SOUTHERN FRIEND: JOURNAL OF THE NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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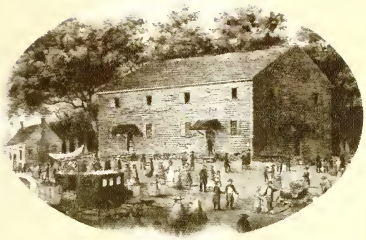

The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Cover Illustration

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

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2007 Herbert L. Poole Writing Award Winner

"I Felt Much Interest in their Welfare": Quaker Philanthropy and African Americans in Antebellum Northern Virginia

By A. Glenn Crothers

In 1860, Philadelphia Quaker Dillwyn Parrish, accompanied by his friend and fellow Friend Edward Hopper and their wives, toured Niagara Falls. While sitting on the banks of the river, the group was approached by a stranger, "a colored man" who "enquired if I was from Loudoun Co. Va." Informed that he was not, the stranger "apologized," explaining that he thought Parrish "resembled Mr. Saml. Janney" of that county. Though Janney and Parrish looked not at all alike, Parrish was a close friend of Janney's, and, as Parrish later recalled, this "interesting information" sparked "a considerable conversation" between the man, Amos Norris, and Parrish's party. Norris informed Parrish and his party that he was a former resident of Loudoun County who had fled in 1850 and now resided in Canada. He also introduced Parrish to

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Daniel Dangerfield who had escaped from slavery in Loudoun County to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania in 1854. Using the provisions of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, Dangerfield's owners had tried to re-enslave him, but after a celebrated 1859 trial in Philadelphia, in which Parrish's companion Hopper had played a significant role, Dangerfield was freed and moved to Niagara Falls. Norris and Dangerfield, Parrish informed Janney, were "thriving, respectable" men, "doing well [in] every way, & a faithful subject[s] of the Queen." Norris, however, wanted to contact his sister-in-law, Betsy Lambert, who, Norris said, "lived with" Janney when he "last heard from her." Parrish passed on to Janney Norris's address, and hoped that he would be able to help the man.[1]

How Norris knew to approach Parrish remains unclear – and certainly his initial query to Parrish was noncommittal. However, that Norris should identify Samuel Janney and more broadly the Quaker community of northern Virginia as an ally in his efforts to reunite his family is more explicable. By 1860 Janney and his fellow Quakers had worked for seventy years to aid the local African American community, both free and enslaved, in a variety of ways both legal and (on occasion) illegal. Thus it is not surprising that Norris could safely turn to Friends for help in locating his sister. Both allies and enemies identified northern Virginia's Quakers as a "nest of abolitionists," intent on finding "a more successful method than has hitherto been pursued of relieving" their "neighbors of the encumbrance of their slaves." As a descendent of the Steer family of Loudoun County reminisced many years later, "no Quaker of the [antebellum] generation . . . would hesitate to enter into their [African Americans'] protection and assist in a get-away." At least some historians have agreed. As James O. Horton has noted, among African Americans, Quakers' "reputation as opponents of slavery was legendary."[2]

Yet for all the sect's contemporary repute (and among many white southerners, notoriety), by 1860 northern Virginia's Friends had little to show for their often halting and intermittent efforts, which were generally directed towards particular individuals in need. In large part the parameters of Quaker racial benevolence were defined by the tolerance of the broader white community – and in the 1850s proslavery whites were quickly losing patience with some of

their Quaker neighbors. But the nature of the Quaker faith and the impact of doctrinal divisions within the Society of Friends also placed significant restraints on their antislavery activism, as did Quaker social and economic interaction and identification with the broader white community. In short, while Friends provided the only significant aid northern Virginia's African American community could anticipate from the white community, there were significant limits on the amount of assistance Quakers were willing to provide local blacks. Nonetheless, in the context of the nation's growing sectional divide in the 1840s and 1850s the antislavery network forged by northern Virginia's Friends destabilized the institution and unnerved slaveholders who recognized how precarious the institution was becoming on the periphery of the South.

The Quaker community of northern Virginia was never large, though its influence far outweighed its numbers. First settling in the region in the 1730s and 1740s, by 1802 there were approximately 2,000 Friends in the region, scattered into five monthly meetings, under the guidance of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting. By 1860 only four monthly meetings remained and the number of Quakers in the region had fallen to just over a thousand, the result of ongoing out-migration of Friends moving to Ohio, Indiana, and points further north and west.[3] Nonetheless, the Quaker community of northern Virginia retained a strong sense of their own distinctiveness, a perception based on their spiritual ideas and principles. Possessed of distinctive religious doctrines, forms of worship, and a denominational discipline that required marriage within the sect, northern Virginia's Quakers purposefully maintained an exclusive and "clannish" community. Local Friends' sense of separateness was further enhanced by their ideological links to the broader Quaker community. Most important in a southern setting was the group's opposition to slavery; by the 1780s the region's Quakers had freed their slaves and a few had started campaigning to end the institution in the broader society and provide assistance to the growing free black community of the region.[4]

These efforts began early, in the 1770s and early 1780s, when Quakers throughout the state spearheaded a petition campaign to enable slaveholders to emancipate their slaves, which finally succeeded

in 1782. The next year, eighteen Friends from northern Virginia signed a petition presented by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to Congress calling for an end to the international slave trade, and when the new national government met in 1790 local Quakers again signed a petition drafted by their co-religionists calling for an end to the trade. Locally, Friends also worked to undermine slavery, establishing chapters of the Society for the Relief and Protection of Persons Illegally Held in Bondage in Alexandria and Winchester in 1795 and 1796 respectively. Little is known of the activities of the Winchester society, though it did successfully sue for the freedom of the "Negroe Abraham" in 1800. Likewise, in 1801 at least one of the county's Quaker residents, Joseph Sexton, provided legal assistance for "Negress Peg," a manumitted black woman who was suing for her freedom after the heir of her former owner attempted to re-enslave her. The Alexandria chapter, presided over by the respected Quaker merchant William Hartshorne, remained active throughout the late-1790s, establishing a Sunday school which taught reading and writing to free and enslaved blacks, pursuing a variety of freedom suits on behalf of local free African Americans kidnaped or sold into bondage, and petitioning the Virginia legislature to mitigate the state's slave codes. The society did not, however, survive the legislative and popular backlash that followed Gabriel's Rebellion. Its Sunday school was particularly offensive to local slaveholders who believed that by "inculcating natural equality among the blacks" it produced "the most serious calamities." After losing a number of expensive freedom suits, the society met for its last time in November 1801. As former member and Quaker George Drinker wrote in 1804, the society is "in fact dead & I may say I have no hope of reanimation."[5]

Indeed, between 1804 and the 1820s there seems to have been little antislavery activity in the region. And those Friends who wished to push the Society towards more active measures found a tepid response. For example, when William Hartshorne pushed the Alexandria Monthly Meeting to embrace the idea of free produce – eschewing all products produced by slave labor – his suggestion was shuffled off to a committee and disappeared.[6] In the meantime, however, the nature of the local African American community changed significantly, sparking new efforts by the white community to address what many

perceived as a growing problem: the rising population of free blacks. In northern Virginia as throughout the Upper South, a combination of Revolutionary and evangelical idealism led a significant number of whites to emancipate their slaves. The concurrent economic shift within the region from tobacco to less labor-intensive grain farming provided additional incentives for some whites to free their slaves, but also prompted many slaveholders to sell their slaves South. The cumulative result of these ideological and economic shifts was the development of a vibrant slave trade based in the port cities – Alexandria, Washington, and Baltimore – of the region and a growing free black population.[7]

The extent of these changes was most dramatic within the town of Alexandria itself, though it affected all of northern Virginia's counties. Between 1800 and 1850 Alexandria's free black population grew from 7 to 14 percent of the total population, while the enslaved population fell from 18 to 14 percent. In Fairfax County, the changes were equally dramatic, with the enslaved population falling from 46 to just over 30 percent of all county residents, and the free black population rising from just over 1 to almost 6 percent. Farther to the west the changes were less dramatic, but followed the same trend. In Loudoun County east of the Blue Ridge the free black population rose from under 2 percent in 1800 to over 6 percent in 1850, while the enslaved population remained steady at between 24 and 26 percent. In Frederick County in the Valley the enslaved population rose slightly (from 23 to 25 percent of the total), while the free black community more than doubled from under 2 to over 4 percent. Thus despite an 1806 state law that required newly freed African Americans to leave Virginia within a year of their emancipation, the free black population continued to grow.[8]

Among the local white population, the rising free black population engendered considerable worry, particularly after Gabriel's revolt. Virginians looked for a variety of solutions to the "problem" of their growing free black population, and for a variety of reasons many concluded that colonization – the removal of the free black population to Africa – provided the best solution. The Virginia legislature embraced the idea in 1816, resolving that the governor should work with the president of the United States to obtain "a territory upon the coast of Africa . . . to serve as an asylum for free persons of color." A year later,

Charles Fenton Mercer, Loudoun County's congressional representative between 1817 and 1840, played a key role in the establishment of the American Colonization Society [ACS] in 1817. Local chapters soon appeared in Loudoun, Frederick and Jefferson counties, the membership of which was dominated by slaveholders but also included a few Quakers at first. Colonization of the free black population to Africa, the Loudoun County branch argued in 1819, would open the way "for a safe, voluntary, and beneficial emancipation, which ... would be gladly embraced by not a few." But the more immediate goal of these planter-dominated organizations – much like ACS branches throughout the state – was to end the "serious evils" resulting from "the existence of ... a population" of free blacks "amongst us." For such supporters, colonization was designed, as abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison would later charge, to protect the institution of slavery.[9]

Though many local Quakers shared the racism of their white neighbors, they also earnestly wished to see an end to slavery. Consequently, in the 1820s they began establishing their own organizations, most of which countenanced voluntary colonization but as a means of ending slavery. The 1821 discovery that a slave coffle passing through Leesburg headed for the Deep South included over fifty "unhappy wretches" sold by the first president of the national ACS, Bushrod Washington, undoubtedly fueled local Friends' decision to create an organization free of slaveholders. Quaker Benjamin Lundy's 1824 attacks on slaveholding colonizationists, some of whom he condemned as "rank advocates of slavery" in the pages of his Genius of Universal Emancipation, must have also played a role in the formation of independent organizations. The first of these appeared in 1824, when Quakers in Goose Creek, led by Yardley Taylor, established the Loudoun Manumission and Emigration Society, which sought "to expose the evils which result from the existence of African slavery," effect slavery's "gradual abolition," and (as Lundy suggested in 1824) "aid and encourage ... the emigration of our colored population to Hayti." In an 1825 address to the people of Loudoun published in a Leesburg newspaper, the society, like most southern antislavery advocates, argued that slavery had an adverse impact on whites, having "a tendency to nourish indolence" and "discourage industry." Equally

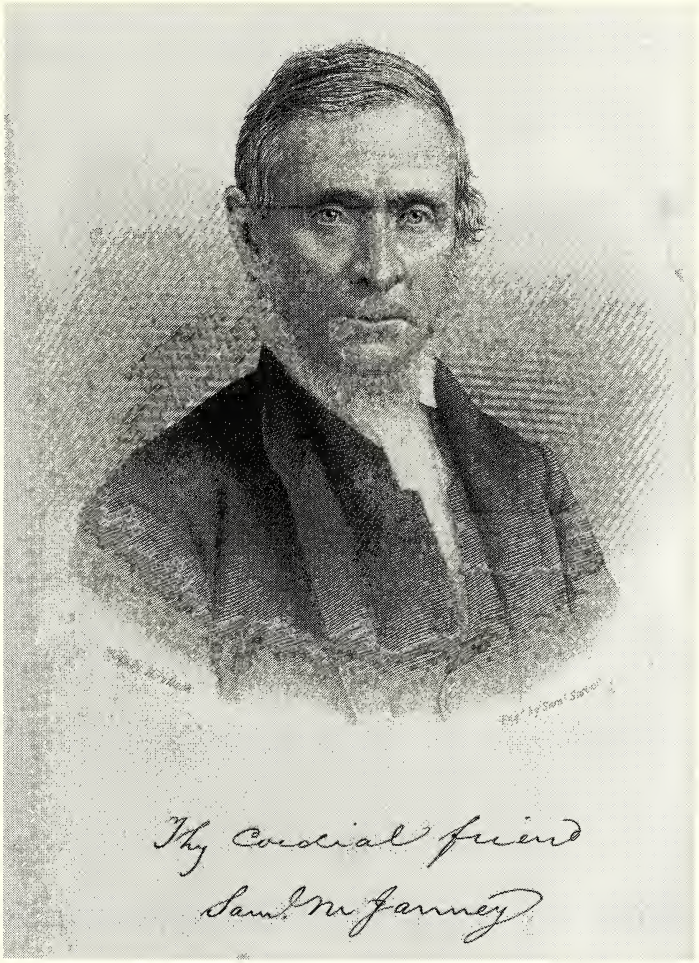
disturbing, the address continued, slavery was "entirely inconsistent with the principles of a republican government," and violated the natural rights of all citizens as outlined in the Declaration of Independence. Most notably, the appeal adopted a stridently moral tone, condemning slavery for its "atrocious debasement of human nature," and concluding that the institution "is a pernicious and dangerous evil" that "cannot be justified."[10]

Loudoun Friends were not alone. As Lundy reported regularly in his newspaper – based after October 1824 in Baltimore – similar antislavery societies began appearing throughout the Upper South, including in northern Virginia. Indeed, by 1827 Lundy could report that there were over 106 antislavery societies in the South (out of 130 nationally), eight of which were located in Virginia. That same year, seven of these Virginia societies met in Loudoun County and adopted a "Constitution of the Virginia Convention for the Abolition of Slavery," which called for an end to the "tyrannical" interstate slave trade, gradual emancipation, colonization, and a boycott of slave produced products. The convention met again in 1828 at Winchester, though only four local societies attended, and drafted an address to the people of Virginia that stressed the "pernicious" economic impact of slavery upon the state, and called upon legislators to enshrine gradual emancipation and free black colonization into a new state constitution. Only by removing the slave population, the address concluded, could Virginia enjoy "the ceaseless activity of freemen" and end its economic decline. This conservative appeal to white economic self-interest (and racism) ensured that few Virginians could object to the convention's efforts. Nonetheless, at least one local group – the Waterford-based Haytien Society of Virginia – pulled out because it believed the convention had gone too far, and despite plans to meet in Goose Creek in 1829 no further Virginia conventions appear to have been held.[11]

Around the same time, however, a more active Quaker antislavery organization, the Benevolent Society for Ameliorating and Improving the Condition of People of Color, formed in Alexandria with the assistance of Benjamin Lundy. "The object of the society," Quaker educator Benjamin Hallowell later noted, "was not to interfere with slavery, but to secure to the slaves their legal rights." Thus, members

provided assistance to slaves with legal claims to freedom their owners refused to recognize. Hallowell, for example, described the case of a family of thirteen Virginia slaves whose owner promised to free them at his death, but who in the meantime hired them out in the state of Maryland. According to Virginia state law, Hallowell explained, slaves willed to be freed but hired across state lines "were at once entitled to their freedom." Informed of the case by Francis Scott Key, Hallowell traveled to Maryland and secured the liberation of the family. In 1827 the society also established a First Day school for black children, thereby reviving the Quaker school that had been forced to close because of pressure from slaveholders in 1801.[12]

For some members of the society, however, such limited goals were not enough. As Hallowell remembered, the organization "met every month (and it was a live society)." Among the more active members was the young Quaker merchant, Samuel M. Janney, who in 1827 published a series of articles in the Alexandria Gazette, a paper with "a considerable circulation in Virginia," arguing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District and stressing the adverse economic consequences of the institution. In his Memoirs, Janney recalled that he favored "immediate and unconditional emancipation," but "knowing the prejudice against it in the minds of the people, I only asked for gradual emancipation." Still, as historian Patricia Hickin notes, Janney's articles made some radical proposals. First, he called for an end to the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the abolition of the interstate slave trade. Second, he argued that colonization was not necessary if enslaved people were educated. Abandoning the racial assumptions of his age, Janney declared that African Americans were capable, with the proper education and training, of surviving in a free society. Their apparent inferiority, he concluded, was a product of slavery and not due to any inherent qualities. The following year, Janney helped compose and circulate a petition to Congress calling for a gradual end to slavery in the District of Columbia. The petition was ultimately signed by over 1,000 residents of the District, including leading merchants, all the judges and most of the ministers, but Congress took no action (as Hallowell noted dryly many years later, "the prayer it contained was not granted").[13]



Samuel Janney

(Photograph by H. Pollock, engraving by Samuel Sarlain). Memoirs of Samuel M. Janney, Philadelphia: Friends' Book Association, 1881.

Both Janney's newspaper series and the petition, despite their racially progressive notions and inclusion of "expressions" which he believed were "so plain that they would be considered harsh," reveal the limitations of Quaker racial benevolence. Antislavery Friends generally adopted a measured and respectful tone in all their public

communications, or what Janney called "the meek, lamb-like spirit of Christ," and refused to condemn the morality of proslavery forces. In part, this was strategic; Janney certainly worried that attacking slaveholders' morality would increase their intransigence.[14] However, his reluctance to assail slaveholders more assertively grew primarily out of Friends' spiritual principles. Believing that all people possessed an "Inward Light" that made them equally capable of receiving God's grace, Quakers rejected the use of force and relied instead on appeals to conscience. The Quaker belief in the spiritual equality of all people also led them to espouse the golden rule – "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" – which mandated that both friends and enemies were to be treated with courtesy and respect. Thus, though most Quakers viewed slavery as a moral abomination, the vast majority remained guided by Quaker principles and refused to condemn slaveholders themselves. As Janney explained in 1846, "if our love extends to all men it must embrace the oppressor as well as the oppressed"; thus "it is not the slaveholder ... we assail but the system of slavery." While this was arguably a necessary tack for Friends who lived in the South – or as Quaker minister Lydia Wierman put it, in the "lion's mouth" – it also circumscribed Friends' ability to undermine slavery, and helps in part to explain why the Quaker role within the antislavery circles declined after the rise of "aggressive" abolitionism in the 1830s.[15]

Quaker antislavery advocacy was further restrained by the sect's attitude toward civil authority. Because Friends believed that government was divinely instituted, throughout most of the eighteenth century they adhered to a policy of active obedience to any secular authority that did not force them to act against their conscience. The American Revolution tested this Quaker principle, and as historian Sydney James argues, ultimately transformed the relationship between Quakers and American state and federal governments. As a result, by the 1780s Quakers had established for themselves a distinctive role in the American polity as advocates of humanitarian reform and social service. As social reformers Friends could participate in public life and try to shape public policy, but they often found that their principles conflicted with the laws of the states and the nation. Faced with

government actions that violated their testimonies, Quakers practiced passive disobedience, refusing to cooperate with secular authorities in nonviolent fashion and suffering the consequences – which could often be severe – as a form of peaceful protest. For southern Friends, the most obvious conflict between their conscience – as expressed in the Quaker discipline – and governmental authority were the state laws upholding and defending slavery and racial oppression. However, the emphasis on passive disobedience encouraged a quietism that led many Friends "to draw in upon themselves" and avoid the political controversies of the world.[16]

In the 1830s many of northern Virginia's Quakers did exactly that in the wake of Nat Turner's revolt in Southampton County and the conservative defense of slavery it eventually provoked. In the immediate aftermath of the revolt some white Virginians, deeply frightened by the growing black population in the state, attacked slavery and called for its end. In Loudoun County, for example, slaveholders lamented the economic havoc wreaked by slavery, and the "apprehension and unquietude" that slave labor engendered in the "bosoms of those who employ it." The solution, they announced in a petition to the state legislature, was "the ultimate extinction of involuntary servitude and the removal of a race irreconcilably antagonistic to ours." For Quakers, this response must have been encouraging, even if most did not share the racial antagonism of the broader white community. And they were certainly pleased when the rising chorus against slavery prompted the Virginia assembly to debate its future in January 1832. But as a variety of historians have noted, Turner's revolt ultimately fueled a conservative backlash in defense of slavery that for a time silenced antislavery dissent. Certainly, that was the case in Alexandria where the Benevolent Society collapsed in the face of the growing white consensus in support of slavery. As Benjamin Hallowell noted, in the changed political environment of the early 1830s Friends thought it "most prudent to suspend the meetings [of the society], and they were never resumed." In Loudoun County, John Janney later remembered, "such a dread overspread the country that" in "slaveholding neighborhoods patrols were organized, which patrolled the country every night." The patrols, Janney concluded, "were really more dangerous than the slaves," and he

was undoubtedly correct. The show of arms stifled antislavery voices; as Benjamin Lundy reported, in the early 1830s antislavery societies "sunk into disuse" throughout the Upper South.[17]

Indeed, for Quakers the Southampton revolt and the entire question of slave violence posed troubling questions. Committed to pacifism, Friends discouraged active resistance to slavery that might lead to violence. Lundy, for example, blamed the violence in Southampton on David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored People*, the incendiary 1829 publication that called on African Americans to use violence if necessary to end their enslavement. Walker and Turner's actions, he argued, undermined the antislavery cause in the South by convincing southerners to impede the distribution of "anti-slavery newspapers and tracts." Friends were equally concerned by the rise of radical abolitionism, with its pointedly moral attack on slavery and the South. Such rhetoric, many Quakers worried, could only encourage further violence and growing southern intransigence on the issue of slavery. Dillwyn Parrish, for example, wondered if Friends' "peaceable principles" should lead them to question our connection "with the Anti-Slavery Associations of the day." For George Truman, the concern was more practical: Would such radical rhetoric actually undermine the antislavery cause? "The southern people," he noted in 1844, "do not like to be interfered with by us of the North."[18]

But Quakers were not simply worried about the impact of radical abolitionism on the progress of antislavery; they were also deeply concerned about its impact on the future of the Society of Friends. In 1827 and 1828 the sect had split, primarily over doctrinal and theological questions, into Hicksite and Orthodox wings. The dispute was particularly bitter in the Philadelphia and Ohio Yearly Meetings where there were large numbers of both Hicksite and Orthodox Friends, but the separation had an adverse affect on all American Quakers. The Baltimore Yearly Meeting, to which northern Virginia's Friends belonged, split in 1828. The separation was less bitter than elsewhere because the vast majority of Friends in the meeting were Hicksites, but it still deeply troubled northern Virginia's Quakers and absorbed much of the energy and time of leading members. In the wake of the split, for example, Orthodox Friends – despite their minority status

– disowned Hicksites and the two sides squabbled over control of joint property until 1865.[19]

Already weakened and divided by this doctrinal split, Hicksite and Orthodox Friends faced a new challenge to the unity of their respective wings after the rise of radical abolitionism. A significant number of progressive Quakers argued that the sect needed to push its testimony against slavery further and assume a more active role in the fight against slavery. More conservative members responded that the sect had done enough and that further action along the lines suggested by radical abolitionists would violate both the peaceable principles of the society and encourage Friends to break the laws of the legally constituted governments under which they lived. The controversy over radical abolitionism was most pronounced in the Orthodox Indiana Yearly Meeting, where progressives led by Levi and Addision Coffin broke away in 1843 to create a new antislavery meeting more willing to take an active role in the fight against slavery, but the repercussions were felt throughout the sect. Samuel Janney, for example, became deeply involved in trying to reconcile the differences between radical and conservative Hicksites in the Midwest, making regular religious visits to the Ohio and Indiana meetings throughout the 1840s and 1850s.[20]

Despite the outcome among Indiana's Orthodox Friends, conservatives generally prevailed in these internal debates. Certainly, this was the case in the Baltimore Yearly Meeting where in 1835 members were admonished to "keep ourselves unconnected with the excitement now so generally prevailing in our land" in order to "maintain" our "meek and peaceable spirit." Four years later, after "a concern was ... expressed that we may not relax our righteous testimony against slavery," the meeting confirmed its "earnest concern" for "the cause of the oppressed." However, it also "caution[ed]" Friends "against entangling themselves" with antislavery "associations" because "we fear it will retard rather than promote" the abolition of slavery. Apparently not all Friends concurred with this injunction, compelling the meeting again in 1842 to warn members against joining abolitionist societies that employed "political or other means of a coercive nature" to achieve their ends. Quakers must, the address continued, support

their antislavery testimony "with uprightness and integrity," but they must also "be quiet, and mind our own business ... lest ... we bring death upon ourselves, and be the means of bringing destruction upon others." The fear of violent ends was made more explicit the following year, when the meeting encouraged Friends to oppose slavery, but to do so "under the influence of that feeling which breathes peace on earth, and good will to all men." In effect, Quakers were to conduct their campaign against slavery independently of other groups, and to convince slaveholders of the evil of the system primarily through example.[21]

Despite these admonitions from the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, by the 1840s Janney resumed his own antislavery activities. The instigation for Janney's new activism was the 1842 visit of abolitionist Quaker Lucretia Mott to the yearly meeting. Janney reported that before she spoke "there was much apprehension felt by many friends about her abolition views." However, after "she delivered one of the greatest discourses" Janney had "ever heard," he and Baltimore Friends were convinced "that she was on the right ground in her ministry." For Janney, Mott's visit was a revelation. In the wake of her departure he began corresponding with antislavery allies throughout the country and published a series of articles in Alexandria, Richmond, and Baltimore newspapers documenting the debilitating impact of slavery on the economic, educational, and cultural life of Virginia. By 1849 he had attracted so much attention that Loudoun County slaveholders had him arrested for inciting slave unrest. Though acquitted in 1850, Janney thereafter abandoned his public campaign against slavery.[22]

But external pressures from the slaveholding community alone did not halt Janney's 1840s antislavery campaign. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s he remained deeply concerned by the adverse impact of radical abolitionism on the denomination. After one particularly stormy visit to the Indiana Yearly Meeting in May 1844, for example, Janney was dismayed to discover that "abolition friends" led by Joseph Dugdale had left the monthly meeting at Green Plain, Ohio to establish their own meeting. Janney met with both sides in the dispute and hoped his efforts would lead to a "reconciliation," but "there is," he concluded, "no telling how it may eventuate" given the "tenderness" of

the subject. More striking, Janney's association with Dugdale and other abolitionist Friends prompted more conservative members to caution him against further such dealings. For example, after Dugdale visited the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the spring of 1845, John Comly, a leading Philadelphia Hicksite, warned Janney that Dugdale was using their association "to aid his unhallowed plans" to promote "anti-slavery or modern reform subjects" within the Society. A few months later, while Janney was attending the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, his wife Elizabeth recommended that he eschew "the abolition question" because it "is a very delicate one to be introduced into friends meetings just now when they are so liable to get into party spirit." Six years later, Janney's good friend, Quaker preacher William Stabler, was still warning him that some Friends believed he was too closely linked to the radicalism of Dugdale. "I could wish thee not even to be seen with him," Stabler cautioned, or Janney's "usefulness & acceptance" among more conservative Friends "will probably be closed."[23]

Janney even felt compelled to defend his antislavery activism to his uncle, Phineas Janney, who acted as a mentor and financial advisor during Samuel's early (and failed) business ventures in the 1820s and 1830s, and in the 1840s after Samuel opened a successful girls boarding school in Loudoun County. The elder Janney was a prominent Alexandria merchant and banker who sat on the board of directors of a number of the region's internal improvement companies, including the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. He was also a respected elder in the Alexandria Monthly Meeting, and served at various times on the meeting for sufferings of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Thus, when he questioned the wisdom of Samuel's antislavery agitation his caution reflected both his conservative faith and his experience of doing business in a slave-based society for over thirty years. In response, Samuel grounded his action in his Quaker faith and distanced himself from radical abolitionists. "I conceive myself," he noted, "called to labour in this field . . . to do something, however small, for the relief of the oppressed." His assault on slavery, he stressed, was part of his larger spiritual calling, as much a part of "my religious duty as any that I perform." "Nor," Samuel added, was his crusade "derived from 'those abolitionists of the north,' as thou seems to suppose." "My pen,"

he reminded his uncle, "was engaged in this cause before the present abolition Societies were organized."[24]

Still, Janney's sense of religious duty pushed him only so far, and he shared with his more conservative co-religionists a belief that radical Quakers represented a disruptive influence. An 1849 journey to the Ohio Yearly Meeting, divided between reformers "actively engaged" in "the Abolition of Slavery, of Capital Punishments, war, land monopoly, and intemperance, &c.," and conservatives who "generally take no part in the Reformatory movements beyond the limits of our own body," convinced Janney of the dangers of radicalism. "I thought I was something of an Anti-Slavery man myself," he noted, "but I would not pass for one there, not being able to go the lengths they do." As a result, at the Ohio meeting he took his "place among the conservatives." For Janney the embrace of radical abolitionism – what he called on another occasion the "doctrines ... of the Boston clique" – promised "great injury to the cause" of antislavery in the South because they would only alienate slaveholders. Equally important, their "new & unsound principles" were "calculated to lay waste to the order & harmony of Society." Thus, he welcomed the decision of the radicals in Ohio to establish a separate meeting, which, he believed, would "contribute much to the peace & unity of our Society."[25]

Janney's decision to distance himself from radical Friends continued in the 1850s. After his trial he abandoned his public attack on slavery and found a new spiritual calling: writing Quaker history. Between 1852 and the Civil War he produced widely acclaimed biographies of William Penn and George Fox, and the first two volumes of his four-volume History of the Religious Society of Friends. His motivation for this re-direction of his energies, he explained, was to lay out clearly the original principles of Quakers and thereby achieve a reconciliation between Hicksite and Orthodox Friends. The widespread praise that his biography of Penn received from all quarters seemed, Janney noted, "like mending one link of the broken chain" in Friends' "religious fellowship." He hoped that his biography of Fox would have a similar impact. Indeed, his extended discussion of early Quaker doctrine in the Fox biography was written "with a serious desire to present the strongest passages from his works in both sides of the points in

controversy" so that they would see they did not stand so far apart as many believed. At least a few Quaker conservatives concurred with Janney. After a long 1852 interview with Philadelphia's "leading Orthodox minister" Thomas Evans, Janney concluded that there was "less difference between us than I had expected."[26]

But moving closer to conservative Friends came at a cost. During the same visit to Philadelphia Janney visited radical Lucretia Mott, who on "doctrinal points" stood at the "antipodes" from Evans. Though Mott had a decade earlier inspired Janney to reassume the antislavery mantel, he now found that "on some points of doctrine" his opinions were "nearer to those of T. Evans than L. Mott." He admitted that she remained "a sincere, self-sacrificing Christian," but lamented that her radical views had decreased "her power to be useful in our Society." In short, Janney's attempts to forge a reconciliation among Friends led him to distance himself from radical Friends whom he believed posed a threat to the unity of the sect.[27]

Janney's preoccupation with doctrinal issues was, of course, the product his role as Quaker minister, and was not shared by most of his co-religionists. But "Cousin Samuel" was a respected community leader whose opinions and actions held enormous influence. Indeed, "one young friend" wondered during one of Janney's absences whether the "quarterly meeting could go on without" him. Janney's decision to end his public campaign against slavery, then, surely decreased the willingness of many of northern Virginia's Friends to question slavery openly. Perhaps it was for this reason that when Quaker minister Elizabeth Newport traveled to Goose Creek Monthly Meeting in 1852 she found that Friends tried to dissuade her from visiting slaveholders. For her part, Newport deplored the "cautious" testimony of local Quakers and lamented the baneful influence of southern mores on them, making a point to visit individuals who "had once been members of our Society, but who at the time held slaves," including "two sons of a worthy Elder who had become slaveholders, greatly to the grief of their mothers and friends."[28]

But for local Quakers the influence of the broader white community had long represented a threat to their antislavery testimony. Even after Friends officially ended slavery within their ranks, living in the midst of

slavery posed a regular problem. Newport, in fact, pointed to the most obvious danger: The allure of slave ownership. Perhaps the most glaring example was John Janney, who in 1861 chaired Virginia's secession convention. Born in 1798, John was the son of Alexandria merchant Elisha and a cousin of Samuel Janney. In the 1820s he moved to Leesburg, Loudoun County and began practicing law – a questionable occupation for Quakers. His break with the sect became final in 1826, when the Fairfax Monthly Meeting disowned him for marrying non-Quaker Alcinda Marmaduke. Eight years later he purchased his first slave and joined the local Episcopal church. Marriage to non-Quakers seems to have implicated a number of other Friends in slavery. For example, in 1837 the Fairfax Monthly Meeting disowned Samuel Stone after he married a slaveholding woman, and in 1841 the meeting debated whether women who married slaveholders should be disowned after three women in the Hough family were removed for having "an interest in slavery."[29]

The meeting turned for advice to both eminent local Friends and the quarterly meeting. In August 1841, for example, Isaac Walker, pondered – hypothetically of course – the fate of "a man" who married "out of the society" but "condemn[ed] his break of discipline to the satisfaction of friends" and thus retained his right to membership, but who "in the course of events" inherited "a number of slaves" through the death of "his wife's father" which "she will keep contrary to his desire." "Can he," Walker wondered, "retain his right of membership according to our discipline," or "does our discipline . . . prohibit it [slaveownership] in all cases [?]" Walker's query reveals many of the tensions and ambiguities faced by Quakers in a slave society. Surrounded by slaveholders with whom many formed personal connections, Friends often found themselves unwittingly entangled in slavery, raising difficult conflicts between their personal and spiritual (and community) loyalties. Walker posed his question to Quaker minister Samuel Janney, whose response is not known. However, the quarterly meeting's response to the debate left little room for ambiguity: The "Monthly Meetings," it insisted, must "carry faithfully into operation those parts of our discipline which relate to Slavery." The first loyalty of Quakers, then, was to the faith.[30]

Other Friends' entanglement in slavery was more economic than personal. The question of slave hiring, for example, remained a perennial problem for local Friends. The same economic factors that drove the rise of the slave trade – the shift from tobacco to grains and the rising seasonal demands for labor – also encouraged the development of a lively market in hired slaves. So, too, did the construction of so many local internal improvement projects, many of which – though not all – hired enslaved men on a yearly basis.[31] Seeking an inexpensive source of labor, and surrounded by Friends who employed free blacks in significant numbers on their farms and in their homes, at least a few Quakers turned to hired slave labor. Indeed, slave hiring was frequent enough among northern Virginia's Friends that in 1798 they queried the yearly meeting in Baltimore for clarification about whether its members could hire bondsmen. The Baltimore meeting replied in no uncertain terms: "The practice of hiring slaves is Contrary to our Christian Testimony & Discipline," and those who violated this "sense" should be disowned. Still, the practice continued, sparking local Friends to debate the issue again in December 1805. As late as 1855, the Fairfax meeting confronted a case of slave hiring in which Mary Jane Hough, a convert to the faith, was disowned, while her husband, birthright Quaker Isaac S. Hough, retained his membership after he acknowledged his error and promised to reimburse the enslaved man.[32]

Most Quakers, of course, did not violate the slave testimony after 1800, neither owning nor hiring enslaved peoples. Still, simply working and living within a slave society meant that no one could avoid becoming implicated in slavery. Alexandria merchant and Quaker William Hartshorne, for example, maintained a long and profitable relationship with Frederick County slaveholder Thomas Massie, purchasing and processing the latter's grain, all of which was produced with slave labor.[33] Similarly, Quaker miller Israel Janney established a profitable Loudoun County mill seat in 1784 that serviced the local community, both Quakers and non-Quakers, including some local slaveholders. He eventually deeded the mill to his son Daniel in 1818 who continued to conduct business with the entire community. Indeed, the western migration of a growing number of Virginia

Friends in the early-nineteenth century forced those who remained to develop stronger economic relationships with non-Quakers, many of whom employed slave labor. After Frederick County Friend Nathan Lupton borrowed money from a non-Quaker in 1843, for example, he was pressed to repay $200 of it immediately so that his creditor could purchase a slave. The decline of the local Quaker community also prompted a number of Friends to seek employment from non-Quakers, despite long-standing pattern of seeking employment and advancement within the group. Perhaps the most striking example of this Quaker integration into the broader slave-based economy was the decision of George Carter, a long-time opponent of the Quaker antislavery campaign and one of region's largest slaveholders, to hire members of the Janney family to run his merchant mill in the 1810s and again in the 1820s.[34]

Even the antislavery campaigner and teacher Samuel Janney could not free himself entirely from ensnarement in the larger slave economy in which he lived. In the late 1820s he constructed and opened a cotton mill with his brother-in-law and fellow Quaker Samuel H. Janney in Occoquan, some sixteen miles south of Alexandria. In an effort to maintain Quaker principles, Janney employed only free laborers. He could not, however, escape the use of slave-produced cotton, despite the family's later commitment to the use of free produce. For over ten years Janney struggled to keep the business afloat, but by 1839 he was over $14,000 in debt, deeply depressed and ill, and was forced to close the operation. Turning to his fellow Quakers for help, he immediately "laid before the overseers of our meeting and a few other Friends" – most notably Phineas Janney – "a statement of my affairs, and asked their advice." Together they developed a plan to pay off his debts, which he accomplished over the course of the next decade, "giving the preference generally to those who were most needy, or most likely to cast imputations on the Society of Friends." He then used his wife's small inheritance of $1450 derived from the sale of her father's estate in Alexandria to establish the Springdale Boarding School in Loudoun County.[35]

Extricated from direct involvement in the slave-based cotton economy and increasingly free from debt, Janney in the 1840s renewed

his antislavery campaign. But even his free-produce supplied boarding school was not entirely without entanglements with slavery. Janney's boarding school enrolled "scholars" from many slaveholding families, and as his uncle Phineas gingerly pointed out in 1844, Janney's "open opposition to slavery" could pose a very real economic threat to the school's survival. For his part, Samuel was undeterred. Spiritual demands, he concluded, must trump even material considerations. "When duty calls," he affirmed, "interest must not stand in the way." A decade later, however, Janney resolution seemed somewhat less sure. Scrambling for students and facing complaints from parents who worried about the Quaker influence on their daughters, Janney decided to close the boarding school. In 1854 he sold the building to the Baltimore Yearly Meeting who reopened the school under Janney's direction as a co-educational, all-Quaker school. Though Janney's ability to turn to the Quaker community for aid remains impressive, his experience also reveals how difficult standing aloof from slavery could be in a region where it pervaded the economy and society so deeply.[36]

But for all the limitations – doctrinal, economic, and personal – of local Friends' antislavery efforts and despite their failure to embrace a more radical approach to the fight against slavery, nonetheless the Quaker reputation as allies of African Americans remained. And it was, in the end, a reputation well earned. If Quakers as a group rejected inflammatory rhetoric and violent tactics, individual Friends continued to extend extensive aid – however paternalistic – to individual members of the black community. Perhaps most important, the free black community of the region found ready employment among Quakers. At Waterford's merchant mill, for example, Quaker Thomas Phillip employed twenty-three African Americans between 1835 and 1857. Likewise, the Janney family employed five free African Americans (four women and a man) in 1850, though they employed none in 1860 when they no longer operated the Springdale Boarding School. Across the Blue Ridge, the Lupton family of Frederick County both rented land to free blacks and employed free black laborers on their varied economic endeavors. The family patriarch, David Lupton, also acted as executor of the estate of free black Henry Wells. In part, this willingness to

employ free black labor was economically motivated; as historian Ira Berlin notes, free blacks were forced to lower their wages in order to compete against slave and free white labor. However, local Friends also embraced what by the 1850s Republicans would call the "free labor ideology," believing that only free labor possessed the incentive to work productively. Indeed, in 1853 Quaker Yardley Taylor attributed the rising agricultural wealth of Loudoun County – the county stood "foremost in" Virginia in "agricultural wealth," "amount of taxation," and "value of real estate" – to the "very different system of farming" – meaning primarily free labor – employed by Friends.[37]

Friends did not share, moreover, the virulent racism of many white Republicans and denounced the "arbitrary laws" that required free blacks to leave the state within a year of their emancipation. In an 1843 petition to the Virginia legislature, fifty-nine residents of Loudoun and Jefferson counties, most of them Quakers, argued "that every man not convicted of crime has a natural right to reside in the community where he was born & that no laws can expel him without violating the principles of justice & humanity." Such laws, the petitioners continued, also violated the rights of "the many citizens of this state" who prefer "the employment of free labour." In fact, as a result of "the removal of whites & the expulsion of the free coloured people" from the state free labor had become "scarce," making it "difficult" for employers "to procure sufficient aid in the prosecution of their business." Meanwhile, the state was full of "waste lands that have been impoverished by the system of slavery."[38]

In arguing that the removal of free blacks was contributing to the state's ongoing economic woes, Quakers also revealed their own assumptions about the inherent equality of all human beings. Though local Quakers certainly shared many of the racist assumptions of their age, most also believed that with appropriate education and training African Americans could be raised from their present degradation and become efficient and useful laborers. The sputtering efforts of the Quaker community to enlarge the educational opportunities of free blacks and slaves – even after Turner's revolt – are perhaps the best evidence of their optimism about black potential. In the late 1840s Samuel Janney and Daniel Moncure, a native Virginian and Washington,

D.C. Unitarian minister, petitioned the Virginia legislature to enable slaves to learn to read and write, and to "restrict the arbitrary separation of [slave] families." For his efforts Conway received a "private reply" from one the legislators asserting that "no such petition could be read in that body." Back in Loudoun County, however, this did not stop local Quakers from establishing a "First Day" – or Sunday – school for black children in the early 1850s. The school, run by Samuel Janney's daughter Cornelia, was "well attended," reflecting "an increasing interest felt in it by the coloured people." The students, Elizabeth Janney noted, could "not make much progress in learning in the short time alloted them to study," still it had "a good effect" because it "convinces them there are some white people who feel a disinterested desire to do them good." How long Cornelia Janney's school lasted is unknown, but it must certainly have enhanced the reputation of Quakers among the local African American community.[39]

Perhaps more important in establishing the Quaker reputation as allies of the local black community were the unheralded aid they provided to individual African Americans attempting to unite families or escape slavery. And northern Virginia was certainly a region with a restive black population. Living in a borderland region so close to freedom, enslaved people in the Potomac Valley had enhanced opportunities to escape their bondage. Between 1817 and 1842, for example, slaveholders placed advertisements for some 237 runaways in Leesburg's Genius of Liberty. Most dramatic was the attempted escape of twenty-two slaves owned by estate of John Marshall in June 1840. By the 1850s, the stream of escaping slaves had convinced at least some slaveholders that the institution could not survive in northern Virginia. For example, after Loudoun County slaveholder Thomas Ellzey discovered that ferrymen at Edward's Ferry on the Potomac River were assisting runaways, he concluded "that the institution of slavery along the border line of the slave and free states could, in no event, survive another generation." The presence of a significant group of antislavery Quakers probably contributed to Ellzey's fears.[40]

This is not to suggest that local Friends were active participants in a local trunk of the Underground Railroad. In this conservative Hicksite stronghold, Quakers could not have remained members in

good standing if they had participated in the kind of aggressive and illegal actions undertaken by political abolitionists such as William L. Chaplin in the District of Columbia.[41] However, their "peaceable" testimony did not preclude providing financial and legal assistance to African Americans who wished to secure their freedom or reunite their families trapped in slavery. In the 1850s, for example, after Samuel Janney had abandoned his public advocacy of antislavery he helped at least two African American families purchase their freedom. In 1852 he and twelve other local Friends secured a $500 loan for A. Wilson, a free black man, so that he could purchase his wife and four children from their owner, Virginia Blincoe, who was threatening to sell them and separate the family. Local Quakers persuaded the woman to let Wilson purchase his family, and by April 1853 they had secured a position for the Wilsons among Ohio Friends. Three years later, Janney traveled south to Warrenton to purchase a young girl, Eliza Robinson, and her disabled mother from a Fauquier County slaveholder after Philadelphia Quaker Jane Johnson took an interest in the girl. The next day he manumitted the pair and secured a domestic position for Eliza paying a dollar a week, a fairly generous wage for a black domestic. Describing his efforts to Johnson, Janney noted that the region's Friends "are often called on to aid" local slaves who wished "to buy their freedom." Many such individuals, he added, were able to save "a little money or have near relations who aid them," and many local slaveholders "will take much less than their market value." Still, he concluded sadly, "the means" of local Quakers "are not adequate to the demand," though "some of us always make it a point to give them something."[42]

One Friend willing to make such efforts was Loudoun County resident Seth Smith. Born in 1787, Smith embraced Quaker antislavery principles in his youth, publishing an antislavery article in the Baltimore Federal Gazette when he was only eighteen. In 1826, however, he was disowned by the Goose Creek Monthly Meeting for suing a fellow Quaker after a business deal gone bad. After his disownment, Smith – seeing the high fees charged by his attorney – decided to train as a lawyer. Nonetheless he retained his commitment to Quaker principles after his removal and occasionally used his newly-acquired legal skills to

aid African Americans who found their freedom in jeopardy. In 1844, for example, he worked "without [charging] fees" for his services to earn the release of a free "col[ore]d man," Samuel Jackson of New York, held in the "Leesburg jail" as a slave. His reward, New York Quaker Mahlon Day later wrote, was "in sweet peace, which is of a price which Dollars and Cents cannot buy." Smith also continued to use his pen to attack slavery. In 1849 he contacted Philadelphia Quaker John Jackson, seeking information on the status of free people in the West Indies so that he could "refute a statement made in the Richmond Times with regard to the working of the British emancipation act." He abandoned Virginia for Richmond, Indiana in 1856, driven there in part by his continuing distaste for slavery.[43]

At least one local Friend, Yardley Taylor, was willing to go farther – or so at least did the county's slaveholders believe. An elder in the Goose Creek meeting, Taylor was born in 1794, and by the 1820s he headed the local Quaker-dominated antislavery association. His name appeared prominently on the 1843 petition that asked that recently freed persons be allowed to remain in Virginia, and he was in the mid-1840s he helped organize and contributed to the legal defense of a free black person held illegally in Loudoun County. He acted on his belief in the superiority of free labor, outlined briefly in his Memoir of Loudoun County, by helping to organize the Republican party in the county. The first meeting of the group took place in the Goose Creek meeting house, which local Democrats described as "more disgraceful in its character than anything of a similar nature that has ever been enacted upon Southern territory." The same year Taylor was arrested for aiding a fugitive slave to escape, and though acquitted, a broadside appeared shortly thereafter that castigated him for his abolitionist "Northern allies" and management of the local "affairs of the Underground Railroad Company." The writer reminded Taylor that he lived Ain the South" – or at least "in a quasi Southern county" – making it "not quite so propitious a point for the prosecution of your philanthropic labors, as if the entirety of your surroundings were anti-slavery." Finally, the writer warned, "your assaults upon Southern institutions" could not be undertaken "with impunity."[44]

Challenging northern Virginia's racial status quo, Taylor discovered,

could be dangerous, even if his activity represented the outer limits of Quaker racial benevolence in northern Virginia. Though Friends "felt much interest in" the "Welfare" of the African American community, their challenge to slavery always remained within the circumscribed boundaries defined by their faith and their local economic and social ties. Indeed, the same factors that limited their activism – their religious principles and strong local ties – are inseparable from what made it possible. As a result, among white Virginians only Quakers provided regular assistance – limited as it was – to free and enslaved African Americans, and the cooperative support networks they forged reveal the sincerity of their commitment to the slavery testimony and their willingness to stand apart from the broader community of which they were members. Their dissent did not and could not end slavery. However, the continued presence of a group of like-minded individuals willing to question the institution meant that northern Virginia's slaveholders could never be entirely secure in their human property – particularly given the proximity of the free states just a few miles to the north. Limited as Quaker activism was, the precarious nature of slavery on the fringes of the South gave their dissent enormous significance.[45]

End Notes

1. Dillwyn Parrish to Samuel Janney, August 10, 1860, Samuel M. Janney Manuscripts, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College (hereafter cited as SMJ Papers, FHL). On Daniel Dangerfield's arrest and trial see, Deborah A. Lee, "'The Prize of Liberty': Opposition to Slavery in Loudoun County, Virginia, 1800-1865," unpublished mss to accompany an exhibition of the same name at Loudoun Museum, February, 2004; and Martha Coffin Wright to David Wright, April 7, 1859, Garrison Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, available at <http://www.binghamton.edu/womhist/mcw/doc3.htm> (my thanks to Chris Densmore for this citation).

2. J.E. Snodgrass to Samuel Janney, September 14, 1847, SMJ Papers, FHL (first quote); "To Yardley Taylor, Esq.," July 28, 1857, Broadside, Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, VA (second quote) (my thanks to Deborah Lee for providing a copy of this document); Robert M. Steer to Albert Cook Myers, March 28, 1945, Albert Cook Myers Collection, Steer Folder, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Myers Collection, CCHS; my thanks to Debra McCauslin and Bronwen Souders for providing a copy of this document);

James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community* (Washington, 1993), 65. For accounts that point to the limits of Quaker racial benevolence, see Ira Berlin, *Black Abolitionists* (New York, 1969), 72-76; and Herbert Aptheker, "The Quakers and Negro Slavery," *Journal of Negro History* 25 (July 1940), 331-362. Throughout the paper, "northern Virginia" refers to the counties of Fairfax (including the port town of Alexandria), Loudoun, Berkeley, Jefferson, Frederick and Clark.

3. For population estimates of the Quaker community of northern Virginia in the 1780s see, A. Glenn Crothers, "Quaker Merchants and Slavery in Early National Alexandria, Virginia: The Ordeal of William Hartshorne," Journal of the Early Republic 25 (Spring 2005), 50, fn. 5; for the 1860 numbers see, Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes for Sufferings, November 1, 1860, FHL.

4. Brenda Stevenson, Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South (New York, 1996), 15-18, 24-25, 35-36, 46-47, 61, 65, 130-131, 224-225, 252-253, 273-277; Howard Beeth, "Outside Agitators in Southern History: The Society of Friends, 1656-1800" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Houston, 1984), 96-288; and Beeth, "Between Friends: Epistolary Correspondence Among Quakers in the Emergent South," Quaker History 76 (Fall 1987), 108-127. On the elimination of slavery within the Quaker community of northern Virginia see, Crothers, "Quaker Merchants."

5. Crothers, "Quaker Merchants"; Elisha C. Dick to Governor Monroe, September 26, 1800, in Calendar of Virginia State Papers, and Other Manuscripts (11 vols., Richmond, 1875-1893), 9: 178 (first quote); see also, Archibald McClean to Reverend William Rogers, February 15, 1796, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Reel 11, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereafter cited as PAS); Documents Concerning Court Cases in which Slaves were Awarded Freedom, 1773, 1780-82, 1784-85, etc: Negro Abraham v. Eleanor Tabbot, Winchester, Virginia, 1800-1801, ibid., Reel 24; Thomas Harrison to Joseph Sexton, July 29, 1801, Sexton Family Papers, 1774-1836, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia (hereafter cited as LV); George Drinker to Joseph Bringhurst, December 10, 1804, PAS, Reel 12 (second quote).

6. Alexandria Monthly Meeting Minutes, April 25, 1816, FHL.

7. For a fuller picture of the growing population of free blacks in the Upper South, see Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York, 1974), esp. 15-107, 135-181; Barbara Jeanne Fields, Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century (New Haven, 1985); T. Stephen Whitman, The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland (Lexington, KY, 1997); Stevenson, Life in Black and White, esp. 166-205; and Rebecca Aleene Ebert, "A Window on the Valley: A Study of the Free Black Community of Winchester and Frederick County,

Virginia, 1785-1860," M.A. Thesis, University of Maryland, 1985. On the rise of the slave trade in Alexandria and the District of Columbia (of which Alexandria was a part until 1846) see, Josephine F. Pacheco, The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005), 15-47; Frederic Bancroft, Slave Trading in the Old South (New York, 1931), 12-66; Robert H. Gudmestad, A Troublesome Commerce: The Transformation of the Interstate Slave Trade (Baton Rouge, LA, 2003), 1-61; and Michael A. Ridgeway, "A Peculiar Business: Slave Trading in Alexandria, Virginia, 1825-1861," M.A. Thesis, Georgetown University, 1976.

8. These figures are compiled from the federal manuscript census records for 1800 and 1850, most readily available at the University of Virginia's Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, Historical Census Browser, at <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/>. The 1850 figures for Frederick County were derived by combining numbers for Frederick and Clark counties, the latter having been carved out of former in 1836. On the 1806 law see, Samuel Shepherd, ed. The Statutes at Large of Virginia, from . . . 1792 to . . . 1806, 3 Vols. (New York, 1970; originally published, Richmond, 1835), 3: 252. The law was amended in 1837 to allow free blacks to apply to the local county courts to remain in the state; see June Purcell Guild, ed., Blacks Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present (Richmond, 1936).

9. Ibid.; Address of the Colonization Society of Loudoun, Virginia (Annapolis, MD: J. Green, 1819), 8; Stevenson, Life in Black and White, 280-281; Charles Poland, From Frontier to Suburbia (Maceline, MO: Walsworth, 1976), 143-146. On the early years of the colonization movement in Virginia see, Eva Sheppard, "The Question of Emancipation in Virginia from the Revolution to the Slavery Debate of 1832," Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2000, 254-263; and Marie Tyler McGraw, "The American Colonization Society in Virginia, 1816-1832," Ph.D. Dissertation, George Washington University, 1980, esp. 223-230. See also Douglas R. Egerton, "'Its Origin Is Not a Little Curious': A New Look at the American Colonization Society," Journal of the Early Republic 5 (1985), 463-480. For Garrison's attack on attack on the ACS see, William Lloyd Garrison, Thoughts on African Colonization (New York: The Arno Press, 1968; originally published 1832).

10. Charles Preston Poland, From Frontier to Suburbia (Marceline, MO, 1976), 143-144; Gudmestad, Troublesome Commerce, 6-7; Bancroft, Slave Trading, 15-16; Thomas Earle, ed., The Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy (1847; rpt., New York, 1969), 191-193, 199. Historians have debated at some length the relative radicalism and arguments of southern antislavery; see, for example, Carl Degler, The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century (1974; rpt., Gainesville, FL, 2000), 13-96; Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Fate of the Southern Antislavery Movement," The Journal of Negro History 28 (January 1943), 10-22; Gordon E. Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the Upper South Before 1840," The Journal of Southern History 35 (August 1969), 319-342; James Brewer Stewart,

"Evangelicalism the Radical Strain in Southern Antislavery Thought During the 1820s," ibid. 39 (August 1973), 379-396; Jeffrey Brooke Allen, "Were Southern White Critics of Slavery Racists?: Kentucky and the Upper South, 1791-1824," ibid. 44 (May 1978), 169-190; and Patricia P. Hickin's encyclopedic, "Antislavery in Virginia, 1831-1861," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1968.

11. Earle, Benjamin Lundy, 209, 211, 214, 218, 226; Poland, Frontier to Suburbia, 145; Minutes of the Virginia Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, Held in Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia, August 20, 21, & 22, 1828 (Winchester, VA, 1828), 2, 7-12; Hickin, "Antislavery in Virginia," 454-455. The four local societies were the Manumission and Emigration Society of Loudoun, the Anti-Slavery Society of Winchester, the Emancipation Society of Apple-Pie Ridge (Frederick County), and the Brucetown Anti-Slavery Society (Frederick County). The Haytien Society of Virginia, based in Loudoun County, was initially called the Abolition Society of Waterford; the change in name reveals its shift in focus from the abolition of slavery to the deportation of free blacks.

12. Earle, Benjamin Lundy, 199; Benjamin Hallowell, Autobiography of Benjamin Hallowell, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1884), 109; Samuel Janney to Dillwyn Parrish, June 4, 1875, and "Rules for the Government of Friends First Day School, September 13, 1827," both in SMJ Papers, FHL.

13. Hallowell, Autobiography, 110; Alexandria Gazette, April 30 - July 21, 1827; Samuel M. Janney, Memoirs of Samuel M. Janney (Philadelphia, 1881), 28-33; Samuel Janney to Phineas Janney, December 25, 1844, and Samuel Janney to Dillwyn Parrish, June 4, 1875, both in SMJ Papers, FHL; Hickin, "Antislavery in Virginia," 461-465; Earle, Benjamin Lundy, 221.

14. Samuel Janney to Phineas Janney, December 25, 1844, SMJ Papers, FHL; Janney, Memoirs, 114.

15. Jean R. Soderlund, Quakers & Slavery: A Divided Spirit (Princeton, 1985), 17-18, 78-79, 145; Frederick B. Tolles, Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763 (1948; rpt., New York, 1963), 4-11, 51-62; Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven, CT, 1950), 1-33; Beeth, "Outside Agitators," 393-396, 398-401; Samuel Janney to Gideon Frost, November 3, 1846, SMJ Papers, FHL; Lydia Wierman, in The Pennsylvania Freeman, November 20, 1845 (my thanks to Deborah Lee for this citation).

16. Howard H. Brinton, The Religious Philosophy of the Quakerism (Wallingford, PA, 1973), 5-7; Arthur J. Mekeel, The Relation of the Quakers to the American Revolution (Washington, 1979), 2-3; Sydney James, A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America (Cambridge, MA, 1963), esp. 240-334; Werner L. Janney and Asa Moore Janney, eds., John Janney's

Virginia: An American Farm Lad's Life in the Early 19th Century (McLean, VA, 1978), 4 (quote).

17. For the reaction to Nat Turner's revolt and the Virginia slavery debates see, J.H. Johnston, ed., "Antislavery Petitions to the Virginia Legislature by Citizens of Various Counties," The Journal of Negro History 12 (October 1927), 670-691, esp. 682-684; Degler, Other South, 13-17, 34-37; Sheppard, "Question of Emancipation," 297-351; Eaton, Freedom-of-Thought Struggle, 30, 89-215; Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 402-434; and Finnie, "Antislavery Movement in the Upper South," 319-342. Hallowell, Autobiography, 110; Janney to Dillwyn Parrish, 6 April 1875, Samuel Janney Manuscripts, FHL; Janneys, John Janney's Virginia, 94; Earle, Benjamin Lundy, 247.

18. Ibid., 237, 247; Dillwyn Parrish to Samuel Janney, June 1, 1838, Samuel M. Janney Papers, 1790-1922, LV; and George Truman to Samuel Janney, March 28, 1844, in SMJ Papers, FHL. On the rise of radical abolitionism see, Richard S. Newman, The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002); Stanley Harrold, The Abolitionists and the South, 1831-1861 (Lexington, KY, 1995); and Harrold, The Rise of Aggressive Abolitionism: Addresses to Slaves (Lexington, KY, 2004).

19. In contrast to the large body of literature on eighteenth-century Quakerism, there are few scholarly accounts of the Society of Friends in the nineteenth century, which was driven by a variety of doctrinal and ideological disputes. For an introduction to the subject see, Thomas D. Hamm, The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907 (Bloomington, IN, 1988); Larry H. Ingle, Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Separation (Knoxville, 1986); Robert W. Doherty, The Hicksite Split: A Sociological Aanalysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America (New Brunswick, NJ, 1967); and Worrall, Friendly Virginians, 331-343. For an earlier account of the 1827-1828 split by a Hicksite Friend see, Samuel M. Janney, "An Examination of the Causes Which Led to the Separation of the Religious Society of Friends in America in 1827-1828," in History of the Religious Society of Friends, From Its Rise to the Year 1828, 4 Vols. (Philadelphia, 1861-1867), 4: 5-347. Janney was disowned by Orthodox Friends in 1833; see, Joseph Townsend and Nicholas Topplein to Samuel Janney, February 8, 1833, Samuel M. Janney Papers, LV. On the settlement of the property dispute between Orthodox and Hicksite Friends in Baltimore, see Benjamin Hallowell to Samuel Janney, April 10, 1865, SMJ Papers, FHL.

20. On the conflict between conservative and progressive Friends over radical abolitionism see, Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven, CT, 1950), 133-200; Peter Brock, Pioneers of the Peaceable Kingdom (Princeton, 1968), 242-247, 259-272; and Ryan P. Jordan, "Slavery and the Meetinghouse: Quakers, Abolitionists, and the Dilemma Between Liberty and Union, 1820-1865,"

Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 2004. On Janney's religious visits to the Midwest see below.

21. Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes, October ??, 1835, October ??, 1839, October, October ??, 1842, and October ??, 1843; see also, Drake, Quakers and Slavery, 144-150.

22. Samuel Janney to Elizabeth Janney, October 31, 1842, SMJ Papers, FHL; Fairfax Monthly Meeting, November 16, 1842, FHL; Margaret Hope Bacon, Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott (New York, 1980), 107. On Janney's antislavery career in the 1840s, see Hickin, "Antislavery in Virginia," 444-518; Hickin, "Gentle Agitator: Samuel M. Janney and the Antislavery Movement in Virginia, 1842-1851," The Journal of Southern History 37 (May 1971), 159-190; and Crothers, "'We Are Virginians for the Time Being': Antebellum Quakers and Regional Identity in the Upper South," in Dan Kilbride and Lisa Frank Tenderich, eds., Honoring a Master: A Festchrift for Bertram Wyatt-Brown (Gainesville, FL, forthcoming).

23. Samuel Janney to Elizabeth Janney, May 26, 1844; John Comly to Samuel Janney, June 17, 1845; Elizabeth Janney to Samuel Janney, October 29, 1844; William Stabler to Samuel Janney, May 4, 1851, all in SMJ Papers, FHL.

24. Samuel Janney to Phineas Janney, December 25, 1844, SMJ Papers, FHL. On Phineas Janney see, W.W. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, 6 vols. (Ann Arbor, MI, 1950), 6: 757-758; and Memoirs of Phineas Janney (1852), in Samuel Janney Papers, LV.

25. Samuel Janney to Phineas Janney, September 27, 1849, and July 14, 1851; Samuel Janney to Isaac T. Hopper, September 27, 1844, all in SMJ Papers, FHL.

26. Samuel Janney to William Bennett, February 4, 1854; Samuel Janney to Elizabeth Janney, March 1, 1852, both in SMJ Papers, FHL. Janney's biographies were: The Life of William Penn: With Selections from His Correspondence and Autobiography (Philadelphia, 1852); and The Life of George Fox: With Dissertations on His Views Concerning the Doctrines, Testimonies, and Discipline of the Christian Church (Philadelphia, 1853).

27. Samuel Janney to Elizabeth Janney, March 1, 1852, and October 25, 1858, both in SMJ Papers, FHL.

28. Elizabeth Janney to Samuel Janney, February 20, 1861, SMJ Papers, FHL; Anna A. Townsend, compiler and ed., Memoir of Elizabeth Newport (Philadelphia: Friends Book Association, 1878), 191-3. In 1849 at the Woodlawn preparative meeting in Colchester, Virginia (close to Alexandria), Newport found Quakers much more receptive to her intention to preach antislavery doctrines to slaveholders. On that occasion, two local Friends accompanied her on a religious visit to William McCarty, where she preached "a very impressive sermon against slavery and for the

fellowship of men" in the presence of his slaves; see, "Early Memories of Woodlawn Meeting," Woodlawn Friends Meeting House, Virginiana Room, Fairfax County Public Library, Fairfax, VA (my thanks to Dr. David M. Sa'adah for a copy of this document).

29. On John Janney see, Hinshaw, Quaker Genealogy, 6: 518, 520; Worrall, Friendly Virginians, 406-407; and Anne Sarah Rubin, "Between Union and Chaos: The Political Life of John Janney," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 102 (July 1994), 385-388. Fairfax Monthly Meeting Minutes, April 12, 1837, May 12, June 16, August 11, 1841, FHL.

30. Isaac Walker to Samuel Janney, August 24, 1841, SMJ Papers, and Fairfax Monthly Meeting Minutes, February 16, 1842, both FHL.

31. On the extensive nature of slave hiring in the region see, Stevenson, Life in Black and White, 184-186; Pacheco, Pearl, 19-21; Nan Netherton, et al., Fairfax County, Virginia: A History (Fairfax, VA, 1978), 263-264, 274-275.

32. Fairfax Quarterly Meeting Minutes, December 18, 1797, March 9, 1798, October 15, 1798; Fairfax Monthly Meeting Minutes, December 28, 1805, January 1, 1806, June 13 and December 12, 1855, all FHL. For other examples of slave hiring by Quakers see, Alexandria Monthly Meeting Minutes, February 20, 1806; Goose Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1824; and Fairfax Monthly Meeting Minutes, March 16 and September 14, 1836, and February 15, 1837.

33. Hartshorne and Massie carried on an extensive and mutually profitable business relationship between 1790 1808, documented in the Massie Family Papers, 1722-1893, VHS.

34. Asa and Werner Janney, eds., AIsrael Janney's 'Ledger B': Being the Account Book Kept at His Store and Mill near Goose Creek, Loudoun County, Virginia, 1784-1793," 2 Volumes, VHS. Based on this account book, approximately 25 percent of Israel Janney's customers were non-Quakers. John Newman to Nathan Lupton, February 28, 1843, Lupton Family Papers, 1745-1895, Box 4, VHS; George Carter to Joseph B. Webb, April 29, 1817, and Carter to Dr. John Arnest, February 28, 1818, both in George Carter Letterbook, 1807-1819, VHS; Abijah Janney to George Carter, May 20, 1825, Carter Family Papers, 1651-1861, Part 8, VHS (my thanks to Deborah Lee for this last citation).

35. Janney, Memoirs, 33-34, 50-52; Janney to Phineas Janney, September 17, [1842], "Memoir of Phineas Janney, 1852," and various letters in Samuel Janney Letterbook, 1837-1838 (1841) Concerning Cotton Factory at Occoquan, all in Samuel Janney Papers, LV; Samuel Janney to Benjamin Hallowell, February 9, 1850, and Samuel Janney to Elizabeth Janney, September 1 and 11, 1829, all in SMJ Papers, FHL.

36. Elizabeth Janney to Samuel Janney, June 25, 1854, SMJ Papers, FHL; The Springdale Momento, Consisting of Original Essays, by the Pupils, Read at the Annual Examination, 1850, and a Catalogue of Students (Loudoun, Co., 1850). Samuel Janney to Phineas Janney, December 25, 1844; Samuel Janney to Patience Taylor, February 23, 1853; Samuel Janney to Elizabeth Janney, October 29, 1849; Elizabeth Janney to Samuel Janney, May 27, 1851; Benjamin Hallowell to Samuel Janney, May 29, 1854; Samuel H. Janney to Samuel M. Janney, September 4, 1854, all in SMJ Papers, FHL. See also, William C. Dunlap, Quaker Education in Baltimore and Virginia Yearly Meetings . . . . (Philadelphia, 1936), 125-134.

37. Bronwen C. and John M. Souders, A Rock in a Weary Land, a Shelter in a Time of Storm: The African-American Experience in Waterford, Virginia (Waterford, VA, 2003), 79; 1850 Census, Loudoun County, Virginia, p. 197A; Estate of Henry Wells, 1815-1817 (Box 2), Jonathan Newman to Nathan Lupton, January 30, 1843 (Box 4), Jonah H. Lupton List of Taxable Property, 1852 (Box 5), Lupton Family Papers, VHS; Berlin, Slaves without Masters, 229-230; Yardley Taylor, Memoir of Loudoun County, in Jim Presgraves, ed., Loudoun County, Virginia Families and History (1853; rept., Wytheville, VA, 1999), 21-22. For similar arguments about the economic superiority of free labor, see [Samuel Janney], The Yankees in Fairfax County, Virginia (Baltimore, 1845).

38. "To the Senate & House of Delegates of the State of Virginia," January 19, 1843, SMJ Papers, FHL; Loren Schweninger, Robert Shelton, and Charles E. Smith, eds., A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of Race, Slavery, and Free Blacks: Series 1, Petitions to the Southern Legislatures, 1777-1867 (Bethesda, MD, 1999), 303. For an 1849 Loudoun County Quaker petition on behalf of free black Wilson Anderson, see ibid., 310. On the racism of white Republicans in the Upper South see, Hickin, "Antislavery in Virginia," esp. 519-603; and Degler, Other South, 47-96.

39. Moncure Daniel Conway, Autobiography, Memories and Experiences of Moncure Daniel Conway, 2 vols. (Boston, 1904), 1: 225. Fitting Conway's description of the legislature's reception of this petition, there is no record of it in Schweninger, et al., Race, Slavery, and Free Blacks. More surprising there is no mention of it in either of the two major collections of Janney's papers. Elizabeth Janney to Samuel Janney, September 27, 1853, SMJ Papers, FHL.

40. Runaway Slave Advertisement from the Genius of Liberty, Leesburg, Virginia, 1817-1842, available at Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, Virginia, <http://www.balchfriends.org/Slaves/IndexedList.htm>; Mason Graham Ellzey, M.D., "The Cause We Lost and the Land We Love," 6-7, unpublished mss., VHS.

41. On Chaplin's antislavery career, see Stanley Harrold, Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828-1865 (Baton Rouge, 2003), 97-115, 124-145, 157-162, 179-181; Pacheco, Pearl, 65-71, 114, 126-136, 207, 220-222.

42. John Janney to Samuel Janney, October 7, 1852; John Janney to Samuel Janney, October 10, 1852; Receipt for Purchase of Slave and four Children, November 9, 1852; Elizabeth Janney to Samuel Janney, April 17, 1853, all in SMJ Papers, FHL. Samuel Janney to Jane Johnson, February 20, 1856. In 1860 Fairfax County African American domestics in neighboring Fairfax County made from twenty to sixty dollars per year; see, Netherton, Fairfax County, 275.

43. James Smith to Robert B. Smith, June 16, 1865; Mahlon Day to Seth Smith, August 27, 1844; Mahlon Day to Seth Smith, January 31, 1845, in Clarence H. Smith Papers, 1775-1955, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis; Samuel Janney to Isaac T. Hopper, September 27, 1844, John Jackson to Samuel Janney, September 20, 1849, in SMJ Papers, FHL.

44. Yardley Taylor to Cyrus Griest, October 2, 1845, Myers Collection, CCHS (my thanks to Debra McCauslin for providing a copy of this document); Taylor, Memoir of Loudoun County, 21-22; "To Yardley Taylor, Esq.," Broadside, Balch Library, Leesburg; Worrall, Friendly Virginians, 399-400; Poland, Frontier to Suburbia, 162-164. For an overview of early Republican party organizing in Virginia see, Richard G. Lowe, "The Republican Party in Antebellum Virginia, 1856-1860," Virginian Magazine of History and Biography 81 (July 1973), 259-179.

45. Samuel Janney to Elizabeth Janney, May 10, 1845.

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report 2006 – 2007

By Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson

As a particular contribution to the maintenance of Guilford's Quaker heritage, and as a resource for teaching documentary research, the Friends Historical Collection of Hege Library acquires, organizes, preserves and makes available, not only to the college but to the wider community of researchers, materials, both published and unpublished, related to the history of the Religious Society of Friends. The collection has a special responsibility for comprehensiveness in preserving the spiritual, intellectual and cultural heritage of Quakerism in the southeastern United States. As the official repository for college records, the collection is responsible for Guilford's institutional memory, preserving records of enduring value and making them accessible.

The Friends Historical Collection reaffirmed its commitment as the research center for the Quakerism in the southeastern United States with a newly revised mission statement. The new statement also highlights the increasing importance of the college archives and the increasing use of the collection by Guilford students. Improved outreach to the Guilford College community is in addition to continuing work with North Carolina Friends meetings and organizations and others researchers who visit to the collection. Staff strives to balance the needs to acquire and process incoming resources, preserve and improve access to existing materials, and provide timely and knowledgeable assistance to researchers, both in person and through correspondence. The

following report describes the results of those efforts during the 2006-2007 academic year.

Notable Events and Projects

The school year started with an archives-focused orientation program, entitled "Old School," for a group of incoming first year and transfer students. This was offered as one option among a number of two-day sessions scheduled as a part of an expanded week-long orientation schedule. Students learned about the history of the college through a combination of lectures and group activities. Highlights included interviewing alumni from past decades, using archival materials to learn about specific topics of interest, and enjoying snacks based on recipes used historically by Mary Hobbs Hall residents and Ernestine Milner's cucumber punch[1]. Aspects of the programming may be offered through other outreach initiatives in the future. However, the college decided not to offer the lengthier orientation week again, at least not in the foreseen future.

The Friends Historical Collection experienced more limelight than usual in several unexpected ways. On a purely positive note, award winning author David McCullough stopped by for a visit prior to his Guilford Bryan Series lecture in November and made a reference to the visit in his public evening lecture. The Friends Historical Collection itself was center stage with an article in the Fall/Winter 2006 issue of *North Carolina Libraries* entitled "Records of the Children of the Light: The Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College," by Joseph Thomas.

A difficult and emotional campus incident involving a fight between students in January brought the attention of international media. Calls were received in the Friends Historical Collection as reporters sought additional information about the college. Gwen Erickson provided interviews about Guilford's history as a Quaker college and the Friends Historical Collection's Research Room provided the backdrop for a

[1] Milner was the wife of Guilford President Clyde Milner and a psychology professor and former Dean of Women who held receptions for students during her tenure at the college. See "Patterns of Power: Clyde and Ernestine's College, Guilford, 1930 - 1965," by Alexander Stoesen in *The Southern Friend* 23 (Fall 2001).

local television news piece about Guilford's early history. Gwen also co-led a session, entitled "A Socio-History of Guilford College," during a community "teach-in" held in response to the campus events in January and served on the ad hoc teach-in committee.

Staff and Volunteers

Friends Historical Collection staff remained fairly stable for the majority of the year. No major staffing changes, other than adding a few additional hours with new students, occurred during the academic year. The continued presence of both the college's archives associate position held by Elizabeth Cook and North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM)'s archives assistant position combined to provide forty hours of consistent and knowledgeable assistance each week. This provided much needed support for the Friends Historical Collection Librarian and the additional layer of capable reference skills were appreciated by the volunteers when researcher inquiries were beyond the basics.

J. Timothy "Tim" Cole completed his third year as the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives Assistant. During his ten hours each week, Tim accessioned incoming meeting records, assisted researchers, prepared records for microfilming, and scanned images for several publication projects. In addition to his routine work, Tim also created several informative exhibits for our display cases outside of the research room and applied his skills as a manuscript processor to create finding aids. The Friends Historical Collection and North Carolina Yearly Meeting's Records Committee were glad to have such a capable person in this position for several years. Tim resigned in May for a full-time position with the Greensboro Public Library's Information Services Department and a new archives assistant will be introduced in next year's report.

Student staff ably assisted in operations by shelving, filing, and photocopying. They also accomplished several major projects, including some very visible changes. Katie Yow completed a monumental collection shift in July 2006 as Quaker periodicals were moved from the Quaker stacks (Library 117) to a new Quaker Periodical Reading Room (Library 120). This move provided much needed space for monographs, yearly meeting minutes and disciplines, and college publications. Both

rooms remain open to the public whenever the library is open. Abigail Roger returned for a second academic year and inventoried artifact and manuscript collections. She also assisted with organizing slides from the J. Floyd "Pete" Moore Collection and began to work with displays. Grace Montgomery ably handled routine shelving and assisted with a project to reclassify the yearly meeting disciplines. Sherice Chandler served as the student assistant for college archives. Chris Pugilese serve as summer staff in May and June 2007 and undertook an inventory of Quaker circulating publications to identify any missing books or fragile items needing repair or reclassification.

A dedicated group of volunteers continue to staff the research room. Theodore Perkins offered his reliable services two mornings each week and occasionally filled in for others when needed. Elizabeth Lasley, Harry Nagel, and Marietta Wright received training and joined to roster. Helen Cott resigned to move to her new home in Tennessee. Docent emeriti Margaret Beal, a long-time Friday afternoon volunteer and indexer of the *Guilford College Magazine*, passed away. She continued to remember the Friends Historical Collection after her retirement and her friendly smile was missed at the annual luncheon. Docents were appreciated and enjoyed visiting with one another at their annual spring luncheon. This year's speaker was Carol Stoneburner, retired founding director of the women's studies program at Guilford College, who spoke on Quaker women and their impressive influence.

Librarian and Archivist Gwen Gosney Erickson continued her involvement in the Society of North Carolina Archivists by serving as past president/education chair, offering a workshop at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill on "Finding a Job in Archives." and presenting as a part of a panel on religious archives at the organization's fall meeting at Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina. Closer to home, Gwen served as a faculty representative to the college's budget committee for a second year and chaired a national search for Hege Library's new information literacy coordinator. She also supervised Guilford senior Eric Patterson for his independent study course on public history.

Archives Associate Liz Cook completed her second year on staff. With basic Friends Historical Collection knowledge firmly in

her grasp, Liz pursued more advanced training for her work with the college's archives and records management program. She was accepted as a participant in a week-long Digitization Institution sponsored by NC-ECHO (North Carolina – Exploring Cultural Heritage Online) in September where she learned standards for creating digital images and made important connections with others who are working with historical materials in North Carolina. She also took an online course from the American Records Management Association on records management during the fall semester. Liz became an active member of Guilford's organization for support staff and joined the Society of North Carolina Archivists' Archives Week Committee for 2007. She also provided leadership for the Hege Re-users Recycling Team in November. The group completed several recycling activities in the building and won a campus recycling competition.

Research and Services

Researchers from near and far visited the Friends Historical Collection to consult unique resources. Lloyd Lee Wilson spent several weeks during the spring studying monthly meeting records and other manuscript materials for his research on history of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative). This work was supported financially by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society's Seth and Mary Edith Hinshaw Fellowship. Other notable researchers during the year included a Tennessee Friend working on a history of Lost Creek Quarter, a china collector studying Quaker minister (and former member of Rich Square Monthly Meeting) Richard Jordan, and a local Friend doing a photography documentation project on North Carolina meetinghouses. The collection also continues to receive routine genealogical inquiries, both through telephone and e-mail questions and with visits by family historians, and a variety of reference questions relating to the history of Friends, especially those in the Guilford County area. Guilford students used manuscript materials to research the Buck Creek Civilian Public Service Camp, Quaker relief work in 1948 Germany, and the moral protests of nineteenth century Friends Harriet Peck and Tilghman Vestal. There was also an increase in student use of the college archives for research, including topics in

history, environmental studies, and women's studies.

Image requests continue to increase, both from individuals and from publishers. *Coastwatch, North Carolina Historical Review*, the *North Carolina Friends Historical Society Newsletter* requested images to accompany articles. Images were also provided for Billy Britt's book on North Carolina ministers, a publication on High Point architecture, and *Founded by Friends: The Heritage of 15 American Colleges and Universities* (Scarecrow, 2007). Both images and information were provided for a calendar and a DVD in production for celebrations surrounding the bicentennial of Greensboro in 2008.

A group of graduate students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill used North Carolina Yearly Meeting's Meeting for Sufferings Minutes and Correspondence for a class project developing a grant proposal for digitizing archival materials. This was a beneficial partnership as the students had the opportunity to use original materials and learn more about the work involved in archives located at smaller institutions. Guilford benefited as the students provided their resulting proposal document which can be used in our future digitizing planning.

Several Guilford classes learned about the resources available in the archives. John and Carol Stoneburner brought their class on Quaker women to learn about the preservation of Quaker women's history in archives. Jim Hood's English class on nature writing visited to get tips about using local archives for researching the history of land. Gwen Erickson attended Phil Slaby's history research seminar at the beginning of the semester to provide an overview of resources available in local archives and instructions on how to find information in archives. Beyond campus, Gwen collaborated with the Guilford County Schools regarding the use of local cultural institutions in teaching history and wrote a letter as a partner institution to support the school system's application for a Teaching American History grant from the federal government. Staff from Pfeiffer University's library and from High Point Public Library's North Carolina Collection visited for tours.

Presentations were given to the Durham Genealogical Society on finding ancestors in Quaker records and to the Historic Jamestown Society on Quakers in Jamestown. Further afield, Gwen shared

historical information about Quakers in South Carolina as a part of the Palmetto Friends Gathering program in Lexington, South Carolina. Some of this information in included in the brief entry Gwen authored for *The South Carolina Encyclopedia* (2006).

Guilford participated in the second annual North Carolina Archives Week with a college history trivia quiz in the campus electronic announcements message and behind the scenes tours. Both activities were well received and plans are in place to participate with such activities again in 2007.

A new exhibit on the history of dancing at Guilford College premiered in the small exhibit case outside the research room as a part of Archives Week highlights. Exhibits were changed regularly in the two cases. Archives Assistant Tim Cole used his skills to create attractive displays with a minimum of resources. Independent study student Eric Patterson presented his final project with a small exhibit on the college's lake. Student worker Abbie Rogers created a display on the history of spring celebrations at Guilford.

In addition to continued receipt of new publications, incoming materials included the Kenneth A. Hovey Shaw-Cude Collection and several artifacts and additions to existing collections. Archives Assistant Tim Cole improved access to several existing collections by doing further organization and drafting more complete finding aids for the papers of Algie I. Newlin, Fred Hughes, and Mary Brown Feagins. Some items identified as a result of this work were used by researchers during the spring semester.

Yearly Meeting Archives

Minutes and records were received from twenty-nine different monthly and quarterly meetings, including twenty-two meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting). Most of these were regular deposits from groups that have been consistently conscientious in archiving their records. Some meetings have never brought records or are behind on deposits. It is hoped that a larger number of meetings affiliated with North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) will arrange to have their materials preserved in the archives in the coming year. Records were also received from meetings affiliated

with North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) and Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association.

Several unaffiliated monthly meetings continue to use the Friends Historical Collection for their archives, including Raleigh, Davidson, and Chapel Hill Monthly Meetings in North Carolina. A notable addition was Fairhope Monthly Meeting in Fairhope, Alabama, and formerly of Ohio Yearly Meeting. Fairhope designated the Friends Historical Collection as their archives and deposited records dating from 1917 to 1966. This provides information not only about a unique community of Friends in Alabama, but also documents a group of Friends who resettled in Monteverde, Costa Rica in the mid-twentieth century.

In addition to basic questions from current meeting members, several dedicated North Carolina Friends spent extra time in the Friends Historical Collection this year. Kay Coltrane was a regular with her research for a new Centre Meeting history. Billy Britt checked facts for his research on North Carolina Quaker pastors for his new book and staff assisted with locating images for the final publication. Collection staff also provided assistance for a revision of the Deep River Meeting history. Yearly meeting records were also used extensively in projects on the history of Lost Creek Quarter and Lloyd Lee Wilson's history of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative).

Guilford College Archives

Both organization and research use of the Guilford College Archives grew significantly this past year. This growing component of the Friends Historical Collection would not be possible without the addition of Archives Associate Liz Cook in 2005. Liz continued to assess current archival holdings and also met with several departments across campus to draft records schedules. Initial templates were drafted for a faculty records schedule and significant organization and revised finding aids were done for the Registrar's and Board of Trustees records. Information Technology staff were consulted to discuss collaboration in records management work, especially in light of policy issues regarding confidentiality and identification of key permanent records held within campus offices. Formal records schedule work and informal

conversations about the locations of various records assisted college archives staff to document the vast amount of work yet to do and educated personnel in various campus offices about archival resources.

Summer projects included preliminary processing of approximately 120 linear feet of college records stored in the library's basement. Most of these were outdated records requiring destruction. About a third of the total was designated for further processing to be added to the college archives. It is hoped that continued development of records schedules for campus departments will decrease unneeded storage of outdated temporary records and facilitate timely deposit of permanent archival records. This will be a continuing project with slow progress.

Liz Cook enrolled in an online records management course during the fall semester which gave her a broader view of records management in general and also provided valuable information for her work with Guilford's program. It was especially useful in increasing awareness of key issues in the field and providing a context for developing Guilford-specific record schedules and procedures. Liz took copious notes throughout the course so that other staff may also benefit from the information presented.

A major accomplishment of the year was a project to microfilm *The Guilfordian*, the college's campus paper from 1914 to present. The time had come to get this done due to increasing demands and the need to preserve the often-fragile pages. Liz Cook supervised student assistants and volunteers in the preparation process to be sure that all issues from 1914 to 2005 were accounted for and organized for filming. The master set was then shipped to OCLC Preservation Services in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, for professional archival filming. Other key college records are to be filmed in future projects.

Looking Ahead

A newly updated brochure with full color images and the newly revised Friends Historical Collection mission statement were printed and plans drafted for a redesign of the collection's Web site. The brochure is now available and the new Web site is at www.guilford.edu/fhc with additional updates and resources on the way.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting
(Friends United Meeting) Deposits

Meeting Name	Deposit
Archdale	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2003-2004, 1/2005-12/2006
Centre	Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 7/2005-11/2006; *Centre Friends Cemetery Records, 1757 - February 2007*, compiled by Kay D. Coltrane and Darlene S. Parsons (2007).
Chatham	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2004; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 2004
Eastern Quarter	Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 7/2001-5/2006
Forbush	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 11/28/1979, 5/2004, 7/2005-6/2006
Greensboro First Friends	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2006; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 2006; United Society of Friends Women Minutes, 8/2003-6/2007
Holly Spring	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/1993-12/2005
Hood Swamp	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2/2005-12/2005
Jamestown	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/1984-11/1988, 1/2004-12/2006
Kernersville	Minutes, 5/1999, 8/1999-12/2001
Liberty	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3/2004-7/2006; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 3/2004-7/2005
Mount Airy	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 12/2005-12/2006
Mount Carmel	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2001-2006
New Garden	Papers and Memorials, 2004-2006
New Hope (CQ*)	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2006
Pine Hill	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2005

* Contentnea Quarter

Poplar Ridge	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/2002-4/2002, 1/2005-12/2006
Science Hill	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/2005-6/2006; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 7/2005-6/2006; Quaker Ladies Minutes, 2005
Surry Quarter	Quarterly Meeting Minutes, Memorials, and Spiritual Condition Reports, 4/2005-10/2006
Union Cross	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2006
Up River	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/2001-6/2006; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 7/2001-5/2006; The Lamplighter, 1/2004-11/2004
Winthrop	Monthly Meeting Minutes and Attachments, 2006
NCYM (FUM) Meeting Newsletters received in 2006 - 2007: Charlotte, Deep Creek, Greensboro (First Friends), New Garden, Up River, and Winston-Salem	

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) Deposits

Meeting Name	Deposit
Rich Square	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2/1999-6/1999, 10/2000-12/2000, 7/2002-5/2003
NCYM (C) Meeting Newsletters received in 2006 - 2007: Friendship and Virginia Beach	

Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association (SAYMA) Deposits

Meeting Name	Deposit
Brevard	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 5/2004-7/2006
Celo	Monthly Meeting Minutes (and accompanying documents), 2006

Meeting Name	Deposit
Foxfire	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/2006-2/2007
Memphis	Monthly Meeting Minutes and Newsletters, 2006
Swannanoa	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2005-2006; Membership Lists, 2005-2006; State of Meeting, 2004-2005; Committee Reports, 2005-2006; End of Life Guidance, 2006
SAYMA Meeting Newsletters received in 2006 – 2007: Berea, Charleston, and Columbia	

Other Record Groups

Record Group	Deposit
Virginia Beach Friends School	Yearbooks, Papers, School Board Minutes

^Regular annualized deposits from Guilford College and other records groups. However, any major deposits, such as those that start new record series or fill major gaps, are listed in the annual report.

Book Reviews

***Founded by Friends: The Quaker Heritage of Fifteen American Colleges and Universities*, edited by John W. Oliver, Charles L. Cherry, and Caroline L. Cherry. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007. 312 pp. $35.**

Those of us in independent higher education sometimes feel a twinge of "values envy" when we compare our own institutions with some of those founded by the Friends. Several historically-Quaker colleges, even while offering thoroughly secularized curricula, seem unapologetic about their religious heritage, having managed to translate their religious testimonies – truth, equality, simplicity, peace – into secular educational values that appeal to religious and secular alike. Except for those schools that have remained intentionally religious, independent colleges today generally downplay whatever connection they have or have had with their founding faiths – except, of course, when recruiting good students or seeking money from donors who belong to those faiths. It is hard to imagine very many college recruiters' saying to a diverse group of high-school students and their parents, "We offer an outstanding secular education, *and* our Presbyterian (Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Catholic, Jewish) values pervade and shape our entire approach to education and our common life."

Most Quaker colleges in the United States were not established to offer higher learning to mostly non-Friends in a context of Quaker educational values. Most were established to provide some sort of "guarded education," especially to Quaker young people. *Founded by Friends: The Quaker Heritage of Fifteen American Colleges and Universities* offers some insights into how they changed and why. Based on the model of *Cradles of Conscience: Ohio's Independent Colleges*

and Universities (Kent State University Press, 2003), for which John W. Oliver was also the principal editor, *Founded by Friends* offers a series of case studies of individual institutions. Thomas D. Hamm's "Introduction," which outlines the broad patterns of their founding and development, poses the question, "How Distinctive?" and places the institutions' individual histories in the broader context of American Quaker history. Hamm makes clear, for example, the origins of most Quaker institutions of higher education in Gurneyite-Orthodox Quakerism, and the cross-fertilization that commonality has produced for nearly two centuries. The fifteen essays that follow, composed by local historians and archivists, highlight the major turning points in the history of each institution. Of the fifteen schools, thirteen were founded as "Quaker" in some sense, and twelve of these (all but Azusa Pacific) are currently members of the Friends Association for Higher Education. (Two others – Cornell and Johns Hopkins – were established through the largesse of Friends but as secular universities.) Most have struggled with the pressure of acculturation and the dwindling percentage of Friends among their faculties and student bodies.

The individual authors have been chosen well. In general they are well-known historians who are knowledgeable both about their individual institutions' histories and also about the larger currents of Quaker, American, and educational history. Their essays are both the strength of the book and its weakness. No such collection of institutional histories of Quaker colleges and universities has appeared in print before, and it will provide a reference point for Friends in higher education for decades to come. For someone interested in the history of a particular college, it will furnish a ready overview and maybe some surprises. But these essays, while providing excellent, detailed chronological narratives, do not address common themes or issues as thoroughly. With *Cradles of Conscience* behind him, editor John Oliver might have pressed the authors to address key questions about the development of each institution – such as the founders' religious and educational intentions, the evolution of religious identity, the response to secularism, and the distinctly Quaker motifs in their life today – without unduly biasing the individual authors. Such an approach, perhaps involving an exchange of initial drafts among the

authors, might have lent more coherence and vitality to the work as a whole. (The histories of Cornell and Johns Hopkins, which were secular from the start, could have been omitted entirely.)

The big question with this, as with any, historical study is, "So what?" Is this book primarily a historical encyclopedia of American Quaker higher education? Or do these fifteen case studies provide some insight into what "Quaker higher education" is? In his "Conclusion," John Oliver (himself a passionate "peace Christian"—a term he would consider redundant) claims that the peace witness binds these institutions together and distinguishes them from others. But he is forced to admit the tenuousness of even that assertion. In his "Introduction," Thomas Hamm dismisses the notion that peace has been a consistent element in these schools' programs, either historically or recently, and fails to find a common thread that runs through the history of any one institution, let alone that binds them all together. The same could be said of American Quakerism today.

But when one is studying fifteen (or thirteen) individual trees closely, it may be hard to see what distinguishes them as a group until one compares them with other trees in the forest. A "control group" – a collection of case studies of non-Quaker colleges – is needed, and *Cradles of Conscience* provides just such a group. Had John Oliver compared the *Founded by Friends* case studies with the non-Quaker *Cradles of Conscience* case studies, he might have found some interesting similarities as well as some important differences. All "religious" colleges and universities have had to deal with acculturation and secularization as they struggled to survive, and the ways in which they have responded have followed several paths. Some have asserted their independence from church control. Some have recommitted themselves to a religious mission, often with a less sectarian flavor. Some have offered a thoroughly secular curriculum emphasizing the liberal arts. Others have promoted pre-professional programs to both "traditional" and "adult" college students. Each has tried to find its own new niche.

One can see these same sorts of responses in the development of Quaker colleges and universities. But one can also see differences. Whether striving to be the best private non-sectarian liberal arts college

in the country, or to provide all sorts of pre-professional programs to adult learners, or to be a values-based evangelical Christian college, these schools still show evidence of their Quaker heritage. The success of some liberal and evangelical Quaker colleges in translating Friends testimonies into secular educational values is certainly unusual among colleges founded by religious bodies. The early Friends' suspicion of theological education, their rejection of ordination and "outward sacraments," their desire to "mend the world," and their emphasis on the practical and experimental have all left their mark. With few exceptions, they seem to be generally less authoritarian, less socially and economically elitist, more open to and encouraging of women, more socially-concerned, and more receptive to new ideas in science and technology than many other colleges founded by religious bodies. Further study is needed to determine the extent to which these tendencies are in fact characteristic of Quaker higher education as a whole. But such subtle differences of value and emphasis have persisted over time strongly enough that others in higher education can still recognize and even envy them today.

Damon D. Hickey
The College of Wooster

***How the Quakers Invented America*, by David Yount. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007. xxiv + 159 pp. $19.95.**

The title of this brief volume intrigued me. It has received attention from North Carolinians in a recent NPR broadcast hosted by Frank Stasio of WUNC Public Radio (*The State of Things*, September 4, 2007). David Yount's purpose was to explain how Quakers have influenced a myriad of features of American life. He also showed how Friends, with their concern for humanity, have been ahead of their time with their opposition to slavery and support and activism in the women's suffrage and civil rights movements.

Yount, a nationally syndicated columnist, uses an essay format to address his subject matter which accounts for the occasional repeat of material. I particularly looked for information relating to both North Carolina and the South. These included an early reference to General Nathaniel Greene, commonly known as the "fighting Quaker" and for whom Greensboro (N.C.) is named, and to the fact that the Religious Society of Friends was the only organized religion in North Carolina in the 1600s. In Yount's conclusion, there is a mention of Levi Coffin and the Underground Railroad which began in North Carolina. He noted also the placement of Japanese American students in colleges during World War II; Guilford College (N.C.) was one of several schools which accepted these students. He believes both Nathaniel Greene and contemporary Tom Fox (Quaker peace activist with the Christian Peacemaker Teams) "exemplify an America whose founding ideals and national character stem from the Quakers."

While Yount makes some broad statements such as "[Quakers] do not proselytize," which are not wholly factual (quite a number do proselytize through door-to-door canvassing, church-planting, and the like), he does an admirable job of explaining Quaker "convincement" as well as a solid introduction to the faith. He also notes that Quakers "reject preaching" but fails to note that more than half of Quaker meetings in the United States are pastored meetings where a prepared message or sermon is presented every week. The author points out that he is a convinced Friend, having come late to Quakerism.

It would seem that his audience would be primarily non-Quakers though there are points in the book new to this life-long Friend. He noted particularly that the Bill of Rights was shaped by the Quaker-drafted Rhode Island constitution but does not give the author(s) of the document. I did not realize that American Quakers were pioneers in the insurance industry. Yount references an insurance company founded in 1752 in Pennsylvania. This would be Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire which Benjamin Franklin formed. I have no knowledge that Franklin was Quaker. Yount also pays particular attention to the courts' accommodation of the Quaker resistance to testimony given under oath. All (Quakers and others) may now "affirm" or "promise" to tell the truth rather than swear an oath.

Rightly he states that America was founded by those who sought freedom to practice their religious preferences. Indeed, the Quakers were among the most harshly persecuted of the Christian faiths. He explains how seventeenth century Friends came to Pennsylvania and established a model for the United States. He devotes the entirety of Chapter 7 to Penn's "Holy Experiment," – a good piece of writing covering church and state history. He pays a good bit of attention in his conclusion to the influence of Quaker education on the American landscape. Yount has visited Guilford College to see some of this Quaker education in action including the very successful Quaker Leadership Scholars Program and Friends Center program under the direction of Max L. Carter.

Former Librarian of Congress Daniel J. Boorstin has said "the Quakers possessed a set of attitudes which fit later textbook definitions of American democracy," thus Yount's argument that Quakers "invented" America. Yount does a superb job explaining the tenets and conventions of the Quaker faith – equality, simplicity, tolerance, plain speech. I had not realized that the gender-inclusive language of the colonial period (using "he and she" rather than "he") had come from the Quakers. I do not find references to substantiate or refute this but it is plausible.

I generally found Yount's descriptions of the Quaker faith to be idealized and generally confined to his experience in the unprogrammed tradition. Living in North Carolina and having some first-hand

knowledge of Quakers in several other states, I have learned that Friends meetings can run the gamut. In his explanation on child rearing, he states that "Quakers were unusual in claiming that children were born innocent." This was also the belief of John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau; neither were Friends. An impressive bibliography followed but only biblical references were footnoted within the text.

Yount claims that the Quaker ideals – "equalitarian, fair, peace loving, tolerant, charitable, responsible, plainspoken, and honest" – continue to define the American character. Even while only 206,000 strong currently; he speculates that the Quakers will "continue to reinvent America by perpetuating their age-old values." For the sake of all, let us hope he is correct in his assessment and that we can continue to seek "that of God in everyone."

M. Gertrude Beal
Guilford College

***An Introduction to Quakerism*, by Pink Dandelion. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 294 pp. $19.99 (paperback), $84.00 (hardback).**

Pink Dandelion has produced an important book, but with a misleading title. Those looking for a basic first introduction to hand to new attenders will be disappointed. Those seeking a synthesis of the work of several prominent scholars in contemporary Quaker studies will find it a rich synthesis of the work of such writers as Douglas Gwyn, Michele Tarter, Margery Post Abbott, Gordon Davie, Carole Spencer, and many others. The emphasis is theological and the language scholarly, appropriate to a work aimed primarily at students of religion.

The book is organized in two major sections: The first two-thirds consists of a history of Quaker theology through the twentieth century, with more basic coverage of the related developments in organization, culture, and social testimonies; the second a review of contemporary Quakerism worldwide, starting again with Theology and worship, then continuing with Quakers and 'the world' and The Quaker family (*i.e.*, prospects for the wider community of Friends). It concludes with a basic timeline, bibliography, and index. The overall approach makes the book very satisfying reading for anyone wanting to understand how Quakerism developed from its roots in the Puritan revolution of seventeenth-century England to its current bewildering diversity.

One minor omission that perhaps speaks volumes about the state of contemporary British Quakerism (in which Pink Dandelion is himself centered) occurs in the discussion of "Authority" under Theology and worship. The author sees Quakers scattered along a bi-polar continuum in their relative emphasis on the authority of immediate, personal revelation and scripture (recorded revelation) as sources of religious authority. Like Robert Barclay, he ignores the third common pillar of religious authority – the church, or the communal experience of revelation. Barclay had been speaking to the English Protestant establishment, which had clearly settled on scripture as the primary authority, and had no interest in airing the Quaker movement's internal disputes over the authority of meetings. While arguments

about the authority of the meeting over the individual and of one level of meeting over another may be a quaint historical footnote to British Friends, they are very much alive in other parts of the world, including the United States. (The immediate precipitant of the Great Separation of 1827 was the attempt of one theological faction to use the meeting structure to impose conformity on the other. Today, crises often arise from disputes about the yearly meeting's authority over its constituent monthly meetings.)

A book of this scope inevitably will stimulate arguments from and among individual readers. Far from being a weakness, the vibrancy of the discussion that it can provoke only confirms its importance as a contribution to the ongoing discussion of issues vital to Friends everywhere.

Mary Ellen Chijioke
Guilford College

Announcements

Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists

The Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists will hold its seventeenth biennial conference at Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre in Birmingham, England from 27 to 29 June 2008. The conference will be held jointly with the Quaker Studies Research Association and will include their annual George Richardson Lecture, to be given in 2008 by Thomas Hamm.

This is the first time these two organizations have met together and is an exciting opportunity for scholars from both sides of the Atlantic to engage in face-to-face discussion and exchanges of ideas. There will be special library access and an optional historical tour of Bournville.

See www.guilford.edu/fhc for a link to the conference program and additional information.

Herbert L. Poole Award

The **Herbert L. Poole Award** is for an outstanding paper on a topic in southern Quaker history. Herbert Poole was the long-time director of the Guilford College Hege Library and editor of *The Southern Friend.* Both amateur and professional historians are invited to apply. Papers should contribute to the greater understanding of the history of Friends in the southeastern United States with original research and are expected to be well written and properly documented. The recipient will be granted up to $500 in recognition of their achievement. **Deadline for submission is June 1, 2008.** Submission to include two paper copies, an electronic version sent as e-mail attachment, and a current vita

and/or biographical statement sent to the attention of the Fellowship Committee, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410; hegefhc@guilford.edu.

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

2007

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