links and descriptions of the Friends Historical Collection's holdings to become available through this new resource. Participation in Hege Library's staff activities included serving on the Collection Development Task Force and convening the Library Web Committee. She also served as a reader for two student theses in her role as a member of the college's Integrative and Interdisciplinary Studies Council.

Carole Treadway continues to serve as a resource and offer her skills as an editor. She gave a lecture on "Carolina Quaker Culture" for the inaugural year of "Exploring Carolina Quaker Crossroads," a residential summer program for adults offered through Guilford College's Friends Center. She will participate in the program again in 2001. She also gave a talk on "North Carolina-Ohio Quaker Connections" to a group of Olney Friends School alumni in March. As an editor, she oversaw the publication of *Becoming Myself: My Life in Letters and Verse*, by Mary E. B. Feagins (March 2001) and the twenty-second volume of *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society*.

**North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM)
Meeting Deposits**

Caraway (P)	Minutes: 7/1994–6/1996, 7/1997–12/1998, 1/1999–12/2000
Cedar Square	Minutes: 7/1999–6/2000
Charlotte	Minutes: 1/1988–12/2000
Chatham	Minutes: 2/1982–5/1988 Ministry & Counsel: 3/1990–6/1998 USFW Minutes: 6/1965–12/1997 Minutes: 11/1994–12/1999 Ministry & Counsel Minutes: 1909, 1923–1925, 1929–1935, 7/1980–2/1990, 7/1998–12/1999 Membership History: 1889–present USFW Minutes: 6/1959–6/1961, 7/1976–9/1981
Contentnea	Minutes: 4/1972–1/2001
Quarterly Meeting	Ministry & Counsel Minutes: 10/1968–4/1992 Memorials: 1942–1999
Edward Hill	Minutes: 7/1974–6/1998 Ministry & Council Minutes: 7/1964–5/1986 Minutes: 6/1967–6/1974, 4/2000–12/2000 Ministry & Council Minutes: 6/1988–5/1991
Goldsboro	Minutes: 1995, 7/1998–12/2000 Memorials
Greensboro	Minutes: 1996–2000
Jamestown	Papers relating to the 1980s building program at Jamestown Meeting (including some blueprints).
Liberty	Minutes: 6/1976–11/1982, 8/1985–2/1995
Marlboro	Minutes: 7/1997–11/2000
Mount Airy	Record of Membership
Nahunta	Clerk's Notes: 11/1912–8/1932
New Garden	Minutes: 1997
New Hope (CQ)	Minutes: 11/1998–12/1999

North Carolina Yearly Meeting	Memorials: 1998–1999 Epistles: 1998–1999
Pine Hill	Minutes: 7/1999–2000 Ministry & Council Minutes: 9/1989–4/2000
Poplar Ridge	Minutes: 7/1999–6/2000
Spring	Minutes: 7/1993–1/2000 Memorials
Union Cross	Minutes: 1/2000–12/2000
Winston–Salem	Minutes: 7/1999–8/2000
Woodland	Membership Records Sunday School Attendance Records USFW Minutes: 1972–1983

**North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)
Meeting Deposits**

Durham	Minutes: 12/1943–12/1969, 1/1976–12/1987 Executive Committee Minutes: 1/1944–1/1949 Membership Records: c. 1944 Newsletter: 4/1979–4/1985 Clerk's notebook: 1977–1980 Address lists: c. 1976–1980 Finance book: 1944–1957 Oral history tape and transcript of interview with David and Susan Smith (12/1979)
Fayetteville	Minutes: 9/07/1997–7/02/2000
Friendship	Ministry & Oversight Committee Minutes: 9/1998–6/2000
North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)	Epistles: 1998–1999 Young Friends' Epistles: 1998
Rich Square	Epistles received by NCYM(C): 1978 Transcription of marriage certificate of Isaac and Jane Parker Deed between R. W. Blanchard and Trustees for

Rich Square Meeting, dated 1905 and filed in 1965.

**Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting
and Association (SAYMA)
Meeting Deposits**

Berea	Minutes: 10/2000–3/2001
Celo	Minutes: 05/18/1997 and 1/17/1999–12/19/1999 Minutes: 1/2000–12/2000 State of the Society Report: 1996–1997
Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association	1999 Minutes (#28); 2000 Minutes (#30) Representative Meeting Minutes (#97) Southern Appalachian Friend (November 2000).

Record Groups

Guilford College Art Appreciation Club	Club Programs: 1935–1999
New Garden Friends School	Board of Trustees Minutes: 1994–1999
Norfolk Quaker House	Client Files: 1994–1999 [2 document boxes] Office Files (including staff journals and fund reports): 1996–1999 [1 document box]
Quaker House	Quaker House Video
Quaker Men	Minutes: 1952–1970 Newsletters: 1967–1989 Monthly Meeting Constitutions N.C. Quaker Men Treasurer Records: 1967–1969 Photos
Springfield Memorial Association	2000 Springfield Memorial Association Annual Meeting Presentation on the Men- denhall Family by F. Elwood Mendenhall, Jr. and Guy Mendenhall, Jr.

Statistics

	<u>1998–1999</u>	<u>1999–2000</u>	<u>2000–2001</u>	<u>2000–2001*</u>
Books and pamphlets cataloged	214	50	465	548
Meeting and organization document				
Groups accessioned	40	37	56	64
Manuscript Collections				
Received	9	7	9	9
Processing completed	5	4	1	1
Artifacts accessioned	0	4	2	2
Pictorial items or collections accessioned	3	4	7	7
Open stack books circulated	726	684	1264	1301

Users (in person)**

	<u>1998–1999</u>	<u>1999–2000</u>	<u>2000–2001</u>	<u>2000–2001*</u>
Genealogists	267	190	219	244
Scholars and Other				
Outside Researchers	106	n/a	71	72
Guilford Faculty/Staff	32	32	72	75
Guilford Students	87	73	91	93
Students from				
Other Institutions	31	n/a	32	35
Total Number of Users	523	n/a	485	519

* The first column for 2000–2001 runs from May 1, 2000 to April 30, 2001. Due to a change in the college's calendar, the 2000–2001 annual report covers the time period of May 1, 2000 to May 31, 2001. The second column for 2000–2001 gives the statistics for the 13-month total.

** These statistics do not include use of the Friends Historical Collection open stacks. Circulation statistics indicate a much higher usage than indicated by the above statistics. In addition to in person use, an average of fifty-eight outside telephone calls were received each month. The majority of these calls were reference questions.

Correspondence

	<u>1998–1999</u>	<u>1999–2000</u>	<u>2000–2001</u>	<u>2000–2001*</u>
Genealogical reference requests	177	201	172	181
Reference requests (non-genealogy)	66	69	92	102
Requests for copies and photographs	44	37	30	35
Preliminary letters	69	76	32	32
Acknowledgments	97	74	77	98
Publications orders	3	n/a	4	4
Other correspondence	35	42	38	4
Correspondence via e-mail	231	230	245	26

* The first column for 2000–2001 runs from May 1, 2000 to April 30, 2001. Due to a change in the college's calendar, the 2000–2001 annual report covers the time period of May 1, 2000 to May 31, 2001. The second column for 2000–2001 gives the statistics for the 13-month total.

Book Review

Rosemary Moore. *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain, 1646–1666*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. Hardcover, xiii + 314 pp. Illustrations, map, bibliographical references, and index. \$29.95.

Anyone who has ever cringed at a statement beginning, “Early Quakers believed...,” or “Seventeenth-century Quakers thought...” will be delighted to read Rosemary Moore’s important new book, *The Light in Their Consciences*. Seldom can the same work be described as a tour de force of research and a tour de force of synthesis. This work adds to both a lively style and uncommon good sense that bring to life the complexity of the human beings who gave birth to the Society of Friends — including the complexity of their spiritual lives.

The research upon which the book is based was the most extensive reading and analysis ever of the pamphlet literature generated by early Quakers and their opponents (the basis of Moore’s 1993 doctoral dissertation for the University of Birmingham). Combined with a comprehensive review of the available manuscript sources and thorough mastery of the applicable secondary literature, this research makes Moore the most authoritative scholar of seventeenth-century Quakerism active today. What she brings personally to the material are historical perspective, theological sophistication, and a clarity of expression that enable her to demonstrate to the reader the dynamics that transformed the Quaker movement into the Society of Friends. One can understand, not just the ways in which individuals changed over time and the variety of individual expressions and actions at any given time, but also the way the same individual varied expression at

any given time according to the audience addressed. Moore also makes clear what can and cannot be demonstrated from available evidence and what can only be postulated in terms of probabilities. We are, for example, unlikely to get a more balanced understanding of the Naylor episode.

The Light in Their Consciences covers the two decades between the first gatherings of Friends, c. 1646, to institutional reforms initiated by George Fox following the publication of “The Testimony of the Brethren” in 1666. The prevailing theme is of adaptation to rapidly changing circumstances. Moderation of early enthusiastic practice and language did not begin in 1666, or with the Restoration in 1660, or even with the Naylor affair of 1656. At least as early as 1653, in response to a series of blasphemy trials, George Fox had modified his language for publication, emphasizing biblical precedent to validate personal experience. He used very different expressions and arguments in his published writings and in his private letters to Friends. While many individual voices continued to be published throughout this period, each challenge — external or internal — led to greater centralization of church government and greater orthodoxy in written expression. By the time they begin writing systematic theology in the late 1660s and 1670s, those who had once known themselves to be heralds of Christ’s kingdom on earth have already begun to think of themselves as a “precious remnant” organized for survival until more favorable circumstances permit a renewal of their growth.

Readers probably will not want to read *The Light in Their Consciences* as their first introduction to early Quakerism. While the narrative can stand on its own, some familiarity with the many personal names and such key events as the Naylor episode and the Perrot controversy will make it much easier to keep track of the large cast of characters as they move through the very complicated plot that represents Commonwealth England. Since acquiring such a basic background into their origins should be a duty for all modern Friends, they can consider this book the reward for their diligence.

Mary Ellen Chijioke
Guilford College

Book Review

Resistance and Obedience to God: Memoirs of David Ferris (1707-1779). Ed. By Martha Paxson Grundy. Philadelphia: Friends General Conference, 2001. Softbound, xxix + 145 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. \$15.

In his essay, "Stages in Spiritual Development as Recorded in Quaker Journals," Howard Brinton notes that "one of the smallest of the Christian sects has produced a series of spiritual autobiographies which are not only surprising in number but, for the most part, profound and penetrating in their self-analysis." * He then goes on to identify ten main stages and turning points in the religious lives of the one hundred Quaker journal writers he studied. They are:

- Divine revelations in childhood
- Compunction over youthful frivolity
- Period of search and conflict
- Convincement
- Conversion
- Seasons of discouragement
- Entrance into the ministry
- Adoption of plain dress, plain speech, and simple living
- Curtailment of business
- Advocacy of social reform

Although David Ferris was not one of the Quaker journal writers Brinton studied, the list could serve as an outline for his memoirs.

* Howard Brinton, *Children of Light* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 384.

In her helpful introduction, Martha Paxson Grundy places Ferris's life in historical perspective. A contemporary of John Woolman, Ferris lived through great religious ferment. In the middle of the eighteenth century, during the period commonly called "The Great Awakening," a direct experience of God's presence was emphasized. She notes that this, plus the concomitant desire to lead a pure, faithful Christ-centered life, parallels the beliefs of early Friends. This observation, she claims, has been largely unperceived by scholars (viii).

After an exploration of reasons why Quakers withdrew into a period Quietism, she turns to the Quaker Reform Movement that came to a head in the 1750s and arose out of a desire to reverse the decline within the Society of Friends resulting from the excesses of Quietism. New convert, David Ferris, got to know many of the ministers who were decrying the neglect of traditional testimonies of Friends: Mary Peisley, Samuel Fothergill, John Churchman, Catharine Peyton, John Woolman, to name a few. Largely thanks to them, real progress was made on the issue of slavery for the first time.

Born into a Connecticut Presbyterian family, Ferris wrote that the "fear of the Lord was placed in my head" at the age of eight. At twelve he was "called out of the vanities of the world" and told that all necessities would be provided if he sought the Kingdom of God (66). That seeking was to consume his life.

Ferris determined that even a degree from Yale College, the life of a cleric, and a lucrative position that awaited him were all vanities he could not accept. To his family's dismay he left college shortly before graduation. Attending a yearly meeting on Long Island because he had read Robert Barclay's *Apology* in college, he found "a living, humble, heavenly minded people full of good works," and soon joined the Society of Friends (29). Refusing to accept any authority "that man could give," he sought Divine guidance for every aspect of his life, from the choice of a wife to the selection of goods for his dry goods store in Wilmington. He refused to sell rum, "flowered ribbons and gay calicoes" despite friends' predictions of failure if such popular items were omitted.

His most painful and long-lived struggle was over his call to be a minister. For twenty-five years after he first spoke in ministry he

wrestled with each new opportunity and remained silent, finally accepting his call at the age of forty–seven.

The last third of Ferris’s narrative is more journal than memoir as he records his travels in the ministry. In 1772 he journeyed south through Virginia, to North Carolina, visiting New Garden settlement where he attended one quarterly meeting, three monthly meetings, and eighteen public meetings (59). Though he was depressed to see that many on his route had slaves “yet they had begun to see their error” and were hampered by “cruel laws in force in these colonies” (61). After going as far south as Georgia, he and his party visited “Great Contentney” and Rich Square on their return trip through North Carolina.

Ferris died in 1779 in the midst of the Revolutionary War. Unfortunately for us, there are only two very brief mentions of this conflict.

The volume includes eight letters he wrote primarily to Quaker slave–owners, the introduction to the 1855 edition, study notes, and queries that link historic spiritual experience to contemporary challenges, a chronology of David Ferris’s life and an extensive bibliography.

Ferris’s revealing account with its pain, utter sincerity, and honesty are poignant and powerful. His stated purpose in writing his memoirs bespeaks an optimism and desire to comfort he did not often lavish on himself. He wanted to show

to those who follow, that the Lord is ever near, and will be found of those who seek him early; that he is long suffering towards those who go astray, and merciful to all who sincerely turn to him; hoping it may minister information and encouragement to weary travelers in the same road, and induce them cheerfully to comply with divine requireings (6).

This twenty–first century reader found many of David Ferris’s eighteenth century milestones immediately recognizable, ministering not only information and encouragement as he hoped, but a sense of kinship and admiration as well.

Joan Newlin Poole
Greensboro, N.C.

Brief Notices

Two Awards Created

The **Herbert L. Poole Award** for an outstanding paper on a topic in southern Quaker history will be offered alternate years beginning in 2003. The award-winning article will be published in the fall issue of *The Southern Friend*, the semiannual journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. The \$500 award is being sponsored by the society to encourage research and writing on topics relating to southern Quaker history.

Deadline for submission February 1, 2003

Notification of award April 15, 2003

Submit cover sheet and vita along with one (1) copy of the paper to the society at the address below.

Minimum length of 5,000 words.

Each entry judged on its own merit.

The *Chicago Manual of Style* is the preferred style guide.

The **Seth and Mary Edith Hinshaw Fellowship** for research using the resources of the Guilford College Friends Historical Collection to study an aspect of southern Quaker history will be offered alternate years starting in 2004. The \$2,000 fellowship is sponsored by the society to encourage research and use of the Friends Historical Collection. The recipient may be asked to present his/her research and findings at the November annual meeting of the society.

Deadline for submission February 1, 2004

Contact Gwen Erickson, Friends Historical Collection Librarian, (gerickso@guilford.edu) for submission guidelines and more information about the fellowship.

For more information about the North Carolina Friends Historical Society or these awards see website at www.ncfhs.org or call (336) 316-2264.

Mail submissions to: NCFHS, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, North Carolina 27419-0502.

New Book

***New Garden Friends Meeting: The Christian
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By Hiram H. Hilty

This revised and expanded edition of the 1983 publication of the same title includes a newly designed cover, additional photographs, and a new chapter on the most recent eighteen years of the meeting's history.

Soft cover, 146 pages, index

Cost: \$13, plus \$2 for postage and handling

Published by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and
New Garden Friends Meeting

Books can be ordered by sending a check to the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419. You can write to the same address or e-mail (ncfhs@ncfhs.org) for a complete list of NCFHS publications.

**Conference of
Quaker Historians and Archivists**

June 21-23, 2002

The fourteenth biennial Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists will be held from June 21-23, 2002 at Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. Conference convener: Thomas Hamm, archivist and professor of history, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana 47374; e-mail tomh@earlham.edu. Registration information available from Joelle Bertolet, Haverford College Library, 370 Lancaster Avenue, Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041; e-mail jbortole@haverford.edu.

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*A Friend in Deed: Quakers and
Manumission in Perquimans County,
North Carolina, 1775–1800*

BY KATHERINE DUNGY

*Rich Square Friends, Rowland Greene,
and the Challenge of Slavery in 1832*

BY GWENDOLYN GOSNEY ERICKSON

Rowland Greene Documents, 1832

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Book Reviews

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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The Southern Friend is published semiannually in spring and autumn by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Members of the society, for whom the annual dues are \$20, receive the journal without charge. Single issues for Volumes I–XII may be purchased for \$3 per number; subsequent single issues are \$5 per number. Double issues may be purchased for \$10.

Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the southeastern United States. Articles must be well written and properly documented. Contributors 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* in preparing manuscripts. Submissions should be sent in both paper and electronic versions. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to the editor at editor@ncfhs.org or mailed to Gwen Gosney Erickson, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410-4175.

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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.

North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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A Friend in Deed: Quakers and Manumission in Perquimans County, North Carolina, 1775-1800

By

Katherine Dungy

Free people of color have played an integral role in slave societies throughout the American South, because they bear witness to a daily struggle for survival by a people constantly fighting to assert and protect their existence. Because the Society of Friends viewed slavery and its subjugation of human kind as going against their basic moral tenets, they were sympathetic to this daily struggle and bound to help in any way they could.

The one constant in the North Carolina region was that few other whites desired to expand the ranks of free blacks. Free people of color challenged the concepts of slavery simply by virtue of the fact that they were black and they were free. The racial nature of slavery in North Carolina made it simple for whites to clearly delineate the boundaries between free and enslaved. Black skin was an easily identifiable mark.

Katherine R. Dungy (Ph.D., Duke University) is an assistant professor of history at the University of Vermont. Dr. Dungy specializes in the social and cultural history of the Spanish Caribbean. Her other fields of interest include the history of free people of color, slavery and the slave trade, migration patterns, and women's studies.

Since this was the basis upon which a whole people was enslaved, the effectiveness and practicality of blackness as a mark of slavery was weakened when some of those with black skin were allowed to escape the system. Free people occupied a position of contradiction in a slave society. If blackness was inherent to slavery, then slavery could never be completely abolished unless black skin itself could be abolished.

The problem for free blacks in North Carolina tended to be: (1) obtaining freedom and, (2) maintaining freedom once it was acquired. Circumstances of birth, manumission, escape, and migration all contributed to the acquisition of free status. The second aspect of the problem was very often the more difficult of the two. Nonetheless, the fact that the 1810 North Carolina census counted 10,266 people (5.7 percent of the total population) who were able to maintain their free black status is amazing indeed when one is aware of the struggles they had to endure.¹ This fact is remarkable, because for a free black person, the act of manumission itself was not enough. The free black had to struggle to maintain free status under a constant assault from resistant whites and the unyielding laws of the state. This paper is a case study of how well-meaning whites within the Society of Friends fought to maintain the freedom of newly manumitted slaves.

Manumission and the Role of the Quakers in Perquimans County

The first Quaker to settle in North Carolina was Henry Phillips who settled on the Albemarle Sound around 1665.² In 1695, North Carolina Quakers controlled the colonial assembly and a Quaker governor, John Archdale, was elected.³ By 1698 there were enough Quakers in the eastern counties of Perquimans and Pasquotank to organize the North Carolina Yearly Meeting which has met annually since that date.⁴

The Quakers, more than any other religious group, long expressed misgivings over the possible sinfulness of buying and selling men.⁵ Their logic of the belief in the Inner Light, or “that of God in every one” made it difficult for Quakers to live comfortably from the fruits of a race in bondage.⁶ In what appears to be the first mention of slavery in

the minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1738, Quaker members are admonished that “no friends [*sic*] Shall Suffer ye Negroes to Labor on the first Day of the Weeke or Runn about Without Buseness for their Masters or Mistresses....”⁷

There was one major obstacle that made it difficult for the Quakers to carry through on their philosophy. The Quakers of Perquimans and Pasquotank counties resided in the heart of North Carolina’s eighteenth century slaveholding community, and their concern regarding the morality of slavery caused uneasiness in many non-Quaker residents of eastern North Carolina. It often proved an uphill battle to maintain the free status of blacks manumitted by Friends.

The first record of a Quaker challenge to slavery in North Carolina is found in Perquimans County in 1774. Thomas Newby addressed the Perquimans Monthly Meeting and asked for advice on what procedure he might take to free his slaves. He expressed to his fellow Friends that his conscience left him uneasy because he held men in bondage. Following procedure, the problem was then forwarded to the yearly meeting.⁸

After much debate, the yearly meeting decided on a manner in which to counsel Friends desiring to free their slaves. Friends were instructed to apply to the monthly meeting as a preliminary step to freeing slaves. As the Friends were concerned about what would become of the slaves after they were freed, the monthly meetings were asked to appoint qualified people to draw up manumission papers and find out if the freed blacks would be able to make a decent living as free people.⁹

In 1775, after heated deliberation, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting once again ordered “that no Friend in unity shall buy or sell a Negro without the consent of the Monthly Meeting to which they belong.”¹⁰ Even exchanges between Friends had to be approved.¹¹ The yearly meeting of 1776 took a major step when it decided to appoint a committee to help any Friend who wanted to free their slaves. At the same time it instructed the monthly meetings to protect freed slaves from recapture. The yearly meeting agreed to underwrite costs if it became necessary to hire a lawyer or incur other legal expenses in

connection with manumission bids or the protection of freed slaves.¹²

Thomas Newby emerged once again in 1777 with ten other Quakers from the Perquimans Monthly Meeting to free approximately forty slaves.¹³ State laws had forbidden the manumission of slaves, with an exception for meritorious service, since 1741.¹⁴ Newby's impetus appeared to be the new stance the yearly meeting was taking against the written laws of the state of North Carolina. There was, however, a new element added to the petitions of Newby and the other Friends. They claimed to be acting out of the religious conviction that human bondage itself was unjust and evil. Their subsequent act of defiance challenged the foundation on which slavery rested.

While many of the slaves who were freed by Newby's initiative were no doubt pleased with their new found freedom, there were some who appeared distressed enough to return to their former masters and plead to "bind themselves for life" in exchange for security.¹⁵ The perplexed former owners went to the yearly meeting to ask for advice. The concept of binding was a clever tactic for the former slaves, because it offered them a form of protection that could act as a defense against the laws that allowed them to be abducted. If questioned, a freed slave could reply that they were bonded to a certain white person and therefore tied to that person until the terms of the contract were completed.

The bonding solution did not help the dilemma with which the Quakers were dealing. If anything, it exposed the contradictions inherent in setting blacks free within a climate that was hostile to the existence of freed blacks. The idea of patronage, while attractive to ex-slaves, still left Quakers in control of the independence of another human. The request of the recently freed slaves forced the Quakers to confront the fact that manumission without some semblance of protection almost defeated the purpose of the manumission. It exposed to the Friends the fact that they had not prepared the slaves for life as free citizens and a decision had to be made as to how the Society of Friends was going to deal with the issue.

After much deliberation, it was decided not to permit the binding. Although it was recognized that binding might be done out of compassion to provide a living and security for the former slave, the yearly

meeting warned that such action might endanger the former slave, especially in the event of the death of the former master. When the estate of a deceased Friend was settled, former slaves might well be regarded as property by a non-Quaker executor. For the former charge, this could mean the subjugation of “their posterity in the same Difficulties that we [the Quakers] have endeavored to remove by such Manumissions.”¹⁶ The purpose of manumitting the slaves was to afford them the “liberty due to all mankind,” and to the Quakers the act of bonding would serve to keep in bondage the very people they were wishing to set free.¹⁷

The revolutionary war years brought some evolution in the official Quaker position on slavery. While the Quaker meetings rarely mention the war itself, the yearly meeting of 1777 indicated that no Friends were engaged in the buying and selling of slaves.¹⁸ In 1778, the yearly meeting decided to deny monthly meetings the power to allow members to buy and sell slaves under any circumstances whatsoever, which closed the last loophole for any Quaker who wished to remain in good standing with the Society of Friends.¹⁹ By 1779, the yearly meeting was able to say that “no Friends Import, Buy or Sell Slaves, except in one instance of a Friend’s Selling which is under care.”²⁰

The Freedmen and the Quakers in Perquimans County

“... We were night and day hunted by men armed with guns, swords, and pistols, accompanied with mastiff dogs....” One night, Job Albert sent his wife to the house of Quaker Benjamin Albertson and hid himself in the woods where he watched three white men break into and loot his house. Soon after, they found and abducted him. Armed with guns and clubs, the men bound Albert’s hands behind his body with rope and marched him four miles to the Hertford prison.²¹

Job Albert was a slave who had been freed by Benjamin Albertson of Perquimans County, North Carolina. After his manumission he had been given land adjacent to Albertson and was allowed to live there with his wife, who also was free. Albert maintained a congenial relationship with his former master to “protect [him] from being taken and sold,” but it was not enough to keep him and his wife from being

continually harassed by vigilantes.²² Emancipation from the folds of slavery did not guarantee personal freedom; life as a free person was tenuous at best. Personal sovereignty itself was never fully attained. Every action of free persons was scrutinized, their life was never their own. As Albert realized, even the patronage of a sympathetic white person did not insure a life of tranquility.

The Status of Free Blacks in North Carolina: A Background

However unwanted the free blacks were in North Carolina slave society, their numbers managed to increase between 1790 and 1860. They not only continually increased in size but in rate of growth from 1790–1810. Free blacks were consistently the fastest growing group in the state. The 1790 census counted 5,041 free blacks in North Carolina.²³ This compares to South Carolina with 1,801; Maryland with 8,043; and Virginia with 12,866 in the same year. Free blacks made up only a little over one percent of the total population of North Carolina in 1790, compared to the slaves' 25.5 percent. By 1810, the free black population constituted 1.8 percent of the population, an increase of 45.8 percent. This compares to a 26.7 percent increase in the slave population and an 11.4 percent increase in the white population for the same years.²⁴

The vast majority of North Carolina's free black population, like the majority of its population in general, was found in rural areas. North Carolina of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a poor agricultural state. Its coastline was difficult to navigate and it had few navigable rivers. Unlike its neighbors to the north and south, North Carolina was a state of yeoman farmers. Slavery in North Carolina never reached the level of importance it did in Virginia or South Carolina.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, white citizens of southern states began to fear the large numbers of free blacks in their midst. Slaveholders feared that mobile free blacks would mix with slaves encouraging the bondsmen to run away or inciting rebellion among them. The fear of slave insurrection was always high in a slave society. But the American Revolution and the ideology that was such a part of

it ran contrary to the institution of slavery. (Also the recent events of the Haitian revolution, 1795–1804, made slavery and the risk of insurrection an issue in the forefront of social and political debate.) Southern legislatures developed methods to restrict the mobility of the free blacks and keep them from mixing with the slaves.²⁵ An act of the North Carolina legislature in 1785 called for the use of badges for all blacks, both slave and free residing or working within the town limits of Wilmington, Edenton, and Fayetteville. In order to distinguish between slave and free, the new law said free blacks had to register with the town commissioners, pay a fee, and wear a “badge of cloth...to be fixed on the left shoulder, and to have thereon wrought in legible capital letters the word FREE.”²⁶

The year 1795 saw the passage of a law discouraging free black immigrants from entering North Carolina. It called for free blacks entering the state to post a bond of two hundred pounds.²⁷ If they failed to comply, they risked being arrested and jailed. If the person still did not pay the bond they were then required by the courts to “give bond as aforesaid for his, her, or their good behavior, and upon failing so to do, the court shall order such person to be sold, for the benefit of the State, at public auction.”²⁸ Free blacks within the state borders were also expected to carry manumission papers with them at all times.

Difficulties of Maintaining Freedom Once Manumitted: Case Histories

In the late eighteenth century, restrictions on free blacks became increasingly more stringent as the egalitarian enthusiasm of the colonial and revolutionary era subsided. Free blacks were losing what small gains they had made and began to experience more entrenched social and legal inferiority. Their political rights were restricted. They were unable to move about freely or testify against whites. The only right they were able to maintain legally was the right to own property.²⁹ But even their ability to preserve property rights was challenged by the extralegal system of intimidation and fear that engulfed the lives of free black people.

When Thomas Prichet’s owner manumitted him, Thomas was

allowed to clear and cultivate a plot of land. The owner was probably Thomas Prichard, a Quaker from neighboring Pasquotank County, who in 1790 owned twenty-eight slaves.³⁰ When Prichet was freed, he cleared the land and built a house for himself and his wife. In his first year he produced ten bushels of corn. Each year his crops increased until soon he expected to yield thirty bushels. However his success in North Carolina would not last long.³¹ Prichard, the old master, died and his widow was remarried to Holland Lockwood, formerly of Camden County.³² Lockwood threatened to “apprehend [Prichet] and send [him] to the West Indies” if he did not go to work for him. Prichet had to flee his family and farm with “corn standing and escape by night into Virginia.”³³

Holland Lockwood first appears in the census of 1790 living in Camden County as a single male owner of one slave.³⁴ The census of 1800 finds him in neighboring Pasquotank County, married to the former Mrs. Thomas Prichard, with a household of nine slaves and one free person of color.³⁵ The addition of profitable land and a conscientious worker such as Prichet must have seemed quite enviable to a socially aspiring man such as Lockwood. But Prichet and Lockwood must have had serious altercations, perhaps regarding the share of the crop profits, which caused Lockwood to threaten him with the deportation. Maybe Prichet was averse to Lockwood’s style of management or Lockwood did not like the terms Prichet had negotiated with his former master and was unwilling to compromise. In any event, the situation became too hostile and dangerous for Prichet to remain in North Carolina.

The policy of repossessing land after a landholder had allowed a slave or a free black to clear, cultivate, and enhance the land was not uncommon in North Carolina and other southern states.³⁶ Sometimes a free black farmer would obtain permission from a white landowner to live on the land and cultivate a part of it in return for a portion of the yield. It was also not unusual for free blacks to live on slave plantations. Often the master would permit them to live on the property because of past service or because a spouse who was still enslaved lived there. The free black farmer or artisan could then hire out his or her services to the master.³⁷ Allowing the free spouse of a

slave to maintain a residence on the plantation could also be seen as a way of controlling the free population. If they remained on the plantation the master had more control over the activities of the free blacks and over the slaves who interacted with them.

Living on the plantation also afforded free blacks a semblance of security. In a society where free blacks could not afford to alienate themselves from the white community, the patronage of a white person could prove very beneficial. As we will see later, freed blacks often knew to whom they could turn for personal protection. These white beneficiaries were often well known in the community due to their outspoken religious or political views and manumitted blacks were not adverse to utilizing the powers of these men. Perquimans County, by the mid-eighteenth century, became a focal point for just such endeavors.

As Job Albert learned firsthand, living in close proximity to a white benefactor quite often did not guarantee the personal safety of a free black. Abduction was a constant threat for free blacks throughout the United States.³⁸ In North Carolina the kidnapping of free blacks was not made a crime until a 1779 act which discouraged "...stealing, carrying off, and selling free negroes and mulattoes within the limits of this State."³⁹ But even then the law only applied to the act of transporting free blacks out of the state. It was not until 1801 that a statute was passed that included kidnapping and resale within the state. This act began by noticing the inadequacies of the 1779 law and sought to improve on it by saying that

...any person who shall sell any free negro or free negroes, or person of mixed blood, knowing the same to be free or stolen, or shall by violence, seduction, or any other means, take or convey any free negro or free negroes, or persons of mixed blood, or appropriate the same to his, her or their own use, and being thereof legally convicted, shall for every such offence be fined not less than five hundred pounds and imprisoned not less than three months, nor more than eighteen months, anything in the before recited act to the contrary notwithstanding.⁴⁰

Despite this law being on the books, abduction continued to have such widespread impact that complaints even managed to reach the United States Congress.⁴¹

Jacob Nicholson of North Carolina relates a similar story. After being set free by Quaker Joseph Nicholson of Perquimans County, Jacob continued to live with his old master until "being pursued day and night, I was obliged to leave my abode, sleep in the woods, and stacks in the fields, &c., to escape the hands of violent men who, induced by the profit afforded them by law, allowed this course as a business; at length, by night, I made my escape, leaving a mother, one child, and two brothers, to see whom I dare not return."⁴²

Jupiter Nicholson enjoyed the patronage of two Quaker men from Perquimans County, but eventually still had to escape to Virginia with his wife. Having been freed by Thomas Nicholson, Jupiter was employed for two years by Zachary Nickson⁴³ as a seaman. One day as he was coming ashore, he "was pursued by men with dog and arms; but was favored to escape by night." His knowledge of navigation must have helped his escape to Virginia.⁴⁴ However, he too was separated from his family, leaving behind his parents and brother who were later "taken up...and sold into cruel bondage."⁴⁵

Tracing the Nicholson family illuminates some interesting facts about the living situations between whites and free blacks. Two Thomas Nicholsons appear in the census of 1800. One from Perquimans County has two slaves and six free people of color living in his household. This is an unusually high number of free people of color, especially when there were only three free whites accounted for in the household. One wonders if these numbers might include the family members about whose abduction Jupiter was so worried.⁴⁶ The Nicholson family in neighboring Pasquotank County held nine white citizens, four of whom were under the age of sixteen, and one free person of color.⁴⁷ Jupiter's wife had been freed by Quaker Gabriel Cosand who appears in the 1790 census in Pasquotank County without slaves and in Perquimans County in 1800 also without slaves.

Jupiter's trouble came as a result of his employment in the very lucrative profession of the seaman. Coastal trade in the eighteenth century became very profitable as major commercial centers began to emerge along the Atlantic seaboard. North Carolina had an active coastal and inlet trading system of which blacks were an integral part. Ocean going jobs were much sought after, primarily because sailors

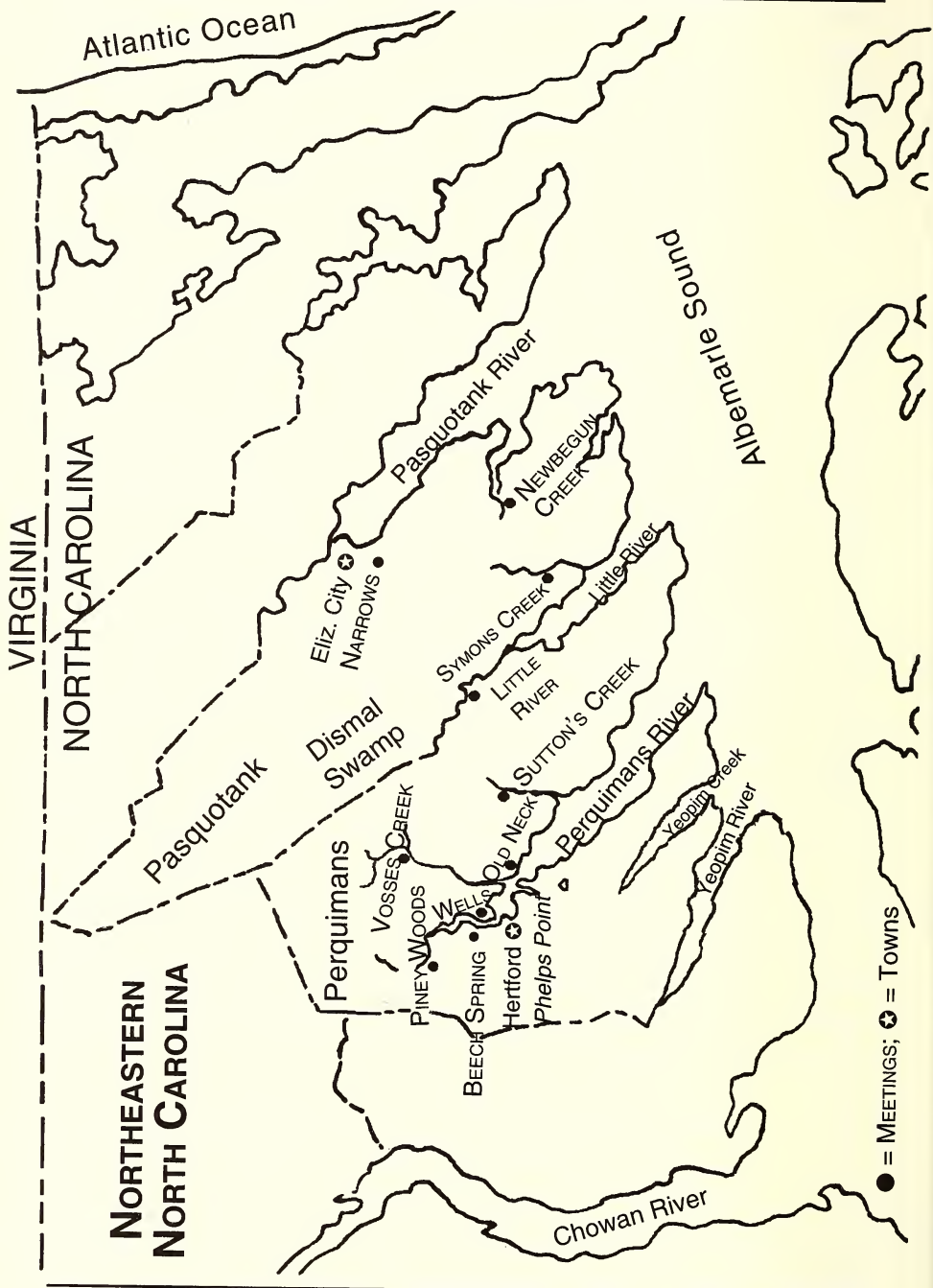
could turn a sizable profit on the trade runs. Most black men associated with the maritime life on the Atlantic coast worked on the docks unloading cargo, repairing, or building ships; so Jupiter was lucky to have landed a job on board ship.⁴⁸ As in other areas of employment and trade, white resentment of successful free black artisans proved exceedingly dangerous. His apparent success was probably the reason he was chased out of town.

Job Albert's assailants were known to him. Alexander Stafford, William Stafford, and Thomas Creesy were all citizens of Perquimans County. Alexander owned four slaves. William Stafford could have either been the other male in Alexander's house, or his non-slaveholding neighbor.⁴⁹ Thomas Creesy does not show up until the census of 1800 in which he is shown to own seven slaves.⁵⁰ He does, however, appear in a large number of court documents which place him in Perquimans County between 1790 and 1800.⁵¹

As a marker of race relations in North Carolina, the stories of these four men show that enterprising and successful free blacks were not easily accepted by white communities. Four of the eleven Quakers, who, in 1779, petitioned the North Carolina legislature to uphold the natural rights of all men as stated in the Declaration of Independence, can be found in a real life struggle to maintain the freedom of black families under their care. The patronage of well-meaning white men from the Society of Friends did not assure their personal freedom in the volatile racial climate of turn of the century North Carolina. The day-to-day life of a free black person was characterized by fear and uncertainty. Personal liberties were never assured, and while the law alleged to protect civil liberties, the reality was that the life and family of free black North Carolinians could be torn apart at any time.

Petitioning the U.S. Congress: A Lesson from the Quakers

There were various forms of recourse for free blacks who felt their rights were infringed upon. After Job Albert, Jacob Nicholson, Jupiter Nicholson, and Thomas Prichet were forced to leave North Carolina,



they all eventually made their way to the free state of Pennsylvania. They petitioned the United States Congress in Philadelphia with their grievances in January 1797.⁵²

The petition, along with their personal case histories, contained a brief history of the climate in North Carolina for free blacks. The four men explained that they wished their “native right of freedom...as confirmed by judgment of the Superior Court of North Carolina” to be restored. They argued that their freedom had been stripped away by “men of cruel disposition” who used a law enacted after the petitioners had been legally freed from slavery. These callous men used the authority that the North Carolina legislature of 1779 had bestowed on them by “violently seizing, imprisoning, and selling into slavery, such as had been [previously] emancipated...”⁵³

The four men pleaded to the men of Congress to give their impartial attention to our hard condition, not only with respect to our personal sufferings, as freemen, but as a class of that people who, distinguished by color, are therefore with a degrading partiality, considered by many, even of those in eminent stations, as unentitled to that public justice and protection which is the great object of Government.⁵⁴

There was mixed reaction about a further course of action after the petition was heard on the floor. North Carolina Congressman Thomas Blount suggested no further action be taken on the matter because “agreeably to the law of the State of North Carolina...they were slaves, and could, of course, be seized as such.”⁵⁵ He also saw the people who were responsible for the manumissions, referring to the Quakers, as troublemakers who only began to free their slaves as a challenge to North Carolina laws established specifically to prohibit such actions. The sentiments of the North Carolina congressmen reflect the laws regarding free blacks in their state and show how slave laws can be a useful way to measure the conditions of race relations.⁵⁶

Congressman Thatcher of Massachusetts responded in opposition to Congressman Blount’s reaction. Mr. Thatcher reminded his fellow congressmen that the petitioners had stated “they *were* slaves, but that their masters manumitted them, and that their manumissions were sanctioned by a law of that State.”⁵⁷ He continued by affirming that the men “CERTAINLY ARE FREE PEOPLE” even if there was a law that

allowed them to be re-enslaved.⁵⁸ Fellow Congressman Swanwick from Pennsylvania was also surprised that Mr. Blount could be “so far from acknowledging the rights of man, as to prevent any class of men from petitioning.”⁵⁹

Congressman Blount continued to insist on the viability of the North Carolina laws. By the end of the debate [in which the key contenders were Mr. Thatcher (Massachusetts), Mr. Swanwick (Pennsylvania), and Mr. Blount (North Carolina)], the congressman from North Carolina conceded that the petitioners had a “freedom...to procure their rights,” but he insisted that “it did not appear to him that they were free; true they had been set free, but that manumission was from their masters, who had not a right to set them free without permission of the [state] Legislature.”⁶⁰ This argument was more about the Quakers who freed the men than about the men themselves.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, white citizens of southern states began to fear the large number of free blacks in their midst. Slaveholders feared that mobile free blacks would mix with slaves encouraging the bondsmen to run away or inciting rebellion among them. Southern legislatures, and North Carolina was no exception, developed methods to restrict the mobility of free blacks and keep them from mixing with the slaves.⁶¹

The North Carolina General Assembly continuously passed laws restricting the manumission of slaves. In 1775, the North Carolina legislature passed a law forbidding the manumission of slaves if it was not previously approved by a county court. Seeing that the 1775 law was being circumvented, a new law was passed in 1778 providing a reward for the capture and resale of illegally freed blacks.⁶²

The same state assembly that was so concerned about the increasing number of free blacks was also a contributor to the growth. Just previous to the passage of the curtailing act of 1778 as many as five acts of manumission passed through the state assembly which freed a total of seven slaves. One act freed four slaves in compliance with the wills of their deceased owners,⁶³ a mother and daughter were freed at the request of their free husband and father,⁶⁴ and a slave of a prominent revolutionary hero was freed at his request.⁶⁵

Manumission by will, deed, or legislative decree were the most common forms of manumission during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in North Carolina.⁶⁶ While slaveholders in the state could legally free their slaves only for meritorious service with the permission of the county court, this fact was often bypassed. County courts began to relax definitions of meritorious service and many slaveholders bypassed the courts altogether. The unauthorized increase of free blacks greatly concerned the North Carolina legislature. It passed a restrictive manumission act in 1777, re-passed it in 1788 and again in 1796.⁶⁷ These were the main legislative acts to which Congressman Blount was no doubt referring when he suggested that the United States House of Representatives table the petition from the four exiled North Carolinians.

In fact, Congressman Blount was most likely referring to the 1788 act that not only discouraged manumission, but also gave the sheriff the right to apprehend and re-enslave those who had been improperly manumitted. This act had the ability to enslave people retroactively by stating that

if any slave hath been liberated contrary to the before recited Act [act of 1777 and 1785] (and is known to be lurking about) the Justice of the Peace is impowered and required immediately to issue his warrant...to the Sheriff, commanding him to make diligent search and apprehend all such slave or slaves and to commit him, her, or them to the gaol of the county....⁶⁸

While this law appeared to contradict the 1787 law that prosecuted vigilante abductions, in many ways it sanctioned and possibly intensified this activity.

Many slaveholders freed their slaves by simply setting them out on their own. In some cases they were given land to clear and cultivate as might have been the case with Job Albert. It is unclear whether Albert was emancipated in this way, but it was fairly common practice at the beginning of the nineteenth century to allow legally enslaved persons to live as if free.⁶⁹ This custom however, was not well received by many citizens and members of the state legislature. The status of these semi-free blacks upset attempts to curb the growth of the free black community. Sheriffs and vigilantes arrested blacks who had

been illegally freed and even occasionally sold them back into slavery, all this sanctioned by the 1787 act. The other option was to return them to their owners who undoubtedly would set them free again.

The Relations of Quakers to the State, to the County, and to Non-Quaker Neighbors

The momentum from the Revolution made it difficult to ignore rights already afforded to manumitted blacks through their own hard work and their dealings with sympathetic whites, but North Carolina was quickly becoming dependent on slave labor. The concentration of slave labor was largest in eastern North Carolina, particularly Perquimans and Pasquotank counties.⁷⁰ But, it was here that the growing Quaker community provided free blacks with a semblance of security. This religious community was willing to struggle to maintain the revolutionary ideal of “unalienable rights of human nature to life liberty and the pursuit of happiness” which has been so clearly defined yet was so elusive to the “African race of people within [the] state.”⁷¹

During the revolutionary years, the focus of the Quaker manumission movement was centered on the Perquimans Monthly Meeting and the eastern region. Given the circumstances in the colonies at the time, it is not surprising that the North Carolina General Assembly took it upon itself to meet the “challenge of the Quakers.”⁷² In 1777 the legislature decided to reaffirm and strengthen the law of 1741, which prohibited the manumission of slaves except for meritorious service as established by the county courts. The 1741 law specified that freed slaves were to leave the colony within six months or face seizure and sale by the county courts.⁷³ The new law of 1777 mandated that “illegally manumitted slaves were to be picked up immediately after liberation and sold at the next session of the county court.”⁷⁴ This could be seen as a direct response to the Quakers’ manumission movement.

The 1777 yearly meeting discussed the issue of the new law and found that all of the slaves manumitted by Quakers had either been picked up and resold by county courts or were in immediate danger of this recourse. Although freeing the slaves might be considered

illegal in the strict sense of the law, the yearly meeting felt the immediate recapture was a violation of the 1741 law, which was in force at the time of the manumissions. It would have been possible for the courts to allow the Quakers' desire to free their slaves as cases of meritorious service, because the county courts were supposed to be the final arbiters when it came to deciding the validity of such claims.⁷⁵

The Quakers felt they were being deliberately singled out for harsh treatment. The discrimination they suffered was partly due to the eagerness of some non-Quaker citizens to collect the rewards offered for turning in freed slaves and the hard line of state legislatures. Even if the illegality of the 1777 emancipations was conceded, the procedure of picking up free blacks and reselling them as slaves without proper court proceedings was illegal.

The Quakers responded to the challenge of the state assembly and the courts by continuing to free their slaves. Their individual acts of manumission were in defiance of state laws. In answer, the North Carolina legislature took the battle one step further. The state legislature kept abreast of developments in the Quaker communities and managed to make it difficult continually for the Quaker population to fulfill its moral policy of manumission. The North Carolina legislature took action in 1788 with an act devised both to curb the continuing manumissions by Quakers and to demonstrate the determination of the state legislature to protect the institution of slavery. That year, a far-reaching law was passed which broadened the scope of the 1778 law by calling on citizens to report slaves who had been "illegally" freed.⁷⁶

The 1788 act specifically legalized the seizure and sale of the slaves who had been manumitted by Quakers in accordance with the 1778 act. The legislature then authorized the courts to immediately seize any slaves illegally freed in the future. A joint committee of the legislature reported on January 26, 1779 that "the conduct of the said Quakers in setting their slaves free when our open and declared enemies were endeavoring to bring about an Insurrection of the Slaves, was highly criminal and reprehensible." The new bill, signed into law on February 4, 1779⁷⁷ was enacted specifically to counter the

actions of Quakers who as “divers persons from religious motives, in violation of said law, continue to liberate their slaves.”⁷⁸

Since the state legislature had acted so consistently in making it difficult for Quakers to act at the local level, it became evident that if they were to fulfill their obligation to their former slaves they would have to deal directly with the state legislature. In 1779 they prepared the first of a series of petitions to the legislature.⁷⁹ It was designed with a twofold purpose in mind: (1) expanding the freedom of the blacks under their care because “freedom is the natural right of all mankind,” and (2) permitting the Quakers to live under the law in good conscience since holding people in “bondage was in violation of the injunction of Christ to do to others as we would be done by.”⁸⁰

The 1779 petition was an eloquent answer to the charges that the Friends deliberately disrupted the peace and instigated domestic insurrection. Quakers liked the idealism of the Declaration of Independence and made free use of it in their arguments. But despite the declaration of intent on the part of the newly founded nation, Quakers found themselves frustrated and distressed at the reality before them. When they tried to make freedom an actuality for their slaves, the newly manumitted peoples were promptly picked up and sold at public auction by the county courts unless reclaimed by their former masters. The Quakers argued in their petition that the North Carolina legislature was violating the Declaration of Independence and the natural rights of man, because the law of 1779 was being applied after the fact to acts committed before the law was enacted.

The petition of 1779 was signed by Caleb White, Matthew White, Joseph Henley, Zachariah Nixon, Benjamin Albertson, Thomas Nicholson, William Albertson, Thomas Newby, Chalkly Albertson, George Walton, and Thomas White.⁸¹ Interestingly enough, these were the same men who had freed their slaves in 1777 and are the same men whose names would continue to appear on documents pertaining to manumissions in Perquimans and Pasquotank counties through the early part of the nineteenth century. The men mentioned above were appointed by the yearly meeting as guardians of their former slaves to “protect them from Suffering by the Hands of evil and designing men.”⁸²

The year 1779 proved to be important for the history of North Carolina and the Quakers. The final defeat of the British at Yorktown was only two years away, and even the Quakers were recognizing and doing business with the North Carolina General Assembly. The lines were drawn in a long struggle between Quakers, who had at last committed themselves to a policy of manumission, and the state legislature, which seemed strongly committed to the prevention of manumission on any significant scale.

The Quakers and the County Courts

The liberation of forty slaves in Perquimans County in 1777 was only the beginning of a continuing struggle between the Quakers and the local courts. The Quakers of eastern North Carolina kept the county courts busy all during the end of the eighteenth century. Prior to the law of 1741, it had been possible to liberate a slave in North Carolina without a written document or court action. After 1741, approval of the county court was needed. But it was not until after the act of 1779 that Quakers began appearing in great numbers before the courts to request the freedom of their slaves. This suggests that the earlier act was not strictly enforced and also that the new law was a re-enforcement directed precisely at those Quakers who ignored the 1741 act.

The precarious position of the many slaves who had been freed in the years immediately preceding 1779 is demonstrated in a petition by Friend John Smith on behalf of a freed man named Dick.

The Petition of Negroe Dick at present confined in the Goal of [Perquimans] County—by his next friend John Smith. Most Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner has been taken up by sundry Persons supposing him to have been a slave the property of John Smith one of the people called Quakers and illegally liberated by him. That your petitioner is at present confined in Goal under the acts of Assembly 1777 and 1779. Sheweth that your Petitioners Grandmother, Betty was an Indian, a free woman by the Laws of Nature. May it therefore please your Worships to enquire into the fact of the natural freedom of your Petitioner and to do further in the principles as shall seem just and merciful...⁸³

Attempting to establish the existence of “free blood” in a formal charge was one of many actions taken by Quakers to protect their

former slaves. This example could also be seen as an attempt by free blacks to utilize the moral position of the Quakers to their own advantage. Having the support of a Quaker who was known to vouch for the freedom of a black person must have been a prime objective of free blacks in Perquimans County. Choosing the right "Friend" could mean the difference between freedom and slavery.

There are many Quaker names that continuously reappeared in court records. These men were surely known to free and enslaved blacks as the men to turn to when trouble was near. The records of abductions of freed blacks appeared to increase after the passage of the 1779 law.⁸⁴ The court receipts issued by the Perquimans County Court hold interesting morsels of information. On the second Monday [13] of July 1788 there is a receipt for the "Return of four Negroes Taken up & committed to Goal by William Creecy Sheriff as Liberated Contrary to Law...."⁸⁵ Another receipt, dated the sixteenth of April 1783, showed "A Return of Two Negroes Said to be set free Contrary to Law & Taken up in Order to have their Tryall before Court To Wit Jenne formerly the Property of Joseph Hasket Candice formerly the Property of Thomas White" and signed for by Sheriff Williams.⁸⁶ Yet another signed by Sheriff Richard Skinner stated "Received September 9th 1788 of Thomas Creecy & William Arrington two Negroes one by the name of Peggy and Jenney formerly the Property of Robert Newby Supposed to have been set free by said Newby."⁸⁷ The names of Thomas Creecy and William Arrington are mentioned so frequently that a running battle between these two men and the Quakers is quite apparent. Creecy and Arrington are continually named as the men who pick up slaves freed by Quakers and deliver them to the local jail. Given this information, it is not surprising that Job Albert, our man of the Philadelphia petition, knew exactly who was behind (or in charge of) his abduction. He named Thomas Creecy as one of his abductors. The other two men, Alexander Stafford and William Stafford, also appear on receipts as apprehenders.⁸⁸

The law specified that the former owners of the slaves who had been picked up should be notified to come and claim their property or, if they failed to do this, they had to appear in court and answer for the crime of freeing their slaves illegally. Summons such as these began

to be issued, primarily to Quakers, as early as 1780. These warrants regarding the crime of freeing slaves were issued to a long list of Quakers throughout the 1780s and 1790s: Joseph Hatchett and Thomas White in 1783; Elihu Albertson, John Anderson, and Joshua Moore in 1785; Thomas Newby, Exum Newby, Josiah White, Zachariah Nixon, Benjamin Albertson, Jacob White, Miles Elliott, Joseph Henley, and Caleb Wilson in 1788; Caleb White, Pretlow Bond, Leah Smith, Robert Newby, and Hannah Moore in 1793; and Caleb Winslow in 1794.⁸⁹

The Quakers had the support of lawyers to help them with their cases. Provided by the yearly meeting, these lawyers checked every possible avenue to ensure the freedom of the slaves. At the yearly meeting in 1777, the committee that dealt with slave issues reported that

They had interfered in behalf of the distressed Negroes and made use of every Expedient that Occurred in their favour, having Employed Lawyers to exert their Abilities in pleading much to the satisfaction of friends, and for their Extraordinary Care and pains, tho' to little purpose at present.⁹⁰

There is an interesting account in the Perquimans County Court records which shows some insight into the way the Friends' lawyers defended their clients. A document titled "Reasons in Support of Error" argued "That the Court have countenanced and given affect to an ex post facto Law in ordering The Negroe Jude, to be sold as set free under Law of 1777 c. 6 when the Negroe was [proved to be] freed long prior—and had lived quietly and peaceably with the owner." It further claimed "That the taking apprehending and dragging of negroes (as confessedly done in this Case) living quietly and peaceably with their Masters from their houses, is arbitrary and illegal."⁹¹ While this document is undated, the issues it discusses fit squarely into the experience of the slave newly freed by the Quakers. It speaks to actions that "are arbitrary, unjust, & incompatible with liberty."⁹²

The document shows how Quakers were able to utilize legal argument to justify the freedom of those they had manumitted. The fact that Jude had "lived peaceably" after being set free so long ago was an attempt by the lawyers to establish a basis that freed blacks

could live as peaceable citizens without posing a threat to the community. While there is no further documentation as to whether or not Jude was finally allowed to go free, the existence of this document shows he had the support of the local Quakers.

One would think that the courts would not pick up and offer for sale blacks who they themselves had already set free. Even with the great regard the Quakers had for the law and the insistence of yearly meeting that the law be followed precisely, the evidence seems to indicate that many more Quakers ignored the manumission laws than followed them. County court records show a limited number of slaves being manumitted legally. Quakers appeared either to refuse to allege meritorious service, which then restricted them from submitting a petition for manumission or prepared manumission papers on their own initiative if the courts denied permission to manumit.

This viewpoint is suggested in the wording of a series of summons issued to various Quakers in Perquimans and Pasquotank counties requesting that they come to answer for their slaves. In 1785, for example, John Anderson, Joshua Moore, and Elihu Albertson were summoned by Sheriff Charles Moore of Perquimans County to appear in behalf of three blacks who had been taken up by Moore for "passing as free Negroes, supposed to have been manumitted by their owners," the Quakers mentioned above.⁹³ It seems that the manumission of these three people was done without court approval, thereby leaving them vulnerable.⁹⁴

Conclusion

It is evident that the four black men who petitioned the United States Congress for their "right of residence" in North Carolina did not emerge from a vacuum.⁹⁵ Their narratives attest that each had indeed lived a considerable part of his life in either Perquimans or Pasquotank County and because of this, the influence of the Quaker community on their lives was inevitable. Jupiter Nicholson, Job Albert, Jacob Nicholson, and Thomas Prichet were products of this tumultuous era in the slaveholding community in eighteenth century North Carolina. Their lives were the fodder for the ongoing battle between a morally righteous religious group and an economically minded state legislature.

Like the thousands of free blacks in North Carolina and across the country, these four men lived daily the battle for “liberty and the common right of man.”⁹⁶ Quakers wrote about it; free blacks lived it. The historical events shown in the previous pages make the plight of these petitioners even more poignant. These men represented the lives behind the laws.

The twofold problem for the petitioners was (1) obtaining freedom and (2) maintaining that freedom. In all likelihood, their freedom was granted to them through their Quaker benefactors before 1790.⁹⁷ It can be assumed that they were freed in compliance with the doctrine of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Each petitioner enjoyed his freedom in his own way. Job Albert and Thomas Prichet were able to cultivate a plot of land. Jupiter Nicholson took up the seafaring tradition. Jacob Nicholson continued to live with his former master.⁹⁸ They began to build new lives as freemen for themselves and their families. But maintaining this freedom was a much harder task.

The white men in the testimonies were important figures in local and religious affairs of the county. Benjamin Albertson was a “careful guardian” who attempted to protect Job Albert, and many others, “from being afterwards taken and sold.”⁹⁹ Albertson was certainly a man who respected the manumission cause. He traveled to the state assembly three consecutive times as part of the delegation sent by the yearly meeting to present antislavery petitions to the legislative body.¹⁰⁰ Albertson was also named in some of the manumission petitions found in the Pasquotank County Court records.¹⁰¹

In the case of Thomas Prichet, the concern of the North Carolina yearly meeting regarding the management of estates was shown not to be unfounded. After his former owner Thomas Prichard died, the estate transferred into the hands of Holland Lockwood. Lockwood was not a Quaker and demonstrated a lack of sympathy toward the Quaker manumission cause. In fact, he was a cohort of William Creecy and Alexander Stafford, two of the men known for abducting “slaves set free contrary to law.”¹⁰² Without a benefactor or a formal document proving his freedom, Thomas Prichet became a prime target for abduction.

It is interesting to note that the four black men eventually made their way to Pennsylvania, a state known for its Quaker population and subsequent liberal stance against the institution of slavery. Their connection with the Quakers in Perquimans County must surely have opened their eyes to the possibility of a place where they could reside relatively unmolested and surrounded by white people with whom they could feel comfortable. The petition itself is also an affirmation of Quaker influence on the foursome. The knowledge that they could petition “for redress of...grievances” would seem second nature for anyone raised among the legally minded Quakers.¹⁰³ The language of the petition is similar to that found in petitions sent by the yearly meeting to the North Carolina General Assembly with its invocations of “essential principals respecting the extent of human right to freedom.”¹⁰⁴ The entire document speaks to the injustices done to those “distinguished by color” against the doctrines of the newly written Declaration of Independence.¹⁰⁵

The petition also alludes to the legislative acts of 1778 and 1779 which the petitioners considered to be the main cause of their continued exile. They pleaded for the members of the “supreme Legislative body of a free and enlightened people” to understand the injustices caused by a legislation that allowed “kidnappers and man-stealers” to abduct “and again reduce to slavery” individuals who had “been emancipated and tasted the sweets of liberty.”¹⁰⁶

Meanwhile, back in North Carolina, the outward cohesion of the Quaker community over the issue of slave ownership (that had been so important to the petitioners and other freed blacks) camouflaged internal discord within the social affairs of the society. The number of reprimands to Quaker members markedly rose as the turn of the century drew near. A general malaise seemed to set over the Friends in the eastern counties, and the yearly meeting became inclined to scolding members for their laxness in meeting attendance. Anxiety over this apathy caused the yearly meeting to send out special messages to the monthly meetings urging a greater “zeal in the cultivation of the spiritual life” and a more sincere following of the “moral Precepts” of the religion.¹⁰⁷

Another source of distress for the Friends in eastern North Carolina was the growing number of membership transfers to western locations. Quakers were migrating towards the Greensboro area as well as to newly opened territories in the Midwest. In some North Carolina Quaker communities, a major portion of the membership would decide to make the journey westward together leaving whole areas without the benefit of a monthly meeting. The Friends in Perquimans and Pasquotank counties suffered greatly in this turn of the century membership decline.¹⁰⁸

Interest in the slavery issue continued to spread even in the face of growing apathy. The question of membership for blacks was even raised in various monthly meetings. The issue was brought to the attention of the yearly meeting in 1798 and promptly put into special committee. The committee report suggested that since the Friends held such respect for people, regardless of skin color, the monthly meeting in question should be allowed to admit anyone into their fold "without distinction as to colour."¹⁰⁹ The yearly meeting chose to ignore the committee findings and postponed action on the issue for another year. The matter was postponed again in 1800 and then in 1801, the request was finally denied.¹¹⁰

While the Quakers of North Carolina could not muster the strength to open their membership, they nevertheless continued to struggle against the inequalities of slavery within the state. Their stand was firm. It was becoming increasingly difficult to be a Quaker and own slaves at the same time. Pasquotank County counted 138 manumissions in the decade of 1798 made primarily by Quakers.¹¹¹ Exclusion from the society for owning a slave was becoming more frequent, even as the state laws made manumission more difficult. The prerequisite to prove meritorious service before manumission could be granted became a severe restriction on a people who wanted to free their slaves simply due to a belief that the institution of slavery was wrong. Added to that was the knowledge that simply freeing the slaves was not enough. In the nineteenth century, Quakers began to establish Manumission Societies and Colonization Societies to help aid freed blacks. The foundation, while not an easy process had been laid.

Job Albert thought he would be protected by his "careful guardian"

Benjamin Albertson as much as Jacob Nicholson thought the same of his ex-master. Neither however, could be protected from vigilantes who took it upon themselves to uphold the laws of the state. While it could be said that Albert and Nicholson's presence as freemen ran contrary to the beliefs of their abductors, it was probably more true that their subsequent re-enslavement ran more in accordance with the slaveholding doctrine of eastern North Carolina. The decline in numbers of the supportive Quaker community made it all the more difficult for freed blacks to maintain their free status.

Jupiter Nicholson had the opportunity to work on the ocean and his unique status as a seaman put him at an economic advantage to both free blacks and whites. Thomas Prichet successfully cultivated his crops and was in the position to reap good profits from his work. Both men were economic successes in a world dominated by ideas of white preeminence. Their accomplishments signaled a threat to those around them who had to compete, so the competition was run out of town. The fact that these men were given opportunities and support by the Quaker community made them an even bigger threat in an area already antagonistic to the manumission practices of the Society of Friends.

The process of becoming free in eighteenth century North Carolina was like balancing on a tightrope, and something was always shaking the wire. Freed blacks, and Quakers who assisted them, fought a constant battle to maintain autonomy and personal freedom. Their ability to survive in the community in which they lived depended on their ability to balance carefully their economic and social achievements with a measure of sponsorship from a beneficial patron. The accounts of Job Albert, Jacob Nicholson, Jupiter Nicholson, Thomas Prichet, and the County of Perquimans show what a daily struggle it was to keep that balance.

State Laws and Acts Involving Free Blacks in North Carolina

- 1741 Prior to 1741, North Carolina bars freed slaves from remaining in the colony. Law now allows them to remain if manumission had been approved by county court.
- 1775 Law restricts manumission of slaves if not previously approved by a county court.
- 1777 Law tightens manumission procedures. Masters still permitted to free slaves with permission of county court.
- 1778 Law gives reward for capture and resale of illegally freed blacks.
- 1779 Law makes kidnapping of free negroes a crime if transported out of state borders.
- 1785 Bill that would allow persons with conscientious scruples to manumit their slaves fails to pass.
- 1785 Legislation stipulates use of badges by all Free People of Color within the town limits of Edenton, Wilmington, and Fayetteville.
- 1786 Slaves brought into North Carolina from states with “laws for the liberation of slaves” ordered to be returned within three months. Private acts in assembly for manumission based on wishes of deceased owner.
- 1787 Free blacks restricted from going aboard sailing vessels and entertaining slaves. They are also forbidden to marry or cohabitate with slaves without consent of master and two justices of peace.
- 1788 Law allows existing procedures for manumission but notes dangers of those freed by religious principles. This made it easier to prosecute illegal manumission.
- 1794 Ban on hiring out slaves acting free.
- 1795 Assembly orders grand juries to present free negroes known to be dangerous and requires free negroes entering state and freed slaves thenceforth to post a \$200 bond.
- 1801 \$100 bond on each slave freed. Act cites likelihood of indigence and consequent financial burden on public law regarding kidnapping and resale within the state.

Endnotes

¹This is compared to a total North Carolina population of 556,500 people and a slave population of 168,824. Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 47, 396–399.

²Seth B. and Mary Edith Hinshaw, *Carolina Quakers: Our Heritage, Our Hope; Tercentenary 1672–1972* (Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1972), 6.

³This was the peak of Quaker control in the legislature. After Archdale's term expired, the numbers and influence of Quakers in the state legislature quickly diminished. Hiram H. Hilty, *Toward Freedom For All: North Carolina Quakers and Slavery* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1984), 9.

⁴Hilty, 9; Hinshaw, 11.

⁵Thomas Bender, ed. *The Anti-Slavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 27.

⁶Hilty, 12.

⁷Minutes of the Perquimans Monthly Meeting, June 6, 1738. Unless stated otherwise, all monthly meeting and yearly meeting records from the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

⁸Minutes of the Perquimans Monthly Meeting, April 6, 1774. Thomas Newby's case came up again in the minutes of the Perquimans Monthly Meeting of August 9, 1774, but the committee appointed to assist him had not yet met and decided that it was best not to make a quick decision in such an important matter, so they postponed the decision to the next meeting. There is no more record of the Newby case until 1777.

⁹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, October 23, 1774.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 27, 1775.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, October 21, 1776.

¹³ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1777; Perquimans County Slave Records, 1759–1864. Unless stated otherwise, all county records from the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

¹⁴ Walter Clark, ed. *The State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: 1886–1890), Vol. XXIV, 960.

¹⁵ North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, August 24, 1777.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1777.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 26, 1778.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, August 29, 1779.

²¹ *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, 4th Congress, 2nd Session (1796–97), pp. 2015–2023. Hertford was the seat of Perquimans County. Albert later escaped from jail and fled with his wife to Portsmouth, Virginia. Hereafter, all references to this volume will be cited as *Annals*.

²² *Annals*, 2016.

²³ I am assuming they were all free blacks because the census of 1790 counted and divided by sex all free white inhabitants of a household, lumped together all other free people in a household, and did not count Native Americans.

²⁴ United States Census Office. *First Census of the United States, 1790. Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790* (Washington D.C.: 1802); *Second Census of the United States, 1800. Return of the Whole Number of Persons Within the Several Districts of the United States* (Washington D.C.: 1811); John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 18.

²⁵ Berlin, 94.

²⁶ Jeffery Crow, *The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1977), 29.

²⁷ Berlin, 92.

²⁸ Franklin, 42.

²⁹ Berlin, 96; Franklin, 43–46.

³⁰ *Census of 1790*, North Carolina Pasquotank County returns (no page numbers for the returns from this county).

³¹ *Annals*, 2016.

³² *Annals*, 2016; *Census of 1790*, North Carolina Camden County returns (no page number for the county returns).

³³ *Annals*, 2017.

³⁴ *Census of 1790*, North Carolina Camden County returns.

³⁵ *Census of 1800*, North Carolina Pasquotank County returns, 628.

³⁶ Berlin, 47.

³⁷ Franklin, 148–149.

³⁸ There are no statistics, but there are accounts from blacks who have escaped slavery and from legislation passed by state governments.

³⁹ Clark, XXIV, 890.

⁴⁰ Clark, XXIV, 929–930; Crow, 33.

⁴¹ The testimonies of four men originally residents of Perquimans County North Carolina (Job Albert, Jacob Nicholson, Jupiter Nicholson, and Thomas Prichet) are taken from a petition sent to the United States Congress in January 1797.

⁴² *Annals*, 2016. It is difficult to tell who Jacob's former master was. In the census of 1790 there are two Joseph Nicholsons, one in Halifax County owning sixteen slaves and one in Nash County owning eleven slaves; and a Joseph Nichols and Joseph Jr., both from Pasquotank County owning two slaves and three slaves respectively. No Joseph Nicholson or Nichols shows up in the census of 1800 in these or any surrounding counties.

⁴³ Appears as Zachariah Nixon of Perquimans County in the census of 1790 and 1800. He was a wealthy landowner and businessman. The town of Nixonton was built on land he ceded to the County of Pasquotank in the 1770s.

⁴⁴ Many slaves were able to escape from North Carolina to Virginia via the Great Dismal Swamp which is situated between the two states at the northern end of Perquimans and Pasquotank counties.

⁴⁵ *Annals*, 2016.

⁴⁶ *Annals*, 2016.

⁴⁷ *Census of 1800*, North Carolina Perquimans County returns, 643. Thomas Nicholson of Perquimans had a young household. There was one white male under ten years old and a white male and female both between the ages of twenty–five and forty–five. Perhaps the Nicholson of Perquimans was the son of the Pasquotank County Nicholson.

⁴⁸ Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchants, Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo–American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 61. For a description of maritime life in North Carolina see William N. Still, “The Shipbuilding Industry in Washington, North Carolina” in *Of Tar Heel Towns, Shipbuilders, Reconstructionists and Alliancemen*, Joseph F. Steelman, ed. (Greenville, N.C.: East Carolina University Publications, 1981).

⁴⁹ *Census of 1790*, North Carolina Perquimans County returns, 31–32.

⁵⁰ *Census of 1800*, North Carolina Perquimans County returns, 642. Creesy’s name is spelled Creecy in the census records.

⁵¹ Perquimans County Court Minutes, 1784–1789 and 1794–1801.

⁵² *Annals*, 2017.

⁵³ *Annals*, 2016–2017.

⁵⁴ *Annals*, 2017.

⁵⁵ *Annals*, 2023–2024.

⁵⁶ Hilty, 29.

⁵⁷ *Annals*, 2018.

⁵⁸ *Annals*, 2019.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Annals*, 2023.

⁶¹ Berlin, 94.

⁶² Clark, XXIV, 850; William B. Saunders, ed. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: 1862).

⁶³ Clark, XXIV, 850, 859, 963.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 930.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 929.

⁶⁶ Franklin, 22.

⁶⁷ Clark, XXIV, 929; Berlin, 31.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 964.

⁶⁹ Berlin, 31.

⁷⁰ Hilty, 97.

⁷¹ General Assembly Session Records, November 1792–January 1793, box 4.

⁷² Hilty, 42.

⁷³ Clark, XXIV, 850.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 963. This act was titled “An Act to prevent domestic insurrection.”

⁷⁵ North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, August 24, 1777. The county courts had also been notoriously lenient in regards to deciding what constituted meritorious service.

⁷⁶ Clark, XXIV, 964. An earlier law had entitled only freeholders to reports such incidents.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 697.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 964.

⁷⁹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, August 22, 1779.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Hilty, 27. Before the petition could be sent to the legislature, some state legislators sympathetic to the Quakers advised them not to present their petition at that time. It was withheld but the document

continues to reflect the views and moods of the Quakers of North Carolina at the end of the eighteenth century. The first document seen by the North Carolina General Assembly was in 1792.

⁸³ Perquimans County Slave Records, 1759–1864. Petitions for Emancipation, 1776–1825.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* There are at least forty–five receipts for black persons who were abducted and delivered to the Perquimans County Court between 1783 and 1793, which is the earliest date accounted for in the records. Discussions in the yearly meeting records show that many more were being abducted before 1783.

⁸⁵ Perquimans County Court Records, 1759–1864. Second Monday in July 1788, 235. In fact, there is a series of court receipts dated from July 13 to July 16 in which William Creecy, Thomas Creecy, and William Arrington take up a total of eight people “set free contrary to law.”

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 16 April 1783.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Civil and Criminal Cases, 1759–1799.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; *Annals*, 2016.

⁸⁹ Perquimans County Slave Records, 1759–1864.

⁹⁰ North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, October 1777.

⁹¹ Perquimans County Court, 1759–1799. Civil and Criminal Cases, 1759–1799.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Perquimans County Court Records, 1759–1799. Civil and Criminal Cases, 1759–1799.

⁹⁴ Perquimans County Court Records, 1759–1799. The Quaker plea on behalf of these three people was unsuccessful, and they were sold the next day at “12 o’clock Before the Court House door.”

⁹⁵ *Annals*, 2015.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ I was unable to locate any specific record that mentioned the names of any of the four petitioners. The names of their Quaker

benefactors, however, were very prominent throughout the archival documents.

⁹⁸ *Annals*, 2015–17.

⁹⁹ *Annals*, 2016.

¹⁰⁰ General Assembly Session Records, November 1792–January 1793, box 3; December 1794–January 1795, box 3; November–December 1798, box 3.

¹⁰¹ Pasquotank County Records of Slaves and Free Persons of Color, 1733–1866. Certificates of free Negroes.

¹⁰² Perquimans County Court Minutes, 1794–1801. Lockwood's name appears in conjunction with Creecy and Stafford in two papers sent to the Perquimans County Court regarding the taking up of slaves set free contrary to law.

¹⁰³ *Annals*, 2015.

¹⁰⁴ *Annals*, 2018.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 2016–2018.

¹⁰⁷ North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, October 30, 1797, October 29, 1798, October 26, 1801.

¹⁰⁸ Hinshaw, 28.

¹⁰⁹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, October 29, 1798; Hilty, 40.

¹¹⁰ Henry J. Cadbury, "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends," *Journal of Negro History* (1936), 21:151–213.

¹¹¹ Perquimans County Slave Records, 1759–1864.

“This threatful Cloud of iniquity”: Rich Square Friends, Rowland Greene, and the Challenge of Slavery in 1832

By

Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson

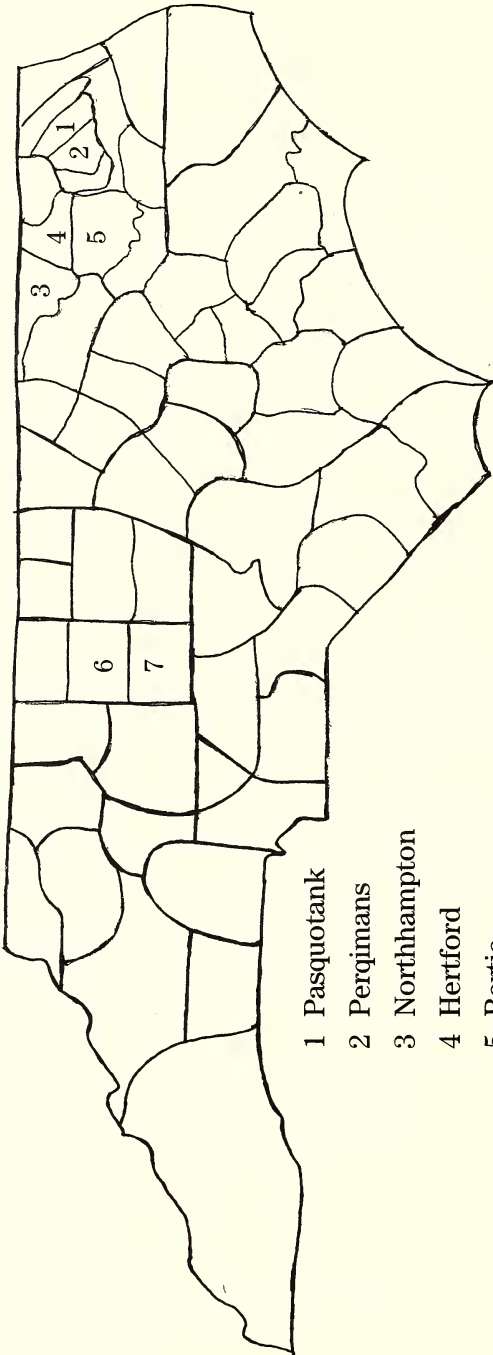
I feel that Thou art here—know that this is Thy work—and may it ever praise Thee! But oh! I feel also a gloom—and I see an Evil, and a Cloud rising therefrom with the cry of inquisition for blood.— Man has erred and gone from thy counsel ñ he has done injury to his fellow MAN.¹

New England Friend Rowland Greene expressed this heartfelt sentiment in June 1832 following worship and dinner with Friends in Rich Square, North Carolina. Greene was a respected minister from New England Yearly Meeting who felt called to travel and visit among Friends in Virginia and North Carolina on several occasions. He saw potential among Friends in the South and encouraged them to stay rather than migrate westward and to continue to stand by their distinctive testimonies including antislavery.

Greene’s visit to Rich Square Friends in 1832 provides an opportunity to consider one community through the lens of an outside

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North Carolina Counties in 1800



- 1 Pasquotank
- 2 Perquimans
- 3 Northhampton
- 4 Hertford
- 5 Bertie
- 6 Guilford
- 7 Randolph

visitor during a challenging time with no clear resolution in sight. Less than a year earlier the entire country was shocked by the violent slave insurrection led by Nat Turner in nearby Southampton County, Virginia. Within this climate, several individuals in Rich Square Meeting continued to actively assist African Americans to freedom through efforts to relocate ex-slaves. Friends also faced changes within their own community as many family members also resettled in free states by migrating westward to Indiana. By 1832, the center of North Carolina Quakerism had already shifted to the central piedmont areas of Guilford and Randolph counties and Rich Square Quakers were a distinct minority living under increasingly challenging circumstances in a major slaveholding region.

Friends were among the earliest settlers in Northampton County, North Carolina, and were worshiping in the area by the early 1750s. The majority came south from Virginia (Isle of Wight, Surry, Prince George, and Henrico counties). Some others came west from the already established North Carolina Quaker communities in Pasquotank and Perquimans counties. Rich Square Monthly Meeting was established in 1760 and initially included members from worship groups in Hertford, Edgecombe, and Northampton counties. By the nineteenth century Rich Square Monthly Meeting membership was concentrated in the south portion of Northampton County around the community of Rich Square but also included some members in nearby Hertford County.²

A second monthly meeting, Jack Swamp, was established in 1794 in the northwestern part of the county where Friends had been worshiping since about 1771. However, Jack Swamp no longer existed by 1832. Less than a decade after the establishment of the monthly meeting, individuals and families began to migrate westward—first to central North Carolina around 1800 and by 1805 to the newly available lands in Ohio. By 1812 migration had depleted the meeting so that it could no longer maintain a monthly meeting, and worship was discontinued in 1829.³

The example of Jack Swamp is useful to illustrate the dramatic result of out migration of Quakers from the south and why it gave Rowland Greene concern. Virginia Quaker minister Mildred Ratcliff

observed while attending Jack Swamp in 1810 that, "There are here some hopeful plants among the younger sort. May they be watered and kept alive."⁴ Evidently these "hopeful plants" felt they would be better watered in the west. Jack Swamp was not unique in its depletion. Bush River Meeting in South Carolina, Wrightsboro Meeting in Georgia, and Trent in Carteret County, North Carolina are just a few examples of other meetings that were completely deserted within a few years of the opening of the Midwest.

Interestingly, Rich Square Meeting is noted as one of the few that did not experience intense migration. According to Stephen Weeks, "Westward migration begins from Rich Square in 1802, but the movement never took full possession of this meeting as it did of others. They seem to have been better situated and better satisfied with their surroundings than other Friends."⁵ This is not to say that Rich Square was unaffected. Thirty-one certificates of removal to Ohio and Indiana are documented in the Rich Square minutes. These certificates often were written for an entire family rather than just an individual, so they do represent a significant number of individuals. However, these numbers were not sufficient to threaten the existence of the monthly meeting.

There is nothing to indicate that the situation in southern Northampton County was more hospitable to Quaker communities and antislavery sentiments than others. In fact, Northampton County was notable for its high slave population. Unlike the area of settlement of Quakers in piedmont North Carolina, Northampton County Quakers lived in an area highly dependent on a slave economy. According to the United States census of 1830, slaves comprised 54 percent of the Northampton County population. The white population of just over 5,000 was only 39 percent of the total county population since another 7 percent was free people of color. As a comparison, Guilford County was 84 percent white (almost 16,000) with 14 percent slave and 2 percent free.⁶

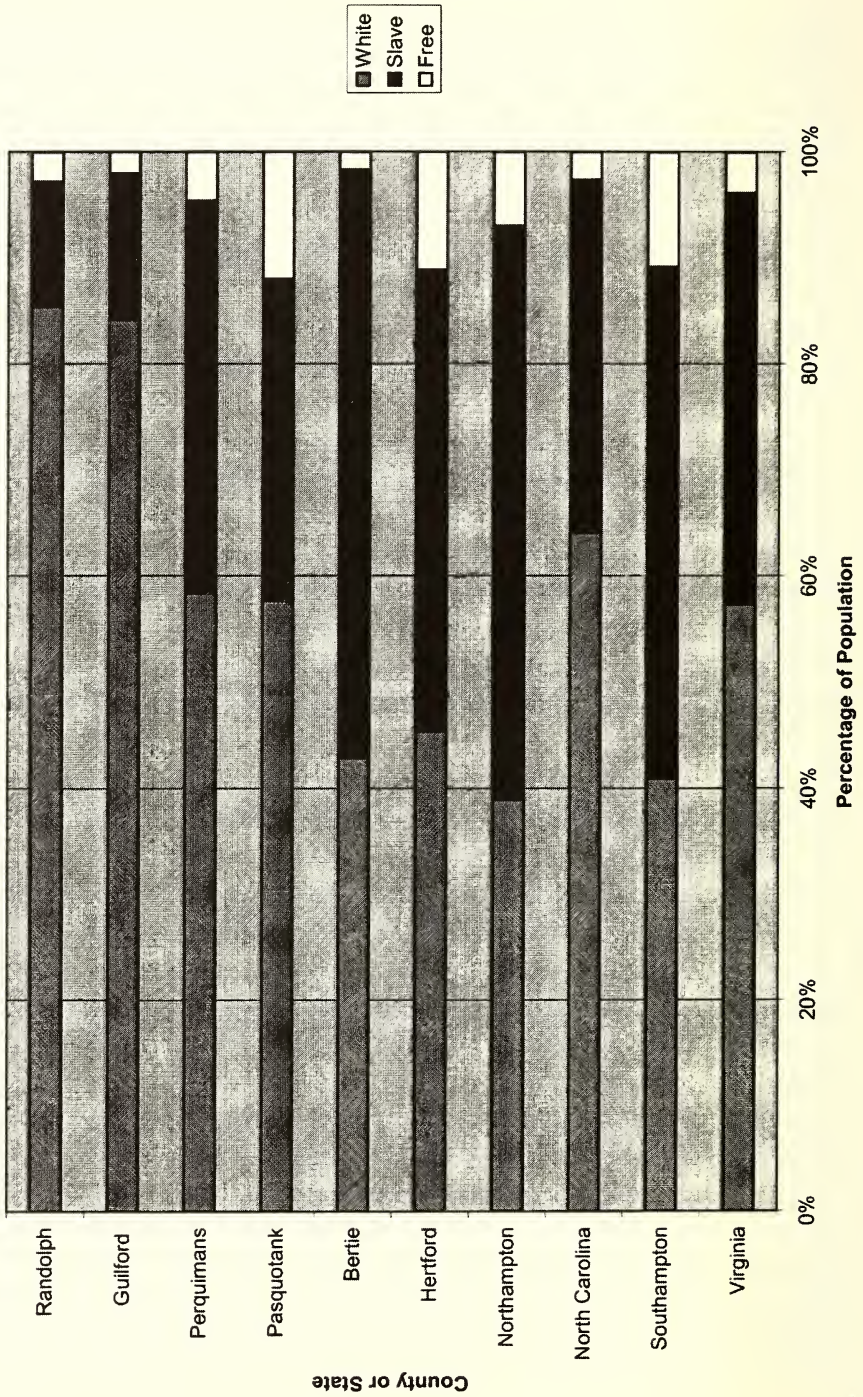
In October 1831 William Parker wrote from Richmond, Indiana to his brother Nathan in Northampton County that, "we hear alarming tales about the black people in your land which causes me more to want you in this land but I hope you will be preserved and all others

both black and white.”⁷ Rich Square Meeting itself did not note any increase in emigration to the Midwest during the early 1830s. The bulk of the movement westward from Northampton County to Ohio and Indiana had already occurred in the 1800s and 1820s respectively. However, some other Friends in the region did leave the South following the Turner event. Rowland Greene observed, “Emigration from this state since the Southampton affair, has been brisk—some friends are numbered among the emigrants: A general and deep constination [*sic*] was felt and fearfulness possessed the people—But this is subsiding—and the thought of leaving the country somewhat abated.”⁸

The insurrection of slaves led by Nat Turner on August 22, 1831 caused widespread panic and hysteria throughout the south. Rich Square Friends lived less than fifty miles from the incident that took place just over the state line in Southampton County, Virginia. What were Rich Square Friends doing with such major events occurring nearby? Just days after the Nat Turner insurrection, Rich Square Monthly Meeting gathered for their regular meeting for business which included answering queries. In response to the sixth query that addressed the slavery issue, the meeting replied, “None buy sell or hold them as such, no immoderate treatment appears. Some care taken to encourage them in a virtuous life.”⁹ Members of Rich Square Meeting were also continuing their work of providing support for freed slaves under the care of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

The Turner incident caused Friends to reassess antislavery activities as some were led to consider increased caution and others felt it brought issues to light and made it imperative to push ahead for change.¹⁰ North Carolina Yearly Meeting’s Meeting for Sufferings correspondence illustrates the increased challenges in the 1830s as fears spread. News was received from Philadelphia in May 1832 that proposed legislation, similar to some already passed in Indiana, would restrict immigration of people of color and require legal residents of color to carry papers. According to a letter from Philadelphia to the North Carolina Meeting for Sufferings, Clerk Nathan Mendenhall, “This act was brought before our Legislature in consequence of the arrival at Chester I believe of some fugitives from

Populations by Status in 1830 North Carolina and Virginia



Southampton, Virginia after massacre there—the public mind here is more roused even among respectable persons against there poor people than it has been for several years.”¹¹

The increasingly restrictive laws concerning resettlement of African Americans in free states caused difficulties for Rich Square Meeting. The unrest following the Turner incident made it even more dangerous for freed slaves to remain in North Carolina. A Pasquotank County Quaker wrote in September 1831 that blacks were “so severely punished they had rather go any where than to stay here where they are persecuted for innocency.”¹² Individuals were no longer being sent by North Carolina Friends to Liberia and Haiti (popular destinations in the 1820s) and anti-black sentiments were growing in Indiana and Philadelphia.¹³ The exact number of African American individuals and families under the care of Rich Square Monthly Meeting in 1832 is uncertain. However, an 1830 report states that 652 had been resettled and 402 remained under the care of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Eastern Quarterly Meeting, which was comprised of Rich Square and three other meetings, held 300 former slaves in its care in 1834 and 133 of them were taken to Indiana for resettlement that same year.¹⁴

There are a few specific examples given in the minutes of the care of “people of color” by Rich Square Monthly Meeting. Josiah Parker delivered forty-one African Americans under his care to Norfolk for transportation to resettlement in Liberia in 1826. According to Parker, each emigrant had a new outfit of clothing supplied by Quaker women for the journey.¹⁵ The most documented case is that of the slaves belonging to Catherine White. White deeded her slaves to Rich Square Meeting when she relocated to New England in 1805. The meeting cared for these individuals for twenty-seven years until all of them could be favorably relocated to a slave free region. The matter was finally reported as settled the same month that Rowland Greene visited in 1832.¹⁶

Rowland Greene attended Eastern Quarterly Meeting at Symon’s Creek on May 26, 1832 and met with Friends belonging to the quarter. He then spent time in Rich Square over the next several days.¹⁷ Following his visits to the various meetings, Greene wrote, “All the

meetings in this quarter have been large and satisfactory. Much decorum and propriety of conduct has been observed in them, which I have thought more remarkable as Slave holders, Slaves, and free people of color, were in attendance, and sometimes largely.”¹⁸ One wonders how Greene, an antislavery Quaker from New England, was perceived by these large mixed audiences. Unfortunately, other descriptions of these meetings have not been located at this time. However, indications are that Greene’s ministry was well received.

It is worth noting some of the individuals Rowland Greene specifically mentions in his descriptions of his visits to Rich Square. Greene writes appreciatively of both Exum Outland and Josiah Parker, whom he described as “my late valued friend.”¹⁹ Greene also mentions staying with James Peelle, a recorded elder in Rich Square Meeting since 1821 and the individual responsible for the final resolution of the meeting’s responsibilities towards Catherine White’s slaves, during his 1834 return visit to the area. Greene seemed to stay with the leading Friends in an area during his travels. For example, he stayed with Jeremiah Hubbard, Nathan Hunt, and Richard Mendenhall while visiting Friends in Guilford County, North Carolina in late 1833. He appreciated the additional time to converse with his hosts and slavery was always a prime subject of discussion.

Exum Outland²⁰ was a highly respected member of Rich Square Meeting and recorded as a minister in 1817. He regularly made visits to other meetings in both North Carolina and Virginia. He visited the other monthly meetings in Eastern Quarterly Meeting (Piney Woods, Symon’s Creek, and Sutton’s Creek) in the autumn of 1831 and felt a concern to attend Lower Quarterly Meeting of Virginia Yearly Meeting in January 1832. A few weeks after Rowland Greene’s 1832 visit he traveled to Virginia to attend Lower Quarterly Meeting again and to visit areas where meetings were being laid down.²¹ In addition to his travels, Outland also actively served on monthly and yearly meeting committees dealing with concerns such as education and the care of former slaves.

Josiah Parker was recorded as an elder of Rich Square Meeting in 1814 and was a very active member of the Meeting for Sufferings, the yearly meeting committee responsible for oversight of the slaves

under the care of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Parker was nearing the end of his life by 1832 but was highly involved in the work of both Rich Square and Eastern Quarter in the 1810s and 1820s. Greene sent some of his writings to Josiah Parker following the 1832 visit, including the document quoted at the beginning of this article. The two men did not have an opportunity to visit one another again because Parker died in 1833.²²

Rowland Greene returned to Rich Square in 1834 as part of a visitation to the meetings of Virginia Yearly Meeting and North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1833 and 1834. According to the minutes of Rich Square Monthly Meeting, "his company and gospel labours acceptable and edifying. He had a concern to visit the families in the mtg. He was encouraged to do so, the women's mtg. approving thereof also."²³ Greene himself mentions that the meeting was "well attended by Friends and others." As in his visit in 1832, concerns about slavery and the challenges of living in such a culture continued to be of great importance to him.

Greene wrote in his travel journal of his experience attending Rich Square Meeting in February 1834. Similar to his observations while attending Quaker meetings in Perquimans County, he noted the presence of African Americans among the worshippers at Rich Square. He writes, "There being a considerable number of colored people present setting by themselves. I felt drawn to speak to them particularly encouraging them to attend to the teaching of their grace which they, in common with the human family, had received in their hearts through Christ...."²⁴ He returned to the Rich Square community the following month to meet with a number of the Quaker families in the area and noted spending time with Exum Outland and Josiah Parker's son, Nathan. This was Greene's last visit to Rich Square.

According to Stephen Weeks in his *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, "from 1835 slavery becomes relatively less important [a concern for Friends], while the use and abuse of whiskey, distilling, etc. becomes more so." Weeks credits this shift to two causes: (1) North Carolina Quakers were assuming a reactionary attitude due to the changes brought by the cotton gin and the fear brought by Turner's insurrection, and (2) there was a reduced presence of Friends due to

migrations to the Midwest and the indifference by many of the remaining southern Friends.²⁵ Additional analysis is needed to see if the conclusions made by Stephen Weeks in 1890 were true for the Rich Square Quaker community. It is certain that the climate was increasingly hostile to antislavery sentiments and that several key antislavery proponents from Rich Square were aging out—Josiah Parker died in 1833 and Exum Outland in 1841. However, some anecdotal information indicates that antislavery sentiments remained in the community—though perhaps treated more secretively—in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁶ Meeting records and histories mention little about efforts to assist African Americans after the 1830s and greater emphasis is placed on education and the establishment of schools for Quaker children.

Looking at what was occurring in Rich Square Monthly Meeting during the time of Rowland Greene's visits in 1832 and 1834 gives a snapshot of one community at a time when antislavery stances in North Carolina were increasingly unpopular and the Quaker population was dwindling. Greene describes very large gatherings during both of his visits that were attended not only by Friends, but also by others in the community, including many people of color. What drew these people to attend these meetings? What types of relationships were present between Northampton County Quakers and African Americans living within their community? Greene's writings give a glimpse and a hope for additional discoveries that will further document the experiences of North Carolina Friends and African Americans during the turbulent 1830s.

Timeline of Antislavery and Quaker Events Surrounding 1832

- 1760 Rich Square Monthly Meeting established in Northampton County.
- 1776 North Carolina Yearly Meeting makes slaveholding a disownable offense.
- 1794 Jack Swamp Monthly Meeting established in Northampton County.
- 1808 North Carolina Yearly Meeting begins owning slaves as a measure to allow individuals to cease being slave owners within the restrictions of laws against manumission.
- 1812 Jack Swamp Monthly Meeting laid down and any remaining members attached to Rich Square Monthly Meeting.
- 1813 Ohio Yearly Meeting founded (settled in part by North Carolina Friends migrating to the Midwest).
- 1816 First meeting of North Carolina Manumission Society held at Centre Meeting in Guilford County.
- 1821 Indiana Yearly Meeting founded (largely settled by North Carolina Friends migrating to the Midwest).
- 1822 North Carolina Yearly Meeting stops accepting slaves from non-Friends seeking to manumit through the processes established in 1808.
- 1830 North Carolina emancipation law requires posting of \$1,000 bond for each slave to be freed to require good behavior and insurance that the freed slave would leave the state within ninety days. Those freed for meritorious service were not required to leave the state.

- 1831 Garrison begins *The Liberator* in Boston, Massachusetts.
- 1831 Nat Turner Slave Insurrection in Southampton County, Virginia.
- 1831 North Carolina law prohibits teaching slaves to read or write.
- 1832 Andrew Jackson elected president over Henry Clay.
- 1832 New England Anti-Slavery Society founded in Boston.
- 1833 Abolition of slavery in British Empire.
- 1834 Last meeting of North Carolina Manumission Society held at Marlborough Friends Meeting in Randolph County.
- 1835 Revision of the North Carolina State Constitution disenfranchises free blacks.
- 1844 Virginia Yearly Meeting laid down.

Endnotes

¹ Rowland Greene 1832 Document, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

² For additional information on the history of Rich Square Meeting, see Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1896); E. Carl Witt, ed., *Footprints in Northampton* (Northampton Co., N.C.: Bicentennial Committee, 1976); and Mary P. Littrell, Mary E. Outland, and Janie O. Sams, *A History of Rich Square Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1760–1960* (Woodland, N.C.: Rich Square Monthly Meeting, 1960).

³ Weeks, 262.

⁴ Mildred Ratcliff, *Memoranda and Correspondence of Mildred Ratcliff* (Philadelphia: Friends Bookstore, 1890): 94.

⁵ Weeks, 262.

⁶ U.S Bureau of the Census. Fifth Census of the United States: 1830.

⁷ Josiah Parker Papers, Quaker Archives, Lilly Library, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.

⁸ See Rowland Greene document of 6–5–1832 reprinted on pages 58 and 59 of this issue. Letter reprinted from Rowland Greene Manuscript Journals courtesy of Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Penn.

⁹ Rich Square Monthly Meeting, 8–31–1831, North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

¹⁰ See Merton L. Dillon, *Slavery Attacked: Southern Slaves and Their Allies, 1619–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), especially Chapter 8, for additional information about the antislavery movement in the 1830s and Quaker influences.

¹¹ Edward Bettle to Nathan Mendenhall, 5–21–1832, Correspondence of Meetings for Sufferings, North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

¹² Thomas C. Parramore, *Southampton County, Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978): 114.

¹³ See Hiram H. Hilty, *By Land and By Sea: Quakers Confront Slavery and Its Aftermath in North Carolina* (Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1993): 57–66, for additional details and specific examples, including the challenges faced by the Julius Pringle.

¹⁴ Weeks, 228.

¹⁵ Hilty, 38.

¹⁶ Littrell, 19; Rich Square Monthly Meeting, 1832.

¹⁷ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, 1832, North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

¹⁸ See Greene letter of 6–5–1832.

¹⁹ Rowland Green Manuscript Journals, 3–17–1834, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Penn.

²⁰ Exum Outland (1778–1841) was the son of Josiah and Milicent (Peele) Outland and married Miriam Overman in 1803.

²¹ Exum Outland also made a similar journey to Virginia in 1834. Outland's various travels in the ministry are noted in the minutes of Rich Square Monthly Meeting.

²² Josiah Parker (1769–1833) was the son of Joseph and Sarah (Katron) Parker and married Martha Peele (daughter of John and Mary Norsworthy Peele) in 1792. The Josiah Parker Papers are in the Quaker Archives at Earlham College in Richmond, Ind. Copies are also available for consultation in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College in Greensboro, N.C. and on the Web at <http://www.earlham.edu/~libr/quaker/parker/>.

²³ Rich Square Monthly Meeting, 3-15-1834.

²⁴ Greene Journals, 2-27-1834.

²⁵ Weeks, 244.

²⁶ For example, Julia Copeland Outland relates a story from her childhood that the militant antislavery activist John Brown was an anonymous guest in her family's home for ten days in 1857.

Rowland Greene Documents, 1832

Edited by

Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson

Transcribed by

Barbara C. Gosney

The following two documents were written by Rhode Island Friend Rowland Greene (1700–1857) while he was traveling in the ministry among Friends of Virginia and North Carolina Yearly Meetings in 1832. The first document is a letter Greene wrote to his wife, Susannah, from Rich Square, North Carolina on June 5, 1832. The letter was preserved as a part of Rowland Greene's letter book which he composed by hand, copying the letters he had written to his wife and children during his travels away from home. The letter book is a part of the Rowland Greene Manuscript Journals in the Quaker Collection at Haverford College.

The second document is the item that sparked the writing of the previous article. When given to the Friends Historical Collection by Rich Square Monthly Meeting in 2000, the document was only identified as "1832 Anonymous Document." Clues gathered from the document were the date it was written (June 6, 1832),¹ the location where it was written (seven miles outside of Rich Square, North Carolina), the fact that the document was sent in August to Josiah Parker of Rich

Barbara C. Gosney is the current clerk of Rich Square Monthly Meeting in Woodland, North Carolina, and a kindergarten teacher in the Northampton County Schools.

Square, and the strong impression that it was written by a visitor from outside of eastern North Carolina.

The document had remained in Northampton County since the nineteenth century and was given to Rich Square Meeting by an Outland family member. A local resident with connections to the Josiah Parker family shared it with her due to the mention of her family in the opening paragraph. No other information was known.

Efforts were made to identify the author. Some preliminary research was done through the Rich Square Monthly Meeting minutes to search for additional clues. No visitors were noted in the May or June minutes. The published journals of several Friends ministers known to have traveled through North Carolina in the 1830s were consulted. Since there was evidently some connection to Josiah Parker, surviving correspondence in the Josiah Parker Papers² was surveyed to see if there were any handwriting or writing style similarities.

The most likely lead was located in the Eastern Quarterly Meeting minutes. They revealed that Rowland Greene, a Friends minister from New England Yearly Meeting, attended quarterly meeting on June 2, 1832 at Symon's Creek in Pasquotank County, North Carolina. Could Rowland Greene have traveled on to Rich Square following quarterly meeting? There was nothing in the Quaker records to confirm or deny and Greene did not have a published journal to give additional information about his travels. Luckily, Greene's handwritten journals and letter book have been preserved as a manuscript collection in the Quaker Collection at Haverford College. An initial look at Greene's papers revealed that the handwriting is extremely similar, if not the same, as that seen in the anonymous document.

A closer examination of Rowland Greene's travels confirmed what had already been documented in the Eastern Quarterly Meeting minutes. Greene was visiting among Friends in eastern North Carolina in June 1832. The final confirmation that Greene was the author of the "anonymous" document was his June 5, 1832 letter to his wife. The presence of a letter written the evening before from the same location and expressing some of the same concerns firmly connected Greene to the heartfelt spiritual outpouring written on June 6, 1832.

• • •

1832

Richsquare, N. Hampton Co. 6th mo.—5 ^

My dear wife,

Soon after the close of Virginia Y. Meeting³ I wrote thee — We left Gravelly Run⁴ 5th day morning, and at 11. o'clock on 7th day reached Simon's Creek,⁵ where the Eastern Quarter of N.C. Yearly Meeting⁶ is held — distance 130 miles.

The meeting was largely attended by Friends and others — And was a precious, tendering season. Next day we attended the public meeting at the same place, and being 1st day, it was very large, some friends judged there were not less than 2000⁷ in attendance — many more than could be seated in the house. Among them there were many of the colored people.⁸ The stillness and order of the congregation, both within doors and without, were honorable and praise worthy. Truth prevailed, and the meeting proved satisfactory. Seven meetings⁹ were appointed, and at the close of the above meeting given out — all belonging to this Quarterly Meeting, and not very far from each other. All these we have visited by taking one day, two meetings. That on 7th day, was the monthly Meeting of Piney Woods¹⁰

We also next day attended their first day meeting, which was a large and a blessed Meeting. Richsquare¹¹ is about 60 miles from Piney Woods — which we rode yesterday and to day. Richsquare meeting is the only one in this Quarterly Meeting which we have not attended — and tomorrow we propose to attend that, and then return into Virginia, and finish our prospect there, would way open for it. There are seven or eight meetings there, which we have not visited and a few of them are pretty remotely situated. But if our health remains good, and nothing befalls us to impede our progress, we may be at home early in the 7th mo.

All the meetings in this quarter have been large and satisfactory. Much decorum and propriety of conduct have been observed in them, which I have thought the more remarkable as Slave holders, Slaves, and free people of color, were in attendance, and sometimes largely.

Oh the excellence of the Truth

in preparing for religious service, and in making way among the people! How worthy to be relied upon!

Emigration from this state since the Southhampton affair,¹² has been brisk — some friends are numbered among the emigrants: A general and deep constination was felt and fearfulness possessed the people — But this is subsiding — and the thought of leaving the country somewhat abated.

The impolicy of slavery has hardly an equal in anything, except the unrighteousness of the system of Slavery. The face of the Countries holding Slaves, which we have past, loudly proclaimed it. The Land, indeed languisheth! The fields once fruitful have become waste wilderness! The poor Cattle, and all domestic creatures seem to cry out bitterly against it. The sickening view would seem almost insupportable, was it not for the grateful belief, that Almighty Goodness designs a removal of this mighty Evil — and that a reformation is rapidly progressing under the influence of This Holy Hand. And oh, that

it may be soon accomplished!

My love for you all is unshaken. My solicitude for the well being and establishment of all our dear children in Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life is heartfelt and fervent. And great is the satisfaction in reflecting that they have been blessed, as a family, in many ways, in no ordinary degree, yet not without our trials: and these rightfully submitted to, not unfrequently result in blessings. May we, therefore persevere in the way mercifully cast up for the ransomed and the redeemed to walk in — and all, I think, will be well.

I long that thou mayest enjoy a sweet portion of Peace, which passeth understanding, which is from above, and which the world can neither give, nor take away.

affectionately farewell

R. Greene.

Susanna Greene.

Rowland Greene document, which follows

1833. June 6th - Attended a Meeting, a precious
 one, at Birch Spring, in Northampton County.
 Then rode to Mexican Outlands - 7 miles - and
 walked out alone - A Forest, deep and
 wild, being near, I bent my steps thither.
 The stillness of the scene - and the solemn
 shade we congenial to my mind - which seems
 to require repose - I found some better seeking
 the even into thy wilderness, O God, Northampton.

The trees are lofty - there is goodness
 here. The beams of the Sun, limited by spreading
 their way to the earth, are quiet - The trees,
 both great and small, stand still - not a
 branch, nor a leaf, moves. - This suspension
 of all action - and the solemn stillness pervading
 the scene, inspire the soul with awe - all
 seems like the work of the Majesty of Heaven and of
 Earth - all unite to stillness and reverence
 and fear before Thee - all seems calculated to
 raise the heart to Thee, in love, in adoration,
 in worship. - May my heart avail itself of this
 grand lesson in Nature, so to learn, and to feel
 their great duties, that they may be performed
 to Thy acceptance, O God!

I feel that Thou art here - I know that
 this is Thy Work - and may I ever praise Thee
 Thou art! I feel also a glow - I see an evil,
 and a Cloud rising here from with the cry of
 iniquity for blood - Man has come, and
 gone from Thy counsel - he has done injury to
 Thy name, O God - Man, in the name of his race



1832 6t mo. 6t — Attended a Meeting, a precious One, at Rich Square, in Northampton County. Then rode to Axiom Outland's¹³ — 7 miles — dined and walked out alone. — A forest, deep and wild, being near, I bent my steps thither.

The stillness of the scene — and this solemn shade are congenial to my mind — which seems to require repose. — I have come hither seeking it even into Thy wilderness, Oh! North Carolina.

The trees are lofty — there is grandeur here. The beams of the Sun, limitedly finding their way to the earth, are mild — The trees, both great and small, stand still — not a bough, nor a leaf moves. — The suspension of all action — and the solemn stillness pervading the Scene, impresses the mind with awe — all seems like the work of the Majesty of Heaven and of Earth — all invite to stillness and reverence and fear before Him, in love, in adoration and worship. — May my heart avail itself of this grand lesson in Nature, so to learn, and to feel Thou great duties, that they may be performed to Thy acceptance, Oh God! —

I feel that Thou art here. — I know that this is Thy work — and may it ever praise Thee! But oh! I feel also a gloom — I see an Evil, for a Cloud rising therefrom with the cry of inquisition for blood. — Man has erred and gone from thy counsel — he has done injury to his fellow MAN. — Man in chains of bondage holds MAN. — he drains him of his comfort — he withholds from him the sweetness of liberty — and that without his having offended — of the is otherwise misused — and sorely grieved — his blood is of little account — he is an outcast of the Law of the Land — he has none to whom he can look for redress — none in all the earth, but to Thee Oh Father of mercies! — Thou seest the Iniquity — Thou beholdest the evil tendency thereof — Thou knowest that the land mourneth — that desolation, and misery, and multiplied evils follow, yes, are closely connected with the steps of slavery. — A Pestilence to man indeed! a corruption of which both parties sadly [*sic*] partake. — Wilt Thou then, Oh gracious God! Be pleased to hasten the reformation — and remove this threatful Cloud

of iniquity from the face of the land. — We thank Thee, Oh righteous Judge of all! — that Thou hast arisen, and art carrying [*sic*] on, through Thy providences, a reformation on to effect the work — and that too according to Thy gracious system of “loving kindness” — Oh! Be entreated, Holy Father! to hasten the work. — Many even of those who are involved in this transgression have looked to Thee for their salvation and have named the Name of Christ — Oh! May these be again and again baptised in Jordan untile [*sic*] they feel and understand the holy necessity of “departing from all iniquity.” What a noble host of advocates, in this Thy righteous cause, would they prove, Oh Father! and how soon would this great spot in our feast of Charity be removed and none hurt — nor blood spilt! Oh! draw thy professing children, by the cords of Thy love, to see and to feel, the obligation we are under to Thee, and to the Son of Thy bosom, to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before Thee — departing from all iniquity, — living in Thy fear, and redeemed, and sanctified by the blood of Thy Christ — and Thus become qualified to breathe in good earnest, “Glory to God in the highest and on Earth, peace and good will to man.” — And be as Thy lights in the world and as the salt of the Earth.

Amen. —————

Hasten, Oh hasten that day, gracious Majesty of Heaven and earth —

Amen ——— Amen! —————

Endnotes

¹ June 6, 1832 was a Wednesday so the meeting attended was a midweek meeting rather than First day meeting for worship or a monthly meeting for business.

² Josiah Parker Papers, Friends Collection, Lilly Library, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

³ Virginia Yearly Meeting was traditionally held in May and alternated its meeting place by gathering at Gravelly Run Meeting (near Petersburg, Virginia) in even years and Weyanoke Meeting (near Petersburg) in odd years. 1832 was the last year sessions were held at Gravelly Run due to the depletion of Quakers in the area. The yearly meeting itself only existed for another twelve years and was laid down in 1844. For additional information about the history of Friends in Virginia and Virginia Yearly Meeting, see Jay Worrall, Jr., *The Friendly Virginians: America's First Quakers* (Athens, Ga.: Iberian Publishing, 1994).

⁴ Gravelly Run Monthly Meeting (1800–1832) was located in Dinwiddie County, Virginia near Petersburg, Virginia.

⁵ Symons Creek Meeting, established in 1740 as a preparative meeting under Perquimans Monthly Meeting and later becoming a monthly meeting in 1677, was located in Pasquotank County. Symons Creek Monthly Meeting was discontinued in 1854.

⁶ Eastern Quarterly Meeting consisted of four monthly meetings—Piney Woods, Symons Creek, Suttons Creek (laid down in 1835), and Rich Square—and was one of six quarterly meetings comprising North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1832.

⁷ The original text has 2000, but a dot possibly used as a correction covers the lower port of the third 0. Therefore, the number was likely

intended to be 200 which would be more in line with the numbers Greene recorded at other meeting he visited during his travels in 1832 and again in 1834. The entire population (white, slave, and free) of Pasquotank County was only about 8,600 in 1830 so 200 would still be an impressive number.

⁸ According to the 1830 United States census, Pasquotank County had 3,659 people of color (2,621 slave and 1,038 free), which was 42 percent of the total county population at that time.

⁹ The seven meetings were Little River (1854), Narrows (1839), Newbegun Creek (1845), Piney Woods, Rich Square, Symons Creek (1854), Suttons Creek (1835). Only two continued beyond the mid-nineteenth century.

¹⁰ Piney Woods Monthly Meeting, earlier known as Perquimans Monthly Meeting, was founded in 1682 as the first established meeting in North Carolina. It is still active and located in Perquimans County.

¹¹ Rich Square Monthly Meeting was established in 1760 in southern Northampton County and continues to the present.

¹² Greene is referring to the Nat Turner slave insurrection that occurred in nearby Southampton County, Virginia in August 1831 and left fifty-five whites dead.

¹³ Exum Outland (1778–1841) was an active member and recorded minister of Rich Square Monthly Meeting. He was the son of Josiah and Milicent (Peele) Outland.

Book Review

Mary Ann Yannessa. *Levi Coffin, Quaker: Breaking the Bonds of Slavery in Ohio and Indiana*. Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2001. x + 74 pp. Bibliography. \$10.

This slim volume fulfills its claim as a brief biography of Underground Railroad President Levi Coffin. While Mary Ann Yannessa's primary focus is on Coffin's abolitionist activities in Cincinnati, Ohio, it is of interest to the North Carolina Friends Historical Society because Levi Coffin's roots were in North Carolina.

Organized chronologically, the book begins with information about Levi Coffin's early years in New Garden, North Carolina. She accurately relates the story of his youth commenting that, in part, Levi Coffin "inherited his antislavery principles." Young Levi also witnessed the abuse of slaves, and this had a profound influence on his "conversion to abolitionism." As a young man, he began to assist slaves making their way North and, with cousin Vestal Coffin, he was instrumental in forming the Underground Railroad.

While most Quakers are familiar with the Underground Railroad as our legacy, Yannessa makes the book easily accessible for those with no background or knowledge of the Society of Friends by describing fully the movement. She emphasizes the antislavery work of Levi Coffin and his wife Catharine in Indiana and Ohio.

This reviewer appreciated the information on the Free Produce Movement begun by John Woolman and Levi Coffin's work with the Cincinnati Free Produce Store which sold only "goods made and put

together by free labor.” The author correctly notes that most of Levi Coffin’s time in Cincinnati was devoted to the Underground Railroad. She makes much of the efforts of his wife and others to aid the slaves—even to fashioning clothing for disguise. The Coffins were, as Yannesssa aptly describes, the “nucleus around which all antislavery activity revolved.”

For a period of thirty-three years, the Coffins received more than one hundred slaves into their home annually. She commented that Levi Coffin’s belief in equality increased as he came to know the slaves personally and observed their intellect and their “spiritual relationship to God.” Levi Coffin continued to assist slaves with resettlement as refugees, heading the Western Freedman’s Aid Commission. So concerned was he for their cause that he raised \$100,000 in England—this is 1864! After the Fifteenth Amendment was passed in 1870 giving black men the vote, Levi Coffin resigned his title as “President of the Underground Railroad.”

Yannesssa covers well the debate within the Society of Friends of the slavery issue as well as migration of Quakers from North Carolina to Indiana and Ohio. She also documents the struggle among Quakers regarding Underground Railroad activity. She has done her “homework” consulting the classics including Stephen B. Weeks’ *Southern Quakers and Slavery*. Yannesssa has also relied on heavily on Levi Coffin’s *Reminiscences*.

The volume is fairly clean of editorial problems though this reviewer found several which might have been caught with more thorough proofreading. Citing of references throughout the text was helpful. There are few primary sources available. Nonetheless, more research is necessary with respect to the early years. Neither Addison Coffin’s *Life and Travels of Addison Coffin* (Cleveland, Ohio: William G. Hubbard, 1897) and nor his “Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina” (unpublished manuscript in Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College, 1894) were referenced. I do not agree with Yannesssa’s listing of primary (original) and secondary (derived from what is primary or original) sources. She lists as primary sources those which are clearly secondary and vice-versa.

Even with these problems, the book is informative and interesting. Yannessa, herself a speaker for the Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati, greatly admires her subject and the volume succeeds as a tribute to Levi Coffin. The Levi Coffin House Association honors Levi and Catharine Coffin's antislavery efforts by maintaining their home in Fountain City, Indiana, as an historic site open to the public. The Underground Railroad Freedom Center will open with a permanent site on Cincinnati's riverfront in 2004. Those interested in learning more about Levi Coffin will want to read this book and visit both the Coffin home and the Freedom Center.

M. Gertrude Beal
Guilford College

Book Review

William L. Byrd III. *In Full Force and Virtue: North Carolina Emancipation Records, 1713-1860*. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1999. xiii + 358 pp. Introduction, acknowledgment, appendices, index. \$54.00.

In Full Force and Virtue reveals a fascinating chapter of slavery through a relatively obscure and varied body of emancipation records. Several hundred transcripts of petitions for and against the emancipation of individual slaves make up the bulk of this work. The petitions provide insight into the institution of slavery that is equally useful to the layman and to the serious student of history.

Most North Carolina counties maintained a miscellaneous file of these petitions under the heading "slave papers" or a similar heading, which are now located at the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh. The majority of the petitions were brought before courts of pleas and quarter sessions or before superior courts of law. The work does not constitute all or even a majority of emancipation records, as it does not include court minutes, wills or probate records, minutes of the North Carolina General Assembly, or the records of other bodies that had a hand in emancipation disputes. Only the records in the county miscellaneous files are included.

About a thousand individuals are named in a few hundred petitions. This is not a set of abstracts. Each petition is meticulously transcribed, with a goal of being as faithful to the original as possible. Consequently, misspellings, repetitive legal language and other elements are all retained. This care adds to the authenticity and flavor of the work.

The book is not of broad genealogical use, except for the lucky few whose ancestors happen to be captured in these records. In those cases, the transcripts really are a gold mine of information, yielding an unusual number of details about slaves who would otherwise be virtually absent from the historical record. Since the basis of many of the slaves' legal arguments is that they are descended from free persons, the records frequently deal with proofs of ancestry.

The most valuable aspect of the records is the insight they provide into a complex historical and psychological period in North Carolina history. They give the reader a view of a wide variety of individuals on opposite sides of life-altering conflicts. The slaves, their advocates, and the slave owners vary from eloquent to base, from passionate and moving to clinical and legalistic.

The tenor of the petitions of the slaves themselves is particularly interesting. In many cases they display a straightforward attitude towards their enslaved status that is difficult to grasp for a modern reader. In a subtle way, the coolly written petitions are more moving than the passionate ones because they reveal the mundane side of slavery. Slavery was a generally accepted fact of life for most North Carolinians, even those opposed to it. Slavery was normal and the frequent and frank references to it by slaves themselves are disarming.

Another fascinating theme occurs in many of the slave owners' petitions. In legal terms, they were defending their right to property. The petitions did not constitute a forum in which a discussion of slavery took place. They were largely fact-finding records, in which the goal was to establish individuals' status as slaves. However, the theme of property rights versus human rights manifests itself to the modern reader, and it is latently played out in a complex legal dance.

Quakers played a disproportionately prominent role as slave advocates in North Carolina and these records reflect that fact. Quakers are paid special attention in the two appendices to the work. One includes all the acts of the North Carolina General Assembly that deal with emancipation laws. Quakers are the implicit objects of many of the laws, as the General Assembly sought to close loopholes that

Quakers used to commit “the evil and pernicious practice of freeing slaves.” Appendix B includes Quaker documents and petitions to the North Carolina General Assembly as well as to higher legislative bodies.

In making these records available, Byrd illustrates a unique vantage point on slavery and this book deserves a spot on the shelves of anyone interested in the subject.

Arthur G. Erickson
Greensboro Public Library
Greensboro, North Carolina

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Editor's Introduction

The Joy of Writing

BY BOBBIE TEAGUE

*North Carolina Quaker Children's
Fiction: Selected Titles*

Finding a Friend: Mabel Leigh Hunt

BY PEGGY HOLLINGSWORTH

Mabel Leigh Hunt's Books for Children

*Dear Gertrude: Selections from Letters
to Gertrude, 1910-1913*

INTRODUCED BY JOAN NEWLIN POOLE

Friends Historical Collection

Annual Report, 2001-2002

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SPECIAL ISSUE: NORTH CAROLINA QUAKER HISTORY FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the southeastern United States. Articles must be well written and properly documented. Contributors 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* in preparing manuscripts. Submissions should be sent in both paper and electronic versions. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to the editor at editor@ncfhs.org or mailed to Gwen Gosney Erickson, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410-4175.

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

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Editor's Introduction

As noted on the front cover, this issue is somewhat different from previous ones. Rather than featuring a scholarly article or recent research, this issue is a compilation of materials relating to the theme of "North Carolina Quaker History for Young People." The editorial board selected this theme due to the recent release of a new children's book based on North Carolina Quaker history and the hosting of 2002 Quakers Uniting in Publications (QUIP) in Greensboro, North Carolina. The QUIP gathering focused on publications for young Friends, and we thought this theme would be appropriate for us to highlight as well. We hope that you enjoy this special issue. Perhaps it will remind us of forgotten childhood favorites and encourage sharing our North Carolina Quaker history with a younger audience.

The first essay is by North Carolina Quaker author Bobbie Teague. We asked her to reflect on her writing experience since she recently had her first children's book published. A review of her book, *Simon's Gold*, is included in this issue's book reviews. Her article is followed by a short list of children's fiction titles based in North Carolina Quaker history that you might enjoy reading.

Peggy Hollingsworth shares her journey of rediscovering her connections with Quaker author Mabel Leigh Hunt. Mabel Leigh Hunt was an Indiana Quaker author and librarian whose writings gained widespread acclaim in the 1940s and 1950s, including two of her books being chosen as Newberry Honor Books. Many of her stories are based on her Quaker heritage and several take place in North Carolina. Hunt had written more than thirty books and short stories at the time of her death in 1971. Unfortunately, most of these publications are now out of print. However, many well-loved copies can still be found in meeting libraries and Quaker homes.

The longest feature in this issue is selections from the previously published *Letters to Gertrude*. These touching selections present several letters written between 1910 and 1913 by Mary Mendenhall Hobbs and Lewis Lyndon Hobbs to their daughter, Gertrude. Photographs of Gertrude and members of her family from the Mendenhall-Hobbs Papers and the Russell D. and Gertrude Hobbs Korner Papers of the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College accompany the letters.

Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson
Editor, *The Southern Friend*

The Joy Of Writing

By

Bobbie Teague

For many years Quakers have experienced the joy of the written word. Why did George Fox keep a journal? Why did John Woolman write of his travels? We can only surmise that part of the answer would be that they drew pleasure from the written word. More recently, the same could be said of Jessamine West, Philip Gulley, or Richard Foster. One can safely say that whatever the reason might be for writing, or whatever degree of pleasure is experienced from the writing, there are a few things that all writers have in common.

I realize that the writing of two books, *Cane Creek: Mother of Meetings* and *Simon's Gold*, as well as a few magazine articles, in no way makes me an expert on writing. However, I would like to share some of the things I experienced and some of the things I learned during the time of writing and through the publication process.

There are many quotations that describe writing. The one that I like best is, "Writing is like telling a story." Therefore, the first thing that must be ascertained is whether there is a story to be told. I knew without doubt that there was a story about Cane Creek Meeting. A place that is 250 years old has many stories. So for me, it became not, "Is there a story to tell?" but rather, "Which story shall I tell?"

Bobbie Teague is a lifelong Quaker and member of Cane Creek Friends Meeting. She is the author of *Cane Creek: Mother of Meetings* and *Simon's Gold*.

It was a little different for *Simon's Gold*. For this I had a few facts and much speculation. It was a tradition for most boys and girls growing up in the Snow Camp area to hunt for the gold that Simon Dixon was supposed to have hidden and never recovered during the time of the American Revolutionary War. I thought it would make an interesting story to have someone of modern times find the gold. The tale seemed more suitable for children so it became a fantasy for them.

It would be extremely difficult to find two books that are more different. One is a church history and the other, a children's story. However, they both required planning. And, in my opinion, the number one thing the writer needs to do, redo, and do again is plan.

The Cane Creek book required much research, so I took notes on top of notes. May I emphasize here what the English 101 teacher stressed. Do not neglect to cite your sources and do make your notes on index cards. I remembered very quickly that the organization of notes is much easier and much less frustrating if cards are used instead of a yellow legal pad.

The next step is to make an outline. It will help you avoid repetition. Also, an outline is an excellent and quick reference when you suddenly ask yourself, "Did I include certain facts about such and such?" The outline for *Simon's Gold* was actually the story line or plot.

Could it have happened? Is it logical? Does it flow together, with one discovery leading to another? These three questions must have an answer of "yes." If they do not, much more work is required. Three "yes" answers assure there will be no holes in the plot and the story hangs together in a logical fashion.

Oddly enough, *Simon's Gold* almost wrote itself. Once the characters were established they seemed to take on a life of their own. They moved in and out of the story at will. Writing the dialogue was probably the most difficult part. Since one of the characters was a boy who lived more than two hundred years ago, I had to be sure that he did not use any words that are from today's world. Also, it was necessary to be sure that his actions were consistent with his time. For example, I had to explain how he knew how to give a "high five" to one of the other boys in the story.

While the Cane Creek book had no character development it was necessary to check and double-check some of the facts. I found that if I thought something didn't sound just right or didn't appear to be in the right place, it probably wasn't. Accuracy should be the goal for writing history. So far, I have had only one person tell me that I had a mistake in the book. It was in the spelling of a name. The only excuse I can offer is the lack of thorough research.

Another important thing I learned is to trust your editor. I once told a small audience that writing a book is like having a baby with possibly two exceptions; writing takes longer and is more painful. So when an editor suggests deleting something or changing something, it is as if they suggested changes to your child. But, one thing I have learned is that the editor is probably right. They are able to objectively evaluate your writing and in my case had much more experience than I had, so I learned to trust them—painful as it may have been.

I was very fortunate to have had the help and support of the Publications Board of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The members are wonderfully dedicated and knowledgeable. Their help was invaluable through the entire writing and publishing process.

Few things compare to the joy of holding your first book in your hand. I remember running my hands over the cover, hugging it to me, and even sniffing it to get that new, fresh, hot-off-the-press smell. You look at it, rifle the pages, and smile from ear to ear. You say to yourself, "I did it. I really did it." And then you sit down and read it from cover to cover, just as though you had never seen it before.

And, in the next few days, you will find yourself asking, "What shall I write about next?"

Writing is wonderful!

North Carolina Quaker Children's Fiction: Selected Titles*

Benjie's Hat, by Mabel Leigh Hunt. Illustrated by Grace Paull. New York: F.A. Stokes, 1938. 119 pp.

The Boy Who Had No Birthday, by Mabel Leigh Hunt. Illustrated by Cameron Wright. Philadelphia: J.D Lippincott, 1935. 259 pp.

Ruth's Gift, by Cathy Gaskill. Illustrated by Jan VerBraeken. Melbourne, FL: Canmore Press, 1998. 160 pp. \$15.00.

Simon's Gold, by Bobbie T. Teague. Illustrated by Charles D.J. Deppner. Melbourne, Fla.: Canmore Press, 2001. 83 pp. \$12.00.

That's My Brother, by Ruth Outland Szitty. Illustrated by Millie Pendergast. Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1982. 28 pp.

They Loved to Laugh, by Kathryn Worth. Illustrated by Marguerite De Angeli. Warsaw, N.D.: Bethlehem Books, 1996. 254 pp. \$11.95.

Tomorrow Will Be Bright, by Mabel Leigh Hunt. Illustrated by Tommy Shoemaker. Boston: Ginn, 1958. 140 pp.

Who Comes with Cannons? by Patricia Beatty. New York: HarperCollins, 1992. 192 pp. \$15.95.

* Prices are given when known for those still available for purchase. Several of these books are currently out of print. However, they are still available for borrowing from libraries and personal collections.

Finding a Friend: Mabel Leigh Hunt

By

Peggy Hollingsworth

In the spring of 1959 I made my first trip to North Carolina, with my family, to attend the Triennial Conferences of the United Society of Friends Women and Quaker Men held at High Point Friends Meeting. As an eighth grader, I missed a week of classes in Indiana, but the learning I did beyond the school walls that May has continued to be important throughout my life. This was the first time that I had traveled beyond the confines of Hoosierland and its contiguous states and I recall wanting to stay awake every mile of the way, so as not to miss anything we might be passing on our way southeastwardly. My sister, only five at the time, asked why we didn't stop as soon as we crossed into North Carolina, for having heard us all speak of going to "North Carolina" for so many weeks prior to the trip, she assumed we had reached our destination when we saw the sign at the state line.

The hospitality extended to the attendees at the conference site at the new meetinghouse in High Point where we met for worship and business and ate our meals, as well as in the homes of the families

Peggy Hollingsworth is a lifelong member of Russiaville (Indiana) Friends Meeting, Western Yearly Meeting. She serves as historian of the United Society of Friends Women International. A graduate of Indiana University, she is employed as the librarian at Connersville (Indiana) High School and serves on the board of the Association for Indiana Media Educators.

where we lodged, was my first introduction to the warmth and sincerity of southern Friends. One of the most memorable features of the 1959 Triennial was the opportunity to tour several historical and cultural sites in the Greensboro–High Point area. Places that I remember distinctly include the New Garden meetinghouse and cemetery, the museum at Springfield Meeting, a dramatic outdoor presentation at Centre Meeting, and the Deep River–Jamestown area.

During this USFW Triennial and the following one in June 1962 at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, my sister and I were about the only children present and we had a unique opportunity to be favored with the friendship of another attender from our own Western Yearly Meeting. Mabel Leigh Hunt, a published children's book author and member of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting, was small in stature but effervescent in personality. We could sense that she loved children.

The setting of Mabel Leigh Hunt's book, *Benjie's Hat*, came ALIVE as we traversed the highways and byways of the Piedmont, whether by bus, with knowledgeable tour guides, or by car. Having Miss Hunt among us as a presenter at the gathering, within the shadow of the setting of one of her most popular and beloved books, was truly a magical experience for me.

In the following years, I anxiously awaited new books written by Miss Hunt and devoured again and again the ones she had already penned. She once said, "I like best to write for those I call 'middle-aged' children (8–12). They are the ones who are able to read with skill and for pure pleasure, and they are the most responsive to the author as their own especial friend." Although I was well past that age, I still appreciated the craftsmanship of her writing, particularly as it applied to our shared Quaker heritage. When *Beggar's Daughter* was published in 1963 (the year of my high school graduation), I experienced the early days of the Society of Friends in a new and personal way as I read her fictional account of the 1650s in England.

Mabel Leigh Hunt died in September 1971, having never completed another book-length manuscript. Declining health hampered her last few years. On deposit in the archives at Earlham College are numerous items that she had collected in preparation for the production of a thirty-second book, focusing on "the Quaker child." Perhaps the

reason she found the work of designing and writing this tome to be laden with difficulty was that she had already done such a superb job of bringing believable and friendly Quaker children to life over and over again in the pages of her classics, written in the three decades of her active writing career.

As a Young Friend in Western Yearly Meeting in the 1950s and 1960s it was my privilege to be a member of the Literature Committee. Many of the adults I served with then were librarians by profession, including Mabel Leigh Hunt. By their example, they had a lasting influence on my career choice. Now in my thirty–fifth year as a high school librarian I have seen trends in young adult literature and reading patterns wax and wane. And all of this time my personal benchmark for excellence has been the works I knew as a youth, produced by my very own “Friend,” Mabel Leigh Hunt.

A few years ago, I became increasingly aware that the works of my favorite Quaker author were becoming obscure and unknown, even to Quaker youth. As I wrestled with this reality, I pondered what I could do to reignite the joy and pleasure I knew as a Young Friend for a new generation of readers. Since 1987, teachers in Indiana are invited to apply for Teacher Creativity Fellowship grants that provide summer renewal opportunities through the generosity of the Lilly Endowment, Inc. Imagine my surprise and excitement when I was notified in March 2001 that my proposal had been selected as a winner in this highly competitive program. “Finding a Friend” would allow me the time and wherewithal to retrace my association with my childhood friend and role model, Mabel Leigh Hunt. Maybe I could even raise some new awareness of her books among family, F/friends, and colleagues! What an intriguing possibility!

The first thing that I decided to do that summer was to travel to Guilford College for the annual gathering of the Friends Association for Higher Education (an organization with which I have been affiliated since its founding in 1980) and the “Exploring Carolina Quaker Crossroads” workshop which followed immediately. Although I have returned to the Tar Heel State more than a dozen times since that first memorable trip in 1959, the summer 2001 sojourn there was of special significance as it allowed me to put in perspective from the lens of a

thirty-plus year career the things that have continued to influence me and my Quaker journey through adulthood.

Through the speakers heard, the places visited, and the people met, I was enabled to see how my professional and personal achievements have followed somewhat the path that Mabel Leigh Hunt trod—minus the writing of thirty-one books!

On display in the Friends Historical Collection at Hege Library is a fine example of a product from Beard's Hat Shop—Nathan Hunt's own hat. Undoubtedly Miss Hunt had gotten the seeds for her Benjie story during her numerous visits to North Carolina and her cousins, the Blair family of the Springfield community.

Tomorrow Will Be Bright, the only book which she wrote that was specifically aimed toward school curriculum needs, tells graphically the migratory journey of a Quaker family from the comfort of their established home in the Carolinas to the wilderness of the "free" Northwest Territory and the infant state of Ohio.

Others of Mabel Leigh Hunt's Quaker books do not announce a specific geographical setting. However the personal names and places given are such that Friends in the South, on the constantly advancing midwestern frontier, and even in the established strongholds of Quakerdom in the Middle Atlantic and New England states could easily be identifiable as a "peculiar" people in the mid-1800s. *Little Girl with Seven Names* and its sequel *Little Grey Gown*, *The Double Birthday Present*, and *Johnny-Up and Johnny-Down* all fit this model. Melissa Louisa Amanda Miranda Cynthia Jane Farlow could easily have lived in North Carolina, Indiana, or Pennsylvania. The stories of family and community nurture and love among Friends are universal.

Of course, the story that started it all in 1934, *Lucinda, A Little Girl of 1860*, chronicles the childhood of her mother in a close-knit Indiana Quaker settlement, peopled by first generation immigrants from the Carolinas. *The Boy Who Had No Birthday* (1935) recounts the growing up years of the author's father in North Carolina, prior to his moving westward to teach school.

During the years of Mabel Leigh Hunt's active involvement with Friends at the local and yearly meeting levels, she also undertook

quite a bit of curriculum writing for the Five Years Meeting of Friends and often wrote pieces for "The Children's Page" in *Quaker Life*. She edited for publication one particularly interesting set of letters written in the leap year of 1844. The correspondents, who later married, lived in Chatham County, North Carolina, and Morgan County, Indiana.

The author is quoted in *Something About the Author* as follows:

The circumstances of my life, my temperament, my inheritance, my preference, and all that I am have made me a writer. Professionally, a remarkable series of most fortunate coincidences have helped me along through all my years of writing. The thing I need comes to me. The jigsaw falls into place. It has been amazing.*

As I have traversed the countryside of Indiana, southwestern Ohio, and North Carolina during the summer of 2001, I have enjoyed the luxury of looking back over a trail of writing legacy that brought me joy as a youngster. It has been "amazing" to find my friend, Mabel Leigh Hunt, and the ties to our Carolina Quaker heritage.

* *Something About the Author*, Vol. 1 (Detroit: Gale, 1971), 121.

Mabel Leigh Hunt's Books for Children*

Beggar's Daughter, 1963.

Benjie's Hat. Illustrated by Grace Paull. New York: F.A. Stokes, 1938.

Better Known as Johnny Appleseed. Decorations by James Daugherty, 1950.

Billy Button's Butter'd Biscuit. Illustrated by Katherine Milhouse, 1941.

The Boy Who Had No Birthday. Illustrated by Cameron Wright, 1935.

Corn-belt Billy. Illustrated by Kurt Wiese. New York: Grossett and Dunlap, 1942.

Cristy at Skippinghills. Illustrated by Velma Ilesley, 1958.

Cupola House. Illustrated by Nora S. Unwin, 1961.

The Double Birthday Present. Illustrated by Elinore Blaisdell, 1947.

"Have You Seen Tom Thumb?" Illustrated by Fritz Eichenburg, 1942.

John of Pudding Lane. Illustrated by Clotilde Embree Funk, 1941.

Johnny-up and Johnny-down. Illustrated by Harold Berson, 1962.

* Unless otherwise indicated, all books published by J.D. Lippincott Company of Philadelphia.

- Ladycake Farm.* Illustrations by Clotilde Embree Funk, 1952.
- Little Girl with Seven Names.* Illustrated by Grace Paull, 1936.
- Little Grey Gown.* Illustrated by Elise Bischoff, 1939.
- Lucinda, A Little Girl of 1860.* Illustrated by Cameron Wright, 1934.
- Matilda's Buttons.* Illustrated by Elinore Blaisdell, 1948.
- Michel's Island.* Illustrated by Kate Sereby, 1940.
- Miss Jellytot's Visit.* Illustrated by Velma Ilsley, 1955.
- The Peddler's Clock.* Illustrated by Elizabeth Orton Jones. New York: Grossett and Dunlap, 1943.
- Peter Piper's Pickled Peppers.* Illustrated by Katherine Milhous, 1942.
- Sibby Botherbox.* Illustrated by Marjory Collison, 1945.
- Singing Among Strangers.* Illustrated by Irene Gibian, 1954.
- The 69th Grandchild.* Illustrated by Elinore Blaisdell, 1951.
- Stars for Cristy.* Illustrated by Velma Ilsley, 1956.
- Such a Kind World.* Illustrated by Edna Potter. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1947.
- Susan Beware!* Illustrated by Mildred Boyle. New York: F.A. Stokes, 1937.
- Tomorrow Will Be Bright.* Illustrated by Tommy Shoemaker. Boston: Ginn, 1958.
- The Wonderful Baker.* Illustrated by Grace Paull, 1950.
- Young Man of the House.* Illustrated by Louis Slobodkin, 1944.

Dear Gertrude: Selections from *Letters to Gertrude, 1910–1913*

Selected and introduced by

Joan Newlin Poole

These letters from Lewis Lyndon and Mary Mendenhall Hobbs to their only daughter, Gertrude, were written a few years before World War I. Penned from 1910 to 1913, they are from a collection, *Letters to Gertrude*, edited by Mary Ina Shamburger, published in 1936 by the John C. Winston Company of Philadelphia, six years after Mary Hobbs's death. Lewis Lyndon Hobbs was first president of Guilford College. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs was a tireless advocate and activist for women's education and world peace. Yet, these significant contributions are all but ignored here.

Gertrude has just gone away from her family for the first time to attend Westtown School in Pennsylvania. Her mother's letters to her are, in themselves, charming history for young people, written to a young person, offering practical advice, her passionate views on education, on morality, and on ideal behavior.

Joan Newlin Poole is a member of New Garden Friends Meeting and serves on the publication committees of both North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting) and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Like Gertrude, she grew up with close ties to Guilford College as the daughter of faculty members and North Carolina Quaker leaders Algie Newlin and Eva Miles Newlin.

Mary Hobbs sympathizes with her daughter's dismay at Westtown's rules barring "pernicious" clothing and music, suggesting that she not rebel but remove offending embroidery, and sing as much as she likes when she comes home. She gives us glimpses of life in a southern Quaker college town and of the duties Mary Hobbs performed as the college's hostess.

She describes her shock at the fire in New Garden Hall, a women's cooperative dormitory at Guilford College. A cherished project for which she had raised all the funds needed for its construction, it is now named for her and still operates according to her original concept.

Lewis Lyndon Hobbs mentions meeting Theodore Roosevelt in the same matter-of-fact tone as that with which he points out his daughter's spelling errors. The story of the Hobbs's new house, Arcadia, described excitedly by its new occupants, unfolds in many of the letters, particularly in those not included here. Arcadia's current events are the subject of an article by Betsy Farlow in the Spring 2002 issue of the N.C. Friends Historical Society Newsletter.

Of the more amusing running commentaries are those about the pros and cons of Gertrude writing letters to boys—specifically to the "Indian prince," Eugene Franklin. Mary Hobbs promotes her ideas about appropriate behavior for a teenager lovingly, with wisdom, without censure.

The letters selected provide snapshots of the daily life of an influential and unforgettable Quaker family, of life at Westtown School and Guilford College in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Perhaps, even more, they reflect the wit, intelligence, charm, warmth, dedication and widespread influence of a remarkable loving mother whose biography is yet to be written.



Gertrude Hobbs, c. 1913



Mary Blair (later Mower) with her cousin, Gertrude



Gertrude with her father, L. L. Hobbs

Ninth month 22, 1910.

Dear Gertrude—

Father says he has written to thee to-day, and I suppose thee knows about our barn's burning. It is a great loss. All the feed, wheat, oats, potatoes, onions were burned; the horses, cows and cats were saved, though barely. When Richard¹ comes to see thee, he will tell thee all about it.

Mrs. Agee has been sewing for thee all this week. Yes, have the folds stitched down and wear the dress. It will look funny, I suspect, but do what they require and do not hesitate or rebel for an instant. I will send thy green dress which Mrs. Agee has altered nicely. If they do not allow the briar stitch on it, just take it out. The dress will be very pretty without it. If thee can be comfortable without a suit it will be better not to get one now. We shall see about that later.

I did not say I meant for thee to stay there until thee graduates, but I want thee to stay there a year or two. Do not think about "flunking" and do not worry or cry over thy lessons. If thee has more than thee can do without getting into a "stew," better leave off something. But it is as thee says on thy last card: the work will have to be done sometime. I want thee to take gymnastic exercises and broaden thy chest and hold thy shoulders straight.

Professor Jay² came to see me this afternoon, and Mary Blair³ invited Howard to come along with his father and make her a visit. Louis has gone to Greensboro to meet some of his Raleigh friends; Walter and Herbert are at the new house; they sleep over there since the fire. Richard is reading *The Outlook* and *The Nation*.

Thee need not feel distressed because thee is not far advanced; I do not want thee to stop school before thee is twenty-five. Listen to thy teachers and try to do all they tell thee. Westtown is a good school, even if they do make thee stitch down the bias folds.

Good night, dear little girl.

Lovingly,
Mother.

• • •

Tenth month 21, 1910.

Dear Gertrude—

To-morrow we will express thy hat to thee. I will also send thy old leggings and three skirt-hangers which I bought for thee. I hope thee will like thy hat.

Walter and I drove Hetty to town this afternoon; she traveled well, walked much faster than usual. There is not much news to write. We have a great drove of turkeys, twenty or more; they come up now and then and roost in the pine tree. We have had no frost yet; everything is still green, and the roses are blooming. Being a school-girl is the nicest thing in the world, and I want thee to enjoy the experience.

Lovingly,
Mother.

• • •

Tenth month 24, 1910.

Dear Gertrude—

I want to say some things to thee that I have never said, but which have been long in my mind. It is a disgrace in this day to be ignorant. Thee is exactly right about that matter, and if thee has learned that, a great thing has already been accomplished. I insisted that the boys should go to Westtown in order that they should learn that one thing. Here at home you children have us behind you all the time. In this community you might drift along from one thing to another and somehow miss the keen intellectual appetite which I want you to have—a kind of hunger and thirst for mental and spiritual truth, rather than a desire for more personal comfort and satisfaction. I wanted thee to go away, but I did not know how to suggest such a thing. Thee decided the question thyself and in doing it, I firmly believe thee did the wisest thing. It is nothing short of a disgrace to be an ignorant

woman. Thy present state is not a disgrace to thee or to any one else; it will be a disgrace only if thee fails to use thy opportunities.

I wrote Master William that thee has been a delicate little girl and that I have kept thee out of school. He understands the situation perfectly. Do what the teachers give thee to do and remember it is not how thee goes in but how thee comes out that matters. Thee is a southerner, southerners are plucky, I tell thee. If things are hard, they just brace themselves and stand them until they can improve them. Be honest and straight-forward and true and let thy teachers know that thee is. Learn thy lessons, be kind and good to every one. Do not tell tales or listen to them, and do not gossip about the school-boys. I hope thee can understand my letter. Think it over and settle down to do the best thee can, and do not fret all the pleasure out of thy days.

Lovingly,
Mother.



Arcadia, home of the Hobbs family

• • •

Third month 10, 1911.

Dear Gertrude—

If the boy thee wrote about comes from India, thee should refer to him either as an East Indian or as a Hindu and not as an Indian—that means an American Indian. Is he a Friend? How is it he is at Westtown if he is a prince and owns a palace? I should suppose he is a Friend and has been to school in England. We have had a very cold disagreeable week—rain, hail, sleet, snow. Now it is clear but not warm.

Last night Louisa and Miss Gaineys came over with the girls' quartet.⁴ We had a lovely evening. Hazel Harmon, Margaret Rutledge, and the Mendenhall girls sang several songs. Hazel sang three or four by herself. I had open fires in both rooms for they needed thy piano. After they finished singing Louisa was about to take them away, but I insisted that they stay and eat oranges. (Joseph and Sarah sent another barrel of fruit) and we had a delightful time talking. They knew that I was lonely and came over for a friendly visit.

To-morrow is quarterly meeting in Greensboro. I am trying to get Walter to go with me. Lyndon will get there about noon. I suspect thee will get a letter on Second day.

Lovingly,
Mother.

• • •

Third month 13, 1911.

Dear Gertrude:

We are delighted with thy letter. I noticed two words misspelled—"neather" should be neither; and "untill" should be until. Thee may remember "till" has two l's, but "until," one. I think thee was doing well to miss no more than two in such a long letter. I had a fine time in Atlanta. We saw President Taft and heard him speak; and I also met

Theodore Roosevelt and Governor Wilson of New Jersey. I saw all of Uncle Walter's girls. They are nice children. Vera sings most charmingly; her mother has taught her; she is a pretty girl, well behaved and attractive. I wish she could come here to college next year.

We shall soon have the grass seed sowed. If thee needs anything before vacation, do not hesitate to buy it. I am glad thee is well of thy cold. I hope thy Aunt Gertrude⁵ will send thee the *Charlotte Observer*; it has a cut of our house in it. If she does not, I will find a copy and send to thee.

With much love,
Thy Father.

• • •

Third month 14, 1911.

Dear Gertrude—

Before Rachel⁶ and I went to Greensboro yesterday, I telephoned Miss Gainey to know if there was any mail for me, and she said, "Yes, a letter from Gertrude which her father has not yet opened because he has not seen it." So we drove by his office and she brought thy letter which I read and left because I knew thy father would want to see it very much and would be disappointed if I took it on with me.

Yes, it is hard not to be able to sing at Westtown. I think it is a grievous mistake to have a regulation against singing, but since there are so many favorable things to counter-balance, I should at least try to conform to the rule. Thee may sing all thee can when thee comes home. I do so want thee to stand straight and hold thy shoulders well back. It means so much to be strong and well.

I had an awfully good time when I was in school at Howland.⁷ No, it was not a college but its curriculum was as good as Haverford's at that time. I got no degree, but I read as much Latin and Greek as thy father did at Haverford. I had more German and French and history than he had, but not so much mathematics. I elected literature and history. I also had a full college course in philosophy and psychology.

The course compared favorably with Vassar's at that time. It was a good school, but it did not have a sound financial basis and so used up its endowment and had to close. Just think, there was no Wellesley and no Bryn Mawr when I went to school. We had the very best teachers and the very best of everything, but it all costs too much. If I were young now, I should go to Wellesley and I should certainly not be in a hurry to get out. I should study music and let that prolong my course. But I might have done so much more if I had taken better care of my health. I had a near case of nervous prostration, and I was good for almost nothing for three years. Was that not dreadful? Afterwards I felt that I must go to work to earn my own living and I never went to school any more. Then in two years, I was married and since then my hands have been full. I have been to the Haverford summer schools, and I have enjoyed them greatly. But I have often wished to go to a regular summer school where I could study literature and history.

It is so important for girls to have a good education and to know the world and people before they are married. Another thing is very important, too—that is, to have a bank account of one's own before one is married. To have to go to a man to ask for every penny is humiliating, and so often a girl will go without and be in actual need rather than do it. I tell Rachel that I would not be married to an angel from heaven with out a small bank account of my own; Rachel is saving her money. It does not matter if a Croesus is the husband, his wife will want something which he has nothing to do with and which is her very own. People cannot live on romantic love. They think they can until they try it, and then they find that it takes a great deal more.

Does thee need anything besides a suit and hat for thy vacation trip? I think I shall buy some material and get Mrs. Agee to make thee a suit. Get some one there to take thy measurements and send them to me. If thee knows what thee would like, write me. Father will send thee some money. To-day is the time for another of my teas for the college girls; it is so rainy that I doubt if many will come. Wilson is here ransacking the house for costumes for the college minstrel show. I must send my letter to the post office by him.

Lovingly,
Mother.



The Hobbs family, c. 1907

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Fourth month 1, 1911.

Dear Gertrude—

Young people like adventure and if they are not directed by better impulses, or rather principles, they sometimes are led into things which are not only silly but unwise. Often very attractive girls and boys are ring-leaders in such performances and I know one feels like an old “poke” when one can not follow the crowd. I could tell thee several stories of my own school days when I found myself in such a position. I loved fun, and I had great fun, though I could never see that “stolen pleasures are sweet.” Be thyself; no one else can do that for thee; doing wrong not only throws thee out of place; it throws everything about thee and concerning thee out of gear. It is just like a kicking runaway horse, and the misery of it is when the kicking is

once done, it is forever done. There are a hundred simple, natural ways to have fun, and one need not feel stilted and afraid of doing wrong when one is having a merry time just because it is merry. Fun and laughter and merriment are among the most righteous things we can engage in. One of the things Jesus told his disciples was to rejoice. "Let your joy be full" does not mean a dried-up kind of piety. Suppose you rush ahead like a pack of young mules without thought or care and have a hilarious side splitting time, violating the rules of the school and the wishes of some of thy dearest friends, will there not be an aftermath of contempt for thyself? The point I want thee to see is that a girl is a girl, and there is so much that she can do because she is a girl that it seems utterly silly and foolish for her to copy a boy.

Herbert is digging around the big box bushes, getting ready to sow grass seed under them. The neighbors have united and are planning to sow the school grounds in grass. Does thee remember Will Coffin? The jolly, fat man who always makes fun of me? His wife died suddenly yesterday, and Father and I went to see him. He was just as calm and quiet as could be—deeply grieved but so sensible; he comforted me instead of my comforting him. I felt so utterly upset somehow. With all of his mischief and fun, he has always been good and has always hated little mean acts as much as anyone I ever knew. Everyone in Greensboro of any account is his friend . . . Aunt Mary has just come in; she is very well. Soon Father and I are going to town.

Lovingly,
Mother.

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Fourth month 5, 1911.

Dear Gertrude—

New Garden Hall caught fire on last First day. Two girls had a kerosene lamp burning in their room—why I do not know—they may have been curling their hair. It is supposed that the window curtain blew over the globe and caught fire. The south window is entirely

burned out and the walls of the pretty room are all smoked and cracked. The girls' books and several other things were burned. Do not say, write or think anything ugly about them. It was simply girlish carelessness; almost anyone might have done the same thing. Professor White saw the blaze as he sat in meeting and he rose up while Professor Jay was speaking and asked some of the young men to go over to New Garden at once. Wilson and Will Nelson got there first and put out the fire with the extinguishers which I had put in after King Hall burned. I was not at meeting, neither was Walter, but he called to me that New Garden was on fire and put out as hard as he could go. I can not tell thee how I felt to think of New Garden's burning! To think of my dearest hope of helping deserving girls to a college education being destroyed! I did not try to go over there; I was almost prostrated. Gertrude, I want thee to fit thyself to carry on my work for girls when I shall be too old and feeble to do it. It must go on. So far as I know there is nowhere that it is more needed than here in our state of North Carolina. Just think of all the nice girls who have been helped to an education by New Garden Hall—girls who would have never known college life except for that opportunity.

Lovingly,
Mother.



New Garden Hall (later renamed Mary Hobbs Hall)

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Fourth month 6, 1911.

Dear Gertrude—

Walter Haviland writes me that they will expect thee on Seventh day. We have expressed thy trunk in care of Walter Haviland. I am sorry we forgot to send a belt with thy suit; I never thought of it until I read thy last letter. I do not like the hat pins either. Try to get thyself some simple silver pins. Pay about fifty cents apiece for them. If thee needs another petticoat, get a gray satin. Thee can get one easily, if thee needs it. I enclose a little check for spending money.

I am not going to insist upon thy returning to Westtown. I have written thee just how the matter stands, and I do not intend to push thee off, or even say I want thee to go back. And of course if thee has colds and can not be well there, it will be better for thee to stay at home. Father misses thee so dreadfully that I hesitate on his account to suggest that thee return. I miss thee, too, but I know some things about the education of a girl which he never seems to think of. Yet, considering everything, it may be best for thee to stay at home next year.

Lovingly,
Mother.

• • •

Fourth month 14, 1911.

Dear Gertrude—

We are very glad that thee enjoyed the things we sent. Yes, I know the little silk waist will be considered “pernicious clothing” at school but I think it would save thee laundry bills and a lot of trouble during vacation. The little beads, too, may be “pernicious” but I think them very pretty and thee can wear them now. I bought a string each for the girls who were here the other night at dinner. I told them I was giving them an “April Fool.”

Rachel leaves to-night and will be at Ray Taylor's father's home on First day. I do not know how for thee to arrange to see her; perhaps thee can do so after she arrives. I hope thee will have a nice visit at the Biddles'. I am very glad that thee heard Maude Booth.⁸ I heard her in Boston before thee was born. Whether thee agrees with all she does or says, I should like thee to contrast such a life as hers with the lives of silly society women who smoke and drink their time away. I should rather do something to lift a heavy burden from some of the toilers in the world than to fritter and titter and twitter my life away in things that have no permanence. Just think of the people who need help everywhere, and one way to help the world is to do the little things that come right in our own way. To form the habit of thinking of others, to try to make them happy, and to help them to a better way of life should be the aim of men and women alike.

Our grass is coming up nicely. Herbert has been setting more hedge to-day. I asked him if he had rather not plant corn and he replies, "I had as soon." Soon I want to go to Todd's and get some more privet and other plants. Mrs. Craig has English peas up six inches high. But it is too cold yet for further planting to do much good. We have fire all the time. Take good care of thyself, use the spray for thy throat and dress warmly.

Lovingly,
Mother.

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Tenth month 7, 1911.

Dear Gertrude—

We are very glad that thee is so satisfied at Westtown this year. I think thee will be able to do better work because thee feels more contented; thy last grades were certainly good enough. As to returning another year, I cannot say yet. I should much prefer to have thee there and let thee do what thee can with music during the summer, but I do not know that we shall be able to meet the expense. We shall wait and

see how things develop. Be a girl upon whom everyone can rely—and always do the square, straight thing. I know thee will, but a little encouragement will do no harm. A girl is never safe out of the right path; no one is, but such utterable grief comes to girls if they blunder.

Walter is still quite poorly; he can not work. He thinks he is improving some, but he stays in his front room most of the time and reads and tries to pick Louis's banjo. Aunt Mary came in just now; she stopped in a minute to hear from you all. Our corn is cut and that near the house is cut and "shocked." Anna Yarnall cannot come to see us this autumn; I am sorry not to have a visit from her, but perhaps it is just as well since Louis will be here soon with his pupil. I had a letter from Ora to-day; she hopes to come see us about the first of the Twelfth month. She sent a \$5 contribution to our meeting house. Nothing has been done yet toward starting building. Jesse Henley has sowed the grass on Baily Hill; I hope it will come up and thrive. The fair at Greensboro is going on; I am glad that I do not have to go. I seldom see any of thy young friends; they live on the other side of the world from me. Arcadia is very quiet, but I guess Louis's coming will make a little stir.

Lovingly,
Mother.

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Tenth month 18, 1911.

Dear Gertrude—

Last night we had the heaviest rain that has fallen since we have been at Arcadia; it fairly poured. Thy father and I sat by the library fire, and I read a new book on the *Nibelungen-lied*. Wagner wrote several operas based on the poem. I wish thee might hear his *Parsifal* while thee is near Philadelphia. Did thee read the little book of *Parsifal*? Anna Davis did.⁹ It is a beautiful story, showing the triumph of the pure spirit in Parsifal over the temptation of one who represents the evil passions in mankind—spirits which often come to men in the form of

beautiful, bad women. In some places the story is revolting, but when it is, it is perfectly true to the facts of human life. I want thee to read this story, I should so like thee to see and hear the opera.

Thy grades are good—as good as we care to have them. We want thee to get a thorough grounding in fundamentals and know what thee goes over, but we do not want to wear thyself out, trying to get high grades. Try to do honest, straight work. I suppose thee has been singing or whistling or wearing “pernicious” clothing, and that is why thee gets a B on conduct. Thee knows I wish thee to obey the rules of the school. That is the way to be loyal. Thee is a southerner in the midst of northerners, and thee must give the South a good name by trying to be a little lady. Does thee remember the little paragraph I had thee learn from the prayer book? It is so true; I will copy a part of it for thee here in my letter.

“What is thy duty toward thy neighbor?” “My duty toward my neighbor is to love him as myself and do to all men as I would they should do unto me . . . To hurt nobody by word or deed; to be true and just in all my deeds; to bear no malice nor hatred in my heart; to keep my hands from picking and stealing and my tongue from evil speaking, lying and slandering; to keep my body in temperance and soberness.” I wish thee had a little prayer book so thee could read this paragraph over and over. I know thee tries all the time to do right, and I am trying to encourage thee to continue.

Yesterday George Wilson came to see us in the rain; he came on the two-thirty train and left on the five-thirty. I had not seen him since he was married. This afternoon Aunt Gertie is coming out with a carriage full: Virginia Ragsdale, Miss Dameron, Miss Fort and I do not know whom else. I am glad that it is clear and pleasant to-day. Yesterday I planted a dozen peonies before the rain came. Father and I are at work on the nicest Christmas present for thee! Thee cannot use it at Christmas, but thee had rather have it than almost anything we could give thee. Thee need not ask what it is, for we will not tell thee. Louis is coming tomorrow with his charge. Walter is a little better, I think. Henry, Margaret, and Anna came to see us last Seventh day evening. Henry looks well, and he is so handsome and well-mannered.



Mary Mendenhall and Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, 1907

In answer to thy question, Gertrude, I had much rather thee did not write to any boy now except thy brothers or thy cousins. I had as soon thee would write to Eugene Franklin as to anyone outside the family, but I do not want thee to write to him now. There is nothing personal about my attitude: it is simply that I know boys are boys, whatever their race. They are of the masculine gender, and they can no more help allowing the fact to manifest itself than the sun can hinder its rays from producing light and heat. I know thee will say that is no fault of theirs, and that if it is natural, it is right. But my little lady, we must nip some natural tendencies in human life just as we pinch off buds on our roses and chrysanthemums so that the ones left may make fine flowers. There comes a time in a woman's life when her highest nature responds to the best in a man's nature. This experience should be the result of her own free development and should not be prematurely brought about by little speeches and notes from half-fledged boys. I want thee to like boys and to have a good time with them, but let it be general now, and do not allow thyself to be considered to be the

special property of anyone. I do not object to Eugene Franklin because he comes from India; my objection is solely on general principles and would be the same in regard to any boy, American, Hindu, or Russian!

Uncle Augustine¹⁰ came on last First day, and he and family left the next day at noon. Mary Blair asked me if thee said anything about her in thy letter. Write to her when thee can. About next year—I much prefer thee to return to Westtown since thee wants to go back. I shall do my best to make the arrangements; I am so glad thee is enjoying the school. Have a good time, but do not write to me any more about the “Indian prince.” Settle the matter in thy own way and let it drop. Thee is my precious daughter, and I, at nearly sixty, know many things which will make for thy peace and happiness.

Lovingly,
Mother.

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Tenth month 22, 1911.

Dear Gertrude—

Yes, thee may tell Eugene Franklin that thy time is taken up writing letters to thy family or something to that effect. No, I do not think writing to him is such a serious matter, but I do think it would be distracting. I have known too many boys who go around with their pockets full of letters from girls, and they laugh and make fun of the girls for writing them; and often let the other boys read them. They leave them around, drop them on the floor, throw them in the wastebasket, and talk about them generally. I should like to save thee from any embarrassment.

Yesterday we moved the big drinking stone from Jamestown. It was a hard job, but Gurney and A.Y. did it by themselves. They moved the smaller one the day before. I have been working in the yard nearly all week. My roses are beautiful, and the chrysanthemums are beginning to bloom. We have no frost yet, though the leaves are turning a

little. I never remember such an October. There has been little sunshine and many cloudy, foggy days. We have sent our surrey to the shop to be repaired, and we are going to have the buggy painted soon. I buy apples all the time from mountain wagons which pass this way; they make such good apple-sauce.

Read my letter carefully, and be sure thee understands all that I have written.

Lovingly,
Mother.

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Third month 22, 1912.

Dear Gertrude—

As to thy returning to Westtown next year, I hardly know what to say. At times Father and I are very lonely without our daughter. He, I think, in particular, is very weary of having thee away so much of the time. I comfort myself by thinking it is best for thee to be in a good school. A man is not quite so ready to put his feelings in abeyance. Men generally believe that what they want they ought to have. I do not know what is best. Lyndon is growing old; his age is beginning to tell upon him, though he would never admit such a thing. Thee is the light of his eyes and the joy of his home, and not to see thee day after day and month after month is a great hardship. How does thee feel about the matter? Yes we are sorry for thee to give up thy music for such a long period, and if thee were at home thee could go on with that.

Hetty stands in the stable most of the time. Now and then Walter rides her. I think I wrote thee that he has bought a saddle. Write and tell me just when thee will leave for Aunt Gene's and whether Nereus is going with thee.

Lovingly,
Mother.

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Eleventh month 2, 1912.

Dear Gertrude—

On last Seventh day evening I lectured at the college. They ran me in because they had no one else scheduled for that time. Penn Henley took supper with us on First day evening. I used my chafing-dish and had a good warm supper. Lyndon and I were both hungry after our long drive, and Walter and Penn seemed as hungry as we.

Yes, I should like for thee to go into the contest, if it will not overtax thy strength. It is a fine thing to be able to speak well. Nothing is more attractive to me than a well-modulated, flexible, kindly voice; I can detect irritation or dissatisfaction in an instant, and I am much disturbed when a speaker seems unaware of the expression he gives his words. Harsh tones are almost inexcusable, and yet the Mendenhall family has a propensity in this direction. I will try to answer thy other questions. I should be glad for thee to have “spirella” when I get my money matter straightened out. I have taxes to pay thee knows, and thy father has so many bills to settle that he cannot help me out. I bought my roses with money from my *Observer* notes. I need a “spirella,” too, and sometime thee and I will “dike out.” I will try to send thee some cotton thread for thy collars and cuffs. I would not embroider them in silk—it will yellow.

I do not know how to express myself to make thee understand how I feel about the letter writing. First—I want thee to be a girl who can know what she ought to do and ought not to do. I want thee to be a natural, well-poised woman, not one who will have her conduct decided by what others do. Second—I want thee to have a good, wholesome, happy girlhood. It is so much better not to fritter and sputter thy affections. Keep a steady head and a sound heart. Then when the time comes, and thy real lover appears, thee will not have thyself hampered with old loves and old love letters. Neither will some one say “I kissed her before he did.” Thy father is my first and only love, and I would not have it otherwise. Men go “batty” as thee says rather easily, and they get over the experience quite easily. I will not forbid thee sending cards to boys. At the same time I should feel

quite a little happier if thee did not. They father feels the same way. Now, darling, thee and I must be the best of friends as long as I live. We can stand by each other and help each other out. Thee is my only daughter and thy father's treasure.

Lovingly,
Mother.

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*Gertrude with her aunt,
Gertrude Whittier Mendenhall*

First month 20, 1913

Dear Gertrude—

We are sending thee a box for thy birthday; it cannot hold the love and thankfulness thy father and I have for the gift of our daughter, who came to us seventeen years ago. I should not send a box of things to eat if I did not know it would be divided; I send it for thy friends quite as much as for thee. I think there may be enough for a dozen girls. The pennant in the box is that of our own state university. It will be good to have one, not only because Louis was graduated from there, but because it is *Carolina*. We must love our state and our nation as well as our home, and North Carolina is well worth loving.

Lovingly,
Mother.

Notes

¹ Gertrude's older brothers were Richard, Louis Lyndon, Alan, Wilson, and Walter.

² J. Edwin Jay taught biblical literature at Guilford College from 1907–1912.

³ Mary Blair, Gertrude's cousin, was the daughter of Genevieve Mendenhall Blair and Augustine Blair. Her family moved to New Jersey in 1911 but maintained close ties to family in North Carolina.

⁴ Louisa E. Osborne taught Latin and served as governess at Guilford College from 1892–1926. Maude L. Gainey was secretary to the president at the college from 1901–1917.

⁵ Gertrude W. Mendenhall was sister of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs and mathematics professor at Woman's College (now University of North Carolina at Greensboro).

⁶ Rachel Farlow Taylor worked for Mary Mendenhall Hobbs while a student at Guilford College and their friendship continued thereafter.

⁷ Howland Academy was a Quaker academy for girls in Union Springs, New York run by Robert B. Howland. Among the students at the school during the time Mary Mendenhall attended was M. Carey Thomas, later the first president of Bryn Mawr College.

⁸ Maude Booth was a social reformer and founded the Volunteers of America as a social uplift organization in 1896.

⁹ Anna Davis, youngest daughter of J. Franklin Davis and Laura Mendenhall Davis (deceased sister of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs). Anna graduated from Guilford College in 1913.

¹⁰ Augustine Blair was married to Mary Mendenhall Hobbs's sister Genevieve and father of Mary Blair. He was a professor at Rutgers University at the time of this letter.

Friends Historical Collection

Annual Report

2001–2002

by

Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson

Introduction

This year has been one of exciting new growth and unsettling cutbacks that combine to make Friends Historical Collection operations overwhelming at times. Progress continues to be made on providing increased access to the collection through cataloging of monograph materials and organization of manuscript collection and record groups. New initiatives in progress include efforts to create a more formal college archives program and to reestablish the Peace Studies Reading Room. The need to encourage greater use of the collection by Guilford College students and faculty remains a concern; as does the desire to increase access to holding information via the Web.

Staff

This year marked Gwen Gosney Erickson's second year as the Friends Historical Collection librarian and college archivist. As a member of the college's faculty, she underwent a two-year review during the fall. Hopefully, the materials gathered in the review process served to educate Guilford teaching faculty about the work involved in the position and created greater awareness of the strengths and needs of the Friends Historical Collection resources and staff.

Carole Treadway continued book cataloging and worked on the Levering Papers in her current position as special projects librarian. She also provided reference assistance on occasion when questions went beyond the knowledge of our volunteer docents. Evidence of Carole's hard work this year is shown in the cataloging statistics which continued to increase significantly. Unfortunately, college cutbacks have eliminated the special projects librarian position. Therefore, this was Carole Treadway's last year as an employee of the collection and it is uncertain at this time how many of the tasks handled by this position will be covered in the future.

Bette Cline completed her second year as the North Carolina Yearly Meeting archives assistant. Her major project this year was switching containers for some of the early twentieth century minutes to ensure that all original meeting records are stored in appropriate archival conditions. She continued to assist with book processing and repairs and was kept busy with the task as many titles from our backlog were incorporated in the collection.

Student assistants this year were Erin Wamsley during the summer months, and Erin Wamsley and Katherine Oliver during the school year. Rachel Miller, who worked in the collection from 1997–2000, returned in May 2002 as our summer student assistant.

Docents and Collections Volunteers

Twelve docents assisted in the research room—some every week and others on a substitution basis as needed. This number was somewhat smaller than past years due to some resignations and deaths over the past three years. We hope to locate additional docents next year to allow greater flexibility in scheduling and decrease dependency on Bette Cline and Gwen Erickson for basic research room operations. The docents enjoyed hearing from one of their own at their annual luncheon in May, as longtime docent Theodore Perkins presented research he did in the Friends Historical Collection over the past year on abandoned cemeteries of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

Collection Development

Minutes and records were received from twenty-two monthly and quarterly meetings, including nineteen meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM), two of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), and one of Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association. As a follow-up to a mailing sent in September 2000, clerks in North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) received notices of their meeting's current holdings and deposit needs. The mailing also included information about the Friends Historical Collection and copies of new guidelines for monthly meetings and the recently revised Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records Policy Statement. Both the guidelines and policy were placed on the Friends Historical Collection Website to increase access to the information for both North Carolina Yearly Meeting members and others. Several meetings have contacted the collection for additional information and to verify their holdings as a result of the mailing. Upon the suggestion of Gwen Erickson, the records committee's focus for the coming year is to increase deposits by yearly meeting committees to insure that valuable information is not lost. Work began on surveying current holdings for yearly meeting committees and will continue over the coming year.

Continuing the project begun last year, collection funds purchased microfilm sets of *The Friends Intelligencer* (Philadelphia) and *Friends Review* (Philadelphia) so that our most fragile periodical holdings could be moved to storage. In addition, a set of early British Quaker records, *London Two Weeks Meeting Minutes* (1672–1789), was ordered to complete our holdings of the Quaker collections produced by World Microfilms.

The single largest manuscript acquisition was the William Rogers personal papers. Former Guilford College President William Rogers decided to designate Guilford College as the repository for his papers which include his research notes from both his time at Guilford and his earlier careers at Earlham and Harvard. This collection will complement his presidential papers that are already held in the college archives.

A goal for the coming years is for Guilford College to implement policies regarding campus records management and college archives. Currently, the Guilford College archives exist as a part of the Friends Historical Collection. However, formal deposits are few and often inconsistent. Some progress was made over the course of the year as offices begin to have a growing awareness of the existence of the college archives. Several deposits were made as staff cleaned out offices in preparation for offices moves in June 2002, and inquiries have been received about what types of items should be kept for the archives. Gwen Erickson completed a workshop in basic records management in October and informally learned from discussions with other college archivists present at the Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference. Some preliminary surveys of current holdings and revealing gaps in major records series have begun. Depending on availability of staff time, it is hoped that more formal discussion can occur in 2002–2003 in order to implement a genuine college archives program. Such a program will enhance the Friends Historical Collection as a whole to meet the needs of reference requests on campus and research needs of both Guilford students and scholars from elsewhere.

The Friends Historical Collection began expansion plans as Gwen Erickson held discussions with peace studies program chair Vernie Davis concerning the underutilized Peace Studies Reading Room. The room, originally under the control of the peace studies program, was intended to serve as an alternative reading room housing publications relating to topics of interest to peace studies but has primarily been a conference room for most of its existence. All agreed that this important resource would be better managed under the library. Several key Quaker titles relating to peace and service were relocated to the room and preliminary collection development lists have been made. Moving the room under the management of the Friends Historical Collection benefits the collection by giving some much needed space for titles that no longer fit in the open stack area and providing opportunity for additional titles, both Quaker and non-Quaker, relating to peace and social justice issues. By having the collection an official part of the library, the periodicals will be added to the online

catalog so that students and other researchers can learn of our holdings in this area. The room also serves to complement manuscript holdings already a part of the Friends Historical Collection.

Research and Services

The number of outside researchers coming to the collection remained stable. However, there was a noticeable drop in the number of on-campus researchers. Student numbers returned to the smaller numbers of two years ago. This is perhaps explained by the significantly smaller Quakerism class size. There was a dramatic decrease in research in person by college faculty and staff. This may be partially explained by a rise in research requests through correspondence. Many of the faculty and staff requests previously received in person are now sent by e-mail. Changes in in-house statistics forms are being implemented to provide a more accurate measurement of which user groups are requesting information.

As mentioned earlier, e-mail continues to be a popular method of gathering information and numbers increased again this year at a rate of approximately ten percent. The effect of additional information on the Friends Historical Collection Web site continues to influence the types of requests that are received. Since the launching of our enhanced Web site, there has been a seventy percent decrease in the sending of preliminary letters. Genealogy reference requests in general have declined as well. Those that are received often relate more directly to the collection's holdings. While genealogy requests have decreased, reference requests in general have actually risen significantly. Some of these questions may be from individuals who would describe themselves as genealogists and are looking for more specific information relating to topics in North Carolina Quaker cultural history. Many of the reference requests involve questions about the histories of specific meetings, Quaker architecture, locations of contemporary Friends meetings, and aspects of the college's history.

As always, our researchers—whether in person or through correspondence—came from all over the world. A British Friend researched the 1985 World Gathering of Young Friend in preparation for planning a similar event. Scholars from off-campus researched language patterns of early Quakers, nineteenth century Guilford County

cabinetmakers, the Model Farm in High Point, Howard Brinton's time at Guilford and work with North Carolina conscientious objectors during World War I, and northeastern North Carolina Friends in the late seventeenth century. Campus requests included questions about former college presidents, student senate leaders over the years, the origination of various college endowment funds, and the history of college land use. Other topics of interest were North Carolina Quaker ministers, Joseph John Gurney's visit to North Carolina, and local nineteenth century temperance and abolition movements.

The Underground Railroad class brought Guilford students into the collection. This topic of continual interest also brought an author doing research for an upcoming publication and a group of high school students from Paoli, Indiana. The students researched families, both white and African American, from North Carolina who settled in Paoli and used Quaker records to connect individuals who other resources indicate were involved in antislavery work. The Greensboro Children's Museum also expressed interest in the topic and Gwen Erickson visited with the director to brainstorm ideas for an exhibit.

Multiple museums and organizations made use of collection resources. The National Parks Service conducted additional research on the Battle of New Garden and the history of roads and topography in the area at that time. Marc Singer of the Charlotte Museum of History consulted several manuscript collections as he researched the experiences of North Carolina pacifists for an upcoming exhibit on Letters in Wartime. As the new director of Quaker House Military Counseling Center, Chuck Fager spent a number of days reading through the organization's records and made use of our related collection of underground newspapers to produce an exhibit. Duke Homestead State Historic Site drew on resources in the college archives to locate information about life at New Garden Boarding School during the time Mary Duke Lyon was a student. The North Carolina Audubon Society borrowed exhibit materials and reproduced images from our holdings on Guilford College alumnus and Audubon Society leader T. Gilbert Pearson.

Two researchers, one working on Quakers and African American

history and the other on teachers in the freedman's schools of the reconstruction South, prepared presentations for the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists. Gwen Erickson served as program clerk and received papers for the conference. She also responded to the three papers in the session on Quaker women.

Presentations were given to the Society of Mayflower Descendants, the Guilford County Genealogical Society, and the Exploring Carolina Crossroads Conference on the use of Quaker records for genealogical research. Gwen Erickson also gave the historical campus tour for alumni during Homecoming weekend. The Quakerism class visited the collection for orientation on how to use resources.

Notable Events and Projects

Following a shift of the book holdings, Erin Wamsley completed a full inventory of the open stacks, the research room, and the Quaker rare book collection as her major project for Summer 2001. A complete holdings list was run and Erin compared each bar code to the holdings list. This was the first time a major survey has been done since the books were first bar coded in 1992. Therefore, any mistakes or missed titles were caught and corrected. The inventory also allowed for damaged items to be identified. A number of items received some level of cleanup work ranging from adding a bar code to correcting a call number to minor repairs.

The most distressful incident of the past year was a major leak in the second level closed stack area on December 11, 2001. Luckily, the leak was discovered fairly early. However, water had already spread through two-thirds of the second level and some minor leaking had begun in two corners of the first level. Cleanup and recovery occupied significant amounts of staff time for the next two months. Several hundred dollars worth of archival supplies were lost due to water damage. Thirty-one books from the college's rare book collection had to be sent out for professional freeze-drying and about the same number were dried and repaired in-house. Five leather-bound nineteenth century meeting records books were also sent for freeze-drying. A number of textile items had to be dried and thirteen items required professional repair to stabilize the fabric following water damage. Though the incident did cause major damage, the results

could have been much worse and the collections would have most likely suffered some total losses had the leak occurred two weeks later while the building was closed for the winter holidays. We are hopeful that the repairs will hold and are even more diligent about checking all areas of the closed stacks on a regular basis for any environmental concerns.

Professional Activity

Gwen Erickson was invited to participate in the Colloquium for the Interpretation of the Newbold–White House in Hertford, North Carolina, from November 29 to December 1, 2000, to offer insights into Quaker history and resources for information. The historic site is hoping to incorporate a more complete history of the house and the individuals who lived there, including the women and slaves in the community who have been previously underdocumented. Since the property was owned by Quakers for much of its early history, the program allows for increased interpretation of Quaker life in early eighteenth century northeastern North Carolina. Eleven other scholars represented multiple aspects of the property's history and were interested in learning more about resources in the Friends Historical Collection. Assistance has been provided for follow-up questions resulting from the colloquium.

Following Carole Treadway's eleven years as editor, Gwen Erickson became editor of *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* with Fall 2001 as her first issue. She also prepared a chapter on Guilford College for the forthcoming *Quaker Higher Education: A Comparative History*. Other writing projects included continued research on an anonymous document written in 1832 with the results to be published in the Spring 2002 issue of *The Southern Friend*.

**Deposits from North Carolina Yearly Meeting
(Friends United Meeting)**

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Archdale	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1995–1999
Asheboro	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1994–2000
Centre	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/1991–12/2000
Charlotte	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2/2001–12/2001
Contentnea	Quarterly Meeting Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 4/1956–4/1963, 7/1963–7/1968, 7/1992–7/1997
Deep Creek	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/7/1998–11/29/2000 Sunday School Records, 7/6/1941–1/12/1945, 7/2/1972–9/22/1991
Deep River	Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 10/1949–9/1956
Edward Hill	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2001 Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 7/21/1996– 5/29/2001
Forbush	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/1979–10/1979, 12/1979–12/1981
Glenwood	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3/1983–3/1985, 6/1985, 8/1985–5/1994, 7/1994–12/2000 Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 1/1995–12/1995, 3/1996–6/1997
Nahunta	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/1998–6/2000
New Garden	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1998–2000
New Hope	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2000 and 2001
Pine Hill	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2001
South Plainfield	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/1989–12/1993
Southern	Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 5/1995–5/1999
Western	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/1995–2/2002 Savings Certificate of Deposit (1981) Will of Rebecca Hinshaw
Winston–Salem	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 9/2000–1/2002
Winthrop	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/2000–4/2000, 7/2000–12/2001

**Deposits from North Carolina Yearly Meeting
(Conservative)**

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Fayetteville	Minutes, 2/2000–7/2000, 12/2000–2/2001, 4/2001–6/2001
Virginia Beach	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/1995–12/1998 Ministry and Oversight, 7/1997–6/2001

**Deposits from Southern Appalachian
Yearly Meeting and Association (SAYMA)**

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Celo	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2001
SAYMA Meeting Newsletters from 2001–2002:	
Asheville (NC)	Foxfire Friends of the Holston
Berea (KY)	Valley (TN)
Charleston (WV)	Swannanoa Valley (NC)
Columbia (SC)	West Knoxville (TN)
Chattanooga (TN)	

Record Groups

<u>Organization Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Chapel Hill	Eno Cemetery Committee Summary
Monthly Meeting	Report and Findings, November 2001.
Guilford College [^]	Additions to the William R. Rogers presidential papers, Board of Trustees minutes, Registrar's Office ledgers (c. 1895–1920), and library director's papers for the 1980s and 1990s.

[^] Regular annualized deposits of college publications and campus materials are not listed. However, any major deposits, such as those that start a new record series or fill major gaps, are listed in the annual report.

Record Groups (Continued)

Guilford College Art Appreciation Club	2001 program
Norfolk Quaker House	Additions to correspondence and papers
North Carolina Friends Historical Society	Recent minutes and papers, including trustee and treasurer's files.
Springfield Memorial Association	August 19, 2001 program (short biographies of the Friends who have Sunday School classes named for them at Springfield)..

Processing Statistics

	<u>1999-</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>2000-</u> <u>2001</u>	<u>2000-</u> <u>2001*</u>	<u>2001-</u> <u>2002</u>
Books and pamphlets cataloged	50	465	548	688**
Meeting and organization document groups accessioned	37	56	64	38
Manuscript Collections				
Received	7	9	9	10
Processing completed	4	1	1	3
Artifacts accessioned	4	2	2	2
Pictorial items or collections accessioned	4	7	7	4
Open stack books circulated	684	1264	1301	553

* The first column for 2000–2001 runs from May 1, 2000 to April 30, 2001. Due to a change in the college's calendar, the 2000–2001 annual report covers the time period of May 1, 2000 to May 31, 2001. The second column for 2000–2001 gives the statistics for the 13-month total.

** Cataloging statistics refer to the number of titles cataloged. The item count was significantly higher at 885 since several large sets were processed.

Users (in person)^

	<u>1999– 2000</u>	<u>2000– 2001</u>	<u>2000– 2001*</u>	<u>2001– 2002</u>
Genealogists	190	219	244	221
Scholars/Other Outside Researchers	n/a	71	72	82
Guilford Faculty/Staff	32	72	75	19
Guilford Students	73	91	93	61
Students from Other Institutions	n/a	32	35	31
Total Number of Users	n/a	485	519	432

^These statistics do not include use of the Friends Historical Collection open stacks. In addition to in-person use, an average of fifty-eight outside telephone calls were received each month (the same average as last year). The majority of these calls were reference questions.

Correspondence

	<u>1999– 2000</u>	<u>2000 2001</u>	<u>2000– 2001*</u>	<u>2001– 2002</u>
Genealogical reference requests	201	172	181	112
Reference requests (non-genealogy)	69	92	102	139
Requests for copies/photographs	37	30	35	55
Preliminary letters	76	32	32	23
Acknowledgments	74	77	98	74
Other correspondence	42	38	42	37
Total correspondence (all formats)	499	441	490	440
Correspondence via e-mail	230	245	263	275

*The first column for 2000–2001 runs from May 1, 2000 to April 30, 2001. Due to a change in the college's calendar, the 2000–2001 annual report covers the time period of May 1, 2000 to May 31, 2001. The second column for 2000–2001 gives the statistics for the 13-month total.

Book Reviews

***Simon's Gold*, by Bobbie T. Teague. Illustrated by Charles D. J. Deppner. Melbourne, Fla.: Canmore Press, 2001. 83 pp. Illustrated. \$12.**

Jonathan Dixon is a Revolutionary War-era ghost with unfinished business. For nearly 225 years—since General Cornwallis's army invaded his father's gristmill—Jonathan has borne the burden of having failed a mission to smuggle his family's gold to safety at a neighbor's home. The ten-year-old boy died trying to protect his father's savings from the British soldiers, a task made doubly important by the threat of damage to the Dixons' mill, the source of livelihood for the family and of flour and feed grain for the Friends settlement of Snow Camp, North Carolina.

A native of Snow Camp herself, Quaker author Bobbie Teague narrates her recently published children's novel *Simon's Gold* from an unexpected perspective, drawing the reader into her action-packed tale from the first sentence: "I am a ghost," Jonathan explains forthrightly. "That's right a ghost. I am not the kind that is all white and wispy, and goes around saying 'boo.' I'm the other kind. That means I can't 'rest in peace.'" A ghost will remain restless, the boy explains, until he or she completes anything left undone on earth.

Here's where the excitement grows. Bending the rules of the ghost world, though with permission from his ghost supervisor, Jonathan Dixon sets out to rectify his troublesome situation by contacting a peer in today's generation.

Many Friends are familiar with experiencing divine revelation during meeting for worship; however, fewer are visited by literal

ghosts whom only they can see. Enter Kelly Dixon, future partner in crime (or, more accurately, partner in mystery solving and pursuit of long-awaited resolution). Jonathan first makes himself visible to Kelly during meeting, which, after the initial bewilderment fades, catalyzes a fast friendship between the boys. Together, they draw other characters into their antics and mishaps as they search for the long-lost gold that once belonged to Jonathan's father Simon.

Especially for the younger audience, Teague's direct, first-person narrator makes *Simon's Gold* accessible and engrossing. Further, Charles Deppner's bold illustrations highlight the most climactic moments of each chapter. The combination of the dramatic, and sometimes silly, pictures and Jonathan's personal narration style creates a fast-paced read for middle graders who are well-acquainted with chapter books but who may struggle with extensive dialogue and convoluted plot lines. Teague's simple language, the main character's unusual perspective, and the elements of risk and adventure are likely to appeal to reluctant and voracious readers alike.

Lyn Cope-Robinson, a member of Southeastern Yearly Meeting, calls *Simon's Gold* a "delightfully entertaining" and "great read-aloud" story. Her latter observation could be a helpful one: reading Teague's juvenile fiction aloud could open a variety of "teachable moments" in which the adult reader (or children's reading supervisor) could share additional details about both past and contemporary aspects of Quaker life and worship. *Simon's Gold* provides introductory exposure to such themes as the reasons for early Friends migration to the American colonies, the rationale for using plain speech and engaging pacifism, and the fun in sharing the legacies of local history and folklore. Additionally, Teague's story highlights values including the closeness and responsibility involved in family relationships, truth telling and struggles with integrity, coping with disobedience and perceived failure, and savoring life's little details (some of which, like tasting grandma's freshly baked cookies, ghosts can no longer experience). Discussing aspects of the novel with more seasoned Friends could help younger readers understand the story's Quaker nuances, as well as their own religious and spiritual heritage, more fully.

The timelessness of her characters' cooperative spirit, generosity, and sense of adventure maximize the nearly universal appeal of Bobbie Teague's new novel *Simon's Gold*. Join Jonathan and Kelly Dixon, "cousins" across time, as they search for the missing family gold in what has become Alamance County, North Carolina. You, too, may discover unanticipated riches.

Lisa Lundeen
Earlham School of Religion
Richmond, Indiana

***They Loved to Laugh*, by Kathryn Worth. Illustrated by Marguerite De Angeli. Warsaw, N.D.: Bethlehem Books, 1996. 254 pp. Illustrated. \$11.95.**

This novel keeps you coming back for more. The author, Kathryn Worth, does an excellent job in all aspects of literature. It's a good book for the young and the not-so-young; for Quaker and non-Quakers alike.

The story begins with the main character, Martitia Howland, making the journey from Asheborough, North Carolina to Centre, North Carolina (a small farm town in Guilford County near Jamestown). She had been orphaned earlier that day when both her parents died of typhoid fever. Accompanying her on this journey is Dr. David Gardner. It is to his home that they are traveling. His family consists of his wife, Eunice Gardner, his father, Grandfather Daniel, his daughter, Ruth, and his five sons, Jonathan, Milton, Clarkson, Barzillai and Addison.

The Gardners are Quakers. They do not own slaves like most people in the South did at the time, which means they must work much harder. Dr. David and his sons are not strict Quakers like the others in the family. They don't use the plain Quaker language or dress in the plain Quaker browns and greys. They are full of energy, pranks, and laughter (hence the title, *They Loved to Laugh*), while Grandfather Daniel, Eunice, and Ruth are very solemn, quiet people. Martitia herself is extremely timid. From the day she arrives, the five Gardner sons make her life miserable in their profound determination to teach her to laugh.

There are several conflicts in the story. The first is with Martitia's Uncle James and Aunt Margaret. Martitia writes to inform her mother's sister (Aunt Margaret) of the death of her parents. She asks

permission to come live with Aunt Margaret in Virginia. When Martitia receives a reply several weeks later she is astonished by the way her aunt calls Dr. David an “uncouth country fellow” and instructs her to offer him her briefest thanks for her upkeep and command him to send her to Virginia. After speaking to Martitia about it, Dr. David discovers that she doesn’t really love her relatives in Virginia. He and his family wish for Martitia to stay with them forever if she would be happier that way. She declares that she would. This begins a custody battle with Uncle James.

Another major conflict is that two of the Gardner sons are in love with Martitia. The bond between the five brothers is stronger and more touching than any brotherly bond Martitia has ever seen. Martitia loves them both, although she loves one more than the other, but she and the two boys really struggle with how to handle the situation without breaking that bond.

Martitia also has a kind of inner conflict. She was raised by a mother who did not want to see her daughter’s hands grow hard from work. She wanted Martitia’s hands to stay soft and white. When she comes to live with the Gardners, Martitia sees right away how hard Eunice and Ruth work to keep up the house and cook meals and make clothes for the men. The men also do their share of heavy labor in the fields and with the livestock. The family has to have a very strong work ethic because their beliefs do not allow them to own slaves. In order to be of use, rather than just another mouth to feed, Martitia wishes to learn to help Eunice as Ruth does. She not only has to overcome her laziness and some fears, but also let go of the way she was brought up.

I recommend this novel to young adults and adults alike. It’s a cute story and it’s fun to see the changes in Martitia’s life–style and personality as she stays with the Gardners. She does a lot of growing up and opens her heart to a family who truly loves her, but above all, she learns to laugh.

Rachel Mooneyham
New Garden Meeting
Greensboro, North Carolina

Brief Notices

Call for Papers

The **Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists** will hold its fifteenth biennial conference at George Fox College, June 25–27, 2004. The conference invites proposals for papers on any aspect of Quaker history. Send a one–page abstract and vita (both electronically and in paper if possible) to:

Gwen Erickson
gerickson@guilford.edu
Friends Historical Collection
Guilford College
5800 West Friendly Avenue
Greensboro, NC 27410

The deadline is January 15, 2004

Recent Publication of Interest

Reflections On A Convinced Friend: Carroll Spurgeon Feagins, by Mary E. B. Feagins, Celo Valley Books, 2003. Available for \$15 from the author.

Membership in the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

Check your mailing label for your membership expiration date. Memberships expire in January of each year. Consider giving a membership to a friend or family member if you think they would appreciate learning about the North Carolina Friends Historical Society.

Membership Form

Please renew/add my membership in the following membership category:

- \$20. Friend/Individual (all benefits)
- \$20. Library/Institutional (*The Southern Friend* journal only)
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- \$50. Sustaining Member
- \$100. Quaker History Patron
- \$500. Lifetime Society Member

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Monthly Meeting Affiliation, if any

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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

VOLUME XXV

THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

2003

*Touch Not, Taste Not, Handle Not the
Unclean Thing: The Temperance
Movement in the Quaker Communities
of Springfield and Bush Hill*

BY REBECCA RAGAN AKINS

*Guilford College, North Carolina
Friends and the First World War*

BY ANTHONY MANOUSOS

*Friends Historical Collection
Annual Report, 2002–2003*

BY GWENDOLYN GOSNEY ERICKSON

BOOK REVIEWS

*Historical Dictionary of the Friends
(Quakers)*

*The Quaker Presence in America: "let
us then try what love will do"*

*Shenandoah Religion: Outsiders and
the Mainstream, 1716–1865*

ANNIVERSARY ISSUE: A SPECIAL 25-YEAR CONTENTS LIST INCLUDED HEREIN

The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The Southern Friend is published annually by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Members of the society, for whom the annual dues are \$20, receive the journal without charge. Back issues may be purchased. Prices vary according to specific issue and range from \$2.50 (single back issues) to \$10 (recent double issues). See current price list at the back of this issue for details.

Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the southeastern United States. Articles must be well written and properly documented. Contributors 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* in preparing manuscripts. Submissions should be sent in both paper and electronic versions. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to the editor at editor@ncfhs.org or mailed to Gwen Gosney Erickson, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410-4175.

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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.

North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Touch Not, Taste Not, Handle Not the Unclean Thing:

The Temperance Movement in the Quaker Communities of Springfield and Bush Hill¹

By

Rebecca Ragan Akins

When I was asked to deliver a presentation on the temperance movement in this area, I wondered if I were the most logical choice. But, as I began my research, I realized that it actually made sense. For starters, I am a seventh-generation member of the Society of Friends, a group always wary of alcoholic excess. I grew up in the house of Moses Hammond, the great prohibition and temperance promoter. I am a woman, and temperance movements would not have succeeded and prohibition would not have happened were it not for the labors of dedicated and resolute females. My grandmother, Lena Freeman Ragan, was a lifelong promoter of temperance, and her bookshelves were filled with copies of the Woman's Temperance Advocate and other tracts. Most of my older relatives

Rebecca Ragan Akins, a seventh-generation Quaker born in Archdale, North Carolina, has been curator at the Arizona Museum for Youth in Mesa, Arizona, for eighteen years. Previously she was a faculty member at Denver University and is an art historian and theatrical costume designer with more than one hundred shows to her credit. An avocational genealogist, Rebecca has made a number of presentations for the Springfield Memorial Association and is the author of several articles that have appeared in genealogy publications.

were teetotal, and my mother was no friend of alcohol. So here I am today—bona fide—to provide a glimpse of the hotbed of temperance and prohibition that was this area more than a hundred years ago.

Around 1900 Bush Hill's brilliant Miss Mary Petty, a Wellesley College graduate in the 1800s (when women students were few and far between) and a chemistry professor at Greensboro's Woman's College and at Guilford College, was engaged to be married. Her fiancé was a South Carolina planter and was all a husband should be—except for one fatal flaw. He was not teetotal. Mary asked her brother Herbert Clinton Petty, then a very young and (according to his daughter) excessively earnest man, if he thought she should marry her suitor anyway. He said, "No." And she did not. Herbert later felt regret, worrying that he had ruined his sister's single chance for a full life. But, as a North Carolina Quaker, a member in good standing of the Bush Hill's Band of Hope, as a son of the Petty clan, and as the product of a community that was a "hotbed" of temperance, "no" was the only answer he could have given.

So, what were the temperance causes of this period, those philosophical stances so powerful that they could force the abandonment of a fiancé? And where did they come from?

Temperance associations began early in the nineteenth century in response to public drunkenness and the disorder caused by it, but the best organized and most successful groups grew up in the late 1800s when leaders of temperance and prohibition movements became alarmed at the drinking behavior of Americans. There was concern that increased immigration from Europe was spreading a culture of drink and that the brewing industry was encouraging the proliferation of saloons to expand the sale of beer. By the end of the nineteenth century, there was a saloon for every two hundred people in America. Hard-pressed to earn profits in this competitive market, saloon-keepers enticed customers to drink more alcohol by providing salty "free lunches," gambling, and other vices. However, by 1920, the Anti-Saloon League, working with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and other dry groups, succeeded in establishing the Eighteenth Amendment that forbade the manufacture, distribution, and sale of alcoholic beverages.

All my life I had heard that the Archdale–Springfield area was a hotbed of prohibition. Years ago I had clipped a newspaper article about area Quakers that, as an aside, said that the prohibition movement in North Carolina started in Bush Hill, and the Randolph County Bicentennial book mentioned that temperance societies were very strong in Archdale and Springfield. I was, of course, familiar with the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union since Grandmother, Lena Freeman Ragan, had been a devoted member, and I also knew that the older members of my family did not approve of drinking. However, until I began research for this presentation, I had no idea how really important this area had been to the temperance and prohibition movements in North Carolina. And, to boot, how influential Quakers had been.

Early Friends and Alcohol

Quaker testimony against alcohol developed over time. Early Friends avoided excess, but there was no demand for total abstinence. Local meetings sometimes supplied rum and brandy to poor Friends “as needed.”² Seth Hinshaw, author of *The Carolina Quaker Experience*, suspected that one of the ways early Friends became aware of the evils of alcohol was seeing the distressing effect it had had on Native American culture. Certainly Friends had always recognized the social cost of the excessive use of alcohol. My grandmother, Lena Freeman, in her Junior Oration at Guilford College in 1896, expressed the view held by most Quaker temperance supporters: “Let him who may sit on our municipal thrones, but alcohol is king. American politics reek of alcohol, American prisons are three-fifths filled with victims of alcohol, American asylums scream with alcohol.”³ North Carolina Friends took seriously the temperance slogan from Colossians 2:20 to “taste not, touch not, handle not the unclean thing.”

By the 1820s, Quakers had embraced temperance, feeling that ending alcoholism would reduce poverty and end domestic abuse of women and children. Quaker reformers began by promoting individual responsibility to cure social evils but soon recognized that laws allowing the alcohol trade needed changing.⁴ Dr. Daniel J. Whitener, in his definitive book, *Prohibition in North Carolina*,



Lena Freeman

reported, “. . . one of the first temperance societies in North Carolina was organized in Guilford County, a center of Quakerism, and doubtless it was started by Quakers,” but because of limited membership, Quakerly influence was confined largely to a few counties.⁵

North Carolina Friends’ testimony against strong drink was eventually put into the Discipline.⁶ In 1854 it queried, “Are Friends clear of the use of intoxicating liquors as a drink, of distilling, or having them distilled, importing or vending them? Are they careful to guard against frequenting taverns and places of diversion?”⁷

Beginning early in the nineteenth century, the yearly meeting asked local meetings to report on members who used alcohol other than as medicine—which was clearly acceptable. My grandfather, Horace Smith Ragan, never took a drink. Marriage to Lena Freeman would have assured that, even if his background had not included Band of Hope membership and a life spent in a dry Quaker community. When he was ill in his late 80s, his doctor recommended a bit of red wine with dinner to aid digestion. Rigid with indignation, Horace refused, saying, “I’ve never touched liquor in my life, and I’m not about to start now!” However, to our family’s amusement, before each meal he would pour a liberal glassful of a rather nasty elixir provided by a country friend, and exclaim, “Now, this’ll cure what ails you!” This “medicine” was compounded from a variety of herbs packed into a quart canning jar and, even to the uninitiated, quite obviously drowned

in home brew. Daddy Horace was not naïve, but he made a clear distinction—as did his Quaker forebears—between the illicit pleasures of a glass of red wine and taking a little “medicine.”

Eli Jones, a prominent Friends minister from Maine, came to town after the Civil War to start the prohibition movement in North Carolina and earned for [Archdale] the statewide reputation of being “the hotbed of prohibition” in Randolph County that “before the turn of the century, listed 19 distilleries—not counting moon-shiners.”⁸

By 1888 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting had endorsed prohibition of the liquor trade by government action as the proper solution to the alcohol problem, and the Prohibition Party had its most loyal supporters among the Quakers of Guilford and Randolph counties. Church temperance societies were formed in many of the monthly meetings, and the yearly meeting annually appropriated fifty dollars to further temperance work. Year after year, a steady stream of petitions from Quakers flowed into legislative chambers, some asking for state prohibition, others protesting the license system, or demanding increased restrictions on liquor dealers. It was largely through Quaker leadership that the legislature amended the license law, returning to county commissioners their former discretionary power to withhold licenses. In 1895 the yearly meeting temperance report stated: “The work . . . is no longer simply a fight against drunkenness but a total abstinence for the individual and the entire destruction of the liquor trade is the end for which we labor.”⁹

Community Temperance Organizations

What was going on in Archdale and Springfield at the height of temperance fervor—the 1880s through the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment on January 16, 1920, when temperance activity waned?

There were numbers of temperance events in the Archdale-Springfield community during the peak years of temperance activism. A celebration on July 2, 1887, was sponsored by temperance organizations in Archdale and featured distinguished speakers, pledge signing, music, and a basket lunch. In 1890 the Deep River Quarterly Meeting Temperance Society, with 303 members, met monthly with select readings, orations and declarations.¹⁰ Springfield and High Point Friends assisted at advocating temperance at Oak Hill, and, very

shortly thereafter, Oak Hill had its own Temperance Band, a musical group much in demand for rallies.¹¹ An all-day rally was held in Archdale in December 1914 with children's exercises and songs, a basket lunch, and,

the finest temperance address ever heard in our town, given by Dr. Dred Peacock of High Point . . . who encouraged the better class of young man . . . flocking to the towns to stay in the country [saying that] the fall of the Roman Empire was due to the great influx of the best blood in the nation into Rome and there being contaminated.¹²

The Springfield Monthly Meeting organized a twenty-five member Young Peoples Temperance Society in 1911 with Julius Woolen as president and Sarah Richardson, secretary/treasurer.¹³ The Archdale Young Women's Christian Temperance Union (YWTCU) held many temperance meetings in local churches at which stirring speeches were made and pledges signed.¹⁴

The Pledge

All of these organizations required their members to sign "The Pledge." In a speech delivered for the North Carolina Anti-Saloon League in 1913, State Representative R. B. Glenn thundered, "I am holding in my hand a [pledge] card which I am going to ask the ushers to pass around to every man and woman in this audience. Every time the devil sees that card he has a chill and saloon keepers start acussin'."¹⁵

A pledge was produced for signing at every temperance meeting. Oscar Wilson kept a journal, and, in the entry for January 1, 1882, it reads,

...It snowed so bad that we had to hold Sunday School and Meeting here at the College. Luther Benson, the great temperance lecturer, came here this Morning and has spent the day with us. He had a Resolution meeting for all of us to make new resolutions for the new year. We all signed a pledge that we was not to use whiskey, tobacco, or profane language in any shape or form....Then A. Haworth made a proposition to organize a temperance society. He is from Florida.¹⁶

The version of the pledge signed by many Archdale, Springfield, and Trinity abstainers reads: "I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from the use of all alcoholic Liquors as a beverage,

including wine + beer, nor will I offer them as an article of entertainment.” Curiously, this pledge—as did the pledge signed by members of the Archdale YWCTU—removes cider from the list of beverages to be shunned by teetotalers.¹⁷

An interesting aside is the origin of the term “teetotal.” A common practice was to sign a pledge to indicate one’s level of commitment. Those who intended moderation would simply sign their name, while those who were committing themselves to no alcohol consumption would place a capital “T” by their names. The T stood for Total, hence the term “teetotaler” as one committed to total abstinence.

To sign a pledge was taken seriously. A cautionary tale, focusing on the necessity of signing a temperance pledge, appeared in a 1911 temperance publication. The main character was a father who, while being ruined by alcohol, destroyed his family. Awakening from a drunken stupor, the embarrassed and repentant father declared, “I shall never drink to excess again,” and his wife immediately asked him to sign an abstention pledge. He disdainfully refused, saying he would continue to “take a social glass now and then,” a decision that doomed him to alcoholism and disaster.¹⁸

According to the temperance movement, true manliness lay in keeping promises and following one’s written commitment, and a formal pledge had to be signed in order to become a true abstainer. To break the pledge was impossible, since its power was based on the middle-class virtue that says a written contract is inviolable.

Band of Hope

There were numbers of other organizations to which local people belonged. A letter from Retta English Hardin, tucked into the Archdale YWCTU Minutes, contained the roll of the Bush Hill Band of Hope, organized on November 18, 1880, and the fifty-eight enrollees represented Springfield, Trinity, and Archdale communities. Tomlinson, Wray, Petty, Parrish, Freeman, Mendenhall, Ragan, Bouldin, and Hayworth are prominent names on the list.¹⁹

The name “Band of Hope” is said to have originated when an Irish temperance activist on a temperance speaking tour in England exclaimed, “What a happy Band these children make; they are the Hope

for the future.” The first Band of Hope originated in Leeds, England, in 1847 as a means of promoting Christian teaching and educating children on the evils of alcohol. Eight years later a national organization was formed, followed by an absolute explosion of Bands of Hope—at home and abroad.²⁰

Band of Hope organizations quickly crossed the Atlantic. In May 1861, Frederic Hudson and George Charles Betts wrote to Abraham Lincoln that they were about to form “a Band of Hope & Union, an organization for the enrolment of the young under the standard of Total Abstinence, to teach them the outside of the public house is the best side and knowing your principles and the potency of a great and good name, we earnestly and respectfully solicit yours, as the Patron of our Temperance Union.” There is no record of a reply, since, while interested in the temperance movement, Lincoln was not obsessed with it.²¹

In the 1894 Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Sue Vail Tomlinson noted that Bands of Hope had been organized in many parts of the yearly meeting, and added, “This work among the children we regard as very important in training them to total abstinence.”²² In 1888 the Bush Hill WCTU organized a Band of Hope and a WCTU in Mount Pleasant.²³

An account in the October 1886 *High Point Enterprise* describes temperance work at New Garden Fair, a daylong neighborhood event. Tracts were distributed, the WCTU tent offered refreshments and fancy articles for sale, but the journalist says,

The Band of Hope exercises at the Fair are not to be overlooked. While the judges were passing around, the company listened to stirring songs and speeches by the children. O the enthusiasm of the young hearts . . . their very presence with their banners seems to exclaim, ‘tremble, King alcoholic, for we are growing up.’²⁴

The Loyal Temperance League was an association for young people who had outgrown Bands of Hope, but were not old enough for membership in adult organizations. Springfield Monthly Meeting Minutes report that a twenty-one-member league was organized there on July 30, 1891.

Demorest Medal Contests

New Yorker William J. Demorest, the owner and publisher of *Demorest's Illustrated Monthly Magazine* and *Mme. Demorest's Mirror of Fashions* magazines, was a fervent temperance reformer and the originator of the Demorest Medal Contest. The contests were competitive events with prizes awarded for the most compelling temperance orations, and the best boy and best girl speakers were awarded medals. William Demorest donated prizes—silver medals for local winners and a diamond medal for the champion speech given at the National WCTU Convention.

The Archdale YWCTU donated money to send a Greensboro member to participate in the 1889 National Demorest contest, and, according to yearly meeting minutes, numbers of Demorest medal contests were held within the Deep River Quarterly Meeting in 1888.²⁵ These contests seem to have served as social, as well as temperance, events for the YWCTU in Archdale.

The Prohibition Party

The Prohibition Party was very active in this area, primarily due to the commitment of Springfield Friend, Moses Hammond. In 1868 the Prohibition Party of the United States was organized, and Moses Hammond introduced it into North Carolina, holding its first meeting during the fall of 1884 in Randolph County.²⁶

The Prohibition Party's most loyal supporters were among the Quakers of Guilford and Randolph counties. On December 10, 1885, a group of about eighty delegates, chiefly Friends, met in Greensboro to consider the advisability of organizing a state Prohibition Party.²⁷ Professor N. C. English of Trinity College wrote and presented the State Prohibition Platform that resolved, "We do hereby declare the imperative necessity for a new party with prohibition of the liquor traffic as its prime object."²⁸ Bush Hill's A. J. Tomlinson was appointed to the North Carolina State Executive Committee and Moses Hammond became a county chairman from the Seventh District. Also at this meeting it was resolved and passed that "this Convention recommend the *North Carolina Prohibitionist* to all the temperance people of North Carolina and we endorse it as the Organ of the Prohibition Party of North Carolina." The *North Carolina Prohibi-*

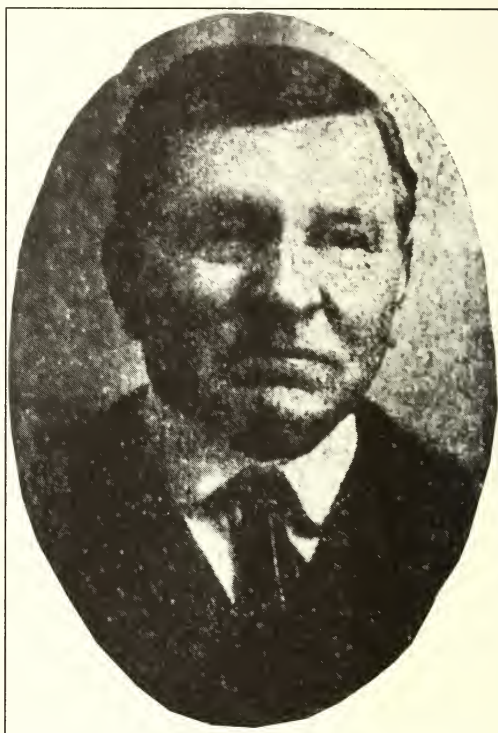
tionist was a small weekly that began in 1885 at Bush Hill and a year later moved to Greensboro. Shortly afterward, *The Prohibition Leader* was started at Bush Hill. It, too, was edited by James R. Jones, a minister and prominent member of the Quaker community and perpetual chairman of the temperance committee of the Yearly Meeting. After about a year, *The Prohibition Leader* was also moved to Greensboro.²⁹

In 1885, Springfield Meeting reported,

members of our Meeting have visited the sick and labored in the cause of temperance among all classes. The two regular temperance meetings have been kept up with good results, and *The North Carolina Prohibitionist*, a strong and earnest temperance paper, is now edited by members of this meeting and is doing much to disseminate temperance principles and expose the enormous and untold evils of the whiskey trade.³⁰

Chaired by Rev. James Jones, the North Carolina Prohibition Party next met in Salisbury on July 29, 1886, to nominate a candidate for the Fiftieth Congress.³¹ The subsequent convention was held in Asheboro on August 21 with Moses Hammond as chair. Speeches by N. C. English of Trinity College and A. J. Tomlinson of Bush Hill made "Prohibitionists feel good and old party men tremble," and Hammond was nominated as the Legislative candidate.³²

Leaders of the North Carolina Prohibition Party, realizing that a test of the new party's strength would be winning state offices, convened in Greensboro on May 16, 1888, with between 150 and 200



Moses Hammond

enthusiastic delegates and nominated W. T. Walker for governor, Moses Hammond for lieutenant governor, and Professor N. C. English for superintendent of public instruction.³³ Randolph County's James R. Jones and Frank L. Emery were delegated to attend the national Prohibition Party convention.³⁴ In the election the Prohibitionists did very poorly statewide, but Guilford County registered the most votes with 381 votes and Randolph second with 306. According to Daniel Jay Whitener, "The relatively large number of votes in these two counties was likely cast by Quakers." In 1890 a few county tickets were again nominated, without notable success.³⁵ Despite the Prohibitionists' poor showing at the polls, their influence was far-reaching, but, after 1890, the Democratic Party absorbed the Prohibitionists into their ranks.³⁶

The Anti-Saloon League

The North Carolina Anti-Saloon League grew out of concerns at the Baptist State Convention of 1901. On February 6, 1902, representatives from the Baptist State Convention, the North Carolina Conference of Methodist Church, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church, and the Yearly Meeting of Friends met and organized the North Carolina Anti-Saloon League.³⁷

I have not found much evidence of organized local involvement in the Anti-Saloon League of America. This interdenominational league, founded on December 18, 1895, in Washington, D.C., used local churches to carry its message to the people and to solicit funds to run the attack on the nation's saloons.

The league put its efforts into getting individual politicians elected who supported its cause. If both candidates for public office supported the anti-alcohol cause, the league would not get involved in the race. If one candidate were dry and the other wet, the league would throw its power and influence into defeating the wet candidate. If both candidates were wet it would attempt to find its own dry candidate to run on one party ticket in the primary.

Each local organization held regular public anti-saloon meetings. Anti-Saloon Sunday was one of the league's special features. On a given Sunday all the churches in a locality committed to an anti-

saloon message, delivered by speakers for the league. Tracts were purchased and circulated. The aim of the league was to arouse and keep alive vigorous public sentiment against the liquor habit and traffic.³⁸

There was, however, individual local participation in the Anti-Saloon League. *The Friends Messenger* of November 1909 advises Quakers “as Temperance people” to do what they could to aid North Carolina’s Anti-Saloon League in enforcing prohibition law.³⁹ We are all familiar with Carry A. Nation, the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union jail evangelist and militant crusader, who in the early years of the 1900s waged war on saloons. This delightful anecdote about her trip to North Carolina comes from John W. Carr, the grandson of Trinity Township temperance activist, Roxana Mariah Leach Carr:

Since the only definition of Temperance in the Methodist dictionary was Strict Abstinence, [my Grandmother Carr’s] Trinity Methodist Bible Class was indoctrinated to the point of bodily joining Carrie Nation’s group when her train car pulled in to High Point on a Southern sweep. Off they went to Greensboro to save folks from Demon Rum and his other cohorts. After visiting a number of saloons, the entourage then proceeded to that den of iniquity, Durham, where Carrie led the assault on several bars, then boarding the train to give her standard speech to Durhamites before moving on to Raleigh. Well, her speech was tolerated until she switched from Demon Rum to Demon Tobacco. That was too much for Durham! The residents jeered and pelted the WTCU group with spoiled tomatoes and the like. My grandmother was splattered with rotten eggs and was quite insulted, to say the least. She went on to Raleigh, but caught the very next train back to High Point. She admitted that Carrie should have just stuck to Demon Rum in Durham, but 50 years later was still indignant about the treatment she had gotten.⁴⁰

The YWCTU and the WCTU

At the end of the nineteenth century Americans spent over a billion dollars on alcoholic beverages each year, compared with \$900 million on meat, and less than \$200 million on public education. In 1873, after hearing a fiery temperance lecture, Ohio housewives hit the streets, held pray-ins in front of local saloons, and demanded that the sale of liquor be stopped. Within three months, liquor had been driven out of

230 Ohio communities, and, for the first time, women experienced what could be accomplished by banding together. Founded in Ohio in 1874, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union grew out of this "Woman's Crusade."

The crusade against alcohol was a protest by women, in part, of their lack of civil rights. Women could not vote. In most states women did not control their property, get custody of their children in case of divorce, or have many legal protections. Most local political meetings were held in saloons from which women were excluded.

The WCTU quickly became the largest women's organization of the nineteenth century. By 1921, just after the successful passage of national prohibition, dues-paying adult membership in the WCTU was nearly four hundred thousand. In 1883 the first Woman's Christian Temperance Union chapter in North Carolina was established in Greensboro. Within a year, eleven more chapters were established, and, by 1903, the state had sixty-five chapters and three thousand members, though with the passing of state prohibition in 1908, membership dwindled to one thousand. In 1889 African American members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Movement seceded and formed WCTU No. 2, the first black WCTU in the nation.⁴¹ The Bush Hill WCTU included members from Springfield and Trinity. In 1884 Mrs. Mary L. Wood was president, assisted by vice-presidents Miss Rettie English and Mrs. Roxana Leach Carr. Other officers were Miss Mamie Robins, Miss Roe Petty, and Miss Emma Petty. Mrs. Sue Tomlinson was the superintendent of the Band of Hope.

Through education and example the WCTU hoped to obtain pledges of total abstinence from alcohol, and later also tobacco and other drugs. To symbolize purity, WCTU and YWCTU members wore a white-ribbon bow that meant a personal pledge had been signed, promising to abstain from drinking alcoholic beverages and to discourage the use, manufacture, or sale of intoxicating drinks. The last pages of the minutes of the Archdale YWCTU contain a laboriously hand-copied poem that concludes with this verse, an indicator of how seriously the wearing of the white ribbon was taken:

Kind friends who robe my body then,
In its final earthly form,



W. C. Moose, Photographer, Concord, North Carolina

Probably the 8th Annual WCTU Convention, Concord, North Carolina, July 17, 18, and 19, 1890.

The photograph was stuck between the pages of the Archdale YWCTU Minutes book.

Who gently fold my weary hands,
And press my eyelids down,
Will not forget this ribbon white
They'll place it o'er my heart,
Thus as in life—so in my death
We two shall never part.

The Flower Mission was another service provided the community by the WCTU. Prisoners, poor-farm inmates, the ill and distressed were given bouquets with attached scriptural messages. In one account of Flower Mission work, “the jail bouquets were made just small enough to pass between the bars.”⁴² Stuck between the pages of the Archdale YWCTU Minutes is a letter, dated September 26, 1889, to the Archdale YWCTU from Anna F. Tomlinson. She welcomes the organization to temperance work, adding, “. . . if one department is more in need than another of this direct aid, it is the Flower Mission.” There are many accounts in the minutes of scripture-bearing bouquets being handed out in Bush Hill.

Writing in 1900, a Southern WCTU activist extolled membership in the YWCTU, the association for young women under the age of twenty-five:

The most hopeful feature of the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union is the standard that girls have set up for the equal purity of both sexes. . . . The day will soon [be gone] when a young man, indulging in strong drink and poisoning himself with nicotine, will have the assurance to ask a girl, pure in heart and life, to link her destiny with his. . . . The watchword that will be handed down the lines and rung from the hill-tops of advancement will be: Sobriety, or no husbands.⁴³

Doubtlessly insuring many sober marriages in Archdale and Springfield, Miss Anna C. Asbow, state superintendent of the YWCTU, organized the Archdale YWCTU on September 9, 1889. The first slate of officers were: Mrs. Mary J. Petty, president; Miss Adeline C. Cleveland, secretary; and Miss Miriam Blair, treasurer. At the height of YWCTU activity, there were forty-four members and twenty-five honorary members. (According to the Constitution of the National WCTU, young men could not hold office nor were they entitled to vote,

but, as honorary members, could serve on committees and assist in all YWCTU work.)

It is our great good fortune that the minutes of the Archdale Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union have survived, since they provide a fascinating primary-source account of the activities of the temperance movement in this community 113 years ago. These minutes begin with the formation of the Archdale YWCTU on September 9, 1889 and continue through August 13, 1891, and this two-year period was at the height of temperance influence in this community. As part of this memorial presentation, I have transcribed the minutes, the included list of Bush Hill Band of Hope members from 1880, and the names of those who signed the pledges, and indexed them by surname. Leaf through the index, and you will most certainly see familiar names.⁴⁴

Conclusion

In conclusion, here is no question that the Archdale-Springfield community was indeed a "hotbed" of temperance, and it is clear that Quakers were vital to the eventual enactment of prohibition in North Carolina. In February 1904 in the premier issue of *The Friends Messenger*, there is a statement that could have been written specifically about Quakerly involvement in the temperance and prohibition movements: "[The Society of Friends] was the first church on North Carolina soil. We have contributed more or less to the cause of righteousness ever since—probably more than our proportion." Today's presentation acknowledges those forebears—men and women of conviction and action who, although few in number, crusaded tirelessly and successfully for temperance causes and who "touched no, tasted not, and handled not that unclean thing," alcohol.

Endnotes

¹“Touch Not, Taste Not, Handle Not the Unclean Thing” was originally presented to the Springfield Memorial Association, Springfield Friends Meeting, High Point, North Carolina, August 18, 2002, on the occasion of the association’s ninety-fifth annual meeting.

²Seth B. Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665–1985: An Interpretation* (Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Yearly Meeting and North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1984), 21.

³Lena Freeman, “Overwrought Society,” *Guilford Collegian* 9, no. 5 (January 1897), 143.

⁴J. William Frost, “Quakers and 19th Century Reform,” *Not For Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, <http://www.pbs.org/stantonanthony/resources/index.html?body=quakers.html>.

⁵Daniel Jay Whitener, *Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715–1946* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1945): 19.

⁶The Discipline, often known today as Faith and Practice, is a publication of the rules, customs, doctrinal statements, and advices of a yearly meeting that Quakers use to guide both their meetings and their individual lives.

⁷North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, *The Discipline of Friends Revised and Approved by the Yearly Meeting held at New Garden in Guilford Co., N. C. in the Eleventh Month, 1854* (Greensboro, N.C.: A.W. Ingold & Co., 1854), 36.

⁸Bonnie Jordan, “Bush Hill Saga: The Early Days of Archdale,” *Greensboro Daily News* (July 24, 1978).

⁹Whitener, 111.

¹⁰ *Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends* (Greensboro, N.C.: Thomas Reece and Co., 1890), 51–52.

¹¹ Francis Charles Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends: The Story of Quakerism in North Carolina* (Boston: Christopher Publishing, 1959), 323.

¹² “Archdale,” *The Friends Messenger* 21, no. 9 (December 1914), 11.

¹³ “Springfield,” *Friends Messenger* 15, no. 1 (February 1911), 13.

¹⁴ Archdale YWCTU Minutes in the possession of Dan Warren, Archdale, North Carolina.

¹⁵ Speech of Hon. R. B. Glenn of North Carolina, delivered under the auspices of the North Carolina Anti-Saloon League in the First Baptist Church, Sunday, January 19, 1913.

¹⁶ Unpublished journal in the possession of Dan Warren, Archdale, North Carolina.

¹⁷ Archdale YWCTU Minutes.

¹⁸ Lynde Palmer, “The Little Captain,” *Young Crusader* (April 1911).

¹⁹ Archdale YWCTU Minutes. A typescript of the membership lists appears at the end of this article.

²⁰ John Wright, “Methodist from Primitive Beginnings,” <http://freespace.virgin.net/jondoc.wright/primitivemethodism3.html>.

²¹ Peggy Boyer Long, “Dear Abe: Excerpts from *The Lincoln Mailbag: American Writes to the President, 1861–1865*, edited by Harold Holzer,” *Illinois Issues* 25, no. 2 (February 1999), 30.

²² *Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends*, (Greensboro, N.C.: C. F. Thomas, 1894).

²³ *The North Carolina Prohibitionist* (February 20, 1888).

²⁴ *The High Point Enterprise* (October 13, 1886).

²⁵ *Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends*, (Greensboro, N.C.: Thomas Brothers, 1888), 45–47.

²⁶ Woman's Christian Temperance Union of North Carolina, Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of North Carolina (Greensboro, N.C., 1884), 5.

²⁷ Whitener, 111.

²⁸ *The North Carolina Prohibitionist* (December 15, 1886).

²⁹ Whitener, 113.

³⁰ *Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends*, Greensboro, N.C.: Thomas Reece and Co., 1885), 22.

³¹ *The North Carolina Prohibitionist* (December 15, 1886).

³² *The North Carolina Prohibitionist* (August 1886).

³³ *The North Carolina Prohibitionist* (May 16, 1888).

³⁴ *The North Carolina Prohibitionist* (May 18, 1888).

³⁵ Whitener, 111.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 133.

³⁸ Beth Weinhardt, "History of the Anti-Saloon League 1893-1933" (Westerville, Ohio: Westerville Public Library), <http://www.wpl.lib.oh.us/AntiSaloon/history/>

³⁹ *The Friends Messenger* (November 1909).

⁴⁰ This anecdote is from a personal correspondence with John W. Carr in April 2000.

⁴¹ Dana L. Roberts, "In Stained Glass: Frances Willard and the Temperance Movement" (Speech delivered at Boston University, Boston, Mass., November 2001).

⁴² Belle Kearney, *A Slaveholder's Daughter*, (New York: Abbey Press, 1900).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ A typescript copy is included in the Springfield Memorial Association records and available for consultation in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Archdale Y.W.C.T.U. Sept. 9, 1889 – August 13, 1891

Archdale Y.W.C.T.U. organized by Miss Anna C. Asbow of Asheville, S.C., September 9th, 1889

Pledge — I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from the use of all alcoholic Liquors as a beverage, including Wine, Beer, & Cider, nor will I offer these as an article of entertainment.

- Pres. Mrs. Mary J. Petty
Sec. Miss Adeline C. Cleveland
Tres. Miss Miriam Blair
Vice-Pres. Miss Hattie R. Tomlinson – Nov. 7th
Literature Miss Emma Blair

And to Assist in Juvenile Work – Misses H. Tomlinson + Emma Blair
Misses Cleveland, Berta Tomlinson + Mrs. H.A. Tomlinson

Press – Elsie Farlow

Members

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|------|
| 1. Miss Adeline C. Cleveland | Sept 9 th | 1889 |
| 2. Mrs. Mary J. Petty | Sept 9 th | 1889 |
| 3. Miss Hallie P. White | Sept 9 th | 1889 |
| 4. Miss Hattie Tomlinson | Sept 19 th | 1889 |
| 5. Miss Emma H. Blair | Sept 12 th | 1889 |
| 6. Miss Ada Blair | Sept 12 th | 1889 |
| 7. Miss Ida Vail | Sept 9 th | 1889 |
| 8. Mrs. Ella White | Sept 12 th | 1889 |
| 9. Miss Bessie E. White | Sept 12 th | 1889 |
| 10. Miss Nealie Folwell | Sept 12 th | 1889 |
| 11. Miss Roella J. Petty | Sept 9 th | 1889 |
| 12. Miss Roberta Tomlinson | Sept 12 th | 1889 |

13.	Mrs. Sallie L. White	Sept 9 th	1889
14.	Mrs. Mary J. Brown	Sept 12 th	1889
15.	Miss Cornelia Kersey	Sept 12 th	1889
16.	Mrs. Mollie Brown	Sept 12 th	1889
17.	Miss Bessie Wray	Sept 12 th	1889
18.	Mrs Emma Hollowell	Sept 12 th	1889
19.	Mrs. Miriam Blair Parker	Sept 9 th	1889
20.	Mrs. Ella Sluder Curtis	Sept 19 th	1889
21.	Mrs. Maggie Blair Moffit	Sept 26 th	1889
22.	Miss Annie Brown	Sept 26 th	1889
23.	Miss Lee E. Gray	Sept 29 th	1889
24.	Mrs. Roxie Hayworth	Sept 20 th	1889
25.	Mrs. Emma Aldred	Oct. 4 th	1889
26.	Miss Annie Ragan	Oct. 10 th	1889
27.	Miss Lizzie Petty	Feb.	1890
28.	Miss Roella S. Blair	March 6 th	1890
29.	Miss Mamie F. Jones	March 13 th	1890
30.	Miss Anna T. Jones	April 3 rd	1890
31.	Miss Hattie White	April 3 rd	1890
32.	Miss Sue J. Farlow	April 3 rd	1890
33.	Miss Martha Hammond	April 17 th	1890
34.	Miss Myrtle Freeman	June 6 th	1890
35.	Miss Lara Myers	Oct. 2 nd	1890
36.	Miss Marietta Blair	Oct. 2 nd	1890
37.	Miss Mary Godbold	Oct. 16 th	1890
38.	Miss Alice Hayworth	Jan 1 st	1891
39.	Miss Elva Overman	Jan. 8 th	1891
40.	Miss Annie F. Petty	March 29	1891
41.	Miss Emma Hammond	Aug. 20 th	1891
42.	Lena Freeman	Sept. 17 th	1891
43.	Mrs. Ella White	Sept 28 th	1891
44.	Mrs. Maria Freeman	?	

Honorary Members

1.	Herbert A. Tomlinson	Sept. 17 th	'89
2.	James R. Jones	Sept 26 th	'89
3.	Lee T. Blair	Sept 30 th	'89

4.	Edward L. Ragan	Sept. 22 nd	'89
5.	Charles Thompson	Oct. 5 th	'89
6.	James Diffie	Oct. 6 th	'89
7.	Adolphus Blair	Oct. 18 th	'89
8.	Luther A. White	Nov. 2 nd	'89
9.	John Thompson	Nov 3 rd	'89
10.	Walter Hammond (died July 22)	Nov. 6 th	'89
11.	William C. Hammond	Nov. 18 th	'89
12.	D.C. Moffitt	Nov. 24 th	'89
13.	John H. Church	Dec. 26 th	'89
14.	Silas Thompson	Nov. 27 th	'89
15.	William T. Parker	Nov. 7 th	'89
16.	Charles Petty	March 27 th	'90
17.	Eugene S. Parish	May 10 th	'90
18.	James Wray	May 16 th	'90
19.	Herbert E. Freeman	Oct. 14 th	'90
20.	Charles T. Smith	Dec. 21	'90
21.	U. C. Richardson	Jan. 1 st	'91
22.	Benjamin Johnson	Jan. 8 th	'91
23.	J. L. Parish	April	'91
	George Ellington	Sept. 25	'91
	Dorcan H. Blair	Sept 27	'91

**Members of Bush Hill Band of Hope,*
organized Nov. 18, 1880**

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Charlie Tomlinson | 19. Wray Freeman | 39. Eugene Garrett |
| 2. Lizzie Petty | 20. Annie Petty | 40. Emma King |
| 3. Willie
Hammond | 21. Martha Hammond | 41. Alice Hayworth |
| 4. Charlie Petty | 22. Lurin Mendenhall | 42. John Church |
| 5. Herbie Petty | 23. Eddie Mendenhall | 43. Lena Freeman |
| 6. Eugene Parrish | 24. Percy Mendenhall | 44. Kate Ragan |
| 7. Lillie Parrish | 25. Beatrice Smith | 45. Arthur Thompson |
| 8. James Wray | 26. Frank Smith | 46. Hattie Myers |
| 9. Bessie Wray | 27. Allie Winningham | 47. Bessie White |
| 10. Berta Tomlinson | 28. Annie Ragan | 48. Debbie Tomlinson |
| 11. Halstead Tomlinson | 29. Luther White | 49. Sylvester Bodin |
| 12. Ida Tomlinson | 30. Marion Thompson | 50. Mary Parrish |
| 13. Francis
Tomlinson | 31. Frank Plummer | 51. Florence Garrett |
| 14. Nealie Folwell | 32. James Ragan | 52. Horace Ragan |
| 15. Mertie Freeman | 33. Jennie Boldin | 53. Homer Ragan |
| 16. Herbie Freeman | 34. Mary Rail | 54. George Myers |
| 17. Cornie Kersey | 35. Alex Wray | 55. Silas Thompson |
| 18. Ada Thompson | 36. Emmit White | 56. Essie Thompson |
| | 37. Gaines Winningham | 57. Sam Stevens |
| | 38. Estelle Tomlinson | 58. Henry Stewart |

* As listed in a letter by Retta E. Hardin, Greensboro, N.C., to Mrs. Mary T. Tomlinson on December 39, 1924. The letter was found with the Archdale YWCTU Minutes.

Selected North Carolina Temperance Resources Available in the Friends Historical Collections

The Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College has a number of minutes and other resources relating to Quakers and the temperance movement in North Carolina. A selected list of these resources is listed below. Individuals wishing to consult manuscript materials in person are strongly urged to make advance arrangements. Contact the Friends Historical Collection at hegefhc@guilford.edu or write: Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, N.C. 27410 for more information.

Minutes and Records of Temperance Organizations

- MS 187 New Garden WCTU, 1892–1904
- MS 187 Guilford College WCTU, 1926–1934
- MS 190 Minutes of the Fairmount Lodge 219 of the Order of the Good Templars, Snow Camp, Alamance County, N.C., 1875–1878
- MS 320 Archdale Temperance Union, 1885–1898
- MS 468 Union Temperance Society, Northampton County, N.C. 1906–1908
- MS 409 Bear's Chapel WCTU, 1887–1900 (photocopy)
- RG 19 Archdale YWCTU Minutes, 1889–1891 (typescript)

Related Manuscript Collections

- MS 96 Eula Dixon Speech, 1892
- MS 223 Mary Mendenhall Hobbs Papers, 1888–1930
- MS 440 Raymond and Helen Binford Papers, 1894–1952

Periodicals and Published Minutes

Friends Messenger, 1904–1932

Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1845–present

Guilford College, North Carolina Friends and the First World War

By

Anthony Manousos

World War I marked a significant chapter in the development of American Quakerism. In previous conflicts, such as the American Revolution and Civil War, many Quakers suffered serious consequences as a result of their anti-war stance. But World War I strengthened rather than diminished the Religious Society of Friends. This is surprising given the hostility that many Americans displayed towards pacifists during this period. In 1916, Americans elected Woodrow Wilson on the slogan, "He kept us out of war," and a year later war fever turned Americans into fervent, often intolerant patriots. Pacifists were called "slackers," "yellowbacks," or "pro-German." "Popular feelings were never more virulent against those who hewed to the line of conscience," wrote Lillian schlissel.¹ North Carolina Friends faced an especially difficult challenge since their opposition to slavery and to the civil War had cost them dearly and

Anthony Manousos is the editor of *Friends Bulletin* (official publication of Western unprogrammed Quakers), *A Western Quaker Reader: Writings by and about Independent Quakers in the Western United States* (2000), and *Compassionate Listening: Writings by Gene Hoffman, Quaker Peacemaker and Mystic* (2003). While a Gest Fellow at Haverford College in 2003, Manousos researched Howard and Anna Brinton and presented a Pendle Hill lecture titled, "Howard Brinton and the Peace Testimony," which will be published by Pendle Hill as a pamphlet in 2004.

caused considerable distress that required some assistance from Northern and Midwestern Friends to overcome.² Such was not the case after World War I. This article explores the different responses of North Carolina Quakers to World War I, ranging from those who supported conscientious objectors (COs) and relief efforts to those who tried to help boost the morale of the military. It concludes that organizations like Guilford College and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) helped to channel Quaker opposition to war into socially acceptable channels.



Guilford College Faculty

In 1916, two years after the outbreak of war in Europe, the well-known Quaker educator Howard Brinton (then a thirty-three year old math professor teaching at Pickering College in Canada) was summoned to Guilford College to help quell a “war” that had broken out on the campus.³ “War on Peace-Loving Campus of the Guilford College Quakers,” was the facetious headline by *Greensboro Daily News* to describe this conflict between the faculty and their new president.

Strike is abroad in Guilford College, Greensboro’s neighbor. It has disrupted the faculty, antagonized and threatened to destroy the student body, and has placed the ancient and honorable institution in

the worst state it has experienced since the foundation of the academy in 1837, the child from which the college manhood sprang.⁴

The immediate cause of this dispute was a decision by Thomas Newlin, successor to Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, well-respected and popular founder and former president of the college.⁵ A Haverford graduate, Newlin made himself controversial and unpopular by firing C. O. Meredith, dean of the college, and a professor named John B. Woosley. Opposition to Newlin had begun even before his arrival, however. According to an anonymous letter in the Brinton archives dated February 27, 1915, what angered many Guilford faculty was the fact that Newlin was chosen without any consultation with the faculty, yearly meeting, or alumni. According to this letter, Newlin was regarded as a “damned fool” by “lots of the best people” because he tended to exaggerate his accomplishments.⁶ According to the *Greensboro Daily News*, one man even objected to Newlin’s name in the telephone directory because it listed all his academic degrees (most of which were honorary).⁷ Some Guilford faculty considered resigning when they heard of Newlin’s appointment as president. Dissatisfaction with Newlin led to his being replaced by an “executive committee” that included Howard Brinton, who served as acting president and was seen as a “liberal” because of his association with Haverford College and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.⁸

While this academic tempest in a teapot was brewing at Guilford, Europe was spiraling down into one of the most terrible wars of its history. After the United States entered the war on April 6, 1917, the Friends’ National Peace Committee in Philadelphia affirmed both its opposition to war and its commitment to service. The committee stated (and North Carolina Yearly Meeting’s *Friends Messenger* published) that, “True patriotism at this time calls not for a resort to the futile methods of war but for the invention and practice of new methods of reconciliation and altruistic service.”⁹

Many North Carolina Friends, including Lewis Lyndon Hobbs and his wife Mary, strongly supported the Peace Testimony and the newly established American Friends Service Committee. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs was the daughter of former New Garden Board School head and Quaker leader Nereus Mendenhall and Orianna Wilson Mendenhall.

Her pacifism was deeply ingrained and keenly felt. As their daughter, she “had witnessed her father’s tearful decision to remain at the Boarding School at New Garden when they could have lived in peace, prosperity, and freedom in the North.”¹⁰ In an article titled, “Our Testimony,” she wrote:

One of the chief objects of the Society of Friends from its foundation has been to bear a testimony against all war and to work constructively for peace. We have advocated this in time of peace, and we have suffered for it in times of war. There is no other way to eradicate war and the military spirit

but to quit fighting. Enough people must become convinced of the barbarity of war to rend it impossible. It seems to me that we have not been sufficiently clear in explaining this attitude.¹¹



Mary and Lewis Lyndon Hobbs

After explaining the religious basis for the Friends’ Peace Testimony, Mary Mendenhall felt impelled, like many pacifists, to affirm clearly that she was a loyal American: “There is no disloyalty in [our position]. We would lay down our lives rather than betray in the slightest degree the land we love.” She then added, “the Government has recognized this fact and has given us opportunity to serve our fellow men in some non-combatant way.”¹²

Friends had good reason to be careful about affirming their loyalty and patriotism. As Schlissel later observed, “Americans went to war in a state of giddy hysteria. Men and women long restrained by Puritanism tended to find, through war, a release of emotion, a near sexual excitement.”¹³ Despite popular enthusiasm for the war, many Americans went to great lengths to avoid the draft and public senti-

ment fiercely opposed these “slackers.” For this reason, the United States government hesitated at first to recognize the right of conscientious objection. Peace churches argued that according its members conscientious objector (CO) status would help avoid the kind of opposition and dissension that occurred when England had cracked down on pacifists. According to one history of the draft in America,

A number of religious and liberal pacifist organizations—Quakers, Mennonites, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the AUAM [American Union Against Militarism]—had sought to convince the government to grant such freedom of conscience. They argued that the British experience of 1916–17 had shown that the clash of wills between committed conscientious objectors and the administrative apparatus of the State, particularly the military, could result in miscarriage of justice and severe, even fatal, brutality.¹⁴

At the recommendation of the Secretary of War, Congress decided to limit CO status to those from traditional pacifist churches and exempted them only from combat, not non-combat military service.¹⁵

Within a few months after the United States entered the war, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) was established to provide alternative service opportunities to Friends and other religiously oriented COs. The *Friends Messenger* reported that as of July 1, 1917, a unit of one hundred young men was to be trained at Haverford College for reconstruction work in France. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs recommended this option to draft-age Friends.

Many Friends felt very strongly that they had a moral obligation to do everything they could to be of service during time of war, to prove both their religious faith and their loyalty. North Carolina Friend Alice Paige White wrote:

Whatever opportunity offers to do relief work, to aid in reconstructing dismantled homes and villages, to feed the hungry and to conserve the food supply of this country, especially by preventing waste and extravagance, there Friends should be in the van. Let us not placidly hide behind our ancient testimony and smugly feel excused from active work....¹⁶

The peace work of Friends at this time often emphasized its patriotism. North Carolina Friends instituted a “Peace Medal,” awarded

for projects promoting peace. In the *Friends Messenger*, the Peace Committee lifted up as an example the work of Friends who show the patriotic side of Quaker service:

Probably most people, even children, know that Friends do not believe in war. Perhaps some of the boys are indeed a little ashamed of this principle of Friends in these stirring times. Our Bible Schools have a splendid opportunity to hold up the heroic side of *Quaker* principles, to keep our members informed of the positive work of Friends both in England and in this country, in these days of devastation.

The article described a project by Brooklyn Friends advertising the service of Friends in wartime. "Over these typical Quakers was placed a frame trimmed in the colors of the American flag" with images of Quakers doing relief work and thereby "indicating that Friends are not slackers."¹⁷

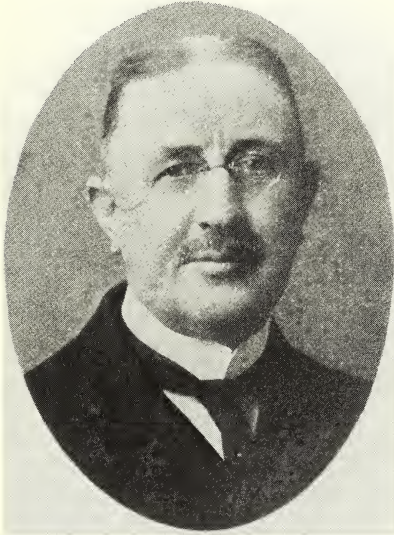
While many Friends sought nonmilitary ways to express their faith and do their patriotic duty, some were not adverse to cooperating with the military. Many were drafted, or voluntarily joined the army. Some helped the military effort in other ways. Thomas Newlin, for example, decided to work for the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) after leaving Guilford. Like most Quakers, he said that he "deplored all war," but he also admired the spirit of self-sacrifice and service that he saw as a "by-product" of America's involvement in Europe's struggles.¹⁸ He lifted up the example of those who were willing to give up personal comforts and well-paying jobs in order to serve in the military. For this reason, he extolled the YMCA because it "is in the army for no other purpose than to exemplify sacrifice and service." Like many involved in the Holiness movement and revivalism, he embraced the idea of personal salvation and individual moral uplift. The purpose of the YMCA's outreach to the army was to help young men avoid the moral pitfalls of military life. Newlin made this clear when he wrote:

Very few who have not visited an army camp or cantonment can realize what a complete change comes when a young man leaves his home for the army. An abnormal condition at once sets in. The old social contacts are impossible, entertainment and amusements of the usual sort are lacking, and the religion of the home and the church are

no longer available in the old forms. This has a tendency to break down the moral pulse of the army.¹⁹

This problem is described much more colorfully in an anonymous article that appeared in the *Friends Messenger* during this period. Called "Our Boys in Camp," it depicts the moral perils of military life in language suggesting an age of innocence:

In every army there have always been unscrupulous men hanging around the camps. Men who would sell strong drink to those in camp, in order that they might profit thereby. . . . The "scarlet woman" is near at hand "whose feet go down to death," and whose "steps take hold on hell." Many a mother is praying that her boy will be saved from these temptations.²⁰



Thomas Newlin

The author stated "the Y.M.C.A.s and other religious organizations, are doing fine work in the camps" to protect young men from these moral dangers. This was the kind of morale-boosting work undertaken by Thomas Newlin and supported by North Carolina Friends of the evangelical type.

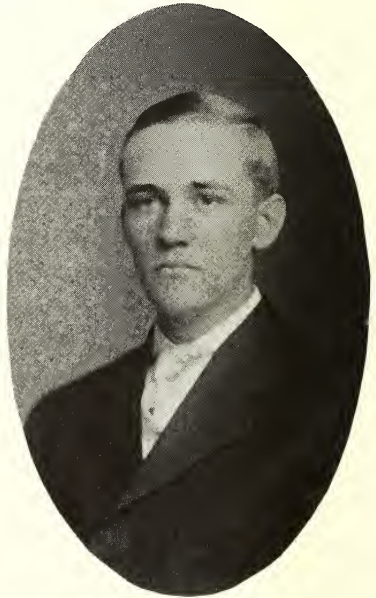
With characteristic enthusiasm, and hyperbole, Thomas Newlin described his work at Camp Jackson: "I never felt more clearly in my life that I was in the right place. The Y.M.C.A. is undertaking one of the greatest pieces of work every entered into by any Christian organization. I feel that I am representing the church in this work." He wrote,

there will be eight large buildings in addition to the Administration building, and in each of these buildings there will be religious meetings, lectures, entertainments or educational or Bible classes every evening and at many hours of the day. . . . It seems to me that the world is experiencing a new Pentecost when Russia, France, and Italy have all asked for the American Y.M.C.A. to come to organize the religious work in their armies.²¹

While Thomas Newlin was at Camp Jackson helping to protect the morals and raise the morale of the troops (as well as usher in a new Pentecostal age!), Howard Brinton was quietly paying visits on COs imprisoned at this same camp. On June 18, 1918, he wrote a letter to J. Algernon Evans, describing a visit to Camp Jackson, where COs were being detained. During this period, COs were often not allowed to communicate with those outside of prison, and even their names were sometimes hard to obtain. (One cannot help thinking of the Muslims who were detained immediately following September 11, 2001.) Brinton was at first rebuffed by the captain in charge, but was finally able to “thaw him out” and acquire the names of Friends who were incarcerated. He was even allowed to exchange a few words with several of the men. The captain told Brinton that the men would be “sent to France to work in the fields where the bullets were flying” and “that would show whether they had a yellow streak or not.” Brinton concludes, “The captain is a strong, able fellow, well able to protect his charges and treat them fairly with little sympathy for them as he regards most of them either as yellow or below normal in intelligence.” This experience no doubt had a strong impact on Brinton.

After leaving Earlham in 1918, Brinton went on to work for the AFSC. So did another Guilford man, Richard J. M. Hobbs, the son of Mary and Lyndon Hobbs. Richard Hobbs wrote that five Quaker volunteers from North Carolina, all from Eastern Quarterly Meeting, were serving in France:

Henry Davis of Guilford College and Dr. Charles Outland of Woodland were the first to join me. Throughout the summer Henry was foreman of a group of men who built fifty houses for a hospital. Now he is working in one of our factories where demountable houses are made. Dr. Outland, after a long wait in Paris, has for several



R. J. M. Hobbs



Howard Brinton

weeks been doing very good and very much needed medical work at Dale. Next came Ezra Moore and Elfred [sic] R. Outland. Ezra is erecting buildings for a hospital in southern France, where is he is also chief d'equipe. Elfred Outland has spent the summer work on the group of hospital buildings at Malibre.

Our Yearly Meeting may well be proud of these men. In our unit they are known as men of sound character, energetic and free workers, and filled with a spirit which is eager to serve the needs about us. I hope that from time to time others may come of similar integrity and strength of purpose.

After nearly ten months of service in almost all branches of our work I feel like saying to those who consider entering the same field that it is a work founded squarely on the principles of our society and is sound, worthy and much needed. It is operated with efficiency and in the spirit of Friends. Our men work and don't point out what they have done. They have, it is true, received warm praise from the French authorities and from the American Red Cross.²²

The American Friends Service Committee also sometimes stressed the patriotic element in Quaker service and its value for America's long-term interests in the world. Writing about the feeding program in Upper Silesia, Howard Brinton (a publicist for the AFSC) made clear that this work had immense public relation value:

Unworthy as we are, we publicly embody in the minds of these people not that America which turned away from Europe out of a selfish fear of entangling alliances, an America, which has yet no official representative in Germany, but the big hearted, generous America touched by suffering whether of friends or foe. You can imagine with what emotion I saw a group of our children waving American flags they had made themselves and calling out: "Uncle Sam is our Uncle." This love for America shrined in the hearts of children will some day be a mighty asset to its object.²³

Brinton's appeal to patriotism is tinged with a criticism of an American foreign policy based on self-interest and isolationism. He

felt that Friends were successful in their relief efforts and their Christian witness because they did not become flag-waving patriots and abandon their pacifist principles. "Their pacific attitude has placed them in a strategic position for taking the lead in relieving the evil effects of war," wrote Brinton. "In so far as they have been faithful, just so far they have gained in power and influence,"²⁴ In Brinton's view,

the Christian 'church' as a whole failed during the war because it allowed other organizations, such as the Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A., to do its work. It clung to the old theory that Christianity was a sort of life line thrown out to rescue the perishing from the evil of the world, rather than a method of making the world less evil.

In other words, by not challenging the assumption of the modern state and its military machine as the Quakers did, most Christian denominations lost credibility and failed in their prophetic mission.

It is worth recalling, especially during our times of increasing militarism and patriotic fervor, that North Carolina Friends and Guilford students and faculty were willing to uphold the Friends Peace Testimony and to make sacrifices and take risks, including the risk of imprisonment, for the sake of their faith. In doing so, however, they also stressed that peacemaking was patriotic. As a result, the First World War did not have as traumatic or devastating an effect upon North Carolina Friends as did the Civil War; in fact, quite the opposite. "The old opposition to Friends has not only disappeared," wrote Mary Hobbs in 1923, "but quite the contrary has taken its place," with Friends as legislators, attorneys, teachers in the state universities, principals and teachers in high school, active in all movements for social improvement, and "leading business men in our cities."²⁵

By providing opportunities for constructive wartime service, organizations such as Guilford College and the American Friends Service Committee may have helped Friends to express their Peace Testimony in ways that did not seem as threatening as Friends' opposition to slavery. As a result, most Friends in North Carolina and elsewhere—to quote an old Quaker joke—"not only did good, they also did well." Whether this success helped or hindered Friends' subsequent work as peacemakers is a question open to debate and further study.

Endnotes

¹ Lillian Schlissel, ed. *Conscience in America: A Documentary History of Conscientious Objection in America, 1757–1967* (New York: Dutton, 1968), 128.

² Many Friends left North Carolina because of the slavery issue. Those who stayed had to deal with anger, bitterness, and rejection from their fellow Southerners. Northern and Midwestern Friends helped North Carolina Friends during this period. See Damon D. Hickey, *Sojourners No More: The Quakers in the New South, 1865–1920* (Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society and North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1997).

³ Howard Brinton (1884–1971) was a professor of religion and physics, taught at several colleges, and for nearly two decades was director of Pendle Hill, a Quaker center for study and contemplation near Philadelphia. He also wrote and edited numerous articles, pamphlets, and books about Quakerism, including the classic work, *Friends for 300 Years: The History and Beliefs of the Society of Friends Since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1952).

⁴ *Greensboro Daily News*, May 23, 1916. See also the *Guilfordian*, May 17, 1916.

⁵ Hobbs served as president for twenty–seven years, from 1888 to 1915, and helped to transform the New Garden Friends Boarding School into a college. He and his wife, Mary, were extremely influential Friends in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. They were also staunch pacifists.

⁶ See Guilford College file in Brinton Papers, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Penn.

⁷ For a more detailed account of the “Newlin era,” see Alexander R. Stoesen, *Guilford College: On the Strength of 150 Years* (Greensboro, N.C.: Guilford College, 1987).

⁸ Opposition to Newlin may also have had a theological dimension since his approach to Quakerism tended to be of the evangelical type, as his involvement with the YMCA suggests. North Carolina Friends and Guilford had close connections with somewhat conservative Five Years Meeting in Indiana, but tried to embrace a broad spectrum of Quakerism. For example, L. L. Hobbs was a progressive as well as a Haverford graduate like Brinton.

⁹ "A Message from the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in America," *Friends Messenger* 23, no. 12 (1917): 7.

¹⁰ Hickey, 121.

¹¹ Mary M. Hobbs, "Our Testimony," *Friends Messenger* 24, no. 11 (1917): 1-2.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Schlissel*, 128.

¹⁴ John Whiteclay Chambers II, *To Raise an Army: the Draft Comes to Modern America* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 215.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Alice Paige White, "Responsibility of Friends in War Time," *Friends Messenger* 24, no. 2 (1917): 3.

¹⁷ "Peace Instruction for Bible Schools," *Friends Messenger* 24, no. 3 (1917): 4-5.

¹⁸ Thomas Newlin, "A Note from the Army Y.M.C.A.," *Friends Messenger* 25, no. 11 (1918): 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ "Our Boys in Camp," *The Friends Messenger* 24, no. 6 (1917): 8.

²¹ "Letter from Dr. Thomas Newlin," *The Friends Messenger* 24, no. 4 (1917): 2-3.

²² "Letter from Richard J. M. Hobbs," *Friends Messenger* 25, no. 10 (1918): 1.

²³ Letter from Kattowitz, 13 January 1921, Brinton Papers, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

²⁴ "The Present Strategic Position of the Society of Friends," *The Friend* 93, #44 (1920): 518.

²⁵ Hickey, 139.

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report 2002–2003

By

Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson

Introduction

The Friends Historical Collection continues to develop as a resource for both Guilford College and the wider community. Focus this past year has been on defining the various components within the collection. Efforts began with the establishment of new location codes in the NC-PALS online library catalog to better reflect the various categories of published holdings. The Peace Studies Reading Room, brought under the oversight of the Friends Historical Collection last year, is fully functioning with several new titles added during this first year. Evaluation began of the college archives in anticipation of a new records management program beginning in Fall 2003. Initial training and planning began for incorporating Encoded Archival Description standards into processing and cataloging manuscripts. Presentations to classes, conversations with faculty, and talks given to community organizations spread word of our resources.

Staff and Volunteers

After three years as the archives assistant, Bette Cline resigned from her position in April. Luckily, former Friends Historical Collection student worker and current part-time Hege Library staff member, Rachel Miller, was available to start soon after Bette's departure. Bette's friendly face and skills will be missed. However, the transition

was very smooth and caused no disruption in services. Rachel brings many specialized skills from her experience in cataloging as well as her knowledge gained from work and studies in Quakerism while a student at Guilford.

Student assistants this year were Rachel Miller during Summer 2002, Cassandra Baker, Heather Doyle, and Katherine Oliver during the regular academic year, and Kelly–Cheyenne Hill during Summer 2003.

Twelve docents assisted in the research room—some every week and others on a substitution basis as needed. Former Friends Historical Collection librarian, Carole Treadway, joined the docent schedule to fill an empty slot on Thursday afternoons. Carole's presence as an employee in the collection is missed, and we are glad she has been able to continue her involvement in this way. Docents were able to visit with one another and learn about the genealogy resources from Arthur Erickson of the Greensboro Public Library at their annual luncheon in May.

Collections

Minutes and records were received from thirty different monthly and quarterly meetings, including twenty–four meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM), one of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), and four of Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association. Guidelines for yearly meeting committees and administrative boards were drafted and approved by the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Committee on the Care of Records. The guidelines have been submitted to the Executive Committee of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) for inclusion in the organization's handbook. This completes the efforts begun two years ago to have guidelines and policies for monthly, quarterly, and yearly meeting papers that are a part of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives. The North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) Records Committee was restructured to facilitate better communication to all their meetings. Davidson Meeting, which is currently not affiliated with a yearly meeting, designated the Friends Historical Collection as their depository.

Monograph and serials holdings continue to develop with both new purchases and gifts. As mentioned in the introduction, new

location codes were established to allow better tracking of materials and a more informative public display in the catalog. All monograph holdings available to researchers are now in the library online catalog so that information about titles and our holdings can be located on our web site. For the first time, serials titles are also becoming available in the online catalog. With the assistance of technical services librarian, Ruth Scales, and serials associate, Kathryn Hood, a significant number of our current subscriptions were cataloged with holding information. This effort will continue in stages over the next two years with a goal of having all publications (regardless of format) cataloged in the NC-PALS catalog.

The restructuring of Friends Historical Collection cataloging procedures and the willingness of Ruth Scales to learn the idiosyncrasies of Quaker cataloging has made this goal possible. With the reductions in staffing last year, monographic and serials cataloging, previously done within the Friends Historical Collection, merged with the Hege Library cataloging. The Friends Historical Collection librarian has not had the time or training to be able to adequately handle the cataloging needs for several years. This often made for inefficient monograph cataloging practices and no serials cataloging. The new structure gets items processed more quickly and accurately than they would otherwise. Gwen Erickson prioritizes cataloging projects and assists with subject specialty decisions, while Ruth Scales contributes her expertise in the cataloging field and her knowledge of the technical strengths and weaknesses of our online catalog system.

Cataloging statistics this year are noticeably lower than past years. One reason is that the part-time special projects librarian position held by Carole Treadway the past two years was eliminated. The second is that much time and effort has gone towards authority work, which is not reflected in statistics, and serials cataloging rather than monographic items. Manuscript cataloging progressed with significant amounts of preliminary processing on several large collections—the Levering Papers, the American Freedom Association Papers, and the Algie Newlin Papers. Completion of cataloging for smaller collections was put on hold as new processes and procedures were investigated in anticipation of implementation of Encoded

Archival Description (EAD) and more widespread availability of the information contained in our finding aids.

The need for Guilford College to have a records management policy has been a growing concern. Development of the college archives often is scattered at best due to lack of clarity in campus offices about what items are appropriate for college archives and no formal policies to guide holdings and development. A site visit was made to Davidson College's archives in November to observe their organization and to discuss archives and records management issues. Davidson Archivist, Jan Blodgett, offered her willingness to share professional knowledge and gave permission for her records policies and schedules to be used as models for Guilford. A formal proposal was made to Guilford's new president, Kent Chabotar, in January and was followed by a meeting with the vice presidents and deans. Support was given for the idea of a records management program that will begin in fall 2003. The Friends Historical Collection will integrate this new program into the daily tasks and absorb much of the initial costs. However, it is hoped that some additional staffing will be made available in 2004–2005 to assist with this new program.

The existing college archives are being reviewed in preparation for new policies and procedures relating to the records management program. This past year the thesis policy, a guideline for seniors and their advisors, was revised and updated. Gwen Erickson drafted the new policy in consultation with Ruth Scales and Mary Ellen Chijioke. The new policy was approved by the Faculty Library Committee and distributed to faculty and students following final approval from the academic dean's office.

The Peace Studies Reading Room had its first full year of operation under the oversight of the Friends Historical Collection. Appropriate titles were transferred from both the Hege Library and Friends Historical periodicals collections for use in the reading room. Several new titles were added as well. All titles and their holding information are listed in the NC-PALS online catalog. Students have already discovered the room for use as a study space and it is hoped that use of this resource will grow as word spreads.

As a member of the Technical Services Group of the library staff,

Gwen Erickson drafted “Rare Book Policy and Guidelines” in consultation with Ruth Scales and Mary Ellen Chijioke for the main library’s rare book collection. Several of these guidelines are also being followed in the processing and development of the Quaker rare books that are kept separately as a part of the Friends Historical Collection.

Research and Services

Certain standard topics continued to interest researchers, including genealogy, the Underground Railroad and Quaker antislavery work, and Quakers during the American Revolution and the Civil War. Interesting variations on these subjects were a study of the interpretation of Underground Railroad sites and of early Quaker antislavery work in relation to constitutional law. The experience of conscientious objectors was a topic of increased interest this year—perhaps due to world events. Both Guilford students and researchers from off-campus consulted manuscript collections containing letters by Quaker Civil War conscientious objectors William B. Hockett, Solomon Frazier, and various individuals corresponding with Virginia Friend John B. Crenshaw in the 1860s. Several inquiries were received regarding the Buck Creek Civilian Public Service Camp that operated in Marion, North Carolina from 1941–1943.

A variety of interests bring researchers to the collection, and it is always instructive to see how the resources can be used. For example, early Quaker journals were consulted to study presettlement vegetation in Piedmont North Carolina. Seventeenth and eighteenth century materials were also used to study the political and social situation in North Carolina from 1660 to 1715. Personal papers and organization minutes were used to look at the Women’s Christian Temperance Union in Guilford County. Topics more specific to Quaker history included eighteenth century Quaker youth, early Quaker business practices, Quakers in the holiness movement, Quaker women, and a comprehensive study of Quakers in Surry County, North Carolina that is still in progress. Images were selected to illustrate an article on Freedman’s education and a book about the history of education in Jamestown, North Carolina.

Perhaps the most experiential research coming out of work in the collection was a journey undertaken by Ehren Nagle in October and

November. Ehren felt called to make the historic journey from New Garden, North Carolina to Richmond, Indiana on foot. He intellectually prepared for the trip with research in the Friends Historical Collection, including extensive consultation of the “Bill of the Route” that listed the rest stops made by nineteenth century Friends traveling the same path.

Members of the following meetings visited to consult their meeting records: Corinth, Rocky River, Deep River, Poplar Ridge, South Plainfield, White Plains, Winston–Salem, and Winthrop. Several of these were in connection with research projects undertaken to recognize special anniversaries or milestones in their meeting’s history. Photocopy projects were done for Cane Creek, Lost Creek, and South Plainfield Friends Meetings and Bethlehem Wesleyan Church so that they have copies of minutes on file for consultation at their meeting or church.

Several classes had specific course requirements that brought them into the Friends Historical Collection. David MacInnes required his First Year Experience class studying exploration to visit the Friends Historical Collection and do an assignment based on the college’s rare book copy of Elisha Kent Kane’s *Arctic Exploration*. Anne Glenn’s Women Scientists in the United States had a class visit to the Friends Historical Collection and an assignment requiring them to consult college yearbooks, catalogs, and other publications. The visit and assignment were in preparation for the class’s research project based on interviews with Guilford science alumnae. Students did background research on college curriculum and campus life at the time their interview subject was studying at Guilford. Following a brief presentation by Gwen Erickson during the class library instruction session, several students from Alvis Dunn’s historical perspectives course titled, “The Changing Face of the South: North Carolina,” chose topics relating to resources in the Friends Historical Collection.

As a part of the college’s Anti–Racism Initiative, members of the History Subcommittee spent time learning about resources that might assist them in their research. The group met in the collection several times and some members spent time reviewing back issues of the college’s newspaper, *The Guilfordian*.

Presentations concerning Quaker records and genealogical research were given to the Surry County Genealogical Society and the Stanley Family Reunion. The Stanley Family Reunion was held on Guilford's campus so the talk was followed by an open house and additional time for questions and answers in the Research Room. Brief tours and introduction to the resources available in the Friends Historical Collection were also given for a group of New Garden Friends School students and to several members of the Guilford College Board of Visitors.

Information about the college's landscape and buildings was pulled together in preparation of a proposal to the Getty Foundation for a Campus Heritage Grant. The final proposal included funding for an archives assistant and equipment to enable student interns to research the campus buildings and landscape and create online exhibits presenting their findings. Unfortunately, the grant was unsuccessful. It is hoped that some of the ideas generated in grant discussions this year can be developed in the future.

Notable Events and Projects

The North Carolina ECHO (Exploring Cultural Resources Online) project staff visited the Friends Historical Collection in January and received a completed survey of collection holdings at that time. This innovative program is a collaborative statewide effort to provide improved access to our cultural heritage through a comprehensive Web site involving all of North Carolina's libraries, museums, and archives. The NC-ECHO Web portal at www.ncecho.org, which already includes links to the Friends Historical Collection, provides information on almost eight hundred cultural repositories in North Carolina and allows individuals to search various institutions' online resources from one Web site. The Friends Historical Collection was represented by Gwen Erickson at working group meetings during the early planning stages for this project in 2000 and 2001.

Staff received additional training provided by the NC-ECHO program this spring to help with planning and implementation for future digitization projects involving our collections. Gwen Erickson learned the basics of Encoded Archival Description through a two-day work-

shop in March and also attending a workshop specifically on planning for EAD implementation. This added knowledge is being used to develop new manuscript processing procedures that can easily expand to include EAD.

Pat O'Donnell of the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College provided informal training and shared knowledge of Quaker cataloging authority work with Gwen Erickson and Ruth Scales during a visit to Guilford. Gwen and Pat had an opportunity to exchange information about collections and discuss ways that Quaker archives can assist one another. Possibilities for collaborative projects in the area of collection development and cataloging were explored.

This year programming and exhibits at many institutions focused on themes relating to current world events. Last year the Charlotte Museum of History asked for the Friends Historical Collection to share some materials to portray pacifist perspectives for their exhibit titled "Soldiers' Stories: War in the First Person." Two items from the Solomon Frazier Papers, a letter written by Frazier from the Salisbury Prison in 1865 and Frazier's 1864 petition for exemption from military service, were included in the exhibit. The loan was extended for an additional year due to the popularity of the overall exhibit. A much smaller exhibit specifically on "North Carolina Quakers in Wartime" displayed examples from our collection of Friends' statements and experiences in the Civil War, World War I, World War II, and Vietnam.

In March some letters and writings from the collection were part of a Women's History Month program at Greensboro's YWCA in a collaborative program titled "Women in Wartimes" cosponsored by the YWCA, Greensboro Historical Museum, Greensboro Public Library, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and Guilford College's Friends Historical Collection. Writings of Guilford County Quaker women (and former Guilford College presidential wives) Mary Mendenhall Hobbs and Helen Titsworth Binford were used, along with writings from other local archives and reflections from local community members, to illustrate women's many different experiences during wartime.

Professional Activity

Anne Glenn invited Gwen to lead a class session on "Quaker Women and the Sciences" on January 22 as a part of her Women Scientists in the United States course. Gwen also participated in a Quaker Women Study Group organized by the Women's Studies Department during spring semester. Following two years as a program, the Quaker Studies concentration was reviewed in June 2003 by interested faculty and staff, including Gwen Erickson. It is hoped that the revised program can make fuller use of the resources in the Friends Historical Collection.

The Archives class of the Library Studies Graduate Program at University of North Carolina at Greensboro visited the Friends Historical Collection in November. Gwen Erickson shared her knowledge of archives and special collections in a small college setting and gave the group a guided tour of the collection. She also actively participated in the Society of North Carolina Archivists by attending both spring and fall meetings and with service on the organization's Long Range Planning Committee.

Gwen Erickson continued as editor of *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* and completed two issues for Volume XXIV. Her article, "This threatful Cloud of iniquity": Rich Square Friends and the Challenge of Slavery in 1832," was published in the Spring 2002 issue. The "Friends Historical Collection Annual Report, 2001-2002" is in the Fall 2002 issue.

Processing Statistics

	<u>2000-</u> <u>2001*</u>	<u>2000-</u> <u>2001*</u>	<u>2001-</u> <u>2002</u>	<u>2002-</u> <u>2003#</u>	<u>2002-</u> <u>2003#</u>
Books and pamphlets cataloged [^]	465	548	688	178	178
Meeting and organization document groups accessioned	56	64	38	43	49
Manuscript Collections					
Received	9	9	10	13	13
Processing completed	1	1	3	0	0
Artifacts accessioned	2	2	2	1	1
Pictorial items or collections accessioned	7	7	4	3	3

[^] Cataloging statistics refer to the number of titles cataloged. Therefore, the number of items may be higher in cases where a large set is processed.

** In the chart above and in the charts on page 50, the first column for 2000–2001 runs from May 1, 2000 to April 30, 2001. Due to a change in the college’s calendar, the 2000–2001 annual report covers the time period of May 1, 2000 to May 31, 2001. The second column for 2000–2001 gives the statistics for the 13–month total.*

Due to a desire to coordinate the dates of the annual report with the fiscal year, the 2002–2003 annual report includes statistics through June 30, 2003. For comparison purposes, the first column for 2002–2003 gives the 12–month statistics for June 1, 2002–May 31, 2003. The second gives the 13–month total for June 1, 2002–June 30, 2003. This note also applies to charts on page 50.

Cumulative Collection Holding Statistics

<u>Published Holdings in Online Catalog</u>	<u>Total Items</u>	<u>Total Items in System[^]</u>
Quaker Circulating Books	6482	5633
Quaker Reference College	1901	1594
Quaker Rare Books	1338	1177
Quaker Periodicals	180 linear feet	32
Quaker Reference Periodicals	29 linear feet	7
Peace Periodicals	26.5 linear feet	30

[^] Total titles is limited to those items cataloged in the NC-PALS database. Periodical title holdings are significantly larger than indicated but not reflected here since serials are just beginning to be entered into the system.

**Unpublished Materials
by Material Type**

Estimated Linear Feet or Items

Manuscript and Archival Materials	875 linear feet
Photographic Materials	13 linear feet
Microfilm	800 reels
AV formats (audio and video tapes, disks, and films)	273 items
Maps and oversize prints	250 items
Costumes and textiles	400 items
Artifacts (including tools and furnishings)	125 items

Users (in person)^

	<u>2000- 2001*</u>	<u>2000- 2001*</u>	<u>2001- 2002</u>	<u>2002- 2003#</u>	<u>2002- 2003#</u>
Genealogists	219	244	221	178	204
Scholars and Other Outside Researchers	103	107	113	103	111
Guilford Faculty and Staff	72	75	19	21	22
Guilford Students	<u>91</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>51</u>
Total Number of Users	485	519	414	353	388

^These statistics do not include use of the Friends Historical Collection open stacks. Some decreases for 2002-2003 may be explained by the decision to count in the statistics only individual researchers who filled out forms. Individuals visiting the collection as a part of a class visit or special research room tours are not included, since they did not fill out a researcher form. In addition to in-person use, an average of forty-nine outside telephone calls were received each month (a slight decrease from last year). The majority of these calls were reference questions.

Correspondence

	<u>2000 2001*</u>	<u>2000- 2001*</u>	<u>2001- 2002</u>	<u>2002- 2003#</u>	<u>2002- 2003#</u>
Genealogical reference requests	172	181	112	91	99
Reference requests (non-genealogy)	92	102	139	142	164
Requests for copies and/or photographs	30	35	55	42	53
Preliminary letters	32	32	23	14	15
Acknowledgments	77	98	74	84	98
Other correspondence	38	42	37	18	28
Total correspondence (all formats)	441	490	440	391	457
Correspondence via e-mail	245	263	275	241	279

**Deposits from North Carolina Yearly Meeting
(Friends United Meeting)**

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Asheboro	Ministry and Counsel Minutes: 1/1997–6/2000
Cane Creek	Minutes: 3/1973–5/1976, 7/1982–12/2002 Ministry and Counsel Minutes: 6/1948, 9/1982–6/1997, 6/1998–6/1999, 2002 Missionary Auxiliary Minutes: 9/1991–2/1998
Caraway	Minutes: 2001
Cedar Square	Minutes: 7/2001–6/2002
Centre	Ministry and Counsel Minutes: 9/1986–7/2001
Chatham	Minutes: 2000 Ministry and Counsel Minutes: 2000 Membership History: 2002
Deep River Quarter	Quarterly Minutes: 1/1995, 1/1996–4/1997, 2001–2002
Edward Hill	Minutes: 2002 Membership Roll: 1/2003
Forbush	Minutes: 1/1982–7/2002 Property Deeds and Reappraisal
Greensboro	Memorials, compiled by Theodore E. Perkins: 2002
Harmony Grove	Minutes and Papers: 1/1994–12/1999
Jamestown	Minutes: 2000 Financial Records: 2/1964–10/1986 Building Plans: 1971
Mount Airy	Inactive Membership Records
Nahunta	Minutes 7/2000–6/2002
New Garden	Minutes: 2001
New Hope (CQ)	Minutes: 2002
North Carolina YM	Executive Committee Minutes: 1995–2002 Memorials: 2001–2002
Pine Hill	Minutes: 2002
Plainfield	Minutes: 7/1998–12/2000
Poplar Ridge	Minutes: 7/2000–12/2001, 6/2002–12/2002

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) (Cont.)

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
South Fork	Minutes: 1/2000–6/2002
Surry	Minutes: 1/2001–4/2002
Union Cross	Minutes: 1/2001–2/2002; 4/2002–12/2002 Membership Books
White Plains	Minutes: 7/1995–5/2002, 4/2002–12/2002, 1/2003–4/2003
Winthrop	Minutes, Attendance Records, and Treasurer's Reports: 2002

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) Deposits

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Friendship	Minutes: 9/2000–4/2002

**Deposits from Southern Appalachian
Yearly Meeting and Association (SAYMA)**

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Brevard	Minutes: 2/2000–5/2002
Celo	Minutes: 2002
Foxfire	Minutes: 4/2001–12/2001
Memphis	Minutes: 8/1995–8/2002
SAYMA Meeting Newsletters from 2001–2002:	
Asheville (NC)	Columbia (SC)
Berea (KY)	Foxfire
Charleston (WV)	Swannanoa Valley (NC)
Chattanooga (TN)	West Knoxville (TN)

Record Groups[^]

<u>Organization Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Davidson Monthly Meeting	Minutes, Treasurer's Reports, Papers
Quaker House of Fayetteville	GI United Papers of William Carothers

[^] Regular annualized deposits of college publications and campus materials are not listed. However, any major deposits, such as those that start a new record series or fill major gaps, are listed in the annual report.

Book Reviews

Margery Post Abbott, Mary Ellen Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John William Oliver, Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. No. 44 of *Historical Dictionaries of Religion, Philosophies, and Movements*. Lanham, Md. and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2003. xxxii + 432 pp. Acronyms and abbreviations, chronology, introduction, bibliography, index. \$88.

This reviewer finds the *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)* to be very much like a buffet: complete with appetizers, entrées, side dishes, and dessert. Indeed, it is a feast for the mind and spirit. I would go as far as to term this much-anticipated work monumental. As the reviewer for *The Southern Friend*, I read the book differently than will others—straight through and in search of that which is praiseworthy or needs attention.

The coeditors/chefs who prepared the “banquet”—Margery Post Abbott, Mary Ellen Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John William Oliver Jr.—know the Religious Society of Friends well. They bring to the table varied backgrounds and competencies, direct exposure to Quakers in Great Britain, the United States, and Africa as well as a familiarity with Friends in Europe, Canada, South America, and Asia.

This reviewer was pleased to note that a separate volume, a *Dictionary of Quaker Biography*, is underway. In this volume there were times I wondered why one Friend was included and another of perhaps equal historical standing was not; interestingly, social reformer and peace activist Jane Addams, a “friend of Friends,” received an entry while British Quaker women abolitionists Anne Knight and Elizabeth Pease did not.

Appetizer sections included Acronyms and Abbreviations, Chronology, and an Introduction to the dictionary proper. Those familiar with Friends will recognize the importance of the list of acronyms and abbreviations. We have so many that these terms are often referenced as “Quaker Alphabet Soup” among the initiated. The introduction by Margery Post Abbott is particularly well written. The history and theology of the Religious Society of Friends is complex, especially when considering the differences among the many branches of Friends. Abbott’s explanation here is strong.

The dictionary covers testimonies and practices of the Religious Society of Friends in addition to biographies of prominent Quakers and historical events and movements. Cross-referencing among the entries is extremely helpful. Friends will recognize many of those responsible for the individual entries/entrées—the best and brightest among contemporary Quaker historians, theologians, and writers. What surprises and pleases me is how cohesive the book is for all of the sous chefs and their individual writing styles. This is definitely not a case where “too many cooks spoil the broth.” What is remarkable is the appropriateness of the authors in many cases.

While it is not possible to list all 104 contributors and pay proper homage to them and their work, I will note several. Karen Cromley, who has devoted more than thirty years to working in various departments of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and Jack Sutters, AFSC archivist, provide a particularly well-balanced view of that organization. Similar accolades could be said for minister and professor Arthur O. Roberts’ piece on Evangelical Friends International (EFI) and for retired executive secretary Edward F. Snyder’s work on the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL). Johan Maurer, general secretary of Friends United Meeting (FUM), and Peggy Hollingsworth, long active with the United Society of Friends Women International (USFWI), write knowledgeably about their respective organizations. The four coeditors have recruited those who know their organizations well to provide overviews.

Many contemporary Quaker theologians are represented in the dictionary. These include Paul N. Anderson (Bible, Salvation), Wilmer A. Cooper (Evil, Holy Spirit, Ministry, Truth), Kathryn A. Damiano

(Quietism), Dean Freiday (Robert Barclay), Douglas Gwyn (Covenant, Eschatology, Lamb's War), T. Canby Jones (Christ); Hugh S. Pyper (God), William P. Taber (Conservative Friends, Covered, Gathered, Worship) and Lloyd Lee Wilson (Gospel Order). Additional well-respected Quaker leaders and writers cover topics peculiar to Friends: Dandelion (Meeting), J. William Frost (William Penn), Jan Hoffman, (Discipline [Faith and Practice], Queries and Advices), Alan Kolp (Sacraments), Paul Lacey (Leadership, Leading), Patricia Loring (Spiritual Discernment), E. Anna Nixon and Ron Stansell (Missions) and Sabron Reynolds Newton (Temperance). Abbott, Elise Boulding, and Esther Mombo's essay on Marriage is representative of all Friends' views. Max L. Carter explains well "Social Gospel" as it applies to Quakers. Martha Grundy speaks from long experience and activity in Friends General Conference on the topic "Religious Education."

Since two of the coeditors (Chijioke and Oliver) are Quaker archivists/historians, it is no surprise Quaker historians and some current and former archivists are well represented. These include: Hugh Barbour (Puritanism), Frost (Family, William Penn, Politics [with Lon Fendall]), Thomas D. Hamm (Hicksites, Orthodox Quakerism, Richmond Declaration of Faith), Damon D. Hickey (Revivalism), Larry Ingle (George Fox, Richard Milhous Nixon), Emma Jones Lapsansky (Paul Cuffe, Equality, Reunification), and Carole E. Treadway (Migrations). Those familiar with Quakerism in countries other than the United States cover well those geographical regions. Three such examples are Dandelion (Britain, Leaveners [a musical group particular to Britain]), Mombo (East Africa [Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda] as well as entries on specific African Friends), and Loida Eunice Fernandez Gonzalez (Mexico and articles on individual Mexican Quakers). Margaret Hope Bacon, widely known for making history accessible to the general public through numerous books, has contributed essays on Lucretia Coffin Mott and Women. Equally well respected for her groundbreaking sociological studies on women and family and her international work on peace issues, Boulding has written the entry on Sexuality.

It is the tidbits and trivia that I like to think of as the tasty side dishes. Even someone well versed in Quakerism can learn or relearn

something. There were several terms new to me: “celestial flesh,” “familied monasticism,” and “The Hedge.” The Maulite, Kingite, and Otisite separations also were unfamiliar. The volume is a gold mine for trivia lovers. Did you know or remember that Jeremiah Dixon, surveyor of the famed Mason and Dixon line, and Daniel Quare, inventor of the repeating watch, were Quakers? This is but a sampling to whet the appetite.

The volume could have benefited from a more thorough proof-reading. In talking to one of the coeditors, I learned that some corrections made on successive drafts are not apparent in the final product. This is unfortunate. In biographies of three contemporary Friends, Frances and William Taber and Jo Vallentine, there is much detail—even to naming the children and noting the grandchildren. I notice in the entry on D. Elton Trueblood, for example, no children’s names are mentioned. It would be my personal preference not to name children of famous Quakers unless these children had made marks for themselves within the denomination.

Appendix A—“Friends Worldwide: Origins of Yearly Meeting”—is useful as it gives both the origins and founding date for every yearly meeting. Appendix B is not labeled. Upon close inspection and with the guidance of a notice appearing at the end of this appendix, it is found to be a membership tally for the yearly meetings. Appendix C—“Family Trees of North American and African Yearly Meetings”—shows the major separations among Friends but does not begin to demonstrate the detail found in Geoffrey D. Kaiser’s *The Society of Friends in North America, 1661–1997*, a graphic chart of the genealogy of the yearly meetings, referenced in the Bibliography.

As with any good meal, the best is saved for last. The dessert—a pièce de résistance—is the Bibliography prepared by Chijioko. One look and it is obvious that a librarian was responsible for this work. Topically organized, it covers well the Religious Society of Friends about which much has been published. Quakers themselves are prolific writers and I would guess that Friends wrote more than half of the works represented in the Bibliography. I expect there are many, including myself, who will continue to find this Bibliography useful

time and again. Finally, the Index is a most welcome and essential tool to a work of this nature.

In summary, Abbott, Chijioke, Dandelion, and Oliver serve up a work which documents well the theology, history, and practice of the Religious Society of Friends. They succeed admirably in providing all of us with an encyclopedic “soup to nuts” of 350 years of Quaker experience across all branches worldwide. Bon appétit!

M. Gertrude Beal
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Barbara A. Heavilin and Charles W. Heavilin, eds. *The Quaker Presence in America: "let us then try what love will do."* Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003. vii + 283 pp. Bibliographical references and index. \$119.95.

This gathering of essays, articles, and speeches has much to recommend it. Throughout the book, important and probing questions are asked about the future direction of the Religious Society of Friends, or at least the direction of its Christian branches. In many cases, thoughtful and thought-provoking answers are provided. However, I've seldom read a book so poorly named or so puzzlingly put together.

Almost everything about the title, *The Quaker Presence in America*, is misleading. One would expect, perhaps, an historical survey to unfold, or a series of articles contrasting Friends' faith and practice in different branches of Quakerism as it has evolved on this continent. Instead, the editors have collected a series of (mostly excellent) lectures given at Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings over the latter half of the twentieth century, supplemented them with a few unrelated essays, added a superfluous introduction and given the whole this inaccurate title.

The reader's confusion increases the further into this book one reads. Not only do the individual texts speak from only a part of American Quakerism, they address themselves almost exclusively to the experience of British Friends of the seventeenth century. Each of the lecturers represented in this work proceeds by posing questions for contemporary Christian Quakers and then drawing upon the wealth of first-generation British Quaker thought and experience as a basis for developing answers. The result is that significant American Quakers like Thomas Kelly, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Anthony Benezet receive as many mentions in this book as Henry David Thoreau, Martin Van Buren, and Paul Tillich (which is to say, one each). George Fox, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, on the other hand, average eighteen citations apiece.

Such an approach always makes for stimulating, and challenging, reading. As an example, it was quite refreshing for me to be invited to

wrestle again with the tension between Christian and Universalist Quakerism in David Johns' excellent article, "Whatever Happened to Primitive Christianity Revived?" Unfortunately, I was frustrated in my desire that a book with this all-encompassing title would pair that article representing the Christian perspective with another one from the Universalist. After all, isn't the Quaker presence in America defined in part by the theological divide that separates these two approaches to faith from each other?

The emphasis on the founding generation of Friends dominates the first two sections of *The Quaker Presence in America*, titled "Quaker Identity" and "Quaker Vision." The shift in subtitles fails to reflect any clear accompanying shift in content. The third and final section of the book, "Quaker Influence," opens with an article by coeditor Charles Heavilin, titled "Placing Friends in an American Context." The fact that Friends haven't already been placed in an American context prior to page 189 should perhaps be cause for concern. I began the article hopefully, thinking that finally all the pieces of this puzzling book were going to be tied together. Alas, the essay is devoted to reciting passages from other authors about the values, mores, and ideas that Quakers brought with them to Pennsylvania during the colonial period. It is a useful summary, but it focuses much more on the legacy that British Quakers brought to this country than on what native American Quakers have done with that legacy.

In the end, only two of the twelve selections that make up this work can truly be said to reflect the claim of its title: Tom Hamm's insightful essay, "Indiana Quakers and Politics: 1810-1865," and Linda Selleck's research piece on the otherwise neglected experience of Quaker women, "Free to Cross the Color Line: Quaker Women Educators and Race during the Civil War Era." Both of these useful historical articles explore narrow topics, and neither sits well in the context of the exhortatory and hermeneutical approach of the other authors. Throw in Charles Heavilin's poorly argued case against Universalism in general (which barely mentions Quakers at all), and the reader is left with the sense that the editors had no clear thesis in mind when gathering materials together.

In his perceptive preface to the book, Earlham School of Religion

dean, Jay Marshall, provides the only clear lens for comprehending what is to come in *The Quaker Presence in America*. He sums up the value of this work when he observes that

[Quaker] believers with the Christian tradition [today] find themselves answering, and perhaps asking, this generation's questions about whether the faith of our ancestors is The Way, one way among many, or antiquated folkways that no longer hold relevant meaning.

If you find yourself asking questions about modern (post-modern?) Christian Quaker identity, or wanting to compare your own answers to such questions with those of contemporary American Quaker scholars who have given much thought to these matters, then this book will be well worth your while. If you are looking for a book about the Quaker presence in America, you would be well advised to continue your search.

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Stephen L. Longenecker. *Shenandoah Religion: Outsiders and the Mainstream, 1716-1865*. Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2002. xiv + 192 pp. Introduction, acknowledgment, endnotes, bibliography, index. \$16.95, paperback.

In Shenandoah Religion Stephen L. Longenecker explores the dialectical relationship between various Protestant denominations and the larger Virginia society in the Shenandoah Valley from the early eighteenth century to the end of the Civil War. His interest is to identify the changes that transformed the region and to understand how these changes also affected the identity of the various religious communities in the area, as well as their status and reputation. Some denominations remained outside the mainstream. Others did not and were assimilated. What specific factors contributed to these outcomes? Curious readers will want to consult this brief, clear, interpretative volume, which is grounded in primary sources as well as some of the best secondary literature. They will encounter an interesting argument based both on historical analysis and what C. Wright Mills famously called "the sociological imagination."

Longenecker begins by locating and describing the Shenandoah Valley prior the Revolution. Then as now, it slanted in a southwesterly direction between the Blue Ridge Mountains to the east and the Allegheny Mountains to the west, and from the Potomac River in the north to Fincastle in the south. Largely uninhabited by Native Americans, it came to be peopled by migrating Euro-Americans who for the most part engaged in substance farming on small plots of land without the assistance of slave labor. No single Christian denomination united these people. Instead, the Valley was a patchwork of religious groups that included Lutherans, Mennonites, Dunkers, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers. All of them had a tradition of resistance to authority and practiced an outsider lifestyle and polity that stressed separation from the larger society and a suspicion of normative values and behavior.

Within a century after the separation from England, the Valley experienced a series of what Longenecker calls revolutions that had

significant impact on the values and attitudes of its religious groups. Longenecker identifies these transforming occurrences as the American Revolution, the Methodist Revolution, the Market Revolution, and two related events that promoted nationalism throughout the southern states: the slavery debate and the Civil War. Longenecker provides chapter-length coverage for each of these.

In brief, the American Revolution promoted a policy of religious toleration that undermined the siege mentality of dissenting faiths. Following the war, Methodism swept the new nation and brought with it a revivalistic style and an egalitarian theology that all but swamped smaller, competing fellowships maintaining more formal behavioral standards and stricter membership requirements. The Market Revolution opened the Valley up to commercial agriculture and brought the ways of the world and its products into the Valley, the culture of which became increasingly materialistic and consumer-driven as religious zeal waned and the use of slave labor increased. Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians accommodated their religious principles to the pursuit of profit and accordingly threw their support behind slavery and the Confederacy. Other faith groups, including Friends, made no such accommodations and suffered accordingly.

What factors encouraged some denominations to be transformed by economic and nationalistic forces and others to resist them? One of Longenecker's major conclusions is that those religious organizations that built the strongest boundaries, walls, and markers that on a daily basis served to separate their followers from the mainstream were most successful in maintaining their nonconformity. Denominations that lacked these "daily crosses" were inevitably mainstreamed. "In short," he argues, "plain dress, nonviolence, alternate communities, plain meetinghouses, conflict with revivalism, nonconformity to conventional race relations, and opposition to slavery were among the markers that built high walls. Faith communities who [*sic*] practiced these beliefs were the strongest outsiders[.]"

It is the challenge of all historians to describe and analyze change over time. More ambitious historians sometimes tackle large chunks of time and use comparative analysis to sharpen their evaluation.

Indeed, one of the strengths of Longenecker's book is that while many studies focus only on one faith group, his is truer to actual historical conditions by examining multiple denominations that converged, separated, and repositioned themselves as they reacted to events in their common world. His portrait shows us both the forest and the trees, instead of just one or the other. Quaker readers, for example, surely will have reason to appreciate the principled strength and resolve of earlier Friends while being reminded by the author that others also waged the struggle for a different, better society. Another strength of Longenecker's book is that his method of historical analysis, informed as it is by a careful selection of social science terms and concepts, might suggest a methodology useful in the study of other issues, times, and places. Finally, *Shenandoah Religion* is worthy because it provides the interpretative and methodological grist for thought and lively discussion. Students and teachers alike should enjoy it, along with others who have an interest in the topic. It is well researched and written, yet short, inexpensive, and provocative—an attractive, inviting combination.

Howard Beeth
Texas Southern University

The Southern Friend: **Twenty-Five Years of North Carolina Quaker History**

2003 marks the twenty-fifth volume of *The Southern Friend: The Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society*. In honor of the occasion, a complete contents list is included. We hope that you enjoy reflecting back on some of the memorable articles published since 1979. Note that this contents list does not include book reviews or announcements. For those that do not already own complete sets of *The Southern Friend*, back issues are available for purchase. A price list, including sale prices for most issues, is provided along with an order form at the end of this issue.

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VOLUME XXVI

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2004

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*Harriet Peck silhouette. Peck Family Papers,
Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.*

Harriet Peck at New Garden Boarding School, and her North Carolina Letters 1837–1839

Edited by

Mary A. Browning

Harriet Peck, a young Quaker from Coventry, Rhode Island, traveled from her home to New Garden Boarding School in 1837 to become one of the first three teachers in that new institution. The letters that she wrote to her father, mother, sisters, and brother during the twenty months that she remained at the school allow us to view through her eyes the school, and the people and cultural landscape that gave it life. The letters are now part of the Peck Family Papers, MS 241, in the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library.

The letters have been a boon to researchers interested in a variety of topics, from local history to antislavery activities. Of course they

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were a prominent source for Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert in the early chapters of her fine history, *Guilford, A Quaker College* [Guilford College Trustees, 1937].

Harriet was born April 19, 1815, and so was twenty-two when she arrived in North Carolina. She was the eldest of six children of Perez and Joanna Brown Peck, the others being, in descending order: Mary Ann, Lydia, Susanna, Joanna (Jr.) and Isaac.

Coventry is in Rhode Island's Kent County, southwest of Providence. In the 1830s a textile industry was rapidly developing there along the Pawtuxet River. Perez Peck was a machinist, whose shop made machinery for the new cotton mills, and so the family was part of this evolving industrial society.

The Pecks were members of Greenwich Monthly Meeting of Friends. Perez had been active in the movement to build a meeting house in Coventry in 1822. Quakers were not numerous in the district, but among them many were prominent and influential. One of those who played a part in Harriet's story was Rowland Greene, an elder who visited North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1833 and witnessed the decision made there to organize a yearly meeting boarding school. He met Nathan Hunt and others who were passionate about the project, and this built a bridge between the two locations.

The Pecks also were very active in antislavery affairs, particularly in that branch which urged the immediate emancipation of all slaves. Rhode Island's location upon the principal roads between the cities of the northeast insured that it would be on the circuits visited by prominent antislavery speakers of the time. Angelina and Sarah Grimké, Henry Stanton, and William Lloyd Garrison were among the best known of these. Garrison's newspaper, the *Liberator*, was a strong voice for the movement after 1831.

Joanna Peck and her daughters joined with other females representing a number of Protestant denominations in Kent County who felt they could be most effective in the abolitionist cause by organizing auxiliary societies, apart from those headed by men, using organizational skills learned in church work. Harriet was the secretary of the Kent County Female Anti-Slavery Society at the time she left for North Carolina. Her sister Mary Ann succeeded her in this position,

either immediately or soon after. In their sewing circles, the female societies handcrafted needle cases and pincushions that were sold to finance their activities, and they collected names on antislavery petitions. Harriet always felt herself to be representing her society during the time she was at the school, and her letters carefully detail all her direct or indirect encounters with slaves (which certainly were few), or slave owners, or opportunities to press home her views in the anti-slavery cause in any possible way.

In December 1836 trustees of the New Garden Boarding School determined that the time had come to find teachers for what Nathan Hunt called “. . . This infant and I humbly hope blessed institution.”¹ For help in finding suitable applicants they turned to Rowland Greene, the Rhode Island elder who had visited in 1833. Greene sent three names: Jonathan L. Slocum, Catherine Cornell, and Harriet Peck. The first, Slocum, a young teacher at the Friends School in Providence, was selected as the principal teacher. Catherine Cornell and Harriet Peck, both educated at the Providence school, were chosen as teachers for the girls’ department. A local volunteer, Nathan Branson Hill, of Randolph County, offered to assist Slocum at no pay in order to gain experience. He was a son of Samuel Hill of Back Creek Meeting, one of the school’s trustees.

Perez Peck accompanied Harriet and Catherine to North Carolina. His letter home to his wife, begun in Baltimore on July 21, 1837, and completed at New Garden on July 27, is a model of order and precision, a record of times, miles, conveyances, sites visited and people met. Harriet added brief notes to his letters, and she and her friend Catherine began their New Garden Boarding School teaching careers.

Before going on, something more needs to be mentioned. Harriet had tuberculosis, a disease about which little was known at the time, and which, in fact, was only given that name in 1838. Her illness was a matter for constant concern in her family and among associates. A letter in the collection from the superintendent of the school, Dougan Clark, to Harriet’s parents, reports on her progress as a teacher, but also at some length upon her health. Clearly, this was an unrelenting worry for Perez and Joanna Peck.

As to Harriet's life during the next twenty months, her letters will speak to that. There are also letters from Thomas Hunt, David Hunt, and as mentioned above, from Nathan Branson Hill, later Dr. Hill. Hill visited Rhode Island in 1839, after Harriet had returned home, so his letters are to her. Although it was not "official," Nathan and Harriet had become very close and probably planned to marry—at least Nathan appeared to hope so.

It will come as no surprise to learn that Harriet died on May 23, 1840, only a few months after she returned home. Nevertheless, it is distressing, because anyone reading her letters has become very fond of Harriet Peck.

Harriet's Letters

Below, Harriet's spelling is given as found in her letters. Her punctuation might not be as faithfully followed since her handwriting is very compact and fine. She occasionally inserted an asterisk with a footnote; these have been reproduced. Numbered editor's notes will be found at the end. Only portions that deal with people, places and events have been selected from the letters. Some paragraph breaks have been added to facilitate reading ease.

As soon as he and Harriet and Catherine Cornell reached their destination, Perez Peck wrote to his wife, Joanna. The following note from Harriet was added to his letter. Phineas Nixon, Jr., who is mentioned, was clerk of the school building committee. A. E. Grimkè is probably Angelina Grimkè, the abolitionist.

New Garden, N. C., 7 Mo. 27 1837

My dear friends,

I wish I might give you a full detail of our journey at this time, but I am not only rather limited for time, but my mind is not sufficiently settled to go much into particulars even now, and as father has given you a considerable of a history of our journey I believe I will not attempt much of the kind at present. What seems to dwell with me most is the subject of slavery and I cannot or I feel as though I could not arrange my ideas to communicate upon any other subject at present. We have seen for ourselves as much as we wish to. To us



New Garden Boarding School circa 1837. College Archives, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

everything through Virginia wore a gloom and as Catharine has expressed, several times, the moment we stepped on shore at Potomac landing there seemed to be a cloud over everything. It does seem to me that my views upon the subject are very much strengthened if that were a possibility, certainly I have had a different view of it than I ever before had.

When I have seen the poor slave waiters submissively attending to every call, obliged to run hither and thither at every demand and when I have considered that this was all without compensation, it has seemed to be enough to make the "whole head sick and the whole heart faint." We saw in passing through Virginia, large fields of tobacco in hoeing of which both male and female were employed. Yes then they were under the rays of the scorching sun many of them with nothing over their heads.

And now while I think of it I will insert C. Cornell's love to our Anti-Slavery Society together with a request from her that they should persevere and even double their diligence in the cause of the suffering ~~and the~~ and by all means to abstain entirely from the use of tobacco. She thinks that if she had ever practiced the use of it, (after what she has now seen), she should abstain entirely.

We arrived here yesterday as father told you. The situation of the school is much more pleasant than I had anticipated. This afternoon they received a large supply of books forwarded from Fayetteville. Among the number there were between two and three thousand of the address of Philadelphia Y. M. on the subject of Slavery ordered, I think

by Phinias Nixon, Jr. Father asked him what he intended to do with them. He replied, I do not know but I must have them. Phinias appears to be a very pleasant person and a good Abolishonist. He says he has sent several times for a package of A. E. Grimke's Appeal for distributing but has never received any of them. No doubt that the Philadelphia address will be freely distributed by him. As father intends to add a little more I will close. Do not know as you can possibly make out what I have written just what happened to come first and cannot look it over. Love to all of you.

This is to Mother and Sisters and Brother.

Harriet

In Letter # 1, labeled as such in the collection, Harriet wrote to her mother, beginning by expressing her thoughts of home and family.

New Garden, 8 mo. 5 1837

My dear mother,

. . . I am contented here—everything around is pleasant and agreeable, with the exception that the thought will arise that I am nearer the confines of the dwelling of Slavery than when in New England.

Though not a foot-print is perceptible just here. We find some of the best friends here I ever saw, not like strangers but all like fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters—all seem interested in our welfare. Nathan Hunt left us yesterday. He resides about twelve miles from here. . . .

He is deeply interested in the school, and on the evening of the day in which the school was opened, the committee visited us and he addressed the scholars very handsomely. Said he* "My eyes do indeed behold what I have at times almost despaired of seeing, and this day as I have looked upon you, my dear children, I have been affected to tears. I could not restrain the tears from rolling down my aged cheeks." He said much more and the committee retired. I have given a very imperfect sketch of things, however I know father will give all needful information, and I am willing to leave it.

The situation of the school is very pleasant. The building is surrounded by trees and when the under brush is cleared away, as well as some of the trees, and the grass springs up, it will be delightful.

* (in the course of his discourse)

The scholars are very kind and obedient thus far and nothing appears but that we shall all be satisfied.

. . . I believe I have as yet made no allusion to the weather here which to-day I suppose is called unpleasant though I consider it the most pleasant day I have experienced since I have been here because it is so cool and comfortable. We have not had a rainy day before since leaving home and to me it is very refreshing, although it has not been as intensely warm as I have witnessed it many times with us, even yet it is peculiarly oppressive, the air close and confined when Catherine and myself are covered by thick perspiration both by day and night. The thermometer the warmest day which I think was the 20th stood at 84 without much variation through the week until this morning at 58. Thou knowest we have had it several degrees warmer with us.

As I shall write to sister M I must devote but little more time to this. Catherine desires her love to thee and says "tell her I talk some of coming home with thy father. In an event of that kind I should be left in a poor box I am sure for it would be in vain for me to attempt to take the whole charge. I could not do it. Please remember my love affectionately to all my friends. It would be gratifying to receive letters from all of them at any time. Accept a large share of love from thy affectionate daughter,

Harriet

Letter #2, from Harriet to Perez Peck said that she was very happy to receive his letter, but distressed by the news he gave of the recent illness of her sister Lydia. This illness was not named or described, but was apparently a recurrence of something experienced three years previously. "Jonathan" was Jonathan L. Slocum. "Cousins Dougan and Asenith" were the Clarks, in residence at the school where Dougan was the superintendent. Asenath was the daughter of Nathan Hunt. Harriet consistently spelled her name "Asenith." "L." Moore is Lambeth Moore.

New Garden, 9 mo. 7th 1837

My dear Father,

. . . Thou mentioned that our parting was like the tearing asunder of a strong cord. It was so indeed and the scene was ever to be remembered by me. I felt at the moment like an orphan. I was widely separated by my dear mother and now thou was to leave me. The word farewell had been uttered again and again by me and now I must pronounce it once more. It was indeed a painful task but it was done.

"I viewed myself at first a stranger in a strange land." Oh, it was but for a moment and I suppressed my feelings and resumed my labors in the school where time is passed rapidly and friends are very kind. Cousins Dougan and Asenith seemed very near to me.

It will be doubtless interesting to thee to hear something of the progress of the school. The committee visited us last week. They were here sixth day and a part of seventh day. Our much loved friend Nathan Hunt was present. He is in his usual health. They spent a short time with us sixth day evening—heard a class in Geography including a Philosophy Class and a Chemistry Class. The girls did honors to themselves ~~as well~~ in their recitations. The Committee was well satisfied and Jonathan was astonished. (He came in with the Committee.) He says they did much better than the boys could do and as they were not examined at all I suppose great exertions will be made use of to prepare them for a creditable examination before the visiting committee one week from to-morrow which I understand is to be composed of a part of those who were with us last week. They had not intended to examine the scholars at all at first. They met for the purpose of arranging business about premises and so forth, but being desirous to know how we were progressing concluded to devote two hours in the evening to our school purposing also to visit the other in the morning. The maps I think were received before thou left. We have four in our school room and one in the recitation room.

8th Our friend Phineas Nixon Junior² arrived on fourth day evening and remained until first day morning. I handed him thy letter to read on account of that part pertaining to the Ohio School as he wished to confer with the rest of the Committee upon the subject when he should see them.

Friend N. Hunt desired to have his love affectionately remembered to thee when I wrote. Friends who are favorable to the institution are doing all they can to render things agreeable and pleasant. They have furnished two good time pieces one by Thomas Hunt in the dining room, also a beautiful eight-day clock in Cousin Asenith's room with a large mirror in the door instead of a landscape by some individual.

Large quantities of fruit have been received almost every day from various sources to be dealt to the scholars—as apples, pears, peaches, musk-melons and beautiful purple grapes. We had a fine treat seventh day evening. Joshua Stanley sent a large basket of fruit such as I have named except grapes. The tables in both dining rooms were spread

with musk-melons, apples and peaches—arranged—a fruit dish of melons, then one of peaches and so forth. I do not allow myself to partake freely at all. My diet also is simple. I suppose that I have not eaten a pound of meat since thou left—pies I have pretty much given up, of butter I partake sparingly. White bread is my principle article of food, a cup of tea occasionally. Coffee I do not meddle with.

Jonathan, Catherine and myself have made one short call at L. Moore's, anticipate going again soon. We have received various invitations out. One piece of very interesting intelligence now occurs to me which I must not omit. Catherine and myself are informed that we have a name-sake at Greensborough. Catherine Peck daughter of Jacob Hubbard. There we are invited to pay a visit shortly with which we shall comply as soon as is convenient.

The number of girls in school is thirty-five and nearly the same of boys generally in good health. The state of the atmosphere since thou was with us has been remarkably fair. We have had but one or two very warm days, rain nearly every day for perhaps a week and a half after thou left with thunder and some lightning. Several very chilly mornings when the thermometer has been as low as fifty-three. My health is better than it was when thou left.

I am glad to hear that Wm. L. Garrison has visited Coventry at last. It happened so well too that thou was at home. The audience thou said was large and apparently well satisfied. I hope good may be affected. It rejoices me also to hear of the anti-slavery meeting at Newport, that so much is gained. Thou mentioned that Dr. Clark was present. It was doubtless a rich feast to him. And how did it relish with the slave holders that were present? Thou did not mention whether we could expect our paper—the Liberator—surely it would be a welcomed guest. . . .

Thy affectionate daughter,
Harriet Peck.

More was added. Mentioned here is John Russell, a trustee of the school. He, with Henry Macy, had contracted to make the brick for the building.

My dear mother and sister,

I wish to devote a little time to you and I suppose you will have no objection. My reason for not replying immediately to your epistle—I will say cordial—of the eighth of last month was that I wished to wait until I should receive information from Father of his arrival home and

then write to all on the same sheet. That time has arrived, though it has seemed rather tardy in its approach. Father reached home sooner than I had anticipated. It appears that the route was longer than the one we came. What were your feelings when you saw him? Do inform me if you can. I presume you were not expecting him so soon.

My health has been pretty good the greater portion of the time. My lungs are not so affected as when at home during the warm damp weather. Indeed I may say none at all. We had an invitation this evening to eat peaches and milk* and our stay was so protracted that I believe I shall be unable to write as much as I could wish, and if I should tell you what time it is, you would say, "go to bed immediately."

I wish very much to receive some account of the Annual Meeting. The night previous to the time of the meeting I dreamed of circulating the petitions about Coventry and Washington, with what success I cannot tell.

I omitted to mention the name of father's friend John Russell on the other side. He is at the institution nearly every day, was here to-day and in the school room. He is going to make another black board, one that can be turned on either side, to be hung in such a manner, for the accommodation of the Philosophy class, to draw their figures.

I do not think it will be best for me to spend much more time in writing. Do remember my love affectionately to Sisters L and J, Brother I, Aunts Eileen and Cynthia, Uncle Job's Family, the Sisters, Anthony A. Manchester, H. Sisson, and to all my friends I cannot enumerate now. Letters from all would be acceptable. I wish every Abolitionist would write to me. . . .

I wish you to write often that I may hear how you all are. I will endeavor to do the same. Send on the Liberator as soon as convenient. . . .

Yours affectionately,
Harriet Peck.

* in Cousin Asenith's room

Harriet's Letter #3 was a long one, addressed to her father and mother. It was packed with information about the activity surrounding Yearly Meeting, with its attendant important visitors to the school. One person mentioned was Elizabeth Coggeshall, who was an elderly visitor from Philadelphia. Another was Joseph John Gurney, prominent preacher, a visiting Friend from England.

New Garden, 1st mo. 10th 1838

My dear parents,

I have suffered so great a length of time since addressing you that I am almost at a loss as to what to say first. I believe I have done enough at apologizing in former letters to my friends therefore I will not trouble you with excuses. Gladly would I write you every week if it were possible. You are sensible that my time is very much occupied. I have received four letters from home since the 18th of the 11th month, the receipt of the first I think I acknowledged in my communication to cousins. I would also acknowledge the receipt of five Liberators since that time, the last of which was the 15th of the last month, reached me last evening.

In thy last, Mother, I was requested to forward some account of the yearly meeting. I have the minutes that I took at the time, which of course are but imperfect. I intended then to write to you immediately after the rise of the meeting, and transmit the notes, which imperfect as they are, would have been more interesting to you, than they can be of this late hour, having seen some account too as I suppose you have in the "Friend," as I understand something has been published. However will forward them as they are—

7th day 4th of 11 mo. 1837. North Carolina Yearly meeting commenced with a select meeting at Deep River. 1st day the fifth, public meeting at New Garden convened at 11 A.M. Notwithstanding the weather was rather unpleasant, the house was soon filled and many stood without. We had been seated but a short time before Friend Gurney was concerned in supplication³ which was fervent and solemn, after which a short pause ensued, when he arose and addressed us nearly two hours, in an impressively, eloquent and feeling manner. After he had concluded Elizabeth Coggeshall appeared in supplication, and the meeting closed for the day at half past two o'clock.

Second day, the sixth, the meeting opened at eleven, and after a short silence our friend E. Coggeshall addressed a few words to us, and the meeting proceeded with the transaction of business by calling the names of representatives from each quarterly meeting—viz. Eastern Quarter, Western Quarter, New Garden, Contentnea, Lost Creek, Deep River and Southern Quarter. Certificates were read from New York in behalf of our friends Elizabeth Coggeshall and Penelope Hull. The queries were then read followed by answers by each Quarterly meeting. After the reading of the queries and answers the clerk informed the meeting that a certificate was on the table in behalf of our friend Joseph John Gurney, which was read. Also one from

Mr. Gordon 1st mo. 10th 1838

My dear parents:

I have suffered a great length of time to interest me since addressing you that I am almost at a loss to know what to say fully & truly. I have done enough at apologizing but for me - I do not think you will not thank you with a care. Had I would I write to you even if it were private. You are sensible that my time is very much occupied. I have some few letters you have since the 9th of the eleventh month, the receipt of the first I think I acknowledged in my communication to you. I would acknowledge the receipt of your paper also. Since that time, the last of which of the 15th of last month, I asked me this morning in the last number I was requested to forward some account of the weekly meeting. I have the minutes that I sent at the time, which of course are but imperfect. I intended then to write to you immediately after the rise of the meeting and transmit the notes which I expected as they are, would have been more interesting to you than they can be at this late hour - however some account to all suppose you have in the Friend - and understand, & see no thing has been published, however I will forward them as they are ... 1st day of 11th mo. 1837. Anti-Slavery Society. Meeting commenced with a select meeting at Greensboro. First day, the 5th Public meeting. Mr. Gordon convened at eleven o'clock P.M. Notwithstanding the weather was rather unpleasant, the house was well filled and many stood without. We had been seated but a short time before friend Curney rose & read his invitation, which was fervent and solemn, after which a short prayer ensued, when he arose and addressed us nearly two hours in an interesting, fervent and feeling manner. After he had concluded Elizabeth Coggeshall appeared in supplication, and the meeting closed for the day at 9th part two o'clock. Second day, the 6th. Meeting gathered at eleven, and after a short silence our friend Elizabeth Coggeshall addressed a few words to us, and the meeting proceeded to the transaction of business by calling the names of the representatives from each quarterly meeting viz. Trustees, pastor, System, Quarters, Greensboro, Greensboro, and each District, and Father's Prayer. Participants were read from New York in behalf of our friends Elizabeth Coggeshall and Rev. John Hall. The queries were then read, followed by answers from each Quarterly Meeting. After the reading of the queries answers the clerk informed the meeting that a certificate was on the table, in behalf of our friend Elizabeth Curney, which was read from Indiana concerning friend Mr. worthy (his name) from that State. Henry, this

Letter from Harriet Peck to her parents, January 10, 1838. Peck Family Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

Indiana concerning Friend Kenworthy and his companion from that state. Henry Kinsdale of New York City who accompanied E. Coggeshall and P. Hull, one in behalf of Jeremiah Hubbard and of Wm. Davis of Lynchburg, Virginia. After which an epistle was read from London Yearly Meeting, and one from each of our Yearly Meetings except that of Virginia. It was then proposed that the meeting proceed immediately to the appointment of the Essay Committee, which was attended to, and a large committee appointed, when the meeting adjourned, at half past three, to eleven third day morning.

Third day, the 7th. Meeting gathered at Eleven agreeably to adjournment. After a few moments of silence Elizabeth C. supplicated, in a very feeling and weighty manner. The opening minute was read, and the shutters were raised, as is their custom when the consideration of the state of society is entered into, that both sides may unite therein. The clerks on the other side then read the queries and all their answers from the Quarterly Meetings then the General Answer prepared by them. After the reading of each query and answer many excellent remarks were made, and much valuable instruction imparted, friend Gurney was much engaged. After this was gone through with, friend Hunt made a few remarks after which Jeremiah Hubbard was concerned in supplication, quite at length, after a short pause friend Gurney appeared in the same manner and I trust to much effect. The shutters were then closed, and women friends proceeded to the appointment of the committee to copy epistles. After which the meeting adjourned to three o'clock 4th day afternoon. Public meeting to commence at the usual hour, eleven, adjourned 20 minutes of four.

Fourth day, 8th, Public Meeting at eleven. After a short pause friend Gurney was concerned in a very tender and weighty manner to call our attention to examine each for him or herself and see if we were whole, and much in connection with it, which was very instructive and impressive. After which friend Hunt was concerned in supplication which was lengthy and remarkably solemnizing, soon after the meeting concluded. Afternoon, met at three o'clock agreeably to adjournment. Last year's minutes were read, and with but little business, the meeting adjourned to the usual hour.

5th day and 9th. Met as usual and after the reading of the minutes friend Gurney came in and addressed us at some length, and also appeared in supplication after which Elizabeth Coggeshall communicated a few words to us in which she admonished the younger class to beware of forming alliances with slave holders—that if there were any present who had any such prospect, she would tenderly exhort them to reflect upon and weightily consider the subject and view the

perplexities attending a connection of the kind, before it was too late. Brief remarks were made upon the same subject by several others. The shutters being raised the report of the boarding school committee was read and the several propositions respecting the dividing of the school into two sessions, the time of the vacations, raising the price of board and tuition, etc., were, after some discussion, left with the committee, for its decision. The treasurers report stated that the Institution was in debt 1000 dollars. Joseph John proposed that a subscription be immediately entered into, which being done on their sides, between 900 and 1000 dollars were subscribed. Women Friends appointed a committee to attend to it in the morning after the meeting collected.

6th day the 10th. Assembled at the eleventh hour. The essays were all read and approved. The committee obtained pledges for between 60 and 70 dollars.* The Advices to the several Quarterly Meetings, prepared by men Friends were read (with raised shutters) to which some additions were proposed by friend G. adjoining secret prayer and the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, which were appended, after which friend Gurney appeared in supplication, also friend Hunt. Our friend Elizabeth Coggeshall took her leave of the meeting in a very tender and affectionate manner, and soon the meeting concluded between two and three.

First day until 6th the weather was remarkably fine and the meetings large. During meeting week, the Institution was constantly thronged with visitors (that is between meetings) most of whom came to see the school, and we were under the necessity of collecting the scholars, I think every morning and nearly every evening. Thomas Hunt said to us on third day evening, "If you will collect the girls tomorrow morning I will march in a company that I shall not be ashamed of," and sure enough after breakfast he came, followed by about 100, some of whom had been violently opposed to the school, after witnessing the exercises in both schools, they were entirely satisfied, and friend T. Hunt told us afterwards that he had not the least doubt that the morning's exercise would be several hundred dollars advantage to the school.

Friend Gurney was in several times. I must tell you a little about him now. We saw him for the first time, on 6th day afternoon, previously to Y. Meeting. Catharine and myself were able to spend but

* The weather was quite unpleasant and of course the number at meeting was much less than on any day previous and another thing also is to be considered, we had no Joseph John.

little time in his company during meeting week, the fore part of which he passed at Lambert Moore's. He left on 7th day morning to attend Deep River Quarterly Meeting, after which he returned to the Institution and spent a few days with us, gave several lectures which were exceedingly interesting, two on philosophy, and one on the Evidences of Christianity. On the morning before he left, he had an interview with C. and myself in our room, which was very satisfactory to us, he had considerable to say, gave us much good advice, after which he prayed with us, and departed, this was on fourth day. After meeting he went to Greensboro where he had a meeting in the Presbyterian Meeting house there in the afternoon. I understand the Pres'ns. were very much pleased. You will see Joseph John sometime I suspect so I will tell you no more.

I was going to tell you that during Y.M. the subject of slavery was several times called up, and some good remarks made by several individuals, but I think we could have borne much more upon the subject. I believe there was considerable said on the other side of the house one day. We are surrounded by Colonizationists though there are a few who go for immediate emancipation. . . .

The cause of temperance seems to claim the attention of a portion of the community. C. and myself have attended two temperance meetings since being here. The New Garden Society holds its meetings alternately at New Garden and Hopewell, 7 miles distant. The first we attended was here, where we signed the constitution. I do not recollect the length of time since the formation of the society. It numbers nearly 200 members. One week last 7th day C. and myself visited Jonathan Clarke's at Hopewell and next day were present at the temperance meeting which was held in Friend's Meeting house at 1/2 past one o'clock. The meeting was addressed by John M. Clark (son of Jonathan) and Lambert Moore.

Last 7th day we passed the afternoon very agreeably at Horace Canon's [*sic*], doubtless thou recollects him father. His family consists of a wife and three little sons. The eldest, Elisha Bates 2nd, Isaac Newton and the third Joseph John Gurney. People here name for almost every stranger who visits them. There are Rowland Greenes, Jonathan and Hannah Backhouses, Eliza Kirk-Brides, Mildred Ratcliffs, etc., etc. But to return to our visit—Horace came with carriages for us while we were at dinner. Cousin Asenith, Catherine and myself went with him. The day was like a day in summer, so that we set with one of the outside doors open during the afternoon. No credit to them however for had the weather been ever so severe, it would have been the same. I never knew the like—they will make

large fires (for you know they have plenty of wood) then set the outside doors open. We often smile at it. They tell us, "We Southerners are fond of air."

They live well here, and one thing to which I am certain none of us were ever accustomed, is their practice of cooking one or two kinds of meat for tea, beside having the table loaded with other eatables, for example at Horace's—let me see if I can tell you of what our tea consisted, though I know it is not polite to go abroad and then tell what we had for supper but we'll not mind that at present. I am talking to father and mother, and no one else need hear me. Well, we had very nice roasted pork with dressing, fried chicken, beets, sweet potatoe [*sic*] pie, pumpkin pie, persimmon pudding, white bread, nice waffles [*sic*], quince preserve, coffee and tea.

At friend S. Stanley's, several weeks since, we had a greater variety still for tea, several different kinds of meat, chicken pie, minced pie tarts, and almost invariably wherever we go they have nice honey in the comb set upon the table. They seem to abound in honey. Nevertheless, the words "A land flowing with milk and honey," the literal meaning, would not be at all applicable for however true it is with regard to the latter, I think you will agree with me when I say the former belongs not to them at all for they never provide any shelter for their cows consequently get but little milk.

I was quite diverted a short time since, on hearing a friend contrast the modes—he was born in New England and of course sheltered his cows—he said it had always been a matter of surprise to him to see the management here, but a few years since he was in South Carolina at a plantation where they had ten cows. The man of the house and his wife both went out to milking in the morning. She milked while her husband kept away the calves, about 9, they returned to the house with the pail two thirds full. He said he came home quite satisfied with his N. Carolina neighbors.

(To-day is the 13th, was not able to write any yesterday.) I must not omit to tell you of a very pleasant visit we had a short time since at Richard and George Mendenhall's in Jamestown the 11th and 12th of last month.⁴ George sent his carriage for us on 6th day the 11th. The weather was then very fine, and we had a delightful ride of an hour and a half to Richard's where we passed that night and part of the next forenoon, when we went to George's and on first day attended meeting at Deep River 3 miles distant. After meeting returned to Richard's and dined and returned to the school in the afternoon. We had intended to visit the gold mine, but on 7th day the weather was very unpleasant the whole day, which kept us indoors. Richard showed us

At right: printed fabric for use in constructing antislavery handicrafts, such as the one below. From Peck family Papers. Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

The people of the land have used
oppression, and exercised robbery, and
have vexed the poor and needy; yea,
they have oppressed the stranger
wrongfully. --- Ezek. 22 --- 29.



a small bar of gold from ore dug on his plantation a few rods from his house, worth fifty dollars. He and his daughters accompanied us to G's. I formed quite an agreeable acquaintance with Delphina, George's wife. I had not seen her before. At the time of our arrival here, she was in Baltimore very sick, where she remained until some time in the 10th month, since which her state of health has been so delicate most of the time, that she has been out but little, though within a few weeks it is very much improved. . . .

When we were at Horace Cannon's the other day he told us that when he was at Raleigh with friend Gurney last month no sooner had they arrived at the place where they put up than friend G received a note from one of the great men of R. requesting him not to mention the subject of Slavery in his discourse next day. He did not reply, but merely said to the company, that he had left all that was near and dear to him, and come amongst us for the purpose of preaching the Gospel and should the subject of slavery present he should not think it well for him to hesitate to speak of it. I believe he has a prospect of visiting the Heads of Department at Washington. I hope he will declare the truth to them.

I wish Asa Sisson Jr. to be informed that I received a paper from him, I think the 20th of last month, containing some account of the proceedings of the State Anti-Slavery Society, which I read with great

interest, and for which I think him kindly. As to the “Liberators” they cost no more than if there were no writing on them. Do write on them again. . . .

I must inform that I have been weighed, and what is your guess? I will tell you myself and not trouble you to guess. My weight is 122 precisely. Cousin Asenith says “tell thy mother that thou looks so rosy that she would hardly know thee now.” I enjoy very good health. The scholars frequently tell me that mother would not know me should she see me. There are now 108 scholars, 49 girls and 59 boys. This term closes two weeks from yesterday, when we are to have a vacation of 2 wks. . . .

farewell
harriet

In Letter #4, Harriet wrote to her sisters in the rotation plan developed to insure no member of the family was left out, and assuming that all members would share their letters with the others. This letter began with her usual recitation of woes—lack of time, homesickness—but then described a visit that Harriet and Catherine had made during the school vacation. Mentioned here was Samuel J. May, a Rhode Island Unitarian, noted for his antislavery activities. “Dr. Mendenhall” was Marmaduke T. Mendenhall (1798–1852) who married Phebe Kirk. Sisson was a Rhode Island friend who later married Harriet’s sister Mary Ann.

New Garden 4th Mo. 1st 1838

My dear sisters:

. . . [L]et me give you a little account of our visit at the Slaveholders, agreeably to the request of friend S— I presume she alluded to George Mendenhall. Having already given you some information in relation to it and not recollecting what, you will excuse me if I happen to tell you a part of the same story again. I may mention that agreeably to previous arrangements, we dined and passed the afternoon of the ___ of 12th month at the house of G. M. Slaveholder, who intends to continue the practice, at any rate until his only son, who is now twelve years old, becomes of age that He may have the honor of setting them at liberty and how does he know, admitting that Slavery does not cease before then, but his son may have the same excuse? I suspect he is not concerned however much about that. Jonathan had some conversation with him on the subject. As I was not present at the time, I did not hear it. The men sat in a room by themselves, and we by

ourselves. Each division of course enjoyed their own conversation unmolested.

Susan wished me to say whether I saw any of the slaves—I did. I think there are six belonging to the house. I saw all those. Eliza M. his niece informed us that the rest are hired out. There are one hundred in all. Delphina, his wife, is entirely opposed to Slavery. She ought to give him no rest. They mentioned that they formed some acquaintance with Samuel J. May when at the North. G., I think, spent some little time in his company. They seemed to be much pleased with what they saw of him, whether he entertained them with Abolition conversation I do not know.

Susan wished me to give a description of what were my feelings. She requires a task of me, to which I am not competent. All I can say is that I have the same sensations that I always do whenever I see a slave and leave you to form your own judgment, either from what would probably be yours, or what you know of me together with what I have written to you on the subject, since being here, or, from all together. The number that I saw there are treated well, as slaves, yet 'tis as slaves. They are deprived of Liberty and the sin of the dreadful system remains the same. Be assured, my views upon the subject are unchanged, the same that they ever have been. I hope they do not admit of a change, indeed it does not appear to me possible. Though I knew we have instances of those, who after having borne a decided testimony against, have in different circumstances, justified it, that is, become slaveholders in principle, and some even in practice.

One instance occurs, which I will mention, that of a young man, Dr. Mendenhall, son of James Mendenhall of Deep River, who when quite young, was much opposed to Slavery, and did, perhaps all he considered in his power to do, as confirmation, and now, mark the change. He married a young lady of South Carolina who by the way was at the time as opposed to Slavery as himself also a member among Friends. They, however, were married by a minister, and of course disowned. After their marriage, they removed to Newbury S. C. He joined the Baptist Society and is now a minister among them, purchased a number of slaves which he held until about a year since, upon removing to Charleston, disposed of between 20 and 30 thousand dollars worth, who I think were driven to the south. (down country). He retained a few and so his Abolitionism went to sleep and his conscience was lulled by desire of false fame. As, according to his own excuse, No one was popular there unless he held slaves. This was related to me by his sisters who are scholars here.

In my communication to A. Sisson Jr. I spoke of a contemplated

visit to Deep River and Salem. The village last mentioned is more than twenty miles from the Institution. Our principal object in visiting it was to see their Boarding School. We were on our way from the I. soon after breakfast the next morning after I wrote, and arrived at James Mendenhall's Deep River in time for dinner. We dined and passed part of the afternoon there, and by invitation, took tea and passed the evening at his son Moses', which is near by.

The next morning at ten we set out for Salem. The roads being very muddy, our ride was slow, and we did not reach there until four in the evening. We took up our abode at the inn of the United Brethren (as they style themselves). Jonathan and the gentleman who accompanied us from Deep River went before tea and called on the superintendent at his own house. He informed them that the regular time for admitting visitors was between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, when the scholars are engaged in drawing and embroidery, but as we wished to leave before noon, he very kindly granted us the privilege of visiting them in the morning. So at 8 in the morning he met us at the door, and very politely waited on us to every apartment. At that hour they were attending to grammar. The school at that time consisted of 170 scholars from different states, none from farther north than Kentucky and Virginia. There were several pointed out to us, from those states, also some from Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. We saw among the number two little girls from Florida, sisters.

They were the smallest we saw there, less than any we have here. We also saw a daughter of John Ross (who is the principal chief of the Cherokee nation, you know). Her name is Jane. She has been in the school three years.

On leaving there we went to their Chapel. It is quite plain and neat. There, the Superintendent informed us the Scholars assemble every other Sabbath, when the exercises are performed in German. At other times they attend meetings in their meeting room in the Institution. Each place of Worship is furnished with an organ. I suppose they are considered quite indispensable. The Moravians are extremely fond of music. On our entering the Chapel, the musician was sent for to play us a tune on the organ. We had previously heard specimens of the skill of I suppose the best of the music scholars on the piano. Among the number was Jane. I suppose she excelled, because she played without a book. Each recitation room was furnished with a piano. We next visited their grave yard. It is kept perfectly neat, surrounded by Cedars. I suspect I have tired you with this long recital but I have endeavored to be as brief as possible, so you must bear with me.

It was now about noon and we thought best to make the best of our time as we were desirous of reaching friend Mendenhall's again that night, being solicited, however, to visit their nice summer house and garden, we consented to be detained a few minutes longer, which we did not regret. As we were returning, when, perhaps two miles this side of Salem, our attention was attracted by a small company of Indians sitting around some trees, a little in from the road. On our halting a few moments to look at them, one of their number came to the carriage. We were unable to make out much by what he said, though he gave us to understand, after a while, that they were Cherokees, and were then from Raleigh. Their bows and arrows, knapsacks, etc. were standing against the trees where they were sitting.

I must not forget to make mention of the Manufacturing Establishment at Salem. It was spoken of as something worth visiting, but C. and myself concluded that we could not gratify our curiosity in every particular; so we dispensed with that.

We came to Esq. Stocton's [*sic*] to dinner, between three and four o'clock, which is half way between Salem and D. R. They keep decidedly the best public house of any in this section.⁵ All say so. How unlike any we saw in Virginia. Did father ever tell you the story of our fast days while passing through that dreadful place? I mean Catharine's and mine.

I had forgotten to say that I have spoken of the United Brethren or Moravians, in a letter perhaps, to cousins in which I believe I stated that they are residents of New Salem, which is ten or twelve miles distant. That is quite another place. Probably I misunderstood at the time, or my information might have been incorrect. I wish to tell you here that we received every attention from them. They bear the name of treating strangers with great courtesy, and judging from our own experience I think it is quite the case.

But to return to our journey. We arrived at friend Mendenhall's in the evening and I can tell you we were somewhat fatigued, but after a good night's rest, we were entirely recruited and ready to pursue our journey homeward. For, although we were very, very kindly entertained and had an excellent visit, yet we began to be quite in earnest to see the Institution. I confess too that not the least of my anxiety sprung from a wish to see my "Liberators" which I felt almost sure had come during my absence. . . .

The subject of Slavery is discussed here more than formerly. The scholars of the other part have had the subject of Emancipation

before their debating society several evenings. The question was in this form. "Ought immediate emancipation to take place?" A number of weeks since, they discussed the same question, and decided in the negative. Last week they took it up again, and after having discussed it two evenings, gave the vote and it was decided in favor of Immediate Emancipation, by a large majority. . . .

Tell father that things are gradually progressing here. The yard is undergoing quite a change. The small trees are cut off, and the yard

sowed down. The walks run from each of the doors in front of the building to the blocks. On each side of those walks, they contemplate setting a row of cedars. The girls have a very large flower garden. It is fenced on the south and east, and has a gate to lead into it on the east. The lodging rooms were fixed in time of vacation, according to his order. C. and myself have for a long time occupied our own room, nights, which the committee gave us leave to do, after we had an assistant teacher. And many little improvements have been made, more than I can now think of or perhaps, than are worth relating.

Our Quarterly Meeting occurred three weeks ago to-morrow. The weather was fine, and the meeting fully attended. Jeremiah Hubbard and Mahlon Hoggett⁶ were with us, the latter

of whom I have not seen before. He gave us a call at the school, after meeting, for the first time. Had both schools collected in our school-room and addressed school after meeting, for some time. Jeremiah took his leave of us last week. He spent a day here. He and his family will set out for Indiana the fifteenth of this month. He wished to be affectionately remembered to father and mother.

I am much pleased to see the addition that is on the frontispiece of the "Liberator." And so it seems that Garrison begins to think the day has dawned, and the sun is rising. It makes a much better looking



Harriet Peck's antislavery needle case. The front provides an antislavery message, and a patterned pocket on the reverse side holds thimble and thread. Peck Family Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

picture too. I expect to send some of the papers to South Carolina, as a way has opened. I have already distributed half of what I had, in the other part of the school, a week or two since. Sent one number to Deep River, and have given the "Friend of Man," (which I conclude friend Sisson sent me) to N. B. Hill, after reading it myself. . . .

farewell,
Harriet.

The next letter in the collection is not one of Harriet's, but was written to Perez Peck by Dougan Clark, superintendent of the boarding school. It is interesting on many levels, not least of which is in its depiction of the concern he shows for those under his care. It is included, warts and all. In other words, it is a faithful transcription of the interesting old style phonetic spelling of "Cousin Dougan," as Harriet called him:

New garden Boarding School 4 mo 24th 1838
Guilford County North Carolina

Pereze Peck

Dear friend I have oftaine thought of thee since we parted at Lambert Mores when thou left us for thy home my mind and best wishes went along with thee and my poor feable prayers assended to the graite preserver of men that his gardean Angles might be commissioned to [assemble?] around thee and that his arm of devine preservation might preserve and carry thee safe through all to thy family and friends and when I herd of thy safe arivel it was truly glad news to all of us we all remember with thankfulness I trust the consern and interest thou manifested in our welfare and in our nightly gitting along with our deeply interesting charge

we do feele my Dear friend that we have much to be thankful for when we remember what has bean done for us not ondy in a pecuniary pointe of view but that we have beane so peculiarly favoured with good and amiable and well Qualified teachers amongst ~~they~~ whome thy Dear daughter Hariet stands conspikely high hur amiable ~~and~~ mild and furm deportment might doe creadit to advanst age She aquites herself nobly as a teacher and gives intire sattisfaction hur helth I thinke has beane mostly good thou sometimes otherwise she some time back looked much improved she came and sat with my wife and my self a few weekes back on 7 day afternoone much to our comfort and sattisfaction she then looked so bloomeing and helthy that I felte as though I would have beane glad thou could have sean hur

she has since that been some unwell she is now just recovering from a very bad cold which has been prevalent in the school for several weekes and she has been quite affected there with so much so that she was fore some dayes scarcely able to speake with horsesness though she still cept about she is verry pleasant and agreeable and disposed to bea as little trouble as posable

I have oftain thought what a blessing to be thus favoured as we are I thinke there could none be got to excede those three teachers we now have there has not been the first word of complaint from any quarter yeat respecting them that I have herd our gratest fear is that the [*sic*] will leave us two soone but let the time of parting come when it may we are bound to acnolage there unremiting care and labor what time the [*sic*] have beane with us and could I have my choice I would much rather continue them then run the resk of giting others

our school so far as I am capable of judging has gon on as well as we could have expected we have had some trying thinges to combat with but perhaps not worse then other who have beane engaged in like concerns

I believe our cause is a good one and that our labours hath been heatherto blesst and that he who led his flock in antiant times through the wilderness will still leade those who trust in him we have had first and last a good deal of sickness amongst us yeat we think it is not to be [attributed?] to any local cause but to the verry sudden transitions of the atmosphere which has been unusually the case this springe we have had within a few days so colde that the ground has been quite frozen and now the one verry warm and so it has been for some time which is not we think verry congenial to helth

two deathes have acured in our school both amiable yong wiman Nancy scott and Mary Hill there names Nancy scott from the low part of the staite Mary Hill from Randolph County sistor to Nathan B. Hill our assistant teacher and have beane under the necessaty of expeling one yonge man from our school and still have a number of rood fellowes to labour with though perhaps not worse then others

we now have 76 scholars in the school our third quarter is near out when we expect a vacation of two weekes thee hast herd perhaps of the arangementes made at our last Y Meeting in regard to the schoole the yeare is devided into two sessions five and a half months each the first vacation to take place at the close of the Y Meeting there will be two vacations in the year two weekes each will be taken up in cleaning up and repairing the waist and broken places [torn] is quite a prospect of several new scholars next session so [torn] the prospect of the school continuing as full as it now is I think there can be no doubt

I expect the fall and wintor term will be large my wife and my self have again undertaken to superintend the school one year more and [suryly?] we feele verry incompetent to the taske we do desire the prayers of our friende every [?] that we [?] be kept to discharge the dutyes devolveing on us to the honar of truth and the prosperrity of the graite worke of Exampling the youth properly

we are in comon helth that is my own famaly some complaint in the school father Hunt left here ~~left here~~ few dayes since in good helth thy Dear Daughter Harriet sendes hur love to all my wife & self joins.
Dougan Clark

Please to right to us give our loves to all [illegible] friendes.

In Letter #5, Harriet herself spoke of her illness to her mother, Joanna. She also described another series of visits in company with her fellow teachers, Catherine Cornell, Jonathan Slocum, and Nathan B. Hill, whose own family home at Hill's Store in Randolph County was on their itinerary. This letter from an animated Harriet ended with pleas to her mother to use discretion in sharing its contents.

New Garden 5th Mo. 24th 1838

My dear mother,

I received thy very acceptable letter of the 5th and 6th on the 18th on my return from Uharie*, where I had been spending a few days. . . . What work journeying makes with everything! But of that I am almost regardless when I consider how much I am recruited by the journey and pleasant visit with such kind, agreeable friends.

My health had been quite poor most of the time from the commencement of warm weather. By a little attention, however, in regard to diet, I was nearly recovered when I wrote to sisters, so that I called myself well. The following week I took a severe cold which settled on my lungs, and for three days I spoke over a whisper but a very few times. I had a hard cough, and extreme soreness in my left side, which continued so that I became almost discouraged and by the solicitation of my friends I consented to have a physician. This was on the 4th of the month, the day after your Quarterly Meeting. We sent for Dr. Worth.⁷ He gave me an emetic that evening, left something for my cough, and, some directions with cousin Asenith, and I have been mending ever since.

* pronounced U-ar-ry

Since our return from the visit to which I have alluded, we have spent some time with others of our friends, near by which must be a part of my apology, for not proving my gratitude for thy kind epistle, by replying earlier in the week. We also anticipated spending today and tomorrow at the gold and copper mines in the vicinity of Jamestown, and wishing to give thee some description of what we might see there, I put off writing for the time, but we have given up the idea of that, accordingly I have the leisure to occupy in the very agreeable employment of holding converse with my mother a while.

I must give thee a little history of our visit at U. On first day morning the 13th we took seats in the carriage of our friend Samuel Hill, which with his horses he had kindly left at the institution for us, and rode eleven miles to Concord, where we attended meeting, after which, by invitation we went and dined with a friend belonging to that meeting, thence proceeded another eleven miles to friend Isaac Farlo's,⁸ where we staid [*sic*] the night and until some time in the forenoon of second day rode a few miles to Joseph Newlin's,⁹ where we had previously engaged to dine. After dinner, we were soon on our way again.

It had been our intention to visit Caraway Mountain, which is a few miles from friend Newlin, in the morning, but the weather proved entirely unfavorable, it being quite rainy until twelve o'clock. It becoming nearly clear then, we concluded to gain the afternoon. I was never on so high a hill before. The perpendicular height about 400 feet. On the west side, it is not so steep but that carriages pass entirely up but we chose to walk a part of the distance. A portion of land at the summit is under cultivation. We saw corn growing finely and near-by a number of fruit trees. Also a vineyard of 500 vines of the real wine grape, enclosed on one side by a high wall. The whole mountain is owned by a gentleman by the name of Scott who now resides in Florida. He placed a man on a small plantation at the foot of the mountain, to have the care of it and to pay necessary attentions to persons visiting it. We got a few specimens of quartz and greywacke, as memorials, also a variety of flowers. We had quite a prospect, and considered ourselves amply repaid for our toil in ascending.

After this we enjoyed our ride of half a dozen miles or more at the best rate. Thou will perceive that we were quite as much at leisure the whole distance, as we pleased, as we had been from first day morning on our way, and had not yet arrived at our destination. I believe I have not mentioned the number of which our little company consisted. Doubtless thou understood that when I say we I generally mean Jonathan, Catharine and myself, but the associate teacher was one of

our number. Father will recollect that he is a son of Samuel H. To return to my story -.

We came to Nixon Henley's at Back Creek (where they were expecting us that evening) about sunset. There we began to feel ourselves at home, as we were acquainted with a greater part of the family, two of his daughters having been scholars at the institution and himself one of the committee. He is a very fine man, and has been a real friend to us. We staid [*sic*] the night at his house, and the next forenoon had a pleasant ride of ten miles to friend Hill's, which is 40 long miles from the institution, in Randolph County.

He has a delightful situation there. The land on which his house stands is quite elevated, affording an extensive prospect of the country round about. We had an excellent visit, enjoyed ourselves much. Friend Hill is considered the wealthiest man in this Yearly Meeting. He owns a number of plantations besides the one on which he lives, upon which he has tenants. He and his wife are both very fine friends, and although they have had to partake largely of the cup of affliction, having within a few years been bereft of a number of their children as well as other near relatives, yet they appear quite cheerful. Mary, whose decease I mentioned in one of my letters, was one of their daughters. That was a severe stroke, but they bear it with great fortitude.

We went with them to their meeting on fifth day, it being their meeting day; and after dinner set out very soon in order to allow ourselves time to call at Phineas Nixon's. With them we took tea and staid [*sic*] until past 6, then went to friend Henleys, where thou will recollect we staid [*sic*] second day night, there we passed another night, breakfasted early the following morning, and set our faces towards the institution in good season. It being very warm, we had a fatiguing ride and were quite tired out when we reached the institution. The distance from the last mentioned place to the school is called 30 miles, but I am certain they are not Rhode Island miles. I believe we should consider it nearer 40 then thirty, consequently friend Hill's would be considered nearly or quite 50. Friend Henley's daughters provided us with an excellent luncheon, that we might not be under the necessity of stopping long as we were desirous of reaching home that evening. He sent his son with us to take the carriage back.

We had a fine visit as I have said, and while at S. Hill's pleasant mansion. I even indulged one of my vain wishes a number of times, that some of my loved friends at home could be of our number.

I have as yet made no mention of the examination of the school. I supposed I should have spoken of first occurrences first, but I always

write what happens first to claim my attention, which, to be sure, sometimes makes quite ragged work. Perhaps I may give a brief account. The two days immediately preceding the vacation were fixed upon by the examining committee as the time for examining the school, that is, 5th and 6th days. They accordingly came on 5th day morning, spent that day in the boys' school, and the next in ours. The time was so limited that the examination was, of course, but a partial one. We set off a portion of time to be occupied in questioning each class, and went as far as that time would allow. They were examined on every study to which they had been attending and the committee all expressed great satisfaction.

We also think they did well. When it was over, Uncle Nathan Hunt arose, and after expressing much satisfaction with what he had witnessed during that day as well as the former, requested that the whole family might be collected in our school room after tea, which was done, and after a short silence he arose and addressed us a short time, much to the purpose after which Miriam Mendenhall¹⁰ was concerned in supplication which was very lengthy, and had a tendency to solemnize the minds of all present. Valuable remarks were made by several friends, and much instructive advice and encouragement given to all, both to officers and scholars, which was gratefully received.

The next day, thou may rely, was a general time of confusion. Nearly all the pupils on our side left before noon, those from a distance having had invitations to spend the vacation with their school-mates near by. Thou may be assured C. and myself found ourselves rather solitary by night. Our visit came next which I have described.

The second day after our return we spent at the institution with the exception of a little pleasure ride in the afternoon. We went a few miles westerly, through Clemensville, where C. and myself had not passed before. We saw some beautiful plantations, the finest wheat fields I have ever seen. Farmers about here, raise an abundance of wheat. It is very rare that we see a field of rye or even clover.

Third day morning, soon after breakfast, Borden White came with his carriage to take Catharine and myself to his house to spend the day. It is four miles from the institution. There we had a very good visit. A part of the afternoon we spent at Pleasant Grove School, which is three fourths of a mile from him. It is taught by Delilah Reynolds who has been a scholar with us, one of our best. She is an understanding girl. We were quite pleased with the good order of the school. There is no fear but that she will do justice by the scholars. She was

one of the first entered here and her intention has been to continue in the school until next Yearly Meeting time, but her application has been so close, that some change was really necessary for her health.

Sixth day, the 25th. . . . I have not yet favored thee with a description of the hurly burly here. On second day morning, C. and myself moved out of our room to have it painted, since which we have been inhabitants of the lodging room, a great part of the time, we have been at home where we have our table spread with books and papers and occasionally write a line and read some. Jonathan laughs at us, and says he thinks we have ample space, in so spacious a room for our minds to expand.

We thought to do wonders at this time, but we have rushed about so much that we have brought but little to pass, however well we declined many invitations to visit on account of what we have to attend to. If we should go as much as our friends would have us to, we could have nothing in order, possibly, as during the time of school we are so closely occupied that we are under the necessity of putting off all our sewing that we can possibly do without, until the time of vacation.

The two weeks have nearly expired and tomorrow we may expect a general bustle again as the scholars many of them will probably return.

Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to thee to hear that some improvements are still going on. A small donation has recently been received from some friends in Philadelphia for the special purpose of making improvements in the yard. They contemplate enclosing the yard with a nice fence as soon as may be, and arrangements are making for erecting a portico over the front door to extend out some feet on either side, which I think will be a great addition. Tell father that the desks have been painted in each school room, with nice dark paint, the kitchen chamber finished for lodging rooms for the accommodation of the workmen and other little improvements of which I do not think. Although these are rather trivial, yet I know that it is interesting to father to hear of the least change for the better here. . . .

Farewell my dear mother, Harriet Peck.

[Upside down at the bottom of first page] O, I beg of thee, Mother, do not expose my letters, or even show them to anyone.

[Upside down at top of third page:] I wish very much to know what Cousin Dougan wrote.

[Vertically at the right-hand punched out section of the third page:]
Love to Rowland and wife.

[Vertically at bottom right-hand edge of third page:] Be sure let no one see the parts that I have starred. x

[Upside down at top of fourth page:] I shall endeavor to answer unanswered letters as soon as possible. They are not the less acceptable because I do not answer them immediately.

Letter #6, written to Perez and Joanna, reflected in tone the lazy days of summer and Harriet's disappointment over lack of mail—except for copies of the *Liberator*, which she comments upon, mentioning John Quincy Adams' speech on the Texas question,¹¹ and the *Narrative of James Williams*.¹² More visits had also been made, including one that shocked the young ladies.

New Garden, 8th Mo. 6th 1838

My dear parents:

I have been anxiously waiting for many weeks to receive a line from you but in vain. I expected an account of the Yearly Meeting, but no letter have I received since the time of our last vacation and I confess I am becoming quite low spirited. True, I have received a number of "Liberators" all regularly, with information from you which has been many times cheering to me. I also received a New York paper a few weeks since, I suppose from cousin Charles, as his name was written upon it for which I am quite obliged to him. With regard to the "Liberators", father, I must request thee not to write on them any more as it may not be quite safe.* . . .

Since I wrote last, many circumstances have transpired to be sure, but not many within my knowledge worth relating. C. and myself have made a short visit to Springfield,** perhaps six weeks since. We went out on seventh day and returned second day morning, were at their meeting on first day, which is rather larger than ours at New Garden, aside from the scholars, the house is quite pleasantly situated. After meeting we went by invitation to Nathan Hunt's, Uncle N's son, to

* *Ed. note: Although there is no asterisk in the letter at this place, Harriet has added a note at the bottom of this first page as follows: "L. Moore always takes them from the wrapper if they arrive in time and reads."*

** *Ed. note: "18 miles" added below "Springfield."*

dinner, accompanied by our friend John Carter¹³ and his wife. No sooner had we laid aside our bonnets, and seated ourselves than the choice wine was passed, which C. and myself, of course, refused. It was praised by the whole company who partook of it, and passed again. I hardly knew what to say, but came off very well at last. After dinner we enjoyed a short walk among the fruit trees and in the garden, and then rode over to his brother's Thomas Hunt's where we passed the remainder of the afternoon, took tea and returned to friend Carter's where we staid [*sic*] that night, and next morning left early to get to the Institution in season for school at 9.

Two weeks ago*** 7th day morn J. Stanley of Centre—15 miles to the south East, sent his carriage for us to go and be at their monthly meeting which occurred on 7th day. We had a good meeting and an excellent visit at friend Stanley's. We enjoyed it much. I had forgotten to say that we were under weigh [*sic*] at 6 in the morning, and arrived precisely at 9 so that we had ample time to rest before meeting. Mother Stanley has every thing as neat as wax. She has two girls to live with her besides her housekeeper, Polly and but a small family, no chi [torn]

Nearly everywhere I visit enquiries are made whether [torn] has not a prospect of visiting us at the time of our next Yearly Meeting, to which I am utterly unable to give a satisfactory answer, having heard no such thing hinted by you. How is it? I wish information on the subject. O, an event of that kind would afford us indescribable pleasure.

I suppose I must say a word about the progress of things here. Since my last to you I hardly know what has been done. They have several hands employed now in digging a well near the kitchen, and the Mighty Heap of red clay which was between us and the garden has been removed. The trees in front [have?] been thinned and underbrush cleared which renders it much more pleasant. Some parlor furniture has been obtained recently, and last though not least each of our rooms is furnished with a nice wash stand and C. & myself have [following portion is very difficult to read] a [convenient?] wardrobe. . . .

Must say farewell my dear parents. Do write soon. H. . . .

*** He sent the carriage 6th day evening.

[*Added to the bottom and up the side of the second page:*] We have had excessive warm weather and gnats have been abundant since the 6th month. They disturbance [*sic*] so now that I can scarcely write.

Letter #7, from Harriet to her father, is shorter than most, first consoling her father upon the death of his brother Cromwell, and then reporting upon another death at the school, that of a student:

New Garden 9th Mo. 1st 1838

My dear father:

... Thou will hear by the few lines written by me to M. & S. Anthony that another of our number at the Institution has been taken from us. His illness was short, as the first complaint of indisposition was on 7th day, and on second day night, at twelve, he breathed his last. He was quite reconciled to his situation, though he expressed but little, unless he was questioned. Cousin Asenith asked him second day if he had any word in particular to send to his friends at home, he replied "nothing but love," "peace to you all." He seemed very quiet and calm. On the evening of his death Esther Jones¹⁴ took his hand to bid him farewell, as she was about to retire and said to him, "Well Silas it is not likely that we shall see each other again here, thy work is done." "Yes," said he, pressing her hand, "my work is done forever." The funeral took place 3^d day afternoon at four o'clock.

The number of scholars is quite reduced, and it is not likely that the school will increase until after Yearly Meeting. Should it not be larger then, I shall not consider it best to continue longer here. I suspect the recent death at the Institution will alarm many, and perhaps deter some from entering. I believe there is a report already in circulation that it is sickly here. The number of pupils in our department is eighteen.

Jonathan left us on fourth day morning and will thou believe me he forgot to bid C. & myself farewell. When we found that he had gone, our conclusion was that he had left in that manner perhaps purposely out of kindness to us, to save tears and with this belief all would have gone on very well, had he not sent an apology, saying that he had entirely forgotten to take leave of us, thus all the merit that we had ascribed to him was taken out of the account. N. B. Hill left this morning. We miss them both very much. . . .

My health is quite good, and there is no complaint of indisposition in the family. Thy affectionate daughter. Harriet

In Letter #8 addressed to her mother, Harriet assented gratefully to her father's suggestion that she write home at the beginning of each month, rather than try to respond to letters as they came to her. This was something of a low spot in her adventure. Jonathan Slocum and

N. B. Hill had returned to their homes. Mail was slow in arriving. The school was "diminished."

New Garden 9th mo 29th 1838

My dear mother:

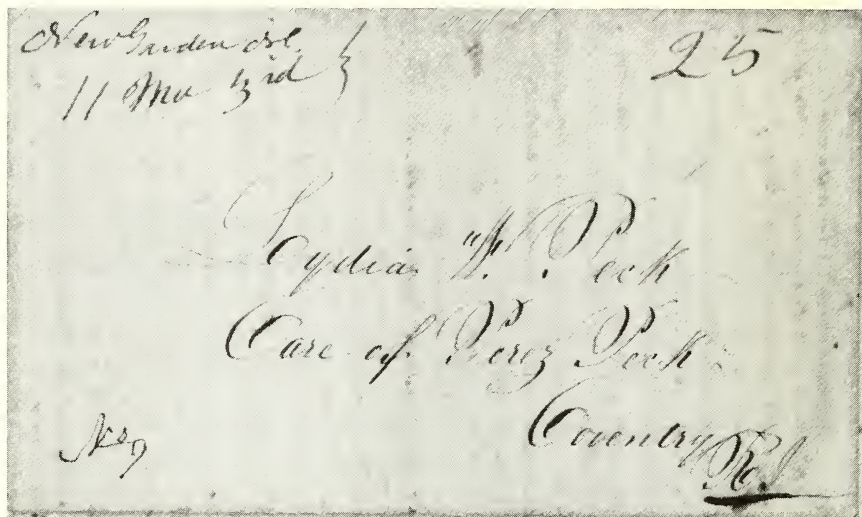
. . . To-day is our monthly meeting day, and exceedingly pleasant, rain fell nearly all night—but to-day is quite clear. We were uncomfortably warm in meeting. Men friends read a certificate for Jonathan L. Slocum, East Greenwich monthly meeting, State of Rhode Island.

It is evening and I am sitting in our own room quite alone. We were much disappointed in not receiving letters this afternoon from our "dear homes." It will be five weeks tomorrow evening, since I had the last from father. Since my last to you, I have received "Liberators" at twice two each time, the first two reached me the day after my letter to father was mailed—the last first day evening, the 23^d accompanied by a very satisfactory letter from my kind friends M. & S. Anthony, which, please to inform them, I shall endeavor to answer soon.

I read Garrisons first of August Address, with great interest, and after a hasty perusal of the remaining contents of the paper handed it to cousin Dougan. I think it noble, cousin Dougan pronounced it excellent. I always carry my papers to them as soon as I have looked them over myself and they read with eagerness—cousin Dougan in particular and cousin Asenith is much more in the spirit of immediatism than formerly.

James Williams' Narrative is in great demand: the copy father sent me as I think I have mentioned, I sent to Deep River, and C. left hers at Springfield the other, that sent to J^{ona}. E. Jones told me, a few days since, she had lent to one and another until it was nearly worn out, and opportunity offering a week or two since, she gave it to a slave holder who resides near Greensborough. One of the school committee from Springfield was inquiring of us last week if there could be any more obtained—as he knew a certain slaveholder to whom he was very desirous to present a copy. He thinks they may be the means of doing much good here. A number of friends have requested us to write for more. They all express the opinion that the narrative is calculated to effect much good.

I believe we have not made any visits since I wrote last. We, however, took a short pleasure ride on horse-back a few evenings since, the principal teacher in the other department, N. B. Hill, who was here on a visit, C. and myself. Catharine has been some accustomed to an exercise of the kind, but I never tried it before. I was



Harriet Peck's letter to her sister, Lydia, folded to show the address. The letter itself is on p. 39. Peck Family Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

kindly provided with a very gentle horse, which took me off in good style. The committee were here, and they made almost as much of a circumstance of it as if we were fitting out for a voyage to sea. We were accompanied to the "blocks," where our horses stood, by our good old friend uncle Nathan Hunt, cousin Asenith, mother Stanley, and Mary Hill, and both schools were looking after us. They saw us well underweigh [*sic*]. We rode to Clemenstown, a distance of 3 miles or more, and returned at 8^o clock, quite fatigued I must say. I was so well pleased, however, with my first attempt that I think I shall make use of the first opportunity of repeating it. I wish some of you could come some evening, and enjoy a ride with us on Carolina's red hills. . . .

Our examination will take place in two weeks from this time: second & third days. We feel quite anxious for our eighteen, that they may pass a satisfactory examination. We have advanced but little in the line of out-door improvements, I believe since the last information I gave you. I think I mentioned that we had a well underweigh [*sic*]: that is now completed, and has a nice pump set in it, which works nicely. The depth of the well is 45 feet. . . .

I was going to mention that both schools were collected in our school room at three this afternoon by the request of the superintendents, and had a sitting of an hour. Cousin A. had a considerable to say

and made a lengthy prayer. E. Jones also appeared in supplication. The bell rings for evening collection and I must go to the school room after which if there is time before 9 I may add a few words. Perhaps I may write a line before the 9 o'clock bell warns me of the hour. The girls are all retired except the monitors, and I can only write until the hour, as it was a request of uncle Nathan, when he was here, that the whole house should be still at that time—farewell my loved mother, for the night. I cannot tell how many times I dreamed of seeing thee last week. . . .

Cousin Asenith made a proposition to the scholars a few evenings since, that they draw up a petition in each department and present to the committee respecting the obtaining of the produce of free labor, so far as may be, for the use of the Institution in which petition, they shall express their feelings on the subject, to which they gladly assented, that is those on our side, I have not heard what the young men thought of it. . . .

farewell my dear mother from Harriet. Please forward me 2 copies of J. Williams' Narrative, also to C. next time they can be obtained.

Letter #9, from Harriet to her sister Lydia, reflected the optimistic air of every new academic year, added to the bustle that came with Yearly Meeting, as visitors were welcomed and accommodated. There was another encounter with Demon Rum, or one of his cousins. Dr. C., who is mentioned, was probably Horace Cannon.

New Garden, 11th mo 1st 1838

My dear sister:

. . . Cousin Dougan is now reading "J. Wm's Narrative" to some friends who are here; a number have arrived this afternoon, from the eastern part of the state, and more are expected tomorrow. The farm house is now completed, and occupied by a young man & his wife who are to entertain friends during Yearly Meeting,—that is, as many as can be accommodated there. The house is but a short distance from the Institution, and very pleasantly situated. C & I were invited to take tea there last 7th day evening. It really seemed very pleasant to run out and spend a few moments with a neighbor.

Thomas Hunt and J. Stanley, with their families have engaged a house near by, which they will occupy during next week. Other friends also intend to provide themselves with suitable accommodations, so that we shall not be quite so much thronged with company here as we were last year.

I "reckon" thou will wonder why I mention the names of friends so familiarly to thee, of whom thou knows nothing, but thou may read it to father—it will interest him.

We as yet hear nothing of any foreign friends. I understand there were none at Ohio Y. Meeting this year, or at Indiana. Elihu Coffin¹⁵ and Horace Canon & wife returned on the 29th. I believe they attended the meeting through all its sittings. I have not yet seen them, but from an epistle received here from Ind. it appears that the time of the commencement of their meeting will hereafter be the 5th day preceding the first day in the 10th month, whereas it has heretofore been the second day after the same. This will allow them a longer time for the prosecution of their business.

Our examination is past. The committee who were appointed did not all attend, as the weather at that time was very disagreeable. A few however were here, uncle Nathan with the rest. His first enquiry of me as soon as he saw me was his customary one. "Hast thou had any recent tidings from thy dear friends" and as usual he wished to be affectionately remembered to you, but I was speaking of the examinations.

They spent the first day in the boy's department. Dr. C. gave C. & myself an invitation to be present, which we accepted. The boys were examined in Geography, Astronomy, Arithmetic, Spelling, Algebra, Geometry, and in the evening, Philosophy, Chemistry and on the scriptures. Grammar & reading were dispensed with, there being no time to attend to them. The day following they spent from 1/2 past 8 o'clock in the morning to 12 in our department. As some of the committee were obliged to leave at noon, they could afford no more time to us. In that time we worked as fast as we could. We examined the girls in Spelling, Geography, Reading, Grammar, Arithmetic, Algebra, Philosophy and Chemistry. Specimens of their needle work were also exhibited by the teacher of the sewing-school. The committee expressed much satisfaction. There were in the school at that time 18 girls and 24 boys. . . .

The week before last I attended the marriage and wedding of Anna Clark, where I believe I mentioned we had an invitation. They made a large wedding—there were between 8_ & 90 persons to dinner. It was on the 18th of the month—the latter part of the day was quite unpleasant. Jesse & Anna performed very well indeed. Anna said the ceremony as well as I ever heard one deliberately & distinctly and sufficiently loud for all to hear. The house was entirely filled. Jesse spoke rather too fast, otherwise very well. C. did not go as she had been in a degree afflicted with the toothache. On the next day the

New Garden 11th mo 1st 1838

My dear sister:

The commencement of another month reminds me of my promise to write to thee a promise which I take great pleasure in performing, although I must, as it were, scatch the time, and give thee a very hasty sketch of passing events. The pleasure which I take in the performance of this promise is greatly increased by the reflection that my epistle, however poor and uninteresting will meet with a hearty welcome from thee. I believe I have in a communication to some of you acknowledged the reception of thy very kind letter of the 8th month last. I received a highly interesting letter from sister, Louisa & brother last evening, accompanied by a Liberator, and one copy of J. Williams Narratives. The intelligence of Aunt James severe illness is very painful to me, but what brother mentioned last concerning her, gives me hopes and what mother added on the 22nd almost seems to assure me of her recovery. I wish to hear as often as possible how it is with her. Cousin Douglass is now reading J. Williams Narratives to some friends who are here a number have arrived this afternoon, from the eastern part of the state and more are expected tomorrow. The farm house is now completed, and occupied by a young man & his wife, who are to entertain friends during Yearly Meeting, that is, as many as can be accommodated there. the house is but a short distance from the Institution, and very pleasantly situated. As I was invited to take tea there last 7th day evening. It really seemed very pleasant to run out and spend a few moments with a neighbor.

Harriet Peck's letter to her sister, Lydia. Peck Family Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

company had the second part at his father's at Dover, 9 miles from Jonathan Clark's.

C. & I had the week before received a note from Charles B. inviting us to dine with them on the 19th. The company arrived there at 1/2 past

12, and we were soon invited to partake of their nice toddy. I could not tell what to think of it. A small table was set out in the room where we sat with decanters of wine, Brandy & whiskey, and every one who came in invited to drink they took none clear but mixed it to their own taste, a plentiful supply of loaf sugar was at hand. The next morning before I was out of my room a young woman came again with her tumbler of toddy and invited me to drink. I could only think of the expression which I have heard of a certain lady* on a certain occasion. "Ods fish, what a company I am got into."

We dined at $1\frac{1}{2}$ past one. The table was set out in the grandest style. I saw no table that would compare with it in New York or Philadelphia but I could not enjoy it thou may depend—but I must leave many things of this painful nature to relate when I return to you not to put on paper.

2nd I suppose thou wonders why my time is now so limited, examination being over, &c. My classes remain though Catharine's have mostly left. Mildred Mendenhall who composed one of her Alg. class has been sewing for her & with her this week. My time is occupied in the school room.

It is pretty pleasant this evening, quite cool however. Cousin Dougan has gone this day to attend the meeting for Sufferings. Several friends arrived a few minutes since from Perquimons. Benjamin Pritchard of the number, Isaac knows him. . . . farewell farewell Harriet

* Do not expose this part to anyone. It is a shame.

Letter #10 was written to Harriet's parents, and required several sittings to complete. It included her minutes taken at North Carolina Yearly Meeting. She mentioned James Chase; he was a new teacher from Rhode Island, formerly at Providence School.

New Garden 11th mo. 3^d 1838

My dear parents:

. . . Cousin Dougan & Asenath have gone to Deep River, to attend Select Meeting. My time has been entirely occupied in school this forenoon and not with writing. I have some sewing that ought to be attended to; I will take opportunity this afternoon to say a few words to you. It is not quite clear today, but has much the appearance of rain. I think we shall have disagreeable weather tomorrow, for the commencement of Yearly Meeting. We had no company here last night.

A part of the afternoon's company went to Borden White's and several I believe to the boarding house. We have no friends from any other Yearly Meeting. I can say no more now, but will add a little more in the evening, to which at the expiration of next week, I think I shall annex what minutes I may take during the week of the proceedings of the meeting. It is now past 8 °clock in the evening. I have released what few girls we have left, to retire and am sitting entirely alone at our desk in the school room where I shall write until the 9 °clock bell rings—which will be but a very short time.

We have a few friends here tonight—I believe I can easily number them—our friend Thomas Kennedy of Perquimons, and two young men of the same place I think. Uncle Nathan H. is also here—he came from Deep River this afternoon with James Woody and wife, in company with cousin Dougan & Asenath. I met with him in the entry a few minutes since—he says he is in good health, though somewhat fatigued this evening. I think he enjoys remarkable health for a person of his age—his 80th birth-day occurred the 6th of last month. It commenced raining before 8 °clock this evening. I must now retire.

. . . 11th. I again resume my pen to add a few lines. . . . Here permit me to place my minutes, such as they are, excuse them. First day the 4th of 11th month. Meeting commenced at the eleventh hour. Owing to the extreme unpleasantness of the weather, the number of assembled was quite small. No strangers in attendance. After sitting some length of time in silence, cousin Asenath expressed a few words after which uncle Nathan Hunt made some remarks, and the meeting closed. It rained incessantly during the whole day.

Second day, the 5th Meeting commenced at eleven, the weather being very clear and pleasant, this day, the number was large, and the house well filled near the hour. After a short silence, cousin Asenath arose and reminded the assembly that they had once more come together to transact the weighty concerns of the Yearly Meeting, and went on to speak of the necessity we had to petition for an increase of faith as well as of a spirit of prayer, that our language should be, Lord, increase our faith, as well as Lord teach us here to pray that thus strength might be afforded to each and every individual to transact whatever portion might be assigned in a proper manner.

After a short pause the clerk read the opening minute, and called the representatives of each quarterly meeting, the queries were then read and answers from the respective quarterly meetings after which the clerk was instructed to draft a summary to present at a future sitting. Several epistles having been received, the clerks were requested to read the same. London general epistle & those of New

York, Philadelphia and Virginia were read, they being all that were then on the table, after which a committee consisting of twenty one, were appointed to prepare essays and present at a future sitting. Meeting then adjourned at $\frac{1}{2}$ past two o'clock—to the usual hour tomorrow.

3^d day the 6th Meeting convened at the eleventh hour agreeably to adjournment. After the opening minute and epistle was read, the shutters were then raised, and the consideration of the state of society entered into. At the reading of each answer, valuable remarks were made by several friends; after the 6th which respects Slavery, interesting remarks were made. Cousin Asenath said considerable upon the subject. She remarked that she believed it to be high time for greater exertions, that a change must take place ere long, in the situation of the poor degraded victim of oppression, in conclusion, she encouraged all to stand ready to do whatever they could to watch for openings where they might point out to the oppressor the sinfulness of the sin he was committing.

Nathan Mendenhall¹⁶ then observed that he was glad to hear her express what she did, and had been in hopes that she would have felt it her duty to enlarge upon it more extensively. He wished to say a few words upon the subject and give a little information to the meeting, especially at this stage. He wished to state that men friends in the Meeting for Sufferings on 6th day, had united in preparing some memorials to Congress for the abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia & Territories of which it had been proposed, both men & women should have copies appropriate,—each to obtain signatures, which, also, is not only for the signatures of members of Friend's Society, but is to be circulated for all to have an opportunity of signing who feel a desire for the yoke of the Slave to be broken. As forms of petitions would be produced at a future sitting, he thought best to mention the subject that friends might have it under consideration, and he hoped there was not a woman present who would withhold her name.

From this time, I have no accurate minutes, but will merely add, from memory. The meeting on third day, adjourned in the evening at between 2 & 3, to the usual hour on 5th day. A public meeting was held on fourth day, commencing at eleven. Although the weather was very unpleasant we had a crowded house. John Bond of Surry County, Uncle Nathan and cousin Asenath were the speakers on that day. The meeting concluded at a few minutes past two. Catharine and I, by invitation dined out with some friends that evening.

During the day following the weather continued disagreeable; notwithstanding this a large number were collected at the appointed hour. Some epistles just received were read, and the Boarding School report. The Subscription paper went round, and, on the day following it was ascertained that one thousand and thirteen dollars had been raised. An Epistle of Advice which had been prepared to go down to the several Quarterly Meetings, was read, and with some other business the meeting adjourned to ten o'clock on sixth day.

On that day assembled according to adjournment, and, after the transaction of a considerable business and some preaching, several hours were occupied by men friends in the discussion of proposed alterations in the discipline, with raised shutters. All were requested to express their opinions with freedom. The meeting concluded at five o'clock. They hurried business at the last in order to get through that night, so much that there was not that solemnity in conclusion that was so obviously felt at the close of the meeting last year. I suspect there would not have been that haste had it not been that a quarterly meeting was to take place on 7th day at Centre.

We received no epistle from Rhode Island, and none from Indiana. I find I have not mentioned that on 6th day, before the discussion spoken of, a form of Petition was sent in from men friends, and after receiving a number of signatures a committee was nominated in each monthly meeting to circulate copies of said Petitions for the reception of the signature of every female who would choose to sign in their respective Settlement. There were also a number of young women appointed to copy a supply and furnish the above mentioned committee with the same.

The form as drafted I will here subjoin. It is concise & simple. "To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled. We the undersigned women of North Carolina deeply deploring the existence of Slavery in this Nation, earnestly entreat you to legislate for the termination of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia and the Territorial Government over which you have the right to distribute justice. We further desire and entreat that you will not permit Texas to become a constituent part of the United States."

It was proposed also on 5th day by one of our members that a Petition should be presented to the legislature of this State asking for the termination of Slavery here which should be signed by the clerk in behalf of the Yearly Meeting, this being united with a committee consisting of three, was appointed to prepare one to be brought forward on the next day, which was done.

As I have a copy I will with your permission add that also knowing that subjects of this kind are interesting to you. The Memorial is not lengthy. "To the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina: Your petitioners, under a Solemn conviction that Freedom is the right of all mankind, entreat you in the fear of Almighty God and the love of the everlasting Gospel to legislate for the speedy termination of Slavery in this State. Should it be out of your power to act up to the laws of justice immediately, we beg leave to lay before you the oppressed situation of the people of color: humbly petitioning you to repeal those unchristian laws which have been recently enacted, feeling our privileges abridged as citizens of the United States, in not being permitted to enlighten the poor ignorant colored man, on pain of the most severe suffering and even Death, while large sums are expended for the instruction of the heathen of foreign Nations. We ask for these the privilege of peaceably attending places of worship without molestation. Signed on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends held in North Carolina in the 11th month 1838 by Abigail H. Stanley, Clerk." Two female friends were appointed to present said petition to one of the representatives.

It is now drawing towards the close of the month. Today is the 28th. I believe my last date before was the 11th. I merely snatch a few moments this eve to say a few words not knowing when I may be able to finish. It is my intention however, to have it in readiness for you by the first of the month 12th. The school is once more organized. We now have 20 in our department. A number more are expected by the last of the week. There are between 20 & 30 on the other side. I think we shall have quite a snug little school, probably not so large as last winter. James Chase arrived 7th day evening. We were absent at the time at a quarterly meeting. . . .

I may tell you more about it perhaps. It is called Southern Quarter held at this time at New Salem, 22 miles distant, in the second month at Back Creek, fifth at Holly Spring, and in the eighth at Marlboro, where probably you will recollect I attended last 8th month. We left here on the 6th day morning. The meeting was held the next day. The weather was fine and we were comfortable in shawls. A large number was assembled, indeed the house was crowded. We had an excellent meeting favored with much good preaching. We dined at Jesse Hinshaw's and staid [*sic*] the night at his son William Hinshaw's.¹⁷ There was quite a number of friends at William's. Next forenoon attended meeting again at New Salem which held until very late. We returned to the school at half past 7 in the evening. . . .

Perhaps now I may take the liberty to mention some improve-

ments that have taken place here. The Portico is not yet completed, the paling is partly done. When completed it will help the appearance of the premises much. The parlor floor has a suitable covering, and cousin Asenath purchased some carpeting last week for our floor. I do not know as I can make you sensible how comfortable we look here. Our room is furnished with two beds, a table at which I sit to write, four chairs, a wardrobe, wash stand, mirror, a plenty of books &c. &c. I was speaking of improvements. I have mentioned some in very letter to you of late.

Father, I think thou has not complied with my request in that respect though perhaps thou thinks such things of too trivial a nature to mention on paper, nevertheless, I must confess that however trifling they are, I should be mightily glad to hear how things are moving.

12th mo. 1st. I have no letters from you yet received however, last evening a "Temperance Journal," "Spirit of Roger Williams" and a "Liberator." By your sending me a Temperance paper, I understand that you have received my last letter. I am quite obliged to you for it. Cousin Dougan has received no letter yet from Rhode Island.

The time of my stay here now begins to look quite short. I anticipate the period of my return to all that is dear to me on earth with great pleasure. And may I indulge the hope of once more seeing my own beloved friends at our own beloved home? Could I be assured that I should realize all that I might anticipate my cup of happiness would be well nigh full. Will the lapse of a few short months find me mingling once more with my relatives and associates at C.? O, we cannot behold the future, and how well it is for us that it is veiled from our sight. I have sometimes thought that I should have been more happy could I have been permitted to see forward a little, but I am now sensible that it is not the case. . . .

I was informed a few days since that a Slaveholder in Greensboro has drawn up a petition to forward to the legislature praying for the repeal of those laws respecting the education of Slaves, to which he is obtaining signatures. I wish I could tell you a great deal more that is good. People everywhere are becoming more and more alive to the subject as you well know. I have no doubt but that Anti-Slavery publications are read wherever they can be obtained, that is, at the South, even if read secretly.

2nd. The Stage is in and I have no time to add your affectionate daughter Harriet. Love to you all. Farewell. They have returned from the office & nothing for me! My health is very good.

Harriet's Letter #11 to her father began to speculate about her departure in the spring. The initial plan did not work out, so its details are omitted here:

New Garden, 1st Mo., 1st 1839

My dear father:

In what better way could I devote a few moments of the new year's day, than in addressing my friends? Thy long and interesting epistle of the 17th of last month reached me on the evening of the 26th and nothing less than my school duties prevented me from granting a speedy reply. . . .

Five weeks of our last term have already elapsed. The visiting committee were here two weeks ago yesterday and the General Committee on the day following—uncle Nathan was with them, rather he was here beforehand as well as with them, as he spent the week preceding with us.

Our Quarterly Meeting occurred on the 13th. The weather was quite cold at the time. The first day after Quarterly Meeting uncle Mahlon Hoggett paid us a visit. Notice was previously given agreeably to his request and we had quite a large meeting. The day was quite pleasant. The day on which the visiting committee were here, we had a little snow—it melted however, almost as soon as it fell. The ground now is quite white, the snow is several inches in depth upon it, and were I in the region of sleighs & sleigh bells I trust I should hear but little else these moonlight evenings, than the music of the bells, but here, in this goodly land we are never annoyed by those wintry sounds. The snow of which I speak commenced falling 6th day about noon, and continued until some time in the night. 7th day was our monthly meeting day. The meeting was quite small. People in these parts seem to dread a little snow much more than rain and mud, in that respect as well as in many others they differ widely from us Northerners.

. . . With regard to thy query respecting the Slaveholder at Greensboro alluded to in my last, or rather his name, I did not know but I mentioned it. It is Andrew Caldwell.¹⁸ Perhaps thou might have heard him spoken of while thou was here. I believe he is Principal of the Caldwell Institute in G. . . .

farewell my dear father, thine affectionately, Harriet. In good health.

Harriet's Letter #12 was to her youngest sister, Joanna, and was

affectionate and personal in tone, painting an imaginary picture of the family at home before going on to other matters.

New Garden, 1st Mo. 31st 1839

My dear sister:

Come put away thy kitten and listen to me awhile this evening. I am in the mood of talking, but I do not intend to say one word until thou complies with my request. . . .

While I think of it, I must tell thee how it fared with our petitions to the State Legislature, which I mentioned in one of my former letters. The person who had it in charge gave his promise that he would present it, and he did, but how does thou suppose he managed? He put it off with the very last business, no doubt purposely, that nothing might be done and of course it was postponed with unfinished business. I understand the legislature will not meet again under two years. Oh, it is intolerable. How every thing relating to the delicate subject is suppressed; not only here but almost everywhere. I think we cannot expect much better things of men who have been reared in the very midst of slavery, when we bring the acts of some of our New Englanders alongside for a comparison. What does thou think of Atherton's course in Congress.¹⁹ Is it not abominable for a person thus to trifle with the rights of the people? Now as it occurs to me I must ask what you have done in C. with regard to petitions this year? This question answered. When does the Coventry Female Anti-Slavery Society intend holding its Annual Meetings? And how do you progress?

. . . Aunt Cynthia mentioned that thou has some idea of trying thy skill in weaving. Look it over a little first; consider that although an employment of that kind may be more lucrative than that for which thou ought to be fitted, yet it is not for ourselves or for our bodies alone that we are to labor. We should be willing to employ our talents for the benefit of others, even though the pecuniary advantages fall short of what we might realize in an employment of the kind I mentioned, an employment in which there is no improvement of the mind, and one in which we are not in the way to render assistance to others in that respect. And what an exposure of one's health too! I might say more but let this suffice. I will merely add that I had a wish for thee to join me in teaching at some future time, which I am not sure that I have before expressed. . . .

I have kept very close at home since vacation and do not know as I shall go from here much more unless I leave in the 4th month, and

spend the time in visiting, until my departure.* It depends however pretty much upon my health, which I ought to have mentioned in my letter to father. Should I have as serious a turn as I did last third month, & notwithstanding what I have said, I should endeavor to inform you and should wish to be on my way home as soon as possible. My health now is very good. . . .

Thy affectionate sister, Harriet.

* My stay here I mean in Carolina I might have very suitable companions then.

Harriet wrote her Letter #13 to her brother Isaac, who was probably about ten years old at this time.

New Garden 3d Mo. 1st, 1839

My dear Brother:

Another month has closed and to day it seems is the first of spring. Surely I did not intend to allow so much time to pass without addressing thee but please to excuse me and I will promise now at least to send thee a token of remembrance, and an acknowledgement of the kind epistles received from thee, even though my letter should contain nothing more it must serve as a messenger of love to you all.

And now before saying another word, I must tell thee what my present prospects are, with regard to again meeting with you. Suppose I should say that if life and health be continued to me, I shall be with you at Coventry in the course of seven weeks? Would thou believe me? It is so.

When the committee were together after I had written to father, and assured him that Catharine had decided on leaving in the 5th month, they requested her to reconsider. They told her furthermore, that according to their understanding of the contract made by her in the Spring, she was under obligation to continue until the expiration of the year, that is, until the 8th month, last second day she concluded to stay until that period.

The best opportunity for company being in the 4th month, I shall of course leave at that time, as I before told you. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting will commence on the *15th of that month, and I shall make arrangements to be there precisely at the time and perhaps beforehand. Please to tell father, if he will only be so kind as to come as far

* for business

as Philadelphia as early certainly, as that time, it shall be exactly as he chooses about staying through the meeting. I am aware, that he is and will be, much pressed with business, being about to rebuild the shop, and after coming so far, he shall not be detained one moment on my account, if in my power to have it otherwise.

. . . I may just tell thee in what manner I generally spend the first day. In the morning I walk to meeting with the scholars and after meeting return with them to the Institution, and get dinner, then pack off again as soon as possible to the school house where the colored school is held, of which I have mentioned, where I stay until half past two, at which time our school generally closes. Then I return. This I find good exercise and it is very pleasant to me. A couple of the scholars from each department generally assist us. I often wish that thou and my dear sisters could be our helpers. I know it would be a pleasure to you and how much better I should enjoy the employment if you could be participators.

The anxiety manifested by the poor creatures to learn is indeed great, quite a number of them walk several miles every first day. Some of them take a small luncheon with them; others stay without anything from morning until the close of school. They generally leave home in the morning and get here in season to attend our meeting, from whence they go to the school house. One first day when the mercury was as low as I have noticed it this winter there were two boys of a family of Burnses who live two miles distant, came, one of them with no outside jacket and not even a vest, the other not much more comfortably clad. There is one man who attends regularly with his family of 5 children, Thomas Smothers, whose wife was a daughter of Lavina's, tell father. She is not now living was in poor health I think when father was here. She deceased last spring. I could say much more concerning our school and of the great desire evinced by the scholars to gain instruction, but will let this suffice for the present. . . .

Our garden has been ploughed and the front yard gouged. They commenced ploughing about the middle of last month. Improvements are still gradually going on. I must tell thee how we are obliged to do with regard to lighting the schoolrooms. Oil cannot at present be obtained in Greensboro, and we are burning spermaceti candles in our chandeliers for which they give 20 dollars a box. Almost everything here is purchased at a dear rate.

My health is very good, no complaint more than usual in the house, I believe, with the exception of one little boy, who has been lingering for some time, the one of whom I mentioned in one of my letters not

long since the last time I wrote. He was so much recruited as to be in school, but for the last two weeks has been very ill. He is not expected to live many minutes now. I believe I mentioned that he is from the eastern part of the state, has a mother living but his father is deceased. He had the appearance of a corpse almost when he came here, and was not fit to go from home. . . .

Please to give much love to all my friends, excuse this hasty line, and write soon. I have been so much in a hurry that I expect I have forgotten many things which I wished to say. I shall probably write once more. Must send this to the office in a moment. Farewell my loved brother, much love to you all. Thine affectionately, Harriet.

In Letter #14, Harriet told her father about the arrangements she had made for her journey home.

New Garden 3d. Mo. 26th 1839

My dear father:

Thy very acceptable letter or rather thine and brother's, lies before me. My time being limited, thou will not expect much from me of course. I may merely thank thee for thy minute directions, with my promise also to attend to them. With regard to labels for my trunk, thou will recollect perhaps thou left a sufficiency of blanks for the purpose. These I took out last 7th day a week and wrote on them in large hand, "Harriet Peck, Providence R.I." The trunk cover I sent to the washerwoman and had it nicely washed. The boys took off the straps and laid them by with the same tacks ready to put in whenever called for. I am glad thou suggested the leather straps as I should not have thought of them. With regard to packing I have already put a number of articles into the top and thy idea about the band box was also mine. I have recently received a bonnet which I had calculated to wear and not be burdened with anything with which I can possibly dispense.

My kind friend Jos. Stanley has furnished me with twenty dollars in gold & silver and I have one ten dollar bill in United States money. I settled with them last 7th day evening and they are to give me an order on Philadelphia's for the amount.

With regard to our friend S. Hill perhaps I was rather too fast in giving thee the information. He had mentioned that it would be pleasant to him to take us in his carriage if we liked it. That was told us at the time as a proposition, however. Had I considered though before writing I might have known that with all our baggage it would

be quite out of the question to journey so great a distance in that way. Friend Hill and his daughter, however, had made arrangements to leave about the time we did and go in company with us by public conveyance, but alas! The future is not revealed the present only is known. On first day morning Samuel's wife was as in the twinkling of an eye called from earth [illegible] thus all his prospects frustrated. She had been in usual health and was making preparations to come to New Garden as she was a member of the committee, and while passing about dropped on the floor. Before they could get her to the bed her spirit had taken its flight. It was supposed that her death was occasioned by the bursting of a blood vessel in the heart.

I would give thee more of the particulars if I had time. I may merely say that their loss as irreparable as it is and will be felt keenly by all her acquaintances. It is not likely that Samuel will think of going north now, but we shall still be likely to have some suitable company. A young man from Hopewell is going to Philadelphia to attend medical lectures, and is making [few illegible words] to go at that time, that is, in company with us.

We expect to leave here one week from this day, that will be on the 2nd of the 4th month. The case of our leaving so early is Esther Jones health is so poor that we will require some time to rest after the journey. We shall go by Raleigh. If nothing happens to us we shall be in Philadelphia a week nearly before the commencement of Yearly Meeting. I hope I shall not be disappointed about seeing thee by the 15th certainly. I should suppose thou would wish to get there on the 7th day previous if thou could that is by the 13th and if thou stays to be at meeting at all be there on first day. Before this reaches thee I shall be on my way probably.

I think of nothing more that I need to say. As I understood just now that the mail leaves before noon I hastened to write and I fear that it is hardly legible. I wish much love to all my friends, Rowland & family and others. I hope our own dear family and relatives will accept a large share not time to say more. Excuse this hasty note from thy very affectionate daughter Harriet. . . .

[Written vertically across writing on the second page:] This I suppose closes my correspondence from New Garden. I shall not leave friends here in Carolina without regret. I am strongly attached to them and shall feel many a bitter pang at parting.

This attachment to Carolina friends continued for the Peck family through letters and visits. As noted before, letters to them in the

collection include those from Thomas Hunt of Springfield (with a note from Isaac Carter), and David Hunt, and of course numerous ones from Nathan B. Hill, the last one dated 1856. One of his, dated 1843, was sent with Nereus Mendenhall, who expected to visit E. Greenwich.

Hill himself visited the family more than once, taking advantage of the proximity of Philadelphia, where he attended medical lectures. Perez Peck visited the New Garden community in 1846, first going to Baltimore Yearly Meeting, and then accompanying Julia E. Benbow to North Carolina so that she could be with her father, Charles Benbow, who was ill. Julia had been one of Harriet's pupils at New Garden Boarding School. Perez wrote to his wife that Julia was a lovely girl, ". . . on whose heart the memory of our beloved departed Daughter appears to be indelibly engraved. She told me she believed that every body in N. C. who formed an acquaintance with her, loved her."²⁰

End Notes

- ¹ In Harriet Peck's Album, in the Peck Family Papers.
- ² Phineas Nixon was clerk of New Garden Boarding School Building Committee.
- ³ The phrase "concerned in supplication" may be confusing. Harriet's use of the word "supplication" in other letters show her using it interchangeably with "prayer."
- ⁴ This refers to George Cameron Mendenhall, not to be confused with his (and Richard's) father, who was also George.
- ⁵ Probably Doughty Stockton, Esq. who was an innkeeper in Forsyth Co., possibly near present Kernersville. He and his wife Elizabeth were connected with Hunts, Mendenhalls, and others through marriages of their children.
- ⁶ Mahlon Hoggatt was a popular preacher and prophet at Springfield Friends Meeting. He lived on the old colonial era grant of Philip Hoggatt, his grandfather, within present High Point, North Carolina.
- ⁷ This was probably Dr. Milton Worth.
- ⁸ There were two or more Isaac Farlos at Marlboro Meeting at this time.
- ⁹ Joseph Newlin and wife Ruth (Farlow) were received at Marlboro in 1827 on certificate from Spring Monthly Meeting.
- ¹⁰ Possibly Miriam Hoggatt Mendenhall, wife of James.
- ¹¹ Adams had in February 1838 presented before the U.S. House of Representatives 350 petitions against slavery and the annexation of Texas.
- ¹² *Narrative of James Williams, an American Slave, Who Was for Several Years a Driver on a Cotton Plantation in Alabama* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society; Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1838).
- ¹³ John Carter was a school trustee.
- ¹⁴ Esther Jones, a Philadelphian with interest in the school, volunteered her services there. She married Phineas Nixon in 1840. Both were victims of tuberculosis, and both died within a few years of the marriage.
- ¹⁵ Elihu Coffin was an elder at New Garden Meeting, who had made a large subscription to the school building fund.
- ¹⁶ Nathan Mendenhall was a miller and surveyor, member of Deep River Meeting, and brother of Richard and George C. Mendenhall.
- ¹⁷ The Hinshaws were members of Marlboro Meeting. Jesse was a New Salem businessman.

¹⁸ Andrew Caldwell was a son of Rev. David Caldwell of Buffalo Presbyterian Church; he was educated at Princeton and carried on at Caldwell's "Log College" in present Greensboro after his father's death.

¹⁹ Charles G. Atherton of New Hampshire presented a resolution to eliminate discussion of slavery in the U.S. House. It was adopted on December 11, 1838, as a House Rule, and was known as the "Atherton Gag," or the "gag rule."

²⁰ Perez Peck to Joanna Peck, New Garden North Carolina, 10 Month 29, 1846.

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Friends Historical Collection Annual Report 2003–2004

By

Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson

Introduction

The past year has gone by quickly and been full keeping up with routine tasks, new challenges, and exciting plans for the future. The Friends Historical Collection's holdings have continued to grow while researchers visits and inquiries remain steady. Unfortunately, staffing levels have not kept up with the increasing responsibilities and demands. The groundwork was laid for several new initiatives, including the Friends Historical Collection's first digital exhibit, and work continues on improving our organization of resources to assist researchers in locating the information they seek.

Staff and Volunteers

Staffing is increasingly an area of concern. The current level of staffing remains insufficient to adequately serve researchers, complete basic tasks, and do the processing and cataloging required for access to our materials. This situation would be impossible if it were not for our dedicated volunteers who enable the Friends Historical Collection to be open to the public twenty-four hours each week. Assistance is also provided with student employees who average fifteen hours each week and help with shelving, filing, and assorted projects. Student assistants this year were Kelly–Cheyenne Hill during Summer 2003, David Kosbob, Katherine Oliver, and Cassandra Baker (fall term only) during the regular academic year, and John Davis during summer 2004.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting) employs an archives assistant to work in the collection ten hours per week. Rachel Miller, a former student worker and recent Guilford graduate already working part-time in Hege Library's technical services department, held the position this year. Rachel leaves for new opportunities at the end of the summer. It will be difficult to locate an individual with her prior specialized knowledge and skills to fill the position.

Since the yearly meeting archives assistant position was established over a decade ago, the presence of an archives assistant has been a great asset and provides services needed for the basic maintenance of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives. However, it cannot be depended upon to provide the level of assistance needed in the Friends Historical Collection as a whole, or more specialized projects relating to the various materials under our care. It is hoped that the college will recognize the need for a full-time assistant for the collection and not assume that the fragmented schedules of the yearly meeting's archives assistant, volunteers, and students can meet the needs.

The volunteer docent program continues to provide friendly faces in our research room. Two long serving docents, Margaret Beal and Virginia Smith, retired this year and were given the title "docent emeriti." Virginia Smith died a few months following her retirement and her personal knowledge of Ohio Quaker genealogy will be especially missed. Three new volunteers, Gay Bowles, Janet Nagel, and Helen Cott, joined the roster. Most of the group was able to attend the annual docent luncheon in June and hear Linda Evans, curator of community history at the Greensboro Historical Museum. Volunteers were also able to gather several times for training sessions in the fall. In addition to the basic training that has been offered in the past, three advanced training sessions were developed and led by Gwen Erickson in November.

Collections

Minutes and records were received from twenty-eight different monthly meetings, including twenty-two meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM), four of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conser-

vative), and two of Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association. Additions were also received from several other organizations and seven manuscript collections were donated. Published books and periodicals and microfilm sets continue to be purchased with funds from the Clyde and Ernestine Milner Endowment.

With the assistance of the Friends Historical Collection librarian, the Committee for the Care of Yearly Meeting Records made a special effort to remind meetings in North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) who have neglected to deposit materials of the importance of regularly bringing materials to the Friends Historical Collection for preservation and safekeeping. Despite continued efforts by the records committee and Friends Historical Collection staff, approximately forty (over half) of the monthly meetings have not deposited records for more than ten years. Meeting members were reminded to ask their recording clerks and others responsible for records to insure that materials are preserved. Starting at yearly meetings sessions in September 2004, a notebook of meeting archival holdings, listed by monthly meeting, will be available for consultation to encourage member awareness of this issue. A large number of committee and office files were transferred from the Yearly Meeting Office and are being incorporated into the archives.

In her role as yearly meeting archives assistant, Rachel Miller worked on a major project surveying the quality and condition of all the microfilms of original North Carolina meeting records. Several films that were found inadequate for general use will be replaced this year through funds from North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM)'s Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records.

Increasing numbers of files from various college departments are beginning to arrive in the Friends Historical Collection for assessment and incorporation into the college's archives as a part of our new records management policy. Additional staff is desperately needed to allow us to continue all these tasks and accomplish the cataloging necessary to provide adequate access for researchers. The contents of several file cabinets were transferred to the college archives from the Student Senate office. A full review of current senate holdings was completed as the new materials were processed and added.

In addition, work slowly continues with acquiring, processing, and maintaining the specialized materials relating to the Society of Friends. Major purchases with college funds this year included sets of Nantucket and Ohio Quaker records on microfilm to expand our holdings of Quaker records on a national level. Work began on selecting which Pennsylvania meeting records to acquire in the near future. The twenty-nine reel set of the "Meetings for Sufferings Archives: Great Book of Sufferings, 1659-1793," was acquired and completes our holdings of the Friends House Library records currently available on microfilm.

Due to preparations for a system migration, little to no progress was made on cataloging our backlog of monographs and serials, and overall cataloging statistics were down significantly from last year and dramatically lower than previous years. It is hoped that work in this area can move forward once the new system is functioning correctly and that new titles can be added more efficiently. However, real progress cannot be made in this area without additional staffing.

Manuscript cataloging continues to progress extremely slowly. Preliminary processing was accomplished for all incoming collections. Work was also done on existing collections that had only minimal processing in the past, including the 1985 World Gathering of Young Friends Papers and the Edna Harvey Joseph Papers. The practice will continue of completing minimum preliminary processing as quickly as possible to facilitate researchers access and minimize backlog. However, it does mean that more complete cataloging will often not be feasible in the short term due to shortage of qualified staff.

Several exciting new collections relating to Guilford College alumni were donated this year, and one has already received notable use. Former Guilford College student Huldah Elizabeth (Beth) Taylor donated her writings and materials relating to her 1963 arrest for participation in desegregation activities in Greensboro and campus reactions to the incident. Current students have been fascinated by this first hand account and have consulted the collection as a part of the college's anti-racism initiative. The Frederick H. Taylor, Sr., Collection documents college life from 1938 to 1942 and adds to the

materials already held relating to Frederick Raymond Taylor and Rachel Farlow Taylor, domestic science teacher and early matron of Mary Hobbs Hall. Mathematician and 1892 graduate Virginia Ragsdale described her life after Guilford in letters she wrote to family while she did graduate study in Germany from 1896 to 1898.

A number of special projects to facilitate more efficient access to our resources were completed with much assistance from student staff. All of the genealogy reference files received new labels that are easier to read. A significant portion of the collection's main vertical files (nine large file cabinets) was relabeled and a new filing system implemented. Print guides to these files should be available in the coming year. An index to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting memorials was completed and placed in the research room for ready reference.

Research and Services

Several classes had specific course requirements that brought them into the Friends Historical Collection. Max Carter's two sections of Quakerism were required to make use of resources in the Friends Historical Collection during the spring semester. Students made extensive use of materials in the open stacks and also consulted some more specialized sources for their papers on Quakers and education and larger research assignments. Gwen Erickson attended a class session in advance to discuss topics and possible resources with students. Anore Horton's history class and Moni Bates's field botany class came to the Friends Historical Collection to see what resources were available for various class assignments. The field botany class learned about different historical documents and maps that can be used to study the history of native plants, and several students did a study of the college's land use. For the second year, David MacInnes gave his First Year Experience students several assignments requiring the use of a title from our rare book collections.

Guilford faculty had opportunity to learn more about the Friends Historical Collection's resources and ways of incorporating special collections in their teaching with a session on the topic during the Faculty Library Seminar held in July 2003 and June 2004. Women's studies students and faculty learned specifically about Guilford's

archival resources relating to women's studies when Gwen was invited to present at a "Women's Studies Tea and Talk" in March.

Guilford College Library Director Mary Ellen Chijioke and Greensboro Public Library's Arthur Erickson joined with Gwen Erickson in leading a workshop sponsored by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society titled "Documenting Quaker Ancestry." The workshop received positive reviews and may be offered again in the future. Gwen also gave a Quaker genealogy talk to the Benbow family at their reunion in June. A presentation on Quakers in the North Carolina piedmont was given at the November meeting of the Hillsborough Historical Society.

Statistics for the total number of researchers using the collection in the past year remains comparable to last year. However, it appears that overall use increased. Statistics are limited to those who formally register so those using the open stacks and individuals coming as a group or tour are not included. More students seemed to be studying in the collection and items circulated (*i. e.*, books checked out for use outside of the library) increased overall by more than thirty percent in the past three years. Reference questions by telephone, postal mail, and electronic mail remain steady with a continuing gradual shift towards electronic mail as the primary mode for communication.

The variety of topics researched this year is too numerous to list in detail. As in the past, genealogical topics bring most of our non-college researchers. The Underground Railroad and Quaker anti-slavery work continues to be a popular topic. North Carolina ties to Quaker abolitionists in other regions brought staff of Vermont's Rokeby Museum, as well as a scholar working on Long Island, New York, abolitionists. Late nineteenth century topics included Quaker women and temperance and George Dixon's work with freedmen's schools in North Carolina. Quakers during the American Revolution were studied through meeting minutes and Algie Newlin's research notes for his book, *The Battle of New Garden*. The Martin and Haworth Family Papers remain a valuable resource for Cuban history and were consulted by two scholars this year. Corinth, Deep River, and New Garden meetings all looked into their past by sending members to check their historic records.

Notable Events and Projects

The most exciting news of the year is the recent award of a federal Library Services and Technology Act (LSTA) grant by the State Library of North Carolina of \$6,984 to purchase equipment needed to begin our first digitization project. The proposed project, to be completed in the coming year, will give access to the John Bacon Crenshaw Papers through the Friends Historical Collection website. The Crenshaw papers are a collection of correspondence concerning the experiences of North Carolina Friends during the Civil War and the hardships they faced as noncombatants conscripted into the Confederate Army. Crenshaw was a Quaker in Richmond, Virginia who assisted men and their families with prison visitation and meetings with Confederate officials. In preparation for the digitization project, Gwen Erickson attended the week long NC-ECHO (Exploring Cultural Heritage Online) Digitization Institute in Chapel Hill last August and gained additional knowledge about Encoded Archival Description with advanced training at East Carolina University in June.

The other big news for the Friends Historical Collection was the Guilford College Friends of the Library board's decision to dedicate its next campaign to raising funds to provide an endowment for the Friends Historical Collection Librarian position. Such a fund will insure the position for future years. The lead gift for this new fund was a donation from E. Wilson Coffin in memory of his mother, 1906 Guilford graduate Lillian Gertrude Wilson Coffin. Coffin also donated some of his mother's memorabilia and photographs to the Friends Historical Collection.

After many years of service, the Friends Historical Collection's microfilm reader/printer ceased to function. A generous financial donation from James Ogg was supplemented with contingency funds from the college to purchase a new reader/printer, now located in our open stacks. The new location allows researchers to consult our Quaker periodicals and several other film sets when the research room is not open.

Professional Activity

While attending the spring meeting of the Society of North Carolina Archivists, Gwen Erickson was elected vice president-president

elect of that organization. She also served as program clerk for the international Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists, held at George Fox University in Oregon this summer. The next Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists will be hosted by Guilford in 2006.

Gwen Erickson served her final year as editor of *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* and completed the twenty-fifth anniversary volume. The issue included the "Friends Historical Collection Annual Report, 2002–2003." Gwen will continue to serve as an advisor to the new editor as a member of the journal's Editorial Board. News of the Friends Historical Collection also continues to be provided through a regular column in the North Carolina Friends Historical Society newsletter.

Preparations were begun for a new course, "Guilford College from 1837 to Present," to be taught during the fall semester in 2004. Gwen drafted a preliminary syllabus for approval by the college's Curriculum Committee in the spring. The course will fulfill the historical perspectives requirement and calls for students to do research in the Friends Historical Collection. It is hoped that this course will encourage greater student awareness of the resources in the Friends Historical Collection and perhaps lead to more in-depth research projects in later course work or through independent study.

Processing Statistics

Collection Statistics	Received	Preliminary Processing	Full Processing
NCYM Archives	20 linear feet 42 items or groups	2.5 linear feet 41 items or groups	2.5 linear feet 41 items or groups
Other Record Groups	2.5 linear feet 10 items or groups	10 items or groups	6 items or groups
Manuscript Collections	3 linear feet 7 items or collections	10 items or collections	1 collection
College Archives	12 linear feet 12 items or groups	8 items or groups	1 group
Records Management	31 linear feet	None	

Collection Statistics

	<u>2000-2001*</u>	<u>2000-2001</u>	<u>2001-2001</u>	<u>2002-2003**</u>	<u>2002-2003**</u>	<u>2003-2004</u>
(NC-PALS Catalog)	*	2	*	*	4	
Titles cataloged [^]	465	548	688	178	178	76
Items circulated	1264	1301	553	N/A	N/A	1852

* The first column for 2000-2001 runs from May 1, 2000 to April 30, 2001. Due to a change in the college's calendar, the 2000-2001 annual report covers the time period of May 1, 2000 to May 31, 2001. The second column for 2000-2001 gives the statistics for the 13-month total.

** Due to a desire to coordinate the dates of the annual report with the fiscal year, the 2002-2003 annual report includes statistics through June 30, 2003. For comparison purposes, the first column for 2002-2003 gives the 12-month statistics for June 1, 2002-May 31, 2003. The second gives the 13-month total for June 1, 2002-June 30, 2003.

[^] Cataloging statistics refer to the number of titles cataloged. Therefore, the number of items may be higher in cases where a large set is processed. The total items for 2003-2004 were 88.

Cumulative Collection Holding Statistics

<u>Published Holdings in Online Catalog</u>	<u>Total Items</u>	<u>Total Titles in System[^]</u>
Quaker Circulating Books	6567	5706
Quaker Reference Books	1901	1594
Quaker Rare Books	1338	1177
Peace Books	15	15
Quaker Periodicals	182 linear feet	32
Quaker Reference Periodicals	29.5 linear feet	7
Peace Periodicals	27 linear feet	30

[^]Total titles is limited to those items cataloged in the NC-PALS database. The number of items (as opposed to titles) in the NC-PALS system may be higher in cases where a large set is processed. Periodical title holdings are significantly larger than indicated but not reflected here since serials are just beginning to be entered into the system.

Unpublished Materials

<u>by Material Type</u>	<u>Estimated Linear Feet or Items</u>
Manuscript and Archival Materials	912.5 linear feet
Photographic Materials	15 linear feet
Microfilm	869 reels
AV formats (audio and video tapes, disks, and films)	298 items
Maps and oversize prints	250 items
Costumes and textiles	400 items
Artifacts (including tools and furnishings)	135 items

Researchers (in person)^

	General Public	NC Meeting Members	Scholars/Guilford Other Students	Faculty Staff	Guilford Students	Guilford Alumni	Total
Research Room	202	16	8	--	3	1	230
Quaker Stacks	17	3	16	2	18	--	56
Quaker Rare	--	1	--	--	2	--	3
Main Rare	--	--	1	1	1	--	3
Manuscripts and Records	10	3	26	1	1	1	42
College Archives	4	--	--	16	10	5	35
NCYM Archives	6	15	8	1	1	--	31
Total	239	38	59	21	36	7	400

^These statistics do not include use of the Friends Historical Collection open stacks (except in cases when extensive assistance from the librarian was provided) or informal visitors since numbers are limited to individual researchers who complete the researcher form. Individuals visiting the collection as a part of a class visit or special research room tours are not included since they did not fill out a researcher form. In addition to research in person or by mail, an average of forty-one outside telephone calls were received each month. The majority of these calls were reference questions.

Researchers (by postal and electronic mail)

	General	NC	Scholars/Guilford			Guilford	
	Public	Meeting	Other	Faculty/	Guilford	Guilford	
	Public	Members	Students	Staff	Students	Alumni	Total
General							
Inquiries	71	7	9	2	--	--	89
Genealogy							
look-up	38	--	--	--	--	--	38
Request for							
Photocopies	17	2	4	--	--	--	23
Request for							
Images	11	2	4	6	--	1	24
Reference							
files and	30	3	17	24	8	1	83
publications							
Manuscripts							
and Records	11	1	11	1	--	3	27
College							
Archives	17	--	1	25	2	1	46
NCYM							
Archives	17	5	1	--	--	--	23
Total	212	20	47	58	10	16	353

Correspondence

	<u>2000– 2001*</u>	<u>2000– 2001</u>	<u>2001– 2002</u>	<u>2002– 2003**</u>	<u>2002– 2003**</u>	<u>2003– 2004</u>
	*	*	2	*	*	4
Acknowledgements	77	98	74	84	98	75
Total correspondence (all formats)	441	490	440	391	457	428
Correspondence via e-mail	245	263	275	241	279	297

* The first column for 2000–2001 runs from May 1, 2000 to April 30, 2001. Due to a change in the college’s calendar, the 2000–2001 annual report covers the time period of May 1, 2000 to May 31, 2001. The second column for 2000–2001 gives the statistics for the 13-month total.

** Due to a desire to coordinate the dates of the annual report with the fiscal year, the 2002–2003 annual report includes statistics through June 30, 2003. For comparison purposes, the first column for 2002–2003 gives the 12-month statistics for June 1, 2002–May 31, 2003. The second gives the 13-month total for June 1, 2002–June 30, 2003.

**North Carolina Yearly Meeting
(Friends United Meeting) Deposits**

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Cane Creek	Minutes, 2003; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 2003.
Caraway (P)	Minutes, 2002–2003.
Cedar Square	Minutes, 1/2003–6/2003.
Chatham	Minutes, 2001; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 2001; Memorial Association Minutes, 1965–2003.
Edward Hill	Minutes, 2003.
Forbush	Minutes, 1995–2003; Membership letters, 1982–2001; Assorted paper, 1972–1998; USFW Minutes, 8/1992–6/1994.
Jamestown	Minutes, 2001–2003.

Deposits From NCYM (FUM) (Cont.)

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Liberty	Minutes, 10/2000–2/2004; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 10/2000–2/2004.
New Garden	Minutes, 2003; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 1959–1968, 1971–1977; USFW Minutes, 12/1966–1968.
New Hope	Minutes, 2003.
Pilot View	Minutes, 1910–1971, 1991–2003; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 1982–2004; Treasurer's Records, 1912–1921.
Pine Hill	Minutes, 7/1996–6/1997 (and associated pa- pers), 1/2003–11/2003.
Poplar Ridge	Minutes, 12/2002–12/2003.
Rocky River	250th Anniversary CD–ROm.
Science Hill	Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 7/1989–5/2002; Quaker Ladies Minutes, 2000–2003; Memorials.
Somerton	Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 1/2003–11/2003.
South fork	Minutes, 9/1993–12/1993, 1/1996–5/1998; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 7/2001–6/2002.
Southview	Minutes, 6/1999–9/2003.
Union Cross	Minutes, 2003.
Winston–Salem	Minutes, 2/2002–3/2004.
Winthrop	Minutes and Attendance Records, 2003; Treasurer's Reports, 2003.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) Deposits

Fayetteville	Minutes, 7/2002–5/2003.
Friendship	Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 8/2000–11/2001; Handbooks, 1999–2003.
Greenville	Minutes and Papers, 1980s–1990s.
Virginia Beach	Ministry and Oversight Minutes, 8/2001–6/2003.

NCYM (C) Meeting Newsletters received in 2003–2004:

Friendship

Virginia Beach

**Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting
and Association (SAYMA) Deposits**

Brevard

Minutes, 7/2002–3/2004.

Memphis

Minutes, 7/1987–12/2003, incomplete.

SAYMA Meeting Newsletters received in 2003–2004:

Asheville

Chattanooga

Berea

Columbia

Charleston (WV)

Swannanoa Valley

Record Groups ^

Guilford College

Student Senate

Minutes and papers, 1980s–c. 2000.

Guilford College Art

Appreciation Club

Minutes, 1993–1999; Financial Reports,
1993–1999; Necrology.

Intermountain Yearly
Meeting

Annual Session Minutes, 1990–2002.

Quaker House
of Fayetteville

Oral history tapes of interviews with Robert
Gwyn and Robert Gosney in March 2004.

^ Regular annualized deposits of college publications and campus materials are not listed. However, any major deposits, such as those that start a new record series or fill major gaps, are listed in the annual report.

Book Reviews

Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven. *The Devotion of These Women: Rhode Island in the Antislavery Network.* Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002. ix + 283 pp. End notes and index. \$39.95.

The Devotion of These Women introduces us to a fascinating time in Rhode Island history when women provided the sustaining energy and vision to continue antislavery efforts in the 1830s and 1840s as male leaders' initial enthusiasm waned and tactics shifted. These women—Baptist and Congregational as well as Quaker—organized their antislavery work through less formal religious ties and kinship networks which provided a continuing bond less easily broken than more formal political and economic alliances. Previously overlooked abolitionists, such as Harriet Peck and Amarancy Paine, are shown as vibrant and committed leaders.

This is a regional study of a complex time and place. The particular challenges facing Rhode Island abolitionists are described in the book's first and second chapters. Unique circumstances, such as Rhode Island's Dorr's War of 1842–43, are explained within the context of antislavery alliances. Maps are provided to orient those less familiar with Rhode Island geography and are a crucial resource for understanding the regional differences within the various Rhode Island antislavery societies. Those wanting a more general view of abolitionism in New England or the United States as a whole would be better served by other works. Though many of the challenges remain the same in other regions, direct comparisons are not emphasized and national trends are only noted when there is a direct connection to Rhode Island activities. That said, the activities

of antislavery women of Rhode Island inspire readers to learn more about the circumstances in other regions and that is a task beyond the scope of this informative work.

Once the economic, political, and geographic context is set, the remaining chapters explore specific themes and activities essential to the antislavery cause. The third chapter provides a transition by exploring the role of religion—both in terms of belief and denominational reticence. Though they were major players, the Rhode Island antislavery network was not limited to Quakers. Therefore, major tensions within New England Yearly Meeting, such as the Wilburite schism in 1845 and the wariness of the sectarian nature of abolitionism, are clearly articulated but not analyzed in great detail. Quaker barriers to abolitionist activities, such as banning the use of meeting property for antislavery speeches and admonishing activist Friends, are noted within the context of similar restrictions by other denominations. Despite denominational reticence towards antislavery activism, Van Broekhoven illustrates how these Rhode Island women continued to be motivated by their theological belief that slavery was morally wrong.

Specific activities in support of abolition are analyzed more closely with detailed chapters on writing, petitioning, and antislavery fairs. These chapters each stand on their own which can be frustrating at times due to repetition. “Scribbling for the Slave” is perhaps the weakest chapter of these three. The discussion of women’s published antislavery writings includes jingles, stories, and mottoes. The chapter on antislavery fairs is an excellent study of fundraising and outreach through the sale of women’s handicrafts. The sales operated on a local level but were connected to a national network.

Of greatest interest to readers of *The Southern Friend* is the inclusion of Harriet Peck and her very direct connections to New Garden Boarding School and North Carolina Friends. Peck is portrayed as a central figure in the Kent County Female Anti-Slavery Society and her zeal in continuing her work in North Carolina is fascinating. Van Broekhoven raises questions beyond the scope of this work on Rhode Island, encouraging scholars of North Carolina Friends to examine the role of Harriet Peck in changing North

Carolina antislavery efforts. She writes, "By disseminating the *Liberator* and its message, Harriet Peck played a crucial role in converting Carolina Friends from promoting colonization to demanding immediate emancipation" (p. 157).

With a focus on one small, but still varied, state, Van Broekhoven weaves a story that adds layers and depth to existing scholarship of women and abolitionism in the antebellum United States. The Rhode Island women's efforts inspire us to remember that small groups of committed individuals working outside of the spotlight can sustain a movement to effect change. This book admirably succeeds as a regional history and is of interest both to the scholar and the general reader. Those wanting an informative view of one state's antislavery efforts from a grass roots level will find this a useful and engaging resource. More importantly, Van Broekhoven gives us an example of how the study of grassroots antislavery activities can inform our understanding of abolitionism as a whole. As the connection between Harriet Peck and North Carolina Friends illustrate, these personal and religious ties can explain regional shifts and the sustenance of seemingly isolated abolitionists.

Gwen Gosney Erickson
Guilford College

Mary Browning. *Bending the Twigs in Jamestown: A History of Education in Jamestown, North Carolina, 1755–1945*. Jamestown, N.C.: Historic Jamestown Society, 2004.

One of the great challenges of writing on specialized topics is balancing the need for a professional approach to the material with the practical necessity of making the subject accessible—and, one hopes, interesting—to the general reader. Mary A. Browning's success in doing just that is one of the things that makes her *Bending the Twigs in Jamestown: A History of Education in Jamestown, North Carolina, 1755–1945* such a remarkable book.

The author knows her subject quite well and communicates it to the reader with a level of detail which is nothing short of incredible for a 120–page book, the last twenty of which consist of appendices. For instance, the Jamestown Female College, operated by the Methodist Protestant Church from 1859 until it burned to the ground in 1861, receives no less than six pages. Browning devotes even more space to efforts to educate African American children in the Florence community, near Deep River Friends Meeting, after 1865. The early history of Jamestown itself, including information on the physical layout of the town, receives a similarly extended treatment. A discussion of the somewhat less well-known “Telmont” law school, built and operated by George Cameron Mendenhall (1798–1860), the youngest son of George and Judith (Gardner) Mendenhall, across Deep River from his family home, reports what is known (and suspected) about the school's location and mentions the lasting influence of its students, which included a future justice on the North Carolina Supreme Court and a man who later became an Indiana legislator. Browning even notes the real possibility that the first use of ether as

a surgical anesthetic in North Carolina took place in Jamestown's Coffin–Robbins–Tilden house around 1857. The physician in question, Dr. Joachim Lane Robbins, had seen this use of ether demonstrated at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia (p. 39).

Browning demonstrates her care as an author and historian in a similar fashion when dealing with the Quaker influence upon education in the Jamestown area, even though it is not the main focus of her study. Given the fact that the community's founding family (the Mendenhalls) and many of its early settlers in general, as well as much of the area's educational leadership, were members of the local Friends meetings, this is not surprising. Deep River Meeting, in particular, which established the first school in western Guilford County around 1758, "continued to play an important part in the education of the Jamestown area" (p. 22). The second school at Deep River Friends was built sometime between 1828 and 1830, and the third, in 1857 (pp. 34, 57). Long before this last date, of course, a number of educational institutions in Jamestown proper—including two medical schools and a law school—had already flourished and, in most cases, closed.

While *Bending the Twigs* never explicitly deals with why such a small community as Jamestown (whose current population is still only 3,000) should have achieved and maintained preeminence in education at such an early point in its history, the book's author does offer some clues. Browning notes at the outset that many of the community's earliest settlers were Friends who moved to the area from Pennsylvania, where "The Great Law of 1682 decreed that all people should be educated, and able to write by the age of 12 . . .," while the remainder were Nantucket Quakers used to living under a Massachusetts statute "requiring free instruction for children of 'all classes'" (p. 16). Furthermore, Jamestown's educational system was considerably enriched in the early nineteenth century, when Quaker families from North Carolina's oldest meetings, on the coast, moved into the community (p.19). However, much of the credit for early Jamestown's educational success—by the standards of the day—must go to one exceptional family. A list of Mendenhall descendants involved in teaching and otherwise promoting education during the

period of Browning's study reads somewhat like the roll call at a family reunion: Richard, his sister Judith, their brother George C., Richard's daughters Minerva and Judith J., Richard's son Nereus, and so on. In fact, the Mendenhalls were so important as promoters of learning that the book's first appendix is a genealogical chart of the first several generations of the North Carolina branch of the family.

It would be a mistake to infer from the preceding that *Bending the Twigs* is, or sets out to be, simply a history of Friends in the Jamestown area or a paean to one particular lineage, or that its author has nothing to relate for the half century after 1890. On the contrary, post-1900 educational efforts in the Florence community and institutions such as the Farm Life School, the Oakdale School, and the Jamestown Public Schools of 1907 and 1915 receive as much attention as any other topic in the book. Moreover, after 1900 the North Carolina state government became increasingly involved in educating the children in its jurisdiction, so the careful researcher will find no shortage of primary sources and printed studies covering this period. But, as Mary Browning so amply demonstrates, by that time, families like the Mendenhalls and religious groups like the Society of Friends could claim some outstanding achievements, even in communities the size of Jamestown.

David Teague
Jamestown Public Library

Announcement

The Seth and Mary Edith Hinshaw Fellowship provides up to \$2,000 for research using the resources of the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College to study an aspect of southern Quaker history. The fellowship is sponsored by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society to encourage research and use of the Friends Historical Collection. The recipient will be asked to present his or her research and findings at the Society's annual meeting.

The Friends Historical Collection, located in Hege Library, is the center for the study of Quaker history in the Southeast, with particular emphasis on North Carolina. The collection is open to Guilford students and faculty, Friends, visiting scholars, and genealogical researchers. The collection includes the written records of Carolina Friends from 1680 to the present, printed and microfilmed copies of other Friends records, personal and family papers, the college archives, printed materials by and about Friends worldwide, and sources for the study of Quaker family history.

The Fellowship

We invite applications from a range of backgrounds: dissertation, post-doctoral, and non-academic. We anticipate that the most competitive applications will involve innovative projects of the many concerns to which Friends have turned their attention, including literature, women's issues, family history, and race relations, as well as religious doctrine and controversies. Applications will be evaluated according to the following criteria:

- demonstrated understanding of the applicability of our particular holdings to the anticipated project.
- probability that the project will result in a product that will advance the worlds' understanding of the multiple dimensions of religion.

- evidence of the applicant's prior familiarity with and effective use of similar collections. Research may be conducted from March 15, 2005 to December 15, 2005 unless circumstances require special scheduling.

How to Apply

Deadline: January 31, 2005

Applicants should send the following materials to Gwen Erickson, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410:

- a three- to five-page statement of research goals, including what progress has been made to date; a statement of how this project will further greater understanding and/or scholarship by placing southern Quaker history in the context of your subject area, an assessment of how Guilford's materials can further its progress, and an estimate of when the project is expected to be completed.
- a current vita or resume
- if applicant's background does not include published work, include a writing sample
- the names and addresses of three references who are familiar with both the field in which the applicant proposes to work, and with the applicant's work. Please inform your references that they could be contacted.
- permanent and any temporary addresses (e-mail and postal) and phone numbers

Applicants will be notified by March 1, 2005.

Please feel free to contact Gwen Erickson with your questions:

Gwen Gosney Erickson
Librarian and College Archivist
Friends Historical Collection
Guilford College
5800 W. Friendly Avenue
Greensboro, NC 27410
(336) 316-2264
gerickson@guilford.edu
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