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THE 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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The publication committee is interested in receiving articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in North Carolina and the adjacent geographical area. Articles must be well written and thoroughly documented. Papers on family history should not be submitted. All copy, including footnotes, *should be typed double-space. Articles and correspondence should be sent to:* Herbert Poole, Co-editor; Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. 27410.

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Quaker Migration To The Western Waters*

BY
*Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert Thorne***

"Sometimes they have emigrated like bees in regular and connected swarms," wrote Crèvecoeur in opening his description of the migration of Nantucket Quakers to New Garden, in Guilford County, North Carolina.¹ In the decade in which *Letters from an American Farmer* was being written, the last important migration was coming into New Garden;² in the next, the 1780's, the first of the migrations westward had started from that meeting.

One of these "regular and connected swarms" of Quakers, consisting of eight families belonging to the New Garden Meeting, settled in the late 1780's on the "western waters," as the Holston River and its tributaries in East Tennessee were often called in the period before Tennessee became a state and received an official name. By 1792 they were joined by other families who belonged to various monthly meetings of the same quarterly meeting. This migration into the Tennessee Valley becomes particularly interesting as it illustrates the care with which a Quaker meeting supervised the activities of its members, and also the principles involved in emigration, as well as the general pattern of Quaker migration.

The exact date of the migration to the "western waters" is hard to establish. Friends had settled at Tom's Creek in Surry County, North Carolina, as early as 1772, for on 8/29/1772 New Garden minutes³ recorded the fact that "Friends near the mountains⁴ request the indulgence of holding meetings on week-days among them-selves" and the privilege was granted after a committee had made a visit of inspection. In the years following, Friends visited the meeting carefully; in 1784 it became a preparative meeting and in 1786 a monthly meeting, its name then being changed to Westfield.⁵ At each stage of its development, official representatives were sent over the mountain roads to visit it. Names of three such groups were contained in the New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes and two others in the minutes of Western Quarter — a total of twenty-seven men, nine of whom had been appointed on two such missions and two on three. In the 1780's Friends knew the road that led toward Tennessee.⁶ In addition to the Westfield

Meeting, actually located in North Carolina, but composed also of Friends over the border in Virginia and in Greene and Jefferson counties, Tennessee, there was also a meeting at Nolichucky, located in Greene County, Tennessee.⁷ New Garden Friends were much concerned over it from 1783 until they granted it the privilege of holding meetings for worship in 1785 and until Westfield Monthly Meeting assumed some responsibility for it after 1786. It was set up as a monthly meeting in 1795 with the name Newhope.

Nolichucky was first mentioned in the minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting, 8/30/1783: "This meeting taking under Consideration Several families of friends that have some time ago removed from here to Nolachuckey, Refers the matter to next meeting." A visiting committee was appointed at the next meeting to "Inspect into their Situation & Circumstances & wheather their being there tends to the Honour of Truth or not." Their report, given 12/27/1783, was that it had "not tended much to the Honour of Truth" yet they were "of the Mind that there are some tender Minds among them which Deserves the Notice of their friends."

The next time that Nolichucky was mentioned, a new aspect of the problem appeared. On 4/24/1784 New Garden Meeting received certificates of removal from the Monthly Meeting of Bush River⁸ in Newberry County, South Carolina, for "friends who had moved to the western water to Nolichuckay." Thus it becomes evident that the settlement at Nolichucky consisted of two groups of Friends — those from North Carolina and those from South Carolina. It was customary for the monthly meeting nearest to a new settlement to assume its supervision and to receive the certificates forwarded to it from the meetings which the settlers had left; but on this occasion, New Garden "not being free to Receive them think proper to Lay it before the Quarterly Meet. for their Brotherly Advice & Counsil therein." The decision of the quarterly meeting, made 8/5/1784, was as follows:

New Garden Monthly Meeting Requests advice of this meeting whether it will be best for them to receive Every Certificate that may be produced by members of Other meetings who have removed to Nolachuna or Elsewhere upon the western waters. Which this meeting takes notice and gives it as its sense and Judgment that it will be best for them to receive no such Certificates until further care be taken.

It is quite unusual for one meeting to refuse certificates from another on the advice of the quarterly meeting to which both belong; thus this action gives evidence of the very strong sense of responsibility with which New Garden regarded frontier meetings — it did not pro-

pose to accept a group of members at such a distance even on recommendation of the meeting from which they had come.

One phrase in the minute is especially significant: "Nolachuna [*sic*] or Elsewhere upon the western waters." It is likely that this is the first reference to the Lost Creek settlement in the Holston Valley in Jefferson County, Tennessee, since the "western waters" was a term much used in connection with the Holston River. The first North Carolina settler at Lost Creek, John Mills, is thought to have gone there the year in which this minute was recorded, 1784.⁹

In 1786 New Garden sent a committee to Nolichucky and to Chestnut Creek.¹⁰ Their report, delivered 12/30/1786, stated that they "were of the Judgment that to Continue the Meeting of Nolachunkey would be best and the meeting of Chestnut Creek they apprehended to be out of order and that they needed help but thought it might be best Still to Indulge them for further Tryal." The meeting concurred and "considered them in futer to be under the care of Westfield Monthly Meeting" which had been set up. Thus New Garden Monthly Meeting had supervised Westfield, Nolichucky, and Chestnut Creek, visiting each frequently during the critical period of growth and development. The meeting was thoroughly familiar with the Tennessee country.

Emigration was in the air, and the Holston River valley beckoned. The emigration took place before 1787, for in October of that year New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes contain the first direct mention of Friends at Lost Creek on the Holston River "who Remain members of Divers monthly meetings in this Quarter from whence they have Removed and are now desirous to hold meetings among themselves."

Eight families from New Garden Meeting were named in a group when their certificates were finally granted five years later, so there is no uncertainty about the names,¹¹ but the time of their departure is another matter. Traditionally, John Mills is supposed to have gone to the Holston River Valley in 1784; Richard Haworth likewise is believed to have gone earlier than 1786;¹² but heads of families were sometimes advised by the meeting to go ahead and investigate conditions before they moved their families into the "backward settlements."

Deeds preserved in the Guilford County courthouse throw some light on the subject since heads of four of the eight families signed deeds in 1785 and 1786. Richard Haworth deeded his farm near New Garden to John Thomas, the indenture being signed August 1, 1785; Jesse and Hannah Baldwin's deed for land on Deep River is dated

February 7, 1786; William and Margaret Hinshaw's deed for land near New Garden is dated March 20, 1786; and John and Sarah Mills deeded a tract near Center Meeting House to Henry Macy on 3/23/1786. The deed describes this farm as "the land on which he now lives"; so his legal residence was still in North Carolina in that year.

In this period, New Garden Monthly Meeting exercised supervision over frontier meetings since it was nearer to them than was any other North Carolina meeting. Therefore, it received certificates for Friends planning to move west. On 8/26/1786 Jesse and Hannah Baldwin and their children were received at New Garden on certificate from Deep River; and on 9/30/1786 John and Sarah Mills, William and Rachel Beals and their families were received on certificate from Center Meeting. It would seem that these families were arranging things temporal and things spiritual as they departed for new territory; yet it would not be necessary for them to be present at a meeting to be received into membership. Therefore these dates are not so definitive as they seem at first glance.

A few other bits of evidence may be gathered from quarterly meeting minutes. William Beals was present at Western Quarter as a representative from Center, 5/16/1785, and was appointed to visit Cane Creek in South Carolina on 8/15/1785, but did not sign the certificate when his daughter Lydia married Aaron Tyson at Center on 11/2/1786. John Mills, a prominent Friend, is not mentioned in quarterly meeting minutes after 8/14/1784, but he signed the marriage certificate when his daughter Jane was married to John Davis on 10/21/1784 at Center. Moses Ballinger and his family had left New Garden by 1786, for on 2/25/1786 he was named as the representative from Tom's Creek (as Westfield was first called) to New Garden Monthly Meeting. By 1791 the Ballinger family was in the Holston Valley since their names occur in the certificate granted then.

Cane Creek (North Carolina), Center, Deep River, and Springfield were the other "divers meetings," but since they did not grant the certificates of removal in single groups as New Garden did, it is somewhat difficult to know who their first settlers at Lost Creek were. The names considered are those of persons and families who presented certificates as soon as Lost Creek was set up as a monthly meeting and thus was authorized to receive them.

Thomas Chapman was the leading figure in the small migration from Cane Creek Meeting.¹³ He was received at New Garden on certificate from Cane Creek in 1783, but his certificate to Westfield was also granted by Cane Creek in 1792. He was probably in Tennessee before he had his membership transferred to New Garden in 1783, for

he was elected clerk of the lower house, First Franklin Assembly in 1785 and was a member of the commission to the North Carolina assembly in 1786. He was also the first register of Knox County, qualifying June 16, 1792.¹⁴ In 1779 Cane Creek had disciplined him for holding office as a justice of the peace, but he seems not have been affected by that discipline. However, because of Friends testimony against office holding, Thomas Chapman lost importance as a Friend as he gained prominence in governmental affairs of Tennessee.

Early settlers from Center¹⁵ belonged to two families, the Woodwards and the Mills. In the group Abraham Woodward was the most prominent figure. He was named as representative to Western Quarterly Meeting four times between 11/9/1782 and 11/13/1786 but was not named again after that date.

The other two of the monthly meetings having members at Lost Creek by 1787 were Deep River and Springfield, located so close to one another that they may be considered as a unit.¹⁶ The migration from that neighborhood centered about the Mendenhall and Thornbrugh families but does not seem to have been a concerted move. Evidence from recorded deeds and from items in the meeting records point toward a scattered migration — a few persons at a time moving in the general direction of the Holston Valley. By 1792-3 seven families had reached that neighborhood, and the meeting granted certificates not in a block but as individuals wrote for them.¹⁷

When Western Quarterly Meeting convened on 11/12/1787, New Garden Monthly Meeting laid before it the request received from Friends at Lost Creek to be allowed the privilege of holding meetings among themselves. The minutes for that date record the following decision:

This meeting solidly weighing the matter And being deeply Concerned for the reputation of Truth and considering their Situation to be very remote from Any Monthly Meeting thinks it proper to appoint the Following friends as a committee To wit John Carter, John Talbott, Hezekiah Sanders, Jeremiah Reynolds, Obadiah Harris and Strangeman Stanley¹⁸ to visit them and Inspect into Every circumstance that they may think worthy of the care of friends in respect to their request being granted and report their care to next meeting.

Their report, presented 11/10/1788, was that "after having a solid opportunity And Conference with them Conclude it best That their request be not granted at this Time." The discussion which followed the formal report gives this reason for the refusal:

And this meeting being informed that truths testimony Doth and is Likely to Suffer on account of the above mentioned friends conduct by reason of settling on Land yet in contest Therefore Recommends to Each Monthly Meeting from

whence these Members have removed to advise such friends to move of [off] said Land Within the compass of Peaceable possession.

North Carolina Quakers as well as those in Pennsylvania were concerned that Indians be paid for their lands,¹⁹ and these lands yet in contest had belonged to the Cherokees. There were many additional complications, for the state of Tennessee was not formed until 1796 and in the transitions from Watauga Association to Washington County, North Carolina, to State of Franklin, to Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio, and finally to State of Tennessee, it was difficult to get land titles in order. Added to this difficulty, there were a number of disputes over early land purchases and over unsatisfactory Indian treaties. The land truly did not lie "within the compass of Peaceable possession."²⁰

When the above minute was read at Deep River on 3/2/1789, that meeting added thereto:

With which this Meeting Concurrs & advises said Friends to Solidly Consider the above Result, and whether it wont be most safe for them to conduct Agreeable thereto; and Direct the Clark to transmit a Copy of this minute and the above Extract to them.

There is no list of names and addresses inserted for the clerk's use and the historian's benefit.

Late in 1787 Western Quarterly Meeting was divided, and New Garden Quarter was set off, with New Garden, Deep River, Springfield, and Westfield as its monthly meetings. The new quarterly meeting took up the burden of Friends on the Holston River and on 9/13/1790 appointed a committee to visit them. The following report came in to the next quarterly meeting on 12/13/1790:

The Committee appointed to visit a number of frds. Setled on the waters of Holston River Report as follows—We of the Committee appointed to unite in Conjunction with a Committee of the Western Quarter in a visit to a number of frds. Setled on the waters of Holston River members of divers mo. meetings in these Quarters have attended on that Service & had an oportunity in Conference with them, wherein we found them to under a difficult Circumstance—being possessors of Lands for which the native owners have never Received Satisfaction neither are they under the particular notice of any monthly meeting not withstanding which they hold meetings among themselves & Should that Continue to be the Case we think it Highly necessary that each monthly meeting be stirred up to take due Care of their own members that Truth's Testimony be no farther bawked thereby all which we Submit to the meeting—Silas Williams James Thornbrugh Strangeman Stanley which judgment this meeting concurs with and Recomends the Same to the care of the Monthly Meetings and the Clerk is directed to furnish them with Copies of this minute—

Quaker Migration To The Western Waters

In this report both issues appear: Friends at Lost Creek had settled on lands for which the native owners had not been paid, and they were holding meetings without authority and supervision. The visit and the advice from Western Quarter had produced no result, no removal to safer lands.

Quite promptly (1/29/1791) New Garden Monthly Meeting renewed the effort. The quarterly meeting had thought it "highly necessary that each monthly meeting be stirred up to take due care"; therefore the monthly meeting named a committee "to have the Care of our members Living at Holston River in order that Truths Testamoney be preserved from further Suffering through them." Their care this time consisted of writing, and with the miles between them, that it understandable. On 8/27/1791 the committee reported the result of the correspondence. They had received a letter from Friends at Lost Creek "by which we are informed that the land whereon they reside is purchased of the Native owners and that they request their wright of membership to be removed to Westfield Monthly Meeting."

After the Treaty of Holston, negotiated by Supt. William Blount with the Cherokees, had been signed on July 2, 1791, the lands could no longer be called contested for they belonged to the United States; payment had been rendered.²¹ The opening clause of the treaty would ensure peaceable possession:

The parties being desirous of establishing peace and friendship between the United States and the said Cherokee Nation, and the citizens, and members thereof, and to remove the causes of war, by ascertaining their Limits, and making other necessary, just and friendly arrangements: . . .

New Garden Monthly Meeting had failed to bring its members home, but the President of the United States had removed the issue, and the question was settled.

Friends at Lost Creek had somewhat changed their request, as they now asked for a transfer of membership rather than the privilege of holding their own meetings; but that change did not make any real difference, for no meeting would grant certificates of removal under doubtful circumstances any more than it would allow members the right of holding meetings when the "Honour of Truth might suffer." Certificates of removal were recommendations and carried assurance of good character.

On 10/29/1791 the clerk transcribed this minute as certificates were granted to the eight families:

The friends continued and appointed last meeting to prepare Certificates for our members living on the water of Holston river (to wit) one for John Mills

with his wife Sarah & six Children Named William, John, Zachariah, Alice, Lydia, and Rachel one for William Beals with his wife Rachel and five Children Named Wm, Jacob, Caleb, Parnel, and Ashar, one for William Sumner with his wife Elenor, one for William Hinshaw with his wife Margeret and three Children Named Uriah, Hannah & Sarah, one for Jesse Baldwin with his wife Hannah and five Children Named Enos, Henry, Wm, Uriah, & Walter, one for Jeremiah Horn with his wife Judith and four Children Named John, Mary, Prudence & Elizabeth one for Moses Ballenger with his wife Hannah and six Children Named Martha, Thomas, Wm, Moses, Charity, & Henry and one for Richard Hayworth with his wife Ann and ten Children Named Wm, James, Mary, Sarah, John, Charity, Richard, Joel, Jonathan, & David, produced them which were all approved of & signed.

Although this five year contest was settled, Western Quarter wanted the issue clarified and therefore laid before the yearly meeting in session 11/1/1791 "a matter respecting Friends who have or may hereafter settle on Indian Lands unpurchased to know what Steps are to be taken with such."

This was the advice of the yearly meeting:

The said Committe also propose that the following Minute be adopted by this Meeting; which after being read & considered, is approved of, to wit, "Taking under consideration the matter of Friends settling on Indian's Land Unpurchased, direct that no Friend settle on such Land. Also Taking into Solid consideration the Case of Friends removing to the back Settlements; and the difficulty & danger some have reduced to, & trouble they have brought on Friends thereby, for preventing of which, this Meeting do give it as our Sense of Judgment that no Friend do remove & settle out of the Limits of the Monthly Meeting, without first applying to, & having consent of the Monthly & Quarterly Meeting to which bounds the Quarter is to be judge of; and that Friends be careful to attend to the former advice in our Discipline respecting Removals."²²

The rest of the story of Lost Creek's beginnings is soon told. In 1792 Friends of Lost Creek asked New Garden to allow them the privilege of holding meetings for worship, and the monthly meeting referred the request to the quarterly meeting, it being "too weighty (under the present circumstances of said Friends) for them to determine." On 3/11/1793 representatives from New Garden Quarterly Meeting reported that they had assisted Westfield Monthly Meeting "in visitting Friends of Lost Creek, and after a time of conference with them on the subject, think it best to grant their request."

The meeting at Lost Creek grew steadily; a preparative meeting was set up in 1795 under the care of Newhope, the Nolicucky of earlier days. On 5/25/1796 John Mills deeded it a three-acre tract which was used as a site for a meeting house, a school house, and a grave yard; and on 5/20/1797 the monthly meeting was set up with

Abraham Woodward and Sarah Mills as clerks. At that first session "Friends inhabiting about Thomas Marshall's in Grassy Valley (across the Holston in Knox County) requested the privilege of holding a First Day Meeting." Lost Creek set up three other subordinate meetings in addition to Grassy Valley—Newberry (at the site of the present Friendsville in Blount County), Panther Creek, and South of the French Broad River — and seemed in a flourishing condition.²³

In 1802 migration to the North began, and the life which had flowed into the valley of the Holston from North Carolina went out in the tide of emigration to Ohio and Indiana. In Tennessee many Quaker families paused a decade or a generation and took their rest, then went on again. They were pioneers.

*Reprinted by permission of the *East Tennessee Historical Society, Publications No. 18* (1946), 47-58.

**William Wade Hinshaw, the compiler of *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, suggested the subject of this article and offered many suggestions. The author gratefully acknowledges his assistance.

¹St. John de Crèvecoeur's description of New Garden (which he never visited) presents a glowing picture: "No spot on earth can be more beautiful, it is composed of gentle hills, of easy declivities, excellent low lands accompanied by different brooks which traverse the settlement. I never saw a soil that rewards man so early for their labours and disbursements." *Letters from an American Farmer* (Everyman edition, New York, 1912), 133.

²A Meeting for worship was established at New Garden in 1751, a monthly meeting in 1754. Between 1754 and 1770 eighty-six certificates, many for whole families, were received: forty-five from Pennsylvania, thirty-five from Virginia, one from Maryland, and four from north-eastern North Carolina. Between 1771 and 1775, forty-one certificates were received from Nantucket. Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), 105, 108. (Certificates were not issued for the thirty families or so who were already in the neighborhood when the meeting was set off from Cane Creek Meeting in 1754.) The Friends Meeting still bears the name New Garden, but the community is now called Guilford College. It is six miles west of Greensboro.

³Minutes and records kept by the Society of Friends are dated according to the plain language; that is, numerals are used rather than names of heathen deities. Fox exhorted the early Friends: "My dear brethren in the covenant of life, keep to Yea and Nay, and call the days first-day, second-day, third-day, fourth-day, fifth-day, sixth-day, and seventh-day, as they were given forth and called by God in the beginning." William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912), 130-40.

In this article the first numeral refers to the month, the second to the day. The word meeting is applied to all assemblies for worship and for business, and the place of meeting is called a meeting house, not a church.

The minutes for monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings are manuscript books belonging to North Carolina Yearly Meeting and kept in the vault at Guilford College, North Carolina.

"Uriah Carson, an inhabitant of Toms Creek near the mountains makes request to be joined in membership with Friends of this meeting, which is granted accordingly." New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes, 5/29/1773. This minute makes the identification of Tom's Creek with the unnamed meeting near the mountains certain.

*This meeting developed according to the regular pattern as it was first a meeting for worship, then a preparative meeting, and finally a monthly meeting. Only the monthly meeting could transact business, and until Westfield had its own monthly meeting all matters of business had to be carried back to New Garden Monthly Meeting which had established it. The preparative meeting appointed representatives and through them referred all matters open for discussion to the monthly meeting. The genealogical records were kept by the monthly meeting, certificates of removal were issued and received by it, and it exercised the close supervision over the preparative meetings and over the conduct of its own members. Questions which it did not feel free to decide were referred to the quarterly meeting to which each monthly meeting sent representatives four times a year, and the quarterly meeting referred difficult matters of business, policy, and conduct to the yearly meeting. This meeting then belonged to New Garden Monthly Meeting until it became a monthly meeting; after that Western Quarterly Meeting was its superior meeting until New Garden Quarterly Meeting was set up in 1787. The Yearly Meeting to which it belonged was North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

*In 1783 New Garden Monthly Meeting appointed Francis Clark, Enoch Macy, Timothy Russell, Stephen Gardner, Jesse Williams, Silas Williams, and John Canady; in 1784 John Talbott, Seth Coffin, William Tomlinson, John Beals, Jr., and Hezekiah Sanders; in 1786 Micajah Terrel, Nathan Hunt, Thomas Thornbrugh, Jr., John Thomas, Silas Williams, Aaron Mendenhall, Strangeman Stanley, and Jepson Williams. In 1784 Western Quarter appointed a committee consisting of John Talbott, Hezekiah Sanders, John Carter, James Woody, Thomas Winslow, John Beals, Jr., Seth Coffin, and William Tomlinson; in 1786 the committee named by the quarter consisted of John Beals, Jr., John Talbott, Obediah Harris, Thomas Winslow, John Hoggatt, William Tomlinson, William Hill, and Seth Coffin.

*Territory is identified here by names which were not current at the time, Tennessee not being the official designation until 1796. Nolichucky was located ten miles east of the present town of Greenville. There is no Friends settlement there now bearing the early name Nolichucky or the later name Newhope.

*Bush River Monthly Meeting was set up by Western Quarterly Meeting in North Carolina in 1770, but the minutes seem to indicate that it did not meet until 4th month 1772. It was laid down in 1822, but emigration into Ohio had depleted its membership so that it had not been active after 1808. Thomas W. Marshall, "Bush River Monthly Meeting." W. W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1936—), I, 1015.

*Thomas W. Marshall, "Lost Creek Monthly Meeting," Hinshaw, *op. cit.* I, 1101, quoting Cora M. Payne, *Genealogy of the Maulsby Family* (1902), 30. Lost Creek was between the present towns of Newmarket and Strawberry Plains in Jefferson County. The Quaker community there now is called Friends' Station; the meeting-house is still called Lost Creek.

*Chestnut Creek Meeting was in Grayson County, Virginia, and was settled by Friends from New Jersey about 1785. Their certificates were sent first to Deep River Monthly Meeting in North Carolina, the meeting nearest to Chestnut Creek, and then to Westfield when it became a monthly meeting, and finally to Mount Pleasant Meeting when it was established in Grayson County in 1807. Chestnut Creek never become a

monthly meeting. (Details supplied by W. W. Hinshaw, compiler of *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*.)

¹¹The families from New Garden were as follows (unless otherwise specified they came from Guilford County). All except the Sumners had children whose names are given in the certificates of removal quoted later:

1. Jesse Baldwin (s. of William and Elizabeth) m. 12/15/1779 at Deep River Hannah Thornburgh (d. of Henry and Hannah).

2. Moses Ballinger (s. of Henry and Hannah) and his wife Hannah. Moses Ballinger married out of unity and was disowned 1/29/1763. Received into membership again before 1785.

3. William Beals (s. of John and Margaret) m. 10/19/1760. Rachel Green (d. of James of Roan County).

4. Richard Haworth m. c. 1765 Ann Dillon at Hopewell, Frederick County, Virginia. Certificates granted to New Garden 11/4/1771.

5. William Hinshaw (s. of William and Sarah Courtenay Hinshaw) m. 5/16/1782 Margaret Hunt (d. of William and Sarah Mills Hunt).

6. Jeremiah Horn (s. of Nathaniel) m. 3/16/1783 Judith Unthank (d. of Thomas and Abigail Brown Thornbrugh and widow of Joseph Unthank).

7. John Mills (s. of John and Sarah Beals Mills, Roan County) m. 1/28/1761 Sarah Millikan (d. of William Millikan, Roan County).

8. William Sumner (s. of Robert and Phebe) m. 3/20/1771 Eleanor Edwards (d. of Haniel Edwards).

9. There are several family ties in this group: John Mills, William Sumner, and Margaret Hunt Hinshaw's mother, Sarah Mills Hunt, were grandchildren of John and Sarah Bowater Beals. Jesse Baldwin's brother William had married their aunt. Their uncle, Thomas Beals, was a pioneer Friend greatly interested in migration. See Harlow Lindley, "Thomas Beals, First Friend's Minister in Ohio," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LIII (1944), 55-60. Judith Horn and Hannah Baldwin were cousins; thus the Ballinger and Haworth families were the only ones not bound by ties of relationship. It is not certain that these two families went at the same time as the others.

Genealogical footnotes were suggested by William Wade Hinshaw and compiled from his book, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, I*, which contains items from minutes and family records kept by the oldest meetings belonging to North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

¹²Information from Samuel L. Haworth, professor emeritus at Guilford College and great-grandson of Richard Haworth.

¹³Members from Cane Creek who became members at Lost Creek in 1793 were as follows:

1. Thomas and Margaret Chapman, who had come from Wrightstown Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania to Cane Creek in 1766.

2. Miles Chapman (s. of Thomas and Margaret Chapman).

3. Isaac Stout (s. of Samuel and Rachel Clancey Stout) married out of unity in 1792. His wife's first name was Susannah.

4. William Williams (s. of William and Margaret) m. Rachel Kemp (d. of Richard and Susanna Kemp) at Cane Creek 3/16/1786. Names of children in these families may be found in Hinshaw, *op. cit.*

¹⁴Clarence Edwin Carter (compiler), *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934—), IV, 449; J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853), 293.

¹⁵Members from Center who presented certificates at Lost Creek in 1792-93 were:

1. William Frazier (s. of John and Abigail of Randolph County) m. Susanna Woodard (d. of Abraham and Hannah Thornbrugh Woodward) at Center 1/29/1782.
2. Elihu Swain (s. of Nathaniel and Bethia) m. Sarah Mills (d. of John and Sarah) at Center, 2/21/1782.
3. Abraham Woodward m. Hannah Thornbrugh in Pennsylvania.
4. Samuel Mills (s. of John and Sarah Millkin Mills) m. Mary Ballinger (d. of Moses and Hannah) in Tennessee in 1796.

¹⁶Certificates were issued by Deep River were for the following:

1. Joel Elmore (s. of Thomas and Ann) m. Rebecca Mendenhall (d. of Mordecai and Hannah) at Westfield, 12/20/1794.
2. Mordecai Mendenhall (s. of Mordecai and Charity Beeson Mendenhall) m. 11/5/1771 Hannah Marshill (d. of William and Rebecca Dixon Marshill), at Cane Creek.
3. Aaron Mills (s. of Henry and Hannah) m. 1/18/1774 Charity Mendenhall (d. of Mordecai and Charity Beeson Mendenhall) at New Garden.
4. Richard Mills married out of unity and was disowned 5/30/1767, restored to membership 4/28/1770. His wife's name was Hannah.
5. Joseph Thornbrugh (s. of Thomas and Abigail Brown Thornbrugh) m. 2/5/1778 Rebeckah Mills Morgan (d. of Thomas Mills and widow of William Morgan).
6. William Thornbrugh (s. of Joseph and 1st wife Elizabeth Ferrington) m. at Westfield to Rachel Beals in 1789.
7. Isaac Williams (s. of William and Margaret of Orange County) m. 1/24/1767 at Cane Creek to Rachel Pike (d. of John and Abigail).

Springfield Meeting issued certificates for:

1. Henry Thornbrugh (s. of Walter) m. 12/7/1758 at New Garden, Rachel Moon (d. of Simon).
2. Walter Thornbrugh (s. of Henry and Rachel Moon Thornbrugh). Names of children in these families may be found in Hinshaw, *op.*, *cit.*

¹⁷As for the deeds, Mordecai Mendenhall of the County of Stokes sold a tract on Bush River which had been granted to his father Mordecai Mendenhall by the Earl of Granville; the deed is dated 12th day of 9th month, 1791. A second deed to another tract near the first is dated February 18, 1799, and gives Mordecai Mendenhall's residence as Jefferson County, State of Tennessee. Henry Thornbrugh of the County of Guilford deeded land for Springfield Meeting House to Moses Mendenhall, Matthew Coffin, John Rud-dock, and William Tomlinson on the 21st day of the 6th month, 1786; and on February 13, 1796, Henry Thornbrugh of Jefferson County, Western Territory deeded a tract adjoining Springfield Meeting to Isiah McDannel. Joseph Thornbrugh of Surry County deeded land on Bush Creek — a tract his son granted by Earl of Granville to Thomas Thornbrugh and by him conveyed to his son — the deed being dated 6th of the 10th month, 1787. Thus it becomes clear that the Mendenhalls and Thornbrughs had removed to Stokes County before going on to Tennessee.

There are no deeds recorded in Guilford County for members of the Mills families of the Deep River neighborhood, but Richard Mills is said to have removed to the western waters when he requested a certificate on 2/6/1792, Aaron Mills did not go until he had asked the advice of Deep River Monthly Meeting on 2/6/1792 and received an answer "leaving him to his freedom." Yet Deep River must have been one of those meetings with members living on the Holston River in 1786, for the meeting took action on the matter.

¹⁸All of the members of this committee had been sent on one or more such missions to Westfield or to Nolichucky. In the Quaker phrase, these were "weighty Friends" of Western Quarterly Meeting.

¹⁹In 1764 New Garden Monthly Meeting had been perturbed over possible Indian claims against its own holdings and had appointed a committee to investigate. Since the committee could learn of only a slight remnant of the original occupants, called the Cheraws, then living with another tribe, and as the claim was uncertain, the matter was dropped. Hopewell Meeting, located in Frederick County, Virginia, refused in 1765 to grant certificates of removal to members until they had ascertained whether or not the land on which they planned to settle had been purchased. See Rayner W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians 1655-1817* (Philadelphia, 1917), 51-52. This action would help to set precedent for New Garden Meeting's attitude toward these settlers in the Tennessee territory because several of its members had been members of the Hopewell Meeting when the matter was discussed there.

Between 1765 and 1786 ten certificates of removal issued by the Hopewell Meeting were received at New Garden, several for whole families. *Hopewell Friends History 1734-1934* (Strasburg, Virginia, 1936), 406-425.

²⁰The lands in question were claimed by the whites under treaties negotiated under very questionable circumstance by the State of Franklin with the Cherokee Indians in 1785 and 1786. The collapse of that state had further marred their validity. R. C. Downes, "Cherokee-American Relations in the Upper Tennessee Valley, 1776-1791," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 8. (1936), 35-53.

²¹See article 4 of the Treaty of Holston, Carter, *op. cit.*, IV, 61-63.

²²Stephen B. Weeks, *op. cit.*, sees this minute as an effort to curb migration. It seems to me that the minutes in question give a definite answer directed at one group of settlers and that the policy implied by the last clauses is incidental. Considering the rate at which all of the meetings continued to issue certificates, it had no real effect. When there is great discrepancy between stated theory and practice, it usually means that the small group which framed the advice is out of touch with the sense of the meeting.

²³Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, I, 1102.

Friends And The Coming Of The Revolution

BY

Steven Jay White

It was during the years just prior to the American Revolution that Quakerism in North Carolina experienced its second great wave of migration and growth. The western part of the colony attracted other groups to the Piedmont including the Germans, Moravians, Scotch-Irish, Dunkers, and Mennonites. The infusion of these diverse ethnic and religious groups into North Carolina during the eighteenth century transformed the make-up of the province. Between 1750 and 1770, the population grew from an estimated 65,000 to 250,000. In the early 1750's only one-third of the population lived in the Piedmont, but by the early 1770's one-half resided there. The political consequence of this western expansion was intense sectional hostility between the eastern planter aristocracy, which through malapportionment of the Assembly kept a stranglehold on political power in the colony, and the emerging middle-class leadership in the Piedmont.¹ It was this struggle that would so involve Quakers in the Piedmont that they would be blamed for its eventual violent culmination.

Friends were blamed for many things because they were such a large visible minority in the west. The large settlements of Friends in present-day Alamance, Chatham, Guilford, Randolph, and Surry Counties were formed by Quaker immigrants, not by expansion of the native element. This stream of immigration was strong, healthy, and vigorous, and according to Weeks, "It added a stable element, fortified still by the presence of thrift, frugality, and energy, to the making of the State."² Carver's Creek in Bladen County, Dunn's Creek in either Cumberland or Bladen Counties, and Cane Creek in Alamance were among the first settlements. Some of the founders of Quakerism in western North Carolina included John Powell, Joseph and John Doan from Bucks County, Pennsylvania; Simon Dixon, John Standfield and Thomas Cox from Kennet, Pennsylvania; and William Reynolds, Richard Sidwell, and Jeremiah Piggott from East Nottingham, Pennsylvania. Others included Thomas Carr from Gunpowder, Maryland; and John Hiatt, Aaron Jones, Eli Vestal, Wiliam Beeson, Mordecai Mendenhall, and William Hunt all from Hopewell, Virginia.³ Most

were farmers or tradesmen and helped to lend an aspect of stability to the wild land.

Cane Creek and New Garden meetings were formed around 1750, Deep River in 1753, Eno in 1754, and Centre in 1757. New Garden later became one of the largest and most influential of the western meetings. These western meetings also extended great influence over the non-Quaker communities of the Piedmont. The western Quakers represented some of the oldest and best Quaker families in Pennsylvania. Many English Quaker names had been adopted for towns in America, and it was from Pennsylvania that Friends carried the name "New Garden," which had come originally from the Old World, to North Carolina. In turn migrating North Carolina Quakers carried this name to Indiana.⁴ However, the North Carolina element was reinforced by other migrants from old Quaker stock. Elijah Coffin tells of one such migration from Nantucket Island, Massachusetts:

The island of Nantucket being small, its soil not very productive, a large number of people could not be supported thereupon....The population of the island still increasing, many of the citizens turned their attention to other parts, and were induced to remove and settle elsewhere, with a view to better their condition as to provide for their children, etc. A while before the Revolutionary War, a considerable colony of Friends removed and settled at New Garden in Guilford County, North Carolina, which was then a newly settled country. My grandfather Coffin was one of the number that thus removed. His removal took place, I believe, in the year 1773.⁵

Although New Garden served as an example for most of the meetings in the section, it was Cane Creek that emerged as the center of the discontent that culminated in the War of the Regulation.

In the late 1760's and early 1770's, North Carolina Quakers became involved in the insurrection in which the rebels called themselves "Regulators." This group of backcountry farmers and small marchants grew impatient with high taxation and official corruption. Even Lord John Earl Granville, who had been rewarded with nearly one-half of North Carolina by the King for his services--the so-called Granville District-- admitted that fees and taxes were excessive and that 50 percent of the taxes collected were embezzled by his agents.⁶ However, not all historians have viewed the War of the Regulation as the simple east versus west confrontation of early interpreters. Recently Marvin L. M. Kay, James P. Whittenburg, and A. R. Ekirch have all suggested that the Regulation was a classic case of class struggle against conservative planters, merchants, and lawyers. Yet all three fail to discuss the role of the Quakers in the Regulation.⁷

One of the main leaders of this "War of the Regulation" was Hermon Husband, a former Quaker who had been disowned by Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in 1764. Some detractors of the Society were eager to link Friends to the rebellion and often called Husband a "Quaker Preacher."⁸ The fact that he had been disowned for over seven years before any real violence occurred and two years before the Regulation began seemed to have been overlooked. His dissociation from the Society was not always clear to his opponents and those of the Friends. Husband was evidently a man who was accustomed to speak fearlessly and was "guilty of making remarks on the actions and transactions" of the meeting. The Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes reported that he spoke "his Mind," and was to blame for "publicly advertising the same."⁹ Husband's speeches caused much ill feeling and even produced scuffles on several occasions. Husband had come to North Carolina in 1751 from East Nottingham, Maryland. His hot temper and radical ideas later earned him the title of "the Thomas Paine of the South" and "North Carolina's first great liberal."¹⁰ Eli Caruthers, who studied the oral traditions among the people who knew Husband, described him as :

a man of superior mind, grave in deportment, somewhat taciturn, wary in consternation, but when excited forcible and fluent in argument. He was a man of strict integrity and firm in his advocacy of the right.¹¹

The final event which resulted in Husband's expulsion from the Society concerned one Rachel Wright. She had committed some disorder but had offered an apology for her act, which seems to have been accepted; and in 1763 she asked for a certification of removal to Fredericksburg, South Carolina. Some of the members of the monthly meeting thought she was not sincere in her explanation and opposed the certificate.¹² Husband was caught up in this battle and when his attitude was judged quarrelsome and violent, he was disowned. The Cane Creek Minutes reported:

Hermon Husband being complained of for being guilty of making remarks on the actions and transactions of this meeting . . . and publicly advertising the same, and after due labor with him in order to show him the evil of so doing this meeting agrees to disown him.¹³

Husband was not without his own following, and a number of Friends expressed dissatisfaction with the action. However, the disownment stood and many of Husband's supporters followed him out of the faith. Legend suggests that Husband sat upon the meeting house steps, removed his boots, and shook the dust off them in symbolic repudiation of the Society.¹⁴ It is significant to note that many of his ex-Quaker followers became Regulators. A few Friends who remained with the

Society did become "rebels" at the time of the Regulation, but they were dealt with by their meetings for involvement in the movement.

Husband became a prolific pamphleteer and wrote several pamphlets which fostered the discontent that climaxed in violence at the Battle of Alamance in 1771. Among them were *An Impartial Relation* and *A Fan for Fanning and Touchstone for Tryon* which particularly fired the public's imagination. It was Husband, the ex-Quaker, who more than anyone else expounded the aims of the Regulation: to make government more responsible to the people and to eliminate excessive taxes, graft and corruption in the backcountry. Husband's influence was aided by the additional attention he received from those who thought he was a Quaker.

Many of Husband's relatives and friends remained in the Society, among them Simon Dixon, also of Cane Creek. Dixon had married Husband's sister and was thought to be one of the first grist mill operators in the Piedmont. Several residents of the area accused him of having favored and assisted the rebels. In 1769 when the Cane Creek Meeting tried to disown him, he appealed to the Quarterly Meeting and was reinstated, no explanation of charge or decision being recorded.¹⁵ Two members of the meeting, Jeremiah and William Piggott, earlier had been accused of informing the governor's aide, Edmund Fanning, that Dixon and Husband were the leaders of the Regulators. They requested Fanning's aid in establishing their innocence, and their petition read:

Those that calls themselves Regulators Has Entertained an opinon that Brother Jeremiah and I was Qualified when we ware at Court that Simon Dixon and Harmon Husbands was the Ringleaders of the mob and we understand we are much threatened on the account of it therefore If thee would be pleased to send a few lines to Simon Dixon wheather it be true or faulse.¹⁶

In response, Fanning duly wrote this letter to Simon Dixon:

Sir--I this Day Received the Inclosed letter from William Piggott and in answer thereto and in compliance with His Request; I do, In Justice to the wrongfully blamed and accused Hereby Certify that I do not know neither do I believe, or did I ever hear that any Information was ever made by either of the said William or Jeremiah Piggott on their solemn against yourself Harmond Husbands or any other Person concerning their being engaged in the Late Miserable Unhappy Disturbance In this Country.¹⁷

Even though the Piggotts denied accusing Dixon and Husband of implication in the Regulation, many felt they were involved. It was thought that Dixon distributed Husband's circulars at his store and mill to stir up the Regulators to open resistance.¹⁸ The pamphlets, *An Impartial Relation* and *A Fan for Fanning and a Touchstone for*

Tryon, appear to have achieved their goal, for in 1771 the rioting and abuse of property by the Regulators in the backcountry reached such great proportions that Governor William Tryon marched west at the head of 1,400 militiamen to quell the disorders. The militia clashed at Alamance Creek with 2,000 backwoods insurgents on May 16, 1771. This "Battle of Alamance" lasted just over two hours and resolved once and for all the "Regulator" question. Before the actual fighting began, messages were sent back and forth until the patience of both sides was finally exhausted. The last message was from the Regulators, "Fire and be damned." The militia opened fire with both musket and cannon until, at the end of two hours, the return fire from the Regulators slackened. Tryon was quick to seize the advantage and called for an advance. As the militia moved forward, the Regulators broke and began to run, throwing away guns, supplies, and ammunition and leaving seventy horses in their haste. Tryon's losses were nine killed and sixty-one wounded; the Regulators had the same number of dead and a large but undetermined number of wounded.¹⁹

Twelve Regulators were tried for treason and all were convicted, but only six were hanged. The rest were pardoned by the governor, except Husband and a few other leaders. Tryon had offered clemency to all who would lay down their arms and submit to authority. Within six weeks, 6,409 submitted and later received pardons from the King through newly-appointed Governor Josiah Martin.²⁰ Meanwhile, Husband had fled the field at Alamance before the battle, which led many to condemn him as a cowardly deserter who fled his followers in their hour of need. Some, however, remembered that Husband was of "Quaker association and proclivities, if not of Quaker birth and that possibly he looked upon the use of carnal force as sinful."²¹ Others were rather harsh in their views of Husband:

The odor thereof (i.e., Battle) reminded him of what up to that time he seems to have forgotten, that he was a Quaker with Conscientious scruples against carnal warfare. So leaving his less pious followers to try conclusions with the hated Tryon he scampered away to Pennsylvania.²²

Many historians have sought to place the Society at the center of the War of the Regulation. While it is true the Regulation did break out in Orange County, a center of Quakerism in western North Carolina, the Society as a whole condemned the affair when it turned to mob violence and armed revolt. Yet historian Eli Caruthers seemed to think Quakers should share part of the responsibility for the war:

There is no class of people in the country who are better acquainted with all business transactions of ordinary life or who have a more correct

understanding of their rights and privileges as citizens; but the Quakers, if they were not foremost in the Regulation, appear to have united heartily in all the measures for the correction of abuses, except *fighting*, and it is said that some of them had metal enough to try their hand at that too.²³

This idea may have been founded partly on the charge leveled by Governor Tryon that the Regulators were a faction of Baptists and Quakers who were trying to overthrow the Church of England.²⁴ However, this charge is more easily made than proven. Well-known Quaker historian Stephen Weeks takes issue with it by responding: "Without entering at all into the merits of that struggle, it is sufficient to say that Friends, as a body, had nothing to do with it, and in their official capacity condemned it to the fullest extents."²⁵

Although the view that the Society supported the Regulators is unfounded, several Friends were later dealt with by their meetings for complicity in the movement. The minutes from Cane Creek for 1766, when the troubles were first mentioned, disclose that six members were disowned for attending a "disorderly meeting," probably one of the many mass meetings held in the county.²⁶ All throughout the Regulator years, 1766 to 1771, members were frequently disowned for anything associated with the movement. A close examination of the Western Quarterly Meeting Minutes disproves any accusation of Quaker involvement. In the Regulator period, Cane Creek disowned or had denials published against a total of twenty-eight members on grounds ranging from "attending a disorderly meeting" and joining a group refusing to pay taxes to actually taking up arms. In 1771 eighteen men were disowned, sixteen of them two weeks after the Battle of Alamance. The list of members disowned includes many prominent members of the community: Hermon Cox in 1769 for joining the Regulators, and in 1771, Benjamin and James Underwood, Joshua Dixon, Isaac Cox and his two sons, Herman and Samuel, and Thomas Pugh, along with several others for aiding them.²⁷ The New Garden Meeting was equally zealous in maintaining the Quaker testimony against war. Jesse Lane and Edward Thornbrough were expelled for joining the Regulation. Three in all were disowned by the New Garden Monthly Meeting for joining, and a fourth condemned himself in meeting for aiding "with a gun."²⁸

However, for every Friend who helped both Regulators and militia voluntarily, there were many who were forced to contribute to the war against their will. From time to time during the period, Friends were forced to meet demands for provisions and equipment for the provincial forces fighting the Regulators. The Quakers living around Rocky River and Cane Creek in Orange County were requested by Governor

Tryon:

. . . to furnish for His Majesty's Troops now marching under my command Six wagon loads of Flower [flour] from the people of your Society and also Six able wagons and teams with sufficient Drivers to attend the Troops with the said Flower. The Waggon and Teams will be returned when the service is over.²⁹

Although the governor promised to return what he "borrowed," it is doubtful that the Friends in question complied voluntarily with the order. When Tryon took six wagon loads of flour from the Quakers of Cane Creek, the Regulators intercepted them, thereupon Tryon's men recaptured them and took three additional loads from Simon Dixon's mill, who according to the Crown "favored and assisted the rebels."³⁰

It is interesting to note that in a similar case the colonial government refused to fulfill its promise to pay for supplies it "requested." Friends made "sundry claims said to be incurred in the late Expedition reported as follows viz. Quakers between Reedy Fork and Haw River for 10 steers (steers) £ 27 15s."³¹ Friends also made military claims in 1773 for restitution of the flour wagons, and these too were disallowed.³²

The War of the Regulation was a forecast of the trials the Quakers would have to face in the coming revolution. When it became apparent that such conflicts would eventually result in greater bloodshed, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting convened on October 27, 1775, to issue an epistle which set forth the position of North Carolina Friends with regard to any future political contests. It read in part:

Dearly Beloved Friends and Brethren

It Seemth Good and necessary to us at this time of general distress and unnatural commotions to revive to you serious and weighty consideration for rule and practice the ancient and honourable testimony and principle of Friends in respect to the King and Government touching the present appositions of the Provincial and Continental Meetings.

We sincerely declare that it hath been our judgement and principle from the first to this day, that the setting up and pulling down of Kings and Governours is God's peculiar prerogative for causes best known to himself and it is not our business to have any hand or Contrivance therein, nor to be Bussie Bodies in Matters above our station much less to contrive the ruin and overturn of any of them; but to Pray for the King and for the Safety of our nation, and Good of all men that we may live a peaceable and Quiet life in all Godliness and Honesty under the Government God is pleased to set over us, and to yield a Cheerful and active obedience to all good and wholesome Laws and give peaceable submission to all such Laws as do interfere with our conscience by suffering under them without resistance or anything more than to petition or remonstrate against them.³³

This epistle defined the principles which governed North Carolina

Quakers throughout the turbulent revolutionary years. Reiterating their opposition to war yet avowing their allegiance to the Crown and insisting that many engaged in the dispute with England were "Honest and Upright," it also spoke of all "Plottings, conspiracies, and Insurrections as works of Darkness" and reminded Friends of advice from London and Philadelphia Quakers "not to interfere, meddle or concern in these party affairs."³⁴

The London Epistle of 1775 was quite explicit about staying clear of the fray: "We entreat all the membership to enter as little into consternation respecting them (present heats and commotions) and daily to seek for and abide under the influence of that heavenly principle which leads to follow peace all men. . . ."³⁵ In the same year, North Carolina Friends were able to reply that "they had been favored with that wisdom so as generally to endeavor to keep themselves clear in that respect."³⁶ All through the pre-revolutionary years the London Epistles urged loyalty to the King.³⁷ Continually linked with the message of loyalty was the tenet of peace. Friends were urged to avoid all acts, even that of being spectators at training grounds, which might in any way compromise their principles.³⁸

In 1772 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting also went to great lengths to establish its loyalty to the Crown. It sent Governor Josiah Martin, who had replaced William Tryon, the following message:

We have leave in true simplicity to congratulate thee on thy safe arrival in this Province and hope our Peaceable behaviour and submission to those in authority, according to our Religious Principles, will Manifest our Duty and affection to our King and Superiors. . . . Permit us, at this time to assert our Loyalty and attachment to King George the Third. . . .³⁹

Thus Quakers in North Carolina strove to be loyal to the King but not to his army. It was an extremely difficult task.

Quakers in the colony watched with growing alarm as they saw the lines being drawn between those who were dissatisfied with the Crown and those who defended it. Their religious principles forbade them from condoning the overthrow of any established government; obedience to the existing government, when such obedience did not run counter to conscience, was a fundamental duty. To American Whigs this seemed to place the Quakers in the Loyalist camp, but the Society was not a Tory organization. On the other hand, since the Friends would not directly help the Crown, they seemed to be in sympathy with the rebels. Friends as a united body probably did not always approve the shifting policies of the British ministry, but neither did they believe in revolution. They wanted to be counted out of the whole

business, to remain peacefully in their homes and to be neutrals in the conflict which they saw coming. Such a course was impossible, however, in the heat of revolution, and the Society was soon dodging barbs from both sides. Since Friends had a concurrent testimony against war and revolution, they were placed in quiet opposition to the American cause.

One North Carolina Quaker who turned his back on the peace testimony was Joseph Hewes of Edenton, who signed the Declaration of Independence. Although not an active member of the Society, Hewes never officially separated himself from it and was never disowned. Historians differ in assaying Hewes's actions. One view gives the impression that Hewes very reluctantly gave in to the overwhelming pressures for independence and agonized greatly over that decision. The opposite view suggests that Hewes completely abandoned his Quakerism and that his old principles never influenced his decision to sign the Declaration. Walter Sikes, a noted North Carolina historian at the turn of the twentieth century, said "His Quaker training Hewes threw aside easily."⁴⁰ However, more contemporary evidence is provided by a fellow signer of the Declaration of Independence, John Adams. Adams felt Hewes searched his soul before committing himself to the Revolution. In a letter Adams said:

For many days the majority depended on Mr. Hewes of North Carolina. While a member one day was speaking and reading document from all the colonies, to prove that the public opinion, the general sense of all was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority of that colony were in favor of it, he started suddenly upright and lifting up both his hands to Heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out, "It is done, and I will abide by it."⁴¹

Even though Adams was relying on memories of events several decades old, his view seems close to the truth.

Hewes, a birthright Friend, was originally from New Jersey where he retained his membership in the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting until his death. Many of his family were Friends, and the fact that he never relinquished his membership makes for a strong argument that he maintained at least some Quaker ideals.⁴² Hewes moved south to Edenton, North Carolina, to seek economic prosperity. He was described by Dr. Benjamin Rush as "a plain merchant, well acquainted with business. He seldom spoke in Congress, but was very useful on committees."⁴³ Thus Hewes was swept up in the revolutionary and military activities that swirled around many of his Quaker compatriots in North Carolina. He was but one of many Friends who were forced to fight the conflicting currents of patriotic impulse and

religious principle.

In addition to political discord, another problem that perplexed the Society was Negro slavery. In the colonial and revolutionary periods many Quakers in North Carolina owned slaves and only gradually and reluctantly did the Society begin to enforce its earlier anti-slavery principles. As far back as 1675, William Edmundson wrote an epistle to Friends in America in which he denounced the holding of slaves. William Penn took the same view of slavery and made attempts to improve the condition of slaves by legislation.⁴⁴ The man who most influenced anti-slavery forces in North Carolina, however, was the Pennsylvania Quaker, John Woolman. He visited the colony several times and summarized his position on slavery in an epistle to the Friends of New Garden and Cane Creek in 1757:

Where slaves are purchased to do our labour, numerous difficulties attend it. To rational creatures bondage is uneasy, and frequently occasions soundness and discontent in them that affects the family and such as claim the mastery over them. Thus people and their children are many times encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.⁴⁵

To Woolman, slavery was bad for the master as well as the slave. Many North Carolina Friends saw wisdom in Woolman's words and, through the Standing Committee of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, urged the provincial Assembly to petition Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade. Written in 1772, their petition reads in part: "We cannot but invite our fellow subjects and especially the Representatives of North Carolina . . . to join . . . in presenting to the throne . . . , in order to have so great [a] torrent of evil effectually stopped. . . ."⁴⁶ A year earlier the North Carolina Yearly Meeting prohibited all Friends from owning slaves, condemned slavery, and ordered members who owned slaves to set them free. Friends were forbidden to buy or sell slaves, except when necessary to keep a slave family together. Unfortunately, not all Friends freed their slaves, but the majority did. One such gentleman who tried was the wealthy and influential Thomas Newby of Perquimans.

In 1772 Newby expressed his uneasiness about possessing slaves and asked the Perquimans County Court to allow him to free his slave woman Hannah on grounds of her meritorious service and because she was too old to continue heavy work. The court refused and apparently Hannah was not freed.⁴⁷ However, Newby's actions show that the idea of abolition was acceptable to Friends in North Carolina and that some either freed or attempted to free their slaves.

It was in slavery that Friends were to find a fresh battleground

with the new government of the United States of America. Quakers were quick to point out the inconsistencies between the revolutionary rhetoric about freedom for all men and the fact that blacks were still kept in slavery. Thus Quakers were forced to challenge the Declaration of Independence, not only on the grounds that it promoted violence and the "pulling down" of an established government but also because it ignored the issue of slavery and only pretended to stand for the equality of all men.

Conflicts over black slavery were only some of the problems which threatened the Society in the years preceding the American Revolution. The issues of peace, war and allegiance, in addition to slavery, all combined to pull at the Society. The clouds which Friends had viewed with alarm at the turn of the eighteenth century were now directly overhead and turbulence had begun. The North Carolina Quakers were on the verge of entering a period of testing and suffering such as Friends had not experienced since the years of persecution a century earlier. They had remained true to their beliefs and still held some influence, but would they survive the turbulence of war once again? The answer to the question of whether the Society of Friends would weather the storm successfully lay many long bitter years into the future.

¹Robert M. Calhoun, *Religion and the American Revolution in North Carolina* (Raleigh, N.C., 1976), viii.

²Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, 1896), 101-103.

³*Ibid.*, 103.

⁴*Ibid.*, 104-07, 109.

⁵Elijah Coffin, *Life with a Reminiscence by His Son, Charles F. Coffin* (n.p., 1863), 10.

⁶Francis C. Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends: The Story of Quakerism in North Carolina* (Boston, 1959), 151.

⁷A.R. Ekirch, "'A New Government of Liberty': Hermon Husband's Vision of Backcountry North Carolina, 1755," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d. Ser., XXXIV (1977), 632-46; James P. Whittenburg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers: Social Change and the Origins of the North Carolina Regulation," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d. Ser., XXXIV (1977), 215-38; Marvin L.M. Kay, "The North Carolina Regulation, 1766-1776: A Class Conflict," in Alfred F. Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (Dekalb, 111., 1976), 71-123.

⁸Julia S. White, "A Church Quarrel and What Resulted," *Friends Historical Society Bulletin*, V (1914), 93.

⁹Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes for January 1764, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C., Quaker Collection. All Standing Committee, Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meeting Minutes cited are from the Quaker Collection.

¹⁰Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 181.

¹¹Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends*, 151.

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¹²Julia S. White, "History of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting," *Friends Historical Society Bulletin*, II (1909), 12-13.

¹³Western Quarterly Meeting Minutes for January 1764; Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes for January 1764.

¹⁴Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends*, 150.

¹⁵Western Quarterly Meeting Minutes for May 5, 1769 and August 12, 1769.

¹⁶"William Piggott to Colonel Fanning" (May 10, 1768) in Walker Clark, William L. Saunders, and Stephen B. Weeks, eds., *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* (25 vols., Raleigh, Goldsboro, and Charlotte, N.C., 1886-1914), VII, 745-46; hereafter cited as *N. C. Recs.*

¹⁷"Edmund Fanning to Simon Dixon" (n.d.), *N. C. Recs.*, VII, 745-46.

¹⁸Thomas C. Dixon, *Geneology of the Dixon Family* (Guilford College, N.C., n.d.), 2.

¹⁹William S. Powell, *The War of the Regulation and the Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771* (Raleigh, N.C., 1976), 23.

²⁰William T. Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1973), 189.

²¹*N. C. Recs.*, VII, xxix.

²²White, "Church Quarrel and What Resulted," 93.

²³E. W. Caruthers, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell* (Greensboro, N.C., 1842), 100.

²⁴Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 178.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 182.

²⁶Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes for February 1766.

²⁷Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes for September 1769.

²⁸New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes for June 1771.

²⁹*N. C. Recs.*, VIII, 610.

³⁰*Ibid.*, XIX, 847.

³¹*Ibid.*, IX, 527; William S. Powell, James K. Huhta, and Thomas J. Farnham, eds., *The Regulators in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1759-1776* (Raleigh, N.C., 1971), 541.

³²*N. C. Recs.*, IX, 496-97.

³³North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1775.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵Printed London Epistle for 1775, Guilford College, Quaker Collection. All Epistles hence cited are from this collection.

³⁶North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1775.

³⁷Printed London epistles for 1763 and 1753.

³⁸Arthur J. Mekeel, "The Relation of the Quakers to the American Revolution," *Quaker History*, LXV (1976), 13.

³⁹North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1772.

⁴⁰Walter Sikes, "Joseph Hewes," *North Carolina Booklet*, IV (1905), 27.

⁴¹"John Adams to William Plumer, March 28, 1813," *The Works of John Adams*, (10 vols., Boston, 1856), X, 35.

⁴²Charles Francis Jenkins, "Joseph Hewes, the Quaker Signer" in *Children of Light: In Honor of Rufus M. Jones*, ed. Howard H. Brinton (New York, 1938), 239.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 214.

⁴⁴Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 198.

⁴⁵John Woolman, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Amelia Mott Gummere (London, 1922), 211.

⁴⁶Standing Committee of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting for 1772.

⁴⁷Calhoun, *Religion and the American Revolution in North Carolina*, 46.

Nereus Mendenhall's Historical Sketch of North Carolina Yearly Meeting

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

Algie I. Newlin

Nereus Mendenhall gave this paper on the history of North Carolina Yearly Meeting at what must have been the first major commemoration at New Garden Boarding School, after the founding of that institution. It was read in 1883 on the opening day of school to an audience of approximately 1,000 people who had crowded into the assembly room of the relatively new King Hall for a four-hour program. The occasion was significant, for the school had just gone through a series of important changes which added up to a major transformation. Even the name of the school had been changed to Friends Boarding School of North Carolina - a name which was never accepted by the Quaker public or by history.

The large building in which the commemoration was held had been constructed by North Carolina Yearly Meeting to accommodate its annual sessions, but since the Yearly Meeting in 1881 had decided to make High Point the seat of its sessions, its new meeting house at New Garden was given to the boarding school with funds from the Baltimore Association. The interior of the building had been changed to provide an assembly hall, class rooms, and dormitory rooms for boys. This new and transformed building was named for Francis T. King, the school's major benefactor.

Major changes were made in the original building of the boarding school with a donation from the Baltimore Association. Both the interior and exterior of the building were modified. On the outside two porches were added, and a mansard roof was put on the main portion, the dining room, and the kitchen wing of the building. On the interior, the stairway was moved and partitions were changed to provide rooms needed at that time. To cap the marked physical changes in the original building which had been in use for forty-six years, it was, for the first time, given a name - "Founders Hall".

There were certainly sufficient reasons for commemoration, but were they sufficient to warrant a four-hour program, in which nine speakers participated? The nine speakers were all distinguished North Carolinians: Thomas O. Jarvis, the Governor of North Carolina; Alfred M. Scales, a member of Congress; Dr. John W. Worth, the state treasurer of North Carolina; Captain Samuel A. Ashe, historian; Dr. Nereus Mendenhall, of the boarding school; L. Lyndon Hobbs, a teacher in the boarding school; Francis T. King, an important member of the Baltimore Association and a major benefactor of the New Garden Boarding School; Joseph Moore, headmaster of that school; and Allen Jay, director of the work of the Baltimore Association in North Carolina.

Perhaps no one in North Carolina Yearly Meeting was better qualified than Nereus Mendenhall to produce a paper on the history of that Yearly Meeting. His manuscript, in his own handwriting, is now in the Friends Historical Collection of the Guilford College Library. Although the nature of his handwriting meant that the manuscript was difficult to decipher, this transcription will make this "valuable historic paper" available to a wide audience of contemporary Quakers.

"This Valuable Historic Paper Was Written By
Dr. Nereus Mendenhall."

Lewis Lyndon Hobbs

I have been requested to prepare for this occasion a historical sketch of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. This is a subject by far too large for a forty minutes discourse and unfortunately much of the material for it is not very accessible.

Early History

The history of North Carolina Yearly Meeting really begins with the founder of the Society. While the name of George Fox is known through the civilized world it is not generally known that he made his way through the wilderness of trees, the bogs and marshes in the eastern part of North Carolina to preach the gospel of life and salvation to the rude but free and hospitable people who had not long before preceded him thither. About 1760 [1672] William Edmundson of England had penetrated the groves of Albemarle. He slept in the woods and in traveling was sorely foiled by swamps and rivers. His two guides were worn out and could go no further. Telling them to kindle a fire, he pushed onward. Drenched by rain, he sat with his back to a tree till the rain abated, then not daring to lie down in his wet clothes, he walked between two trees all night. When told by his guides that they had passed the place, he turned his mind to the Lord and was directed to press forward. Thus he led his guides to the place they had been seeking - the house of Henry Phillipps on the Albemarle river. In the fall of the same year George Fox after crossing the Dismal Swamp—finding the way plashy, often covered with great bogs, and himself wet to the knees, commonly "laying abroad nights", reached a house where by the fireside he enjoyed the luxury of a mat. All classes received him gladly. The Governor and his chief secretary and their wives were very friendly and loving. There every man knew how to handle an oar and there was hardly a woman in the land but could paddle a canoe. The wife of the Secretary seeing Fox's boat stranded on a shallow place in the river herself in a canoe shot out and brought him

safely to land. On one occasion the Governor walked ten miles with him through the woods to meet his boat which had been sent a long distance round. He had large precious meetings with the people, and "opening many things concerning the light and spirit of God that is in every one," he admonished all from the Governor to the untutored Indian, to listen to the voice of God in the soul.

As early as 1666 monthly meetings were established by Geo. Fox in England, and it is probable that some organizations were begun by him in North Carolina in 1672. Bancroft says "A Quarterly Meeting of discipline was established, and the sect of which opposition to spiritual authority is the badge, was the first to organize a religious government in Carolina."

The earliest preserved record of a yearly meeting in this State is in 1708 [1698]. There are memoranda however which show that in 1755 the discipline which was made by the yearly meeting of 1704 was revised. This then may be taken as the date of the first yearly meeting in N. Carolina. It may be mentioned that the settlement of Friends in this State was entirely independent of the colony of Wm. Penn which was not made till 1682.

Up to 1748 -- that is nearly 100 years after Fox began his ministry -- there were only two monthly meetings in this State, namely Perquimans and Pasquotank. These made up the Quarterly Meeting and as we might say, also the Yearly Meeting; but in that a year a monthly meeting was set up at Falling Creek, (Johnston Co.) and in 1751 one at Cane Creek (then Orange, now) Chatham Co., where were about 30 families of Friends. Other settlements had also been made at Core Sound in Cartaret County, New Garden and Deep River in Guilford (then Rowan) at Rich Square in Northampton. A Monthly Meeting was opened at the latter place as early as 1753. New Garden and Deep River belonged to Cane Creek till 1754, when a monthly meeting was granted them at New Garden.

The second Quarterly meeting was established in 1759 under the name of *Western*, consisting of New Garden and Cane Creek monthly meetings, and held alternately at these places - 250 to 300 miles from the Eastern Qr. Twenty-eight years after (1787) a third quarterly mtg. was opened at *New Garden*. Then came *Contentnea* in 1788; *Bush River*, Newberry district, S.C., 1791; *Lost Creek*, Tennessee 1802; *Westfield* in Surry Co., 1803; *Deep River*, 1818, *Southern* in Randolph, 1819. These quarterly meetings, with the exception of *Westfield* and *Bush River*, are still kept up. One other has latterly been added, namely *Friendsville* in Tennessee. Settlements were made at Rocky River

by or before 1754. At Peedee and Wateree, S. C., in 1757; Bertie 1759. There was also a settlement at Wrightsborough, Georgia.

As has been said we have no record of North Carolina Yearly meeting which dates back of 1704, and at that time and long after Eastern Quarter, composed of Pasquotank and Perquimans mo. mtgs, composed also the Yearly Meeting. At first the business, apart from the meetings for worship, was almost exclusively the settlement of matters of difference among members and reports as to the general condition and attendance of the meeting. These reports were for some time given verbally by persons appointed for the purpose by the Monthly or Quarterly meetings.

As an example of the plain, straightforward procedure in vogue at that time a copy of the minutes, *verbatim et litteratim*, for 1708, is here given:

Att [sic] a Yearly meeting in North Carolina ye 4th of ye 8mo 1708.

The members of ye said meeting has appointed William Everigin to be Clarke [sic] of the Yearly meeting instead of Gabriel Newbey, by reason they think it will be more easie [sic] for him and not for any dislike they have of his being Clarke [sic].

Whereas we think their [sic] has been a remissness in us in time past, that business has not been carried on in right order, viz. that the members of Each monthly meeting belonging to this Yearly Meeting shall give an account every quarterly meeting of ye estate of their monthly meetings and ye members appointed by the Quarterly meeting to bring ye state of ye Quarterly Meeting to the next Yearly Meeting.

The proceedings concerning Jeremiah Symons, ye younger was laid before this meeting, and they in tender love to him has condessed to request Francis Toms and Isaac Willson to visit him and if he can freely acknowledge he has done amiss and will give satisfaction to the monthly meeting, then he to be owned. But in case he remain obstinate, then this meeting doth deny the said Jere^h Symons to be of our Church and Society and do desire yt [sic] he may be proceeded against according to order used amongst us.

The respectives for Perquimmins monthly meeting was called, Isaac Willson appeared, but Francis Wells was missing, but sent a note to this meeting and gave an account that things are but indifferent, as to his sense, but hopes it will be better. Isaac Willson stood up and was of the same mind with Francis Wells only said a difference between John Pritchlove and Pritchell Turner. It is our judgment that the Devil who is our great Enemie has crept in between them and has caused great strife, and we being sensible to these things, and heard a great deal of controversie on both sides could no other waiss [sic] but desire them to forgive one another and live peaceable together and not reflect one against another for the time to come.

It is the judgment of this meeting considering the undecency of Friends in not keeping of their places in meetings, that Friends keep their places as much as possible and not run in and out In times of worship, and likewise in meetings of business, except some extraordinary occasion. Whereas this meeting finds an ill conveniency in having to many Frds. in our Yearly

meeting of business it is our judgment that our Yearly meeting consists of twelve men sole chosen now whose names are under written, Besides ye Inspectors belonging to our meeting with the Friends of the Ministry.

This meeting ends and ajorns till ye next year if the Lord pleases.

Francis Toms, Timothy Cloud, John Hankins, William Newbey, Samuel Nichols, Henry Keeton, Thomas Pearce, Emanuel Lowe, Edward Mayoe, John Barrow, James Davis, Augustus Seaborough, Wm. Everigin, clerk.

The proceedings of the Yearly meeting are often recorded in a single minute. In 1710 for example after the reports given in verbally from the monthly meetings, two friends were appointed to "wright to friends in old England and represent the state of our meeting." After which they adjourned. In 1718 after the reports they say, "and further the meeting considering the present distress and trouble which is like to come on friends by reason of the present insolence and warr of ye heathen So think convenient, if ocation require, to apoint four friends to attend ye assembly as followeth Gabriel Newbey, Joseph Glasier, Isaac Willson and Caleb Bundy, ye meeting concludes and adjourns until ye yearly meeting."

I will give one more.

At a Yearly Meeting held at Paquamens in North Carolinah the 3rd of the 8th month in the year 1719 friends being meet as at other times first for the service and worship of God and secondly for discipline at which time, the weather being soe very bad and savaral having far to their habitations and some to their quarters it was generally thought fit and concluded to be convenient to ajorne the buisenes of the sd meeting until there Quarterly meeting next course.

As shown in the minutes of 1708, the society exercised a loving care over its members. An instance of their caution may be given. In 1750 there was an application from Dunn's Creek on Cape Fear desiring to have a monthly meeting established among them, which "was read and lies over for farther consideration only friends think proper to write to them letting them know that friends was willing to prove them a little further first to see there fidelity and constancy and unity with the body of Friends. At the same time there was application for a monthly meeting on Cain's Creek [sic] which petition it was thought proper to answer by a few lines "letting them know we are willing to be better informed in their situation and circumstances before granting their aforesaid petiton and therefore let the said petition lie over for a further consideration." The accounts from the different quarterly meetings up to about the year 1770 seem to have been given in verbally and had reference mostly to the attendance of meetings, the prevalence of love and unity among the members, and

the enforcement of the discipline. It was now required that the reports be in writing. The record for 1770 states love and unity subsists in a good degree and that meetings are kept up and attended, and that there still remains a concern on the minds of the faithful to put the rules of discipline [sic] in practice. The first record of regular written answers to several specific queries is found in 1794. That year the queries were read and answers were given in writing from the several quarters which exhibited the state of society nearly as follows:

Meetings for worship and discipline pretty duly attended by many friends, though others are remiss therein, particularly on week days, the hour mostly observed, unbecoming behavior not sufficiently guarded against, by some, particularly in that of drowsiness, but some care is said to be taken. Love and unity appear to subsist among the greater part, though not so well preserved by some as is desired, on which account care is said to have been extended. Talebearing discouraged and care taken to end differences. Some deficiency appears respecting plainness, also in that of the proper tuition of children, but care is said to be taken in one quarter. The excessive use of spirituous liquors and frequenting places of diversion and gaming not sufficiently avoided by some, but it appears care hath been extended. Some import buy or sell slaves, a few are yet held as such, most of whose cases appear to be under care, two instances of Friends hiring contrary to order of yearly meeting — the instruction of those in minority under friends care not sufficiently attended to Some *deficiency* respecting *punctuality*. Clear of law suits except in a few instances. Care extended both as to punctuality and lawsuits. Answers to other queries appear clear.

Slavery

The history of the actions of North Carolina Yearly meeting in respect of Slavery affords one among many illustrations of the gradual illumination of the human mind or rather of the gradual and progressive apprehension of the light and teaching of the Holy Spirit. I know not whether any friends of North Carolina were ever actually engaged in the importing of slaves, but there was a time when upon the arrival of a cargo from Africa they went down to the seaside to make their selection of men women or children whom they intended to buy as servants. Though as early as 1671 when Geo. Fox in company with William Edmundson, visited Barbados, he counselled Friends to train up their negroes in the fear of God, to use them mildly and gently and after certain years of servitude to set them free. We do not find that he went further in this respect.

The first record found in our minutes touching this matter was made in the year 1740, and is as [sic] follows: "An epistle was received from the yearly meeting of Virginia concerning bearing arms or going to muster, and using negroes well &c." Eighteen years elapse and we find that a large committee was appointed on these two weighty matters: that of visiting Friends families and making provision for negroes meeting, and it was agreed that meetings should be appointed for them at New Begun Creek, Head of Little River, Symons Creek and Old Neck. In 1768 the Western Quarter asked advice - An order of discipline had been made which was not sufficiently explicit, and it was after due deliberation decided that the discipline and query "ought to be understood as a prohibition of *buying negroes to trade upon* or of those that trade in them, and as the having of negroes is a burthen [sic] to such as are in possession of them, it might be well for the meeting to advise all Friends to be careful not to buy or sell in any case that can be reasonably avoided." Friends of the Western Quarter were still uneasy and next year desired that the purchasing of negroes might be absolutely prohibited. No decision was arrived at - but in 1770 the matter again coming up after weightily considering the consequences that might arise from an absolute prohibition in all cases whatever, it was unanimously agreed to substitute in place of the 7th query, the following: "Are all friends careful to bear a faithful testimony against the iniquitous practice of importing negroes or do they refuse to purchase of those that make a trade or merchandise of them? And do they use those whereas they have by inheritance or otherwise, well, endeavoring to discourage them from evil and encourage them in that which is good?" Two years after this the Western Quarter still calling attention to the subject, a close restriction was made, for it was now agreed that no Friends should buy a slave of any other person than a *Friend in unity*, except it be to prevent the parting of man and wife or parent and child, or for other good reasons approved of by the monthly mtgs.; and that none should *sell* a slave to any person who makes a practice of buying and selling for the sake of gain.

But after the members generally had become convinced that freedom was the right of all and had become willing to liberate their slaves - there were a great and long contended difficulties in the way. Slaves set free were liable to be taken up and sold and Friends were involved in a continued series of perplexing law suits and expense upon expense in defending the rights of those who had been liberated. Time after time, year after year they petitioned the legislature for relief. They set forth the hardship of long compelled to hold their fellow men in bondage. In 1779 the Yearly Meeting in preparing an address to the

General Assembly used the following bold, plain true words:

That whereas the last General Assembly held at Halifax passes an act for apprehending and selling certain slaves which had been set free — In answer to this we do declare that the liberation of our slaves was from mature and deliberate consideration and the conviction of our own minds: being fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind and that no law moral or divine, has given us a right to, or property in the persons of any of our fellow creatures any longer than they are in a state of minority; and being desirous to fulfil the injunction of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in doing to others as we would be done by, and these motives prevailing in our minds beyond all selfish and worldly considerations, we believe our conduct therein has the sanctions of divine approbation. And we are so far from doing a thing to distract the public peace that we do ardently wish and heartily pray for the peace and happiness of all mankind. The aforesaid acts of Assembly, and the proceedings upon them we fully believe to be not only a violation of the explicit declaration of the Congress on the subject of universal liberty and the common rights of mankind published at the beginning of the present contest with Great Britain: but they manifestly contradict the Declaration and Bill of Rights on which depends your authority to make laws. Sec. 24 expressly declares that retrospective laws punishing facts committed before the existence of such laws and by them only declared criminal are unjust, oppressive and incompatible with liberty: therefore no *ex post facto* law ought to be made.

And in the Constitution or form of Government is the following expression: Sec. 44. That the Declaration of Rights is hereby declared to be part of the present constitution and ought not to be violated on any pretense whatsoever. The Supreme Court held at Edenton have publicly placed on record that it appeared to them that the County Court in their proceedings (ordering the sale of several of the negroes) have exceeded their jurisdiction, violated the rights of the subjects and acted in direct opposition to the Bill of Rights of the State considered [sic] a part of the Constitution thereof, by giving a law not intended to affect the case a retrospective operation thereby depriving free men of the State of their liberty contrary to the law of the Land. Ordered therefore that the proceedings so certified be quashed and held as null and void."

They further set forth that in Virginia many negroes had been manumitted since the year 1775 and none of them had been taken up and sold, except one for misbehavior. In Maryland there was an act of Assembly prescribing method for manumitting slaves, by which any person might liberate his slaves provided they were under fifty years of age and sound in mind and body. And that they were not so freed in prejudice of creditors. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and New England the manumission of slaves is frequent by many of other societies as well as of our own, without offense to authority. They go on

to say: "We believe that awful day will come in which 'the earth shall disclose her blood and shall no more cover her slaves' - and we apprehend that the trade in slaves and souls of men has a large share therein. Wherefore we earnestly entreat you to take the whole matter under your serious consideration and relieve the oppressed -- 25th of 10 mo 1779." In these words and those of John Woolman uttered twenty one years before in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in which he proclaimed that if justice were not done to the oppressed African and we continued to wait for "some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance it might be that God would answer us, in this matter, by terrible things in righteousness", we are reminded of a touching scene which took place about one hundred years afterwards [sic]. The gentle Quakeress, Eliza P. Gurney had, after an earnest address to President Lincoln, delivered in the love of the Gospel, knelt in fervent supplication for him and for his country, the opposing hosts, separated only by the bright waters of the Potomac were awaiting the terrible moment when they should again meet in bloody conflict - and now, the interview closing, the President took the hand of E. P. Gurney and holding it for a few moments in silence, said in a very deliberate manner: "I am glad of this interview. If I had had my way the war would never have been, but nevertheless it came. If I had had my way the war would have ended before this, but nevertheless it still continues. We must conclude that God permits it for some wise purpose, for we cannot but believe that he who made the world still governs it." - In these words of President Lincoln and in the issue of one of the most terrible and bloody wars in history, we have the fulfilment of the above mentioned prophetic fear - "God answering us by terrible things in righteousness."

But not withstanding these appeals to our Legislature, there was no redress, and attention was turned toward the free States. In 1822 a proposition went up from Deep River Qr. that the Yearly Meeting should consider the condition of the people of color with a view of getting clear of the charge of them. A committee of 42 persons were appointed who gave it as their judgment that an examination of the laws of some of the free States respecting the admission of colored people should be made and if necessary that the Legislature of that State of which the laws appeared most favorable, should be consulted. This year the eastern Quarter reported that there were 450 slaves under their care. In 1823 the Friends who were appointed to examine the laws of the Free States reported that they found nothing in those of Ohio, Indiana or Illinois to prevent the introduction of people of color therein. The agents of the Yearly Meeting were therefore instructed to

remove them as fast as they were willing to go or as might be consistent with our religious profession.

We might suppose now that the way is clear. No Friend is allowed to hold or hire a slave. They are nearly all set free. The Eastern Quarter has nearly 500 under its care. The agents for Contentnea have received assignments for more than 100 - and all agents are instructed to receive no more except from our own members. - But even yet the way is not without difficulty. The slaves cannot be set free in North Carolina - but as free men they may live in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. But when they would make a movement they find some with slave husbands, some with slave wives, some in debt, some with law suits hanging over them, some already by heirs run off to distant states - three for instance had been carried off to Alabama and sold, others had been in possession of one of the sons of the former holder so long that their recovery was doubtful. And even when there was no obstruction here they were sometimes interfered with on the way. In 1826, for example, a letter was received and read in the Yearly Meeting, giving an account of a boy named Joe who had been taken from Asa Folger in Grant Co., Kentucky, on his passage to Indiana. Measures were adopted for his relief. A correspondence was held with R.M. Saunders, a member of Congress from this State. Furnished with a copy of the deed of gift and other necessary papers he held a consultation with Col. Johnson, a representative from Grant Co., Ky., who wrote home advising the surrender of Joe. The papers and other instructions were forwarded by Saunders to Folger who afterwards reported that he had received Joe and restored him to his liberty.

In 1824 a committee was appointed to confer with the Haytian [sic] Government and in 1826 a vessel was hired which sailed from Beaufort, having agreed to take 80 persons to Hayti [sic], furnished and victualled for \$1400. After much difficulty they finally got off and landed at Aux Coyes. In 1827 Sixty seven were sent on the Brig Doris to Liberia and in 1835 David White left Perquimans, with 53 whom in safety and without molestation he conducted to Ohio and Indiana. For one hundred years North Carolina Yearly Meeting labored with the matter. But few if any members were disowned on account of slave holding, and so far as I know, the Society of Friends is the only religious body which ever cleared itself of slavery without a serious rupture or division.

Peace Testimony

Members of the Society of Friends have ever held that all wars and fighting are contrary to the teaching and example of Jesus Christ and hence have not only refused to take part in the same - but have uniformly refused to take an oath or affirmation of allegiance - because such obligation was considered as binding them, if called upon, to military service. This was repeatedly shown in the origin of the Society, George Fox and many others having been again and again imprisoned for refusing to take such oath. That Friends still maintained these views is well shown by the actions of the Yearly Meeting held at Old Neck on the 26th of 10th mo. 1777. These were times that tried men's souls. A committee appointed at that meeting to take into consideration some weighty matters brought in their report, and after a seasonable time of conference thereon, the meeting was united in judgment that Friends could not consistently with our peaceable principles comply with the act of Assembly passed at Newbern requiring an affirmation of allegiance to the State of North Carolina and it was thought necessary to remonstrate to the next session of the Assembly setting forth their peaceable principles and offering reasons for such refusal and against their being on that account subjected to penalties of the said act. In their remonstrance they said

Whereas we are liable by a late act of Assembly to be cited and called upon to take an affirmation promising to bear true allegiance to the independent State of North Carolina and to the powers and authorities which may be established for the good government thereof — under severe penalties for the refusal; as we have always declared that we believe it to be unlawful for us to be active in war and fighting with carnal weapons and as we conceive that the proposed affirmation approves of the present measures which are carried on and supported by military force we cannot engage or join with either party, therein, being bound by our principals to believe that the setting up and pulling down Kings and Governments is God's peculiar prerogative for reasons best known to himself and that it is not our work or business to have any part or contrivance therein, nor to be busy bodies in matters above our station.

In the Minutes of 1778 the amount of Friends sufferings brought from the Western Quarter £1213 - 9s-2d in 1779 - the amount chiefly on account of military fines and taxes was £2152-5s-10d valuing the property distrained at a fair price before the unstable currency was emitted. In 1780 —£841-15g-7 good money. In 1781 it was for military requisition £4134 and upwards. Such was the position of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in the time of the *Revolution*. Because of a scruple of conscience in these matters their lands were liable to entry and as they

had not taken the oath of allegiance they were without legal redress; but upon the presentation of a proper petition setting forth the facts the legislature granted relief in the particular. - That there might be no evasion in these times of distress, advice was issued as to the course which ought to be pursued in giving in their notables and they were advised that when tax collectors came to their houses they should not balk their testimony by a refractory conduct inconsistent with their principles, but that they should demean themselves in all things as becomes the followers of Christ.-

Again in time of the excitement and the war of 1812 their position was the same. Advice was issued to the subordinate meetings that they might be preserved from having any connexion [sic] or joining with a party spirit in any war like measure whatever but that in meekness and humility they might endeavor to support a testimony consistent with their principles, as becomes the professed followers of the Prince of Peace. At a subsequent meeting they not only advised their members to avoid all attendance at military parades, but that they might be clear of contributing in any way to the shedding of the blood of their fellow man — by paying the war tax.

Again during the late most terrible fratricidal war between the States — Friends here adhered to their old Christian ground. Even before the breaking out of actual hostilities we find the Yearly Meeting — men's and women's meetings jointly engaged in solemn worship and prayer to the Ruler of Heaven and Earth, that He, who turneth the hearts of the children of men as a man turneth a water course in his field, would turn the hearts of rulers and people to justice, righteousness and mercy, and that our present form of Civil Government with its attendant blessings, may be preserved in peace and all be overruled to the glory of God.

In 1862, the war then raging, the Yearly Meeting said that our testimony against war and against the changing fashions in them, did not originate with this Society. They go back more than 1800 yrs. They were both taught and exemplified in the life of Jesus the Man of Nazareth, of Him who wearing a seamless garment walked about Jewry [sic] doing good to the souls and bodies of men. It was a day in which all were called upon to show on whose side they stand, a day for the display of banners, and while many were rushing forward to fields of carnage and desolation amid confused noise and with garments soiled in blood Friends were called upon to adhere more closely to that form of speech and dress which to every intelligent mind marked them members of a society which regards Christ as the *Prince of Peace*.

But while having outward mark of men of peace they should descend to the root of the matter: "Thou shall love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy strength." This is the first and great commandment and the second is like unto it, namely, thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself. When this love fills our hearts, love to God and love to our fellow men, there is no room for envy and malice, no room for the spirit of oppression and war. Members were also cautioned as much as possible to refrain from every thing which has the appearance of evil. Our testimony against war and slavery are plain and explicit, yet there are many ways in which, without being directly concerned we might be leaving an aid to prolong these evils. An army may be compared to a vast complicated machine in which a distant and apparently insignificant cog may be as important as the master wheel. It is by the aid of the small steams trickling down the mountain side that the river rolls its mighty volume to the ocean. While then the course of war was seeking to deviate every free soul from its legitimate channel and threatening to engulf the whole country in the whirlpool to which it leads our members were advised to steer as far as possible from the current, neither by word nor deed, aiding its progress.

Owing to the fact that the laboring men had been withdrawn to the battle field and that there was a large influx of slaves to the interior of our state, some it was thought might be tempted to avail themselves of the supply especially as slave labor might then be had for board and clothing. We were cautioned to be guarded in the matter also. "The rich and the poor must meet together, the Lord is the maker of them all. Those who are blessed with the worlds goods may find in the season of suffering and destruction, many opportunities of assisting their fellow men. We wish to encourage them to do so.

The fact that a number of our members were liable to suffer under the act of the Congress of the Confederate States, known as the "Conscript Act," induced Friends to memorialize and petition both the Confederate Congress and our own State Convention. In the memorial it was shown that bearing a faithful testimony against all war and fighting, is one of our vital principles — one held from the origin of the Society, one taught by the Savior and followed by his disciples for more than 200 years. It was further shown that according to the best information to be obtained Friends in North Carolina, until the present time, after making their scruples known have not been required to aid in the battle field or military camp, but now their peaceable principles were in a measure disregarded and many of our members were called

on to take part in the conflicting armies. While it was understood that they were not so required to do in the U. States and that even should they be called upon, it was a consolation to know that they could not take part in the war indeed in any carnal war. At the same time it was represented that we believe it to be our moral and religious duty to submit to the government under which we live and to the laws and powers that be, or suffer patiently their penalties.

These applications resulted in a hearing by both the Congress and the Convention. The Committee reported that they were treated with respect by everyone with whom they conversed on the subject and by some with kindness of feeling. In the Convention the petition was listened to with marked attention. In the Congress the chairmen of the Military Committees — W. B. Preston of the Senate and Nathan Porter Miles of the House, treated our Friends with much kindness. The former told them to make themselves entirely easy; that the Senate Committee in acting upon it were unanimously in favor recommending an entire exemption. He said some were for requiring us to furnish substitutes, but that he was well aware that we could not conscientiously do that and that nothing but a clear and full exemption could meet our scruples. N. P. Miles invited the Friends to a hearing in the Committee Room and took pains to arrange the setting as much as possible to suit their convenience. Various and sometimes very close and searching questions were asked which were answered in such way that both the Friends and the Military Committee expressed their satisfaction. This action resulted in the passage of an act by the Confederate Congress which exempted Friends by the payment of a tax of \$500 Confederate money and also an exemption by the action of our State Convention could be procured by the payment of a tax of \$100.

The Yearly Meeting in disposing of these matters decided that while we pay all taxes imposed upon us as citizens and property holders in common with other citizens, remembering the injunction, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom: yet we cannot pay this special tax, it being enforced upon us on account of our religious principles — being the price exacted of us for religious liberty. And while highly appreciating the good intentions of these members of the Congress and the Convention who had it in their hearts to do something for our relief, it was recommended that where parents, moved by sympathy or young men themselves dreading the evils of a military camp, have availed themselves of the law, that they may be treated in a tender manner.

Many Friends did avail themselves of the exemption; others chose to suffer the penalty and were imprisoned and in various ways

maltreated by the military authorities. Nearly everyone of these was favored to return to his home, some of them being mercifully preserved even after being led out for the purpose of being shot — the particulars of the sufferings, and persecution of these — deeply instructive as they are, cannot now be given.

The better and more intelligent class of men, whether in private or public life, in time of peace or in time of war, have almost uniformly in this State, been disposed to treat with respect the religious scruples of Friends. Even during the colonial times the respect was not withheld as the following correspondence will show. In 1771 we find that the Yearly Meeting appointed some friends to present an address to *Governor Martin* and also one to the *Assembly and Council*, which was done: and they reported that the Governor received it friendly and returned a very kind and good answer; the *Council and Assembly* received them with tokens of respect and friendship and returned a very kind, good and safe answer — they go on to say “which answers we do now produce to this meeting and as we believe it would be unreasonable for us to expect such particular indulgence any longer than we continue to deserve them by behaving agreeably to our peaceable principles, let a steady care constantly rest on the minds of all friends to behave themselves with such circumspection in every part of their conduct that our superiors may never have just cause to take from us so great a favor.”

The address was as follows:

To Josiah Martin, Esq., Governor of North Carolina: We crave leave in due simplicity to congratulate thee on thy safe arrival in this province and hope our peaceable behavior and submission to those in authority (according to our religious principles) will manifest our duty to our King and superiors and contribute toward rendering thy administration easy and agreeable. Permit us at this time to assert our loyalty and attachment to King George the third and his illustrious house. The indulgence and protection we have enjoyed under him and his predecessors in the free exercise of our religion impress our minds with a sense of duty and gratitude and although we differ in some of our religious sentiments and conduct from some of our fellow subjects, yet we are true friends and well wishers to good government and do assure the Governor that our dissent does not proceed from any disregard to laws and customs but from motives to us purely conscientious and therefore we do humbly crave the continuation of the great indulgence lately granted to our Society in this Province by the consent and approbation of our late Governor William Tryon, as we wish to behave ourselves as faithful subjects,

We sincerely desire that the Almighty may be pleased to indue thee with wisdom and qualify thee to be instrumental to restore peace and tranquility in this distressed province to the promotion of piety and virtue and suppression of vice and immorality, which will make thy administration a blessing to the people and an honor to thyself.

Governor Martin's Answer

Friends, I return you my sincere thanks for your congratulations on my safe arrival in this province and receive as a mark of respect to his majesty's Government and report to me your kind wishes to contribute to the Case of my administration. Your assurances of attachment to our most gracious sovereign and his illustrious house are most pleasing to me and your peaceable and inoffensive manners and regard to order and government will always engage my friendship and insure to you my earnest endeavours to continue and to procure to you ever reasonable indulgence. I shall endeavor faithfully to discharge my duty in all respects and it will be my greatest happiness to become in the hands of Divine Providence, an instrument to restore the wounded peace of the country. It is my ardent wish to establish its prosperity upon the most permanent footing, and as essentially necessary to that end, it will be my care to do every thing in my power, for the advancement of true piety and virtue and the suppression of vice and immorality. Josiah Martin.

To the Governor, Council and Burgesses of North Carolina now met in General Assembly. The humble address of the people called Quakers: Gratitude at this time constraineth us on behalf of ourselves and friends to return to you an humble and dutiful acknowledgement for your great and unexpected favor and indulgence in passing an act at the last session of the Assembly to exempt us from the suffering we have been exposed to on account of our religious and conscientious scruple with respect to the militia or learning the art of fighting with a carnal sword — and as our peaceable principle of nonresistance leads us into a passive submission to our superiors in cases that doth interfere with our consciences, we hope and believe that no disadvantage will ever arrive to our fellow subjects from your favor to us therein.

We shall think ourselves in duty bound to use and best endeavors to detect hypocritical pretenders who may be desirous to screen themselves under our profession to enjoy the indulgence you have been pleased to give us and by the integrity and uprightness of our intentions having had through the tenderness of our superiors several valuable privileges granted to us by acts of Parliament on account of our scruples of conscience the same religious principle which pronounces this dissent, we trust through divine assistance, will continue to engage us, as it always hath done since we were a people, to exert whatever influence we may be possessed of in promoting the fear of God, the honor of the King and the prosperity of his subjects.

The Council's Answer

"Gentlemen, it is a sensible pleasure to us that the part we have taken in passing the Act of Assembly in your favor has excited the acknowledgment you are pleased to make to us in your address, and we shall always rejoice in every due encouragement to respectable and useful inhabitants."

In the Upper House
Dec 10, 1771

James Hasel M.C.

"On motion Resolved that the speaker express to the people called Quakers the satisfaction their address has given this house, and assure them they shall not want the close protection of the assembly while they continue to deserve it." — The Speaker in pursuance of the said resolution delivered the sense at his chamber as followeth: "Gentlemen, I am directed by the Assembly to express the satisfaction your address had given that house and to answer you that you shall not want its due protection so long as you shall continue to deserve it.

Dec 10, 1771.

Richard Caswell, Speaker."

Such was the standing of the Society of Friends in N. C. in 1771, a few years previous to the Revolution. Soon after this all was anarchy and confusion. "The courts were closed. Public crime and private injustice had no check."

Let us pass on just ninety years. The whole country is involved in one of the most terrible wars of which history gives any account. The Convention is in session at Raleigh, and a movement is made to prescribe by law a test oath for the people of the State. In a speech made by Gov. Graham the whole thing was shown to be offensive, absurd and intolerant. That speech ought to be printed in letters of gold and handed down from father to son to be read by everyone of our citizens. North Carolina has produced few abler men than William A. Graham — none who were more esteemed and loved from one end of the State to the other — That part which particularly, through inadvertence, as it were, relates to the Society of Friends is as follows:

Now Sir, the requirement of the affirmation to be taken by the denomination called Quakers, is as effectual an act of banishment of that sect, as if it had been plainly denounced in the ordinance. They are a well known sect numbering not less than ten thousand (estimate much too high) persons in the State, and it is equally well known that they will not engage in war, and are conscientiously scrupulous against bearing arms. Our laws from the Revolution downward have respected their scruples and extended to them the charity and toleration due to the sincerity and humility of their profession. This ordinance wholly disregards their peculiar belief and converts every man of them into a warrior or an exile. True they are allowed to affirm, but the affirmation is equivalent to the oath of the feudal vassal to his lord to "defend him with life and limb and tenue honor." It is that they will to the *utmost of their power* support, maintain and *defend* the independent government of the Confederate States of America, against the U. States or any other power that by *open force* or *otherwise* may attempt to subdue the same." If this does not include military defense it is difficult to find language that would. It is so well known that the ordinary oath to the State implies defence [sic] with arms that the Quakers have ever refused to affirm in its terms, but have had a special affirmation provided for them as may be seen in the present revised code and in all

former editions of our laws. The ordinance, therefore is nothing less than a decree of banishment to them. Sir, this humble denomination who in the meekness and charity which so distinguishes their divine master yield precedence to none, were the first white men who made permanent settlements with our borders. Scourged and buffeted by Puritanism in New England and Prelacy [sic] in Virginia they found no rest or religious freedom until they had put the great Dismal Swamp between themselves and the nearest of their persecutors. In the dark forests of its Southern border they obtained a toleration from the savage red man which had been denied them by their Anglo-American brethren. Then they opened the wilderness, reared their modest dwellings and filled the land with the monuments of toleration. Then and upon the upper waters of the Cape Fear which they subsequently colonized, their portent has remained to this day — a great moral industrious, thrifty people, differing from us in opinion on the subject of slavery, but attempting no subversion of the institution, producing abundantly by their labor, paying punctually and certainly their dues to the government, and supporting their own poor. Sir, upon the expulsion from among us of such a people the civilized world would cry shame.

Honor to the memory of Wm. A. Graham!

Intemperance

Of the noble cluster — nine traits of character the fruit of the spirit — temperance or self control holds a conspicuous place. From the beginning Friends bore a testimony against intemperance. As early as 1644 before Fox had begun his public ministry being on business at a fair, two professors asked him to drink with them part of a jug of beer. Being thirsty he went, but when they began to drink healthy and called for more drink agreeing that he that would not drink should pay for all, George was grieved that any making profession of religion should offer to do so; and putting down some money, said, "if it be so with you I will leave you." That night he did not go to bed at all, but walked spending the time in prayer and cries to the Lord. (A year after being at an inn and finding many people drinking there he was moved afterward to go among them and direct them to the Light which Christ the heavenly man had enlightened them withal. Somewhat similar was the experience of John Woolman. He observed what many people from the country and dwelling in town resorting to public houses spent their time in drinking and vain sports tending to corrupt one another, on which occasion he was much troubled. At one house in particular there was much disorder, and he believed it incumbent on him to speak to the master of the house; but considering that he was young and that

several elderly friends in town had an opportunity to see these things, he would gladly have been excused, but could not find his mind clear. The exercise was heavy, and as he was reading what the Almighty said to Ezekiel respecting his duty as a watchman; with prayer and tears he besought the Lord for his assistance, who in loving kindness gave him a resigned heart. In the fear and dread of the Almighty he spoke to the man who took it kindly. The man died soon after and Woolman often thought that it would have given him great trouble had he neglected this duty.)

As early as 1718 when the Queries were called over in N. C. Yearly Meeting this advice was given "to young friends that doe [sic] take *tobacco* to be very careful that they do it with great moderation as a *medicine* and not as a delightsome companion."

In 1783 — 100 years ago — we found the following Minute: "The case of Friends keeping taverns and retailing any kind of spirituous liquors at courts, vendues, &c. coming under solid consideration, we do give it as our judgment that no friend in unity be concerned therein except it be in particular cases to be judged of by the monthly meeting." In 1797, one of the quarters reported that care had been extended to those who are in the practice of distilling, retailing and frequently using spirituous liquors in order to convince them of the evil of such practices."

In the year 1813, the meeting considered the subject of distilling, trading in and the unnecessary use of spirituous liquors. Friends were advised to avoid these practices and meetings were directed to labor for their removal from among us. We cannot trace in detail the various stages of the movement. Distilling, retailing and excessive drinking were condemned as early as 1812. To day [sic] there is a regular report of those who use spirituous liquor at all as a drink, as well as those who use, cultivate, or sell tobacco. In 1882 out of 5425 members, 73 are reported as using spirits as a drink.

Education

In his sketches of North Carolina, C. H. Wiley, in 1851 said that "Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians are engaged in a generous and well contested struggle to see who can do more for education: and the Society of Friends or Quakers find it not against their conscience to take part in this sort of warfare." To this sentence

there is no objection, but he goes on to say, "They have ever been devoted to education. They have a handsome college in Guilford and they educate carefully all their children." Here is a slight misnomer. In 1851 this was a "boarding school," of some 12 or 13 years standing and even now after a successful career of about 46 years duration and after large expenditures during the present year and with definite prospects of increased efficiency and improvement in various respects, I am glad to know that the trustees have determined to assume no false airs and to carry no false colors — but that this place shall still be known simply as "Friends School." Would that the other part of the sentence also were literally true: "They educate carefully all their children."

It is in general true that Friends have ever been the advocates of education. Though Fox had but little advantage in the way of schools, he urged their establishment and that children should "be instructed in all things useful in creation." In a letter of advise to his wife and children when he was leaving England William Penn said: "Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. *For their learning, be liberal. Spare no cost, for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved; but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with Truth and Godliness.*"

Nor, considering its numbers has the Society been unproductive of men of literature and science, and few have done more for civil and religious liberty than the two men just named. Penn, indeed, is properly ranked among the greatest statesmen of his age. The most brilliant if not the most truthful historian of England was the son of a Quaker mother. Dalton who made one of the greatest discoveries in Chemistry, and whose name stands as a synonym for color blindness from his calling attention thereto, was a Quaker. Young whose name is unseparably connected with the undulating theory of light was a Friend. So was Charles Fox who invented the dipping [sic] needle and established the theory as to the formulation of veins in the earth. And today the most powerful orator, the man best beloved by the common people of England, the peer of Gladstone in statesmanship is John Bright the Quaker — John Bright who dared to differ with premier and resign his place in the Queens Government rather than stain his hands in Egyptian blood. Whittier, one of America's best poets is a Friend of the older stock, and one of the greatest of living naturalists is the son of Alfred Cope who after the most. . . sect of one religion lived and died a Quaker.

The earliest entry on the subject of education to be found on the Minutes of North Carolina Yrly. Mtg. is in 1813, as follows: "This

Meeting Adviseth that friends of ye upper part of Perquimins In-deavour to gett their children scouled and lerned to read." They did not spell school in a worse way than some of the people of an adjoining county did when the question of Public Schools was submitted to the citizen of the State. The Yearly Meeting had its face in the right direction and wanted the children "scouled." Some of our voters 130 years afterwords [sic] turned their backs upon education and voted, "No skule."

The friends as a body from that day to this have taken a part in the warfare against ignorance and in various ways encouraged the establishment of monthly and quarterly meeting schools. These efforts were continued till much 'definite plan or system for the year 1838 (1833)' when decisive steps were taken to establish a boarding school which has now been in operation over 45 years. But as the subject from the time of its establishment to the present will be treated by other pens, nothing further will be added upon his head.

Not having access to the records of particular meetings it is not possible to give much information as to the religious impression resulting from the lives, teaching and preaching of the Society in the many scattered neighborhoods embraced in the limits of this Yearly meeting. Those limits extended from the most eastern counties of North Carolina bordering on the Atlantic, over parts of South Carolina and Georgia to East Tennessee. — Many valuable ministers were raised up from their midst — some of whom were restricted in their labors mostly to the neighborhoods in which they lived, others traveled more or less extensively among our own people and those in the limits of other yearly meetings on the American Continent, while a few were called on to cross the ocean and labor for the Lord in foreign lands. Among the latter may be named *William Hunt* — who was born about the year 1733, and whose mouth was opened in the ministry before he was 15 years old. His home was at New Garden, N. C. He began his travels in the gospel in his 20th year. He visited all the American provinces and often appointed meetings where none were usually held. He was an able minister, rightly dividing the word to the edification of the Churches among which his lot has cast. He crossed the ocean in 1771, attended the Yearly Meeting in London in 1772; and having been in many parts of England, Scotland and Ireland, he visited Friends in Holland. Returning again to England, he died of Smallpox at New Castle upon Tyne. John Woolman says that he once heard William Hunt say in public testimony, "that his concern was, in that visit, to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself; which words, joined with his ex-

ample were a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.”

Nathan Hunt, of precious memory to many yet living, was the son of William Hunt. He was born in the neighborhood of New Garden in 1758. Though in youth lively and volatile, he was very early sensible of the tendering visitation of divine love and when seventeen was impressed with a view of being called to the ministry. Not abiding under the solemn impression, he again indulged in jovial company. He was however preserved from gross evils. He first spoke a few words in the ministry, at a meeting in Tennessee, in the 27th year of his age. In 1792, he was acknowledged as a minister of the gospel. Up to 1796 he visited neighboring meetings. That year he traveled in South Carolina and Georgia. In 1797, visited Lost Creek, Tenn. — In 1799 visited friends and others in the northern and eastern States, in 1801—2—3, meetings in North Carolina and Virginia; 1804 northern and eastern States; 1805 Western Quarterly Meeting and Baltimore Yearly Meeting; 1805 — 10 meetings in North Carolina; 1811 Western Virginia, Middle States, Indian tribes, Canada, &c. After various services in his own State, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey &c. in 1820—21, he visited Great Britain and Ireland. The large field of his labors cannot be mentioned even in this cursory way. He was sound in doctrine, his ministry profound and searching, arousing the lukewarm, but as the oil and the wine to those laboring or suffering for the right. Having himself drunk deeply of the cup of adversity, he was qualified to administer consolation to those who were under discouragement. Of him might be adopted the language spoken to Enoch, that “he walked with God.” His countenance often shone with a heavenly radiance. I have heard some of America’s great orators, but never listened to one whom I thought gifted by nature with more fluency and eloquence — none who had more sway over an audience. Over and over again in thinking of him has come to mind the description which Homer gives of the clear-toned orator of Kylos — from whose lips flowed words sweeter than honey. —

His daughter *Asenath* was also a valuable minister who traveled extensively in gospel service in this country and in company with her husband Dougan Clark, also a minister of great power and earnestness — visited Great Britain and Ireland in 1844.

Richard Jordon was born in 1756. After various struggles, at times being tempted to give up all hope of attaining acceptance and peace, he was enabled fully to surrender himself to the divine disposal in the 25th year of his age. His communications were at first short and not frequent. He attended meetings in North Carolina and

Virginia, traveling sometimes on foot. In 1797 he visited Friends in the Northern and Eastern States. In 1800 he embarked for England, visiting most of the meetings of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland also several parts of the Continent of Europe. He felt called to reside some time in Connecticut and at the time of his death was a member of Haddenfield Mo. mtg, New Jersey. When a member of N. C. Yearly Meeting, he belonged to Rich Square. He was absent over three years on his visit to Europe and on reaching home gratefully acknowledged that the Lord his God in whom he had endeavored to repose his trust had carried him through many heights and depths, perils by sea, perils by land and perils among false brethren, preserving him when the billows went over his head and his heart was ready to melt within him, even making bare His holy aim for his deliverance.— It may be mentioned that he was one of those who between 1790 and 1797 visited the General Assembly of N. C. to remonstrate against the laws which had opened a door for much injustice to be committed against the rights and liberties of those negroes who had been set free by conscientious persons.

John Bond of Surry County was also a well known minister of the Yearly Meeting. He was of tall form. I remember seeing him stand up when in his old age and hearing him say that now in his 81st year he felt called upon to repeat the advice which he had given before; given in the course of his life — namely, “that Friends must be careful often to read the scriptures of truth — to read them plentifully.” He died in Indiana, I think in his 85th year. He was a firm advocate of temperance and moderation in all the pursuits of life.

We might also mentioned *Jeremiah Hubbard*, a minister of great fluency, who delighted in quoting the grand language of the prophets — especially Isaiah — applicable to the Christian dispensation. He was tall and swarthy; possessed of great conversational power, did good service as a teacher and was one of the first to move for the establishment of a Central Boarding School in our limits. *Mahlon Hoggatt* was also earnest and pointed in his preaching, often with the vision of the seer, speaking in a remarkable way of persons and actions of which he could have no outward knowledge. Did time and space permit *Isaac Hammer* of Tennessee, *Charity Cook* of Bush Rivesr, S. C. and many others might be alluded to.

While Christ was personally with them there was a contention among his disciples as to which of them should be greatest; and in time of the Apostles one said, “I am of Paul and I of Apollos and I of Cephas and I of Christ.” Paul had to ask them, “Is Christ divided? was Paul

crucified for you?" In religious society division is still the order of the day, perhaps we might better say, the disorder — —. And there is as much cause for Paul's question now as when he asked it, probably more. It is a time of religious inquiry. The very foundations of belief are undergoing an examination, the most searching of which the mind of man is capable. There is inquiry as to the essentials of Christianity. All this will, I believe, result in clearing the Truth of much admixture and of many heathenish additions. In respect of these shakings, the Society of Friends is no exception.

The greatest schism came about the year 1828. This is known as the Hicksite Separation. Friends have ever regarded the Bible as an authoritative divinely inspired record of the dealings of God with the human race. They have believed in the divinity of Christ and that he offered his life and died upon the cross as a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. These and some other doctrines Elias Hicks and his followers undervalued or denied. A spirit of partyism spread and grew, involving every yearly meeting at the time existing in America except New England, Virginia and North Carolina. Separation took place in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana Yearly meetings. The Society has never been subjected to a greater strain or more forcefully shaken.

Quaker History As Fiction

BY

Damon D. Hickey

Where do non—Quakers learn about Friends and their history? Where are the images of American Quakers formed? If a national poll were to ask who the Quakers were and whether they still exist, it is likely that few people would know. Some would think of Quaker Oats, dark suits and broad-brimmed hats, “thee” and “thy,” Pennsylvania, and (perhaps) Richard Nixon. A few over thirty would remember Gregory Peck in the screen version of Jessamyn West’s *The Friendly Persuasion*, and some movie trivia buffs might recall that Gary Cooper’s pacifist bride in *High Noon* was a Quaker. Quite a few would confuse Quakers with the Amish, and not many would know that the real name of Quakers is Friends.

In the last couple of years a number of people have responded to my statement that I am a Quaker by saying they have read *Chesapeake*. That reference to James A. Michener’s best-selling novel of Maryland history suggests that some people get what little information they have about American Quaker history from historical fiction. What sort of information are they getting?

James A. Michener, a Friend himself, has by now produced a standard formula for the monumental historical novel, of which he is a modern master. Having immersed himself in the region he is concerned with, he deploys researchers to learn as much as possible about its history. His book begins with prehistory, as he introduces the earliest human inhabitants of the area, followed in due course by the inevitable invasion of white settlers who ultimately displace the non-whites and despoil the land. In the meantime Michener introduces several families that continue to interact, intermarry, and interfere with one another for the next several centuries. The families of *Chesapeake* include the descendants of Pentaquod, adopted leader of Choptank tribe; the Steeds, Roman Catholic refugees from Protestant England, who become the aristocrats of the Choptank River; the Turlocks, the line of a renegade indentured servant whose affinity for the marshland passes down to his many progeny among the watermen of Chesapeake Bay; the Caters, originally a black slave family; and the Quaker Paxmores. The Paxmore patriarch Edward and matriarch Ruth Brinton Paxmore, like the Catholic Steeds, are

refugees from religious persecution. In fact the couple meets tethered to a cart, being whipped through the towns of Puritan Massachusetts. Paxmore, who acquires the trade of a ship's carpenter, eventually becomes the first shipwright of the Maryland colony, founding a family business that endures for generations.

The story of the Paxmores is the vehicle for James Michener's presentation of some of the major facets of American Quaker history, practice, and belief. There is persecution by the Puritans; sympathy for Native Americans; inner conflict over war; the strength, independence, and leadership of Quaker women; commitment to education for all, the integrity of work and business; opposition to slavery; Quaker worship; the Inward Light; opposition to oaths; plain speech; and — surprisingly — Watergate. With few exceptions Michener presents Friends accurately and sympathetically. There are a few interesting twists, such as the comparison drawn between Catholicism and Quakerism and the strange participation of Owen Paxmore in the Watergate scandal of the Nixon presidency, an event that leads Paxmore to despair and suicide.

There are also notes that do not ring true. The Paxmores' meeting is a virtual nonentity that plays little part in their story, except to oppose Ruth Paxmore's early testimony against slavery. It does not even disown Levin Paxmore for building a warship in the American Revolution. There is no hint of the division of Friends in nineteenth-century Maryland. Owen Paxmore uses the plain Quaker speech in Richard Nixon's Washington. Michener also repeatedly fails to render the plain speech correctly. But these are areas of permissible literary license. Michener tries, and generally succeeds, in presenting Friends as people of conscience and integrity whose humanity is often tested, sometimes to the point of breaking, by the conflicts posed for conscientious people in the real world. They are sometimes heroic and sometimes pitiful.

The major difficulty with the novel is not its treatment of Friends, but its development of its characters. A book of 865 pages that begins in 1583 and ends in 1978 must either compress or omit a great deal. Michener compresses, and his characters blossom, flourish, wither, and perish almost as the leaves on a tree; no sooner do we make their acquaintance than they vanish. This story, which is so full of the violence and tragedy of human life, in the end leaves the reader surprisingly uninvolved with its people. Michener is at his best recounting the uproarious adventures of the Chesapeake watermen or relishing the beauty of the Choptank marsh.

The other major novelist who has recently taken American Quaker history seriously is the Dutch Friend, Jan de Hartog. The first volume of his Quaker epic, *The Peaceable Kingdom*, appeared in 1972, subtitled *An American Saga*, despite the fact that its first half is set entirely in George Fox's England. The second (and last?) volume, *The Lamb's War*, was published in 1980, and moves from Holland and Germany to America. The total period covered is perhaps a century shorter than with Michener's book, and the subject is entirely Quaker. But whereas Michener compresses his material, De Hartog omits large time, freeing him to develop his characters more carefully and thoroughly.

It is indeed the characters that leap from the pages of De Hartog's books. If Michener's seem smaller than life, De Hartog's seem much larger. They rage, lust, testify, and commit themselves with an often violent intensity. As *The Peaceable Kingdom* opens, George Fox bursts onto the scene, the beneficiary of an apparent miracle that saves him from drowning in the flood tides of Morecambe Bay. As the book progresses, parishoners riot and beat Fox to within an inch of death, servants dance naked, children swear and are hanged, crowds lust for blood, and a servant girl lusts after her master. Yet again and again, the power of God is over all, turning a mob at a hanging into a meeting for worship, and frightened and cowardly people into saints despite themselves.

The second part of *The Peaceable Kingdom* takes place in Pennsylvania a century later. The link is the fictional Baker family. In each part of both novels there is a Boniface (Bonny) Baker. The first Bonny is a stable boy in the Fell household in England. The second is his purported grandson in Pennsylvania. His discovery that his real grandfather was an unknown prison rapist is the beginning of this young Quaker "aristocrat's" education. It is a theme often repeated in De Hartog's books: the Quaker tradition may lead Friends to try to do good, but until they truly come to terms with the violence and evil in themselves they may do more harm. Sex, violence, and brutality are again vividly presented, as the Friends struggle with the rawness of life in the American wilderness, blind, racial hatred, the moral dilemmas of pacificism and public responsibility, and the brutality of slavery for both master and slave. Again and again the power of God breaks through as very fallible, flawed, sinful human beings are driven by something flickering dimly within to accept responsibility for changing what only they can.

The Peaceable Kingdom was a very popular novel, remaining in

print in paperback for years after its original appearance. Its sequel, *The Lamb's War*, has been less successful, although it is very similar in theme and style to its predecessor, but lacks George Fox and Margaret Fell. It begins about two centuries after the end of the first book. The heroine, if such is the proper term, is a Dutch Quaker girl, Laura Martens, who becomes the mistress of the Nazi doctor after her father is brutally murdered before her eyes in a German concentration camp. The personality distortion that takes place in her is never healed, despite her liberation and removal to America by a Friends relief corps, including the latest Boniface Baker, who marries her to get her out of Germany and away from the vengeance of her fellow prisoners. Secure in his sense of identity as the heir of a line of Philadelphia Friends going back to the household of Margaret Fell, he cannot begin to imagine the forces that are tearing Laura apart, or the passions lying dormant in his own rotund self. When the two of them are posted to a Quaker service project among the Huni Indians in New Mexico, he discovers a vocation of service to desperate children, even though Laura never regains full psychological health. Bonny Baker is the imperfect representative of the Quaker tradition, while Laura Martens embodies Quaker service in her emotionally twisted self.

Many Friends would doubtless prefer Michener's approach to De Hartog's. Although both are frank in portraying violence, De Hartog's is more explosive and more personal because his characters are more real. He also delights in taking pot-shots at Quaker foibles and in needling Philadelphia Friends, whom he obviously loves. They are presented at various points as naive, smug, scatterbrained, and obsessed with their own genealogy. They are also occasionally wise, noble, self-sacrificing, and able to learn and grow.

Another significant difference lies in the way the two authors treat historical material. Whereas Michener adheres fairly closely to established historical opinion, De Hartog takes greater liberties. Much of what is attributed by De Hartog to Margaret Fell is drawn from the later life of Elizabeth Fry. A "Historical Note" attributes the editing of Fox's journal for publication to Margaret Fell, although she probably had little to do with it. De Hartog's attempt to make Fox the first bearer of the Friends tradition and Fell the first representative of Friends service simply does not square with the evidence. On the other hand, James Michener's desire to adhere to history leads him to try to force major historical events into his novel, even when they seem out-of-place.

Neither Michener nor De Hartog is writing for a Quaker audience. Both are established authors whose work has not usually focused on

Quakers, although Friends' concerns are evident throughout their work. Unfortunately some Quaker reviewers have tended to criticize their departures from historical "fact" and to deplore their violence, sex and strong language. But Quaker reviewers should perhaps consider the perspectives of the books' readers. A number of people, including this reviewer, have been attracted to Friends by *The Peaceable Kingdom*, and others have felt more understanding and sympathy for Friends after reading *Chesapeake*.

More significant than what people think or feel about Friends after reading these books is what they think and feel about themselves, God, and others. The reader of *Chesapeake* is likely to sense something of the joy of living, the love of all people, the ambiguity of human goodness, and the transitory character of all earthly existence. The reader of De Hartog's books may begin to realize that God is able to use the most flawed and twisted of all human beings, and to sense that the power of God is released in the world by those who realize that "all he has is thee." One task of the historical novelist, no less than the historian, is to enable the past to serve the needs of the present. It is fortunate that there are skilled, popular, Quaker novelists who are able to perform that task well.

Recent Books

Algie I. Newlin. *Charity Cook; A Liberated Woman*. Richmond, In: Friends United Press, 1981. 148 pages. \$8.95 (paperbound).

Algie Newlin's biography of Charity Cook, which first appeared in article form in *The Southern Friend* (Autumn, 1979), is a significant addition to Quaker history in several respects. It increases the scanty historical literature of early Southern Quakerism by exploring in detail the Friends settlements at Cane Creek, North Carolina, and Bush River, South Carolina, where Charity and her family were resident. It also reveals that Friends from the Carolinas were not only the recipients of visits in the ministry from Northern and British Friends, but themselves participated in this ministry. Charity Cook, because of her travels throughout the U. S., Great Britain, and Europe, was probably known, at least by name, to virtually every Friend of her day.

The greatest significance of Charity Cook's story, however, is suggested by the book's subtitle. Long before women's liberation bore that name Charity Cook was a liberated woman. In addition to bearing and raising a family, she was a Friends minister. She had a calling that her community recognized and validated, and that her spouse supported. So it was possible for her, when her children were old enough to be left with their father, for her to undertake a five-year trip in the ministry, thousands of miles from home. She and her fellow minister, also a woman, along with the men assigned by the meeting to accompany them for protection, traveled up the east coast, by ship across the Atlantic to England, through Germany and France despite the Napoleonic Wars, and back again. At more than one point the women proved themselves far less timid than their male "protectors."

Algie Newlin's book also sheds new light on that trans-Atlantic fellowship of Friends that existed at the close of the eighteenth century, before divisions between Hicksite and Orthodox, Gurneyite and Wilburite sundered the unity of virtually all American yearly meetings (save North Carolina, until 1904), and resulted in British Friends' taking sides with some American Friends against others. It provides a vivid historical case study of the traveling ministry that was the life's blood of the Society. The biography also shows that, quietism notwithstanding, the spirit of early Friends, which caused them to go precisely where they were least wanted and most needed,

still burned brightly. Finally, it is a testimony to a link in the chain of strong Quaker women that stretches from Margaret Fell and Mary Dyer, down to the present.

It seems a pity, therefore, that there is anything to criticize in a book that breaks so much new ground so well. Unfortunately the publisher has not done justice in the book's format to the material. The line-drawing illustrations are crude and detract from, rather than enhance, the story, especially the tasteless interpretation of the charming account of Issac Cook's welcome home kiss to his wife in meeting. The notes at the end of the book are poorly formatted — in one case an entire page is devoted to a series of *Ibid.*'s. There is no index, and no map to help a curious Philadelphian find a place as exotic as Bush River, South Carolina. There is not even a flyleaf or an imprint on the title page. Finally, at \$8.95, this paperbound book may be out of reach of many who should read it.

Despite these superficial shortcomings, it should be read, and widely so. Algie Newlin is a superb storyteller, as those who have shared his tales of his wife's ancestor Charity well know. He has performed a heroic task in constructing this story from widely scattered and sometimes scanty evidence. He has also performed a major service to history — Southern, Quaker, and women's — by illuminating the life of a person who so much deserves to be remembered.

Seth B. Hinshaw. *Friends at Holly Spring: Meeting and Community*. Greensboro, NC: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Holly Spring Meeting, 1982. 168 pages. \$6.00. (paperbound).

This volume is the first to appear of a projected series of histories commissioned by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, and is certainly a fine model for others to follow. The meeting was officially begun as a worshipping community in 1760, some twenty years after white settlers arrived in present-day Randolph County, North Carolina.

The author, Seth B. Hinshaw, is well acquainted with both community and meeting, having been reared there, a descendant of the community's first settlers. He also has a broad perspective derived from a life spent as a Friends minister, clerk and executive secretary of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, leader of Friends United Meeting, and delegate to three Friends World Conferences. In addition he was co-editor of *Carolina Quakers*, the tercentenary pictorial history of

North Carolina Friends. He has retired to the Holly Spring community where he continues to study, write, and publish Quaker history. With such a background he could be expected to place his home meeting and community in a broad, historically responsible context. He has in fact done so.

Beginning with the patterns of European settlement of North America, he traces the seventeenth-century Quaker settlements in eastern Carolina and the migrations from Pennsylvania through Virginia into the piedmont in the mid-eighteenth century. The character of the Holly Spring settlement is then described, based on research in both deed and will records and meeting records. The account of the development of the meeting is punctuated by the War of the Regulation (the Battle of Alamance) and the American Revolution (the Battle of Guilford Courthouse), both of which swirled around Holly Spring. The plight of non-combattant Friends, caught up in the turmoil, is vividly recalled from accounts of former residents.

Seth Hinshaw follows his description of the Revolution immediately with that of the Civil War, in an effort to show how little time this Southern community actually had to recover from being the battleground for one war before it was thrust into a second. In between lay the agony of slavery, the Quakers' opposition to it, and the problems it generated. Again local events, some terrifying to the Friends, are described to illustrate the community's anguish.

A lengthy chapter on schools establishes the extraordinary commitment of Holly Spring Friends to education, and serves to introduce the reconstruction activities of Friends, particularly the Baltimore Association. Evergreen Academy (whose building now sits on the author's property) serves as a local case study for this activity.

Succeeding chapters deal with meeting houses; ideals, customs, and testimonies; clerks, elders, and schools; and Sunday School and singing. The latter serves as prelude to a chapter on the 1904 separation among North Carolina Friends over the adoption of the Uniform Discipline. Holly Spring was among the few meetings to experience this division, and so it is again able to furnish immediate examples of a larger movement: the transition from quietism to the pastoral system by way of the Second Great Awakening. Unfortunately little is said of the unusual Conservative ("Wilburite") group that formed the Friendsville Meeting, and which bore some resemblance to an intentional community.

A chapter on community changes in the twentieth century contains some delightful anecdotal material. It is followed by two appen-

dices, which are actually prologue, on the region's geology and early Native American settlement, plus a chronology of the meeting.

Friends at Holly Spring manages at nearly every point to break the mold of the familiar "local church history" that is little more than a recital of names, dates, and building programs. Holly Spring has been a particularly rich microcosm of North Carolina and North Carolina Quaker history, at least until the present century in which rapid urbanization has not had as profound an impact as elsewhere. Seth Hinshaw deserves much credit for seeing the cosmos in the microcosm and for letting his readers see the world reflected in a rain-drop. His wife Mary Edith Woody Hinshaw must also be complimented for the extremely handsome design of the book, which makes effective use of photographs, drawings, a map to orient the reader, and even music to illustrate sermon intonation. The only noticeable omissions are a bibliography and an index. The type style and page size are similar to *The Southern Friend*, and the signatures of this paperbound volume are actually sewn. The joint publication by three groups, the low cost of printing by Briarpatch Press, and the absence of a profit-making motive have kept the price to a reasonable \$6.

John M. Moore, editor. *Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1681—1981*. Haverford, PA: Friends Historical Association, 1981. 273 pages. \$4.95 (paperbound).

The task of writing the history of "what was to become the largest and most influential Yearly Meeting in the new world," three hundred years after its first general meeting, is probably too large for any one person to undertake. The Friends Historical Association has therefore wisely chosen to divide that task among ten fine historians. The result is a book that is well researched, well written, and remarkably unified in its approach.

Arthur J. Mekeel presents the colonial period during which Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was relatively united. J. William Frost explores the tragic years of separation, 1790—1860. Edwin B. Bronner traces the development of the two rival yearly meetings from 1861 to 1914, as they gradually emerged from their self-imposed isolation and began to interact once again with the society around them. Herbert M. Hadley then described their reconvergence and reunification, with a strengthened sense of mission, between 1915 and 1955. The editor, John M. Moore, brings the story up-to-date in his introduction to the

whole. Unfortunately none of the authors comes to terms with the steady decline in the meeting's membership since 1960, although the introduction acknowledges it. It must surely be of pressing concern for the historians of a yearly meeting that was once "the largest ... in the new world" to understand why it is shrinking steadily, three centuries after its founding.

In addition to the chronological chapters there are four on special topics of particular interest. Milton Ream's deals with the relationship between Philadelphia Friends and the Indians. Elizabeth Gray Vining contributes a chapter on the yearly meeting and Japan, and Mary Hoxie Jones reviews its intimate relationship with American Friends Service Committee. The most lengthy "special" chapter is Margaret Hope Bacon's on women in the yearly meeting through 1929, covering some of the same territory as her recent book, *As the Way Opens (Southern Friend, Spring, 1981)*.

Several special features deserve special mention. Barbara L. Curtis has contributed a chronology of the yearly meeting, a list of its (their) clerks, and a list of the sites of yearly meeting sessions. There is also a rather brief index. In addition several of the chapters conclude with bibliographic suggestions, the most thorough of which are Arthur Mekeel's. For other chapters footnotes must suffice.

A few illustrations enhance the volume, but more can hardly be expected since the yearly meeting itself published a handsome pictorial history earlier in the year (*Southern Friend, Autumn, 1981*). Unfortunately neither contains a map of the yearly meeting. Special attention should be called to the price of \$4.95 which, for a 273-page paperback, is a real bargain.

One of the longstanding defects of Quaker (and indeed of most ecclesiastical) history has been its tendency to ignore the social, political, economic, and intellectual context of "religious" events. This history is less subject to that failing than many; indeed, a major theme is the varying degrees of interaction between meeting and society. Still, insufficient attention is sometimes paid to the ways in which the economic interests of Friends may have affected the positions taken on issues, including the shift in official attitudes toward slaveholding among Friends in the eighteenth century.

Friends in the Delaware Valley should certainly be read by Friends in the Delaware Valley. But it should also be read by Friends and non-Friends elsewhere, if only because Philadelphia Yearly Meeting has indeed been the "most influential Yearly Meeting in the new world" during much of its long life. Although many of its struggles and pat-

terns of development have differed from those of other parts of American Quakerism, they have had a marked impact on Friends elsewhere and on the national and international scene. One can only wonder what directions North Carolina Yearly Meeting might have taken if Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) had not ceased to communicate officially with any other American yearly meeting for so long a time. It is also possible that more contact with other Friends would have affected Philadelphia Friends as well. The fact that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, alone of the principal Eastern yearly meetings, is not a member of Friends United Meeting today, and that North Carolina Yearly Meeting, alone of the principal Eastern yearly meetings, does not belong to Friends General Conference, is the direct result of a decision made in 1857 at Fourth and Arch Streets in Philadelphia. That these two largest yearly meetings of Friends in the new world continue to have little contact makes it all the more imperative for those who care about Southern Quaker history to understand that of Friends in the Delaware Valley, and vice versa.

The Authors

DOROTHY LLOYD GILBERT THORNE (1902-1976) was born in Lewisville, Indiana and was educated at Earlham College, Columbia University, and the University of North Carolina. She taught English at Guilford College from 1925 to 1954, and from 1965 to 1971, but was just as well known for her contributions to the preservation of Quaker History. She served as Curator of the Quaker Collection from 1965 to 1971, and was a leader in Quaker organizations, locally, nationally, and internationally.

STEVEN JAY WHITE holds a B.A. in history from Gardner-Webb College in Boiling Springs, North Carolina. In 1981 he received a Master of Arts from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. His article was taken from a portion of his thesis.

NEREUS MENDENHALL (1819-1893) of Jamestown, North Carolina was a teacher, civil engineer, medical doctor, and twice a representative to the North Carolina legislature. As principle teacher and superintendent of New Garden Boarding School intermittently from 1839 to 1867, he was instrumental in keeping the school open throughout the difficult days of the War Between the States. He practiced medicine for only a short time, but alternated teaching with land surveying for the North Carolina Central Railroad and for the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroads.

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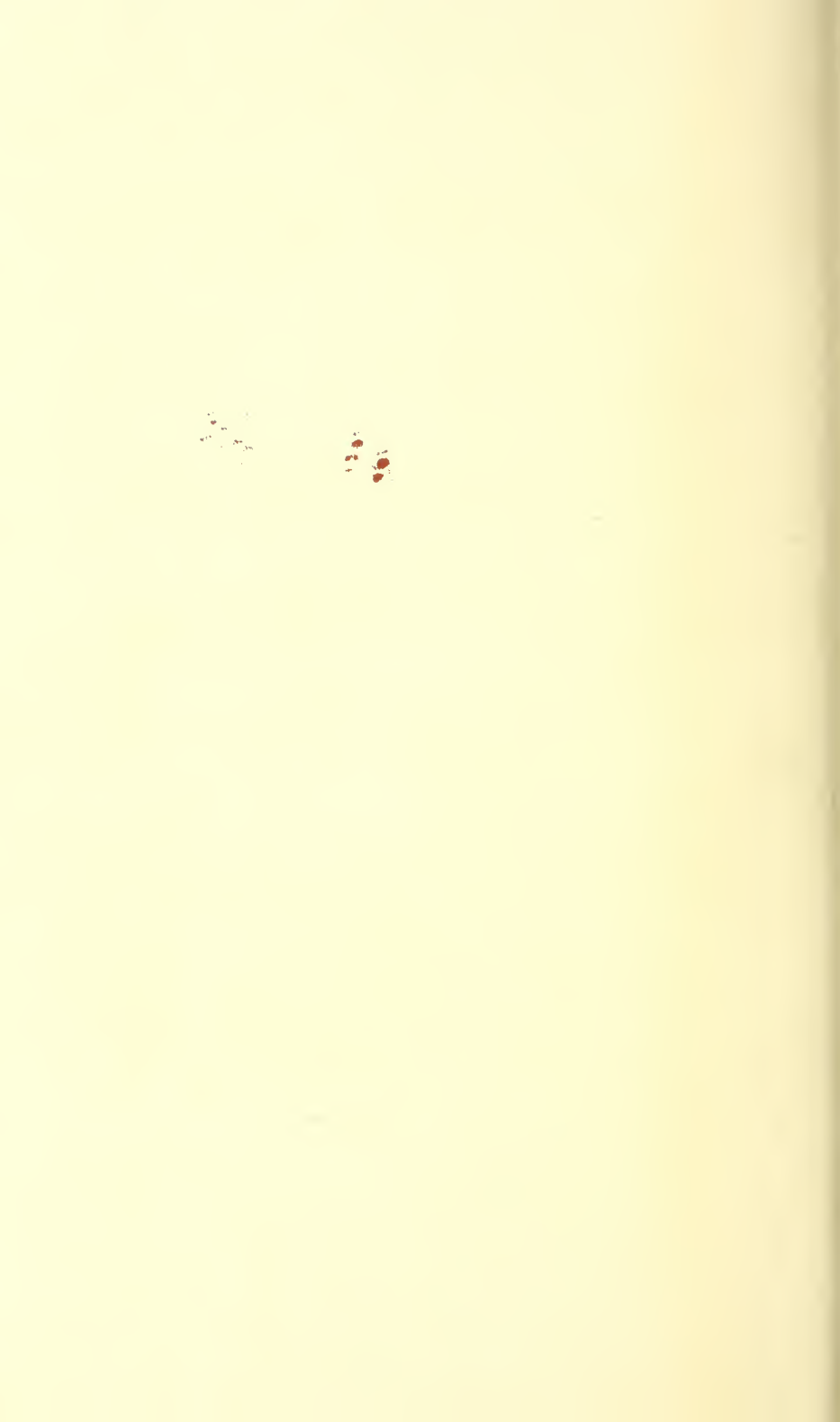
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Editorial Policy

The publication committee is interested in receiving articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in North Carolina and the adjacent geographical area. Articles must be well written and thoroughly documented. Papers on family history should not be submitted. All copy, including footnotes, *should be typed double-space. Articles and correspondence should be sent to:* Herbert Poole, Co-editor; Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. 27410.

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Cover illustration is the logo adopted by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society from the John Collins lithograph of the New Garden Friends Meeting House of 1791. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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The Wrightsborough Quakers and The American Revolution

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

Robert Scott Davis, Jr.

Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting was the southern-most settlement of Friends in eighteenth century America and the only Quaker community to exist then, or ever, in Georgia. The nearest monthly meeting to this small community was Bush River in South Carolina, and the quarterly meeting to which Wrightsborough belonged was the Western Quarter of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting which met alternately between Cane Creek and New Garden. Because of the great distance involved, Wrightsborough usually sent written reports without personal representatives to the quarterly meetings.

As a consequence of this isolation, the Wrightsborough Quakers were largely cut off from the aid of other Friends during much of the traumatic period of the American Revolution. When they were finally able to receive relief from other meetings, even this aid came to be one of their many tragedies of the war.

Wrightsborough township was first settled in 1767 by families from Orange County, North Carolina under the leadership of Quakers Joseph Maddock and Jonathan Sell. The former was the prime mover in this settlement, and he developed a friendship with Georgia's last royal governor, Sir James Wright, for whom he named the township in hope of receiving various concessions. Officially the township included 15,000 acres, but by 1774 land grants had been issued there that totalled 31,322 acres. Sometime in 1769-1770, the town of Wrightsborough was laid out as the center of the community.¹ However, the actual number of Quakers in the township probably numbered no more than 150 men, women, and children by 1776 — already greatly outnumbered by the non-Quakers of "all faiths and conditions" whom they allowed to live among them.²

The American Revolution brought special hardships for the Wrightsborough Quakers, as it did for all of the American meetings. Despite a law granting the Quakers an exemption from the draft, young men were persuaded to enlist in the rebel forces. Others joined

partisans that in the last years of the war were considered to be little more than bandits and murderers. Some of the Friends, attacked because of their alleged loyalty to the King or because their principles against bearing arms even in self-defense made them vulnerable targets, violated their beliefs by protecting themselves and their property or attempted to take revenge against their persecutors. As a result of the Revolution, twenty members were dealt with by the Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting for military activities, of whom fifteen were disowned.³

Joseph Maddock had particular reason to fear the wrath of the rebellious Whigs. He had done all that he could to support the King's cause and Royal Governor Wright. In July 1775, he declined to take the seat to which he had been elected on the colony's Second Provincial Congress. The following month, Maddock joined some forty prominent frontiersmen in signing a petition opposing Georgians who supported the Boston Tea Party. When that petition was refused by the Whigs, Maddock and a few other Wrightsborough Quakers joined the hundreds of backcountry Georgians who signed new protests that were published with the original petition in the *Georgia Gazette*.⁴ In November, he travelled to Savannah to present Governor Wright with an officially sanctioned letter of his monthly meeting declaring their non-involvement with the Whigs.⁵ When a British agent arrived in Wrightsborough in early 1779, Joseph Maddock helped him to find guides to South Carolina, to recruit a regiment of loyalists there. The British army briefly occupied nearby Augusta shortly afterwards and the Quaker leader was part of a delegation of Friends sent to meet with the commanding officer.⁶ For these activities, Maddock was soon arrested by the rebels, interrogated, and imprisoned at Charleston, South Carolina for several months.⁷

Joseph Maddock was eventually released and in the summer of 1780 he had the gratification of seeing all of Georgia and most of South Carolina restored to royal rule. However, by the following year, the tide of the war had again shifted as rebel guerrillas, led in part by former Wrightsborough Quaker Josiah Dunn,⁸ were operating on the Georgia frontier, killing and plundering persons who had supported the King's cause, had not militarily supported the American cause, or who in some instances simply had property worth stealing. By the end of May 1781, thirty-five persons on the frontier were reported to have been killed by these raiders, including eleven settlers who were murdered in their own beds.⁹

Maddock refugeed to British occupied Ebenezer, Georgia, in the autumn of 1781, bringing with him some one-fourth of the

The Wrightsborough Quakers and The American Revolution

Wrightsborough Quakers. At nearby Savannah, Sir James Wright had been restored as royal governor, and he provided the Friends with financial aid.¹⁰

With Wright's assistance, Maddock and his followers also applied through Daniel Silsby to the London Friends Meeting for Sufferings for aid. The documents of that request are reproduced following this introduction, courtesy of the Library Committee of London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Friends House, London. In these papers, the story of the Wrightsborough Quaker community is told from its beginnings in Pennsylvania about 1754. Also described in detail are the hardships the community suffered during the Revolution, particularly those that involved Joseph Maddock.

However, Maddock's troubles were not over. He and his fellow Quakers continued to suffer from the same food shortages, severe weather, and diseases that were afflicting the other refugees. On May 1, 1782, they petitioned Governor Wright to allow them to return to Wrightsborough to take their chances with the rebels. Despite their claim that the violence had abated, their request was turned down.¹¹ Savannah was evacuated by the British army and many of the Loyalists on July 11, 1782, although the Quaker refugees returned to Wrightsborough. Shortly afterwards, Daniel Silsby informed them that they would be allowed to draw up to £500 upon the account of the London Friends. Maddock accepted £240 of the money on their behalf.

The North Carolina Yearly Meeting learned of the London donation from the Philadelphia meetings, who were concerned that the funds might be misappropriated. The Yearly Meeting was particularly suspicious of Maddock's motives because they had already sent funds to the Quakers at Wrightsborough that were provided by the Philadelphia meetings. They advised the Georgia Friends not to accept any of the London donation but to apply to them for aid instead.¹²

During all of this time, three-fourths of the Wrightsborough Quaker community had remained at their homes, survived the rebel depredations, and even held their regular meetings. In June 1783, they began an investigation of how Joseph Maddock had dispensed the money he had drawn on the London Friends. When he refused to condemn his "not honestly Discharging the trust Reposed in him,"¹³ he was disowned. Maddock also declined to provide either the meeting or Daniel Silsby with an accounting of how the money was spent. The elderly, now ex-Quaker leader announced his intention to appeal to the Quarterly Meeting, but before he did so, some visiting Friends were asked for an opinion on restoring Maddock to their fellowship.

The Southern Friend

They suggested a minor change in a letter of condemnation he offered, which was done and the paper was accepted. Joseph Maddock does not again appear in the surviving Wrightsborough records. He is believed to have died in Georgia in the late 1790's, impoverished.¹⁴

The Wrightsborough Quaker community did not long survive its founder, disappearing around 1805-1809 from mass migrations to Ohio brought on by the pressures of slavery upon the anti-slavery Quakers. As a village, Wrightsborough continued to exist into the 1920's, when it finally joined the long and distinguished list of dead towns of Georgia.¹⁵

Documents

Copy Savannah in Georgia and the 9th of the first month 1782

John Townsend
and
Joseph Rowe } Esteemed Friends

The acquaintance and friendship that subsisted between us so much to my satisfaction during my residence in London, encourages me to hope the freedom I take at this time will not be unfavorably received.

I am desired by Joseph Maddock an aged and worthy friend, and Joseph Williams Clerk to the Monthly Meeting at Wrightsborough in this Province, to take charge of, and to forward to some Friends in England the inclosed Report, expressive of their and other Friends sufferings, in these Parts, in order that the same may be communicated to the Meeting for Sufferings in London for their consideration, together with the Certificates of the Governor and Chief Justice. — They also request for the satisfaction of Friends, that I mention some particulars, which Joseph Williams through indisposition is prevented from doing.

About twenty eight years since, several of the Friends now Members of the Meeting at Wrightsborough, with Joseph Maddock, removed from Newcastle and Chester Counties in Pennsylvania to North Carolina;¹⁶ in the year 1767 on encouragement from the

Legislature of this Province, Joseph Maddock with others were induced to remove from thence to Wrightsborough, (usually called Maddock's settlement,) distant westward from Savannah, between 140 and 150 miles; where they prospered in their worldly concerns, and abounded in all the necessaries and conveniences of Life. Their quiet and inoffensive demeanor gained them the Love and esteem of their neighbours, as well as the regard and attention of the Provincial Legislature insomuch, that great encouragement was given to increase the number of Friends. This was their agreeable situation at the commencement of the Colonies revolt. Since that period, from the fluctuating state of opposite Governments and the vindictive policy of licentious men, the sufferings of the peaceable Inhabitants of the interior Country, (friends as well as others) have been very general and severe. Passive innocence on their part was of no avail; the torrent of rage levelled all distinction, age nor sex afforded no security against violence, and we have seen in the space of a few months one of the most improvable Provinces in many parts depopulated. Scarce any of our streets but furnish objects of commiseration, half-starved and naked drove from their once comfortable settlements in the back County to depend on a precarious and inadequate subsistence here, and was it not for the kind interposition of Government, we have reason to believe numbers must have perished in our streets and fields, upwards of Eleven hundred are daily fed by scanty rations amongst whom are several hundred women and children. Many of the men instrumental in bringing on this distress have been long accustomed to plunder and rapine, and some time before the reduction of the King's Garrison at Augusta in the sixth month 1781, taking advantage of the absence of all Government, without any color of authority, suddenly fell on their innocent neighbours, some they killed while at work in their fields, others, in their Houses amidst their Children and families, even Youths of 13 and 14 years of age have fallen by their relentless hands. The consternation and terror that these cruelties occasioned, compelled the People to hide in the Wilderness and other Places, while others doubtful what steps to prefer, stil hoping that the British Government would soon be restored, fled to this Town.¹⁷

In the Summer of last year, the American Rulers resumed their Power in the western parts of this Province, when they resolved, that those men who had taken refuge in Savannah should not return, and in the ninth and Tenth months to increase their sufferings forced their Families with a few exceptions to follow them, which accounts that some of our Friends who chose to remain secreted were allowed to

return to their Homes, while others who came here have not that permission. The Society of Friends belonging to Wrightsborough consists upwards of Two hundred Men, Women and Children, of which number, Fifty seven are in this Town and the environs, the names with the number of each Family, as I have received them *from* Joseph Maddock are added in the Postscript.

My friend Samuel Farley Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly in this Province, and Brother to Thomas Rutter's Wife in Bristol, is so obliging as to favor me with a Letter to his Brother in Law relating to the Friends in Wrightsborough, which I inclose and desire you would forward to him.

Dear friends my own situation providentially have been exempted from those sufferings and Losses which our Bretheren in the Country have been and are stil exposed to, which hath enabled me in some degree to be serviceable to them. May him who governs the Hearts of all Men, and at his pleasure doth destroy and set up Kingdoms, dispose contending Parties, and jaring interests to reconciliation and Peace, is unfeignedly the wish of your friend.

[S] Daniel Silsby

PS names refered to in the foregoing

¹Joseph Maddock. Wife at Wrightsborough

²Joseph Williams. Wife & Six Children

³Jonathan Sell two Sons

⁴John Embrie three children

¹³John Stubbs wife & Eleven Children

⁸Joel Sanders Senr. Wife & Six Children

⁹John Hodgkin wife & seven Children

⁵Joel Sanders Junr. Wife & three Children

¹Thomas Stubbs }
 } single

¹Joseph Stubbs

¹Thomas Failen wife at Wrightsborough

²John Carson & Wife

¹Esther Carson

The Wrightsborough Quakers and The American Revolution

Copy

To the Meeting for Sufferings in London

Dear Friends,

Having an opportunity by a Vessel Sailing from these parts to Europe, We thought it would be amiss to Inform you of our suffering State and Condition, and of the distressed Condition of our Monthly Meeting of Wrightsborough in Georgia, Inasmuch as we do not know of any other way open at this time, whereby the same might be transmitted to you for your information and Consideration.

There are about Thirty four or Thirty five families, besides divers friends of other families belonging to our Monthly Meeting, who being Informed that the Land was fairly purchased of the Indians, and meeting with Encouragement from the Government were Induced to come and settle in or near Wrightsborough aforesaid, and are allowed the Liberty of holding a preparative and Monthly Meeting, which was settled about nine years ago, by the Western Quarterly Meeting, held Circularly at New Garden and Cane Creek in North Carolina.¹⁸

In the beginning of the present Commotions and Troubles in America, We seemed to be remarkably favoured for a considerable time, for although there were divers exercising authority, that Endeavoured to have Laws Enacted against us, to compel us to bear arms, and to Fine us for not Mustering, Scouting, or going on Expedition (so called) with them, yet these fines were never Executed or Levied on us, there generally happening something in a remarkable manner to stop the same.

When the King's Troops came and took possession of the Sea Ports, and all the parts of the Province along the Sea Coast, the Government the Americans had framed, being then broke, and their Power thereby weakened, the most Violent and Resolute part of them combining together, began in an Arbitrary manner to oppress us, taking what they pleased, some plundering openly, some stealing privately, being encouraged therein, and protected by some of their Collonels; who likewise took Five of our Members into Custody, and sent them prisoners into South Carolina, where they suffered greatly, and were kept in confinement nearly about Five months, and were then Released by order of the American General Lincoln,¹⁹ during which time the Americans Elected an Assembly for the upper parts of Georgia, and Chose a new Governor and Officers, Enacted Laws and exercised authority; yet our sufferings was Illegal and Arbitrary, some had a part of their property taken from them, and some were taken into Custody and Imprisoned several days, but were all released at Court,

and the property so taken was ordered to be returned again, but one of the Collonels refused to comply therewith upholding his men in what they had done.²⁰

When the Kings forces took possession of the upper parts of Georgia, there was a number of the Inhabitants went away out of the Province themselves leaving their Wives and Children behind, others lay out and hid themselves in the Woods for a considerable time until they were weary of Lying out and hiding, when several of them came in and submitted to the Kings Authority, but the residue of them out Lyers gathering together went to the Houses of several persons whom they killed or murdered and plundered them of what they pleased to take, but finding an Army gathering against them, they went away out of the Province, and were gone several months, But in the fore part of the Fourth month last, they being Reinforced or Joined with another Company of Men suitable for their purpose, returned again, and dividing into several Companies, came privately and fell to killing or Murdering in a very barbarous and Inhuman manner, which shock'd or Terrified the Inhabitants so that many of them fled to Savannah for Refuge, amongst whom were divers members of our Society, who had sufficient reason to apprehend that their lives was likewise in danger, Having killed a great many men, and frightened a great many more away; they endeavoured to force them that remained to take up arms and Join them, or do such other services as suited them, those that would not join them, they plundered (except a few persons) of the greatest part of their substance; Taking their Horses that was fit for use, Killing their Cattle of all kinds that was fit for Meat, Taking away what Wheat they pleased, from some their whole Crops of Wheat and Oats, and turned their Horses into several Corn-fields and destroyed the same, they Burnt four dwelling Houses of the members of our Society, and a Barn with a large quantity of grain in it belonging to one of them;²¹ and being not satisfied herewith, they Banished a number of families from Wrightsborough Settlement to Savannah, or within the Kings lines so called by them, amongst whom were several Families of the members of our Monthly Meeting.²²

The Government here at Savannah hath been so kind as to grant us an allowance of Beef and Rice, were it not for that our Sufferings would have been great, for we were not permitted to bring away with us in Provision, Cloathing and Bedding for one family more than what three horses of the meanest sort could bring. And for want of Houses some of us have been under a necessity to dwell in an open Camp (so Called) in the midst of Winter and in an Infirm state of health, and scanty of Wearing Apparel and Bedding.

The Wrightsborough Quakers and The American Revolution

The Commotions in this Province is such at this time that there is no Travelling from here to Wrightsborough as formerly, so that we have no Communication with our Monthly Meeting since our arrival here, yet we have sufficient reason to believe that they are so plundered of their Bread Corn and other effects as reduces them to astate of Suffering, neither can they send their Reports to the Quarterly Meeting as usual, We therefore thought that we might take the liberty to make use of the present opportunity to send you this short account of our State and Condition, hoping you will be pleased to take the same into your Consideration and Administer unto us such Advice and Assistance as you may judge necessary. We therefore Conclude with the Salutation of Love and remain your Friends.

Savannah the 2nd. of the First Month 1782.

[s]Joseph Williams
[s]Joseph Maddock
for themselves and
Jonathan Sell
John Embrie
John Stubbs
Joel Saunders Senr.
John Hogin
Joel Saunders Junr.
John Carson
Thomas Faillen
Thomas Stubbs
Joseph Stubbs

Copy

Georgia

I Anthony Stokes of the Inner Temple London Barrister at Law Chief Justice of his Majesty's Province of Georgia do hereby Certify that the Facts stated in the above written case appear to me to be true. I am acquainted with some of the Persons whose names are therein mention'd and I know them to be well disposed People they as well as the other Persons called Quakers have been remarkably industrious and peaceable from their first settling here, and have been always deemed a valuable acquisition to this Province. During the Usurpa-

tion here their conduct was so inoffensive that they gained the esteem of all good men, but innocence was not sufficient to protect them from the cruelty of the Rebels who have plundered and oppressed them to such a degree that many of the Quakers with their wives and Children have fled down to Savannah to save their lives. As I have been some years acquainted with the disposition of the Quakers and therefore thought it would be of use to this Province to encourage them settling here, I did draw up an Act enabling them to sit in the Commons House of Assembly, to serve on juries in Civil Cases and to hold civil offices on taking an affirmation in each case instead of an Oath; The Honorable the Legislature were pleased to pass this Act unanimously,²³ and many valuable People called Quakers would probably have settled here before this time had not the Rebels taken possession of the Western parts of this Province in April last, and continued there till this time. Should the People called Quakers in Great Britain be pleased to relieve the sufferings of their unhappy Bretheren here, they could not bestow their charity better, as they would thereby rescue from distress a number of good men, who have been persecuted and oppressed for the sake of preserving a good conscience.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Savannah the third day of January 1782.

[s] A Stokes

I Sir James Wright,²⁴ Baronet, Governor of the Province of Georgia, Do certify that I have known Joseph Maddock who hath signed the foregoing Representation of the Sufferings and present situation of the People called Quakers, who settled some years ago on a tract of Land in this Province called Wrightsborough and that he the said Joseph Maddock is a Person worthy of good conduct, And I do hereby further Certify that the state of their Case is very modest, It being Consistant with my knowledge that their losses and Sufferings far exceed what they have represented, and that they are a very loyal, honest, and industrious People, reduced to the greatest Necessity and distress being driven from their settlements by the Rebels, and that they are in general a very deserving People, and if their Friends in England will be so humane, and Charitable as to assist them, It is my opinion that their Contributions will be well bestowed. As Witness my Hand at Savannah in Georgia this 5th day of January 1782.

Ja: Wright

Charlestown 26th of 9 mo. 1782

John Townsend &
Morris Birkbeck
Esteemed Friends

Your Letter with Duplicate dated 6 mo. 7th, in answer to mine respecting the Friends of Wrightsborough came to hand yesterday. I shall improve the earliest opportunity in acquainting them of the benevolent intention of Friends in London, and shall request that they depute one or more Persons to receive the Supply designat'd for their Relief. Since the date of my former Letter a considerable change has taken place in their circumstances. From the Beginning of the present Year the King's Affairs in Georgia, were daily hastening to a decisive Crisis, and the encroachments of the Enemy on our already too confined Territory, rendered the situation of the Refugee Inhabitants peculiarly irksome and unhappy; Our Friends in particular were so discouraged in continuing in a state useless to themselves and burthensome to Government, that it finally determin'd them to apply for Permission to return Home, with this view they had obtain'd the consent of the King's Governor, and advances were made to the American General Wayne, which it is probable, had not Savannah been Evacuated would have proven successful, but that Event taking place about the same time facilitated their Return. On the intended Evacuation being announced, Delegates for the different classes of Men who inclined to remain in Georgia were appointed, and in consequence they soon after agreed upon Terms with the American Rulers,²⁵ amongst others was Joseph Maddock for the back country, and on the 22d of 6 mo. he, with the other Friends took their Departure for Wrightsborough, where, I believe they arrived safe. Should they remain unmolested, yet from the exhausted state of the country, and their own ruin'd circumstances, I apprehend that it will be many months before they find themselves comfortably situated.

My Removal from Savannah has placed me under a different Government from theirs, this circumstance does at present prevent my supplying them, but the obstructions I expect will be soon removed by the British abandoning this Town and Province. My own business will require that I should remain for a limited time under the American Government, which will again open a communication with our Friends in Wrightsborough, this I hope will happen in a few weeks, when it shall be an object with me to carry into Effect the Donation of Friends, which ample as it is will doubtless meet with a grateful acceptance. Their pressing wants I conceive will prevent them from

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waiting for Supplies being wrote for to London, and will induce them to prefer receiving them in this Town or at Savannah — to their election I shall however leave it.

In due time I will (as far as lays with me) transmit for satisfaction of Friends an account of the particular application of the money or supplies, and will govern myself in the Bill to be drawn agreeable to your direction.

I am with sincere affection your Friend
[s] Daniel Silsby

P.S. I must not omit to acquaint you of the Loss the Society in Georgia sustained the 20th. of 4 mo. by the Death of Joseph Williams; the important charge he met with Christian confidence and becoming resignation — the happy result of a well spent Life.

¹Ralph G. Scott, Jr., "The Quaker Settlement of Wrightsborough, Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (hereafter *GHQ*) 56 (1972): 211-3, 216-7; Alex M. Hitz, "The Wrightsborough Quaker Town and Township in Georgia," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 46 (1957): 12-6, 18; Harold E. Davis, *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), 63. The author would like to acknowledge the kind help of Arthur J. Mekeel of the Quaker Collection, Haverford College, and Malcolm Thomas of Friends House, London.

²Compare the names of the members of the Wrightsborough Meeting in the surviving minutes of the Mens Meeting, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, with the lists of Wrightsborough land grants in Hitz, 18-22, and at the end of Pearl Baker, *The Story of Wrightsboro 1768-1964* (Thomson, Ga.: Wrightsboro Foundation, 1972), n.p. Various writers have erroneously assumed that everyone who lived in Wrightsborough township was a Quaker.

³Minutes of the Wrightsborough Mens Monthly Meeting, 1772-1792, Quaker Collection, *passim*; Arthur J. Mekeel, *The Relation of the Quakers to the American Revolution* (University Press of America, 1976), 276.

⁴Edward J. Cashin and Heard Robertson, *Augusta and the American Revolution: Events in the Georgia Backcountry* (Augusta: Richmond County Historical Society, 1975), 9; Robert S. Davis, Jr., comp., *Georgia Citizens and Soldiers of the American Revolution* (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1979), 11-2, 16, 18.

⁵Minutes of the Wrightsborough Mens MM, 1772-1792, pp. 14-5, Friends Historical Collection.

⁶*Ibid.*, 35; Deposition of William Millen, January 28, 1779, copy, Military Collection, War of Revolution, Miscellaneous Papers 1776-1789, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Affairs. Maddock and his delegation may have been the group of "Anabaptists" reported to have visited the British camp. See *Royal Georgia Gazette*, Savannah, February 11, 1779, p. 4 c. 1.

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⁷Court Minutes, April 10, 1779, Mathew Singleton Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; Edward J. Cashin, "George Walton and the Forged Letter," *GHQ* (1978): 137.

⁸Heard Robertson, "The Second British Occupation of Augusta, 1780-1781," *GHQ* 58 (1974): 438. Dunn was disowned by the Wrightsborough meeting in 1775 for refusing to condemn his marriage, use of profane language, and aiding of thieves. His brother Nehemiah was later disowned for not condemning, among other things, helping Josiah to steal horses. Josiah Dunn recruited young men from among the Wrightsborough Quakers and is reported to have died in fighting at Kettle Creek, near Wrightsborough, in the last days of the Revolution. See the Revolutionary War pension claims of Benajah Nordyke, Ga. R 7691, and Josiah Dunn, Ga. R 3145, Military Service Records, National Archives and Records Service.

⁹Robert S. Davis, Jr., "Colonel Thomas Waters and the American Revolution in Wilkes County," in *idem.*, ed., *The Wilkes County Papers, 1773-1833* (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1979), 31; Allen D. Candler, comp., "The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia," (unpublished volumes of *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, Georgia Department of Archives and History, 1937), vol. 38, pt. ii; 480, 505.

¹⁰Davis, *Georgia Citizens and Soldiers*, 73-4, 180, 185.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 75; Cashin and Robertson, *Augusta and the American Revolution*, 72.

¹²Mekeel, 306-7.

¹³Minutes of the Wrightsborough Mens MM, 1772-1792, pp. 78-81, Friends Historical Collection.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 81-7; Daniel Williams to Daniel Silsby, September 20, 1783, and Silsby to John Townsend and Morris Birbeck, April 10, 1784, Friends House, London.

¹⁵William Wade Hinshaw, comp., *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* 6 vols. (1936; rep. ed. Baltimore Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969) 1: 1015-6, 1042; Baker, see chapters 7 and 9, n.p.

¹⁶In their initial petition to the colonial government of Georgia in 1767, the later settlers of Wrightsborough described themselves as "at present residents in Orange County in the Province of North Carolina but lately from Pennsylvania." Quoted in Hitz, 12.

¹⁷Georgia Loyalist William Lee of Burke County wrote at that time:

the rebels were victorious, and soon conquered the country; they also committed great depredations upon the loyalists, by plundering their homes, and very frequently killing them; which caused some of them to make their escape down to Savannah or Charles Town; others to Fort Augusta, which was about 40 miles from my habitation; others sheltered themselves in the woods, and were many of them caught and killed, even when begging for life upon their knees!

William Lee, *The True and Interesting Travels of William Lee* (York: C. Croshaw, 1818), 22.

¹⁸The Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting, Western Quarter, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, was begun on Sunday, November 4, 1773. Minutes of the Western Mens Quarterly Meeting, 1760-1784, pp. 91-4, and minutes of the Wrightsborough Mens MM, 1772-1792, p. 1, Friends Historical Collection.

¹⁹These five Quakers were Joseph Maddock, Joel Saunders, Thomas Saunders, Abram Saunders, and Mordecai Saunders. Allen D. Candler, comp., *The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia* 3 vols. (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner, 1908) 2: 166-8. The Quakers were brought back by their neighbor John Dennis.

²⁰No records of this trial have been found. It may have been a special court ordered to be held August 23, 1779, but possibly it was the regular civil court held in Augusta in March 1780. Candler, *Revolutionary Records* 2: 147; Edward J. Cashin, "The Famous Colonel Wells': Factionalism in Revolutionary Georgia," *GHQ* 58 (1974): 152.

²¹For a rebel account of this raid see the deposition of Samuel Beckaem, *et al*, June 1, 1812, Georgia Historical Society Library. Also see Chandler, "Colonial Records," vol. 38, pt. ii: 480, 505.

²²The North Carolina Yearly Meeting apparently questioned whether Maddock and his followers were usually banished. They wrote to the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings:

to the best of our knowledge the manner of friends Going to Savanna; which is: Some went voluntarily before the British left the country others being order'd away & threatened by the other party went also; Now altho they Represented their Case as banishment we Shall Leave that to you to judge as you think Proper, whether or not it may Come under that Character.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting to Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, May 10, 1783, Philadelphia Meetings Records, Haverford College Library.

²³This act was apparently passed out of sympathy for the Quakers' sufferings. See Sir James Wright to Lord George Germain, March 9, 1781, in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah: The Society, 1873) 3:342.

²⁴The original of this deposition by Sir James Wright could not be located. Used here is a copy from Epistles to the London Yearly Meeting, vol. 5, pp. 138-9, Friends House, London.

²⁵See Cashin and Robertson, *Augusta and the American Revolution*, 73.

East-West Relations in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1750-1785

BY

Kenneth L. Carroll

At the beginning of the eighteenth century North Carolina Quakerism was concentrated in Perquimans and Pasquotank Counties. Prior to the establishment of Core Sound Meeting by Rhode Island Quakers in 1733, North Carolina Quakerism remained almost completely centered in Pasquotank and Perquimans. By the middle of the century, however, the movement had begun to spread into a number of other counties scattered throughout the coastal plain. Its main strength, however, still continued to be found in Perquimans and Pasquotank. The other meetings which arose before 1750 appear, for the most part, to have been rather small. The new monthly meetings which came into existence prior to 1750 never achieved the size or strength possessed by the original two monthly meetings.

As North Carolina Friends entered the eighteenth century, they were composed largely of convinced North Carolinians increasingly leavened by a growing number of Virginia Quakers who drifted southward from their main centers in Nansemond, Chuckatuck and Isle of Wight Counties. This early relationship of North Carolina Friends with Virginia Quakerism continued to develop — through marriages, migration, and intervisitation — so that, even after North Carolina Yearly Meeting began its rapid growth westward, eastern North Carolina Quakers still felt a closer tie with their Virginia brethren than with those Friends who were descending upon the Piedmont area in ever-increasing numbers. So close was this relationship between Friends in "Old Albemarle" and those in lower Virginia that many "public" Friends in Pasquotank wished to attend those meetings in Virginia as well as those in Perquimans and requested that all of these monthly meetings be spaced so that they were not too close together in time — thereby enabling those "public" Friends to attend all of them.¹ Unfortunately, there exists no record of these early visits among Virginia Quakers (and of the return visits from Virginia Quakers). From 1715 onward, however, we do find mention

of various North Carolina "public" Friends going to Virginia. At some early date a special committee of thirteen North Carolina Quakers was established to accompany travelling Friends (from other yearly meetings) to Virginia when necessary.²

In 1750, at the very middle of the century, North Carolina Quakerism was still concentrated in Perquimans and Pasquotank, even though there had arisen a few small meetings such as Core Sound, Falling Creek, Carver's Creek, and Dunn's Creek. As the second half of the eighteenth century got under way, however, North Carolina Quakerism burst its old bounds. This rapid expansion expressed itself in two ways: first, in the continued increase of new meetings in the old coastal plain; second, in the sudden appearance of growing numbers of northern Quakers and new meetings in several Piedmont counties.

In eastern Carolina growth continued in Perquimans and Pasquotank, with several new meetings appearing in those counties — as convincements and movement of Friends necessitated such a move. About 1750 Friends from those two counties, as well as others coming down from Virginia, began to move into Northampton. In 1760 Rich Square Monthly Meeting was set up for Friends in Northampton, Hertford, and Edgecombe counties.³ Other meetings appeared, stemming largely from migration of eastern Carolina Quakers and some continuing conviction. In the Eastern Quarter only Carver's Creek and Dunn's Creek were made up primarily of Quaker migrants from Pennsylvania.

Simultaneously with this steady increase in the eastern third of the colony came the introduction of Quakerism into the Piedmont area. Here the growth was of such rapidity and proportions as to be almost an explosion. One new quarterly meeting and several new monthly meetings were needed almost immediately. The great increase of Quakerism in the Piedmont section of North Carolina was due almost completely to the migration of Friends from upland Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Nantucket. Very few Quakers came west from the old settlements in eastern North Carolina before the close of the American Revolution. As one reads the minutes of Perquimans, Pasquotank, Core Sound, Rich Square, Cane Creek, Deep River, and New Garden monthly meetings, he is struck by how little migration from the east did occur before 1785. Several of those few who did go west eventually returned to their former homes in the east!⁴

The beginning of Piedmont Quakerism probably goes back to the very end of the 1740's — for several of the certificates recorded at Cane Creek bore 1748 and 1749 dates. By 1751 upwards of thirty Quaker families were settled in the Cane Creek area, according to a report received by Perquimans Quarterly Meeting in August 1751 from several representatives who had made the long, difficult journey from Cane Creek. Soon the stream of Quaker migration from the north turned into a tidal wave, closely following the trails of the Scotch-Irish and Germans who were rolling down the back country. New meeting after new meeting appeared quite rapidly: with Cane Creek, New Garden, Deep River, and Center all appearing in the 1750's and still others in the 1760's and the 1770's. Most of the members of these new meetings were Quakers who had migrated from the north. A surprising number, however, were convinced Friends — drawn from among those who settled in that area at the same time that the Quakers were arriving.

As has already been suggested contact between Friends of the Eastern Quarter (containing the older meetings in the coastal plain area of the colony) and those of the Western Quarter (composed of the newer meetings in the Piedmont) remained rather limited. Few certificates of removal in either direction were granted before 1785. Quakers in the Perquimans-Pasquotank-Northampton area continued to have much more contact (through marriage, travelling ministers, and removals) with the old and well-established meetings in eastern Virginia than they did with those in the Piedmont. The extremely difficult and very primitive east-west travel conditions had been the main reason why Western (Cane Creek) Quarterly Meeting was established in 1760. An examination of the minutes of Perquimans Monthly Meeting from 1750 to 1785 shows only four religious visits to the Cane Creek-New Garden area during this whole period, while some twenty "public" Perquimans Friends were in Virginia, two travelled to South Carolina, and about fifteen travelled in Rich Square, Core Sound, Falling Creek, and Carver's Creek Monthly Meetings.⁵ The same pattern is found among Pasquotank Friends between 1750 and 1785. Pierce Nixon and Joseph Henley, attending the Quarterly Meeting at New Garden in 1782, made the only recorded visit to these western Friends.⁶ In this same period five Pasquotank Quakers were in Virginia, four attended Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and one visited Core Sound.⁷

The same situation was largely true of Friends in the Western Quarter. New Garden Monthly Meeting minutes, between 1754 and 1782, show only four visits to "Friends in the lower part" of North

Carolina. In this same period there were twenty-seven "religious visits" to Virginia and northward (sometimes as far as New England), eight to South Carolina, and two to Europe!⁸ Other than attending yearly meeting, which continued to be held in Perquimans until 1787 (when it met at Center in Guilford County), western Friends had little contact with eastern Carolina Friends.

In addition to having had a different origin and a lack of any meaningful contact, there were other factors that raised a basic question about the relationship of eastern and western Quakers. The most significant difference was to be found where the subject of slavery arose. Slavery seems to have preceded Quakerism into North Carolina. Some of those who were convinced by Fox and Edmundson were probably already slaveholders. Other eastern Quakers became slaveholders. John Woolman, while in the midst of his 1757 Southern journey, sent an epistle to the monthly meeting at New Garden and Cane Creek (which at that time contained all the Friends in that rapidly growing Piedmont area), saying that he had been informed that "there are a large number of Friends in your parts, who have no Slaves." He appealed to them not to buy any slaves, and he also warned them of the various evils that accompanied slavery.⁹

This letter, written by Woolman while he was still making his journey southward through Virginia, was his one contact with these western Quakers in North Carolina. Yet his influence continued to be felt among them to a much greater degree than among those in the eastern part of the colony where Woolman was actually present in early June 1757. Woolman attended the two monthly meetings in that area — at Wells (Perquimans) and Symons Creek (Pasquotank). Woolman saved his comments on slavery for those two meetings for business or discipline, feeling that they were more suitable there than in the meetings for worship. It was late in the meeting for business at Symons Creek that Woolman, "settled in silence," heard a member of the meeting speak about a concern which had long lain upon his mind about "Friends so much neglecting their duty in the Education of their Negroes." His proposal, seconded by two others, was that Friends hold special meetings for Blacks on a weekday.¹⁰ This was as far as Eastern Quakers appear to have gone, gaining approval of the Yearly Meeting in 1758 for holding special meetings for Negroes at Newbegun Creek, Head of Little River, Symons Creek and Old Neck.¹¹ This same yearly meeting approved a new query to be added to those in the Discipline approved in 1755. It read, "Are all that have Negroes Carefull to use them well and Encourage them to come to meetings as

much as they reasonably Can.”¹²

In 1768 Western Quarterly Meeting raised a question about the purchase of slaves. The yearly meeting then appointed a committee to consider the question, in light of the present Discipline, and to report back with its recommendations. It was the committee's view that the advices and queries of that time prohibited "Buying Negroes to trade upon, or of them that trade in them." They also recommended that the yearly meeting advise all Friends not to buy or sell "in any case, that can be reasonably avoided." The yearly meeting concurred in this view.¹³ Quakers in the Western Quarter were unhappy with this decision, feeling that the question should be laid before the next yearly meeting for "further Consideration and Revisal: with the desires that a more fuller Restraint may be laid upon that Unrighteous and Oppressive gain and practice of buying and selling Negroes in all its various Branches among Friends."¹⁴

North Carolina Yearly Meeting discussed the subject in 1769, but decision had to be postponed until 1770 when the yearly meeting was able to unite in the substitution of a newly-worded query: "Are all friends carefull to bear a faithful Testimony against the Iniquitous Practice of Importing Negroes; Or do they refuse to Purchase of those that make a trade or Merchandize of them; and do they use them which they have by Inheritance or otherwise well, Indeavouring to discourage them from Evill and Incouraging them in that which is good?"¹⁵ It should be noted that, at this time, North Carolina Yearly Meeting was still to be held in the east, so that few Friends from Western Quarter (which was much more opposed to slavery) were able to attend. Eastern Quakers, therefore, dominated the yearly meeting sessions. Many Quakers in the Eastern Quarter of North Carolina were closely tied in to both tobacco raising and the plantation economy (with their dependence on slavery) and were, therefore, unwilling to cut themselves loose completely from the purchase of slaves.

At the very time that Western Quarter was pushing vigorously for total prohibition of buying and selling slaves and when North Carolina Yearly Meeting (under the domination of Eastern Quarter Friends) was refusing to move very far, a letter came from London Quakers suggesting that North Carolina should go far beyond what the Western Quarter was seeking! The 1769 epistle from London pointed out the progress being made in the provinces to the north and noted that many Negroes here had been freed. It then added "we are under a concern of mind to put you upon looking to the same thing that you may be excited to follow So noble & truly Christian an Exam-

ple, & be made partakers of that recompense of Reward, the sweet incomes of Peace & divine Consolation therein.”¹⁶ This London epistle, plus the *continuing dissatisfaction* with the seventh query on the part of New Garden Monthly Meeting and other Western Quarter Friends, led to a reopening of the question still once more.¹⁷ In 1772 Western Quarter once again requested that the yearly meeting consider the query relating to the buying and selling of slaves.¹⁸ The yearly meeting appointed an eighteen-member committee (with very little representation from Western Quarter) to bring in a recommendation on this matter. Their proposal, adopted by the yearly meeting, was that no member “in unity” might buy a slave except from another Quaker “in unity” unless it be to prevent the separating of husband and wife or parents and children and that no member should sell a slave to anyone who bought or sold for profit “without Regarding how the Poor Slave may be used, or the great Evil of Separating man and wife or Parent and Child.”¹⁹

Although the yearly meeting arrived at this position in 1772 and notified each monthly and particular meeting of this decision, not all buying of slaves ceased in the Eastern Quarter. Jonathan Moore bought a slave from a non-Quaker in 1773 and then condemned his action, which was acceptable to his monthly meeting (Perquimans).²⁰ The same body gave permission, in 1774, to Humphrey Park to purchase a slave from a non-Quaker.²¹ Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, in 1773, accepted Thomas Pritchard’s condemnation of buying a slave against the orders of the yearly meeting.²² Although the yearly meeting was slowly moving toward a position of ruling out the purchase of slaves, many Eastern Quarter Friends still resisted any change in practice or principle.

Even though many Quakers in the Eastern Quarter resisted the efforts of Western Quarter Friends to bring about the end of buying and selling of slaves (and some of them continued to evade or reject the requirements of the Discipline with ease), an awakening on this subject was really taking place there also. Thomas Nicholson wrote a letter to accompany “several papers Relative to the Slave Trade” by Anthony Benezet. The Yearly Meeting Standing Committee decided to circulate them among the “Leading Men” of Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans and Chowan.²³ Shortly after this, on April 4, 1774, Thomas Newby sought advice from Perquimans Monthly Meeting, being “uneasy on account of keeping slaves.”²⁴ The Standing Committee advised those like Newby, who felt “uneasy” and under a “burden” in holding slaves, to free them — by drawing up the appropriate documents (done by the proper persons appointed by the monthly

meetings) and by ascertaining that the persons to be set free were capable of earning their own livelihood.²⁵ Newby free his ten slaves in 1774, and John Winslow of Symonds Creek Monthly Meeting manumitted two slaves early in 1775.²⁶ Some Eastern Quarter Quakers in 1776 and 1777, however, were still more likely to sell their slaves than set them free.

Western Quarter again in 1775 expressed the unhappiness of its members with the present query and the foot-dragging of the yearly meeting.²⁷ As a result, the seventh query was amended, so as to prohibit any buying or selling of Negroes without the consent of their monthly meeting.²⁸ In the 1776 yearly meeting sessions a number of Friends expressed their willingness to free all their slaves, so that the epistle sent out that year reports that ground had been "gained" in this respect during the past year. It also advised all members who held slaves "to Cleanse their Hands of them as soon as they possibly can."²⁹ It was only a question of time, therefore, before the yearly meeting would unite in recommending that those who continued to hold slaves and justify slavery should be testified against. The story of that development, however, belongs elsewhere, rather than being a part of this study.

During this 1750-1785 period there was continuing conviction throughout all parts of North Carolina. Eastern Quarter Friends appear to have been a bit more careful in admitting members than those in Western Quarter. First of all, a person requested "to come under the care of Friends." Some months or years later he might then ask to come into membership. On both occasions he might be visited by a committee. Western Friends, on the whole, were not as rigorous or as slow as their brethren in the Eastern Quarter but, rather, were more like their fellow-Quakers to the north. New Garden Monthly Meeting, in 1773, even seems to have granted membership to Uriah Carson of Tom's Creek the same day his request was communicated!³⁰

This difference in practice between Eastern Quarter Friends and those in Western Quarter is both interesting and puzzling, especially since they both used the same Discipline. The first Discipline used by North Carolina Friends was received from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1704. A later edition, still in manuscript form, was received from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1755.³¹ Joseph Ratcliff, at the order of the 1755 yearly meeting, produced four manuscript "books of Discipline" which were dispersed to the monthly meetings in 1756.³² Other copies were produced at a later date.

It is easy to see why eastern and western Friends in North

Carolina in the 1750-1785 period did not feel much of a sense of oneness with each other. First of all, there was the very important difference in background and origin of the two groups. Then there was the ongoing lack of frequent and meaningful contact between the two bodies, occasioned largely by the difficulty of east-west travel. Third, there was a real difference of opinion on such subjects as buying and selling slaves and even holding people in bondage. There were also some minor differences, such as those practices to be following in accepting people into membership. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Friends in the Western Quarter wondered why they were yoked to those in the Eastern Quarter. It was only a question of time before these wonders and doubts on this relationship expressed themselves openly. Finally the question of separating into two yearly meetings was raised at the 1784 yearly meeting, when Western Quarterly Meeting requested such a division.³³ This was the prodding which was needed to make Eastern Quarter Friends realize that the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1784 was not the same as the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of a generation before — recognizing that the large number of Friends in the Piedmont area (as well as those Quakers farther south in South Carolina and Georgia) were also a part of the yearly meeting. Out of this realization came an awareness of the needs of the larger group, thereby leading to the compromise of alternating the yearly meeting between Guilford County and Perquimans County — with the first yearly meeting in the west held in 1787.³⁴ It was this compromise which allowed North Carolina Yearly Meeting to continue as one body rather than dividing into two.

¹Minutes of Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, I (1699-1785), 30. These records are on deposit at Guilford College. This request was made in 1710.

²Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 69a. The pages of this volume (assembled at a late date and out of order) are sometimes impossible to date. All are before 1736. These thirteen were William Newby, Richard Ratcliff, Samuel Nicholson, William Newby, Jr., Arthur Jones, Edward Newby, Thomas Pows, Jr., Gariel Newby, Isaac Wilson, Robert Wilson, Francis Wells, John Kinsey, and James Leaton.

³Perquimans Quarterly Meeting Minutes, I, minutes for May 21, 1760.

⁴Some time ago I examined all of these minutes, trying to measure the amount of east-west movement. An examination of W. W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. I, will show my observation to be correct.

⁵Thomas Farmer made such a visit to Cane Creek in 1756, Henry Horn in 1759, Francis Jones in 1774, and Chalkley Albertson in 1782.

⁶Symons Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 713.

⁷*Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁸Visitors to eastern Carolina were William Hunt in 1765, Ann Jessup in 1769 and again in 1773, and John Unthank in 1778. William Hunt and his companion Thomas

Thornborough, Jr., were in Europe at the same time John Woolman was travelling there.

⁹John Woolman, *Journal and Major Essays* (New York, 1971), p. 69. This edition was edited by Phillips P. Moulton.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹¹Symons Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 382, 384; Perquimans Quarterly Meeting Minutes, February 24, 1758.

¹²North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, I, 66-67. These records are on deposit at Guilford College.

¹³*Ibid.*, I, 6770, 73, 77, 82, 84. Cf. North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, I, 96. The committee was composed of Thomas Nicholson, William Hunt, Samuel Newby, Thomas Knox, Thomas Thornbury, and a number of other Friends.

¹⁴Cane Creek (Western) Quarterly Meeting Minutes, I, 70. These records are on deposit at Guilford College.

¹⁵North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, I, 103.

¹⁶Epistles Sent, IV, 321 (May 20, 1769). These manuscript copies of Epistles sent out by London Yearly Meeting are found in Friends House Library, London.

¹⁷New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 208 (July 27, 1771).

¹⁸North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, I, 108. I have been able to identify only two of the eighteen as coming from Western Quarter.

¹⁹Epistles Received, IV, 325-326. These manuscript copies of epistles received from various Quaker bodies are found in Friends House Library, London.

²⁰Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, May 5, 1773.

²¹*Ibid.*, January 1, 1774.

²²Symons Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 570.

²³Standing Committee (Eastern Quarter) Minutes, I, 118. These records are on deposit at Guilford College.

²⁴*Ibid.*, I, 20-22; Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, April 6, 1774.

²⁵Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, May 4, 1774. A committee was appointed to help Thomas Newby free his slaves.

²⁶Symons Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 596. Cf. I, 613, 614, 625, 626 for such cases in 1776 and 1777.

²⁷North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, I, 136-137.

²⁸*Ibid.*, I, 138-139.

²⁹Epistles Received, V, 19; North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, I, 148.

³⁰New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 227.

³¹Perquimans Quarterly Meeting Minutes, I, minutes for May 31, 1755. This quarterly meeting was the only quarterly meeting in North Carolina in 1755. Cf. North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, I, 56.

³²Perquimans Quarterly Meeting Minutes, I, minutes for November 27, 1756.

³³North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, I, 214.

³⁴*Ibid.*, I, 231.

Report of the Friends Historical Collection 1981 — 1982

BY

Damon D. Hickey
and
Carole M. Treadway

The Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College serves educational needs of Guilford College students and provides a focal point for the understanding of Guilford's Quaker heritage. It preserves the written record of Friends in the American Southeast and much of the literature of Friends worldwide. It assists in the education of Southeastern Friends in their own history and traditions. It solicits, collects, and preserves the papers of individuals and organizations associated with Friends and with the College. It encourages original research and writing. It assists individuals in researching family histories in Quaker sources.

Development

During 1981-82 the Friends Historical Collection developed a pictorial brochure and a new letterhead. The policy statement for researchers was revised, and a procedure was developed for answering genealogical inquiries by mail. College approval was given for lending Quaker books to Friends ministers and ministerial candidates. Annual accounts for the collection, separate from the general Library's, were set up.

A grand total of \$30,000 was raised by the Friends of the Guilford College Library to endow the Clyde and Ernestine Milner Collection for International Quaker Studies, with a projected annual dividend of about \$2,000 for the purchase of new materials. Several gifts of meaningful personal items were received from the Milners, who also attended a reception in the collection during Homecoming in the fall. Other substantial financial gifts were also received during the course of the year.

Work went forward in cooperation with Judith Harvey, director of the college's Friends Center, whose survey of North Carolina Friends revealed a high interest in Quaker history. A Quaker information center was set up in the hallway outside the collection entrance, and its display of announcements and current Quaker periodicals was frequently consulted by college staff and students.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting continues its generous support of one-half of Carole Treadway's salary as Quaker bibliographer, both for 1981-82 and 1982-83.

Outreach

The staff of the collection continued its community outreach activity this year. Several Friends meeting groups visited the collection, as did participants in the college's "Guilford Today" program. Both staff members spoke to groups and meetings, High Point Meeting's Spiritual Emphasis Week, the Historic Jamestown Society, the High Point chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Guilford College Academic/Administrative Support Staff Association, Holly Spring Meeting, Deep River Meeting, and New Garden Meeting. The collection also contributed to an exhibit for an anniversary celebration of the American Friends Service Committee.

Several groups held regular meetings in the collection outside normal working hours: the board of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, the Committee on the Care of Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, the Friends Center Coordinating Committee, and the board of New Garden Friends School. The collection was also scheduled as the site for one session of the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists, to be held on the Guilford College campus in June 1982. A crew from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro used the collection for two weekends as the set for a television biography of Elizabeth Blackwell, first woman physician in America, to be distributed to schools and public television stations.

Education

Cooperative efforts with the North Carolina Friends Historical Society continued with assistance to writers of meeting histories, including a fall workshop in the collection, led by Professor Kenneth Carroll and Seth B. Hinshaw.

Several college classes visited the collection and some students did research projects using its materials. The use of the collection by students and by faculty in their teaching remains disappointingly low however, and a major effort to improve this situation is clearly needed. There was some preliminary exploration of possible projects that could unite the efforts of the collection staff, a local historic preservation society, and the college's History Department in creating a course or course projects in Quaker material culture. In the fall the collection was again the focal point for the orientation of new faculty to the history of the college.

Research

Faculty members continued their research on Quakerism and Methodism, and on the recent history of Guilford College. Several researchers under the auspices of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society neared completion of histories of individual Friends meetings. One, Seth B. Hinshaw, completed and published a history of Holly Spring Friends. Other research topics included the Quaker response to the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II, Quaker schisms, North Carolina women in political and social reform (1890-1930), Quaker quilts, North Carolina inter-collegiate sports, the Underground Railroad, artist David L. Clark, Friends Homes, the Guilford College Art Appreciation Club, North Carolina railroads, historical cartography of piedmont counties, several historic houses, Guilford County clothing styles (1862-82) and the 1670 trial of William Penn and William Meade. Family histories remained the most common topic of research.

Acquisitions and Processing

A full list of acquisitions accompanies this report, but several may be singled out for special notice. Important series of microfilms were purchased as the first acquisitions of the Milner Collection: *Early Quaker Writings*, *Early Quaker Manuscripts*, *Anti-Slavery Papers*, and *Quaker Women's Diaries*. These series, along with previous holdings, substantially strengthen the collection's resources in early Quaker thought. The newly published catalogs of the Friends Historical Library and Peace Collection of Swarthmore College were received and put to use immediately. A modern reprint of George Fox's works

was purchased to be circulated (the previous editions having become rare). Lewis Benson's privately duplicated *Notes on George Fox*, a very useful topical index, was purchased and bound into volumes. Several new Quaker periodicals were ordered and some older titles, for which subscriptions had lapsed, were reordered along with missing issues.

Among the many gifts of manuscripts and records received two are especially interesting. The papers of the late Mary Copeland, maternal grandmother of collection bibliographer Carole Treadway, shed valuable light on the history of Wilburite Friends in North Carolina. The first installment of the papers of Kenneth Carroll of Southern Methodist University was also received. These include a number of early documents related to Friends in Maryland and Virginia, and represent a significant expansion of the collection's focus beyond the Carolinas.

Several important artifacts were also acquired. Two nineteenth-century paintings by High Point artist David L. Clark were received on long-term loan: one of Guilford patriarch Nathan Hunt, courtesy of the James Hunt Hannah family and the other of the 1791 New Garden meeting-house, courtesy of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. The latter organization also gave the collection a 42"x65" enlargement of John Collins' 1869 lithograph of the meeting-house. The enlargement which is mounted on heavy masonite, now flanks the entrance to the collection. A copy by Caroline West van Helden of the portrait once thought to be of George Fox by Sir Peter Lely was recovered from campus storage and hung in the curator's office. A portrait of Thomas Newlin, second president of Guilford College, was painted and hung in the general Library, near the collection entrance. The uniform worn by Willard Ware during his Friends relief work in France in 1919 was donated to the collection, where it is now displayed.

Much progress has been made on the reclassification of the book collection from the Dewey Decimal to the Library of Congress system, and little remains to be done. An in-house, main-entry card catalog has been formed from the shelflist formerly used by the Library's chief cataloger.

In an effort to assist visitors in understanding the significance of items displayed in the collection, museum cards were developed for each of the major points of interest, and displayed in small frames throughout the office and research room.

The microfilming of Quaker records, begun in 1972, was continued by Deborah Donnell, who completed the editing and splicing of the

films. Defective portions will now be refilmed.

Staff And Staff Development

Special recognition should go this year to the collection's student assistant, A. Michie Shaw, a Friend and junior-year transfer from Earlham College; and to Margaret Michener, faithful volunteer from Friends Homes. Their valuable assistance made it possible for the professional staff to do more than fall farther behind.

Both curator Damon Hickey and bibliographer Carole Treadway participated in the leadership of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Damon Hickey wrote book reviews and an article for its journal, *The Southern Friend*, produced an issue of its newsletter, and revised its brochure. Both staff members attended the first Carolinas Conference on Archives and Manuscripts. Both also neared completion of master's degree work for August graduation from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Carole Treadway's master's project in library science, a guide to the study of Quaker historical materials, promises to be of much use to Guilford College students and others. Damon Hickey's master's thesis in history is also a Quaker topic, a history of Wilburite Friends in North Carolina. Following completion of his master's work Damon Hickey will enter the doctoral program in history at the University of South Carolina, where he will be in residence on study leave from Guilford College for a year.

During the summer of 1981 the curator was chosen to participate in the Summer Institute of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts to study the material culture of the early Southern back-country. His project was a study of early pieces of furniture in the Friends Historical Collection as "documents" of the Quaker culture of the Carolina piedmont. He also attended meetings of the Historical Society of North Carolina and the Friends Conference on Higher Education.

Looking Ahead

During the curator's leave of absence next year the work of the collection will fall to Carole Treadway, who is also to receive some assistance from the Library Office. In the following year planning will be going forward for a Library building addition that will provide new and expanded quarters for the Friends Historical Collection, with a possible future connection to an eventual Friends Center building.

This expansion is critical to the collection's future development. Already, a major collection, the William Perry Johnson papers, cannot be processed or used because there is no space for it except in remote storage. Continued use of the collection for meetings of various related organizations also indicates a pressing need for a classroom/meeting room to be shared by the collection and the Friends Center.

In addition there is clearly a need for the systematic teaching of Quaker history, both within and outside the college. It is the curator's hope, upon completion of his doctoral course work, to develop a college seminar on special topics in Southern Quaker history, which could also be adapted as an extension course to be taught through the Friends Center. It is also hoped that specific programs of course-related bibliographic instruction for history and religious studies courses can be developed.

Damon D. Hickey
Curator

Carol M. Treadway
Bibliographer

Statistics Acquisitions And Cataloging

New monographs	123	(including 62 requiring original cataloging)
Reclassified monographs	390	(including 219 requiring original cataloging)
Audio-visual materials	0	
Meeting documents	39	record groups
Manuscript items or collections received	22	
Manuscript items or collections partially or completely cataloged	14	
Costumes	1	
Artifacts	17	
Items added to vertical file	323	
Serials - new titles	3	

The Southern Friend

Users

Visitors	668
Groups	21
Genealogists	312
Guilford College faculty & staff	143
Scholars and other resear- chers from outside Guilford	88
Guilford students	57
Students from other institutions	38

Correspondence

Preliminary letters	88
Genealogy	57
Requests for copies	15
Acknowledgements	24
Publication orders	19
Historical research	7

Gifts To The Friends Historical Collection
1981-1982

Boyd, Philip

Brochure on Dean Castle, Kilmarnock, Ireland

Bridgers, Norment D. and Gertrude Cude, on behalf of the Henry
Clinton Cude family. Daniel and Huldah Worth Letters,
1859-1866

Bundy, Dr. V. Mayo

Gift of money

Carroll, Kenneth

The Kenneth Carroll Manuscript Collection of historical documents and clippings, primarily of Baltimore Friends Meetings, including epistles, disownments, committee reports, and accounts.

Coble, Anna

Bulletins of New Garden and Deep River Friends Meetings

Craven, F. Duval

Additions to Craven family papers; 1 copy *Philadelphia Quakers, 1681-1981* by Robert H. Wilson; gift money

Crutchfield, Frank

"Friends Homes, 1954-1978", a history of Friends Homes by Frank Crutchfield

Cude, Henry Clinton family

See Bridgers, Norment D. and Gertrude Cude

Dickson, Emma

See Trosper, Edith

Edgerton, Ethel M.

Mary H. Copeland papers, 1831-1972

Fazio, Helen

Sesquicentennial issue of the Richmond, Indiana *Palladium Item*, January 1, 1981

Fields, Mary C.

Gift in memory of — See Horney, Audrey F.

Floyd, Eleanor Blair

Artifacts, including cane, shoelast and pegs, tole sugar bowl, child's metal plate, child's chair

Gerry, Helen Gregg

See Trosper, Edith

Hammond, Leah

Poplar Ridge of Randolph by Verda Hughes, 1977

Hannah, James Hunt III (Loan)

Portrait of Nathan Hunt attributed to David L. Clark

Hawkins, Kathryn Morris

Unpublished short story "Second Wife" by Kathryn Hawkins; photocopy of Zachariah Morris' account book, 1864-1874

Henley, Lila

Micajah Henley's poster of photographs of local history sites, 1937

The Southern Friend

- Hickey, Damon (deposit)
Papers of New Garden Friends School Board Chairman, 1976-1981
- Hinshaw, Calvin
"History of Science Hill Meeting" by Calvin Hinshaw and Hope Hubbard
- Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith
Additions to the Chawner family papers; *Alexander History* by Kate Alexander McLean, 1980
- Hobson, David and Rausie
Newsletters, bulletins, directories and miscellaneous printed materials of Chatham, Spring, Ararat, Bethesda Meetings and of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and Friends United Meeting
- Hodgin, J. Phal
Account of the Underground Railroad as related by Addison Coffin to John Woody, no date (photocopy of typed copy)
- Hollowell, Edith
Photograph of the Tuesday Club
- Hornaday, Mrs. L.S.
Cane Creek Friends Meeting Cemetery Records, compiled by Mr. and Mrs. L.S. Hornaday, 1981
- Horney, Audrey Fields
Gift of money in memory of Mary C. Fields
- Hoskins, Lewis
"Quakers in South Africa: a Brief History" by Phyllis and Scarnell Lean, 1981
- Hovey, Dr. Kenneth Alan
Agent for the acquisition of the Daniel and Huldah Worth Papers given by Norment and Gertrude Bridgers
- Hughes Fred
Gift of money
- Hunt, Clark
Copy of his speech on Sarah Smiley given at Mohonk, August 4, 1981; copy of letter to Hunt from Mary Hoxie Jones about Sarah Smiley
- Jennings, Mr. Neill A.
DAR Magazine, 1974-1980; *North Carolina Historical Review*, 1964-68, 1974

King, Cyrus P.

Twenty-five Quaker books, photographs, notebooks, clippings, and miscellaneous papers of the Rufus P. King family

Knight, T.T.

Three photographs of Knight's family and an unidentified school group

Macon, Seth

Newsclippings and photographs of William Alpheus and Roxie Dixon White and Hugh White

Melvin, Katharine Shields

Letter from George C. Mendenhall to Nathan B. Hill regarding the disposition of slaves to be freed (photocopy); copy of her letter to J. M. Barrie to add to his reply already in the Collection; copy of her bibliography of Barrie published in the *Bulletin of Bibliography*, 1937-1938

Milner, Charles

Materials documenting the history of Chapel Hill Monthly Meeting including extracts from minutes, 1944-1973; photocopies of minutes of Chapel Hill Monthly Meeting and one volume of preorganizational notes, 1938-44, 1946. Minutes span 1944-1980.

Milner, Clyde and Ernestine

Artifacts including silver tea and coffee set, needlepoint bag, charm bracelet, Alumni Service Award pins, Altrusa award cup, medallion bearing Guilford College seal given to Clyde A. Milner on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his presidency, Rotary Paul Harris Fellow medal and certificate, framed letter of appreciation to Clyde Milner from Guilford College sent after his retirement; miscellaneous papers of the Milner's trip around the world in 1965; and one book, *List of Members of the Mission Anglo-Americaine de la Société des Amis*, Paris, June 1920

Morgan, Marguerite O.

Osborn-Osborne genealogy compiled by Marguerite O. Morgan, 1982

Newlin, Pearl Kimrey

Materials concerning Dixon family and Cornwallis at Dixon's Mill used in the writing of "Sword of Peace" (photocopies)

Ohio Yearly Meeting-Conservative. Peace Committee

Statements Opposing War, compiled by Ohio Yearly Meeting of

Friends Peace Committee, 1981

Pardington, Edward D.

King Cotton Hotel spoon

Parker, Elizabeth Graham

Additions to James Peele Parker papers

Pennington, DeLoy

Two issues of *Pennington Pedigrees* to complete our holdings

Perkins, Theodore E.

Genealogy of Some of the Vail Family Descended from Jeremiah Vail at Salem, Massachusetts, 1639 by Henry H. Vail; *Cox-White Correspondence and Family Records*, compiled by Theodore E. Perkins and Lucile Wood White, 1979

Ragsdale, Mary

Virginia Ragsdale's doctoral dissertation and her copy of "Annals of the Class of 1892"

Replogle, Delbert and Ruth

Friends in Palestine, by Christina H. Jones; audio tape cassette of poems by Algie Newlin, 1980; audio tape cassette of Marilyn Burris "In the Silence", recorded at New Garden Meeting 7-31-1981

Ryan, Pat M.

Entry on Elizabeth Walker from Haverford College Quaker Collection's unpublished "Dictionary of Quaker Biography;" Samuel Gummere's account of Elizabeth Walker's account of an incident in 1817 (photocopies)

Sell, E. E., Jr.

A Probable History of One Branch of the Sell Family. . ., by E. E. Sell, Jr., 1981

Smith, Dr. and Mrs. O. Norris Smith

Cemetery Records of Rockingham and Stokes Counties, N.C., compiled by the James Hunter Chapter, D.A.R., Madison, N.C., 1978

Smith, ZennaBelle

Genealogies and charts of the McPherson and Piggott families; pedigree chart of ZennaBelle Clark Million Smith; *American Origins* by David Trimble

Springfield Memorial Association,

Sarah Richardson Haworth, Curator

(Deposit, not gift) Additions to the Springfield Memorial

Association Papers: Nathan Hunt Jr.'s account book, 1833; common school register, Randolph County District 6, 1870; account book, T. B. Hayworth; tannery record book

Stewart, Mrs. R. K.

Clippings, letters, travel books from the donor's personal files

Stoesen, Alexander

Edgecombe County . . . A Brief History, by Alan D. Watson, 1979; *When the Past Refused to Die: a History of Caswell County, 1777-1977*

Street, Edgar

Copy of letter from Nathan Hunt to North Carolina Yearly Meeting dated 11-7-1839 (manuscript copy)

Szitty, Ruth Outland (deposit, not gift)

Abbie Peele Outland's doll, ca. 1833

Teetor, Charles

An Epistle to Friends in Great Britain. Also a Testimony Concerning Thomas Nicholson of North Carolina, 1888 (pamphlet)

Tomlinson, Sidney

First and last issues of various magazines

Troster, Edith Gregg; Dickson, Emma; Gerry, Helen Gregg

John William Gregg Genealogical Collection; fifteen books, primarily of genealogy

Vernon, William M.

Additional issues of *Vernon Vignettes*, 1981-82

Ware, Willard

Ware's American Friends Service Committee uniform worn when he served in an ambulance unit, and worked in reconstruction and relief in France in 1919.

Welborn, Neil

Architect's drawing of (1) plan for second floor of Guilford College library and (2) the Guilford campus. Both drawn 1945.

Wellons, Harry

One issue of the *Independent Chronicle*, Boston, November 25, 1807 which includes a letter from Baltimore Yearly Meeting to Thomas Jefferson

White, Lucile

Letters of Thomas Parker White and Mary Abigail Cox, 1882-1887

The Southern Friend

White, Steven Jay

Copy of his Master's thesis: "North Carolina Quakers in the Era of the American Revolution," March, 1981, University of Tennessee-Knoxville

Whittier College

Five Quaker books

Wilson, James, General Manager of "Sword of Peace"

Script for "Sword of Peace" (mimeograph copy); "Sword of Peace" programs, 1974-1981

Documents Of Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings
Of North Carolina Deposited In The Friends Historical
Collection
1981-1982

Cedar Square Monthly Meeting

Minutes, May 1970-June 1978

Centre Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1974-December 1978

Chapel Hill Monthly Meeting

Notes, 1938-1944 (photocopies)

Minutes, 1944-58 (photocopies

1958-1966 (photocopies)

1966-1980 (photocopies)

Chatham Monthly Meeting

Sunday School Records

1878-1903 (First Day School, Sabbath School)

1904-1912 (Sabbath School)

1913-1915 (Sabbath School)

1917-1961 (Friends Bible School) Includes 45 volumes, 1 per year.

Union Sabbath School Records, 1875, 1877-1886

Ministry and Counsel minutes, 1976-1980

Missionary Society minutes, 1930-1932

Christian Endeavor Society

Dues book, n.d., with "Brief history of Chatham Christian Endeavor Society"

Intermediate Christian Endeavor Attendance records, n.d.

Sunday School miscellaneous records

Beginners class, 1930-1933

Sunbeam Sunday School, 1931

Junior Class roll book, 1931-1935

Class #4 roll book, 1936?-1938

Class #5 records

1941-1948

1957

Friendship Monthly Meeting (North Carolina Yearly Meeting-
Conservative)

Minutes, April 1979-June 1981

Graham Monthly Meeting

Ministry and Counsel minutes, November 1975-June 1978

Holly Spring Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1978-June 1980

Records, Volume 3

Jamestown Monthly Meeting

Sunday Bulletins, 1968-1980

Slides (6)

Building Committee papers

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Spiritual reports of the monthly meetings (49)

Deed, Mt. Pleasant Meeting House property dated 8-26-1981

Epistles received, 1981

Oak Hill Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1977-June 1981

Ministry and Counsel minutes, 1975-1981

Piney Woods Monthly Meeting

Ministry and Counsel minutes, October 1971-January 1981

Minutes, September 1961-August 1973

Rockingham County Preparative Meeting

Minutes, 1970-1981

Rocky River Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1947-1962

Wills of A. Battie and Alma T. Andrews, dated 1964

Summary Of Research In The Friends
Historical Collection
1981-1982

North Carolina Friends

Research in preparation for several meeting histories being sponsored jointly by the meetings and North Carolina Friends Historical Society was carried out by the following Friends:

Frederic Crownfield and Hurley Simpson, White Plains Meeting
Wilma Griffin, Cane Creek Meeting
Leah Hammond and Treva Dodd, Back Creek Meeting
Carlton Rowntree, the oldest Eastern Quarter meetings
Cecil Haworth, Deep River Meeting
Hiram Hilty, New Garden Meeting
Seth Hinshaw, Holly Spring Meeting
J.K. Thompson, New Hope Meeting
Nancy Holt, Deep Creek Meeting

In addition Algie Newlin continued research for his Cane Creek Valley history and Theodore Perkins worked with the Neuse Meeting records for an article.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting requested information about deeds and began a long-term project with the assistance of Carole Treadway of researching land owned by the Yearly Meeting.

Significant dates in Quaker history were compiled for the Yearly Meeting's calendar.

During North Carolina Yearly Meeting's annual gathering a record number of attenders came into the collection to do genealogical and other personal research.

Centre Meeting requested research in their minutes for references to the Cemetery Endowment Fund.

Several pastors used the collection during the year. One in particular was assisted in selecting books for a summer course and another did background reading on the history of the meeting he was to pastor.

Frank Crutchfield researched the history of Friends Homes.

Lucretia Moore researched the history of the Guilford College Art Club from its records deposited in the collection.

Ann Shope compiled a list of the representatives to Friends World Committee conferences from the North Carolina Yearly Meeting minutes.

Yearly Meeting related groups made the following uses of the room: The Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records met in the collection.

Friends from Nahunta Meeting were given a tour.

Randleman Friends Membership Class was given a tour.

First Friends Meeting Membership Class was given a tour.

A walking tour of the New Garden Meeting cemetery and original grounds ended in the collection.

Other Friends groups used the collection as follows:

North Carolina Friends Historical Society Board met in the collection twice.

The Meeting Histories Committee of the Society met in the collection and gave a Writers' Workshop.

The Conference on Quaker Higher Education was given a tour.

New Garden Friends School Board met in the collection weekly in the spring.

Friends Center Coordinating Committee met in the collection three times.

Guilford College Students, Faculty, and Staff

The Quakerism class used the collection heavily throughout the fall semester in preparation for required papers. They were given a tour early in the semester.

The Southern Literature class read the George Mendenhall papers for a class project.

The World History, European History, and Afro-American History classes were given lectures on the uses of the collection and tours.

A student prepared a study of an 18th century New Garden family from genealogical material in the collection as a class project.

Several other students worked on their own family histories; in particular Lynwood Winslow did extensive work in the collection and produced a chart of his family showing several generations.

Adrienne Widemon, who is also on the Library staff, used materials

in the collection in writing a class paper on the Underground Railroad.

Extensive use was made of the senior theses housed in the collection. Donald Millholland continued his research comparing Quakerism and Methodism throughout the year.

Alexander Stoesen worked on the college history since 1937 during the summer.

Ann Deagon selected materials for a display of creative work by Quakers for the Friends Conference on Higher Education held at Guilford in the summer.

Frequent requests were received from the Development, Business and Financial Aid offices on matters pertaining to Guilford College named Endowment Funds, which Carole Treadway researched several years ago.

Christel Lee, Jeaneane Williams, JoAnne Jennings, and David Owens requested information on or pictorial matter illustrating aspects of Guilford history several times throughout the year.

David Stanfield also used the collection on several occasions.

College related tours and a tea were held in the collection as follows:

Friends of the Guilford College Library tea

Two Guilford Today tours.

Scholars, Students, and other Researchers from outside Guilford

Karen Ljung Myatt, a graduate student of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, researched a paper on Quaker responses to the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

Larry Ingle, a Friend and faculty member of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, studied the separations in the Society of Friends.

Greensboro Historical Museum requested information about the last operator of the Beard Hat Shop in the Deep River community.

John Durham sought background material for a book on early Guilford County.

Marion Roydhouse of the faculty of Camden School of the Arts and Sciences examined the papers of Clara I. Cox and Mary Mendenhall Hobbs for her book on North Carolina women and political and social reform from 1890-1930.

Jay Worrall worked on the history of Friends in Virginia.

Joyce Gibson of Laurinburg, North Carolina, working on the history of Scotland County, searched for information on the Rochdale community of Friends, supposed to have existed in Scotland County.

Christine Blair, a graduate student, researched Underground Railroad materials for evidence of a branch to Wabash, Indiana. Phyllis Anscombe of New Haven, Connecticut examined our quilts in the collection for her work on Quaker quilts, especially Friendship quilts.

Jerry Tolley, a graduate student and member of the staff of Elon College, searched *Guilfordians* for accounts of Elon-Guilford basketball games in preparation for his master's thesis on Elon College athletics.

Hugh Barbour of Earlham College surveyed the collection resources for future research projects.

Several attenders of the Conference on Quaker Higher Education came in to do genealogical and historical research.

A reporter for the Jamestown-Guilford newspaper researched the Potter house in Jamestown.

Clark Hunt, a pastor from Clover, South Carolina, continued his research in the journals of Sarah Smiley in preparation for a paper given at Mohonk, New York in August. A copy of his paper and additional research materials were given to the collection.

Tom Terrell of the University of Chicago did preliminary research on Herman Husband.

Kenneth Hovey, member of the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, did extensive research on Dover Meeting in Guilford County, to establish evidence that his home merited listing in the National Register of Historic Landmarks, and to write an article on the meeting community.

Dan Crofts of Trenton State College in New Jersey did a preliminary survey of collection holdings preparatory to researching the "Secession Crises in the Upper South."

A faculty member from the University of North Carolina at Charlotte looked into the writings of Isaac Penington.

A high school student from Charlotte prepared a paper on Quakers from materials used in the collection.

Mac Whatley sought information about the painter David Clark and Friendsville Meeting House in Randolph County as part of his survey of historic buildings in Randolph County for the North Carolina State Archives.

Fred Hughes continued his research for his series of Piedmont

The Southern Friend

North Carolina Historic Documentation maps.

A graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro examined collection costumes for an overview of the styles of clothing, 1862-1882, in Guilford County.

Michael Heron, an editor for Prentice-Hall, sought illustrations for a revision of the North Carolina history textbook used in North Carolina schools.

Michael Lofaro of the faculty of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville sought eighteenth century Quaker sermons for a bibliography of southern sermons of that period.

Allen Trelease of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro History Department read Nereus Mendenhall's papers in preparation for his work on North Carolina railroads.

Damon Hickey researched the 1670 trial of William Penn and William Meade.

The collection staff searched Worth family papers and related materials for information on William H. North and the Worth School in Kinston, North Carolina at the request of Joyce Rouse of Kinston.

The staff searched meeting records for any reference to a John Griggs who was associated with Garibaldi at the request of William Rosenfeld of Hamilton College.

The staff searched yearly meeting disciplines for information on the attitude of Quakers, towards Freemasonry at the request of a researcher in Chapel Hill.

Other Uses of the Collection

Ralph Holland and Associates, commercial photographers, used the Friends Historical Collection office as the setting for an advertisement.

Anthony Fragola of the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro filmed portions of a videotape on Elizabeth Blackwell, first American woman physician, in the collection.

High School counselors attending a conference on campus were given tour of the collection.

Students from the North Carolina School for the Deaf were given a lecture and tour.

Recent Books

Seth B. Hinshaw. *Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker: A Story of Carolina Friends in Civil War Times*. Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1982. 175 pages. \$8.95.

Seth B. Hinshaw is fond of describing the ways in which his plans for a quiet retirement in his ancestral community of Holly Spring, North Carolina were interrupted by "that inconvenient thing," a religious concern. This prompting to do more than putter around the garden led him to write *Walk Cheerfully, Friends* (1978), which may be a modern Quaker classic, and *Friends at Holly Spring* (1982; reviewed spring, 1982). While working on the latter, he felt led to explore further the lives of his grandparents, Mary Barker and Thomas Hinshaw. This book (which would be called a "spin off" in TV-land) is the result.

At the outset it should be said that *Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker* is an extremely handsome volume, exceeding in looks even the high standard of its predecessor, *Friends at Holly Spring*. It is also a very interesting story very well told. Since in many cases no one was present to write down the words that were spoken, Seth Hinshaw has created dialog and settings for his real-life characters. The incidents reported, we are assured, reflect actual events, and the literary license employed enables a gifted storyteller to fashion a narrative that is part biography and part historical novel. It is a good blend, especially for the average reader, for whom it is primarily intended.

Mary Barker and Thomas Hinshaw were members of the Holly Spring Friends Meeting in Randolph County, North Carolina. With the coming of the Civil War, Thomas was kidnapped from his home (we would say "drafted" today) by the Confederate militia, threatened with violence for his refusal to aid the military in any way, and forced to accompany the army to the fateful Battle of Gettysburg, in which he refused to fight, and after which he was captured by Union forces. Freed by President Lincoln upon request of Wilmington, Delaware, Friends, he went to Philadelphia, and then to Indiana.

Meanwhile his young wife Mary Barker Hinshaw lost one child to starvation, and herself barely survived. She bravely journeyed across

the mountains by wagon to join her husband in Indiana, and after the war they returned to Holly Spring, one of the few Quaker families to return to the South. Their story, one of a kind that used to be commonly told by Southern Friends to inspire their children to remain faithful to their Quaker testimonies, has now been resurrected in a form that should appeal to more modern Friends, most of whom know little of these Quaker "Southern Heroes."

Seth Hinshaw comments in his preface that Mary Barker Hinshaw's "story belongs to all Friends everywhere; it is a part of our common heritage." It is also part of the special heritage of Conservative Friends, since Thomas and Mary Barker Hinshaw left Holly Spring Meeting in 1910 to help organize a Conservative meeting of the same name in the same community. Indeed, it may have been because of their Civil War experiences that they were unable to adjust to the changing climate of North Carolina Yearly Meeting following the war. That fact, which does not make their story any less the common heritage of Friends everywhere, deserves fuller treatment.

Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker is a book that should be read, and taken deeply to heart. It reminds us again of the extraordinary faithfulness of Southern Friends, and particularly of these Friends, who suffered for conscience' sake, and returned to rebuild their community, despite the pain they had endured there.

The book, a sturdy paperback, is priced at \$8.95, but members of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society may purchase it for the reduced price of \$6.95.

Keith Robbins. *John Bright*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979. 288 pages. \$25.00.

As Keith Robbins notes in his introduction, the world has not forgotten John Bright, but it is doubtful that many Americans or American Friends remember the first Dissenter to serve in a modern British cabinet. Robbins portrays him as a complex and contradictory person, "the most successful political failure of the Victorian age."

John Bright grew up in an upper middle-class Quaker family in Rochdale, attended Quaker schools, and married a Quaker. In his public career he pursued many traditional Quaker concerns, including peace, capital punishment, and hunger, even to the extent on occasion of going beyond the official Friends position. His opposition

to the Corn Laws endeared him to many Irish during the Potato Famine, but his opposition to Home Rule angered the Irish Republicans.

Bright's contradictory tendencies and the ultimate failure of his reform efforts are perhaps the most Quakerly elements of his life. Keith Robbins provides a scholarly and readable look at this fascinating man.

Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons. Edited by Dana Greene. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1980. \$24.95 (paper).

The year 1980 marked the centennial of the death of Lucretia Mott, the "mother of the E. R. A." Of the prominent early leaders of the women's rights movement, several of whom were originally Friends, she was the only one to remain a Friend throughout her life. Her story has recently been retold by Margaret Hope Bacon (reviewed spring, 1981), who also encouraged his publication of her complete speeches and sermons, as volume four of the "Studies in Women and Religion" series.

For Friends it should be of special interest, partly because it displays the variety of her thought and concern (peace, equal rights, capital punishment, world hunger, temperance, and slavery), but even more because of the light it sheds on her religious convictions. Lucretia Mott was a Quaker minister, and her social action sprang directly from profound and deeply-held religious beliefs. Nearly half (twenty) of the selections are sermons or addresses delivered at religious meetings, and two-thirds of these were given at Friends meetings. Topics include likeness to Christ, prayer, the Bible, idolatry, and death, as well as social concerns.

The volume, a large paperback, is a reproduction of typescript, and fairly expensive at \$24.95. It appears to have been intended for use as a college text, but it should also find its way into the libraries of Friends meetings.

June Rose. *Elizabeth Fry: A Biography.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980. \$22.50.

As American Friends were observing the 1980 centennial of the death of Lucretia Mott (see foregoing review), British Friends celebrated the bicentenary of the birth of Elizabeth Fry, an unwitting forerunner of the feminist movement.

Elizabeth Fry was a Gurney of Earlham Hall. A frail person, she had every reason to slip into the traditional role of genteel wife and mother of her ten children. It has been commonly assumed, at least among Friends, that her work with prisoners and her leadership in a national movement for prison reform were the direct result of her upbringing in Quakerism, with its strong traditions of women's equality in leadership roles outside the home (especially in the meeting, but in the larger public sphere as well), and of human concern for social justice and reform. June Rose, however, does not stress this line of argument, despite the fact that Elizabeth Fry was a Quaker minister. She seems surprised that her subject departed so far from the norms of the larger society, and discusses Elizabeth Fry's Quakerism mainly in terms of its restrictiveness. She also notes the Gurney's tendencies toward the Anglicanism that was common for members of their class, and which the family eventually embraced (see following review). It was not her incipient Anglicanism but her latent Quakerism, however, that led Elizabeth Fry to become what June Rose calls a fanatical national crusader ready to sacrifice her family if necessary for her cause.

This biography is the first based entirely on Elizabeth Fry's original, unedited journals. Her family, like George Fox's editorial committee, had edited unflattering passages, removing many of her expressions of uncertainty and self-doubt. By making her appear more saintly they also made her more sanctimonious. June Rose's biography succeeds in restoring her humanity, thereby rendering her accomplishments all the more striking.

Verily Anderson. *Friends and Relations: Three Centuries of Quaker Families*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980. 320 pages. About \$20.00.

The history of the development of the family as an institution in various cultures and periods (such as J. William Frost's *The Quaker Family in Colonial America*) has grown in popularity. At first sight this book appears to be part of that tradition, but it is not. It is, rather, the story of one prominent English Quaker family, the Gurneys, and

their inlaws the Buxtons, Barclays, and Hoares. In over three hundred pages there is not one reference to a published or unpublished source, although unreferenced quotations abound. The author, who is a Gurney descendant and primarily a writer of children's books, may perhaps be forgiven this omission, and her publisher may in fact be the responsible party.

In one respect the book does live up to its title. It is not primarily an examination of the public lives and testimonies of these families, although it does not overlook them. Its focus is rather on the interactions of family members, and on domestic detail. It becomes then, almost inadvertently, a social history of the English gentry family from 1548 until 1827. It is also useful to trace the relationship of the Gurneys and their kin to the Quaker faith, and their eventual movement into the Established Church in order to gain the advantages of public office, university, and military service.

Joseph John Gurney and his family strongly influenced American Quakerism, particularly in the South and Midwest, and Earlham College was named for the Gurney family estate. This history should therefore aid in understanding their important influence.

Philip Hallie. *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed: The Story of the Village of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There*. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980. 303 pages. \$4.95 (paper).

The events of World War II and the horrors of Nazi Germany continue to fascinate generations that never experience them. How could it have happened? Were people really unaware of what was taking place? Was there no way they could have resisted successfully? Television dramas and documentations, such as Albert Speer's *Inside the Third Reich* and *The World at War*, provide a beginning point for understanding the incomprehensible, but they do little to redeem anyone's hope for humanity.

Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed should become a film, because it reveals the possibilities for goodness in the face of great evil that exist in communities that have a strong tradition of ethical commitment, combined with strong moral leadership. Le Chambon, the subject of the book, is a Protestant village in southern France that succeeded under the Nazis' noses in saving thousands of Jewish children and adults from extermination. Its story is in many respects a modern

parallel to that of Friends in the southern United States and their smuggling of black slaves to freedom. Both involved a strong ethical and religious community with a history of commitment to values in the face of violent social, economic, and political opposition.

It is particularly interesting therefore that Friends played a supporting role in Le Chambon. In his notes, the Huguenot pastor André Trochmé credited Burns Chalmers, the local representative of the American Friends Service Committee, with the idea of making the town itself a refuge. The interactions of the two men is perceptively described, and it is fascinating to see how the American Quaker and the French Calvinist, coming from very different communities with similar experiences of religious persecution, arrived at a common plan of action. The Friends continued to provide financial support to the town throughout the Nazi occupation, even at the cost of the lives of some of its messengers.

Regardless of whether *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* becomes a film, it should be widely read.

The Authors

ROBERT S. DAVIS, JR. of Jasper, Georgia is a historical researcher with a long-time interest in the Revolutionary period in Georgia. He is the author of *Kettle Creek Battle and Battlefield* (1978) and several articles.

KENNETH LANE CARROLL was born in Easton, Maryland, and received his B.A., B.D., and Ph.D. degrees from Duke University. Since 1952 he has been a member of the Department of Religious Studies of Southern Methodist University, where he holds the rank of professor. Among his best-known works are *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites* (1962) and *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (1970). He is currently working on a book on Friends in the colonial South. The article printed here was delivered as the address to the annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society in 1981.

DAMON D. HICKEY is Associate Library Director and Curator of the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College in Greensboro, North Carolina. He is currently on leave for one year studying for a doctorate in history from the University of South Carolina. He has just received the degree of Master of Arts in history from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

CAROLE TREADWAY is Bibliographer of the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College. A graduate of Earlham College, she is completing requirements for the Master of Library Science degree at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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DIV. 3

THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

Journal of the
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Volume V, Number 1

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

The *Southern Friend* is published semiannually in spring and autumn by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, Box 8502, Greensboro, N. C. 27410. Members of the Society, for which the annual dues are \$10.00, receive the journal and all other Society publications without charge. Single issues may be purchased for \$3.00 per number.

Editorial Policy

The publication committee is interested in receiving articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in North Carolina and the adjacent geographical area. Articles must be well written and thoroughly documented. Papers on family history should not be submitted. All copy, including footnotes, *should be typed double-space. Articles and correspondence should be sent to:* Herbert Poole, Co-editor; Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. 27410.

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Lindley S. Butler, co-editor; Herbert Poole, co-editor; Damon D. Hickey, book review editor.

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Cover illustration is the logo adopted by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society from the John Collins lithograph of the New Garden Friends Meeting House of 1791. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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Early Settlement Of Friends In North Carolina: Traditions And Reminiscences

BY
Addison Coffin

Herewith The Southern Friend begins publication of a paper written by Addison Coffin in 1894 for Mary Mendenhall Hobbs. It was to have been published, and the proceeds were to have been given to the Girls' Aid Committee. We shall publish it serially, in installments over the next several years. The original manuscript is quite lengthy.

Lewis Lyndon Hobbs considered this to be a valuable history of North Carolina Friends; especially concerning the beginning of their work up to and including the period of the War Between The States, and their migrations. It contains interesting stories, notably "Ann the Huntress" and the minutes of the Manumission Society.

The copy from which we now print was carefully typed and proofread by Evelyn Bradshaw in 1952, and was described by Dorothy Gilbert Thorne as a true and faithful copy of a manuscript as typed by Susan Robeson in 1932. The latter typing was a project of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society in 1952.

The Editors

In attempting to write a connected history of Friends, or Quakers, in North Carolina there is much difficulty in finding correct names and dates. Though the Society always kept records of their business meetings including marriages, births and deaths, yet many of the records are now lost, while others have become mutilated and illegible.

There is evidence to show that Friends were the first independent voluntary settlers in North Carolina. History says they came from Virginia, being driven out of that colony by persecution; after permanent settlements had been made many came direct from England.

Tradition says that a company of fifteen to twenty young Friends, some of them in their teens, first discovered the region of country afterwards called Albemarle District, now Pasquatank [sic.] and Perquimans counties, and finding it a desirable place to settle, being unclaimed by any company and under no known government, determined to locate and lay claims to land. It was a beautiful region with a rich soil and mild climate; the forests abounded in all kinds of game and the waters with fish, giving promise of being a goodly inheritance to them and theirs. They located and staked off lands, began clearing fields and building log cabins and were a law unto themselves, living

in peace and harmony.

How long they had been located previous to the beginning of definite history tradition does not say, but in 1665, Henry Phillips from Rhode Island came to Albemarle with his family, and settled among the young Friends. His arrival was the beginning of a new era in the colony, as we may now call it, he and his wife, who possessed rather extra ability, soon became the head and center of influence, and their bright little children had a softening influence upon the young men. Influenced by Mrs. Phillips and their own impulses the young men re-visited their old homes and soon returned with charming help-mates to their quiet cabin homes. In a few years other Friends joined them and they soon became a strong and interesting colony, with no form of government, but "Common Consent" of the colonists. In this time "Common Consent" grew to be established law among them in all business matters. In subsequent legislation this was acknowledged as legal law under the name of "The custom of the neighborhood," "What is customary."

This free unrestrained life naturally formed a rather loose system of business, there were no titles to land, no deeds from any government, no public records kept. In after years there was much trouble in settling estates and settling rights of property. After Friends had regular Monthly Meetings established they took the place of Courts of Appeal; the decision of a committee of a Monthly Meeting was considered and accepted by all as final and the Meeting records were the highest and most reliable authority in the colony and state. This was one of the most distinctive and remarkable features of Friends' organization, it was of such a character that even their enemies admitted and acknowledged their correctness and sterling justice, which no other religious, or civil organization of that day had.

When children grew to school age a rude school house was built and a school started, and though quite primitive in character, it was of great value to the self-sustaining, self-governing community for, in after time, when a government over the Province was established, but few could read or write except Friends, and when Friends sent petitions, or remonstrances to governors, or legislatures none were equal to theirs, in their easy, practical diction.

In those primitive days tradition says that often when the Friends were congregated at house-raising, log-rollings, corn-huskings, &c., they would talk of their far-away homes amid civilization, recalling their religious meetings, and other happy memories, until some one would break out in spontaneous exhortation, or into triumphant song, and whole afternoons and evenings would thus be spent.

When William Edmundson visited these Friends, in 1672, he, at first, thought them to be exceedingly rough and irreligious, yet he soon found they were responsive to his spiritual teaching, and while they sat and smoked their pipes in apparent indifference, they were taking in light that soon became as a beacon on a hill.

At the time of William Edmundson's visit there had not been a regular organized religious meeting held in North Carolina, nor was there a house of public worship, the schoolhouses were too small to hold his meetings in, for the entire population came out. Many of the people had built commodious log houses with wide porches in front which would seat many people. Wm. Edmundson would call them together at these houses to hear his teaching and preaching, then standing in the door would preach the word of life to his eager audiences, who though uncouth in dress, and untrained in all the rules of etiquette, had good, brave, generous hearts capable of improvement, and it was not long before they were models of propriety when measured by the rude, untrained lives they previously led. Soon their dress began to assume uniformity in style, many made extra suits for extra occasions, Sabbath observance was established, all put on clean clothes Sabbath morning, the children were taught to look upon it was a happy day; so everything soon began moving out, upward and onward. Such was the day-dawn of Quakerism in North Carolina, for soon the society began to expand and take deep root in the New World. William Penn's wonderful experiment with both civil and religious liberty was making its impression on the colonies and the world, and new history was being made. The continued persecution and unjust laws in Virginia and New England, added hundreds to the membership in North Carolina, and new meetings were rapidly established in all the seaboard provinces, and Quakerism became a part of the more active influences that caused such rapid increase in wealth and population.

Soon after Pennsylvania became an important factor in colonial affairs and its population became widely diffused, many Friends emigrated to North Carolina on account of its mild climate, cheapness of land, and a natural desire for change, and love of adventure, besides the colony in its early days had the reputation of being a place of perfect freedom of conscience, and men could do as seemed good in their own eyes. It was characteristic of early Friends everywhere to establish regular Meetings for worship wherever they settled, and then open schools for their children. George Fox, their founder, advised in his time that schools be established in which the young should be taught "Every thing useful under the sun" which has been kept up to

the present time.

The fact that schools were established in all their neighborhoods attracted the better class of immigrants of all classes and professions; hence the standard of intelligence was superior and the order better than in surrounding communities. Early in the history of the society we find a query sent down from superior to subordinate meetings reading, "Are the necessities of the poor among you relieved, are they advised and assisted in such employment as they are capable of, and is care taken for the education of their children?" The standard of education referred to was spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic, this taking care of their poor members and the education of all their membership was one of their noted virtues.

When we go back to the early Colonial days and study the state of civil society throughout the colony, we can then better understand what the Friends had to contend with and what they did for the colony and state. For over one hundred years from the time Henry Phillips landed in Albemarle, education received no legislative protection or assistance. Governor Burkley [sic.]* said in 1671, "Yet, I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing presses, and I hope shall not have any these hundred years." "For learning has brought disobedience and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." E. W. Caruthers in his life of Dr. David Caldwell D.D. does ample justice to Friends in respect to their good work in keeping alive the spirit of education through the darkest Colonial days, until other denominations were organized and joined in the work.

It is established beyond controversy that William Edmondson organized and held the first religious meeting in the state in 1672, and it seems that no other effort was made outside of Friends to organize religious meetings for at least thirty years. George Fox visited the Meetings in Albemarle in the fall of 1672, and speaks of them as being "spiritually minded and prosperous." This was evidence that the seed sown by W. Edmondson the spring before had fallen on good ground, for George Fox was a discerner of spirits and not given to flattery. When the Quaker Governor, John Archdale, came over in 1695, he found the membership widely scattered over the country, sometimes many miles apart, where they had found choice land and were holding it for settlement. He advised them to concentrate in the most favorable locations, that the schools and Meetings might be better supported, his advice was adopted and ever afterwards followed to

*Editor's Note: *Sir William Berkeley, royal governor of Virginia.*

their advantage, not only in Meetings and schools, but in influencing the community for good. I find this passage in the early history. "From the first settlement until 1700, except the short visits of Edmondson and Fox, the two Quakers preachers already mentioned in 1672, our shores were visited by no messenger of peace, and until 1703, just forty years after the charter was granted, there was no one to go in and out before the people, and break to them the bread of life from Sabbath to Sabbath." Yet in 1704 the Friends had increased until there were several thousands and a General Meeting was called to consider matters pertaining to the best interest of the Society. This General Meeting was the beginning of what afterwards became the permanent "Yearly Meeting," incorporated under state law, the records of which, beginning in 1708, and continuing unbroken down to 1828 are in the vault at Guilford College, Guilford County, North Carolina, March 30th 1894.

Looking at the map of North Carolina today we see the first settlements of Friends were made in that part now included in Pasquotank, Perquimines,[sic.] Chowan, Gates, and Hertford Counties, and as their numbers increased, they spread southward on the navigable rivers at the head of inlets and sounds finally reaching the Cape Fear River known as Cape Fear District. The country on that river and its branches seems to have been quite attractive in early times, and the settlements extended farther into the interior in that direction than any other, the river being navigable to Cross Creek, now Fayetteville, which in early days was an important trading port.

An Orthodox Friend's Visit To North Carolina

PREPARED WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY
Larry Ingle

After the Great Separation in Philadelphia in 1827, influential Friends from both branches visited other yearly meetings to shore up their respective positions among the "hold outs." Those denominated Orthodox, who followed the lead of the Philadelphia elders in espousing what they considered the traditional doctrines of Christianity, had long been concerned to present a united front against their opponents, the friends and followers of the elderly Long Island minister, Elias Hicks. North Carolina Yearly Meeting stood solidly with the Orthodox, a fact that did not prevent the elders in Philadelphia from dispatching two of their own to the 1830 annual gathering at New Garden. William Evans, the forty-three year old son of Jonathan Evans, the dominant figure in Philadelphia Orthodoxy,¹ and Henry Cope, member of a leading Philadelphia family, received certificates to visit North Carolina and press their case. Orthodox meetings in Ohio and Indiana also authorized representatives to visit among Tar Heel Friends.

Evans compiled a memoir, published as a journal, that offered impressions about his visit he wanted known.² Fortunately, a letter addressed to his second wife, the former Elizabeth Barton, survives to offer a more plainspoken view of his visit.³ Although he praised North Carolinians for their hospitality, the sophisticated Philadelphia merchant looked askance at his hosts for their failures to enforce their discipline rigorously enough and wondered at the lack of suitable decorum he found; for one who had witnessed dissent grow in Philadelphia from a laxness in discipline and the rough and tumble of contending factions, such shortcomings might bode ill for his brand of Quakerism. A visit to Western Quarterly Meeting did not reassure him, but his doubts, until now, remained known only to his wife. He need not have worried, for however much North Carolina Yearly Meeting's procedures fell short of those to which he was accustomed, orthodox doctrine flourished among Carolina Friends.

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An Orthodox Friend's Visit to North Carolina

My dear Wife. I wrote thee last from J Hubbard's⁴ at Deep River last 7th day. We attended that meeting on first day which was very large but not so satisfactory as it should have been, owing to the imprudence of some who said much that ought to have been omitted or much better said. We lodged at Abel Coffin's⁵ who conveyed us in his waggon to New Garden on 2d day morning when the Yearly Meeting began. They do not conduct their businefs according to our Style by any means; there is often some confusion & a want of dignity & decorum; they talk too much, & are deficient in method, yet they get along in much good will & regard for one anothers sentiments. They treat strangers with much politenefs and an excefs of commendation, in speaking of their laborers which is dangerous to them & can be of little benefit to the meeting. We believe however they are really glad to receive the visits of their friends of other Yearly Meetings. The young people at the Y.M. were very generally plain and solid in their deportment, and as far as we can judge, I apprehend there are not a few sensible young men of sober religious attainment who are truly concerned for the promotion of the good cause & the proper support of our testimonies & discipline. The sittings of the meeting were held about 5 hours from 11 till 3. & every morning except 2d day, either the meeting for sufferings or the Select Meeting convened at 9 so that we had to content ourselves often with 2 meals a day, one in morning & the other near evening. Our lodgings at Henry Ballingers⁶ was about one mile from the M. House which H. Cope and I walked. The entertainment was good & the friends kind & hospitable. N Hunt⁷ and Jon^a Taylor⁸ were also there & sometimes his daughters Acnitt Clark⁹ & Abigail Stanley¹⁰ & their husbands, all very agreeable company. Issac Hammer¹¹ also lodged one night there; we have been disappointed in N Carolina; the report respecting their manner of living certainly do not apply to those with whom we have stopped. Our food & ever thing else appeared to be nicely prepared as regards cleanlinefs, and our appetites have at no time failed us. Indeed we have been well provided for so far and have had excellent health. The weather has been generally fine & mild, and we have benefitted by walking morning & evening in a heathful atmosphere, when at liberty. To return to the Yearly Meeting 3d day was set off apart for examing the state of the Society. They read all their reports on 2d day, answers to the Queries included, & the clerks then prepared a summary for the next day, when the partition shutters were raised, so that both sexes may hear the state of the other & the observations made on the different subjects. I thought upon the whole it was rather a satisfactory time. They agreed to addrefs an epistle to the monthly &

Q. Meetings to stir up the members to more faithfulnefs. Ohio having proposed the appointment of another general Committee, this Y.M. readily entered into their views & by a nominating comm. for the purpose, six men & I believe four women were reported, who were appointed accordingly. Some of their principal men are very anxious for a uniformity of discipline, & indeed if anything can be done to improve theirs, which I think very defective, & to infuse a little of the right spirit for its administration, it would be of essential benefit here. If I am not mistaken their discipline is supported in a very loose manner. That subject & the address of Congress to take Liberia & the colonization system under its patronage are the two principal subjects proposed for deliberation, but the appointment authorizes them to unite in the consideration of *any thing* relating to the welfare of the Society. They have appointed a Comm. at the request of Virginia Y.M. to sit with them on the dissolution of that m. The propriety of addressing the Legislature of this state on the slavery of blacks was brought before the M. an essay was produced but not suiting the views of Friends, the subject was referred to the meetg for Suffgs. The state of education within their limits was also brought to view, in the discussion of which the *foreign* friends¹² took part, & took the liberty of proposing that the Quarterly & Monthly Meetings be instructed to send up next year explicit accounts of the number & description of schools within their respective districts. This was agreed with & appended to their epistle, by which they are called upon to state whether the teachers are members and what proportion of the scholars are the children of Friends. We also endeavored to impress the importance of home education, the necessity for parents to feel & manifest more interest in the improvement & preservation of their children, in their own families, by taking frequent opportunity for reading the Scriptures & and other religious works, and also to cultivate their minds by reading other useful books of a historical, descriptive or scientific character. Some notice of this branch of the subject was placed in their epistle advising retirement & silent waiting in the families. The Meeting concluded on fifth day about an hour before dark, some of us having been engaged from 9 in the morning till near that time, but they crowded too much into one sitting to be done as it ought. Notice was given near the close, of my intention to be at Springfield on first day, Kennet, 2d, Hopewell 3d & New Garden on 4th day. I recd thy *short* letter that morning, in which I was glad to observe that amidst all thy perplexities, *hope* had not completely deserted thee, that the children were better & A. I think doing well. It looks likely that I shall not be much longer detained from you which will be no little comfort to me, if every thing goes

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on well. I expect to be ready to take the stage at Greensburg¹³ next 5th day morning thorough the upper route, by Frederickburg, Washington, Baltimore &c. Tell brother Thomas I am much obliged to him for his interesting & acceptable letter but as I had written him a short one 2 days before receiving [torn: his, I did?] not return him any direct reply. Yestermorning we left H Ballinger's & then were conveyed by our kind & agreeable friend Wm Stanly¹⁴ to his brother Joshua¹⁵ near Center M. House, and attended the Western Select Q.M. there, a dry time it was with a number of superanuated elders & a crazy minister. Jon^a Taylor & I held our peace, but James Hadley¹⁶ of Indiana endeavored to stir them up, to little purpose. To day was the Q.M. for discipline, which was a larger company of Frds than I had expected to see. We had like to have been shut out from any service, as at Deep River, but the busy man who seems anxious to have the shutters closed was requested not to be in such hurry & Jon^a & I had some service which H Cope thought in the outset, was resented in the minds of some, who had more of the form than the substance. I felt peace in the part I had in the matter, and in the 2d meeting we encouraged the young men & others to faithfulnefs in their respective duties, so that they might become prepared to maintain the discipline & our testimonies. Tomorrow we part from our frd J. Taylor with whom we have enjoyed several days very agreeably. He & J Hadly remain here tomorrow (first day) while we set out for Springfield, N Hunts meeting. Henry and I have moved along together very harmoniously; he appears to be altogether satisfied & to feel quite comfortable where we have been. If he should be favored to keep his place I have no doubt he will make a very useful member in our Society. We lodge tonight again at Joshua Stanleys, his brother proposes taking us to Springfield meeting; there we lodge with N. Hunt, thence to Kennet, where John Stewart¹⁷ offered to meet us, take us to his house & thence to Hopewell, & New Garden. I have not been able to see that it is my place to extend the visit further. Much of the remaining meetings in New Garden Q. are very small, some not more than two or three families. The route we propose taking will detain us about six days, as we do not travel at night, but we think it will be preferable, as we shall also escape the Cheasapeake Bay which may be very stormy & rough. In the mean time I hope we shall be favored with the presence of the good Shepherd, qualifying for the remaining service & that nothing on our part may mar the work whereunto we have been sent. My love to Father, sister May, brother HC. & Springfield brothers & sisters also to our Surrey connections. With feelings of tender affection towards thee & our dear children,

I remain thy faithful W.E.

Center at J. Stanleys, 11 mo 13.1830

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¹New York enemies of the Evans's circulated "A New Confession of Faith" in 1825 epitomizing the antagonism that emerged during the period preceeding the split. Modeled after the Apostles' Creed, this fascinating document read: "I believe in Jonathan Evans, father of the faithful, maker of creeds and doctrines:- and in Billy Evans, his eldest Son, who was conceived in the spirit of opposition — born of religious persecution and suffered under Elias Hicks, is wailed, insulted and laughed at. He ascended from the foot stool of his father, entered into the ministry arose into the Gallery and sitteth upon the right hand of Jonathan his father — From thence he continues to judge ministers & elders, creeds & doctrines I believe in all creeds, the holy association of suffering friends — the communion of the Elders. the select Meeting, the resurrection from heresy & in everlasting Orthodoxy." "A New Confession of Faith," New York, 5 mo 1825, Alfred Rodman Hussey Collection, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

²Williams Evans, *Journal of the Life and Religious Service of William Evans* (3rd ed., Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1894), pp. 112-114.

³The letter, dated 11 mo. 13, 1830, is in the Charles Evans Papers, Quaker Collection, Haverford College. I should like to thank Carole Treadway of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College for her invaluable assistance in helping identify some of those mentioned in the letter.

⁴Jermiah Hubbard (1775-1848) was a recorded minister and a clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1830.

⁵Abel Coffin (1780-) was a member of Deep River Monthly Meeting.

⁶Henry Ballinger was a member of New Garden Monthly Meeting.

⁷Nathan Hunt (1758-1853) was the most widely known and influential minister among North Carolina Friends.

⁸Jonathan Taylor (d. 1831) was a recorded minister from Short Creek Monthly Meeting in Ohio.

⁹Asenath Clark was the wife of Dougan Clark, Sr., and the daughter of Nathan Hunt.

¹⁰Abigail Stanley (1791-1874) was the wife of Joshua Stanley, daughter of Nathan Hunt, and in 1830 clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting's Women's Meeting.

¹¹Issac Hammer (1769-1835) was a recorded minister of New Hope Monthly Meeting in Greene Yearly Meeting.

¹²"Foreign Friends" refers to Friends from outside the confines of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

¹³Greensboro, North Carolina, the closest town to New Garden.

¹⁴William Stanley (1799-) was a member of Deep River Monthly Meeting.

¹⁵Joshua Stanley (1785-1855) was an elder of Center Monthly Meeting.

¹⁶James Hadley was a member of White Lick Monthly Meeting, Morgan County, Indiana.

¹⁷John Stewart (or Stuart) (1776-1844) was a member of Deep River Monthly Meeting.

The Peace Witness Of North Carolina Quakers During The Colonial Wars

BY

Steven Jay White

Even though the century between early settlement and the American Revolution was difficult for Quakers in North Carolina, Friends still flocked south, remaining an important influence in the colony. They faced many tribulations — Indians, the Anglo-French Wars and demands from the province for men, money and loyalty. The Society was unjustly implicated in the War of the Regulation in 1771 and was swept up in the fury of the coming of the American Revolution. All this could never have been foreseen, however, and the Friends prior to the Revolution immigrated in large numbers to the gentle green hills of Piedmont North Carolina. Although he had never visited North Carolina, Hector St. Jean de Crèvecoeur wrote about its western section in a flowing report gleaned from secondary information:

No spot of earth can be more beautiful, it is composed of gentle hills, of easy declivities, excellent lowlands, accompanied by different brooks which traverse this settlement. I never saw a soil that rewards men so easily for their labours and disbursements.¹

It was this report and others like it that drew Quakers and others to the southern colonies to begin a new life. Friends were not only immigrating westward in North Carolina but southward as well. As the population grew around the Albemarle Sound in northeastern North Carolina, Quakers gradually pushed south until a chain of meetings stretched down the entire coast of the province. Core Sound Monthly Meeting was established in 1773 in Carteret County, and Falling Creek Monthly Meeting in 1748 in what is now Lenoir County. Stephen B. Weeks, the great Quaker historian from Trinity College (now Duke University), claims that by the middle of the eighteenth century there were probably Quaker meetings in Hyde, Beaufort, Craven, Carteret, Jones, Bladen, and Lenoir Counties.²

Yet Friends soon learned that North Carolina, with its many benefits, still possessed a few disadvantages. One of these was the

American Indian. Quaker attitudes toward these native Americans gave them a unique reputation among the "savages." It was this reputation of benevolence that helped Friends in North Carolina stay out of serious Indian troubles, and there are few references to Indians in Society Minutes. This Indian policy grew from the Friends' belief that there is a part of God in every man, including the red man.

George Fox, during his visit to the province, was told by a Carolinian that Indians did not have the spirit of God within them. Fox strongly disagreed and set about to prove the man wrong, as he related in his Journal:

Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and asked him, "Whether or not, when he did lie, or do wrong to any one, there was not something in him that did reprove him for it?" He said, "there was such a thing in him, that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong."³

Thus Indians too were to be included in the family as the "Children of God." In the formative years of the colony, Friends clearly demonstrated that a policy of cruelty and barbarism was not necessary in dealing with the Indian. The Quakers always purchased their land from the Indians instead of taking it in the usual English fashion. It was for this reason, for example, that George Durant of Culpeper's Rebellion fame was thought to be a member of the Society, for he had purchased his land from the Indians.⁴ Most settlers in North Carolina, however, ignored the Quakers' good example and simply seized land and mistreated the Indians of the colony for years thereafter.

Finally the Indians, resentful of white land grabbing and aware of the refusal of the large Quaker element to bear arms in time of trouble, could stand it no longer. They launched a surprise attack on eastern white settlements in 1711. This Tuscarora War (1711-1713) was the worst Indian war in North Carolina's history. The Indians, many of the Tuscarora tribe, massacred hundreds of settlers, burned their homes, stole their valuables and destroyed their crops. Christopher Gale, writing to the Governor of South Carolina reported:

One hundred and thirty people massacred at the head of the Neuse and on the south side of Pamlico rivers, in the space of two hours; butchered after the most barbarous manner that can be expressed, and their dead bodies used with all the scorn and indignity imaginable; their houses plundered of considerable riches (being generally traders), then burned, and their growing and hopeful crops destroyed.⁵

Contemporaries reported that women were forced to lie on the floor while stakes were driven through their bodies. Pregnant women had their babies ripped from their wombs. Furthermore, it was reported that more than eighty infants were slaughtered. Men, women, and children lay mutilated and dead in the hot sun, prey to dogs, wolves, and vultures.⁶ The province was utterly unprepared and the colonists, suspecting nothing, fell victim to a fatally false sense of security. Had the majority of the colonists treated the Indians according to Quaker principles, perhaps the results of Indian-white relations would have been less disastrous.

However, many people felt that the Quakers were responsible for the unpreparedness of the colony. Carolina Governor Edward Hyde complained that "factions and the fact that one-half of the people were Quakers made it impossible to raise one-half as many troops as there were Indians in arms."⁷ Friends refused to fight in the war and steadily exhorted each other not to "pick up the carnal sword," and those members who paid the £5 penalty attached to the refusal were punished.⁸ At the Monthly Meeting in Pasquotank on September 16, 1711, they even discussed the possibility of disowning those who helped the combatants in any way. Ephram Overman was singled out as an example.

The friends appointed to visit Ephram Overman have discoursed with him concerning his forwardness in assisting Soldiers to defend himself and others with carnal weapons contrary to our knowing principles that which after further Consideration he acknowledged to be an error in him and hoped for the future to take better care and walk more circumspectly.⁹

This refusal to participate in the war drew the wrath of officials at home and from other colonies. Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia held the same low opinion of North Carolina Quakers as Governor Hyde. Spotswood wrote in 1711:

I have been mightily embarras'd by a set of Quakers who broach Doctrines so monstrous as their Brethren in England have never owned, nor indeed, can be suffered in any Government. They have refused to be employed in the Fortifications, but affirm that their consciences will not permit them to contribute in any manner of way to the defence of the country even so much as trusting the Government with provisions to support those that do work.¹⁰

He also accused deserters from the militia of "sheltering themselves under the masque of Quakerism."¹¹ Apparently less than courageous soldiers sometimes deserted and joined the ranks of Quakerism to escape military service. Since Virginia had to provide soldiers in place

of Quakers and deserters to put down the Indian war, Spotswood's criticism is understandable. Later, he repeated these accusations, saying:

. . . and a new assembly being called, passed an act to raise 400 £ for prosecuting the war against the Indian enemy and because they could not raise a sufficient body of men in that Province [North Carolina] where Quakers made a great Number of Inhabitants, they made application to me for an assistance of 200 men from this colony [Virginia].¹²

Thomas Pollock, who succeeded Edward Hyde as governor of Carolina in 1712, also complained bitterly about Quaker influence in the province.

And as the Quakers with their adherents have been great occasion to the rise of war, so they . . . have been the chief cause that the war hath not been carried out with the vigour, it ought, by their disobedience to the government encouraging others to disobey. . . .¹³

However, interestingly enough, after the Tuscarora War was over, Pollock was forced to admit that some Quakers under his administration were good citizens. Doubtless this was due to the cessation of resentment toward them for their peace testimony.¹⁴

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts found additional evidence to discredit Quakerism during the years of the Tuscarora War. Missionary John Urmston wrote:

. . . having experienced the cowardice of our Quakers and their adherents who like other sectarists never care to fight except to be against the Church and Crown, the Indians will not dally nor trifle with us as they did at first.¹⁵

These episodes, together with the hostility of influential politicians, stained the Quaker image in North Carolina. They also signaled the beginning of tougher official attitudes toward Friends in the colony, even though Quakers remained an important influence in North Carolina. Yet the attitude of the majority of the population toward the Society was quite ambivalent. Viewpoints swung like a pendulum in times of peace and war; exemption from military service was granted and favorable feelings were exhibited in peacetime but both disappeared upon the outbreak of hostilities.

Of the four Anglo-French Wars that rocked America before the American Revolution, only the first, King William's War, fought from 1689 to 1697, had no direct effect on North Carolina. The second, Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), led indirectly to the disastrous Tuscarora War but resulted in little more than a few minor Spanish naval attacks on the province's coast. It was the third, King George's War (1744-1748), that saw North Carolina troops in action for the first time as part of the British army. In 1729, George II had purchased the

shares of seven of the eight Lords Proprietors and North Carolina became a royal colony. Sir George Carteret's share was not sold but was incorporated into the colony later as the Granville District. South Carolina had become a royal colony ten years earlier in 1719 when the two Carolinas were officially divided.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the end of the Quakers' "Golden Age" closely coincided with George II's purchase of North Carolina. By living in a colony now owned by the King who was more interested in loyalty than the profit-minded Proprietors, Quakers would find greater difficulty in practicing their unique form of Christianity.

When the third Anglo-French War thrust itself so abruptly into the lives of the North Carolina colonists, some of the frontier settlers abandoned Quakerism. During such times of violence, it was not only politically expedient but much safer to reject the nonviolent and lenient Indian policies of the Society.¹⁷ Thus the Anglo-French Wars provided the most critical test of Quaker devotion to their traditional religious testimonies. Friends refused to fight, pay taxes for war purposes, take oaths of allegiance to the King or do anything connected with war. Yet many gave more money toward peace efforts than all the taxes would have cost them.¹⁸ In the intervals between the wars, Friends were urged to maintain their peaceful ways by many epistles from London. They were reminded

That Friends be vigilant in keeping up the peaceable Principles possessed by us as a people and in no manner join with such as may be for making warlike preparations offensive or defensive but upon all occasions to demean themselves in a peaceable manner thereby to demonstrate to the World that our Practices (when we are put to the Trial) correspond with our Principles.¹⁹

Although many frontier Quakers abandoned their faith, the majority of Friends in North Carolina obeyed these instructions meticulously and demonstrated their obedience by their daily opposition to anything military.

The fourth Anglo-French War, known in America as the French and Indian War, set the stage for Quaker "sufferings" for several succeeding decades. This war, which lasted from 1754 to 1763, placed great demands on North Carolina for men and supplies. It also demanded unswerving loyalty from the royal subjects of the colonies. The Quakers of North Carolina could in good conscience supply none of these.

During the Anglo-French Wars, the most commonly misunderstood Quaker principle was the Society's refusal to allow its members to serve in the colonial militias. By 1705, Quakers who

refused to serve were subject to fines, distraint of goods, or imprisonment.²⁰ Such persecution was rarely carried to its fullest extent, but there was a great deal of harassment, injury, and loss of property. The North Carolina Quakers had always puzzled their neighbors with regard to their refusal to bear arms; consequently, local courts often seized the property of delinquent Quakers. The less conscientious Friends who purchased exemptions were criticized by their more dedicated brethren.²¹ Years later, the 1743 Yearly Meeting settled this dispute by giving their members the "liberty" to pay the fine or to face legal action.²²

The Yearly Meeting frequently pressed the royal governors and Assembly for complete exemption for their members from military service. In 1738, the Assembly exempted Quakers from duty if they would provide a suitable substitute, but even this did not suit the conscience of many Friends. Thus North Carolina Quakers were imprisoned for not attending musters, paying fines, submitting to the distraint of goods, or providing substitutes.²³ In 1755, Friends again proposed an exemption but were refused. The North Carolina Assembly, speaking to the committee which proposed the bill, stated: ". . . we find you have exempted the Quakers from enlisting or mustering as militia, and as we think such exemption must be attended with bad consequences we cannot pass the Bill . . ." ²⁴ Earlier the Assembly had tried to recognize the uniqueness of the Quaker position and proposed ". . . that they [Quakers] shall be obliged to muster as other Pioneers with a good axe, spade, shovel or Hoe" in place of the regular musket.²⁵ Although this amendment was never passed, it represented an attempt by the colonial government to respect the Quaker principle of conscientious objection.

Yet many individuals refused to consider any concessions for the Society. Colonel Griffin Rutherford of Bladen County urged that Quakers should be made to attend muster or pay "as in the northern counties." He also complained that fines were not high enough to oblige the militia to attend muster and should be raised.²⁶ In 1756, an act was passed requiring every twentieth man in each county to be drafted and sent to the frontier to fight in the French and Indian War. Those who refused were to be court martialed. The North Carolina Yearly Meeting directed its Standing Committee to select four members to attend the court to explain why Friends could not attend muster.²⁷ The Standing Committee reported:

The Committee taking into consideration that it might be necessary to prefer opposition to the Governor, Council and Assembly on account of the Militia Act now in force in the province where upon a petition for that purpose was

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read and approved and signed by those of the committee . . . to refer the said petition to the Governor, Council and Assembly²⁸

The Standing Committee was also to assist those Friends who had become entangled with the military. They appointed "Joseph White to attend the Court Martials if one should be held in the county of Perquimans, the Yearly Meeting in order to give friends reason for not attending musters" and several Friends in Pasquotank were chosen for the same purpose.²⁹ In 1770, an amendment was made to the militia laws of the colony which recognized that "whereas they are in divers parts of this province several people called Quakers, who demean themselves in a quiet and peaceable manner, and from religious principle, are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms," they were not obliged to muster. Friends had to enlist under a captain, however, and in case of insurrection were forced to serve or furnish a substitute or pay a penalty of £10.³⁰ Later, in 1771, after many petitions Quakers finally received a long-awaited exemption, provided they could produce a certificate of membership in good standing from the Society. The Yearly Meeting sent a memorial of appreciation to the Assembly. It read:

Gratitude at this time constraineth us in behalf of ourselves and Friends, to return to you an Humble and dutiful acknowledgement for your great and unexpected favor and indulgence in passing an Act at the last session of Assembly, to exempt us from the sufferings we have been exposed to on account of our religious and conscientious scruples with respect to the Militia or learning the Act of fighting with the Carnal Sword.

And as our peaceful principle of non-resistance leads us to a passive submission of our superiors, in cases that doth Interfere with our consciences We hope and believe that no disadvantage will ever arise to our fellow subjects from your favor to us therein. We shall think ourselves in duty bound to use our best endeavours, to detect Hypocritical pretenders who may be desirous to screen themselves under our profession. . .³¹

Thus after decades of fruitless petitioning, the royal government made some attempt to compromise with the Society at the conclusion of the Anglo-French Wars. Unfortunately, this attitude would prevail only five short years until the outbreak of hostilities which led to the American Revolution.

Closely connected with Friends refusing to bear arms was their unwillingness to pay taxes, militia fines, or any other monies that would support the war effort. In 1740, Quakers protested the tax levied to provide a powder magazine for each county as an offense to their consciences. Some paid the tax but justified it by saying that they were not responsible for the way the money was spent. In the same year, they consulted London Friends as to the payment of such

taxes used for troop support. Although there is no recorded answer, it is known that the Standing Committee conferred with the authorities on this issue as well as matters concerning military service.³² Each of the Quaker meetings routinely listed the amount of "sufferings," the term sometimes used by Friends for monies collected by force. The amount ranged from yearly totals for each meeting of £ 85 in 1759 to 26 shillings, 8 pence in 1765. In 1768 there was again a rise in the amount to £ 15, 4 shillings.³³ John Woolman, the famous Quaker abolitionist from Pennsylvania, related in his journal how some of this money was collected. When journeying through North Carolina in 1757, he met a Friend, a minister and working farmer possessing no slaves, who had refused to pay a recently imposed war tax. This Quaker preferred to have his goods distrained rather than contribute in this way to an activity he believed inconsistent with Quaker beliefs. Woolman wrote:

... but as he was the only person who refused it in those parts and knew not that any one else was in the like circumstances, he signified that it had been a heavy trial to him, especially as some of his brethren had been uneasy with his conduct in that case.³⁴

It was very difficult for a Friend to watch all his material possessions sold for taxes, and it took a strong Society with firm beliefs to provide support for those who might falter. However, no matter how difficult it was to remain true to their principles concerning taxation and fines, the majority of Friends resolutely defied the Crown.

In addition to men, money and supplies, the North Carolina colonial government demanded the intangibles of sworn loyalty and allegiance from its citizens during the Anglo-French Wars. The province required that a pledge of loyalty be taken by every white adult male. The old Vestry Acts had commanded every member elected to the Assembly to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown. In 1715 the Assembly had passed "an Act for Liberty of Conscience and that the Solemn Affirmation of the people called Quakers shall be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form" — the only minority to be singled out for such special treatment.³⁵ As the title implies, the act allowed Friends to affirm instead of swear. Still many Quakers could not even accept the affirmation, as these Society minutes relate:

... accounts received that Seven of our Religious Society have so far deviated as to act contrary to the wholesome rules and advices heretofore given by taking the present affirmation of Fidelity which hath brought pain and sorrow over many of our minds, and we apprehend trends to lay waste our Christian Testimony.³⁶

By 1747, even this act had been allowed to lapse and a duly elected

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member of the Assembly, Quaker William Borden, was denied his seat because he refused to take the oath of office. The Assembly recorded the action in the following manner:

Mr. William Borden one of the members of Carteret County appeared and acquainted the Gentlemen of his Majesties Honourable Council that were appointed to Qualify the members of the House that he would not take oaths appointed by Law for the Qualification of Public Offices being one of the People called Quakers and therefore desired his solemn affirmation might be taken as in other cases which said members of his Majesty's Council rejected.³⁷

Although Borden was denied his seat, the act for affirmation was reenacted in 1749. Toward the end of the French and Indian War in 1762, Friends were once again allowed to give "affirmation or declaration as may remove the Difficulty which many of them are under."³⁸ Here the colonial government is clearly attempting to compromise and allow members of the Society to remain part of the province. The royal government demanded loyalty, but it seems at a much lower price than the more valued commodities of men and money. This period of reconciliation would be shortened, however, by the ominous rumblings of the coming of the American Revolution.

¹Michael G. St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York, 1957), 128.

²Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, 1896), 87.

³George Fox, *A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Etc., of George Fox*, 2 volumes (Leeds, 1836), II 172-73.

⁴Weeks, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

⁵William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 volumes (Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 1880-1895), I, 827-828, hereinafter cited as *N.C. Recs.*.

⁶"A Letter from Major Christopher Gale" (Nov. 2, 1711), *N. C. Recs.*, I, 825.

⁷Luther Lafayette Gobbel, "Militia in North Carolina in Colonial and Revolutionary Times," *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, XIII (1919), 43.

⁸Weeks, *op. cit.*, 173.

⁹Pasquotank Monthly Meeting Minutes, September 1711.

¹⁰"Governor Spotswood to Lord Dartmouth" *N. C. Recs.*, (Oct. 15, 1711), I 814.

¹¹"Col. Spotswood to Lords of Trade" (Feb. 11, 1712), *N. C. Recs.*, II, 13.

¹²"Col. Spotswood to Lords of Trade" (May 8, 1712), *op. cit.*, II, 40.

¹³"From Pollock's Letter Book" (April 30, 1713), *N. C. Recs.*, II, 40.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, II, v.

¹⁵"Mr. Urmston to the Secretary" (Sept. 22, 1714), *N. C. Recs.*, II, 144.

¹⁶Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill, 1973), 73-75.

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¹⁷Robert W. Ramsey, *Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762* (Chapel Hill, 1964), 136.

¹⁸Elizabeth Gray, *Contributions of the Quakers* (Wallingford, Pa., 1947), 80.

¹⁹Rayner W. Kelsey, "Early Books of Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting," *Friends Historical Association Bulletin*, XXIV (1935), 22.

²⁰Francis C. Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends: The Story of Quakerism in North Carolina* (Boston, 1959), 150. "Distraint," a term frequently used in Quaker minutes and governmental documents, means the seizure of property for non-payment of taxes.

²¹Patrick Soule, "The Quaker Conscript in Confederate North Carolina," *Quaker History*, LVI (1967), 90.

²²North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1743.

²³Anscombe, *loc. cit.*

²⁴*N. C. Recs.*, V, 506.

²⁵*Ibid.*, V, 269.

²⁶*Ibid.*, V, 161.

²⁷North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1757.

²⁸Standing Committee of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1757.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*N. C. Recs.*, IX, 176-77.

³¹North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1711.

³²Weeks, *op. cit.*, 173; Anscombe, *op. cit.*, 151.

³³North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1759, 1765, and 1768.

³⁴John Woolman, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Amelia Mott Gum-
mere (London, 1922), 200-001.

³⁵*N. C. Recs.*, XXIII, 11.

³⁶Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, June 1715.

³⁷*N. C. Recs.*, IV, 855-56.

³⁸*Ibid.*, XXIII, 559.

Recent Books

William F. Medlin. *Quaker Families of South Carolina & Georgia*. Ben Franklin Press, 1982. 132 pages. \$20.00 (paper).

William F. Medlin's little book will probably find its greatest market (at \$20 for a small paperback) among genealogically dedicated descendants of South Carolina and Georgia Friends. The first quarter of the book deserves a wider audience, because it tells in short compass the little known story of these Quakers whose witness was brief but significant in the colonies of the Lower South. Particularly useful is the author's research into the socio-economic-cultural level of Charleston Friends, as revealed by their estate records. Medlin describes, for the benefit of non-Quakers, the history, beliefs, testimonies, practices, and culture of early Friends. Also included are several helpful maps, illustrations, and brief histories of each meeting, past or present, in Georgia and South Carolina. The bulk of the book consists of an alphabetical list of Quaker families (with dates, meetings, and counties of each), followed by an alphabetical list of genealogical data. There are also indexes of surnames and subjects.

Medlin's treatment is generally solid and helpful, with a few forgivable difficulties. For example, he consistently refers to the colony and officials of seventeenth-century *South* Carolina, even though no distinction was made between north and south at that time. Nor does he mention the role of Zachariah Dicks in prompting the migration of Bush River Friends to Ohio. The book nevertheless contributes a great deal to the understanding of Friends in South Carolina and Georgia, and should be especially useful to Quaker family historians.

Jo Vellacott. *Bertrand Russell and the Pacifists in the First World War*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980. 326 pages. \$25.00.

Friends are by no means the only group to have taken a stand against war and participation in military activity. One of the best known pacifists and opponents of nuclear weapons of the last generation, Bertrand Russell, was no Quaker, but worked extensively with British Friends during the first world war. The No-Conscription

Fellowship, formed by both pacifists and non-pacifists to oppose compulsory military service, furnished the arena of their common activity.

Jo Vellacott, a Canadian Friend and consultant to the Bertrand Russell Editorial Project, has immersed herself in Russell's correspondence and speeches to document the changes in his point of view and the influences on his development. She describes the differences within the Quaker movement, including the Young Friends, the Friends Service Committee, and London Yearly Meeting, and describes Russell's criticism of some aspects of "Quaker absolutism." Her work should be of great assistance to anyone interested in the Quaker roots of modern pacifist thought.

Jo Ann Ooiman Robinson. *Abraham Went Out: A Biography of A. J. Muste*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981. 341 pages. \$22.50.

Abraham J. Muste was a man who disturbed many people, including some Friends. Born in a conservative, Dutch Reformed family, he became a pastor in the Reformed Church, Congregational Church, and the Friends. When his increasing radicalism led him away from institutional religion, it also left concerns about him in the minds of many religious practitioners. Yet his involvement with a host of issues — labor, civil rights, civil liberties, and pacifism — bore a distinctly Quaker cast. His temporary abandonment of non-violence as a principle was overcome by a religious experience, and he continued to work closely with Quaker groups (particularly the American Friends Service Committee), and to see himself as in the tradition of George Fox and John Woolman. His memorial service was held in a Friends meeting house, and many Friends meetings mourned his passing.

Jo Ann Ooiman Robinson's book is the first scholarly biography of Muste. In her opinion Muste was as important an American labor leader as other, better known individuals. His leadership in developing a broad-based industrial union organization, instead of the craft-based A. F. L., was overshadowed by the emergence of the C. I. O. and John L. Lewis's dominance. Robinson's biography draws heavily upon Quaker sources and libraries, including those of New England and New York Yearly Meetings and Swarthmore College. In fact fully one-third of the book consists of notes, bibliography, and index — more

than is usual even in a scholarly work. It is a book that should help a little-known but important champion of humanity to become better appreciated.

Michael Rose. *Curator of the Dead: Thomas Hodgkin (1798-1866)*. London: Peter Owen, 1981. 148 pages. About \$20.00.

The contributions of Quakers to medicine, technology, and the natural sciences have been the subject of several recent studies. This short and fascinating biography of Thomas Hodgkin is unusual in its subject: a prominent nineteenth-century medical pioneer who left the profession in order to become a campaigner for human rights.

The author, himself a physician, was lecturing at Guy's Hospital Medical School in London when he began to wonder why so little had been said in praise of Hodgkin, the "discoverer" of Hodgkin's Disease, by those who had written about other outstanding figures in the hospital's history. He also noticed the surprising absence of memorials to Hodgkin to the hospital itself.

Rose's investigation led him to the discovery that Hodgkin, in addition to his work as a medical pathologist (hence, the book's title), was concerned as a Friend about the plight of native peoples in the lands under British rule. He had spoken out particularly about the native population of Canada, whose human rights were being violated by the Hudson's Bay Company. He had in fact appealed directly to the virtual owner of the hospital who was also deputy governor of the company. The result was that Hodgkin was passed over for a major post, for which he was the obvious choice, and quickly realized that his career at Guy's was at an end.

Rather than compromise his concerns for the sake of professional advancement, he left Guy's to devote his life to social reform, primarily through the Aborigines Protection Society, for which he travelled widely the rest of his life.

In a perceptive, concluding epilogue, Michael Rose raises the issue of "Ultimate Values." Could Hodgkin have accomplished more for humanity as a brilliant pathologist than he did as an obscure social reformer? He does not answer the question, but wisely suggests that the choices Hodgkin faced are still relevant today. Friends should find them particularly relevant.

Christina Jones. *Friends in Palestine*. Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1981. 202 pages. \$8.95 (paper).

Quaker work in Palestine began more than a century ago, in 1867, when two members of the meeting in China, Maine, were released for service in Europe and Syria. At the turn of the century there was a well established Friends boarding school for girls, a meeting, and a new school for boys in Ramallah.

The twentieth century was to witness much change in the school, meeting, and community. The school itself brought isolated villages into contact with one another as it mingled their younger citizens. The campus of the school was occupied by troops, and the school closed throughout the first world war. After the war Ramallah was transformed into a summer resort community, the school reopened in a new building, and a yearly meeting was established. The second war brought great suffering to the area, compounded by the fighting that led to the 1947-48 partition. Friends struggled to care for the Palestinian refugees, and finally succeeded in obtaining a much-needed share of the relief that had previously gone almost entirely to Israeli refugees.

New restrictions on teaching imposed by the government of Jordan changed the character of the school. Then, in 1967, Israel occupied the West Bank of the Jordan, and Ramallah found itself a day school for Palestinians in Israel.

These changes and many more are faithfully recounted by the late Christina Jones, who with her husband Willard served the school for nearly two years. It is an amazing and important chronicle that deserves to be read by Friends who are concerned about the continuing Middle Eastern conflict. Unfortunately Friends United Press has not added an index to a narrative full of detail, and the price of the book may deter some individuals. Friends meetings should strongly consider purchasing it for their libraries.

Jay Coughtry. *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700-1807*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981. \$22.95.

It has been said that one of the common "decorations" in American Quaker homes of the nineteenth century was a picture showing the interior of a slave ship. Rhode Island Quaker Harriet Peck, one of the first faculty of New Garden Boarding School in North

Carolina in 1837, made pictures of shackled slaves into pin-case reminders of the commerce in human lives. It is not surprising then to find that Friends in Rhode Island were among the earliest and strongest opponents of the slave trade carried out by its own merchants.

Jay Coughtry's book is not primarily a documentation of that opposition, although it does devote ample attention to the role of Friends, particularly Moses Brown, who worked through the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade to pass and enforce legislation that would encourage slavers to make their profits elsewhere. According to Coughtry they took a moderate approach designed to persuade rather than confront, to bring about change without rending the social fabric.

Coughtry cites evidence to demonstrate not only the futility of the Quaker efforts, but even of the constitutional prohibition of the trade after 1820. Rhode Island merchantmen found ways, he argues, of continuing their trade in rum, molasses, and slaves between New England, Africa, and the West Indies. Yet their slaving gradually ended, Coughtry says, "mysteriously." Could the efforts of the Friends have been in part responsible?

The Notorious Triangle is a revision of earlier historical revision, coming full circle to the earlier view that the triangular trade did in fact take place on a large scale. He employs quantitative data to support his argument, and describes the notorious Middle Passage (the diagram of which hung on the Quakers' walls) in chillingly unromantic economic terms. His work uses the tools of scholarship to portray a human tragedy with a sense of conviction and deep moral outrage.

The Authors

ADDISON COFFIN (1822-1897) is remembered for his work as a youth in Guilford County, North Carolina on the Underground Railroad; and for his later work, when he was living in Indiana, as an agent for hundreds of North Carolina Friends who migrated North after the Civil War. In his later years he travelled widely in the United States, Mexico and the Holy Lands. His autobiography, *Life and Travels of Addison Coffin*, is the colorful account of his adventurous life.

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Editorial Policy

The publication committee is interested in receiving articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in North Carolina and the adjacent geographical area. Articles must be well written and thoroughly documented. Papers on family history should not be submitted. All copy, including footnotes, *should be typed double-space. Articles and correspondence should be sent to:* Herbert Poole, Co-editor; Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. 27410.

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Cover illustration is the logo adopted by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society from the John Collins lithograph of the New Garden Friends Meeting House of 1791. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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Another Look At The Nicholites

BY

Kenneth L. Carroll

Traveling Friends toward the close of the eighteenth century were fascinated by a religious group whose members called themselves "Friends," held meetings for worship in silence, conducted business in the Quaker manner, possessed queries, valued plainness of dress and speech, and gave special emphasis to simplicity. They also rejected oaths, participation in war, and a "hireling ministry." From 1768 onward their members could not own slaves. And yet they were not Quakers! These were the Nicholites or "New Quakers" who first arose along the Delaware-Maryland border early in the 1760s and who were found in Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina (with the largest group being in Maryland) at the end of the eighteenth century. They remained a separate movement for some years, even after most of them were absorbed into the Society of Friends about 1800.

Nearly thirty-five years have passed since I first stumbled across the Nicholites and discovered that several of my ancestors had been members of that group. My curiosity about this early American religious movement led to seven articles and a book between 1950 and 1962.¹ Ongoing interest in the Nicholites has encouraged me to continue searching for additional information concerning Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites as well as to modify some of my earlier views and understanding. This article is the result of those years of additional research.

Joseph Nichols and his movement appeared at a time of religious revival and renewal on both sides of the Atlantic. The Great Awakening was still working its way through the American Colonies, touching Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, and other religious bodies. Somehow it seemed to miss the central part of the Delmarva Peninsula (the Kent-Sussex area of Delaware and the neighboring Caroline-Dorchester section of Maryland). Many of the inhabitants of this area were unchurched, while others belonged to the Church of England (the established church in Maryland) or to the Society of Friends. Anglicans, remembering the "horrors" of the seventeenth century Puritan period, were quite frightened at any show of religious fervor or emotion and resisted anything that smacked of "enthusiasm." Quakerism, which had already experienced its period of

“enthusiasm” in its opening generation, had fallen into a low spiritual state for a time, a condition commented on by a number of traveling Friends who visited the area, as well as by some of the epistles sent to London Yearly Meeting. Yet, by the 1760s Quakerism was already experiencing its own renewal or revival. Here religious “renewal” or “revival” took a different form, tending to express itself in a growing emphasis on “church discipline.”²

The person chiefly responsible for the evolution of the Nicholite movement was Joseph Nichols (ca. 1730-1770), a farmer living in the southern part of Kent County, Delaware, not far from Dover. He was a lively individual whose personality and charisma consistently drew many of his more worldly neighbors to his home on Sundays — for bouts of storytelling, singing, dancing, horse racing, and other joyous pastimes. Little or nothing in his background, life, and outlook suggested that he would undergo the radical religious pilgrimage which he did or that he would carry his companions along with him in this important development. Yet, this is what really happened over a very brief period early in the 1760s.

It was at one of these mirthful gatherings that there occurred an unfortunate accident which caused a profound change in Nichols, driving him to deeper thought about the meaning of life. As Lambert Hopkins, to whom Nichols himself described the episode has reported, Joseph Nichols at this “frolic” was accompanied by a “very particular and intimate friend who was taken ill and died suddenly at that place. As he [Nichols] reflected on the circumstance, it was made the means of producing a radical reformation in his life and conduct.”³ Nichols, who does not appear to have been outwardly religious in the early years of his manhood, underwent a spiritual pilgrimage that moved him from his early “libertine” attitude to one of serious outlook and brought him to see “with clearness the line of duty which was marked out for him to pursue, and that his own peace of mind required that he should yield an unreserved obedience thereto, regardless of the opinions and customs of others.”⁴

Unlike many individuals who undergo similar religious experiences, Nichols did not withdraw from his old circle of friends. His former companions still surrounded him, continuing to seek his leadership in pleasure and mirth. Nichols, however, feeling that they should spend their time in a more rewarding way, suggested that they read a portion of scripture whenever they met. Out of the past respect which they possessed for him his neighbors agreed to this proposal. With the passage of time these gatherings were thus transformed from scenes of

mirth to "seasons of serious thoughtfulness." Nichols' genius in friendship enabled him to move many of his friends and acquaintances along with him, so that as he became more circumspect in appearance, behavior, and conversation, so also did they. Soon Joseph Nichols saw the task which had been set before him: to preach and, if necessary, to ignore the customs and opinions of other men. And so, he appeared as a "minister" among his former companions, convinced that peace and happiness could come only from seeking and doing the right.

It is impossible to date the actual start of Nichols' preaching of his newly discovered religious convictions. It must have been early in the 1760s, quite possibly 1762 or 1763, that Nichols began to gather his followers together as a religious group. James Harris, who was born about 1733 or early 1734 and brought up in a Church of England family, is reported to have been

in the early part of his life convinced, by the operation of Truth in his own mind, of the necessity of living a godly, righteous, and sober life; but did not make much progress in the path of true religion until *near the thirtieth year of his age*; about which time attending more closely to the witness in himself, he joined a pious people distinguished by the name of Nicholites.⁵

This passage shows clearly that Nichols had already started to gather a people by the time of Harris' conviction in 1763 to 1764.

The earliest contemporary mention of Nichols appears to be that by Benjamin Mifflin on June 24, 1764. It was written by a Quaker who was quite unsympathetic to Nichols and whose understanding of the man and his message may have come from second-hand reports rather than from actual knowledge of Nichols and his views:

[I] took my departure from [Isaac] Kellam's and in passing on between Draw Bridge & Crappers Observ'd a Great Concourse of People from all Parts that appear'd as if drawn to a particular Centre & on falling in with a Person I learnt of him the following Particulars, that they were going to the House of one Joseph Nichols who had appointed a Meeting there this day to Preach and hold a Publick Disputation with Parson Ingles of Dover whom he had chalenged thereto by Public advertisement exhorting his congregation not to hear him, he being a false profit [*sic*] and hireling but it was generally thought Ingles had too much understanding to accept the challenge as Nichols is known to be extremely dogmatical and impatient of contradiction. He was some time ago a very Industrious Laborious man, has a wife and several small children, has let out his farm and goes about Preaching leaving his Family to shift as they can, he bears violent Testimoney against Hireling Preachers, and at his first setting out profest himself a Primitive Quaker, denying all ordinances &c. but at present pretents to sinless perfection, appoints his time for preaching having the spirit of God at command and Pro-

nounces all those that differ with him in Sentiments in a state of Damnation & says he can know a man's Heart by looking in his Face, and if attacked in his proceeding by Quotations from Scripture says it is all Hocus Pocus for that the Original Text having past through so many Translations it is by no means the same as at first, so that by this subterfuge, and a vindictiveness heat and violence of Temper there is no arguing fairly with him, he has several times disturb'd the Quaker Meeting at the 3 Runs and other places of worship & seems to want to be persecuted, but has hitherto had the Mortification of disappointment & when the novelty is over from the neglect that will follow, I hope that his chagrin at being neglected will bring him to his senses.⁶

Some months later Charles Inglis, the Anglican priest at Dover, wrote to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, about the need of a missionary to fill the pulpits at St. Paul's Church near the Delaware-Maryland border and Christ Church at Mushmillon. He noted:

A Mad Enthusiast has lately started up near one of these Churches & did much mischief. He calls himself a Quaker. If you will recollect the Character & conduct of Hacket in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, or of Nailor, in the mad times of Cromwell, you may form a tolerably exact Idea of this man, for he resembles them much, especially the latter. Ignorant, mad, and impious as this fellow is, yet *he has deluded several, has bewildered more, and has made still more lukewarm* in his affair. This circumstance, duly considered, should have some weight to induce the Society to send a Missionary to that place. It would be a real act of Charity to rescue these poor people from this man's dangerous delusions; and nothing would contribute more to this than to have a pious, active Clergyman fixed in that Place.⁷

Inglis, who by late 1776 had forsaken Delaware for less-troubled and somewhat greener pastures to the north, wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel once more, mentioning the recent loss of membership in those two Delaware Anglican churches. This decline was the result of their not having received a missionary, Inglis' own departure to New York, and the additional factor of "a dissenting Teacher [who] has been lately settled among them *besides the restless Enthusiast I have often mentioned.*"⁸

It can be readily be seen, from the above quotations, that Joseph Nichols burst upon the Delaware ecclesiastical scene in a way that was somewhat reminiscent of some of the earliest Quakers or "First Publishers of Truth" in the 1650s and 1660s, recalling a type of behavior which now in 1764 turned off the Quaker Mifflin and frightened the Anglican Inglis. Although these two writers condemned the man and rejected his efforts, there were many who responded positively from among the unchurched. By 1766, when John Woolman

Another Look at the Nicholites

was making the first of his walking journeys through this area, Nichols had already had a profound effect upon his followers as well as the area in general. Woolman notes the meetings which he attended at Motherkill in Delaware, Tuckahoe (near Matthewstown, Talbot County, Maryland) and Marshy Creek (near Preston, Caroline County, Maryland) and reports that,

At these our three last meetings were a considerable number of people, followers of one Joseph Nichols, a Preacher, who I understand is not in outward Fellowship with any Religious Society of People, but who profeseth nearly the same principles as our Society doth, and often travels up and down appointing meetings to which many people come.⁹

Woolman then continues his account of the "Nicholites," as Nichols' followers quite early came to be called, noting that,

I hear some Friends speaking of their neighbours who had been Irreligious people that were now his followers, and were become sober well-behaved men and women. Some irregularities I hear have been amongst the people at Several of His Meetings, but from the whole of what I have [heard] I believe the man and some of his followers are honestly disposed, but [believe] Skilful Fathers are wanting amongst them.¹⁰

Probably the "irregularities" which Woolman mentions were the physical manifestations of the "spirit" which sometimes accompanied Nichols' earliest preaching. The deep feeling or emotion that he called forth led some of Nichols' followers to "cry out audibly, and even [to] prostrate themselves in meeting."¹¹ To some degree this type of behavior had appeared throughout the Great Awakening and was even more pronounced in the Second Awakening which started at the end of the eighteenth century.

The next known mention of the Nicholites comes in the manuscript journal of Rachel Wilson, who had considerable contact with them in October 1769. While in Delaware, she held a meeting at the home of Thomas Lightfoot, where "Three of those called Nicholites attended and seemed much affected, expressing their satisfaction with what they had heard." Two days later she attended a meeting at Motherkill "where [such] a [large] meeting was gathered that the house did not contain them. A many of those called Nicholites was there." Rachel Wilson spent the night at Warner Mifflin's house (near Camden) and then, on the twenty-eighth,

Before we set off one of those Nicholites came and said he desired a little conversation with me, yet did not desire to detain me. I found freedom to sit down with him, several Friends being present. He seemed in a good frame [of mind], not wanting to cavil but really desirous of information, pointing out the differences betwixt us and them, telling us that they had been led by that spirit that taught them to forsake sin and every evil way and to wear their clothes plain and coarse to answer the real use to keep them warm and cover their nakedness and not to indulge pride and vanity, for which they were become a dispised people, yet upon the ancient foundation upon which Quakerism was first established. We heard him patiently and answered his questions in regard to discipline, which had become one of their chief objections in regard to joining Friends, but now he owned they see more the necessity for some necessary rules, as they had run into great extravagance, which he saw was a delusion. We parted friendly and came to Dover (28th) — 5 miles.”¹²

Through these early reports we learn something of Nichols' message. He preached a doctrine of self-denial, believing that those things which tended to exalt the “creature” should be regulated and subdued. This attitude showed itself not only in Nichols' message but also in the plain clothes which Lambert Hopkins remembered from his contact with Nichols.¹³ Nichols and his followers, it would seem, had already moved to “clothes plain and coarse” when Woolman appeared in their midst in 1766, dressed in undyed clothes as a protest against slavery and war.¹⁴ Woolman's example here, just as in the case of his anti-slavery message, had a real effect on the Nicholites who quickly adopted such a dress as a sort of official garb. Quaker journalists of a later date, such as Isaac Martin, Job Scott, and Elias Hicks, all show an interest in this aspect of Nicholite life, as also do the less sympathetic Methodist leaders Francis Asbury and Freeborn Garrettson.

Shortly before Woolman's 1766 arrival in the Delaware-Maryland area inhabited by the Nicholites Nichols himself had arrived at the belief that slavery was wrong. His preaching on this subject persuaded James and Ann Anderson to free a slave in April 1766 and Paris and Margaret Chipman to manumit one on May 24, 1766.¹⁵ Other followers of Nichols, however, were not so easily convinced. It was the arrival and message of John Woolman and John Sleeper which moved the consciences of the *remainder* of the Nicholite slaveholders (and also the *first* of the neighboring Quakers), so that shortly after Woolman's visit they freed their slaves.¹⁶ When the Nicholites, at a later date, drew up a Discipline they incorporated the following rule: “Any Person Holding a Slave is not Admitted to be a member.”¹⁷ Their Queries, likewise adopted at a later date, also deal with this matter: “Are

Friends careful to bear a faithful testimony against Slavery in its various branches, and provide in a suitable manner for those in their families that have had their freedom secured to them; are they instructed in useful learning and is the welfare of such as have been set free attended to and the necessities of them relieved?"¹⁸

Joseph Nichols, as already noted, put a great deal of emphasis on preaching against a "hireling ministry," thereby leading the Nicholites to develop a wedding ceremony quite similar to that of Friends. The engaged couple, after receiving permission of the Society, exchanged vows without the presence of a clergyman. Witnesses at the ceremony were then asked to sign the marriage certificate.¹⁹ Nicholites likewise refused to pay the tax required of all Marylanders for the support of the Church of England (the established church) and its clergy. Also Nichols foresaw the day when these Anglican "churches should be deserted, so as to become a shelter for the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air." With the disestablishment of the Church of England and the rapid sweep of Methodism through the Delmarva Peninsula, a number of Episcopalian churches in this area were abandoned and pulled down — some even before the close of the eighteenth century.²⁰

In the matter of courts and oaths Nichols' position was strikingly similar to that of the Quakers. He and his followers sought the right of affirmation rather than swearing. Like the early Christians and their own Quaker neighbors Nicholites believed that they should avoid going to court to settle their differences. Although Nicholites preferred not to appear in court at all, partly due to their difficulty with oaths, they were more than ready to give information about their beliefs when they were called before the courts or public officials to interpret their principles or to explain their refusal to participate actively in secular affairs. It was partly in connection with this attitude towards courts and oaths and partly in relationship to his disavowal of war that still another of Nichols' teachings must be seen: a budding opposition to capital punishment. Although Nichols and the Nicholites never developed this position to its logical conclusion, they did believe that they themselves must not be party to bringing about a death sentence upon a man: "Another thing we believe we could not be clear in, that is to answer the law as a witness against any person that thereby they shall be put to death."²¹

Joseph Nichols' work as a religious leader was relatively brief, probably seven or eight years at the longest, brought to a close by his death at the very end of 1770. Yet, the religious movement which he

brought into being was destined to continue long after Nichols himself ceased to be, and to spread to areas that Nichols had never visited. As the Nicholites thought about the life, preaching, and death of their founder, they became convinced that they should continue their existence as a people called out of the world around them, remaining faithful to all that Nichols had taught them. Gradually it became clear to them that they must organize themselves, establishing some sort of church government by which the life of the Society might be regulated. This decision to organize came on December 5, 1774, almost four full years after Nichols' death (and more than five years after Rachel Wilson had heard that there was a growing awareness by the Nicholites that they needed rules).²²

The Nicholites decided to hold a business meeting once a month, at the house of James Harris, one of several Nicholites who were called to the ministry shortly after the time of Nichols' death. They met together for two days — the first for worship and the second day for business. Soon, however, the meetings were expanded to cover three days. "Public" meetings were held on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, as well as "select" meetings for business held on Saturday afternoon and evening. It has been recorded that there were often a thousand people present at these services open to the general public.²³ Probably this was one of the reasons why the Nicholite meetinghouse at Tuckahoe Neck became one of the places where official notices of Caroline County were to be posted.²⁴

Another sign of growing "organization" was to be found in the appearance of meetinghouses. Marriage certificates show weddings taking place in a "Friends' house" prior to 1778 and from 1778 to 1784 at "Friends' meeting-house" in Caroline County, Maryland. Both Centre and Tuckahoe Neck Meetinghouses are mentioned by name in 1784, and all three Caroline meetinghouses, including that at Northwest Fork, are named in 1785.²⁵ It does not appear that there were any meetinghouses in Delaware, although there was a continuing Nicholite presence and even ongoing missionary activity there throughout the eighteenth century.²⁶ In addition to holding house gatherings many Delaware Nicholites attended the two nearest Maryland Nicholite meetinghouses at Centre (near Concord) and Northwest Fork (near Federalsbury,) both of which were very close to the Delaware border.

In addition to establishing monthly meetings for business and erecting meetinghouses, the Nicholites soon exhibited other signs of changing from a "movement" to an organized society or denomination.

As early as 1774 they set about collecting their birth, marriage, and burial records.²⁷ Some years later they drew up a set of twelve "rules" which covered many aspects of the Society's life: marriage, selection of Overseers, discipline of wayward members, certificates of removal, rejection of slaveholding, and refraining from going to court against a fellow Nicholite.²⁸ Also, at a later date the Nicholites produced a set of ten queries that, for the most part, resemble those of the neighboring Quakers except where the more ascetic Nicholite testimony on plainness affected them.²⁹

For some years following their decision to organize, the Nicholites experienced difficulties on several scores. Until after the outbreak of the American Revolution and the collapse of the established church there was the question of "priests' wages" to harass them. William Dawson, who expressed himself vigorously against a "hireling ministry," was imprisoned in the Cambridge, Maryland, jail for his testimony in this regard. Local authorities often insisted on administering oaths to them. After the outbreak of the war, imprisonment, distraint of goods, abuse by politicians, and criticism by neighbors were all experienced by Nicholites (just as their Quaker neighbors underwent the same sufferings because of their opposition to war). Not until 1783, at the end of the Revolution, did the Maryland Assembly pass an act "for the relief of the Christian Society of people called the Nicholites or New Quakers," granting them "all the rights, privileges, immunities and franchises, that the people called Quakers are in any manner entitled to enjoy."³⁰

Not long after the outbreak of the American Revolution a group of Nicholites, largely from Delaware, migrated to North Carolina where they settled for the most part along the western edge of Guilford County near the headwaters of Deep River and nearby along the upper Reedy Fork of the Haw River. It seems likely that Paris Chipman³¹ (who lived near Camden, Delaware) and Joseph Standley were the leaders of this migration to North Carolina — although there is a Marine family tradition that it was Jonathan Marine who led a group of "Quakers" to North Carolina about 1776. Chipman (d. 1801) bought 640 acres from William Baldwin on Baldwin's Creek (a branch of Deep River), later receiving two more grants for 231 acres there at the end of 1778.³² Paris and Margaret (Manlove) Chipman were accompanied by their five children: Hannah (b. 1753), who married William Horney; Mary (1756-1837), who was married to James Horney; Deborah (1758-1782); John (1761-1834), and Paris (1763-1809). Much less is known about Joseph Standley, whose first land grant, on Reubin's

Branch of Deep River, was dated February 10, 1778. Standley seems to have been rather active in land dealings with fellow Nicholites as early as October 1778.³³

This migration of Nicholites to the western edge of Guilford County (with a spillover into that part of Rowan County which later became Davidson County) was actually larger than has been thought. It included various members of the Caldwell, Charles, Chipman, Covey, Horney, Linager, Nichols, Pegg, Shaw, Standley, Sullivan, Wheeler, and Wright families (and perhaps a number of other Delaware and Maryland families who settled in that general area).

James Caldwell, who obtained a grant for 350 acres on Israel Creek on Deep River at the beginning of 1779, was one of the signers of the 1778 Nicholite Petition to the North Carolina General Assembly asking for the right of affirmation and other privileges already granted Quakers (just as Paris Chipman and Joseph Standley had signed it). Levin Charles and his wife Mary (the widow of Joseph Nichols, the founder of the Nicholite movement) were already in Guilford in 1778, when Levin was a witness to the transfer of land to William Charles from Joseph Standley, and was also a signer of the Nicholite Petition on August 4 of that year. Levin Charles and Mary (Tumlin) Nichols were already married in 1774 when the estate of Joseph Nichols was settled.³⁵ William and Leah (Bartlett) Charles also were a part of this same Nicholite colony on the western edge of Guilford County, already present in 1778 when William Charles signed the Nicholite Petition in August and bought land from Joseph Standley in October. William and Leah already had several children before moving south: Ruben (b. 1771), Isaac (b. 1773), and Jacob (b. 1776).³⁶ Other members of the Charles family also settled in this area quite early, including Elisha Charles and Elijah Charles, who may well have been brothers of Levin and William.³⁷

Several members of the Covey family also came southward with this group from Delaware and Maryland. One of them was Noble Covey, who was one of the people who signed the 1774 decision to organize the Nicholite Society. Noble Covey of Caroline County, Maryland and Mary (Pegg) Bicham of Delaware were married in 1775. He had four daughters by an earlier wife named Rachel: Ann (b. 1764), and still another one (Rhonda) by perhaps an even earlier marriage. The Coveys settled just across the border in Rowan (now Davidson) County, where Noble Covey is listed in the 1790 census. They lived close enough to the main Nicholite colony, however, for Noble and William Covey to serve as witnesses to a 1791 deed for fifty acres of

land on the Reedy Fork of Haw River in Guilford County.³⁸ Mary Covey, widow of Noble, left a 1799 Guilford will in which she mentions Valentine Pegg and Martin Pegg as brothers, a sister Elizabeth, and step-children named Sapp.³⁹

Two members of the Horney family settled in this Nicholite community in Guilford: John and William, both of whom signed the Nicholite Petition. These two, probably the sons of Jeffry Horney and nephews of James Horney of Caroline County, Maryland, took up land on Deep River (John on Israel's Creek, next to Nicholite James Caldwell, and William next to Quaker Elijah Mendenhall.)⁴⁰ John and William, as already noted, married daughters of Paris Chipman and lived within several miles of him. Also present, from time to time, was Isaac Linegar who received a grant for one hundred acres in 1784 and took it up on May 16, 1787.⁴¹ Whether this is the Isaac Linegar ("part colored man") who married the ex-slave Rosannah in 1769 or the son of Elizabeth Linegar born in 1759 is unknown. If the former, then he was the Nicholite who farmed Joseph Nichols' Delaware farm at the time of Nichols' death. If the latter, he was probably the nephew of the former. Another Nicholite present in this main Nicholite settlement was Isaac Nichols, who may have come down to North Carolina after the original group was already settled there. Probably he was the same Isaac Nichols who witnessed the 1775 Elijah Russell-Esther Cranor wedding in Maryland. Perhaps he was a brother of Joseph Nichols, whose one son had also been named Isaac (1758-1773).⁴³

Several units of the Pegg family were also to be found in the Nicholite community in western Guilford. Valentine Pegg, one of the signers of the 1778 Nicholite Petition, settled on Deep River several miles to the north of the Caldwells and the Horneys. His brother Martin and wife Rebecca (Adams/Addams) Pegg located nearby, and his sister Mary Covey was also a part of this colony. The 1790 census shows Valentine Pegg's family containing six males and five females, while Martin's family at home was composed of two males and one female, with Isaac Pegg (who was listed next to Martin) and his wife having one son.⁴⁴

Benjamin and Rhoda Shaw, also from Delaware, were a part of this same community. She was the daughter of Noble Covey and had a son named Noble as well as a number of other children.⁴⁵ Some members of the Sullivan family also came south with the Nicholite migration. Florence Sullivan and his large family settled in the Salisbury section of Guilford. The 1790 census shows Florence [Flurance] Sullivan's family numbering seven, while nearby in households of their own were

his son Florence and also Joel Sullivan.⁴⁶

William Wheeler, one of the signers of the Nicholite Petition, was also a member of this group. There was a family tie of some sort between the Wheelers and the Chipmans. There were also some members of the Wright family, coming from the Caroline-Dorchester area of Maryland, who dwelt in this Nicholite community. Levin Wright and his family were clearly Nicholites, with Levin often serving as a witness to land transactions between Nicholites, as chainbearer when Nicholites were having their grants surveyed, and selling land to other Nicholites such as Valentine Pegg. Levin Wright's family numbered seven according to the 1970 census.⁴⁷

In all probability there were other Nicholites in this western Guilford area, quite possibly members of the Anderson, Cain, Chicutt, Cranor, Goslin, Gray, Jester, Miner, Moore, Ross, Rumbly, Russell, Stafford, and Sapp families.⁴⁸ Absence of North Carolina Nicholite materials (such as minutes, vital records, and letters) makes it impossible to identify them as Nicholites. Even North Carolina Nicholite wills do not bear all the Nicholite characteristics found in Maryland.

The North Carolina Nicholites built a meetinghouse for their own use near Deep River sometime after their settlement there. The earliest reference to it is in 1789, although it was probably erected before that year when Job Scott visited them.⁴⁹ The location of this building is unknown, but in 1796 Isaac Odle deeded sixteen and one-quarter acres to Isaac Nichols and his heirs forever for the use of the Nicholites. This lot was on Israel's Creek, a branch of Deep River, and joined the lands of James Caldwell and John Horney.⁵⁰ Odle had bought this land from George Pope only a short time earlier. Perhaps this was the site of the 1789 meetinghouse, for which the Nicholites may not have had a title. Or it may be that they intended to erect a new meetinghouse on this holding.

These North Carolina Nicholites had their own monthly meeting for business and possessed their own queries, which numbered nine rather than ten as in the case of the Maryland branch, with the one on slavery also differing somewhat from that of the parent body. They kept in contact with the original group in Maryland and Delaware through the exchange of epistles and the visits of travelling ministers. Also there was some further movement southward to Guilford of Nicholites, such as Elijah Dawson and Major Anderson. The North Carolina Nicholite ministers tended to be more conservative than the Delmarva ones, especially on matters of plainness in dress and furniture. They were especially concerned when some Nicholites began to

substitute chairs for benches and stools which they had been using. At the same time that they were more conservative, Joshua Evans who visited both the North Carolina and Delmarva Nicholites in 1797 felt that the North Carolina Nicholites were more "lively" than their northern brethren.

The North Carolina Nicholites seem to have been quite cohesive. Not only did they worship together, live close to one another, trade land with one another, and serve as witnesses to each other's wills and land transactions, but their ties were also strengthened by marriages within the group. They also appear to have had fairly close relationships with their Quaker neighbors, much as they had already developed in Delaware and Maryland before migration southward. They too served as each other's witnesses, both on deeds and wills. They bought and sold property to each other. They even intermarried, as is shown in a small number of Quaker disownings of women who later (with Nicholite family names) asked to be accepted back into Friends' membership.⁵¹ References to Nicholites as such in North Carolina Quaker minutes, however, are practically non-existent, while they abound in the minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting (Maryland) and Southern Quarterly Meeting (Maryland and Delaware) to the north. North Carolina Quaker ministers did not appear to have been led to visit their Nicholite neighbors in the same way that Third Haven ministers were. And North Carolina Nicholites do not seem to have been drawn to continue attending Quaker meetings as they once had in Delaware and Maryland and as their brethren remaining in those areas continued to do (at least traveling Quakers do not make mention of this in their journals but speak only of their own visits to Nicholites — when they had any contact with them at all).

In addition to this sizeable Nicholite community in the western section of Guilford County (spilling over into what was then Rowan County) there appears to have been a much smaller group in Orange County, and on the eastern edge of Guilford County. In this area were found Daniel and Margaret (Melvin) Sullivan and their children (most of whom were born in Maryland) and several related families, especially those of Edmond Melvin and John Melvin (who were probably brothers of Margaret Melvin Sullivan).⁵² Also present in this area were several members of the Rumbly and Chilcutt families, both of which had Nicholite connections in Delaware and Maryland.

There seems to have been another small Nicholite community just over the North Carolina border in the "Gum Swamp on Little Pee Dee" area in South Carolina. Perhaps these Nicholites "hived off" the

Guilford County community, or they may have come directly from Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Jonathan Marine (the great-grandfather of James Whitcomb Riley) and his family were active in this community.⁵³ Jonathan's wife was a member of the Charles family. Also belonging to this Nicholite settlement were the families of William and Elizabeth Beacham (Beauchamp)⁵⁴ and Jarvis and Rebecca Staffard.⁵⁵ Isaac Linegar, who moved back and forth between South Carolina and Guilford County, was also present from time to time.⁵⁶

What happened to these Nicholite communities? Any answer to this question can be only a partial one, stemming from the all-too-meagre information available to us nearly two centuries later. Yet there is enough material to draw upon to give some answer concerning the fate of each group; the smallest one (in South Carolina), the larger group in North Carolina (primarily in Guilford County, but with some members in Rowan/Davidson and some in Orange), and the original and largest body in the Maryland-Delaware area.

The South Carolina Nicholite group, the smallest of the three and perhaps the latest to come into existence, was the first to disappear. Jarvis Staffard and his family applied to Deep River Monthly Meeting for membership and were accepted there in 1792, even though they lived near Gum Swamp on Little Pee Dee.⁵⁷ The Marines and most of the Beachamp family were accepted into membership in 1792 by New Garden Monthly Meeting.⁵⁸ Isaac Linegar requested membership in Deep River Monthly Meeting in June 1798, but the monthly meeting (being perplexed over the question of accepting a Negro into membership) referred the matter up to New Garden Quarterly Meeting which then passed it on to North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The yearly meeting ruled that the Discipline was clear on this point, so that Isaac Linegar was accepted into membership by Deep River Monthly Meeting on June 1, 1801.⁵⁹ In late 1793 New Garden Monthly Meeting of Friends approved a meeting for worship to be held by Gum Swamp Friends.⁶⁰ Early in the nineteenth century Piney Grove Monthly Meeting of Friends was established in this area, and the former Nicholites were now active in that monthly meeting.⁶¹ Probably few if any of the South Carolina Nicholites failed to become Quakers.

The North Carolina Nicholite community was much larger than that in South Carolina, had a stronger leadership, and possessed a greater stability. Yet it too showed signs of early defections to the Society of Friends. Among the earliest to request Quaker membership were William and Leah (Bartlett) Charles who, along with their

six children, were accepted into membership by Springfield Monthly Meeting on July 3, 1790.⁶² About the same time Levin Wright and his children were received on request by New Garden Monthly Meeting.⁶³ Early in 1798 Benjamin and Rhonda Shaw and their eight children were received on request by New Garden Monthly Meeting.⁶⁴ A number of the Peggs, including Valentine Jr., were accepted by New Garden Monthly Meeting between 1805 and 1809,⁶⁵ and some of the Horneys came into Deep River Monthly Meeting early in the nineteenth century also.⁶⁶

There was, however, no mass movement of North Carolina Nicholites into the Society of Friends such as that which took place in Maryland. Quite possibly they gained strength in the 1790s, through convincements and some continuing but small migration from Maryland and Delaware. In 1797 these North Carolina Nicholites took title to a piece of land in the very heart of their community (next to the Caldwell and Horney property) and may even have built a new meeting house on that spot. They were visited by Peter Yarnall and John Wigham in 1796, Joshua Evans in 1797,⁶⁷ and Stephen Grellet in 1800, but no further references to this Deep River group have been discovered. It seems probable that there was some continuing loss to the neighboring Quakers (as suggest by some of the Peggs and Horneys joining Friends early in the nineteenth century) as well as to the Methodists and Baptists who were becoming more active in this area of North Carolina.

A number of them must have migrated westward. Just as Levin Wright and his family (former Nicholites but now Quakers) removed to the "wilderness between Cumberland and Kentucky" in 1798,⁶⁸ so did some of the remaining Nicholites move to Tennessee. In 1804 Lorenzo Dow, a Methodist evangelist, was active in eastern Tennessee and reported that, after speaking to a large meeting at Marysville, he "lodged with one of the Nicholites, a kind of Quakers who do not feel free to wear colored clothes."⁶⁹ Quite possibly some of them, still Nicholite in membership, moved on to Ohio and Indiana, as some of their former brethren (now turned Quaker) were doing.⁷⁰ It seems very likely, however, that some small number continued to remain as Nicholites in the Deep River area as long as they lived — still dressing in undyed clothes, holding their own meetings for worship, or even worshipping in nearby Quaker meetinghouses. Certainly this was what happened among their Maryland brethren.

The northern-most Nicholite community (largely in Maryland, but with some spill-over into Kent and Sussex Counties, Delaware) was by

far the largest and strongest of these bodies. It possessed a number of gifted ministers, including James Harris, Elizabeth Twyford, and Elisha Dawson. Throughout the whole period of their existence this group of Nicholites had close contact with their Quaker neighbors. They often visited Quaker meetinghouses, especially when traveling Friends were present. Some Third Haven Quaker ministers made special visits to the Nicholites, including John Regester in 1784 and Mary Berry in 1789. Regester performed a "family visit" to the Nicholites. A short time later, when describing this visit to John Hunt, Regester said that "he believed the time would come when they would again [*sic*] be joined to Friends."⁷¹ On occasion some traveling Quaker ministers made special efforts to visit the Nicholites, and from time to time they lodged with Nicholites or former Nicholites. This was true, for instance, of Richard Jordan who in 1797 lodged with Levin Wright and his wife (in Easton), former Nicholites who had recently joined Friends, and then went on to spend another night with James Harris who was recognized as the outstanding Nicholite leader.⁷²

Not only did the Nicholites of Maryland and Delaware have ongoing contact with Quakers through attending each other's meetings, family visits, and lodging in each other's homes, but a number of Nicholites and Quakers (as well as some Methodists) participated in the Choptank Abolition Society throughout the 1790s. James Harris served as president of this very active group, and Seth Hill Evitts (another prominent Nicholite) was chosen to attend the 1797 Convention of Abolition Societies held in Philadelphia.⁷³

Quite early there was some movement of members from the Delmarva Nicholites to the Society of Friends, much as we have already seen among the North and South Carolina groups. Among these converts to Quakerism were Solomon Charles (1779), his five children and stepdaughter shortly thereafter, Lambert Hopkins (who considered himself to be Nichols' "son in the faith"), and Levin Wright and his wife.⁷⁴ In addition to those who switched membership, there was also a loss by death — especially of the older and more substantial members of the Nicholite movement. At least eighteen such members died between 1784 and 1798 in Caroline County, Maryland, and eight in Kent County, Delaware between 1772 and 1796.⁷⁵ There was also some continuing migration to North Carolina (such as Major Anderson, Daniel Sullivan, and John Melvin).

Nicholite reading of Quaker books, their association with their Quaker neighbors, and their discussions with traveling Friends showed them that the two societies were essentially one in the funda-

mental principles of their faith. Quite naturally there arose among some of the Nicholites a desire to merge with the Society of Friends. The chief spokesman for this point of view was James Harris, the Nicholite minister who has provided much of the leadership to the movement following Nichols' death in 1770. When Harris first mentioned merging with Friends there was great opposition among his fellow Nicholites, so that Harris put the idea aside although he could not forget it. For some years, we are told, this idea of merger "occasioned him deep exercise," so that he became increasingly persuaded that such a merger would be "the Lord's work." After some time Harris and his followers proposed to the Nicholite Monthly Meeting in Maryland that this union be effected, but the Nicholites were not ready to accept such a proposal. After the passage of a year the proposal was once again made and once again defeated, even though the opposition had lessened perceptibly. After the lapse of a few months the proposal was advanced a third and then a fourth time, with the opposition to this move growing weaker each time.⁷⁶

It is impossible to pinpoint the time that James Harris and his supporters started the spread of this idea of merging with the Society of Friends. Isaac Martin in 1794 found that "a great part of them are desirous of joining Friends, but others are opposed to it." Martin recommended that they take the time and exercise the patience needed for a satisfactory solution.⁷⁷ Martha Routh, a British Friend who visited the Nicholites in 1796, wrote that "an apprehension took place, that they should not long be a distinct society from Friends."⁷⁸

Eventually it was seen that the great majority of these Nicholites desired this union with the Society of Friends. Those who were still opposed then suggested that those of their brethren who were so inclined should make application for Friends' membership. Thus, at the end of 1797, just over one hundred Nicholites turned in a petition (signed by Seth Hill Evitts, Clerk of "Centre Monthly Meeting of the people called Nicholites," and containing the names of those applying) to Marshy Creek Preparative Meeting to be forwarded to Third Haven Monthly Meeting. At the suggestion of Southern Quarterly Meeting, the Nicholites were visited either individually or in families. Sixty-nine of those applying were accepted on January 11, 1798. At that point several other groups of Nicholites (ranging in size from three to thirteen) also requested membership, and some parents began to request the acceptance of their children into the Society of Friends. Thus an additional fifty-five were accepted in the remainder of 1798, one hundred and seven in 1799, sixteen in 1800, and eight in 1801.⁷⁹

Most of the Nicholites belonging to Centre and Northwest Fork meetings became Friends, so that Third Haven Monthly Meeting established meetings for worship and preparative meetings at those two meetinghouses in 1798. Two years later, in July 1800, Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting was set up, containing Marshy Creek, Centre and Northwest Fork Preparative Meetings.⁸⁰ Those who remained Nicholites for the most part continued to worship with those who had now become Quakers but held separate business meetings. After some time they requested that Friends appoint trustees to the meetinghouses at Northwest Fork and Centre, with the title of Northwest Fork being transferred in 1799 and that of Centre on the last day of 1803.⁸¹ The largest group of those remaining Nicholites was to be found at Tuckahoe Neck. No Quaker meeting for worship or preparative meeting was established at that Nicholite meetinghouse, which was never transferred to Friends. Probably the ongoing Nicholite Society continued to use this building as long as the Society continued to be an active body or as long as the building stood. The Quakers in that area, including a number of former Nicholites began meeting in the house of James Wilson, a former Nicholite,⁴ in 1798 and built a meetinghouse of their own in 1802. This Quaker meetinghouse still stands today, on the northern side of the western approach to Denton (and is now the property of the Choptank Electric Cooperative).

Among those Nicholites who applied for Quaker membership in 1797 and were received in 1798 were at least three ministers: James Harris, Elisha Dawson, and Elizabeth Twiford. Harris was immediately recorded as a Friends minister, but died shortly thereafter in 1799. Elisha Dawson, who married James Harris' daughter Lydia, became a well-known Quaker minister, traveling widely under religious concern, through the northeastern section of the United States as well as to England, Ireland and Canada before his 1837 death. Elizabeth Twiford (1770-1844) was the daughter of Nicholites James and Mary Murphy and married Jonathan Twiford in a 1790 Nicholite ceremony. It was about that same year that she made her appearance in the Nicholite ministry.

Elizabeth Twiford first applied for Friends' membership in 1797 and was received on January 11, 1798. Shortly afterwards she requested to be released from that membership. She and her husband "did not feel prepared for that measure [of entering into Friends' membership]; but with some others, continued to assemble for the purpose of Divine worship in their usual way, until most of them were removed by death." This Nicholite remnant continued for some years,

even though there was continuing erosion of the small body. Seth Hill Evitts, who had been Clerk of the Nicholite monthly meeting at the time of the transfer of Northwest Fork meetinghouse was accepted into membership by Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting in 1801. Margaret Emmerson was accepted as a Friend in 1803, and Elijah Cromean, who was Clerk of the Nicholite Monthly Meeting in 1803, was received by Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting in January 1805. Beauchamp Stanton and his children also became Quakers in 1805, but there is no mention of his wife Deborah (probably the sister of Elizabeth Twiford) asking for Friends' membership. Some of the Kelly, Williams, and Foxwell families were accepted in 1806 and 1810. Finally, early in 1819, Elizabeth and Jonathan Twiford asked for membership and were received — after most of the remaining Nicholites had died.⁸³ There were still a few Nicholites, however, who held on to that membership until the end. Wilson Tylor, early in the twentieth century, wrote that he remembered very well a "quaint old bachelor" named Elisha Wilson who attended Tuckahoe Neck Friends Meetinghouse near Denton but never desired Friends' membership. Tylor reported that Elisha Wilson, who died during the Civil War, had been called the last living representative of the Nicholites.⁸⁴ Thus, with his death, the Nicholite movement completely ceased to exist just about one century after it first came into existence.

¹Kenneth L. Carroll, "Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (1950), 47-61; "More About the Nicholites," *Ibid.*, XLVI (1951), 278-289; "Additional Nicholites Records," *Ibid.*, LII (1957), 74-80; "Joseph Nichols of Delaware: an Eighteenth Century Religious Leader," *Delaware History*, VII (1956), 37-48; "The Nicholites Become Quakers: An Example of Unity in Disunion," *The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, XLVII (1958), 3-19; "The Nicholites of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXI (1954), 453-462; "The Influence of John Woolman on Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites," in Anna Brinton (ed.), *Then and Now; Quaker Essays* Philadelphia, 1960), 168-179; and *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites: A Look at the "New Quakers" of Maryland, Delaware, North and South Carolina* (Easton, Md., 1962).

²Kenneth L. Carroll, "Some Thoughts on the Quaker Revival of 1756," *Quaker History*, LXV (1976), 63-80.

³Isaac and John Comly (eds.), *Friends' Miscellany* (Philadelphia, 1833), IV, 256-257. *Ibid.*, IV, 242.

⁴*Memorials Concerning Deceased Friends* (Philadelphia, 1821), p. 91.

⁵Benjamin Mifflin, "A Journal of a Journey from Philada (*sic*) to the Cedar Swamps and Back, 1764", *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LII (1928, 131-132.

⁷William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (n.p., 1878), V, 114. Italics added. Concerning James Nayler, cf. William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, second edition, ed. by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, 1955), 238-277 and *passim*.

§Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 124. Italics added. This letter, written from New York, is dated December 1, 1766. In his 1764 letter Inglis had reported that there were 150 families confessing themselves to be Church of England members in these two congregations.

⁹Amelia Mott Gummere (ed.), *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 271-272.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹¹*Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 243

¹²Rachel Wilson, "Journal of Visit to America," p. 216. This manuscript journal is found in Friends House Library, London.

¹³*Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 256. Hopkins wrote, "My acquaintance with Joseph Nichols commenced somewhere about the year 1764 or 1765, when I was about twenty-three years of age, and continued during the space of seven or eight years; in which time considerable intimacy subsisted between us, I being, as it were, his son in the faith. He appeared to me to be between thirty and forty years of age. In stature, he was about middle size, dressed very plain, *principally in undyed clothes.*" (Italics added).

¹⁴The date at which Woolman himself began to wear undyed clothes is unknown. Joshua Evans is known to have adopted his practice in 1762.

¹⁵Kent County (Delaware) Deeds, Liber R, folios 85, 207. These records are found in the Kenty County Court House, Dover, Delaware.

¹⁶Kenneth L. Carroll, "Religious Influences on the Manumission of Slaves in Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LVI (1961), 176-197, especially pp. 183-186. Cf. *Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 243, where Lambert Hopkins reports that Nichols "was the first man in these parts who preached against the evil of slaveholding; so far did his conscientious scruples extend that he avoided putting up at places where the labour was done by slaves. His testimony in this respect met with some opposition, and even members of the Society of Friends opposed him; but it happened a short time afterwards, two Friends [Woolman and Sleeper] came down on foot and publically preached against the evil of slavery. Friends then received that testimony which they had refused from Joseph, and in a few years it became general among them to free their negroes."

¹⁷Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 39-40, contains the Nicholite rules of discipline.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 41-43, contains a copy of the Nicholite queries.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 80-81, contains the names of sixty-one Nicholite couples married between 1766 and 1800, with the earliest being that of Isaac Charles and Nancy Payne. Pp. 84-90 contain the names of almost three hundred and fifty witnesses to these Nicholite marriages.

²⁰*Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 259-260.

²¹Nicholite Petition to the General Assembly of North Carolina (Legislative Papers, House of Commons, 1778), p. 2. This original document is preserved at the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.

²²Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, p. 34, contains this decision to organize.

²³Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism: Being Extracts from the Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Meetings Composing It, to which is Prefixed an Account of Their First Establishment* (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 419.

²⁴Land Records of Caroline County, Liber B, folio 26, found in the Caroline County Court House, Denton, Maryland.

²⁵Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, p. 38.

²⁶Elmer T. Clark (ed.), *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury* (Nashville, 1958), I,

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282, 331, 336, 337; Nathan Bants, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson: Compiled from His Printed and Manuscript Journals, and Other Authentic Documents* (New York, 1833), pp. 90-91.

²⁷Only the birth and marriage records appear to be extant. They have been published in Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 41-42. Concerning Nicholite asceticism and self-denial, see especially pp. 30-31.

³⁰*Laws of Maryland Made Since M, DCC, LXIII, Consisting of Acts of Assembly Under Proprietary Government Etc.* (Annapolis, 1783), Laws of 1783, Chapter 18.

³¹Paris Chipman was the son of Paris Chipman of Sussex County, Delaware.

³²Guilford County Deeds, I (1771-1778), 348, 349. A microfilm copy is available at the State Archives, Raleigh, N. C.

³³Guilford County Deeds, I, 474, records a fifty acre sale by Standley to William Charles, witnessed by Levin Charles and Eli Crene (Crain?). Cf. *Ibid.*, II (1779-1783), 351, for a sale from William Charles to Joseph Standley, witnessed by Valentine Pegg and Levin Wright, involving land next to Standley's dwelling house. Standley may have bought land in Guilford as well as 1775 (*Ibid.*, I, 315), although there is the possibility that this deed was to Quaker Joseph Stanley.

³⁴Nicholite Petition, p. 2. Cf. Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 48-50, for a copy of this petition and the names of its signers. Others of the Delaware Caldwell family have come to North Carolina for a time, but it did *not* include David Caldwell the clergyman and patriot.

³⁵Mary Nichols had three children by Joseph Nichols, but her son Issac (1758-1773) and one of her two daughters (Rachel and Rhoda) were already deceased before her remarriage. Cf. Administration Accounts filed in the estate of Joseph Nichols, Archives Vol. A, p. 226 (Hall of Records, Dover, Delaware). The wedding certificate for Levin Charles and Mary Nichols was not copied into the volume of Nicholite marriage certificates, and there are no births of children listed for them in the volume of birth records. Cf. Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 72-81. The 1790 census shows Levin Charles with three white males over sixteen, three under sixteen, and four females.

³⁶Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, p. 73. William Charles' 1796 Guilford County Will lists his wife Leah, four sons: William, Solomon, Reubin, and Isaac, and four daughters: Sarah, Mary, Anna, and Leah. Elijah Charles was one of the three witnesses to this will. Cf. Guilford County Wills, A (1798-1801), 50 (file - .057).

³⁷*Heads of Families, First Census of the United States, 1790, State of North Carolina* (Washington, 1908), p. 154. Guilford County Deeds, IV (1786-1787), 6, 128; V (1788-1795), 459, 571. Land Grants, Number 287 (Book number 33, p. 335), Guilford County, shows a land grant for 181 acres to Elisha Charles on Deep River, entered in 1778 and issued 1780 — Land Grants Office, Raleigh, N. C.

³⁸Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 73, 80; Guilford County Deeds, V (1788-1795), 273; *1790 North Carolina Census*, p. 173; Cf. *1790 North Carolina Census*, p. 152, for a George Covey in the Salisbury District of Guilford County (listed in the first column, surrounded by a number of Nicholite families). Were George and William brothers of Noble Covey? Dr. Kenneth A. Hovey tells me that Noble Covey's Rowan County will (which I have not seen) mentions three daughters: Rhoda Covey, Rebecca Buckingham, and Sarah Sapp.

³⁹Guilford County Wills, A (1799-1801). 76 (file - .080). I have used the microfilm copy at the State Archives in Raleigh.

⁴⁰See Land Grants for Guilford County, grants number 1302 (entry number 895, Book 65, page 72) and 1389 (entry number 894, Book 65, p. 108), Land Grants Office, Raleigh. These grants were entered in 1778 and issued in 1787. Chainbearers included James Caldwell, Elisha Charles, and Valentine Pegg.

⁴¹Guilford County Deeds, V, 185.

⁴²Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 26, 27, 47, 52, 75, 80, 87. Cf. Elizabeth Petty Bentley, *Index to the 1800 Census of North Carolina* (Baltimore, 1977), p. 177, for a listing of Elizabeth Linager in Guilford County (p. 687, with members of the Charles, Chipman, Horney, and Pegg families listed nearby on pp. 686-687).

⁴³Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 14, 32, 76, 87. The 1790 North Carolina Census does not list Isaac Nichols in Guilford County, but he does appear in the 1800 Census (p. 687).

⁴⁴1790 North Carolina Census, p. 152.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 153, shows a total of ten in the Benjamin Shaw household. There were other Shaw families living in the Salisbury district of Guilford County who may possibly have been related (Cf. *Ibid.*, 151 for Patrick Shaw and p. 154 for Hugh Shaw). The Shaws were a large Delaware family. I am grateful to Dr. Kenneth A. Hovey for calling his family to my attention.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 152; Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 28, 88. Florence was often used as a man's name in Irish families.

⁴⁷Guilford County Deeds, II, 347, 349, 351; IV, 315, 526; V, 60; Land Grant Number 1499 (Entry number 1119, Book 65, page 144), Land Grants Office, Raleigh. Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 28, 57, 78, 80, 90, 98, 99, shows *Levin* to have been a popular name among the Wrights. *Levin* was widely used among families on the lower and central Eastern Shore, probably because many of them were descended from Levin Denwood, prominent seventeenth century Quaker. Cf. 1790 North Carolina Census, p. 153.

⁴⁸All of these families were also to be found in Delaware and Maryland, and the names are often found in Nicholite records also.

⁴⁹Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 110.

⁵⁰Guilford County Deeds, VI, 237-238. I am grateful to Carole Treadway of Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, and Fred Hughes for calling this recently discovered deed to my attention.

⁵¹Cf. William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of America Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, 1936), I, 803, where Elizabeth Sanders married Paris Chipman (1790); I, 818, where Elizabeth Hiatt married Jeffrey Horney.

⁵²Orange County Wills, Book B. pp. 162-164. This 1792 will by Daniel Sullivan (*sic*) was written and probated the same year. Cf. Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 77, 80, 87. Edmond Melvin and John Melvin were witnesses to Sullivan's will. The Sullivan children listed in the will are the same as those on p. 77 in *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, with one addition, Edmund (apparently born after the family moved to North Carolina).

⁵³Jonathan and Mary (Charles) Marine had five children by 1793; Jonathan, John, Charles, Jesse, and Mary.

⁵⁴The Beacham children in 1792 were Henry, John, William, Charles, Curtis, Levi, Ellick, Matthew, Rufus, and Milcah (Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, I, 798).

⁵⁵Jarvis and Rebecca Stafford's children were Shadrack, Levin, Ann, Sarah, Levisa, and Teecy (*Ibid.*, I, 837).

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, I, 891, 1070.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, I, 837.

Another Look at the Nicholites

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, I, 826, Elizabeth Beacham and her daughter Milcah were not accepted until 1795.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, I, 824. Cf. Henry J. Cadbury, "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends," *Journal of Negro History*, XXI (1936), 177. Isaac Linegar several times between 1803 and 1814 moved back and forth between Piney Grove Monthly Meeting in Marlboro County, S. C. and Deep River Monthly Meeting in North Carolina — Cf. Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, I, 487, 1070.

⁶⁰New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes, III, 274 (2nd of 12th Month, 1793).

⁶¹Some of the former Nicholites, perhaps including members of the Adams and Dawson families, were quite active in this monthly meeting. Some were disowned for the usual reasons, and some, like the Marines, moved on to Ohio and Indiana. Members of the Adams, Cranor, Sullivan, Willis, and Wright families living in this area may have been a part of this Nicholite community. Cf. *Heads of Families At the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: South Carolina* (Washington, 1908), pp. 45-57.

⁶²Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, I, 875. Cf. I, 852 for the names and births of these children. William Charles, it will be remembered, was one of the signers of the Nicholite Petition.

⁶³*Ibid.*, I, 583. Accepted on July 31, 1790, were Levin Wright and his children: Charles, Elijah, Elizabeth, William, and Henry.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, I, 570. Their children were William Matthew, Sarah, John, James, Noble, Rhoda, Elizabeth, and Aaron.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, I, 833. Most of these then moved on to Ohio and Indiana.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, I, 818.

⁶⁷Joshua Evans, *Journal* (manuscript), p. 234. Evans notes that on the 6th of the 6th month, 1797, "I had two favoured meetings among a People dwelling in this Country [North Carolina] called Nicolites. The first and largest of them was attended by other People, as general notice was spread. At the Close thereof I informed them I would be glad to meet with them and their children by themselves. In about half an hour after the end of the first meeting, they therefore came together again; A solid instructive Season it was. They appear to be a plain sober People; are reputed honest in their dealings & otherwise maintain a pretty good character." Cf. p. 281, where Evans discusses the Maryland Nicholites in the 11th Month, 1797, "I had next day a Meeting among the people called Nicholites, it was but small, and a low time; For I was afraid they were looking back and going into the vain Customs of the world; or departing from that which the Lord had once favoured them to see was right to practice & ingage in regard to humble simplicity of life. I had heard a pretty good account of these People; and had seen some of their sort in North Carolina, who were an exemplary People. Are not these in Maryland going too much into the limitation of the People of the world in dress, houses, and house furniture? I understand they have requested to be joined as a body with our Society. I have told some friends that perhaps this was from a view of more liberty, and that I was doubtful whether it would be for the better. And I believe it will require weighty consideration. The next day I had another meeting among that people, which I thought was a low time." This manuscript *Journal* (in six volumes) is found in the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Cf. Job Scott, *Journal* (Manuscript), pp. 362-364, for an additional to the 1797 New York edition of Scott's *Journal*, in which Scott deals with the situation of the Maryland Nicholites. This manuscript *Journal* is also found in the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

⁶⁸Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, I, 583.

⁶⁹Richard C. Valentine (ed.), *Travels and Labors of Lorenzo Dow* (New York, 1855), p. 133. Does his phrase "one of the Nicholites" imply that there was a small colony of them

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in this area? Dow does mention the daughter of his host (as a result of her getting the "jerks," a phenomenon of frontier religion that was a particular interest to Dow). I am grateful to Dr. William Williams of Delaware for calling this passage to my attention.

⁷⁰Major Anderson (son of James) came down to North Carolina from Delaware about the beginning of the nineteenth century and then, after a short stay, went on to the mid-west.

⁷¹Diary of John Hunt, quoted in *Proceedings of New Jersey Historical Society*, LIII(1935), p. 38. Regester also gave Hunt an account of their dissenting from Friends." Probably Hunt is the one who used the word "again" (rather than Regester).

⁷²Richard Jordan, Journal, p. 20. This manuscript journal is found in the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Levin was a favorite name in the Wright family, as already noted.

⁷³Letter from the Choptank Abolition Society "to the Convention of Delegates Elected by the abolition Societies in the Several parts of the United States — appointed to be held at Philadelphia the 5th month 1797." This document, dated the 26th of 4th month, 1797, is found at the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia. The Choptank Abolition Society had worked hard to attain or retain the freedom of those whose manumissions were questioned, threatened, or ignored.

⁷⁴Third Haven Minutes, III, 74, 105, 287. These manuscript minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends are now on deposit at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

⁷⁵Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 57-58 lists whose wills were probated in this period. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100, for abstracts of those wills.

⁷⁶*Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 252; Samuel M. Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, from Its Rise to the Year 1828* (Philadelphia, 1833), III, 497, *Memorials* (1821), p. 86.

⁷⁷Isaac Martin, *A Journal of the Life, Travel, Labours and Religious Exercises of Isaac Martin, Late of Rahway, in East Jersey, Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1834), pp. 54-55.

⁷⁸Martha Routh, *Memoir of the Life, Travels, and Religious Experiences of Martha Routh, Written by Herself or Compiled from her Own Narrative* (New York, 1832), p. 174.

⁷⁹Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 63-64, 92-95. Some of the 1800 and 1801 acceptances were by Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting, established in 1800 to serve Carolina County Friends.

⁸⁰Third Haven Minutes, IV, 11-12, 16; Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 1 (now at the Hall of Records, Annapolis).

⁸¹The transfer of these two meetinghouses is recorded in the volume containing the Nicholite birth records (now on deposit at the Hall of Records, Annapolis).

⁸²*Memorials Concerning Deceased Friends* (Philadelphia, 1841), pp. 25-28. ⁸³*Memorials Concerning Deceased Friends, Published by the Direction of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Published by the Direction of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, in the Fifth Month, 1847* (Philadelphia, 1848), pp. 21-26; Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, pp. 66, 94-95.

⁸⁴Ernest Neall Wright, *Peter Wright and Mary Anderson: A Family Record* (Ann Arbor, 1939), p. 127. This book contains a brief article on the Nicholites by Wilson Tylor. Recently I saw Tylor's copy of this article, now in the possession of Tylor's grandson, Dr. Lawrence Claggett of Easton, Maryland.

Early Settlement Of Friends In North Carolina: Traditions And Reminiscences, II

BY
Addison Coffin

This is the second installment of the previously unpublished paper written by Addison Coffin in 1894 at the request of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs. In this installment he continues his description of early Carolina life and history. The remainder of the manuscript will be serialized in forthcoming issues.

The Editors

The Home Life of the Early Carolinians

The home life of the people through all the colonial days was calculated to build up a race of hardy active, fearless independent people, they made all their own implements, manufactured at home all their clothing, tanned their own leather, made their own shoes, saddles, harness, hats, knives, axes, carpenter tools, and the smiths became so expert they could make needles, pins, scissors, and could draw wire fine enough to make cards to card the wool and cotton. Though they lacked many of the luxuries, and some of the comforts of life, their homes were abundantly supplied with the substantials of life. They had not had time to amass wealth and procure luxuries, their time was occupied in clearing land, and overcoming difficulties incident to all pioneer life. In many neighborhoods from 1750 to 1780 there was not a plank floor in the houses, not a feather bed, a riding carriage; nor a side saddle, but it was not so among Friends, they were always in the lead in all domestic and home improvements. The men took a pride in having nice fat horses, of raising the best corn, in having fields of wheat that would hold up their hats when in full head, which was a test of a good crop. When they went to Fayetteville, or Petersburg with a team, they prided themselves in the skill they had in maneuvering their six horses, the intelligence and docility of the fine specimens of horse flesh; and not a few were able to shoulder a flour barrel, and set three on top of each other, on end.

But the greatest triumph of skill and success was in the domestic arrangements in the family, every housewife prided herself on the quality, quantity, beauty and variety of her domestic manufacture.

The best productions of the factories of today do not surpass some of their counterpanes, coverlets, twilled blankets, diaper bed spreads, table cloths, and wall curtains. The solid woolen jeans cloth, especially the steel mixed, many times had a smooth soft finish to it, that is fondly remembered by the survivors of that lost art, yet the greatest inventive ability was displayed in planning and devising new combinations of colored threads, in forming stripes and checks for dresses. Many times the mother and daughters would spend whole days in making combination of colors, to get up something new for winter, or summer dresses, and it was a common practice to collect and exchange "scraps," a small sample of dress patterns; some girls would have a collection of scraps that would be a wonder to this generation. It was almost a universal custom in those days, for the family to sit around the fire after supper, long enough for each member six years old and older to pick enough wool, or cotton to fill their shoe, then the day's work was done. Cotton-gins and carding machines had not been invented, so all had to be done by hand. It was an ambition among girls and grown boys to keep ahead in their shoesfull, so that on certain occasions they could be exempt from the evening picking. The skill that women attained in spinning yarn was truly wonderful, some specimens still preserved of flax linen is equal to the best of the *best* machinery now in use, nor is the quantity spun in a day any less a wonder than the steps taken in spinning. Twelve *cuts* a day was the standard day's work, but many active, ambitious girls sometimes reached twenty-four, thirty, and sometimes thirty-six cuts, yet his number does not give us the correct idea of the feat. In spinning wool and cotton on the big wheel the average length of each thread drawn out was three yards, some experts could draw a perfect thread five yards long; to spin thirty-six cuts required walking a distance equivalent to forty-five miles; the twelve cuts a day included the carding of the material spun, the thirty-six cuts did not, only included reeling into skeins. It was the ambition of every mother to have a good feather bed, with covers enough to last for several years, for each daughter, and *covers* for a bed for each son; some of the covers were so well made that they would last twenty to thirty years in constant use. Poor girls had an ambition to work for their bed, and not marry till they got it. Many girls worked for twelve and half cents a day, or fifty cents a week, including their meals, going home to sleep; many times they established such a good character that the sons of their employer married them and made happy homes.

Many times large families grew up in a house of two rooms and an

attic, with kitchen attached, who in after years took front rank in the world in every department of church and state, and it was amid such home life, and amid such environment that the Friends of N. C., laid the foundation of such world wide influence.

From 1660 to 1750 a large majority of the houses were built of logs, those intended for permanent homes were hewed, some of the more pretentious were hewn but of logs sixteen to twenty inches in diameter, so they would face twelve to fifteen inches, a house built of such had a very tasty and solid appearance, timber cut at the right time of year and kept covered is seemingly imperishable. There are a few houses yet standing one hundred and fifty years old, and still no signs of decay, and it is to be regretted that more of these grand old homes have not been kept from destruction. Their huge stone chimney, and six foot fireplaces would always have been reminders of the grand old home life, which reared such a grand race of nation builders; a home life that can never be restored, and it is an open question whether a better has taken its place. Ever give me that grand old homespun sterling integrity, and depth of human sympathy, to the refined selfishness and cruel falsehood of today.

Items of Early History

In the revised discipline of North Carolina Yearly Meeting 1893, the following history is given. "From the ancient records of the Religious Society of Friends, it appears that a few of their members settled in the Albemarle district of North Carolina (now Perquimans county) about the year 1660."

"They probably came to North Carolina as a land of religious liberty, as about this time rigorous laws were enacted against Quakers in Virginia and New England. The gospel, and the doctrines of this Society relating thereto, were freely preached, and there was a rapid increase to the Society, both by conviction and by emigration. There are accounts of 'General Meetings' and the early establishment of a Quarterly Meeting, held at the house of Henry White, in Albemarle, as Monthly Meetings were in the surrounding neighborhood as early as 1680.

"The establishment of the Yearly Meeting dates from 1698, as by the following record. 'At a Quarterly Meeting held at the house of Henry White, Fourth month, fourth, 1698, it is unanimously agreed by Friends that the last Seventh-day of Seventh month in every year be the Yearly Meeting for this country, at the house of Francis Toms, and the Second-day of the week following to be set apart for business.' And

from that date North Carolina Yearly Meeting has exercised its independent relations, and has maintained regular correspondence with London and other Yearly Meetings.

"Settlements were first made in North Carolina on the sound rivers near the coast, but about the middle of the eighteenth century, a tide of emigration set into the westward, and settlements of Friends were made in Wayne, Randolph, and Guilford counties, forming Contentnea, Western and New Garden Quarterly Meetings. In the year 1786, Western Quarterly Meeting requested 'that the Yearly Meeting be held alternately in the east and west' which 'being weightily considered by the Yearly Meeting was united with,' and the Yearly Meeting was first held at Centre Guilford county in 1787. In 1788 (the Yearly Meeting-house in Old Neck in Perquimans county having been wrecked in a storm) the Yearly Meeting was held at Well's Meeting-house in Perquimans. In 1789 at Centre, a proposition came from Western and New Garden Quarterly Meetings 'that the Yearly Meeting be held alternately to Symon's creek, in Pasquotank county, and at New Garden, Guilford county,' Which was referred to next Yearly Meeting, the minutes of which state, 'The request appears so reasonable that we concur therewith and confirm the same.' Accordingly, the Yearly Meeting was first held at New Garden in 1791, and continued to be held there, and at Symon's Creek, alternately until 1813, and from that date it was held annually at New Garden until 1881, when it was held at Friendsville, Tennessee. Since 1883, the Yearly Meeting has been held at the Yearly Meeting-house in High Point, North Carolina. The meetings of Friends in Tennessee have ever belonged to and constituted a part of North Carolina Yearly Meeting."

In the above history no note is taken of the direct Nantucket immigration, the lack may be accounted for by remembering that the Regulator agitation continued ten to fifteen years, then the Revolution came on. But the chief cause was the opening of the Petersburg and Salisbury road whereby the tide of immigration came in another way from what it had for eighty, or a hundred years, this accounts for the Yearly Meeting being held alternately at New Garden, and permanently located there. The great north of Ireland and Scottish immigration in 1784 to 1788 landed at Petersburg, and were brought to Guilford, Randolph, and Chatham counties by the return wagoners, and sometimes a special trip was made to Petersburg for immigrants, it was in the palmy days of "Wagoning," and the teamsters had a rich harvest, as said before Friends almost monopolized the business, and many added to their heritage by the results; nor was this all, the im-

migrants were kindly treated, honestly advised and directed. Friends in that day were not real estate agents, or members of combines. This treatment made the first, and a lasting impression on the new arrivals, and they ever after went to Friends for advice and counsel in times of trouble and perplexity, and many finally joined the Society.

In the spring of 1790, Ann Jessup of New Garden, a minister among Friends, went to England on a religious visit where she was well received and became popular as a minister and speaker. When she returned in the fall of 1792, she brought home grafts of many kinds of standard varieties of apples, pears, and grape cuttings, together with many kinds of garden seeds and cultivated grass. Abijah Pinson of Guilford county had become an expert in grafting, and had made a specialty of collecting the choice fruits for cultivation. Ann Jessup employed him to graft her cuttings into seedling stocks, in the spring of 1793. In due time the young trees bore fruit and were superior to any then known. Other trees were grafted as fast as the young trees would bear cutting back, and whole orchards were soon grafted in the new fruit.

In the early part of this century, Abijah Pinson moved to Westfield in Surry county and started a large nursery. In the spring of 1806 he came back to New Garden to cut grafts, and to graft and set a new orchard for Ann Jessup. All the grafts were cut from the original of 1793 that they would bear. This fruit had now become so popular that it was sold over wide extent of country. Friends attending the Yearly Meeting were pleased with the new fruit, and had it grafted into their orchards all over the state; many nurseries were started in which none but the importation of 1792 was cultivated. One extensive nursery was started by a Friend near Lynchburg Va., another at Red Lion, fifty miles from Philadelphia, which were stocked from Abijah Pinson's nursery at Westfield. During the great emigration from Guilford and adjoining counties from 1820 to 1826, the emigrants carried grafts of this fruit into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, from whence it has been taken into every state and territory west of the Mississippi.

There were about twenty varieties of apples, among them were Father Abraham, Red pippin, Jannette, or Neverfail, Striped pippin, Red Romanite, Yellow summer pippin, English russet, or Leather coat, Limber twig, White winter pippin, Striped horse, Speckled Pearmain, White winter pearmain, Vandiver, Pearwarden, French pippin, Red winter pearmain, and Golden russet. In 1847, grafts were cut from thirteen varieties of those imported in 1793, and taken to Indiana and grafted into cultivated stocks and were much improved by the change

of climate and soil, some of them are still bearing.

It is something very remarkable how long these varieties have transmitted their characteristics in color, size, flavor and keeping qualities, on such a variety of soils and extremes of climate. In connection with this statement, it should be written that among the seeds brought by Ann Jessup was the "English millet," now the celebrated alfalfa of the Pacific coast. A. P. Boren now (1894) owns and lives on the Ann Jessup farm, one mile north of Guilford College; the alfalfa was still growing on the farm when he purchased it in 1852, as were the apple trees mentioned as being there in 1847. To Ann Jessup, and to Friends, probably belongs the credit of introducing the first cultivated fruit into the southern states, and the alfalfa into the United States, and Guilford county can lay claim to being one of the great fruit centers in the past, as it can today.

In connection with the introduction of cultivated fruit and its cultivation and distribution, the after history of Abijah Pinson will be given as he was a marked character of a large class of pioneers in early days. Through the kindness of John L. Worth of Mt. Airy N. C., I have his traditional history. J. L. Worth states that after Abijah Pinson settled at Westfield he introduced the cultivation of timothy hay, probably procuring the seed from Timothy Hanson, who first discovered the grass near Roanoke, N.C.; and being a Friend distributed the valuable grass through his friends far and wide. At one time when Abijah Pinson enumerated property intrusted to Eli Jessup in 1823, he mentions four stacks of this hay. He was the son of Richard Pinson, a remarkably singular man. Never owned land, thought it should be free as air and water, that every man should have what he needed, without cost. He settled on Big Creek, near Westfield, lived and died there, and was buried in the old burial ground. After his death Abijah returned and secured state grants, one in December 10th, 1790, one December 18th, 1794, covering the improvements his father had made. Abijah would not wear colored cloth, would have no paper money, would not pay land tax, but was wonderful punctual in all his business; was so conscientious and punctual in his religious convictions and duties, that when he got too feeble to attend Meeting, his faithful old horse would jump out of the pasture, go to the Meeting-house on Meeting days, stand by his accustomed tree an hour, and then go home again, he died at a good old age.

During the month of March 1894, I visited the region of Westfield in Surry County, North Carolina, and found much tradition of the "long ago Friends" and a distinct traditional history of the introduction of cultivated fruit by Abijah Pinson, and was pleased to be able to

identify many varieties of apples introduced by Ann Jessup one hundred years ago, and still more remarkable, was told that some trees, in one orchard at least, planted by him were still bearing good fruit, and the place still called "the old Pinson farm." That whole section of county is remarkable for its abundant yield of perfect fruit, and yet it remains almost unknown and undeveloped, yet it is a perpetual monument to the discernment of Friends in selecting valuable locations for settlement. Just over a low lying range of foot hills of the Blue Ridge mountains is a large cove, or basin, called the Hollow, celebrated in early days for its corn and fruit, so sure and reliable were the crops that the state opened a road direct to it, known today as "The Hollow road." Friends at Westfield and adjoining Meeting constructed roads to this state road, one still known as the "Quaker road," and shows much skill and wood craft in its easy grade among the mountains.

At one time Friends were about *all gone* from all that region; but in recent years a new Meeting has been re-established at the old place with very hopeful prospects of its becoming large and permanent. The traditional memory of Friends, now that the curse of slavery is gone, is like the sweet memories of childhood and people gladly listen. The day may come when Friends of the type of Thomas Beals will spring up and restore the waste places, and Friends will again sit under their beautiful fruit trees surrounded by beautiful timothy meadows, and "The Hollow" be restored to its ancient fertility, and Blue Ridge Mission become truly a school of prophets, for the hills are white unto the harvest, and the natives are ready to be gathered.

Another marked and noted pioneer was Thomas Beals, the first minister of the gospel among Friends, who crossed the Ohio river. Through the kindness of Rachel B. Hussey of Richmond, Indiana, I have been furnished the following history of the above minister.

"Memoranda"

"Of the early settlement of Friends in the North-west Territory, and especially of Thomas Beals, who was the first minister of the gospel in the Society of Friends who crossed the Ohio River.

by Gershom Perdue.

"Introduction.

"At the request of my dear Friend, William Foster, of England and Enoch Lewis, of Philadelphia, the following brief and imperfect memoranda has been prepared. It has cost me much time and trouble to collect and arrange the material for it, and I only regret it had not

fallen into the hands of one who could have performed the task better than I have done. It is now published for the first time, in the hope that it may prove interesting and instructive at least to the descendants of the worthy pioneers, whose names are mentioned in it. Both the dear Friends at whose request it was prepared, had gone to their rest before it was completed, it is written in the form of a letter to Wm. Foster.

Gersham Perdue."

"New Martinsburg, Fayette Co., Va., 3/16/71.

"William Foster,

My dear friend,

The first item of family record I have been able to find states: Thomas Beals, the subject of this narrative, was born in Chester Co., Penna. in the third month 1719, son of John and Sarah Beals, formerly Sarah Bowater of the family of Friends of that name in England. Thomas Beals had two brothers John and Bowater, and four sisters, Prudence, married Richard Williams, Sarah, married John Mills, Mary, Married Thomas Hunt, Phebe, married Robert Sumner. John Beals Jr.; married Esther Hunt, Bowater Beals, married Ann Cook, sister to Isaac Cook, husband to Charity Cook. Thomas Beals, married Sarah Ancrim (he is the subject to our narrative.) From that worthy man, John Beals, descended a very large number say some thousands of the members of our widely extended Yearly Meeting of Friends in Indiana, Western, and Iowa (and now 1894, Kansas and Oregon and Wilmington, Ohio) and some yet remain in North Carolina and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings. On many of these descendants precious gifts in the ministry have been conferred. The like gifts of living ministry have been conferred on several directly connected by marriage in the family. Among those of direct descent, were Thomas Beals, Bowater Beals, Sarah Mills, Ruth Hockett, Hannah Cloud, Nathan Hunt, Hannah Baldwin, Elizabeth Bond, Peter Dix, Benajah Hiatt, John Bond, Jesse Williams, Jesse Hockett, all deceased; Asenath Clark, Miriam Mendenhall, Daniel Williams, Eleazer Beals, Asaph Hiatt, Ruth Hasley, Naomi Coffin, Esther Carson and Levi Jessup. (All these are gone except Levi Jessup 1894.) Connected by marriage, William Hunt, Joseph Cloud, Jacob Jackson, Priscilla Hunt, and Dougan Clark, deceased. Calvin Wawson, Sarah M. Hiatt, Benjamin Fulgham and James Owen, (also all gone), and it is presumed several others both deceased and living unknown to the writer.

"From Chester County, as it then was, John Beals, with his family,

moved to Monocacy, Carroll's Manor, Maryland. At what time, or how long they stayed at that place I have no account, but while here, son Thomas married, and from Monocacy they moved to Opequan, near Hopewell, near Winchester, Va. I find it told that John Beals died in the year 1745, three years before the family moved to North Carolina, but did not say where he died, I presume it was in Virginia.

"Thomas Beals moved with his family to North Carolina in the year 1743, being then twenty-nine years old. Resided some time at Cane Creek, then with his family accompanied by two young men, whose names I do not recollect, removed to near New Garden, now Guilford County, where few other white people then lived. Here they were subject to much privation and suffering for the necessaries of life. In a very short time we find Richard Williams, John Mills, John Beals, Bowater Beals, Thomas Hunt and Robert Sumner settling near them. In the year 1753, Thomas Beals being about thirty-four years old, came forth in the ministry, near which time William Hunt, a youth twenty years of age came forth in the ministry, and was largely gifted, he probably lived with his brother Thomas. He married Sarah, daughter of John Mills, granddaughter of John Beals Sen., and mother of Nathan Hunt.

"Here I leave this very interesting little colony with others building up New Garden Monthly Meeting from which many other Meetings soon sprang up and proceed with the narrative of Thomas Beals. How long he lived at New Garden is not known, but presume it was several years. The next move he made was to Westfield, Surry County, N. C. of which I have no date. Here he also assisted in building up a large meeting. The time of his sojourn at New Garden and Westfield was probably nearly forty years; during that time he paid several extensive religious visits to the Indian nation.

"In the year 1775, twenty years before Wayne's treaty with the Indians at Greenville, Thomas Beals accompanied by his nephew Bowater Sumner, William Hiatt, and David Ballard started to pay a religious visit to the Shawnee and Delaware Indians, and some others. After passing the fort not far from Clinch mountain in Virginia, they were arrested and taken back to the fort to be tried for their lives, on charge of being confederates with the hostile Indians. The officers understanding that one of them was a preacher, requested a sermon before the trial. Thomas Beals felt it right to hold a religious meeting with the soldiers; it proved to be a highly favored season. A young man then in the fort was converted, and years after moved among Friends and became a member. In very advanced age bore public testimony to the principles of which he was convinced in the fort. After that precious

meeting the Friends were kindly entertained, and set at liberty to proceed on their journey.

"They crossed the Ohio at some point below Pittsburg into Ohio, and held many meetings with the Indians, to satisfaction and returned home with much peace of mind. Thomas Beals told his friends that he saw with his spiritual eye the seed of Friends scattered all over that good land, and that one day there would be the greatest gathering of Friends in the world, and that his faith was strong that he would live to see Friends settled north of the Ohio river.

"In 1777, Thomas Beals accompanied by William Baldwin, having Isaac Olloman for interpreter, started to make a religious visit to the six nations and some other tribes, and proceeded as far as Sewicly, a small Meeting of Friends in western Pennsylvania, where they were stopped and taken to Hannelstown not far from Fort Pitt, now Pittsburg, and were detained some time and then sent home.

"In 1781, he moved from Westfield to Bluestone, Giles County, Virginia, where he lived but a few years, while there their sufferings were very great in many ways, not only for the necessaries of life, but their son-in-law, James Horton, was taken prisoner by the Indians, and the most reliable information that could be obtained was taken to old Chillicothe, now Frankfort, Ohio, and there put to death. This move to Bluestone was not approved by his friends, for Nathan Hunt says they sent a committee to move him back to Westfield, North Carolina. The little meeting of twenty or thirty families at Bluestone was entirely broken up.

"In 1785, he moved to Lost Creek in Tennessee, and in 1793, he removed to Grayson County, Virginia, at all these places Nathan Hunt states that Thomas Beals set up Meetings, and was very zealous for the support of the testimonies of Friends; a very plain man, and no doubt an instrument in the hands of the Lord in gathering many to righteousness. In 1799, he moved from Grayson County, Va. to Ohio, which place he had visited twenty-five years before, he with his two sons, John and Daniel, settled at Quaker Bottom where a few Friends had located. A Meeting was held in the house of Jesse Baldwin, which they believed was owned by the Master's presence. The nearest Meeting of Friends was Westfield in Pennsylvania.

"In the summer of 1800, Joseph Cloud from North Carolina, and Jacob Jackson from Tennessee, ministers visited Ohio; held their first meeting at George Harlan's at Deerfield. In the spring of 1801, Thomas Beals, Jesse Baldwin, John Beals, Daniel Beals moved from Quaker Bottom with their families and settled on Salt Creek, near the

place now called Adelpia. On the 29th of 8th mo., 1801, Thomas Beals died, and was buried on the 31st near Richmond, Ross County, in a coffin of regular shape hewn out of a solid white walnut tree, by his faithful friend, Jesse Baldwin, assisted by others; the coffin was covered by a slab from the same tree (The coffin was not hollowed by burning as was stated by Mary Howett.)

"Around the grave of this truly devoted man with those of William Pickett, Hugh Moffett, and Sarah Hiatt and others, the Meeting of Sufferings of Indiana Yearly Meeting very recently caused a permanent stone wall to be built where no Friends now reside. A Meeting-house was some time after built on the land belonging to the Moffett family, and a Meeting held for some time. The burial ground at this place, and the one near it first used, were donated by the later owners to the writer, (Gersham Purdue) and at his request the title was made to trustees appointed by Indiana Yearly Meeting, they are both now enclosed.

"In the fall of 1802, Sarah Beals, widow of Thomas Beals, and her two sons John and Daniel, and their families moved from Adelpia, and settled at Lee's Creek near where the town of Leesburg now stands, in Highland County. In the fall of 1803, William Lupton and his wife Barsheba settled with their family. Barsheba Lupton became concerned, and Sarah Beal encouraged Friends to collect together and hold Meetings for worship. A Meeting was opened and continued to be held at the house of John Beals and William Lupton. In the year 1813, Sarah Beals died aged 89 years, on the 7th of 7th mo., and was buried at Fairfield, near Leesburg. John Beals died in Hamilton County, Indiana, Daniel Beals died in Randolph County, Indiana, their ages or date of death not given, but both were aged men.

"Compiled by Gersham Perdue 1863."

Our aged Friend Rachel B. Hussey, a descendant of Thomas Beals, adds this additional information. There were three daughters of Thomas Beals, not especially mentioned in the narrative, with whom I was personally acquainted in my girlhood days, as my mother, Elizabeth Thornburg, was a daughter of Daniel Beals, Elizabeth, Patience and Margaret. Elizabeth married Samuel Bond, she was a minister and lived to a great age, kept her faculties and memory to the last, lived most of her married life and died in Indiana. Patience married Benjamin Carr. Lived and died a valued member of Fairfield Monthly Meeting on Lees Creek, Ohio. Margaret married James

Horton, the one captured by the Indians, at Bluestone, Va.; and was supposed to have been put to death at old Chillecothe, Ohio. The mare that he rode returned to her home in about one year after he left home, this is a remarkable circumstance of horse sense, to make her way across the Ohio river, Big Sandy and Guyandotte rivers and through the mountains. Margaret afterwards married Daniel Huff, lived a valued member of Fairfield Monthly Meeting, Ohio, in her old age moved to Indiana and died in Wayne, or Randolph County.

This narrative gives some idea of the toil, privation, labor, struggle and suffering of the pioneers, both in N. C., and the North-west, Thomas Beals, his faithful wife and devoted family are but a single one among hundreds that might be given, nor was he the only one buried in a log coffin, many were buried with nothing but split boards stood up around them, in a long grave in the forest, or among the lone mountains never to be seen, or marked by loved ones. How much of heroism, suffering and tears is buried away in our lost history!

Report of the Friends Historical Collection 1982-1983

BY

Carole M. Treadway

The 1982-83 year in the Friends Historical Collection was marked by the absence of curator Damon Hickey who was away on a study leave for most of the year. Carole Treadway, bibliographer, provided the necessary staff assistance with the able help of student assistant A. Michie Shaw and library secretary Gertrude Beal. The Collection was thus able to carry on with the basic functions of serving students, faculty, staff, meeting members, and outside researchers; and of collecting, preserving, and interpreting Friends records, publications and private papers. Most sharply curtailed were the development and outreach functions of the work of the Collection, although programs and policies begun in previous years were carried on as much as possible.

Highlights of the year, which are more fully described below, included the formal presentation of the Levering family papers by Miriam Levering, the completion of the reclassification project, and the reorganization of the stack area of the Collection. Damon Hickey earned a Master of Arts degree in history at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and began his studies toward a doctorate in history at the University of South Carolina. Carole Treadway was awarded a Master of Library Science degree, also by the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Outreach

The staff of the Collection spoke to a number of groups and served on a number of committees on behalf of the Collection and of the College. Before leaving on his study leave, Damon Hickey reported to both North Carolina Yearly Meeting and North Carolina Yearly Meeting-Conservative, and was in charge of local arrangements for the highly successful Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists held on the Guilford campus in June. One session of the Conference was held in the Collection with Damon Hickey providing a short talk about the Collection.

In the absence of Damon Hickey, Carole Treadway was named to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Committee on the Care of Yearly

Meeting Records. In addition, she was named convenor of a newly created Records Committee for North Carolina Yearly Meeting-Conservative. Both bodies have the task of informing their constituent meetings of the depository for records in the Collection, and of the services the Collection provides in the collecting, preserving, storing, and accessing of those records. The committees also provide guidelines on the preparation of records by meeting officers and on the use of those records by researchers. Each yearly meeting contributed to the support of the Collection. North Carolina Yearly Meeting Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records met in the Collection for its quarterly meetings. Carole Treadway reported to the Committee at each meeting and spoke on its behalf and that of the Collection to the United Society of Friends Women groups at Marlboro Friends Meeting.

Staff members served as board members of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society which met twice in the Collection, as did the Meeting Histories Committee of the Society. Carole Treadway also was editor pro-tem of the Society's newsletter.

The staff represented the Collection for the College in short talks and tours to the Quaker Admissions group and the "Guilford Today" seminar. The Friends of the Guilford College Library tea and board meeting was held in the Collection giving this group a chance to learn more about the Library's special collections. Carole Treadway was also a member of the Friends Center Steering Committee, representing the Collection's part in the work of this newly approved project.

Development

As noted above, no new work in the area of development of the Collection, aside from the acquisition of materials, was begun this year. Developments begun and reported in the 1981-82 annual report were continued as much as possible, however.

Both yearly meetings supported the Collection financially and, in particular, North Carolina Yearly Meeting continued to provide one-half of the bibliographer's salary, extending the support through 1983-84.

Education

Three Guilford College classes, including two Quakerism classes and one history class, required students to write one or more research papers using Collection resources. Another class used Collection materials for one class session and a number of individual students carried out at least part of their research for class projects and projects of personal interest in the Collection. A short bibliography of introduc-

tory writings on Quakerism for Quaker Awareness Day was prepared by the staff. The staff also set up or assisted in setting up three displays in the library display cases. One class of students from New Garden Friends School met in the Collection for a talk by Damon Hickey on George Mendenhall and anti-slavery efforts of Friends. Resource materials were provided for High Point Friends' Meeting's Spiritual Emphasis Retreat.

It should be noted that use by Guilford College students increased substantially this year, in part due to the fact that three classes required extensive use of Collection materials, two more than in previous years.

Research And Other Services

The increased use of the Collection by Guilford students (up from 57 to 138 uses) has been noted, and research uses in the Collection showed some other interesting shifts during the year. Use by scholars and students from other institutions was much heavier than in the previous year and at about the same percentage of increase as that by Guilford students. Use by Guilford faculty remained about the same while use by genealogists, still the heaviest use, was down somewhat.

Use by non-Guilford students included two students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Wake Forest University who wrote honors papers on Quakers and Reconstruction and on Quakers and slavery in Guilford County respectively. Their research required many day-long visits to the Collection.

Several Quaker scholars were among those scholars from other institutions who used the Collection: Kenneth Carroll of Southern Methodist University spent a week working on materials related to antislavery and on the Nicholites, a Quaker-like sect from Maryland and North Carolina; Forrest Altman of Durham spent a day researching the persecution of Friends in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century; Larry Ingle of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga continued his work on the Hicksite separation and prepared an article for *The Southern Friend* on another topic; William Medlin of Columbia, South Carolina spent several days in the Collection researching Quakers in South Carolina and references to conversion experiences among Friends; Damon Hickey's master's thesis on North Carolina Conservative Quakers was researched in the Collection; and Carole Treadway's study guide for Quaker history and thought is based on Collection holdings.

Members of the North Carolina meetings consulted their meeting records on several occasions in search of memorials and meeting and family history. Seth Hinshaw, author of several books and pamphlets on Quaker history and way of life, spent many days in the Collection preparing for a new book on North Carolina Quakers.

The Collection staff provided assistance to the Development, Public Relations and Publications, Financial Aid and President's offices on numerous occasions in locating photographs and in providing background information on persons who have contributed to the College, endowment funds, trustees, and College property. The staff also assisted in preparing an inventory of College owned artwork.

Services to the community included lending costumes to the High Point Museum for an exhibit, assisting a consultant in developing historically based ideas to promote Quaker Village Shopping Center, and showing librarians from Averitt College in Danville, Virginia how we currently handle meeting and college archives.

The staff continued cooperating with the writers of meeting histories in the series sponsored, in part, by North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Two histories were completed during the year, and one, *New Garden Friends Meeting* by Hiram Hilty, was published.

Acquisitions And Processing

A long standing goal of the Collection was reached this year as the reclassification of the book collection from the Dewey Decimal to the Library of Congress system was virtually completed. Only odds and ends and a few special problems remain to be handled.

As noted above, the Levering family papers, included Miriam Levering's papers pertaining to her work on the Ocean Education Project for the Law of the Sea conferences, were formally presented by her on November 4 with a dinner, a program, and a reception. The Collection has not actually received the bulk of the papers since the Leverings still have need of them, but two items were deposited to initiate the papers.

The resources of the Collection were substantially enhanced by the purchase of microfilm copies of Virginia Yearly Meeting papers including minutes, records, papers, and a manuscript history. Also acquired on microfilm were the records and papers of the Baltimore Association of Friends to Advise and Assist Friends in the South. Those include documents of special importance to North Carolina Quaker and Guilford College history during the Reconstruction period.

Major additions to manuscript collections included the Edna Harvey Joseph genealogical correspondence and notebooks; additions to the Woody family papers; the Jesse Osborn letters, 1832-1835, which describe conditions in North Carolina during the period covered; and John E. Pretlow's account of his experiences as a conscientious objector during the Civil War. Photographs given by Willard Ware illustrate the reconstruction work of the American Friends Service Committee in France in 1919.

Interesting artworks were among the more significant artifacts received during the year. A lithograph apparently made for an exhibition honoring Friends for their assistance to the Viennese people after World War I joined the bronze plaque discovered in 1981 which was executed for the same exhibition in Vienna in 1921. Charcoal portraits of Henry Hammond and Sabina Cox Hammond and their sons, ca. 1885, may be additional examples of the work of High Point artist David L. Clark whose paintings of Nathan Hunt and the 1791 New Garden meeting house are already in the Collection. Three quilts made by Delphina Jane Newlin, 1834-1901, were given. These include a friendship quilt and a quilt which shows a wide variety of quilt patterns. Nathan Hunt's corner in the Research Room was augmented by the addition, on deposit, of his desk and bookcase from the Allen Jay house in High Point.

One costume was received, a black cotton waist worn by Laura Mendenhall Davis, 1854-1881, wife of Guilford professor J. Franklin Davis and daughter of Nereus Mendenhall.

A sharp increase in the number of volumes of meeting records is accounted for only in part by the recording of several volumes actually received in 1980. The major credit for the increase in deposits goes to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records, which, under the leadership of Jewell Farlow, has made a vigorous effort to inform meetings of Collection services and of missing meeting records.

During the summer of 1982 Deborah Donnell continued editing and splicing microfilms of Quaker records and completed refilming defective films.

Staff And Staff Development

As noted earlier, both curator Damon Hickey and bibliographer Carole Treadway completed master's degree requirements at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro during the year and were

awarded Master of Arts in history and Master of Library Science degrees respectively. Damon Hickey's thesis "Bearing the Cross of Plainness: Conservative Quaker Culture in North Carolina" begins to fill the gap in the work on North Carolina Conservative Quaker history, and it has been read with much interest and benefit by a number of researchers in the Collection. Carole Treadway's masters project "A Guide to the Study of Quaker History and Thought", an annotated bibliography of selected sources provides orientation to Quaker studies and scholarship. It is hoped that it will prove to be useful in assisting staff and users in locating relevant materials for research projects and in developing search strategies.

Student assistant A. Michie Shaw, a senior, was vitally important to the successful operation of the Collection during Damon Hickey's absence. Her creativity and initiative, combined with an ability to learn new tasks quickly and carry them out with a minimum of supervision, made it possible for the staff to do more than just hold its own in some areas. She was particularly helpful in planning and carrying out the reorganization of the stacks and in completing the reclassification project. Her farewell gift to the Collection was a student assistant's manual which she conceived, planned, wrote, and typed herself.

Two volunteers also provided valuable assistance during the year. Margaret Michener, resident of Friends Homes, continued faithfully in her indexing tasks. Her work over the course of at least five years has saved the staff countless hours of searching. In the fall, Dorothy (Dottie) Limbach of Dayton, Ohio spent part of each day for about six weeks in volunteer service. An experienced and dedicated amateur genealogist, she assisted with the cataloging of the microfilms of Virginia Yearly Meeting records and corrected the filing in the genealogy card index. She also ably assisted researchers in the Collection on several occasions.

Carole Treadway
Bibliographer

Gifts To The Friends Historical Collection 1982-1983

Adams, Charles

Photograph of a panoramic view of Guilford College students and faculty on campus, framed, 1915. (Given with Don Osborne)

- Allred, Mary Alice Davis
See Pugh, Emily Davis
- Bailey, Mary Margaret Binford
Model of a covered wagon, made by Jesse Henley, ca. 1946.
- Boone, Roger S.
"Some Quaker Families: Scarborough-Haworth", compiled by Roger S. Boone.
- Bundy, Dr. V. Mayo
The Descendants of Neil Culbreth and Martha Autry of Sampson, Co., N. C. by V. Mayo Bundy, 1983.
- Carroll, Kenneth
Documents of South Central Yearly Meeting and some constituent meetings, minutes of the Advisory Committee of Friends World Committee for Consultation; Friends World Committee for Consultation travel journal of Dorothy and Douglas Steere, 1970-71; "Emerging Horizons", address to the Eleventh Triennial Meeting of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, 1970; two books.
- Carver, Larry C.
The Genealogy of Louis Harrison Cartwright and Nellie Gray Smith Cartwright, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1967.
- Chamness, Terry and Ruth
History of the Genealogy of the American Descendants of John and Ann Chamness of London, England, by Zimri Hanson, 1922 (1981 reprint with corrections and additions).
- Chapel Hill Friends Meeting
Twenty four books from the Meeting library.
- Corinth Friends Meeting
Corinth Friends Meeting: One Hundred Years, by Frances R. Neave, 1982.
- Craven, F. Duval
Additions to the Craven papers, 33 items; gift of money; *The Phipps Family of N. C. and Va.*, by F. Duval Craven and John C. Mullins, 1982; *My Word: Put God First*, by J. K. Phipps; *Centennial History of the Phillippi Covered Bridge, 1852-1952*, edited by Eva Margaret Carnes, 1952 (1982 reprint); bulletins of Spring Garden and Greensboro Monthly Meetings.
- Crawford, Sybil
Family records from William Blakely's Bible (typed); family records from Dillon family Bible; *The Dauntless Dillions* by

The Southern Friend

Elaine Genes, 1970 (all photocopies).

Deagon, Ann

Habitats, short stories by Ann Deagon, 1982.

Edgerton, Ethel M.

Photograph of Anna Edgerton Hampton, Mary H. Copeland, and Anna E. C. Fisher, taken at North Carolina Yearly Meeting-Conservative, ca. 1954.

Elder, J. H.

Original marriage certificates of Alfred Hadley and Rhoda Vestal, 1822; and William Hill and Ann Vestal, 1821.

Farlow, Clara

Farlow Family, edited by Clara Farlow, 1982.

Ferrall, Russell B.

History of the Ferralls, UI Fearghaill, and American Genealogy, by Russell B. Ferrall, 1981.

Floyd, Eleanor Blair

Rules and Regulations of the Back Creek and Cedar Fork Debating Society, 1st mo. 1842 (typed copy), and 35 tracts and pamphlets.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College

Guide to Manuscript Collections of Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, 1982.

Gunderson, James

Computer-generated indexes to the Stokes, Surry, Guilford, and Yadkin Historical Documentation maps by Fred Hughes.

Harvey, Judith, Chairperson, Board of New Garden Friends School

Documents and papers of the board of New Garden Friends School.

Haworth, Cecil

Jamestown Friends Meeting bulletins, 1970-1982.

Haworth, Sara Richardson

Scattered issues of *The Greensboro Patriot, 1897-1907* (12), and *Blum's Farmer's and Planter's Almanac, 1917*.

Heiss, Willard

Edna Harvey Joseph genealogical correspondence and notebooks; gift of money.

Henderson, Alfred

Printed minutes of Iowa Yearly Meeting-Conservative, 1977-1981.

Hendricks, Charlie

Additions to Eva Campbell papers including her B.A. diploma from Ohio Wesleyan, and commencement programs.

Hickey, Damon

Charity Cook, by Algie Newlin, 1981.

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker, by Seth Hinshaw, 1982; letter sent to Guilford County School Commission, 1954, supporting racial integration of county schools, signed by Hinshaws and other New Garden Meeting Friends; additions to the Woody family papers including letters and miscellaneous items (37 items); *Questions Quakers Are Asking: A Discussion Guide for Inquiring Friends*, by Seth Hinshaw, 1982 (2).

Hobson, David and Rausie

Graham Friends Meeting directories (2).

Hodgin, J. P., Jr.

48-star U.S. flag given in memory of the donor's brother Ralph, 50-star U.S. flag which was flown over the White House, given in honor of the donor, his wife Lillian, and daughter Christina.

Hole, Helen

146 Quaker books.

Hughes, Fred

Gift of money (proceeds of map sales); seven books including *Architectural Guide, Winston Salem, Forsyth County*, 1978.

Johnson, Lorand

"Some Notes Relating to the Poet-Physician Dr. Arthur Johnson of Caskieben", by L. V. Johnson, 1983; *Heacock Ancestors of Linda May Johnson*, by L. V. Johnson, 1979; *The Frampton Ancestors of Linda May Johnson*, by L. V. Johnson, 1960.

Johnston-Lea, Mildred

Charcoal Portraits (2) of Henry Hammond and Sabina Cox Hammond and their two sons Jesse Monroe and Milo Orlando Hammond, done before 1885.

Lefler, Treva

Two photographs of the gravestone of Isaac Mendenhall (1775-1839) in Schuyler County, Illinois.

Levering, Miriam

First installment of the Levering family papers including a

The Southern Friend

note to Miriam Levering from Eliot Richardson and one copy of the Ocean Education Project special report pertaining to the signing of the Law of the Sea treaty.

Limbach, Dorothy

Contribution of volunteer work September through November 1982.

McAlister, A. W., Jr.

Gift of money.

March, Lewis C.

Thomas Kunders and His Children, by Henry C. Conrad, 1891 (photocopy).

Melvin, Margaret

Black cotton waist worn by Laura Mendenhall Davis, 1854-1881.

Michener, Margaret

Contribution of volunteer work.

Ogburn, Elizabeth

Mary Johnson Hoskins papers, 1895-1898, including letters from Hoskins' sisters Sarah Johnson and Anna Johnson Clark; photograph; copy of accounts of Dr. John M. Clark of Carthage, Inc.; copy of poem "Carolina's Old Field". (8 items)

Osborne, Byron L.

Jesse Osborn papers, 1832-1835, including letters from Samuel H. Osborn of Randolph County, N.C. to his brother Jesse Osborn. (10 items, photocopies)

Osborne, Don

See Adams, Charles.

Perkins, Theodore E.

Miscellaneous pamphlets, programs and memorials of First Friends Meeting, Perkins and Allied Families (working copy); bulletins of First Friends Meeting, 1976-1982.

Pike, Doris

Stranger and Traveler: The Story of Dorothea Dix, American Reformer, by Dorothy Clarke Wilson, 1975; photographs of "Quaker parrots" (6).

Pugh, Emily Davis

Three handmade quilts, probably made by Delphina Jane Newlin, 1834-1903. Given also by Mary Alice Davis Allred.

Rochelle, Herschel B.

Chart of "Descendants of Abraham Farrington and Deborah Kirk" of Columbiana County, Ohio. (Photograph)

Shope, Nathaniel and Anne Schneider

Frederick Boyer notebooks (2); lithograph by Stephanie Krauss, 1921, showing students at the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts repacking rations from England and America for distribution to Viennese children.

Singsen, Mary Ellen

The Quaker Way in Old Westchester, by Mary Ellen Singsen, 1982; and *Quakers in Scarsdale*, by Mary Ellen Singsen, 1978.

Small, Mary Cox

Hoot Owls, Honeysuckle and Hallelujah, by C. Waldo Cox, 1966; audio tapes of C. W. Cox (13); 8 mm film of Cox discussing his book.

Smiley, Jane R.

Reports from the Lake Mohonk Conferences of the Friends of the Indian, 1883-87, 1916, 1929; Index of Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, 1895-1914.

Somerton Monthly Meeting

Panoramic photograph of attenders of the 1952 Friends World Conference at Oxford.

Springfield Memorial Association, by Sarah Richardson Haworth, curator of Springfield Museum. (On deposit, not a gift.)

Nathan Hunt, Jr's account book, 1833; Common School register, Randolph County, District 6, 1870; T. B. Hayworth's account book; tannery record book; desk and bookcase which formerly belonged to Nathan Hunt.

Stoesen, Alexander

Rockingham County: A Brief History, by Lindley S. Butler, 1982.

Strang, Dorothy Sharpless

Marjorie Penney Paschkis papers including a short paper on Yardley Warner and a letter describing the trip Paschkis and her husband took to gather material on Warner (photocopies).

Sydnor, William E.

The Descendants of William Marshburn and Esther Webb of North Carolina, compiled and edited by William E. Sydnor, 1981.

The Southern Friend

Terrell, Tom

"Some Wholesome Exhortations: Henry White's Seventeenth Century Southern Religious Narrative in Verse", edited by Tom Terrell, 1981.

Tucker, Leigh, estate of, by Pat Tucker of Englewood, Florida

Four file drawers of notes on twentieth century English Quakers and other topics, six books related to the same topic; copy of Tucker's doctoral dissertation, "The English Quakers and World War I, 1914-1920".

Ware, Willard

Photographs, postcards, mementos of Ware's relief work with the American Friends Service, 1918-1919, in Buzancy, France. (111 items)

WGHP-TV, High Point, North Carolina

Four videotapes of an interview with Algie Newlin, April, 1981.

Wellons, Lucy G.

Ten Quaker books.

White, Lucile

John E. Pretlow paper: Pretlow's account of his experiences as a conscientious objector during the Civil War, written ca. 1890.

Wilson, Jeanette

Quaker pamphlets; miscellaneous materials of New Garden Friends School; manuscript and printed materials of Friends World Conference, 1967; and Friends World Conference Triennial Conference in Sweden; individual issues of *Friends Library* comprising volume XIII.

Winslow, Raymond A., Jr.

Historical Architecture in Perquimans County, N.C., 1982.

Women's Society of First Friends Meeting

Gift of money.

Wrightsboro Quaker Community Foundation, by Dorothy M. Jones

Wrightsborough 1768, Wrightsboro 1799, McDuffie County, Georgia 1870: Preserving Our Heritage with Records, compiled by Dorothy Jones; and *The Story of Wrightsboro, 1768-1964*, by Pearl S. Baker. (2 copies each)

Chatham Monthly Meeting

Memorial Association

Minutes, 1944-1964

Bible School

Report of the Friends Historical Collection 1982-1983

Register, 1962-1963

1963-1964

1964-1965

1965-1966

Sunday School

Attendance Records, 1966-1967

Class #5 Attendance Records, 1968-1977

Ministry and Counsel

Minutes, 1955-1966

1967-1971

1971-1976

Eastern Quarterly Meeting

Minutes (Clerk's notes), 1957-1978

Women's minutes, 1763-1815

1818-1884 (previously held by Cedar Grove Meeting, Conservative)

Eastern Quarterly Meeting-Conservative

Minutes, 1903-1928

1906-1934 (Note: Years of overlap are clerk's notes.)

Women's minutes, 1903-1928

Glenwood Monthly Meeting

Minutes and papers, 1949-1957

1970-1973

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1969-1981

Graham Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1955-1970

1970-1982

Greensboro Monthly Meeting

United Society of Friends Women

Minutes, 1972-1980

Ministry and Oversight

Minutes, 1915-1923

1923-1933

1933-1938

1938-1949

The Southern Friend

Jack Swamp Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1794-1812

Women's minutes, 1794-1811

Marlboro Monthly Meeting

Membership records, volume IV, 1922-

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

1982 papers including spiritual reports, epistles, and memorials. Slide set and audiotape, "Church Extension in North Carolina Yearly Meeting". Script included.

Oak Grove Monthly Meeting-Conservative

Women's minutes, 1905-1925

Oakland Monthly Meeting

Minutes, 1943-1956

1956-1968

Pilot View Monthly Meeting

Ministry and Counsel

Minutes, 1957-1982

Piney Woods Monthly Meeting

United Society of Friends Women, Bertha White Circle

Minutes and papers, 1960-1982

Plainfield Monthly Meeting

Sabbath School records, 1903-1909

1919-1920

Providence Monthly Meeting

Membership records, volume I, ca. 1912-

Rich Square Monthly Meeting [Note: The following list of minutes includes volumes from the monthly meeting prior to the time of separation and from the Rich Square Monthly Meeting-Conservative after the separation in 1903. These minutes as well as those from Eastern Quarter (Women's minutes), Eastern Quarter-Conservative, Oak Grove Monthly Meeting-Conservative, and Jack Swamp Monthly Meeting had been held at Cedar Grove Meeting House of Rich Square Monthly Meeting-Conservative until 1980 when they were transferred to the Friends Historical Collection. They have not been reported previously. All are listed in the proper alphabetical sequence in this report.]

Report of the Friends Historical Collection 1982-1983

Minutes, 1760-1799
1799-1830
1831-1873
1873-1913(Conservative Meeting minutes begin 1903)
1913-1943 (Conservative)
Women's minutes, 1760-1799
1800-1853
1854-1903
1903-1928 (Conservative)
Clerk's notes, 1879-1890
1897-1910

Rocky River Monthly Meeting
Minutes, 1962-1972

Science Hill Monthly Meeting
Minutes, 1894-1931
Treasurer's records, 1943-1957
1957-1980

Springfield Monthly Meeting
United Society of Friends Women, Night Circle
Minutes, 1966-1981

Surry Quarter
Minutes, 1969-1979
Ministry and Counsel
Minutes, 1944-1980

Union Cross Monthly Meeting
Sunday School
Records, 1914-1919

Up River Monthly Meeting
Missionary Society
Minutes, 1903-1910 (Juvenile Missionary Society)
4th - 10th months, 1911
United Society of Friends Women. Alice Chappell Circle
Minutes, 1951-1976
United Society of Friends Women. Elizabeth White Circle
Minutes, 1955-1978

The Southern Friend

Ministry and Counsel
Minutes, 1963-1967

White Plains Monthly Meeting
Sunday School
Roll Book, 1901-1902

Wilmington Monthly Meeting (North Carolina Yearly Meeting-
Conservative)
Minutes and papers (for temporary deposit)
1974-1980
1980-1982

Documents of Monthly, Quarterly and
Yearly Meetings of North Carolina
Deposited in the Friends Historical Collection
1982-1983

Archdale Monthly Meeting
Minutes, 1948-1956
1957-1964
1965-1971
1972-1975
1975-1976

Cedar Square Monthly Meeting
Minutes (Clerk's notes)
1955-1958
1958-1960
Sunday School
Records, 1929-1930
Accounts, 1964-1970
1970-1976
1976-1979
Ministry and Counsel
Minutes, 1958-1960
1960-1961
1962-1963
1963-1965
1965-1966
1966-1974

Society of Friends Women
Minutes, 1967-1973
1973-1978

Statistics
Acquisitions And Cataloging

New monographs	215(including 104 requiring original cataloging)
Reclassified monographs	424(including 219 requiring original cataloging)
Audio-visual materials	3
Meeting documents	87
Manuscript items or collections received	27
Manuscript items or collections partially or completely cataloged, including some backlog	15
Costumes	1
Artifacts	11
Items added to vertical file	407
Serials - new titles	4

USERS

Visitors	445
Groups	12
Genealogists	254
Guilford College faculty & staff	102
Scholars and other researchers from outside Guilford	112
Guilford students	138
Students from other institutions	66

Correspondence

Primary letters	43
Genealogy	62
Requests for copies	32
Acknowledgments	41
Publication orders	14
Historical research	14
General information	63

Summary of Research in the Friends Historical Collection
1982-1983

North Carolina Friends

Research in preparation for several meeting histories being sponsored jointly by the meetings and North Carolina Friends Historical Society was carried out by the following persons:

Treva Dodd, Leah Hammond, Karen Myatt, Back Creek Meeting
Hiram Hilty, New Garden Meeting
Algie Newlin, Spring Meeting
Frederic Crownfield, Hurley Simpson, White Plains Meeting
Carlton Rowntree, Eastern Quarter Meetings
Cecil Haworth, Deep River Meeting

The staff provided resource materials for the Spiritual Emphasis Retreat at High Point Friends Meeting.

A member of Cedar Square Meeting looked for memorials of the Meeting.

Hazel Murrow of Centre Meeting searched for dates on which the latest meeting house and parsonage were constructed and other matters of recent history.

A person preparing for the Quaker ministry read in the Collection.

Ruth Outland Szittyta continued her research on her grandfather Henry Outland, a prominent Conservative Friends minister.

Seth Hinshaw spent about one day a week researching a wide variety of materials for a book on North Carolina Quakers.

Members of Marlboro Meeting researched their minutes for names of ministers and pastors.

Theodore Perkins continued extensive work on the meeting records of meetings in Contentnea Quarter and on family history.

Friends groups made the following uses of the Collection:

The board of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society met twice in the Research Room, and the Meeting Histories Committee of the Society met once.

The Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting held its quarterly meetings in the room.

A class of New Garden Friends School met in the room for a talk on George Mendenhall and antislavery.

The Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists held one session in the room.

Guilford College Students, Faculty, and Staff

The Quakerism class had an orientation session and were assigned two research papers which required extensive use of the Collection.

Quakerism in the Twentieth Century students were assigned a research paper which required use of the Collection and several of the FHC books were put on reserve for the class.

A class on social change in the History Department had an orientation session in the Collection and studied early Guilford College registration records over a period of time to learn something of how the student body changed.

A student looked at resources on alternatives to imprisonment for a sociology class.

A student sought advice for a research paper on women Guilford graduates.

Betty Ensign cataloged original artwork owned by the College with some assistance from the Collection staff.

An alumna searched *Guilfordians* for material for a class newsletter.

A student read the letters of Marianna Down who was a resident of Mary Hobbs Hall when she was a student here.

Ann Deagon selected diaries and letters of New Garden Boarding School students for a class discussion of nineteenth century student life.

Alexander Stoesen continued his research for a history of the College since 1937.

Donald Millholland continued his reading for his work on Quakerism Methodism.

Damon Hickey wrote his master's thesis from materials in the Collection.

Carole Treadway based her master's project on Collection holdings.

Two students worked on their own family histories in the Collection.

David Stanfield requested information or assistance on several occasions in relation to endowment funds, the Schiffman property, the Osborn papers.

Richard Maybee sought information on Spencer Love and his contributions to the Guilford College Downtown Campus.

Jeanee Williams, JoAnne Jennings and David Owens were provided photographs on several occasions and background information on a variety of topics.

Anthony Gurley of the Financial Aid office requested information on scholarship funds on three occasions.

Requests were received from President Rogers for information on the Farlow and Welborn families in connection with Guilford College, on the connections between Guilford College and Jamestown for a speech, and information on the Wrenn family for personal interest. The staff assisted Jane Bengel in setting up a display of Dickensiana, and Joseph Rosenblum in a display of Books of Hours. The staff prepared a display on John Williams, a missionary to Samoa.

College related tours, teas and meetings were held in the Collection as follows:

The Friends of the Library tea was held in the Collection and the board of the Friends of the Library met in the Collection.

One Guilford Today tour came to the Friends Historical Collection.

The Quaker Admissions group toured the Collection.

Scholars, Students, and Other Researchers from Outside Guilford

A large number of requests for photocopies were received and filled by the staff during the year. The most frequently requested items were meeting records, sections of Besse's *Sufferings of the . . . Quakers*, and chapters from Anthony Purver's translation of the Bible.

The staff researched information on Vera Barnes, a Quaker missionary, for the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill; the staff also provided the North Carolina Collection with copies of several photographs for a book to be entitled *North Carolina Illustrated, 1524-1984*.

Selected papers of Henry Cadbury were copied for Margaret Hope Bacon who is writing a biography of Cadbury.

The staff provided documentation verifying the authenticity of the Collection's Lincoln pass for a collector who has one identical to it. Information about the Collection was sent to Michael Cunningham, editor of *Genealogy Begins with U*.

Two persons requested copies of references to their meeting membership for Social Security.

A survey for the North Carolina Archives Historical Records Repository Survey was completed.

Information on Edward R. Murrow's birthplace was given to John Eastman for *Who Lived Where: A Biographical Guide to Homes and Museums*.

Report of the Friends Historical Collection 1982-1983

- The staff researched and copied material on T. Gilbert Pearson for Oliver Orr of Washington, D.C. who is writing an article on Pearson's early life.
- The staff checked sources for information on Richard Champion, a Quaker potter of England and later South Carolina, for Deborah Olsen.
- Information on locations of North Carolina Friends meetings was provided to Joyce Gibson who is writing a history of Scotland County.
- An interview and tour was given to two librarians from Averitt College, Danville, Virginia who came to see how we handle archives. Costumes were selected for and loaned to the High Point Museum for an exhibit.
- A reporter for the Guilford-Jamestown newspaper interviewed the staff for an article on the Friends Historical Collection.
- Bradford Jenkins, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, researched Jamestown material for a dissertation on Oakdale Cotton Mills.
- Charles Zug, Jr., of the Oral History Program of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, researched meeting minutes to identify North Carolina Quaker potters.
- Fred Hughes continued his research into land, land use, and land fraud and Masonry in colonial North Carolina for his Historic Documentation map series and associated monographs.
- Harley Jolley, historian for the National Park Service, Blue Ridge Parkway, sought information on Civilian Public Service camps located along the Parkway.
- A member of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro Accounting Department studied early College account books for information on early accounting methods.
- Larry Ingle of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga continued his research on Hicksite separations and sought assistance in identifying persons mentioned in a letter he edited for publication in *The Southern Friend*.
- Tim Terrell, a student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, searched meeting records, Allen Jay papers, and other sources for his honors paper on Quakers and Reconstruction.
- Susie Bland, a Wake Forest University student, researched the Mendenhall family for a paper.
- Mary Browning, a local free lance researcher in history and genealogy, looked at Abbotts Creek Church records in the Pearl Idol papers.

The Southern Friend

- William Medlin, a Quaker historian of Columbia, South Carolina, researched topics related to Quakers in South Carolina, conversion experiences of Conservative Friends, and the Dixon family.
- Forrest Altman of Durham, North Carolina studied the persecution of Friends in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century.
- Barbara Brandon Scherenberg looked at English Quaker women's journals in the Collection for references to marriage, child-rearing, and education for a book.
- Jeffrey Crook, a Wake Forest University student, wrote a departmental honors paper on Guilford County Quakers and slavery using, primarily, Meeting for Sufferings papers and Mendenhall material.
- University of North Carolina at Greensboro student Dot Hurley researched Quaker migration.
- Mac Whatley, an architectural historian and librarian in Randolph County, looked at Meeting for Sufferings papers for evidence of Quaker involvement in the cotton mills of Randolph County.
- Two students in the architecture program of North Carolina State University, Clark Bennett and Don Tise, toured the room and interviewed the staff for a class project of designing a rare book library.
- Mike Briggs, a local antique gun collector, examined Quaker guns for a WFMY-TV special.
- Kenneth Carroll of Southern Methodist University spent a week in the Collection reading meeting minutes and other sources for articles on antislavery and on the Nicholite sect.
- Paul Fomberg, a local historic preservation consultant, researched the Jesse Benbow family to assist in his effort to have Benbow's second home listed by the Register of Historic Houses.
- Spencer Watts and Jane Wade, graduate students in the Library Science/Educational Technology Department of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro interviewed the staff for their papers on special collections.
- Linda Morgan, a pastor from High Point, examined Hood Swamp Meeting minutes.
- An advertising consultant looked at Guilford College historical materials, especially photographs, for ideas to promote Quaker Village Shopping Center.
- A local high school student sought assistance in finding information on the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.
- A graduate student from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro sought information on and examples of clothing worn by Dolley Madison.

Report of the Friends Historical Collection 1982-1983

A local resident, Mary Clegg, spent many hours in the Collection reading about Quakerism for personal interest and development.

A reporter for the *Greensboro Daily News and Record* read the letters of Marianna Dow for an article on Mary Hobbs Hall.

A student from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro requested information on New Garden Hall for a report to a class on historic preservation.

The youth minister of Jamestown Baptist Church researched the history of area Quaker churches.

Karen Myatt, a Greensboro historian, read about and looked at photographs of Quaker meeting houses for a class at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

A researcher for the State Archives researched Cane Creek minutes and published sources for material on eighteenth century Quaker family life in order to interpret the John Allen house in the Alamance Battlefield park.

Students, faculty, meeting members, and others all consulted Quaker records and the genealogy collection in search of family history on an almost daily basis. Seldom is the Collection without at least one person working in the Research Room on genealogy.

Recent Books

Hiram H. Hilty. *New Garden Friends Meeting: The Christian People Called Quakers*. Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society; North Carolina Yearly Meeting; New Garden Meeting, 1983. 134 pages. \$6.00.

New Garden Friends Meeting in North Carolina has been probably the most important meeting of Quakerdom south of Baltimore. Cane Creek Meeting is the oldest in the Carolina piedmont, and Springfield was the center of Quaker reconstruction after the Civil War. But North Carolina Yearly Meeting has met at New Garden or across the street at Guilford College all but thirty-five years since 1790. New Garden was the site chosen for the yearly meeting's boarding school in the 1830s. It provided much of the Southern Quaker leadership after the Civil War. Today it is surrounded by other Quaker institutions: Guilford College, the yearly meeting office, Friends Homes, Friendship Meeting, and New Garden Friends School.

The author of any history of New Garden meeting would be faced with several challenges. The interrelationships of the meeting with the larger Friends community, especially the boarding school/college, make it difficult to write a history of the meeting alone. Likewise, there is both too much (on some subjects) and too little (on others) already written about New Garden — a new history requires collating, combining, revising, editing, checking, and expanding earlier studies, along with original research into previously unexplored areas. Then there are the problems that plague any "local church" history: trying to be both scholarly and popular, avoiding unsupported legend, "fleshing out" the inevitable lists of names and dates, relating the church's development to that of the surrounding society, and (a particular concern for Friends) telling the story of the fellowship, not just that of the pastors or the buildings. Local church histories also frequently lack indexes, maps, illustrations, adequate footnotes, and bibliographies.

Suffice it to say that Hiram Hilty's history of New Garden Meeting avoids all of these pitfalls. In doing so, it fills a very important place in Southern Quaker history, and should prove extremely useful to future researchers of matters both large and small. One of this reviewer's more interesting discoveries was that, for several years before hiring its first pastor, New Garden appointed someone each week to speak in

Recent Books

meeting for worship. That fact, if repeated in other meetings, would shed considerable light on the old debate over whether pastors were hired to calm meetings down or to stir them up. It suggests that the process was gradual, growing out of a desire to regularize and order the ministry of the word. Hiram Hilty also provides the reader with a fascinating look at a Southern meeting's theological/sociological development, as he traces New Garden from a dynamic pioneer Quaker fellowship; to a quietistic, sectarian group; to an evangelical church; to a community church; to a congregation with a renewed sense of its Quaker heritage. Reflected in these changes is also the change in the community from rural to village to suburban. Along the way Hiram Hilty does not neglect the exceptional facts of New Garden's experience: the use of the meeting as a hospital after the Revolutionary battle at Guilford Courthouse; the community's involvement in the Underground Railroad; the meeting's intense commitment to education; and more.

Particularly interesting are the concluding chapters on the meeting's recent life, particularly its support of the civil rights movement, which show clearly that the dynamic phase of New Garden's history is by no means at an end. The author is to be particularly congratulated for his forthright discussion of the birth of Friendship Meeting, an unprogrammed meeting nearby which, despite many areas of cooperation, has remained somewhat a competitor as well.

This book is one in a series of local meeting histories sponsored and published by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Because of its subject's significance and the quality of the work, it should be widely purchased.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Frederic R. Crownfield, Hurley T. Simpson, and Margaret E. Crownfield. *White Plains Friends Meeting, 1850-1982*. Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society; North Carolina Yearly Meeting; White Plains Meeting, 1982. 136 pages. \$6.00 (paper).

White Plains Friends Meeting offers a contrast to New Garden (above). The latter was established in the 1750s, while the former came into being almost a century later. White Plains has never been a very large meeting and, located in the northern North Carolina piedmont (almost in Virginia), it has remained relatively isolated. Its particular strengths have lain in the areas of home missions and education, two concerns that became especially prominent in the latter half of the

nineteenth century. Of special interest is the meeting's connection with the Blue Ridge Mission.

The history also offers an insight into a meeting that had paid pastoral leadership almost from the start. Indeed, since the institutional history is not dramatic, this study's particular strength lies in its biographies of a number of important Friends, particularly ministers, about whom little is available elsewhere. In addition to the short biographies in the text there is an appendix listing meeting officers and their dates of service. Footnotes, a short bibliography, and above all an index make this work particularly useful for future researchers. The book is liberally illustrated with photographs, and a map of the area circa 1890 locates the meeting in relation to its surroundings.

This book is a valuable addition to the meeting history series of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Like its predecessors it is very well printed and bound, and should find a place in many meeting, college, public and private libraries.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Stephen A. Marini. *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982. 224 pages. \$16.50.

The best study yet published of religion and the American Revolution, this book will interest students of southern Quaker history because it shows an early case of evangelical interpenetration of Quaker belief, a phenomenon which, in the nineteenth century, would have serious consequences for Friends in the South.

Marini describes the explosion of popular, anti-Calvinist sects who broke the monopoly of Congregationalists and Calvinist Baptists in New England during the late eighteenth century. He focusses on Shakers, Universalists, and Freewill Baptists. Each of these sects was founded by a charismatic leader; in each of them believers moved through a prolonged psychological struggle into a state of ecstatic discovery of the truth. These sects experimented with new forms of institutionalization, all creating small, autonomous, intensely supportive local congregations. In hymnology, they developed a new "language of the soul" which was otherworldly, militant, biblical, and millennial.

Marini does not treat these sects in isolation. He shows that they were part of a religious revival in northern New England which started in Nova Scotia in the 1770s. The social ferment they typified also produced the Mormons in up-state New York and the New England Christian Connection. And in their radical Christocentric

spirituality and perfectionism they shared common ground with many New England Quakers — a development which Marini describes in some detail. Out of the Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting in the Hudson Valley, in the 1730s, came Quaker revivalists inspired by the preaching of George Whitefield. In 1778, two members of this Meeting, David Sands and Aaron Lancaster, toured northern New England exhorting Quakers to new discipline and spirituality and “convinc[ing]” many radical evangelicals to become Quakers. A dozen new Monthly Meetings, composed of their converts, sprang up around Windham, New Hampshire, and Vassalborough, Massachusetts (now Maine). “Sand’s success indicated the readiness of settlers on the frontier to modify their beliefs and follow a faith that promised spiritual transformation and sanctified community,” Marini concludes, and “was but the prelude to a far larger ‘time of refreshing’ among Baptists, Separates, and New Light Congregationalists” in the area. Marini finds a similar symbiotic relationship between Quakers and Jemima Wilkenson’s band of Universal Friends.

“What the radical sects of rural New England achieved,” he concludes, “was nothing less than the creation of alternative cultures, complete models for human life structured by religious priorities and fabricated by a native constituency intent on finding ultimate meaning amid rapid and violent change.” What Marini has achieved is nothing less than a new way of looking at radical Christianity everywhere in American history and life.

Robert M. Calhoun

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

James D. Essig. *The Bonds of Wickedness: American Evangelicals against Slavery, 1770-1808*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982. 224 pages. \$22.50.

Among the major sources of American anti-slavery were, first, Quaker moral sensibility in the middle of the eighteenth century, and then, British evangelicalism from the 1780s onward. This book therefore fills an important gap by locating the beginnings of American evangelical abolitionism in the period when Quakers were still carrying the burden of the struggle and before the example of Wilberforce made itself felt in America.

Essig develops several themes, the “fragility” of the “anti-slavery commitments” of preachers like George Whitefield and Samuel Davies, for one, and the way evangelicalism both advanced and circumscribed religious opposition to slavery, for another. “In groping toward a definition of themselves and their faith in an often troubled

world," he concludes, evangelicals found that slavery "objectified aspects of their personal war against sin." While this discovery brought the full power of their morality to bear on a social issue, it also meant that "they displayed more interest in their own righteousness than in the welfare of the oppressed."

Unfortunately, the brevity and economy — even the lucidity — of this book prevent Essig from exploring that process. The kind of conceptual framework, relating personal and social roots of commitment, which Richard Bauman, Sydney V. James, and David B. Davis employ in their studies of Quaker anti-slavery, is missing here. What evangelical "groping" — an excellent image — meant on issues other than slavery is left to the readers' imagination.

Robert M. Calhoon
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

The Authors

KENNETH LANE CARROLL was born in Easton, Maryland, and received his B. A., B.D., and Ph.D. degrees from Duke University. Since 1952 he has been a member of the Department of Religious Studies of Southern Methodist University, where he holds the rank of professor. Among his best-known works are *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites* (1962) and *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (1970).

ADDISON COFFIN (1822-1897) is remembered for his work as a youth in Guilford County, North Carolina on the Underground Railroad; and for his later work, when he was living in Indiana, as an agent for hundreds of North Carolina Friends who migrated North after the Civil War. In his later years he travelled widely in the United States, Mexico and the Holy Lands. His autobiography, *Life and Travels of Addison Coffin*, is the colorful account of his adventurous life.

CAROLE TREADWAY is Bibliographer of the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College. A graduate of Earlham College, she holds her Master of Library Science from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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

The *Southern Friend* is published semiannually in spring and autumn by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27410. Members of the society, for which the annual dues are \$10.00, receive the journal without charge. Single issues may be purchased for \$3.00 per number.

Editorial Policy

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

Publications Committee

Lindley S. Butler and Damon D. Hickey, editors; Carole M. Treadway, book review editor.

Cover Illustration

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

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“SOME HOLDSOME EXHORTATIONS”:
HENRY WHITE’S
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
SOUTHERN RELIGIOUS NARRATIVE
IN VERSE

by
Thomas E. Terrell, Jr.

The annals of southern colonial literature are not vast, and what exists today from the seventeenth century is primarily a legacy of Virginia writers and Virginian society. One might assume either that literature was not produced in significant quantities in other sections of the colonial South, or that what was produced was not collected or saved. Although both of these hypotheses are partially true, the recent discovery of a poem written in the Albemarle region of North Carolina in 1698 is evidence that more literature was produced in this period and region than has survived. This is the earliest poem known to have been written in the Carolinas and the first southern religious narrative attempted in verse. I discovered the following 302-line poem among the back pages of a book of Quaker monthly meeting minutes in the Quaker Collection at Guilford College in Greensboro, North Carolina.¹ It was written by an obscure Quaker named Henry White. White was a prominent leader in the Quaker community of the Albemarle region, but his biography must be pieced together from a small collection of records and scattered facts.

White was born into an artisan's family in 1642 in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, where his father made a living as a cooper. Both father and son bought land in North Carolina in 1663, approximately fifty miles southeast of Isle of Wight County. The younger White moved to his newly acquired land along the west side of Little River in the Perquimans Precinct at least

This article first appeared in *Early American Literature*, volume 18 (Spring, 1983), reprinted by permission of the author and the publisher. A companion article by the same author, stressing the Quaker element in Henry White's life and poem, will appear in the next issue of *The Southern Friend*.

Thomas E. Terrell, Jr. received his B.A. degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and his M.A. from the University of Chicago. He is currently a law student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

as early as 1679, but probably much earlier. Here he built a plantation where he was to remain for the rest of his life. Between 1672 and 1679 he was converted to Quakerism through the efforts of William Edmundson and George Fox, Quaker ministers who traveled throughout the region planting the seeds of their faith. White became one of the first members of Little River preparative meeting, which was one of five Friends meetings that composed the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting. For many years he served as "registrer" (recording clerk) of this nascent Quaker community and opened his home for worship and for monthly meetings for business. The monthly meeting met in his home every second month until 1707, when the first meeting house was built on land that adjoined his own. His local status probably extended somewhat beyond the immediate community controlled largely by Quakers, for he also served on the North Carolina Higher Court and, for short periods for time, on the precinct county court.²

Knowledge of White's educational background is also sketchy. It is likely that he attended school in Virginia during his early years. Literacy in the Virginia colony was apparently quite high, even among the nonlanded and artisan classes, and several small free schools have operated in Isle of Wight County since the early seventeenth century.³ Whether he was exposed to classical subjects and to an Anglican religious training in addition to more basic subjects is not known. In any case, it is probable that he was familiar with belletristic or religious verse from his early years in Virginia and that it was this verse that later served as a model for his own lengthy religious narrative.

White's poem, written in rhymed couplet and relating the story of the fall of man and his salvation through Christ, cannot be compared in quality with poems by such New Englanders as Edward Taylor or Michael Wigglesworth, even with the writing of the later Virginia poet Charles Hansford. But because it is the only surviving seventeenth-century southern poem from the area outside of Virginia,⁴ it deserves careful examination. Does it provide new insights into the literature of the colonial South? How are we to interpret it in light of the larger body of literature from this period?

Although there are scarcely enough extant literary samples from the seventeenth-century South to establish a common tradition, especially in poetry, White's poem is more noteworthy for its departures from what few norms were established than for its similarities with earlier or contemporary works. Unlike the earliest of southern poetic works (such as Richard Rich's poetic description of an expedition to Virginia in 1610) and also unlike prose works of the same period, this poem is not concerned with promoting or describing the New World to a European audience. Nor is it similar to earlier works dealing with themes of exploration or details of specific events, such as Bacon's Rebellion, which was the subject of at least one anonymous poem. These and other scattered examples of southern colonial

verse and prose are primarily didactic and secular. They avoid moral statements and theological themes and are not notably introspective.

Because this is the earliest southern poem with a distinct theological dimension, and because it stands geographically apart from other American works of its type in this period, the question of its significance in the tradition of southern literature is subordinate to the prior question of how it came to be in the first place. Although it was written, as far as we know, without any indigenous precedent, it is not as enigmatic or anomalous as it may seem at first glance. A brief exploration of the cultural context from which it emerged will help place White's poem within its proper historical and religious milieu.

The poem is a modest attempt to use a common English verse form to convey a religious message. This practice was not uncommon in the New England colonies but was unknown in the South. For White, the poem may have served as a personal celebration of the Christian faith as well as a personal testimony to others; perhaps, however, these are not the sole reasons why White chose to versify his thoughts. His heavy use of straight biblical narrative interspersed with his own "holsom exhortations" is certainly sermonic. And his use of lines with varying numbers of feet and unpredictable meter may further indicate that his purposes were more didactic and less belletristic.

It is likely that White, as a religious leader, wrote the poem to instruct members of his community in the ways of the Quaker faith. But because the Quaker meeting for worship hardly would have been a proper place for a poetry reading, it is possible that the poem was read in a more secular setting. Since White was obviously literate, it is not unlikely that he also served part-time as a teacher in the community and that the poem was used in a classroom. Supporting this hypothesis are what appear to be "practice" signatures of his daughter Damaris White on the last page of the poem. Also found on the last page are two short verses, at least one written by someone other than a family member:

Deborah Fisher is my name and with
my Pen i wright the same.

And on a separate part of the page:

If ink and paper would afford I wold
doe this wrighting with my accord.

These verses and signatures at least suggest that the poem was available while other instruction was taking place.

A final clue to White's motive for writing the poem is a curious one. The poem is preceded in the Symond's Creek Monthly Meeting minute book by an epistle to "frinds everywhere" from the North Carolina Friends. It was signed by Henry White who, by all indications, was its author as well. In the early years of the expanding Quaker movement, epistles were a common

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means of communication between Quaker groups in various geographical regions. They provided spiritual and organizational links within the larger body, links similar to those provided by the epistles of the early church. What follows is the introduction White wrote to the epistle.

From North Carolina or Ronake a shorte apesell of love and good will to frinds everywhere sent forth as the wedos might for the comforting consalating and care of the flocke of god and allsoe a few words in a verse concerning the fall of man and how thay went from god in the fall and allsoe conserning Restoration by Crist Jesus and his glorious aperance and some wholsom exhortations for every one to take notis of given forth by one who has love in his harte to all mankind and desirs and breaths in his harte and soul that all may com to the knowlege of god which is life eternall and am known by the name of henry white.

There is no reason to assume that the poem accompanied the epistle to "frinds everywhere". Indeed, both poem and epistle may be later transcriptions collected in a common book. This hypothesis might explain why White (or the transcriber) records virtually the same introductory paragraph twice: once before the epistle, and again between the epistle and the poem itself. It is possible, however, that White wrote the poem with the intention of sending it with an epistle to Quaker areas in such places as Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and London. Although this was not a common practice, neither would it have been improper. Even in light of the scarcity of poetry in the South in the seventeenth century and the near absence of *religious* poetry, the possibility that White intended to send a "poetic epistle" is not farfetched and may help to explain why he used this medium to convey his message.

Religious verse at this time was not uncommon among English Friends, although it was much less common among Friends in the colonies. Early Quaker evangelists frequently opened or closed their religious tracts and essays with a message in verse.³ Although we have no evidence that any of these early tracts were owned by North Carolina Friends, or that any of them ever found their way to the coastal areas of North Carolina, it is likely that they did circulate there. It is possible, therefore, that White was following the example of his Quaker counterparts in England by writing his own poem, and, in this case, deciding also to send it with an epistle to other Friends.

Even if this were the case, one must be careful in trying to gauge the influence of Friends from outside the Albemarle region upon this small colonial community and in assuming similarities of thought between North Carolina Friends and those elsewhere. Although the Quakers in Albemarle were converted by Friends from England and were occasionally visited by traveling Quaker ministers, the peculiar situation of the North Carolina Friends in some ways disallowed a uniformity of religious belief and

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experience with their counterparts to the north and across the Atlantic.

The religious experiences of the North Carolina Quakers were not molded by the political, social, and economic unrest of Puritan England. They had escaped persecution altogether, both in England and in the colonies. Instead, these people were converts in the American mission field who had only intermittent contact with the larger body of Friends through occasional epistles and traveling ministers. As the first religious group to establish themselves and to flourish in North Carolina, they were, for a while, isolated from most other traditions and were even able to gain control of the colonial government under Governor John Archdale, a Friend himself. The main points of intersection between this group and the larger body, it seems, were theological not experiential. The theological similarities become clear when a distinctly Quaker viewpoint emerges in the poem in a few places. In the opening lines, for example, there are two references to "the light":

and eke thy cheldren feed
thy tender babs to carry one
by vertue of thy onely Sone
who thou hast sent for those
that dont thy light opose

The second reference is more specifically Quaker in that the light is revelatory of God's will and helps to cleanse one of "all heden sins":

but for the wiked thy soul doth hate
ther actions all abomynate
and will my soul doth know
be honered in ther overthrow
if that thay dont with speed repent
and com to Crist whom thou hast sent
into the world a blesed light
to open the blind eye and giving sight
to them that loves and knows it cheks
all heden sins it reprove and corectes

The passage that most clearly presents a Quaker theological stance is the following, which claims that God's will is manifested inwardly:

this is a day he may be founde
waite enwardly to here his sound
for what is to be known of God is manifest
in man: that is our chefest test
and rule of life for to walke by

Except for these specific references, the thrust of the whole poem is not decidedly Quaker in any narrow religious sense. Instead, it belongs to a broader genre in which such religious themes as the experience of conversion, the calling of men to Christ, an ever-present God whose work is made evident in every day's events, and reliance upon Scripture were emphasized not only by Quakers but also by Puritan and other Protestant and dissenting groups in England and other parts of Europe.

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The apocalyptic, victorious tone that is prevalent from about the middle of the poem onward does recall the attitude and message of Friends a quarter century earlier who were convinced that the seed of Christ had risen in them and who felt called to carry the news to all corners of the globe, preaching their message and preparing the way for Christ's return. But while White seems to adopt the Quakers' earlier apocalyptic view in the poem ("o com therefore doe not delaye/for this is now the longe desired day/ for he is com y^t we have waited long to see"), nothing else in his life indicates that he or any other Albemarle Friend still preached Christ's imminent return. By dwelling at length upon man's salvation in Christ, however, White does distance himself somewhat from most American religious poetry up to his time.

It is not surprising that White's poem shows little or no Anglican influence, for the difference between his religious convictions and those of the Anglican colonials to the north is highlighted by other geographical, political, and cultural differences between the two neighbors—one established and the other quite new and undeveloped. While his poem demonstrates that there was a southern religious and literary life flourishing outside the boundaries of the Virginia settlement in the seventeenth century, it is also a reminder that the colonial South was not as homogenous as historians sometimes imply. Much of its diversity, however, remains hidden in unpublished, undiscovered manuscripts such as this.

A few words conserning the fall of man: and how thay wente from god in the fall and allsoe conserning the restoration by Christ Jesus and his glorious aperance: and some holsom exhortations for everyone to take notis of wrighten in verse by one who hath love in his harte to all mankind and desirs and breath in his harte and soule that all may come to the knowleg of god: and known by the name of this 11 day of the 3 month 1698 henry white

help Lord the godly doth decay

thy precepts for to obey

thy aid I supplicate

the wiked's prid for to abate

and bring it down with speed

and eke thy cheldren feed

thy tender babs to carry one

by vertue of thy onely Sone

who thou hast sent for those

that dont thy light opose

and that obedient are

to thee with godly fere

5

10

thou with them then delever
and keep ther souls forever
but for the wiked thy soul doth hate 15
ther actions all abomynate
and will my soul doth know
be honored in ther overthrow
if that they dont with speed repent
and com to Crist whom thou hast sent 20
into the world a blesed light
to open the blind eye and giving sight
to them that loves and knows it cheks
all heden sins it reprove and corects
all that will com and him obeay 25
he will with sions robe him sure aray
and take away all that will hender
thy body soule and speireit will make tender
and make the feest for habitation
as it was in the first creation 30
before that man did fall by sin
or any temtation did begine
then did god see that all was good
that he had maid as it then stood
in trew obediance all y' god had maid 35
were in the power and him obeyed
thuse the creation stode as it may tell to thee
and all things answered well in swet harmonee
the will of god was trewly then obeaid
and all things in the power that god had maid 40
untell the serpent the sutelest of all
that god had maid both great and small
begone to temt the woman as wee see
to eat the frute of the forbeden tree
and tould her it would make her wise 45
to understand in opening of her eise
and she shuld be as god to knowe
the good and evell here belowe
thuse she obeyed and wente from god
and did procure the allinated Rode 50
of his displeseur because of sin
which did involve mankind ther in
for adam did obeay his wife
and soe he lost his enasent life
because thay both were well agreed 55

the frute to plope and therone feed
then forthwith entered in the shame
and fere for to behould the lord in came
and hiding from this presence who all things sees
in paradize amonst the garden trees 60
and maid them lots of fege levs as tis said
ther nakednes to cover because they disobeyed
and harkened to the serpents voyse as he
wente from the power and enosensee
so^r serpent man and all was then acurst 65
and from the paradize of god then must
be droven out of trew and swete felesty
in to the earth and ther to die
a wofull state thou riall seed
the earth is now thy portion ther to feed 70
thou that wast bled one every side
thy body soul and speireit santifide
now thou must worke thy brous to wete
thy living got by labboring sweat
and be deprived which is thy grefe 75
by thine one sin of gods relefe
a flaming sord is plasd one every side
the tree of life from thee to hide
owoo is me thou that in joy was plasd
thy buty is lost and glory its defasd 80
when the sons of the morning sang for joy
noe ravenest best culd thee any
and all the creation of the lord
joined in the harminy in one acord
and as thou stodest in the power of god 85
thou rulest them all as with a rode
then all the hevenly host did ring
and praisis to ther god did singe
thuse all things in a hevenly sence
stod in the power without ofence 90
and god was known in purity
his workmansheepe to glorifie
o glorious splendor did apere
when all stod in the power without fere
noe fere no shame no paine at all 95
before man disobeaide and soe did fall
from that bled stat that he was maid
death entered in and he decaide

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and soe became an obgett feat 100
of misary and pain as it was meat
and of a plesant noble plane divine
became the seed of a strong degenerat vine
what lamantation shall I take
or can I soroing for the same forsake
noe this my theme in constancy 105
shall be proclamd with watere eie
and never leve my lamentation
for adams lose and his relation
which by his sin did die the death
from glory fell into the earth 110
thou that the tree of life therone did feed
and now becom a degenerate seed
and now art subject for to die
and maid the senke of misary
o wofull state which thou art in 115
subjecte to death and every sin
and is become a cage which is obserd
of every hattful foul unclen beord
and now destructtve misary thee atends
rath indegnation now afends 120
from god the giver of all because of sin
that thou by degeneratation art fallen in
let the hills morne and the earth reall
and glomines be established as a seale
let spings be sory and floods lamente 125
that man is lost and from the power rent
misary is spread the earth it is poluted
the rath of god one it is exsecuted
great confusion and perplexity is come one all
the whole creation travells in pain and shall 130
crie out in grefe in harte and minde
because from god thay are declinde
and tornd aside the serpent to obeay
with sin them selfs for to araye
o innosensie thy day is gone and past 135
thy soroe now apers and is like to last
and thou hast lost thy habitation
which thou wast in the first creation
because thou disobeyed the Lord thy god
thou are like to feele y^e corecting rode 140
of his displesiour and his ire
which thee shall borne with everlasting fire

[and] all thing y^t was maid in y^t creation⁶
[cry] out in paine and make a lamentation
[until] all the hevenly host and angels cry 145
[and] make a noise for the apostasie
[which] man hath brought one him by sin
[_____]
but com methinks I here proclaim
a restorer againe for to be namd 150
as woman plocke the frut and thorn [_____]
how seed shuld bruse the serpents head
which seed is Crist as scription saith
the same that all the holy saw by faith
as good ould Jacub said unto his son 155
the law shuld not depart tell (it is done)
and profets of the lord did planly tell
that he shuld restore his people Esrael
and be a light unto the gentles in his birth
and grante salvation to the ends of y^e earth 160
a restorer of breches to walke in
which adam maid by wofull sin
as by one man sin was sprade
soe by one man it was captive lead
awake awake put on thy power 165
o sion thy butiful garments like a touer
o Jerusalem thou setie of god I mean
the unsercomsised in thee shant loge nor nothing y^{is} unclean
how beutifull upon the mountains are the feet
of him y^t publesheth salvation and will thee meet . 170
and bring good tidings of things thats good
which shall be thy everlasting foode
thy watchmen shall left upe ther ways one hie
and sing for thay shall see thee eie to eie
when that the lord shall bringe againe 175
sions joy with power and might and main
arise shine for thy light is as the day
the glory of the lord is resen I doe say
thy people all shall rightuous bee
the land inherit to eternetey 180
wachmen have I seat upeon thy wall
shall never hould ther pese but still shall call
tell rightuousnes the earth shall fill
and praisis maid one sions hill
and all thy cheldren shall regose 185

singing to thee with harte and voyse
when thou bringest bake Jacobs seed
thy inheritanse doth feed
then shall the earth triumphantly
declare thy works in inosency 190
and shall give glory to thy name
and crie aloud of thy great fame
o holy holy thou covinant of pece
thou stare of Jacub thy mercy will (not cease)
in that thou hast prepared away 195
thy holy child for to obey
and sent him in the world to save
vectoriously redeme and rais out of the grave
the sons of men for to decende
good will and peece to defende 200
[] lovely butifull thou arte
the soule is rarest panting of the harte
after the water broks when he is chast
panteth my soul thy love to []
[he] that from heven cam unto y^e earth 205
[his] body was prepared in it thou tasted death
for all mankind there souls to bringe
[from] adams fall to thee there kinge
soe many as will come to live in thee
from the transgresing nature will seat free 210
and make them heirs with thee to raine
the immortall crowne for to obtaine
which is laide upe for them that need
and are not satisfied without thay feed
one thee and drenke thy presious blode 215
which thou hast shead to be our food
o praisis everlasting praisis is now given
in earth belowe and upe in heven
the powers of heven cry out and sing
and doe rejoys in thee ther kinge 220
the earth and all the creturs yⁱ is there
the power and wonerfull works declare
the son and mone and comets highe
sing praisis to thy power and magisty
in this thou tookest upon Jacobs seed 225
and thine inheritance did fully feed
the noble and vectorious host of marters sing
magnifiing praising thee thou prest and king

thy saints and all thy army which is great
shout out for joy and wonders doe relate
the lord hath anointed thee wth gladness
and taken from thee all kind of sadness
and sent y^e forth to prech the exseptable yere
to presoners of hoop who did the fere
[] men and [] theren this is the day
com forth thou seed of Jacub doe not stay
arise and come and be thou sattisfied
in god the lord his name be magnified
and drenk deep drafts thy soul refresh
and feed one him and not transgres
[] of my soule and be contente
[]

into the world for to restore and win
the same that adam lost by wofull sin
and be contente and sattisfied be
for in thy faith in him thou shalt be free
from that which would thee captive lead
and shall pertake with him and feed
of his good things thou shalt pertake
and he will never thee forsake
but still thy wants he will supplie
as thou standest in the enosency
o soul what canst thou crave to have
when this same trunke is laid in grave
but to posese that everlasting croune
which he perchast by laying his life doune
o frinds he waits our souls to bringe
unto his father deer our hevenly kinge
unto his mantion house wher we shall be
preists and kings forever in innosencye
o com therfore doe not delaye
for this is now the longe desired day
for he is come y^t we have waited long to see
the choysest of ten thousand will he be
our love our dove our undefile
the wachmen of the night noe more shall us beguile
he feeds among the lelles and doth knoke
swet merce and all as is left upon the lokke
he is alltogether comly o com behould
his countinace is rudy briter than the gould
the smell of his garments is like lebanon

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o come my frinds let us feed therone
and solous our selfs in his great love
his bed is grene he dwells above
and drenke abundantly our souls to fill 275
of shilos brooks that ronethe small and still
this is a day he may be founde
waite enwardly to here his sound
for what is to be known of God is manifest
in man: that is our chefest test 280
and rule of life for to walke by
as wee doe stande in the pure enosency
and give obediance whene it calls
then will our case not be like Soalls
that god woulde answer him noe more 285
by urim or thomen as be fore
but will bow his head and hear
the crise of them that do not fear
and answer the request of this [_____]
that calls on him [_____] 290
will answer thee in a holy sence
the word of life for to comence
and thou shalt trumtet out and crie
unto the people far and nie
to repent and to draw nere 295
and wait one god with dread and fere
and soe I shall conclud and say
the lord he is my refuge day by day
all my honor and everlasting praise
is given and sounded forth my soul now sais 300
even this time forth unto the end
praises and thanksgiving my soul doth send

¹*Eastern Quarter. Symonds Creek Monthly Meeting Record. 1715-1768*, 2 vol., pp. 186-89 (volume dated incorrectly). The Quaker Collection is now called the Friends Historical Collection.

²There is no single source that gives much biographical information on Henry White. The following sources, however, were useful in providing small pieces of information: J.R.B. Hathaway, ed., *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, 3 vols. (Edenton, N.C., 1903), 1:146; Worth S. Ray, ed. and comp., *Ray's Index and Digest to Hataway's North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register* (Baltimore, Md., 1956), p. 181; William Wade Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, 6 vols. (Baltimore, Md., 1969), 1:78, 91,

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172; J. Bryan Grimes, ed. *Abstract of North Carolina Wills* (Raleigh, N.C., 1910); Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, ed., *North Carolina High Court Records 1670-1696* (Raleigh, N.C., 1968); Margaret M. Hofman, ed., *Province of North Carolina 1663-1729: Abstracts of Land Grants* (Weldon, N.C., 1979); *Caveliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants 1623-1666*, abstracted and indexed by Marion Nugent (Baltimore, Md., 1979).

³Richard Beale Davis, *Intellectual Life in the Colonial South 1585-1763*, 3 vols. (Knoxville, Tenn., 1978), 1:274-81. See also Davis, *A Colonial Southern Bookshelf: Readings in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens, Ga., 1979), pp. 10-16.

⁴Richard Beale Davis, "Three Poems From Colonial North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 46 (January 1969), 33-41. The earliest poem previously known was an anonymous work printed in the *South Carolina Gazette*, June 11, 1737, thirty-nine years later than the White poem.

⁵Luella M. Wright, *The Literary Life of the Early Friends, 1650-1725* (New York, 1932), pp. 131-41.

⁶The bottom left corner of the manuscript (ll.143-47) is badly worn here. Bracketed words here and throughout are missing or illegible.

⁷Original words are missing from the manuscript (l.194).

Progressives and Conservatives Search for Order: The Division of North Carolina Quakers

by
Damon D. Hickey

The Quaker settlement of colonial North Carolina took place in two waves, separated by more than half a century. The first, from tidewater Maryland and Virginia, began in the 1670's and was encouraged by the missionary visits of William Edmundson and George Fox in 1672. This concentration of Quakers in the Albemarle (the Carolina tidewater) gave the Friends brief control of the northern province's infant government. The second wave of migration, from southeastern Pennsylvania and New England, began in the 1740's. Following a route shared by many others, these Friends settled along the southern piedmont (the region bounded on the east by the fall line of the coastal rivers and on the west by the Appalachian Mountains) in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. The following century saw their continued movement west, along with many of their non-Quaker neighbors, into the rich farmlands of Ohio and Indiana.

Quaker opposition to slavery in the southern states strained relations both within North Carolina Yearly Meeting and between Friends and others. Initial resistance of Albemarle Friends to manumission within the Society, combined with sectional rivalry, almost produced a division, which was avoided by an agreement to alternate yearly meeting sites between east and west. Nevertheless sectional feeling and disparate patterns of communication had become clearly established.¹

The early nineteenth century was a dynamic period for North Carolina Friends, particularly in the piedmont. New Garden Boarding School was opened in 1837 for the guarded education of the yearly meeting's offspring. Quaker refusal to own slaves led to extensive efforts by the yearly meeting to transport former bondsmen to free territory without arousing the ire of other whites. The Underground Railroad was begun with clandestine sympathy and support among some Carolina Friends. Disownments for a

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variety of causes, particularly marrying non-Friends, steadily increased. A division in North Carolina Yearly Meeting along the lines of the Wilbur-Gurney controversy was narrowly averted. And emigration into the Midwest accelerated. The Civil War brought a temporary halt to movement out of the state, but greatly increased the suffering of many Friends who refused military service and were harrassed as abolitionists and Unionist traitors. With the end of war, emigration resumed, threatening to destroy southern Quakerism altogether.²

The dilemma faced by Carolina Quakers for the balance of the century was how to survive and even to grow, while preserving their cultural distinctiveness. The Friends testimonies in regard to social issues such as slavery and war, for example, were maintained only by great suffering and rigid communal discipline, even exclusiveness. Plain speech and dress, "silent" worship, and restriction of marriage partners to coreligionists were enforced by disownment. As economic conditions worsened, education lapsed, and numbers dwindled due to emigration, southern Friends became particularly susceptible to strong, external cultural influences.

One of the most powerful was the revival movement. When the first Great Awakening had swept Philadelphia in the seventeen-forties,

Only a handful of Quakers were swept from their moorings. The majority were by this time so thoroughly insulated from contact with other religious bodies that the waves of religious enthusiasm that boiled all about them scarcely touched the hems of their garments.³

By the eighteen-seventies, however, much of the similar insulation of Carolina Friends had crumbled away, many of their children were eager to tear down the remainder, there were too few workers left to replace it, and the tide was rapidly rising.

What appeared as a rescue ship on the northern horizon was in fact borne south by this very cultural floodtide. The Baltimore Association of Friends to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States was organized in 1865 to channel northern and British Quaker funds into North Carolina to rebuild schools and meetings and to improve agriculture. With the association's encouragement, leadership, and financial support North Carolina Friends began to seek ways of inspiring and enlarging their own membership.⁴ In 1870 the yearly meeting appointed its first Committee on General Meetings, the purpose of which was apparently to raise the spirits of Quakers, and enliven their regular worship. Eastern Quarterly Meeting (Perquimans and Northampton Counties) held such a general meeting in 1871, and rejoiced in its success.⁵

These general meetings were something of a Quaker parallel to the revival meetings being held in other denominations. Allen Jay, a Friends minister from Ohio who was one of the agents of the Baltimore Association in North Carolina, attributed the separation that took place in Western

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Yearly Meeting at this time to the general meetings held there.⁶ Jay included among the features of this movement that were novel to Friends night meetings, prayer meetings, and hymn-singing.⁷ Jay, himself a leader in evangelistic work, told of this participation in the leadership of two series of Methodist revival meetings near High Point, North Carolina, which were being attended by several young Friends. "My object," he stated, "was to save our young people to our own church."⁸

There can be little question that reviving was needed. Even Eastern Quarterly Meeting, which became the center of opposition of revivalism among North Carolina Friends, admitted in 1883 that there was "a low degree of life in our Religious Meetings, and that many of our Members are seldom seen at Meeting."⁹ The evangelistic sentiment stirred up by the activities of other denominations and by the general meetings themselves gave rise to the appointment by the yearly meeting in 1882 of an Evangelistic Committee.¹⁰ It is interesting that, at the same yearly meeting session, the first formal contact of North Carolina Friends with other denominations (Methodists and Baptists) was also announced.

Initially the Evangelistic Committee financed its efforts through voluntary subscription, including a collection taken at yearly meeting session itself.¹¹ But in 1888 the committee requested an appropriation from the yearly meeting's budget,¹² and \$150 was paid it the following year.¹³ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, which had found the labors of the General Meeting Committee so helpful in 1871, now refused cooperation to its successor, the Evangelistic Committee.¹⁴ Apparently even more serious in the minds of some was North Carolina's participation in 1887 in the Richmond, Indiana, conference of yearly meetings in official correspondence with London Yearly Meeting (which did not include any of the Hicksite or Wilburite/Conservative yearly meetings). Ironically the conference was called to compile the "common elements of the statements of faith already in existence in the books of Faith and Practice of the various yearly meetings" and to halt "the trend towards disintegration" among American Friends as their settlements spread westward, increasing their mutual isolation and encouraging them to adopt the ways of their non-Quaker neighbors.¹⁵ The resulting Richmond Declaration of Faith and the yearly meeting's commitment to quinquennial gatherings of the yearly meetings may have alarmed the more Conservative elements in North Carolina, although the minutes of Eastern Quarter do not reflect formal, overt opposition to the yearly meeting's participation.

Instead the quarterly meeting considered a far more drastic proposal to withdraw from North Carolina Yearly Meeting and attach itself to Baltimore Yearly Meeting. The prospect elicited considerable discussion but was rejected because "the Meeting was united in believing that the time had not fully come to make the change, and the Subject was dismissed for the

present.”¹⁶Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) included a quarterly meeting in southeastern Virginia, with which eastern North Carolina Friends were in frequent communication. With the center of North Carolina Yearly Meeting activity in the piedmont, Eastern Quarter may have felt a stronger kinship with the other tidewater meetings, from which it had developed. The fact that Baltimore Yearly Meeting was also a participant in the Richmond, Indiana, conference of 1887 supports the conclusion that regionalism was a stronger force than theology in this instance.

There is little doubt, however, that opposition to evangelism was a point of departure for Eastern Quarter Friends, especially those in Rich Square Monthly Meeting. Beginning in 1874 Rich Square Friends were consistently delinquent in collecting their portion of the yearly meeting’s annual assessment, although their sister meeting Piney Woods was consistently prompt and complete. Although no reason appears in the minutes it was apparently well known, for in 1890 the yearly meeting hedged its appropriation for evangelistic work with the statement, “That in case any member has conscientious scruples against the payment of his portion of said appropriation, he may be excused therefrom.”¹⁷

The Conservative opposition to evangelism was focused on the issue of leadership. Friends had traditionally opposed “hireling” ministers in favor of a “free, waiting worship” in which individual members spoke only when strongly moved to do so. Those who possessed a special gift for vocal ministry were recognized and recorded as ministers by the monthly, quarterly, and finally yearly meetings. They not only spoke in their home meetings, but traveled as they felt a divine leading to visit other meetings, where they spoke in worship and visited in Friends’ homes, frequently leading the host family in worship. The minutes of Friends business meetings are filled with the names of those visiting in the ministry from near and far, and with the requests of local members to be “released” to visit other meetings. These constant comings and goings of Friends bound the church together, and kept any portion from becoming completely isolated or provincial. Yet it was wholly local in origin, and depended almost entirely on the initiative of individual meetings and members.

Just as the general meetings had led to outright evangelism, so also evangelism led to a settled, pastoral ministry. The report of the yearly meeting’s Evangelism Committee in 1890 (the year that conscientious objection to evangelistic contributions was recognized) decried the loss of potential converts to other denominations and painted a bleak picture of the spiritual state of the older meetings. New converts were described as “of a teachable spirit,” but “generally illiterate.” Friends were challenged to develop a program of home missions, with teachers centrally deployed to live in new Friends communities, teach families, advance temperance work, and assist in public worship. “Mistaken scruples” were blamed for previous

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failures to take advantage of such opportunities.¹⁸

Such a strong statement on a potentially divisive issue was unusual for a Quaker body, and its impact was heightened by the Evangelistic Committee's review of the situation in each quarterly meeting. In every quarter other than Eastern, praise was voiced for the number of meetings held and conversions obtained, and for the cooperation found among local Friends. But in Eastern Quarter, which had refused cooperation and withheld funds for evangelism, "a lack of the ministry" was "very apparent" in the absence of new converts and the departure of "many of our best members to other localities."¹⁹ This statement leaves little doubt as to the identity of those in the yearly meeting whose "misplaced scruples" were standing in the way of the Lord's work among Friends.

It seems likely that the committee was correct in its concern that scruples within the yearly meeting had blunted that body's commitment to evangelistic expansion. But the frontal assault on the scrupulous, although it may have been agreed with by others, did not win increased support. The committee's plan for a settled, teaching, pastoral ministry was not approved; its appropriation was not increased; and the yearly meeting exempted conscientious objectors from contributing to its support. Friends in Eastern Quarter should have felt reassured by this corporate response, but the committee's report showed clearly the danger most feared: that evangelism would lead to a centrally controlled pastoral leadership of the local meetings, resulting in the abandonment of the distinctive mode of Quaker worship, and the collapse of the Quaker culture's witness to the Truth.

The committee's report also made clear that pastoral leadership was being sought, at least at this point, not to revive dying, older meetings, but rather to sustain newer meetings composed of recent converts who were generally ignorant, and ignorant especially of Quaker ways. Older Friends had spent generations fostering their church's uniqueness and isolation by educating their own children and disowning anyone who adopted worldly ways or married a non-Friend. These illiterate converts must have seemed to them a very mixed blessing for their church.

By 1879 Friends in Eastern Quarter had begun to travel in the ministry to other yearly meetings that were sympathetic to the Conservative position. Benjamin P. Brown of Rich Square was released to visit in Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings in 1879, Canada Yearly Meeting (Conservative) in 1890, and Ohio and Western Yearly Meetings (Conservative) in 1891.²⁰ He then immediately set out to visit Friends in his own state.²¹ In later years fellow Rich Square minister Henry T. Outland also visited these same groups of Friends, undoubtedly finding and fostering strong sympathy for their home meeting's strong dislike of the evangelistic movement.

Opposition continued to be expressed through the withholding of funds.

In an approach as old as the Quaker movement, Rich Square not only withheld its token share of the evangelism budget, but also requested that its objection be noted by the yearly meeting, and that its assessment be reduced by the amount withheld.²² The yearly meeting once again deferred to the consciences of these Friends.²³

The Richmond Declaration of Faith, drawn up in 1888, was finally given formal approval by the yearly meeting in 1894.²⁴ A committee appointed by Rich Square Monthly Meeting to examine the statement had reported its work complete, but did not present its report to the meeting for approval. The report was instead submitted directly to the quarterly meeting, which found itself in turmoil over this irregular action.²⁵ The abrupt tabling of the report which had recommended rejecting the Richmond Declaration “as a whole,” certainly indicated a lack of unity with its conclusions; and the manner of its presentation, without monthly meeting approval, clearly did not help its case.

Tension was building. The 1896 Yearly Meeting for Ministry and Oversight, which convened immediately prior to the regular yearly meeting session and often set its tone, lamented the dearth of applicants for the ministry, and “the fear was expressed that the dearth in the ministry is due to the fact that some who should be far in the van are halting, and thus hindering others.”²⁶ Unkind words, spoken especially in meeting for worship, were condemned: “If what we consider erroneous doctrine has been preached it is much better to let it alone than to attack it.”²⁷

The sense of frustration and anger evident in these statements may have led to the request by the 1896 yearly meeting that Eastern Quarter pay its entire assessment. The quarterly meeting responded by appointing a committee to write a letter “showing conscientious reason for the deficiencies from this Quarterly Meeting during the years 1894 and 1895.”²⁸ Nearly a year later the matter was still unsettled, and another letter was dispatched stating that the quarterly meeting’s objection was based on conscientious opposition to the “hireling ministry.”²⁹ This time, however, the yearly meeting was somewhat less willing to be tolerant, and insisted that Eastern Quarter should pay its entire assessment. The committee appointed to respond denied hotly that evangelistic work fostered “the spirit of a hireling ministry.”³⁰ The yearly meeting “united with” the committee’s judgement, but sought to soften it with an expression of “sympathy for any individual members” with conscientious scruples concerning evangelism.³¹

A crisis was clearly in the making. North Carolina Yearly Meeting as a corporate body appears to have been asserting authority over its constituent quarterly meetings in a way that had not been attempted previously, while ostensibly recognizing individual differences. Up to this point however the yearly meeting had acted as the combined voice of its individual members, and had acted only when unity was clearly present. The special committee’s

response and the yearly meeting's qualified endorsement of it may have increased the sense of Conservative Friends that they were being excluded by an increasingly centralized church authority. The actions certainly indicate a growing impatience with Conservative reservations about evangelism. By attempting to distinguish between the "hireling ministry" and the "hireling spirit," the committee also sought to place itself on solid Quaker footing even while it promoted a system that departed sharply from two centuries of Quaker practice.³²

Undeterred, Rich Square Meeting petitioned Eastern Quarter again the following year.³³ To the monthly meeting's plea the quarterly meeting added its own, more defiant statement decrying the yearly meeting's drift away from "silent waiting worship," toward "hired ministry, congregational singing, instrumental music, pre-arranged 'prayer meetings,' testimony meetings, &c." The statement also opposed the forthcoming gathering of American Friends at Richmond, Indiana, in which it was feared Friends of an evangelistic spirit would predominate.³⁴

This statement was surprising in its neglect of theological issues. John Wilbur's original attack upon Joseph John Gurney had been almost entirely theological, but this declaration focused exclusively upon the threat to the mode of Quaker worship. The underlying quietistic assumption was that true religion was inward: the worshiper waited in silence for the divine leading. Utter stillness was necessary in order for the divine movements to be sensed. All "creaturely activity" distracted from the "centering" necessary for true worship:

Let sense be dumb, let flesh retire;
Speak through the earthquake, wind, and fire,
O still, small voice of calm!³⁵

Evangelistic meeting, on the other hand, relied upon a skilled human agent, the evangelist, and a charged emotional climate, including hymn singing and instrumental music, to bring people to a sense of guilt, repentance, and conversion. To Conservative Friends what was needed was a strong return to the Quaker emphasis on inward stillness and waiting, not on outward activity to promote heightened emotional states and large numbers of converts. They viewed the quinquennial gatherings of Friends in Richmond, Indiana, as vehicles for promoting evangelism, rather than for strengthening Quaker ways.

A number of Friends from other parts of the yearly meeting were present at this meeting of Eastern Quarter, including Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, president of Guilford College and husband of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, whose committee had brought in the report so unsympathetic to Eastern Quarter at the last session of yearly meeting. Also present was Albert Peele, who was appointed by the next yearly meeting to respond to Eastern

Quarterly Meeting's action.

The 1898 yearly meeting proved to be more conciliatory than its predecessor. Possibly in order to resolve the issue of withholding funds, it appropriated nothing for evangelism, leaving the Evangelistic committee to raise its funds as it had originally, from voluntary subscriptions.³⁶ Albert Peele's committee was, therefore, able to recommend that Eastern Quarter's evangelism "debt" be forgiven, and to appeal for "forbearance and love."³⁷ The Evangelistic Committee had already reported successful evangelistic work in Piney Woods Monthly Meeting of Eastern Quarter. That meeting had contributed funds and appointed a committee to work with the yearly meeting's committee. It was stated that there was "no report of the work accomplished in the other monthly meeting," Rich Square.³⁸

The customary minute of advice by the Yearly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight was not issued in 1899, but instead a report was delivered to the full yearly meeting session lamenting the erosion of discipline, ignorance of Friends practices, decline in family worship, lack of Bible study for children, and neglect of pastoral responsibility by local elders. The proposed remedy was a reorganization of the meetings on ministry and oversight at the quarterly and monthly meeting levels, primarily to instruct members of local meetings, particularly newer meetings, about the doctrine and practices of Friends.³⁹ The report also advocated the use of rote memorization of Bible passages, and introduction of a simple catechism for teaching children. Catechetical instruction had been abandoned by Friends after the time of Fox, but it was common in other denominations. In order to halt the erosion of Quaker ways and Quaker discipline, the ministers and elders were advocating teaching methods borrowed from other denominations.

The committee, which included Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, Levi Cox, and Josiah Nicholson, visited Eastern Quarter later in the year. A local committee was appointed and conferences were scheduled, somewhat in the manner of the old general meetings, for both Piney Woods and Rich Square.⁴⁰ The monthly and quarterly meeting minutes do not record a response to this visit, and so it is not clear whether it produced any greater understanding, or only further strain. The yearly meeting committee itself declared that the Eastern Quarter conferences "were large and well attended; at Rich Square 50 per cent were present," apparently a large percentage compared to many but less than the 75 percent at Piney Woods.⁴¹

The following year the old issue of yearly meeting assessments for evangelistic work resurfaced, with a new name. The Evangelistic Committee was reorganized as the Home Missions Committee, and each quarterly meeting was assessed twenty-five dollars for its support.⁴² Meanwhile a far more serious issue arose, "consideration of the proposed 'Constitution and Discipline for the American Yearly Meetings of Friends,'" commonly called

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the Uniform Discipline, which was deferred until the next year, pending further study.

Eastern Quarterly Meeting also presented to this yearly meeting a further expression of its concern for the state of the church, deploring the practice in some meeting or meetings of administering sacraments, a further departure from classical Quakerism.⁴³ Given the chaotic state of discipline described the previous year, especially among newer meetings, this development is not surprising. It had already surfaced elsewhere, and was one reason for the Richmond Declaration of 1887, which had upheld the traditional Friends position. It may also have been one reason for the appointment of the Committee on Doctrine and Discipline to visit the local meetings. The administration of the sacraments undoubtedly alarmed even those Friends who favored evangelism and a settled pastoral ministry. It is significant that Albert Peele, superintendent of evangelistic work, reported to the same yearly meeting that the people in the new meetings he had visited "have a desire to leave the ordinances that are outward and live upon Him who declared Himself to be the Bread of Life."⁴⁴ The cryptic response of the yearly meeting's committee appointed to consider Eastern Quarter's minute was that it united "in reaffirming our position on the Ordinances, as heretofore set forth," presumably in the Richmond Declaration.⁴⁵

Trouble continued to brew the following year. Rich Square was once again withholding the portion of its assessment for evangelism, now called home missions. The proposal to adopt the Uniform Discipline was again discussed, but unity was clearly not present, and action was deferred for still another year.⁴⁶ Departures from traditional Quakerism had begun to concern more than the Conservative element, but the yearly meeting leadership may have wondered if it could hold on to the new converts if it took too firm a stand. "Education" and "indoctrination" were the solutions it hoped would resolve the dilemma. Meanwhile the Conservatives were accusing it of having caused the problem.

The matter of Uniform Discipline now loomed before the church. Approved by the quinquennial gathering of Friends in Richmond, Indiana, it had been sent to the respective yearly meetings for approval. Among other elements, it provided for the establishment of this gathering as an actual Friends meeting, the Five-Years Meeting, with power to transact church business for the majority of American Friends. Approval would mark the virtual establishment of an American Quaker denomination, which did not, however, include Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) or any of the Conservative or Hicksite yearly meetings. The year 1902 had been designated for the organization of the new body, and it was, therefore, important to its North Carolina supporters that approval not be delayed for another year. Approval of a new discipline, on the other hand, was no small matter, and the yearly meeting could hardly give a united Quakerly

consent if there were substantial opposition from within.

The test faced now was unique to North Carolina. It was the only American yearly meeting that had not already suffered at least one major division. It retained within its membership, therefore, those most likely to oppose the Uniform Discipline. The other participating yearly meetings may have been more nearly unified in their approval, since they had already lost or expelled their Conservative members. North Carolina Friends who favored the new discipline could try to persuade the Conservatives not to stand in the way of approval. Failing that, they would have to decide whether to risk division in order to gain approval. And if approval were given, they would have to decide what accommodation, if any, to make with the Conservative element.

Eastern Quarterly Meeting appointed a committee to study the matter of the Uniform Discipline, all but one of whom was a member of Rich Square. After three months' study it recommended guardedly that the new discipline not be adopted "at this time."⁴⁷ The surprisingly mild phrasing, stating that some members did not support the minute, indicates an awareness of the seriousness of the situation, and an extreme reluctance to take an action that would lead to division. A more vigorous statement might have deterred the yearly meeting, but neither this statement nor any opposition from those present was recorded at the next yearly meeting, when the Uniform Discipline "was adopted, and goes into immediate effect."⁴⁸

The next move was the Conservatives'. Eastern Quarter met and adjourned without protest. Rich Square met and, with a degree of hesitation similar to that in the earlier minute of Eastern Quarter, stated, "We are mostly united in the belief that it is best to keep to the old Discipline."⁴⁹ Eastern Quarterly meeting received the minute and asked the yearly meeting's Permanent Board to resolve the issue.⁵⁰ Since Rich Square Meeting had also declined once again to pay for the support of Yearly Meeting evangelism, the quarterly meeting divided the 1902 assessment between the two monthly meetings, "subject to the exemptions granted by the Yearly Meetings," presumably those of 1890, 1892, and 1898.⁵¹

The Permanent Board met in Fourth Month of the following year, but was unable to locate the quarterly meeting's minute, and appointed a committee to report on it. Two members of the committee, Lewis Lyndon Hobbs and Albert Peele, had dealt with earlier matters involving the Conservatives.⁵² A special meeting of the board was called the following month to deal with the matter. The committee apparently considered the possibility of taking no action, which would have postponed or possibly even avoided a confrontation and decided to ask for a "united judgment" as to "whether any action on our part is required, and if so what it should be." The committee also presented a draft of a letter to the two monthly meetings, which the board adopted.

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After expressing hope for love and unity, the letter came to the point: monthly and quarterly meetings were to conform to the new discipline. In language familiar to Conservatives, Eastern Quarter Friends were urged, "even though it be a cross," to "exercise the grace of submission."⁵³ This letter, which attempted to blend tenderness with firmness, clearly based its stand on the administrative authority of the yearly meeting, an authority that had been made official for the first time by the Uniform Discipline itself, which the Conservatives did not accept. Objections to the new discipline were regarded as matters of opinion, not of principle, and the Conservative Friends were addressed as willful children who would "find peace of mind" if they but obeyed the corporate parent.

The description of "the grace of submission" to the Uniform Discipline as a "cross" to be borne by Friends was a particularly unfortunate choice of words. The image of the cross was especially meaningful for Conservative Friends, for whom the elements of traditional Quaker practice, notably plainness of speech and dress, were frequently described as the cross that was borne in obedience to Christ. The Permanent Board's letter, from the Conservative point of view, impiously called for outward obedience to men, to a rule that opened the way for wholesale disobedience to the will of God known individually and inwardly, and then dared to call it a cross.

Eastern Quarterly Meeting received its next reports from the two monthly meetings, based upon two different books of discipline, at the same time it considered the response of the Permanent Board. Since Rich Square continued to refuse to follow the new discipline, the quarterly meeting concluded that, "as we can not make any report jointly, we have thought it right to make none at all," and forwarded this statement to the board.⁵⁴ Piney Woods Monthly Meeting sent the board a separate letter noting its compliance with the Uniform Discipline.⁵⁵ The board then appointed another committee to formulate a response.⁵⁶ Two days later the committee recommended that a small committee be named to visit Eastern Quarter "to extend such counsel and helpfulness as under Divine guidance way may open for."⁵⁷

The report tried to hold out a hand of friendship to the Conservatives, but the yearly meeting placed a club in the other hand of the visiting committee it appointed by instructing it

To visit the meetings constituting Eastern Quarter as early as practicable, attend the Quarterly Meeting next ensuing and subsequently, if necessary, and to convey to the Quarter, in behalf of the Yearly Meeting, a message of love, *and also the instruction of the Yearly Meeting* that all subordinate meetings conduct their business transactions in accordance with the Discipline now in force in the Yearly Meeting. The committee thus appointed is *invested with the authority of the Yearly Meeting* to proceed in the matter laid upon them *in whatsoever manner* it may seem to them wise, to appoint meetings, if necessary, and *to take part in any meetings in*

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*said Quarter as if, for the time being, they were members thereof, and in any other capacity to labor in love for the adjustment of the present difficulties, and report. The committee is authorized to draw on the treasurer for expenses incurred.*⁵⁸

The committee was given, both literally and figuratively, a blank check to act, and therefore became in effect an administrative commission rather than the visiting committee originally proposed. Its task was to settle the difficulties, rather than to counsel and help the Eastern Quarter Friends to settle them. The presence on all of the committees appointed thus far of Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, yearly meeting clerk and Guilford College president, added still more weight to this committee's authority.

If Conservative Friends were not already alienated from the yearly meeting and its new Uniform Discipline, this action, regardless of what the committee actually did, drove the final wedge. The Discipline of 1893 had contained no mention of the yearly meeting's authority, and the action of the 1903 session would have been difficult if not impossible to justify under its provisions. Ironically the new discipline was used almost immediately to enforce conformity with its provisions, since under it, "The Yearly Meeting has the power to decide all questions of administration; to counsel, admonish or discipline its subordinate meetings."⁵⁹

With the approval of the 1903 minute, therefore, the yearly meeting effectively assured division. The Conservatives did not recognize the authority under which the committee was constituted and empowered to act, and the committee was given no room to negotiate a compromise, since it was required by the yearly meeting to enforce conformity with the new discipline. Any mediating role it might have had was destroyed by these instructions. It is not surprising therefore that the Conservatives simply ignored the committee when it came to Eastern Quarter and withdrew when it tried to exercise its authority, claiming that the yearly meeting had acted illegally in appointing it. The Conservatives thereby designated themselves the "true" Eastern Quarterly Meeting, and continued to conduct business as usual. In fact, the minutes of Eastern Quarter contain no mention of the committee's visit, although another Friend appended a note stating that it had come, and hoping it would do some good.⁶⁰

The detailed, official account of what transpired appeared in the minutes of the Permanent Board and was reported in full to the next session of yearly meeting. It is a dismal story of non-communication resulting in the division of Rich Square Monthly Meeting, Eastern Quarterly Meeting, and eventually North Carolina Yearly Meeting.⁶¹ The only positive note was the apparently peaceful division of property. The two subordinate meetings of Rich Square Monthly Meeting were called Cedar Grove and Rich Square Preparative Meetings; each had a meeting house where it held worship. The Conservative Friends received possession of the larger building at Cedar Grove, while the few who remained loyal to the yearly meeting retained the

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Rich Square building. Both continued to call themselves Rich Square Monthly Meeting, and the Conservative group also designated itself as Eastern Quarterly Meeting and North Carolina Yearly Meeting, officially adding the qualifier "Conservative" only in 1973.

Assuming the accuracy of the committee's account of its conduct, it seems unfortunate that its instructions from the yearly meeting left it so little room for negotiation and compromise, for it seems at every point to have endeavored to avoid divisiveness. The Conservative group, as the "reassembled" Eastern Quarterly Meeting, also reported the events without apparent rancor in an epistle to Piney Woods and Rich Square Monthly Meetings, tendering love toward those who chose to follow the Uniform Discipline, but stating the need for a division.⁶²

It was not long before Conservatives in other parts of the state were seeking membership in the new body. Thirty-three members of Nahunta and Neuse Monthly Meetings in Wayne County became members before the end of the year.⁶³ A Conservative Piney Woods Monthly Meeting was established in Chowan County in 1904,⁶⁴ Oak Grove in Wayne County in 1905 (comprising the former members of the Nahunta and Neuse Meetings who joined the Conservatives in 1903),⁶⁵ Marlboro in Randolph County in 1906,⁶⁶ Holly Spring in Randolph County in 1910,⁶⁷ and West Grove in Alamance County in 1915.⁶⁸ Much of this growth resulted from the visits made by Conservative ministers throughout the state.⁶⁹

At home, efforts continued to effect a final resolution of issues with the group of Rich Square Friends who had remained in the larger yearly meeting. A committee of the Conservatives attempted to draw up a deed of compromise that would formally surrender the Rich Square property, but the other meeting refused, stating that they already bore title.⁷⁰ The following month the Conservative monthly meeting disowned their neighbors and relatives in the other Rich Square meeting "for insubordination." and stated that

Our Meeting is dipped into deep suffering on account of this matter and desires to convey the message of sorrowing love to each of those who have thus forfeited their right of membership. They will at all times upon their good behavior be welcomed visitors to our meeting.⁷¹

As noted earlier, both Benjamin P. Brown and Henry T. Outland had regularly visited Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and various Conservative yearly meetings, beginning as early as 1879. These visits now bore fruit as the other Conservative bodies opened official correspondence with the new yearly meeting in 1904. Philadelphia (Orthodox), which had no official correspondence with anyone, was nevertheless sympathetic with the North Carolina Conservatives. It now chose to express its sympathy in a way that was particularly irritating to the larger North Carolina Quaker body.

In 1682, Charleston Monthly Meeting had been established in South Carolina as a part of London and later of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In 1879, long after the meeting had ceased to be active, Philadelphia Friends created a fund into which rental income from the Charleston Meeting property was placed. This Charleston fund was then used to assist Friends outside Philadelphia to construct meeting houses. On four occasions, from 1817 to 1885, North Carolina Yearly Meeting had sought to gain control of the fund, arguing that the Charleston Meeting was rightfully its responsibility. The Philadelphia Friends had refused, however, to surrender the funds. Furthermore, in 1884, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) restricted the use of the fund to meetings in which "the primitive principles and views of the Society (of Friends) are maintained in regard to the modes of worship."⁷²

Shortly before the division of 1903, rich Square Monthly Meeting had considered applying to the Charleston Fund for additions to the meeting house at Rich Square, but deferred its request until later.⁷³ Almost immediately after the separation, in 1904, the Conservative meeting appointed a committee "to ask the trustees of the Charleston funds for appropriations as may be needed to aid in building mtg-houses in different parts of N. C."⁷⁴ The following month the committee recommended requesting \$1000 from the fund: \$400 for a meeting house at Rich Square and \$600 "for two in Contentnea Quarter," presumably for the use of the former members of Neuse and Nahunta Meetings in Wayne County. A year later the Charleston Fund granted \$800. Half was put into the Rich Square building fund, and the other half used to build a meeting house in Randolph County for the Marlboro Conservative Friends.⁷⁵ This action brought a howl of protest from Eli Reece, editor of the larger yearly meeting's new monthly, *THE FRIENDS MESSENGER*. Accusing the Conservative ministers of being in the pay of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and thereby enjoying a standard of living far higher than that of their self-denying brethren, he asserted that Philadelphia Friends were behind the separation in North Carolina, and that they were stealing what he said rightfully belonged to North Carolina Yearly Meeting (the Charleston Fund) to reward schismatics.⁷⁶

Stephen B. Weeks, writing in 1895, had also intimated a Philadelphia connection with the eastern North Carolina meetings, particularly Rich Square, suggesting that there was "a desire apparent to separate these meetings from the North Carolina Yearly Meeting and to join them to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting."⁷⁷ Except for Eastern Quarter's consideration of transferring to Baltimore Yearly Meeting in 1888, the formal records contain no hint that a transfer to another body was contemplated, although conservative Friends on religious visits to the City of Brotherly Love may have longed for it and perhaps even discussed it.

In fact Philadelphia Friends had given substantial assistance for the

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reconstruction of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Allen Jay stated that Philadelphia Friends had channeled more than \$30,000 through the Baltimore Association to North Carolina Friends between 1865 and 1891, more than from any other American yearly meeting.⁷⁸ Philadelphia and other northern Quakers also undertook directly several projects for the relief, education, and assistance of freedmen in North Carolina, although it is difficult to judge the extent to which these projects were welcomed by the southern Friends.⁷⁹ The overriding source of irritation to North Carolina Yearly Meeting was probably a combination of Philadelphia's non-participation in the new Five-Years Meeting and a feeling of disapproval by the Philadelphians toward the Carolinians.

When the Conservative North Carolina Yearly Meeting convened its first session in 1904, it hastened to state its principles: (1) individual faithfulness to "waiting, spiritual worship"; (2) the priesthood of believers and the freedom "from all forms and ceremonies"; (3) the exclusive practice of "a free gospel ministry"; and (4) liberty of individual conscience.⁸⁰ In 1907 the Conservative yearly meeting spelled out its objections to the Uniform Discipline: (1) central control over the ministry, and (2) acceptance (and hence encouragement) of the pastoral system.⁸¹

In the ensuing years recriminations continued on both sides, along with efforts at reconciliation. As the pastoral system continued to grow in the larger body however it became clear that North Carolina Friends had turned a corner when the century turned, and that paths which had been sundered would not soon converge again.

Looking back on the division it seems clear that a number of factors were at work. Sectional rivalries between eastern and western North Carolina persisted, with piedmont Friends viewing their coreligionists in the northeastern part of the state as rich county cousins, untouched by the Civic War or Reconstruction. The easterners likewise saw the piedmont as a hotbed of subversive doctrine and unsound practice. Behind the caricatures lay some truth: the northeast was a more prosperous, more conservative, less dynamic region, while the piedmont was a region of new industrialization, dynamic religious activity, and revitalized agriculture built on modern farming principles. Patterns of communication were different: The northeast retained closer ties with the more traditional eastern seaboard Quakers, while the piedmont increasingly faced northwest toward Ohio and Indiana, particularly Richmond.

Yet sectional rivalry and economic differences alone do not account for the division. The most conservative of the Conservatives in North Carolina were to be found in the piedmont, and the Conservatives' Southern Quarterly Meeting in the piedmont proved to be strongly critical of Eastern Quarter's later attempts at limited accommodation with other types of Friends. Furthermore Friends in the Nahunta and Neuse Meetings

(the Goldsboro area in eastern North Carolina) who formed the Oak Grove Conservative Meeting came from the region that had been most devastated by General Sherman's army, and had required the greatest assistance after the war. Not all eastern Friends were well-to-do, therefore. Whatever social, economic, and geographic factors may have contributed (and they contributed much), other issues were clearly at stake as well.

Quakerism was historically a religious culture, a mutually reinforcing blend of theology and rigorous discipline that affected nearly every area of life and set Quakers apart as "a peculiar people." The outward signs of difference were borne by Friends as "a cross," a burdensome testimony to the world of their beliefs and commitments. The plainness and simplicity of Quaker worship, without music, set preaching, formal prayers, or religious symbols, were an expression of Quaker inwardness, the effort to maintain an inner stillness and receptiveness to divine leading. The evangelistic movement threatened simultaneously to eliminate the signs of distinctiveness, to disrupt the inward stillness, to replace waiting upon the divine with reliance upon human agency, and to substitute concern with numbers for concern with faithfulness. So strong was the perception of a link between culture and witness that many Friends blamed the antebellum "hireling ministry" for the evils of slavery and war. Conversely the faithful witness by southern Friends against these evils was seen as vindication of the traditional Quaker way of life and as imperative for its continuation. Quaker culture therefore took on the aspect of both subculture and counterculture. It was subculture in the sense that it sought to preserve distinctive folkways as a means of defining the separations of the religious community from the larger society. It was counterculture in the sense that it sought, from Quakerism's beginning, to overcome the ways of the world and to witness to a system of values that was potentially revolutionary. Quakers for example not only eliminated slavery from their own religious society, but they sought to eliminate it from the larger society as well. The continuity of witness, and especially of suffering witness, by southern Friends with the early Friends meant for some a special obligation to defend and even to advance that witness in all its traditional distinctiveness, and not to submit to the elements of the dominant culture, however religious its pretensions.⁸²

North Carolina Friends were also responding in various ways to what Robert Wiebe has called "The Search for Order."⁸³ Following the lead of the Baltimore Association after the war, Quakers in North Carolina adopted a new set of values. Centralization, efficiency, clear definition and division of authority, statistical accountability, reform mentality, and professionalism were among the characteristics of this new mindset. It was admirably suited to the world of business and therefore to leadership in a more urban, industrialized New South. It also provided Friends with a tool for managing change. Evangelism, which threatened to burst the old Quaker wineskin

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with its heady, new, fermenting vintage, could be contained safely, it was hoped, in the new wineskin of corporate church organization. Professional teachers and professional preachers, trained, organized, and centrally deployed, would harvest the crop of converts for the Friends. A national Quaker church, the Five-Years Meetings, with a Declaration of Faith, a Uniform Discipline, and clearly defined authority would increase the yield, while preserving the faith.⁸⁴

Conservative Friends were not so optimistic. Rightly perceiving the changes taking place throughout the country, they feared the loss of local autonomy and authority and the freedom of individual conscientious expression that corporate organization threatened. It was not that they disliked order; they deplored the chaos that resulted when the world (in the guise of evangelism) invaded their church. But more than disorder they feared the order imposed from without by human agency, especially within the church. Their descriptive adjective for themselves, Conservative, was apt. They simply saw no good reason to change, and many excellent reasons to resist change. The larger body of Friends chose an equally appropriate adjective, Progressive, to describe themselves, linking them as it did with a significant, national, political, and social movement. It also clearly expressed the movement's optimism that the right spirit, combined with national organization and professional management, would move humankind forward into a new age. Both Conservatives and Progressives searched for order, but in so doing discovered that they could no longer live together in the same household.

¹Kenneth L. Carroll, "East-West Relations in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1750-1785," *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* 4 (Autumn, 1982): 17-25.

²Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1896), is still the best published source of information on North Carolina Friends through the Civil War. On the near separation in North Carolina Yearly Meeting see D.W. Hunt, "Reminiscences of Nathan Hunt--VIII," *Christian Worker*, 4th Month 26, 1883, p. 195.

³Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Pennsylvania, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), pp. 233-234.

⁴Weeks, pp. 308-321 passim.

⁵Eastern Quarterly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meeting of V-27-1871.

⁶Allen Jay, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1910), p. 110.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

⁹Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of IX-24-1883.

¹⁰North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meeting of 1882.

- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Ibid., Meeting of 1888.
- ¹³ Ibid., Meeting of 1889.
- ¹⁴ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of V-25-1889.
- ¹⁵ Francis B. Hall, "Friends United Meeting," in *Friends in the Americas* (Philadelphia: Friends World Committee, Section of the Americas, 1976), pp. 22-23.
- ¹⁶ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of II-25-1883.
- ¹⁷ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1890.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meetings of XI-29-1879, V-31-1890, and VII-29-1891.
- ²¹ Ibid., Meeting of VII-29-1891.
- ²² Ibid., Meeting of V-28-1892.
- ²³ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1892.
- ²⁴ Ibid., Meeting of 1894.
- ²⁵ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of V-26-1894.
- ²⁶ North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends for Ministry and Oversight, Minutes, Meeting of 1896.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of VIII-29-1896.
- ²⁹ Ibid., Meeting of V-29-1897.
- ³⁰ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1897.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² North Carolina Yearly Meeting for Ministry and Oversight, Meeting of 1897.
- ³³ Rich Square Monthly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meeting of II-19-1888.
- ³⁴ Eastern Quarterly Meeting of V-28-1898.
- ³⁵ John G. Whittier, "The Brewing of Soma," in *The Complete Poetical Works of Whittier* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), p. 450.
- ³⁶ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1898.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Ibid., Meeting 1899.
- ⁴⁰ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of XI-25-1899.
- ⁴¹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1900.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., Meeting of 1901.
- ⁴⁷ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of V-31-1902.
- ⁴⁸ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1902.
- ⁴⁹ Rich Square Monthly Meeting, Meeting of 1902. One of the ironies in this situation is that the name of the clerk of Rich Square Meeting was J. Gurney Parker. Apparently he had been named for Joseph John Gurney, the theological nemesis of the original Conservatives.
- ⁵⁰ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of XI-29-1902.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Permanent Board, Minutes, Meeting of IV-14-1903.
- ⁵³ Ibid., Meeting of V-14-1903.
- ⁵⁴ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of II-28-1903.

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⁵⁵ Permanent Board, Meeting of VIII-4-1903.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Meeting of VIII-6-1903.

⁵⁸ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, meeting of 1903. Emphasis added.

⁵⁹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, *Constitution and Discipline for the American Yearly Meetings, Adopted by North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1902, with some Additions Made in 1906* (Ararat, Va.: J.M. Purdie, Blue Ridge Academy, 1906), p. 38. The Uniform Discipline, although adopted in 1902, was not actually printed and distributed in its final form as North Carolina's discipline until 1906.

⁶⁰ Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of VII-29-1903.

⁶¹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Minutes, Meeting of 1904.

⁶² Rich Square Monthly Meetings of Friends (Conservative), Minutes, Meeting of IX-19-1903.

⁶³ Ibid., Meeting of XI-21-1903.

⁶⁴ Eastern Quarterly Meeting of Friends (Conservative), Minutes, Meeting of II-27-1904.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Meeting of XI-25-1905.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Meeting of II-24-1906.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Meeting of V-28-1910.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Meeting of V-15-1915.

⁶⁹ Rich Square Monthly Meeting (Conservative), Meeting of I-26-1904.

⁷⁰ Ibid., Meetings of II-20-1904 and III-19-1904.

⁷¹ Ibid., Meeting of IV-16-1904.

⁷² Walter L. Moore, "Digest of the History of the 'Quakers' Lot,' Charleston, S.C.," (Typewritten); and Charles Rhoads, "Friends' Meeting House and Lot in Charleston, South Carolina," *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 5th Month 1, 1880, p. 300.

⁷³ Rich Square Monthly Meeting, Meetings of V-17-1902 and VIII-16-1902.

⁷⁴ Rich Square Monthly Meeting (Conservative), Meeting of I-26-1904.

⁷⁵ Ibid., Meeting of V-20-1905.

⁷⁶ Eli Reece, "The Situation in Eastern Quarter," *Friends Messenger*, 7th Month 1905. I am indebted to an unpublished paper, "Carolina Friends in the Stream of Separations," by Algie I. Newlin, for calling my attention to this article. Dr. Newlin's paper also draws upon many of the same sources as this article.

⁷⁷ Weeks, p. 297.

⁷⁸ Jay, p. 224.

⁷⁹ Weeks, p. 316.

⁸⁰ North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative), Minutes, Meeting of 1904.

⁸¹ Ibid., Meeting of 1907.

⁸² Damon D. Hickey, "Bearing the Cross of Plainness: Conservative Quaker Culture in North Carolina" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1982), pp. 60-86.

⁸³ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

⁸⁴ Damon D. Hickey, "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Quakers in Reconstruction." (Typewritten.)

Membership Numbers and the 1902-4 North Carolina Yearly Division

by
David E. W. Holden

The problems of understanding historical events sometimes lead historians to provide information that may be at variance with what actually took place.* In the case of the Conservative Separation in North Carolina it has been explained on grounds of “. . .the tremendous increase in vitality and membership of the Orthodox group. . .”¹ A similar reason for the need for pastoral leadership is mentioned by Woodman and Williams.²

While the increase in vitality is fairly obvious from historical accounts, and from the data found in the minutes, the explanation suggests that the increase in membership was profoundly important in bringing on the division that eventually took place. Examining this explanation is not easy because of the difficulties of determining membership numbers. The membership data were simply not gathered in the early days.

The earliest indication of the size of the membership came in 1851, when the yearly meeting minutes provide a report on the use of “spiritous liquors among our members.” 1598 were reported to “use [liquor] medicinally only” and 121 to “use [it] otherwise,” while 55 were “not inquired of.”³ This provides a total of 1774 Friends reported on. Whether the figures include children and infants is not clear. Nor is it clear that a complete enumeration was attempted, although this is implied.

In 1856 another report made to the yearly meeting on the subject of spiritous liquor reported 1618 members over 18 years of age. The total consists of 1523 “clear members”, 108 “who use it” and 48 “no inquiry.” This makes a total of 1679, suggesting that even when it comes to simple addition problems can occur. How reliable the other data are is hard to determine.⁴ Totals reported in 1865 immediately after the turmoil of war were the sum of 1659, and 60 and 77, respectively for a total of 1796 Friends over 18 years of age. However, no data is given as to when these data were collected.⁵ The total over 18 in 1864 increased slightly to 1866 and this time they also included 840 children between 5 and 18.⁶

That there is some question about these data was clear to Allen Jay when he reported a membership total of 2200 in 1861.⁷ Allen Jay knew about the

*I am grateful for the contribution made by the people in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College and those in Lilly Library of Earlham College for the help given me in allowing me access to the material in their collections. Financial support for this project came from Queen's University, Kingston, Canada and from the Earlham School of Religion. To both, my thanks.

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report quoted above, and quite correctly lets his readers know the figures came from an attempt to discover the rate of use of "spiritous liquors" among Friends. He suggests that they were inaccurate but at the same time were the best available.⁸ However a difference of about twenty percent between the totals suggests there was a measure of guessing in both.

According to the minutes, the Yearly Meeting did not reach a membership of 2000 until 1869. Jay reports a membership of over 5000 in 1873, which is about twenty-five percent greater than reports from the statistics given by the yearly meeting minutes. These show that membership numbers did not go over 5000 until 1881.⁹ The increase, according to the minutes, was to 5425 the next year and it remained between these two figures for the next twenty years.¹⁰

There are serious questions that can be raised about the accuracy of the figures given in the minutes. The final figure for one year is often not the figure given as the starting figure in accounting for the membership in the following year. Variations were frequently on the order of plus or minus five percent. Furthermore, there were frequent comments about the poor quality of the data in the yearly meeting minutes. One can conclude, however, that in spite of everything membership fluctuated around 5000 members for most of the period between 1875 and 1902. One has to assume that the magnitude of the error remains fairly constant during the period. After 1902 there was a large increase in a relatively short time. By 1910 Friends in the larger yearly meeting claimed a membership of 7026.¹¹ This is too substantial an increase to assign to mere error.

The arguments provided by Anscombe, Woodman, and Williams are apparently from *ex post facto* examinations of incomplete data rather than from the explanation for the 1902-1904 schism. What so upset Conservative Friends and caused them to withdraw seems, therefore, to be related to an altogether different set of variables. That explanation stems from the nature of the evangelical revival that was taking place and from the Conservative reaction to it rather than from the rapid growth of membership. That the level of vitality was high seems clear, and that there was a demand for change is also clear. However, the vitality and the demand for change came from the young people who had grown up with the evening evangelical meetings. They wanted the same in their Sunday morning gatherings. It was only after the division came that this was to affect the form of worship in the morning for the majority. That, in turn, seems to be what led to the rapid increase in new members after the division.

While the growth in North Carolina appears to have been static during the twenty years prior to the separation, this seems to hold true only for North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Other yearly meetings, such as Indiana and Western may have had entirely different experiences in attracting new members and then having those new members become significant forces in

creating the changes that came about there. They did not, interestingly, go through the separation that took place in North Carolina. Indiana did not divide at all over the evangelical or the pastoral issues. The separation that led to the creation of the Central Yearly Meeting out of Western Yearly Meeting did not come for another twenty years. It was over an entirely different set of issues. Therefore, while Anscombe, Woodman and Williams may be correct in assuming that growth in numerical size did lead to changes in some yearly meetings, such is not the case in North Carolina. The growth there took place after the division that separated the yearly meeting.

¹Francis C. Anscombe, *I Have Called Your Friends: The Story of Quakerism in North Carolina*. (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1959), p. 108.

²Charles M. Woodman, *Quakers Find a Way; Their Discoveries in Practical Thinking* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1950), p. 145; and Walter R. Williams, *The Rich Heritage of Quakerism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), p. 200.

³North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Minutes, 1851, p. 16.

⁴Ibid., 3rd. of eleventh month, 1856, p. 7.

⁵Ibid., 1865, p. 12.

⁶Ibid., 1866, p. 7.

⁷Allen Jay, *Autobiography of Allen Jay*. (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1915), p. 174.

⁸Ibid., p. 164.

⁹North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Minutes, 1881 p. 18.

¹⁰Ibid., 1882, p. 14: see also 1883-1902 for details.

¹¹Ibid., 1910, p. 26.

Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina: Traditions and Reminiscences, III

by
Addison Coffin

Emigration from North Carolina

If the question is asked, why did Friends emigrate from North Carolina? It can be answered by one dark, fearful word SLAVERY, than which a darker is not known. Just when, or how it entered, there is no reliable history. There were a few slaves as early as 1650, again they are mentioned about 1670, and seemed to have slowly increased along the coast; off in the interior, as it was called, it was not safe to own them, for they would make their escape, and join the Indians, who welcomed them as an addition to their strength against their white enemies; the slaves as a natural consequence, soon became expert with their master's rifle, and were often given time to shoot game for their personal use; on the frontier it was easy to escape with a gun and join the nearest Indian tribe. As the settlements extended and the population increased, the demand for slaves increased to help clear the land. At first the slaves were treated very humanely, often as one of the family, and were fed and clothed as the son and daughter. After men began

This is the third installment of the previously unpublished paper written by Addison Coffin in 1894 at the request of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs. In this installment he describes the causes of emigration from North Carolina prior to the Civil War, as well as the operation of the Underground Railroad. An earlier section on the work of the North Carolina Manumission Society has been omitted since it contains lengthy quotations from the minutes of the society that have been published elsewhere. Subsequent portions of the paper reprint articles that appeared initially in the *Guilford Collegian*, while others deal with the settlement of Ohio and Indiana, relying largely on the minutes of Friends meetings there. These sections have also been omitted, concluding the serialization of the paper with this issue of *The Southern Friend*. The full typescript of the paper is in the Friends Historical Collection of the Guilford College Library.

Addison Coffin (1822-1897) worked as a youth in Guilford County, North Carolina, on the Underground Railroad, and later in Indiana as an agent for North Carolinians who migrated north after the Civil War. He later traveled widely in the United States, Mexico, and the Holy Land. His autobiography, *Life and Travels*, was published in 1897.

having large numbers, too many for one family, they began establishing outside Quarters--opening new farms, sometimes several miles away, and put in charge of an overseer--then the darker features of the system began to develop, and gradually increased until the whole system became a withering curse upon every element of social life and revolting to Christian civilization: until the wrath of God was poured out in a bloody destruction. When the few survivors of the past generation tell the grandchildren the story of slavery, as it was forty years ago, it seems to them impossible that such a system could have existed anywhere on earth where the Bible was known.

After Friends abolished slavery among themselves in 1774, they began to plead with their neighbors to do the same, they also united in petitioning governors and legislatures on the subject of slavery, sometimes to have it unconditionally abolished, at other times to mitigate the sufferings and wrong. At one time they petitioned the legislature for some civil rights for the slave, that they might be protected from cruel and unmerciful treatment and the separation of families; there is a tradition that their influence was so great at one time that an *informal* vote was taken in the legislature on the question "Shall slavery be abolished?" and only lacked *seven* votes of succeeding. After all efforts failed to effect the object, Friends began to seriously think what next to do. The then great north-west beyond the Ohio river was open for settlement, Tennessee was being settled but under slavery, Kentucky was too "dark and bloody" for them; so in 1796, they began emigrating beyond the Ohio, and continued to go in small numbers until the war with England beginning in 1812.

When Indiana was admitted as a state into the Union in 1816 with a clause in her constitution forever prohibiting slavery, or involuntary servitude, it greatly stimulated emigration to that state; and when the great agitation which preceded the admission of Missouri with slavery resulting in the Missouri compromise, was ended; not only Friends but all non-slaveholders through the south were convinced that there was little hope of slavery ever being peacefully abolished, and it was their conviction that if God continued to be just, slavery would one day die by violence. The result was thousands of Friends sold their lands and made haste to cross the Ohio river; this continued until 1826, when there was a partial cessation of the tide. When the South Carolinians earned the name of "Fire-eaters" by threatening "Nullification" of United States laws, Friends again emigrated by tens of thousands, from 1830-35; then there was a momentary pause, but when the legislature of North Carolina disfranchised colored men from voting for president, and prohibited masters from educating their slaves, even at home, and last, and more terrible than all it finally became known that there had been a deep laid conspiracy by the slave power to purchase Cuba from Spain, then dissolve the Union, build up a vast slave empire

around the Gulf of Mexico, and leave the northern states to pay for Cuba, all confidence in anything, or any body connected with slavery was lost.

The horrors of slavery and the slave power was intensified and embittered by the controversy over the "Wilmot Proviso" agitation from 1842 to 1854, resulting in the repeal of the "Missouri compromise" and the passage of the "Fugitive Slave Law," which set the nation on fire with horror, and indignation; the most dull of understanding now saw that the slave power sought to override all law and could not be held by compact, or honor. The anti-slavery men in congress of every shade of political opinion united and sent forth an appeal to the nation, calling upon all who loved freedom to unite for the safety of the country and cause of humanity. Inside of thirty days the Republican party was formed, the significant campaign of 1856 passed, and that of 1860 followed; the first gun was fired in the rebellion in South Carolina "For four long years the cry of blood and battle, rang o'er field and flood," and amid scenes of blood and tears *slavery died by violence*, and is now rapidly disappearing from the whole earth. The irrepressible conflict was ended and gone into history during the life of those who first devoted their lives to it with little hope of seeing the end; and it is impossible to describe the emotions of the old veterans when they at last reached the glad sunshine that lay beyond the storm.

After Friends abolished slavery among themselves, many other people became convinced that slavery was wrong and freed their slaves; still others gave their slaves opportunity to buy their freedom, and in time there was quite a large number of free negroes in the state; this alarmed the slave owners, and laws were passed forbidding masters to free their slaves unless they sent them out of the state. As the demand and value of slaves increased, a new temptation and a new crime was introduced, that of kidnapping free colored people, and running them south and selling them as slaves. To prevent this there was goodness enough in the legislature to enact severe penalty for the crime of kidnapping; yet in spite many were kidnapped, especially children; to prevent this Friends organized regular societies to protect and restore to freedom those kidnapped; these societies were organized in 1785-90 to 1810 all over the state.

When Benjamin Lundy came through North Carolina about that time, he used those societies as a nucleus to form his Manumission Societies upon, which did good work in subsequent agitations up to 1834, when all the active members had emigrated to the north west. Regular records of these societies were kept; they had discussions, debates and regular lectures to which the public were invited; and still more interesting, from these Manumission Societies sprang the germs from which grew the more powerful and mysterious Underground Railroad. One of the moving spirits of the Manumissionists was Elihu Embree who spent some time in N.C. lecturing, preaching and meeting the champions of slavery in public debate.

He then went to East Tennessee and published an anti-slavery paper, the "Philanthropist," which bid fair to become a great power for freedom, especially in Tennessee; but an untimely death closed the career of a wonderful young and beautiful life. After his death the larger portion of Friends in Tennessee emigrated to Indiana and Illinois where they were ever staunch abolitionists. It was unpleasant to Friends to be compelled to work on the road along side of slaves, and as not unfrequently happened the master came riding out to see them, equipped with his gloves and spurs demeaning himself as a superior personage; to the young Friends this was particularly galling. In some localities the sons of slave owners took malicious delight in riding along the roads on road working day and tormenting the young Friends with working *with niggers*. This caused hundreds to leave the state forever as soon as grown to manhood. Another peculiarly aggravating thing was the practice of collecting muster fines from young Friends. Constables would let the fine run on until the young man had bought a new saddle and bridle, then he would go and levy on them and take them when it would be most aggravating. Sometimes the fines of father and sons would be let run until it would take a horse, and it would often be done when least expected and when it would damage most. This was not done in all counties of the state, for be it said to their honor the officers in many counties never collected any muster fines from Friends, and would have scorned the very thought of such injustice. All these petty annoyances gradually embittered the relations between the slaveowners and non-slaveowners, for Friends were not the only ones who felt the galling insolence of the slave spirit; for it gradually extended to and through all classes of citizens. Gradually the idea prevailed everywhere that labor was not respectable, and he, or she who labored with their hands had to take second rank, though superior in every essential element of true man and womanhood. This, too, sent thousands of the best class of citizens from the state; the working class began to feel unsettled, ceased to make permanent improvements, lost interest in the best interests of the state, and finally thought of nothing but emigration; and from that day decline and ruin began, and finally made North Carolina what it is today.

The Underground Railroad

Now as to the Underground Railroad it is with some hesitation that I venture to speak of its origin and management in N.C. As has been mentioned there were societies formed through the state to protect the freed slaves; those societies became known by all the freed men and many slaves; Guilford County became head quarters about 1820, from the result of a long and exciting suit at law to recover a kidnapped man from Delaware state.¹

A colored man named Benjamin Benson was kidnapped from Delaware in 1818, brought to Guilford County and sold to a wealthy slaveholder. In a few weeks he succeeded in getting word to my father, Vestal Coffin, pleading for help. The facts in the case were learned, correspondence was opened with men in Delaware, the kidnapping was proved, and my father, Dr. George Swaim and Enoch Macy were appointed commissioners to represent Benjamin Benson by the state of Delaware to recover his freedom. A warrant was procured to arrest Mr. T. and require him to show cause why Benson should not have his freedom. The officer entrusted with the warrant suffered word to be sent to Mr. T. notifying him of what was coming; Benson was immediately concealed, and that night sent toward Georgia, where he was finally sold. When the trial came off Mr. T. denied that he had such a man and the warrant was dismissed.

The result created much excitement; it was the first open act of the slave spirit to override law and justice. The three commissioners had Nantucket blood in them, and were not to be overawed, or frightened. In time they had ample evidence that Mr. T. had Benson in his possession the day he was arrested, and he was ordered to produce Benson in open court; this fell like a bomb shell among the slaveholders. It cost Mr. T. \$160.00 to get Benson (the man to whom he was sold upon learning the situation had his own price) and it had to be paid at once.

When the day of delivery came there were hundreds of men in and around the court house to see and hear the result. The court decreed that Benjamin Benson should have his freedom, and the first conflict between freedom and slavery was ended. Many unthinking and reckless slaveholders indulged in threats and insults, which added to the excitement, and which might have ended in trouble, but for the greater and higher excitement of the Missouri Compromise, which sent thousands of non-slaveholders to the north-west. Again when Friends freed their slaves in 1774, many others promised their slaves freedom when they died, but heirs refused to let them go. Then the societies for freedmen were appealed to, who in many cases succeeded in securing their freedom; many ran away and got to Pennsylvania and New England. It was while assisting this class in escaping that the idea

of organized work suggested itself to the anti-slavery men. In a few years there was a regular route to Pennsylvania across Virginia, and one to Ohio by way of the great Virginia turnpike from Richmond to the Ohio river at the mouth of the Kanawha. This was where, and how, the Underground Railroad started and by 1830 was in good working order; from the state lines in Pennsylvania and from the Ohio river in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, regular stations were established at the houses of anti-slavery men at intervals of twenty to thirty miles; sometimes a forced march of forty miles had to be made, or hide in the woods, or big cornfields. The greatest difficulty to overcome was in getting to the Ohio river, as in time the slave-owners became vigilant, both for self protection and for the reward for capturing fugitives, and it took some strategy to out-general their patrols. The wonder now is that the secret was not discovered in the time intervening between 1830-1860, and yet so simple that a child could understand-literally so plain that had the travelling been done by day he that ran might read the unerring guides.

From the starting point in North Carolina to the great turnpike in Virginia the Underground Railroad was built, constructed, or marked, as we may call it, by *driving nails in trees, fences, and stumps*. Where there was a fork in the road there was a nail driven in a tree three and half feet from the ground half way round from front to back; if the right hand road was to be taken the nail was driven on the right hand side; if the left was the road the nail was to the left. If there were fences and no tree, the nail was driven in the middle of the second rail from the top, over on the inside of the fence, to the right, or left as in the trees; if neither tree, nor fence was near then a stake, or a stone was so set as to be *unseen* by day, but found at night. When fugitives started on the road they were instructed into the *mystery*: when they came to a fork in the road, they would go to the nearest tree, put their arms round and rub downwards, and which ever arm struck the nail, right or left, that was the road; and they walked right on with no mistake. So with fences, but the stakes, or stones had to be found with their feet, which was tolerably easily done. Those who were doubtful as to their ability to remember details, would take a string and tie *short* pieces of string to the long one to represent the fork and cross roads, and then by tying knots which they understood, make a complete, but simple way bill that was almost unerring in its simplicity. The most important position on this road was the conductor whose duty was to keep the road marked, and when necessary change and re-locate as emergencies required; this required a good memory of locality and engineering ability. This system of marking was the same from east Tennessee across Kentucky. In eastern North Carolina where water transportation was used, they had secret channels, and byways marked in a similar way by different means known alone to their boatman. The secret of the way marks was known to few, even of the directors; this was absolutely

necessary that none might be imperiled by chance treachery but the conductor, who in many places, and in many cases took his life in his hands when he undertook the dangerous charge. There were more fugitives sent away. When one presented himself for passage, he was carefully examined as to ability to run the gauntlet, if found wanting was sent back. Under no circumstance was the secret of the way marks imparted to anyone except to those who were sent through, and this, the last thing done, and then under solemn promise not to divulge it to any living creature, which was always kept.

Nor did any one of the anti-slavery men ever solicit, or persuade slaves to leave their masters, for there were *others* who did *that* who were actuated by entirely different motives. Their motto, "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them," was the promoting motive. The members of the "Freedmen Societies" were all Friends; and they were in the majority in the Manumission Societies; and were almost all Friends who were Underground Railroad men in N.C., but in Tennessee were in the minority.

It was a rare thing for the conductor in N.C. to go with fugitives, unless there were women and children in the company; then they were seen well on the way. The conductor being a Friend, no arrangement was made, or thought of for fighting, or defense in case of pursuit. Strategy, swiftness of foot, and adroit maneuvering was the means of safety, though it was said that sometimes, some of the patrolers looked very much like they had collided with something physical and demoralizing, when they returned from an unsuccessful pursuit; but the whole thing depended on the thorough knowledge of the country, of all its hills, streams, forests and hiding-places, places where they could play bo-peep with impunity with horsemen. Old veteran conductors were often surprised to see what new light would come into the seeming dull and heavy eyes, and what wonderful agility would develop in the stolid forms of fugitives when aroused by danger. Ability to think, to act, to plan unknown to them before was suddenly called into action, which was to them the dawning of a new life, and was the beginning of their *real* life; nor was such development lost on the conductor; it gave him knowledge of humanity, more ability to discern the hidden might that lay in undeveloped minds, and made them *mind readers*.

As a part of the secret of the escape of fugitives was the mode of crossing streams and rivers; this was no small item in the plan, for all the ferries were closely watched to prevent fugitives from stealing boats from the landings. Like the other secrets the crossing of water was simple and safe. It was thus. The fugitive was instructed to make a raft of four to six common fence rails, tied together with a grape vine rope, cord, or grass rope at each end, then launch the raft, get astride of it, and paddle it across with the hands, then on landing on the opposite bank *always* cut the cord, rope grape vine, &c., and let the rails float down stream, lest some one should see the floating raft

and learn the secret. Strange to say this secret, simple thing was never discovered. When rails were seen floating down stream, it was always supposed that it was mischievous boys had done it for pure wantonness.

The north shore of the Ohio river opposite Point Pleasant was very favorable for this business; was a sloping gravelly beach for many miles; landing could be made at any point, and the long curve enabled the fugitives to see steamboats for miles up or down, and escape being seen while crossing. There was no danger of a fugitive failing to cross the Ohio safely; if he reached it safely his wits were sufficiently sharpened, and his experience such that he *would cross Jordan, or die.*

When a fugitive had a wife and children he would sit astride in front, the largest child next him, and so next in size, and the wife behind holding the smaller one and *guarding* them all. Think of this, Young Americans, think that this condition of things existed within the life time of men still living.

Coupled with the extreme personal danger, the strain on brain and nerve was so great that few conductors could stand it more than ten years without rest, and for that rest they usually went west, and took service on the lines in the free states, where it seemed mere child's play, compared with the south. In connection with this part of the subject it is proper here to give a word of explanation why men engaged in so dangerous business without pay, without honor, or any kind or reward from men. First, they felt a divine impulse in their hearts that it was right in the sight of God, and that was enough; besides they saw and fully realized that slavery was dragging the master and his children down to the level of the slave, faster than the slave was being lifted up to the level of the master. They even then understood that moral, like physical gravitation, if left free to act would bring everything to a level; so if the non-slaveowners continued to emigrate it would only be a matter of time when they came to be a level; but there was still another motive: it was to keep alive and intensify the agitation of the subject of slavery, to compel the indifferent to think, for a thinking community nearly always gets to thinking right on any subject. It is impossible for this generation to understand the feelings of the few surviving conductors when they meet and live over their days of peril and danger, and the calm sweet joy with which they look for their reward in the life to come.

¹An account of this whole trial will be found on the court records from 1817 to 1820 in Greensboro, N.C.

Recent Books

Dru Gatewood Haley and Raymond A. Winslow, Jr. *The Historic Architecture of Perquimans County, North Carolina*. Hertford, N.C.: Town of Hertford, Perquimans County, and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1982. 265 pp. \$15.00.

Perquimans County has the distinction of being, as part of the old Albemarle region, the center of the birthplace of both North Carolina and of the Society of Friends in North Carolina. Quakers figured importantly in the early years of the county and names of Quaker families are well represented in every aspect of its history. Traces of the Quaker presence are found in meeting houses and schools, houses and outbuildings, stores, and even cemeteries--all contributions to the county's architectural heritage. This heritage is chronicled and pictorially documented in *The Historic Architecture of Perquimans County, North Carolina*, one of the finest of the many county and city architectural surveys published since the national bicentennial celebration in 1976.

The state's oldest extant house, the recently restored Newbold-White house, is on property granted to Quaker Joseph Scott in 1684 and was owned by other Quakers in its long history, especially by members of the White family. Unfortunately, no early meeting house survived to be documented pictorially, but both Piney Woods Meeting House, built in 1854, and Up River Meeting House, built in 1914, are included, not only for their inherent Quaker simplicity of style, but also because they are descendants of the first place of worship, and indeed, the first public building to be erected in the county, the Upper (later Wells) Meeting House built in 1704. Photographs of the two cemeteries associated with the meeting are also pictured.

Two buildings housed the Belvidere Academy, the school operated by Eastern Quarterly Meeting, but both burned. A house built of the timbers of the first academy building survives and is shown, as is the home of its headmaster Timothy Nicholson. The latter also has the distinction of being the only antebellum house in Perquimans County with a central chimney, a feature thought to have resulted from Nicholson's exposure to New England architecture when he was a student in Rhode Island.

Among many other entries of special interest to students of Quaker history are Belvidere, the distinctive home of Quaker and community leader Thomas Newby; the homes of Josiah Nicholson, Senior and Junior; the eighteenth century White-Jessup house; the John White house which is a typical early nineteenth century Quaker house; the Samuel Winslow farm complex; the Temperance Hall in the town of Hertford where Quakers and

Methodists met together for temperance meetings; and Dr. Caleb Winslow's office, also in Hertford.

The book opens with an account of the architectural development of the county in the context of an excellent history of the region. Next is a township by township pictorial survey of historically and/or architecturally significant structures of all kinds. Added features include introductory histories and maps for each township, an illustrated glossary of architectural terms, a bibliography of sources used, an appendix which draws together from a variety of sources the names of craftsmen in the county who were associated with the building trades, and an estate inventory and other documents of interest. A good index concludes the work.

The survey stands above many others in the wealth and accuracy of the information given and these qualities make it an excellent reference tool for anyone studying and interpreting any phase of eastern North Carolina history.

H. G. Jones. *North Carolina Illustrated, 1524-1984*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983. 482 pages. \$24.95.

H. G. Jones, Curator of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina, has produced a pictorial history of North Carolina, the purpose of which is to convey the "unique character" of the state. He has been remarkably successful in accomplishing his aim, not only because of the sheer quantity of illustrative material (1,158 pictures), but also because he has been so careful to select materials which reflect a wide range of experience in the history of the state. *North Carolina Illustrated* is far from being merely a portrait gallery of the famous and a record of key events, nor is the darker side of the past hidden from view. The lives of field hands, farmers, tradesmen, and craftsmen, as well as the founders of business dynasties and political leaders are portrayed; slave cabins and farm homes as well as mansions and public buildings are shown; and elements of popular culture as well as fine arts are illustrated. The contributions of blacks and Indians are noted, as well as documentary evidence of their sufferings and mistreatment (even a lynching is depicted); and the lives and achievements of women are not overlooked.

Pictorial representations of North Carolina history include pages from the published journals of George Fox and William Edmundson describing their travels in the Albemarle region; pictures of the Newbold-White and John Allen houses, the former being the oldest extant house in North Carolina, and the latter, a rustic cabin from the early days of settlement in the Piedmont now preserved in the Alamance Battleground Park; Martha Hunt's needlework picture of New Garden Boarding School which is displayed in the Friends Historical Collection; David Beard's hat shop in

Jamestown, and the yearly meeting house in High Point. Quaker contributions to the early religious and political life of the state, the settlement of the Piedmont (in which New Garden meeting is erroneously implied to be the oldest meeting, the honor of which belongs to Cane Creek Meeting); the antislavery movement; and education are noted. References to these contributions are little more than passing, however, and give no idea of the importance of Quaker activities and presence. John Archdale, Quaker proprietor and governor of the Carolina colony, is not mentioned, and no notice is given to Quaker contributions to the development of modern agricultural methods and a system of schools during the Reconstruction period. These omissions and slights point not so much to a weakness in this fine book as they do to the weakness of a purely pictorial history. If illustrative matter does not exist, then significant events or movements can easily be overlooked. The overall impression is of good general coverage of a very wide range of people, places, events, trends, and movements. *North Carolina Illustrated, 1524-1984* complements the standard histories of North Carolina in a way which is both useful and entertaining.

The work is divided into ten chronological chapters. Each chapter includes an introductory essay followed by a generous selection of contemporary drawings, documents, artifacts, and photographs. Usage is greatly enhanced by means of key numbers which appear with the illustrations and in the margins of the text at the appropriate points. There are also brief descriptions with each picture. Credits give some idea of the great number of public and private sources that were consulted in gathering the pictures. A good index readily locates both pictures and references in the text.

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Editorial Policy

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

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Cover Illustration

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

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Algie Innman Newlin
August 8, 1895-January 9, 1985

When the North Carolina Friends Historical Society was reorganizing in 1976 there was only one obvious choice for its president: Dr. Algie I. Newlin of Guilford College. His name on the letter of invitation to membership assured a strong new beginning for the society. Eager to continue his research and writing, and aware of his advancing years, he later accepted the society's acclamation as its honorary president, a post he held until his recent death.

Algie Newlin was a man of impressive accomplishments. A native of Alamance County, North Carolina, he attended Guilford College, where he was outstanding both as a student, graduating with honors in 1921, and as an athlete, earning his varsity letter in three sports. He was later elected to the Hall of Fame of the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics. During his student years he also edited the college yearbook and participated in drama, debate, and literary societies. He earned his M.A. at Haverford College in 1922 and his doctorate in political science from the University of Geneva in 1940. In 1924 he joined the Guilford College faculty, where he served for forty-two years, during which he chaired the history department, and was dean of men, director of athletics, and professor of political science.

Algie Newlin's contributions to the Religious Society of Friends were no less impressive. He was presiding clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting for fourteen years, and of the Five Years Meeting (now Friends United Meeting) for five years. He was a delegate to the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches and a member of the council's Central Committee for six years. He and his wife Eva Miles Newlin were co-directors of the Friends International Center in Geneva from 1947 to late 1949.

Dr. Newlin's publications included *The Arbitration Policy of the United States Since 1920*, *The Newlin Family: Ancestors and Descendants of John and Mary Pyle Newlin*, *The Battle of Lindley's Mill*, *Charity Cook: A Liberated Woman*, *The Battle of New Garden*, and *Friends "At the Spring": A History of Spring Monthly Meetings*. The last two were published by the North Carolina Friends Historical society. At the time of his death he was editing the journals of his ancestor Joseph Newlin for publication in *The Southern Friend*, and writing a comprehensive history of North Carolina's Cane Creek valley.

What may have been most impressive about Algie Newlin was how unimpressive he always seemed. He spoke carefully and clearly, and never overpowered. He was a master storyteller who laughed easily and always had a twinkle in his eye. He somehow found time to answer even the most trivial questions. He was generous in sharing his research with others. As a teacher, colleague, and friend he inspired generations to pursue the study and teaching of history. The editors past and present of this journal love Quaker history in large measure because of his influence and example. *The Southern Friend* extends its sympathy to his family: Eva Miles Newlin, Eva Joan Newlin Poole and Herbert Poole, and James C. Newlin; and expresses the hope that they and all the members of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society will long remember and celebrate the life and witness of Algie I. Newlin.

THE ORIGINS OF RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY LIFE IN NORTH CAROLINA: HENRY WHITE OF ALBEMARLE

by

Thomas E. Terrell, Jr.

I wrote an article of the spring, 1983 issue of *Early American Literature* which accompanied and discussed a poem written in 1698 by Henry White. It was in this journal that both White and the poem made their public debut to modern audiences. Although the text of the poem is complete, the article was brief and introductory.

I made claims of several "firsts" in this article: the first poem written in North Carolina, the first attempt at "belles lettres" in the colonial South (outside of Virginia), and the first "religious" poem written in what is now the southern United States (including Virginia). Partly because of these claims, some readers may already have missed the significance of the poem's discovery. The superlatives "first" and "earliest" do not alone determine the importance of this work, or of any literary work for that matter, although these adjectives are relevant in such a determination. The significant point is that this literary work emerged from a time and place in our country's infancy where such literature was previously thought not to have existed at all. Thus the poem's singularity — in time and place, as well as genre — tells us something about our past that we did not know before. The surfacing of such cultural artifacts enables us to remap and reshape our visions of life in the colonial South. And to a *small* degree, standard generalizations about Southern and Colonial American literature and culture need to be adjusted.

This article is a sequel to the author's "Some Holsom Exhortations: Henry White's Seventeenth-Century Southern Religious Narrative in Verse," published originally in *Early American Literature*, volume 18 (Spring 1983), and reprinted in the last issue of *The Southern Friend*.

Thomas E. Terrell, Jr. received his B.A. degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and his M.A. from the University of Chicago. He is currently a law student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

An important step we can now make towards this adjustment is to give generalizations about southern and colonial American literature and accident, historians sometimes use the word "southern" to describe this period when in fact they mean "Virginian." Similarly, statements true of seventeenth century Virginia too often have been generalized to encompass other areas of the South inhabited by Europeans at that time. Although Virginia was the locus of most political, economic, and intellectual activity during this time, other pockets of settlers were expanding outside of Virginian society, notably in the Albemarle region of North Carolina.

Cultural diversity, however, is merely conjectural until we can illustrate it with specific cultural artifacts that are unique to a place and that (by definition) differ from analogous artifacts in surrounding areas. Thus, while it could be said that Quaker life in the Perquimans and Pasquotank precincts of North Carolina differed from the Anglican lifestyle of Virginia, few Quaker documents exist to establish the point. Henry White the poet is therefore more important to us as non-Anglican and non-Virginian than he would be if he had lived 50 miles to the north and belonged to the Church of England.

The White writings and other documents, notably monthly and quarterly meeting records of business (which include some records of weddings and various community events), portray a community that is self-consciously religious, unlike community life in Virginia, which is more accurately described as secular. The meeting for worship was probably the focal point for community social life, and it also appears that the monthly meeting for business assumed responsibility for maintaining public (as well as religious) standards of conduct. Disputes that otherwise would have gone to a court of law were often settled by a committee appointed by the monthly meeting.

Although the meeting as church structure played a greater role in community affairs than would have been common for an Anglican church, the community was not necessarily theocratic in any strict sense. There were no priests or anointed divine representatives who ruled through the word of God, and except for the Bible there was no religious document which governed daily life. Nonetheless, numerous public considerations which otherwise were political or economic could not escape the oversight of the meeting. And to the extent that Friends' business meetings were meetings for worship in which Friends felt led by the Holy Spirit, one might consider that this was, in at least a limited sense, a theocratic community.

By the 1690s Quakerism was the dominant and, for practical purposes, the only religion in this part of the Carolinas. Anyone not a Quaker likely had no other religious affiliation except in name. As a group, the Quakers had become politically powerful, and it appears that many Quakers felt a primary loyalty to the religious group, and not to the precinct, the colony, or even to England.

It is interesting that some members in the Quaker camp have wanted to highlight the fact that Henry White was a Quaker and to claim his achievement as one more feather in the cap of Quaker activity in America. I avoid such hagiographic thoughts. The poem, first of all, is not what one could consider good literature. More importantly, however, such claims are irrelevant to the broader discussion of the poem's significance in the anthology of American literature and to information it may provide about religious and intellectual activity in the colonial South. White's Quakerism, nonetheless, does help to explain why he wrote the poem and to explain much of its religious content. Conversely, the poem enhances our understanding of both early American religious thought and Quaker life in the South.

Quaker historians, among them Rufus Jones, have tried to establish that the vast network of traveling Friends ministers created, in Quakerism's early years, a uniformity and congruency of religious thought and experience among Friends in all part of Europe and North America. I do not share this view. Quakerism, like most religious movements, was not reducible simply to a set of theological tenets. It emerged in the late 1640s and early 1650s in the context of and in reaction to the complex economic, political, and social unrest of Puritan England. Early Quaker literature addressed all of these issues, and religious and non-religious beliefs were often woven inseparably.

English Friends, almost without exception, grew up in an environment in which religion was preached and debated in the markets and on the street corners. It was not enough simply to believe *something*. It was crucial that one believed and worshipped correctly. With notable exceptions, most of these Friends came from artisan and working class—men and women without economic, social, or political standing. And their message was clear: they believed that the seed of Christ had arisen in them, and they were called to preach this message and to convert the world despite the imprisonment and persecution that awaited them.

The religious climate in North Carolina was distinctly different, and early Friends in this area had their own experiences quite unlike the experiences of their counterparts in England. They were converts in the mission field, far removed from and unexposed to the turmoil of Puritan England. They had been living in an area that was somewhat a religious vacuum—part of the Church of England by decree, yet untouched by traditional church life and religious observances. They were reacting to nothing discernible, and for over thirty years they existed essentially without exposure to competing religious groups. Perhaps this is one reason Quakerism was able to flourish. It wasn't until 1704 that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent missionaries to the Carolinas, and only the Quakers had been able to provide a religious framework within which birth, marriage, death, and

community existence acquired meaning.

Although the overall experiences of this group were substantially different from other groups, especially the English Friends, Quaker converts in the Albemarle region adopted much of the Quaker thought that was more strictly theological. The combativeness, the sense of immediacy, and the missionary zeal of early Quaker tracts in England were of little relevance to these American Friends. But the primacy of an inward religious experience in an area where Bibles and literacy were scarce was attractive. Likewise, the Quaker emphasis upon lay leadership and participation in worship was especially conducive to an area bereft of a trained and educated clergy. Since the Friends in the Carolinas did not produce a large body of religious writings, it is difficult to determine what were the exact points of religious or theological concurrence with other Friends. Much of what we can determine, in fact, comes from White's poem and his epistle "to frinds everywhere" (printed herein).

The poem itself contains only a few lines which are specifically "Quaker." The remaining lines, and indeed the overall tone, reflect broadly the religious environment of seventeenth century Puritan England: that man is a fallen creature as illustrated by the creation story, but through Christ achieves salvation. The epistle, on the other hand, seems to dwell more specifically upon the "devine openings" and inward experience of God's love and how that experience is the foundation of White's belief. Although we have no evidence of active missionary or evangelical work by the Albemarle Friends, it is clear that White was aware of the obligation the early Friends felt to carry the message of their experience "from Island to Island and from sea to sea." It is likely that the epistle, in beseeching other Friends to be faithful to their mission, was actually intended to assure those same Friends that Quaker life was flourishing in the Carolinas. This hypothesis would seem to explain how such exuberant writings were produced in a religious community that, while strong, seemed not by any other evidence to be possessed of an extraordinary religious fervor.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which the poem and epistle reflect White's personal religious sentiment and the extent to which he was merely the scribe for documents that reflect common thought. An epistle was ordinarily an official document of the monthly (or quarterly or yearly) meeting which was sent to other groups of Friends. As such, epistles conveyed the community sentiment and were meant to reflect the local spiritual condition. White's epistle, however, was written in the first person and was personally signed. To this extent, it seems that it was his personal epistle which accompanied his poem "to frinds everywhere." It is possible, though, that both the poem and the epistle were written separately but later transcribed into the same book. This theory helps to explain why he repeats virtually the same introduction before each work and might also suggest

that the epistle, in an earlier draft, was a document written for the monthly meeting and intended to reflect the meeting's spirituality more than White's personal religious experience.

The poem, on the other hand, being the probable result of White's own belief and initiative, seems consequently to be a reflection of his personal religious life. Despite the fact that he had become a Quaker twenty to twenty-five years earlier, it is written with the freshness and enthusiasm of a convert. What could have been an expectedly staid or controlled writing by a religious leader of long standing is instead and surprisingly a joyous and emotional exposition in verse.

We regretfully know little about White. He seems, however, to have been a key community and religious leader. His house was large enough to accommodate the monthly meetings which were held there until the first meetinghouse was built in 1707. He also served as "registrer" of the meeting, and most documents from that time appear to be in his handwriting. His will was also in his handwriting and it evidences familiarity with the proper common law will requirements. Since he did serve for awhile in the North Carolina high court and in the precinct court, it appears that he was acquainted with the English common law.

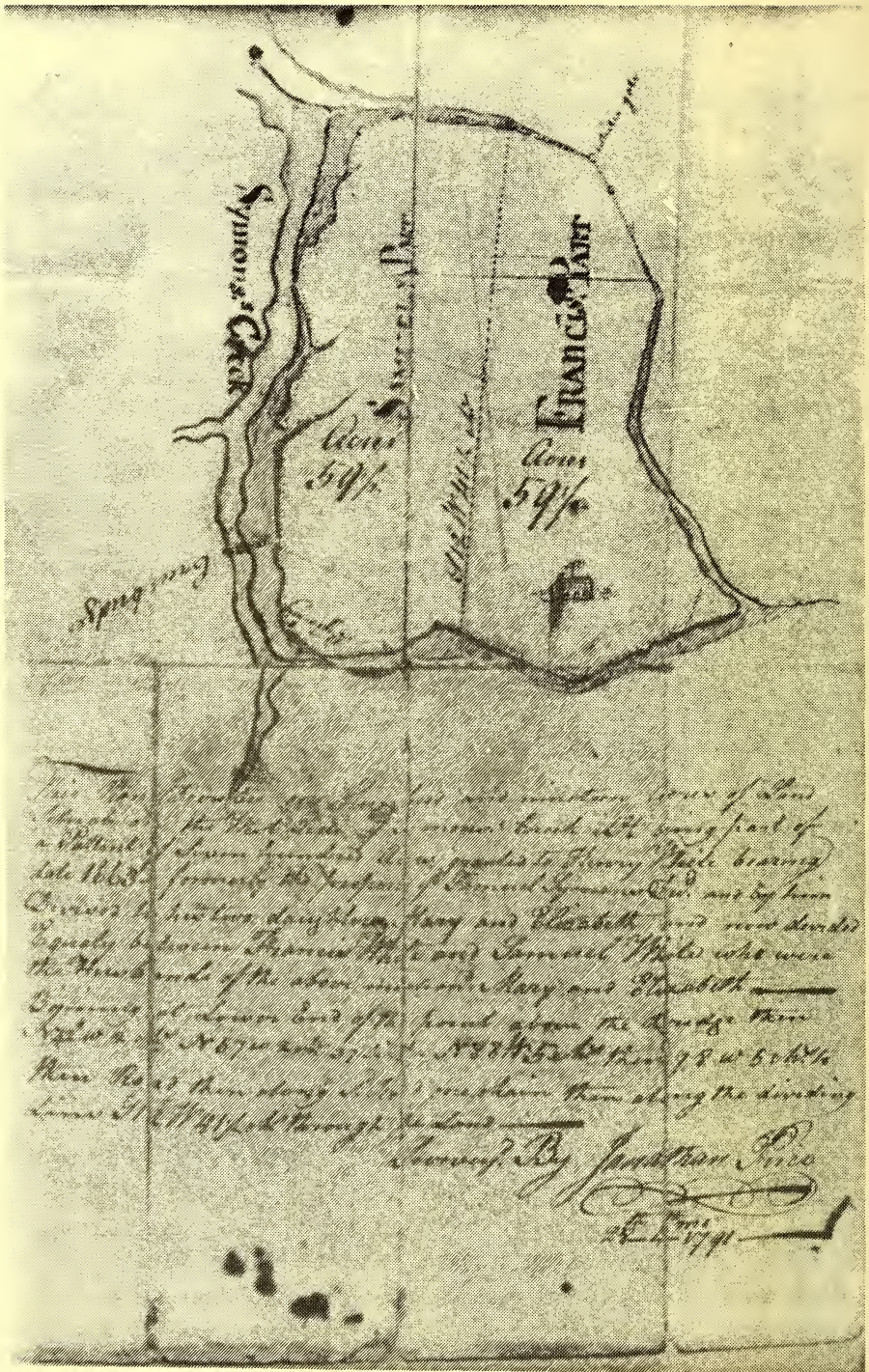
His will does provide a brief and interesting view of his estate. His possessions were modest, and most of his property consisted of livestock, land, and a plantation house. A later plat records that the original size of his land grant was 700 acres, purchased in 1663. At his death he also possessed two "slaves" which he referred to simply as "yong negro men."

Thomas Story, one of the many Friends ministers who traveled to the Carolinas, suggested in his journal that these slaves worshipped with their masters:

In the evening we went over Little River, and lodged that night with friend Thomas Simons; and next day had a meeting over the creek, at our friend Henry White's, which was small, by reason of the court, which usually holds several days, but well and tender: the Lord was with us.

On the 13th we had a pretty large meeting, where several were tendered, among whom were some negroes. Thomas Simons having several negroes, one of them, as also several belonging to Henry White, had of late come to meetings, and having a sense of Truth, several others thereaway were likewise convinced and are likely to do well.²

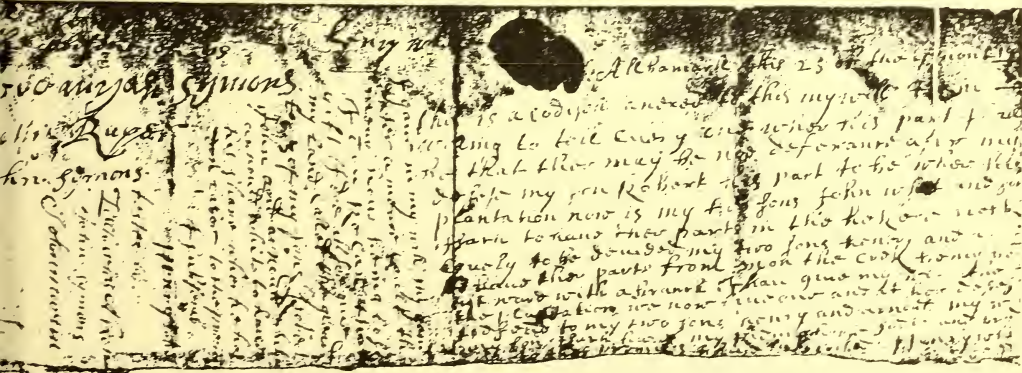
White also appears to have been a friend to the Indians in that area, but there is no evidence that he tried to convert them to Quakerism. After his death the yearly meeting recorded the following testimony:



He was a minister of the gospel and a faithful friend, whose Christian conduct and loving behaviour towards the Indians, who were numerous in these parts at that time, was such as we have been credibly informed, not only procured him great esteem and respect from them, but for his sake they shewed great love and tenderness toward others in the infant settlement of these parts.²

Further research on Henry White and these early inhabitants in the Albemarle region might help us to understand better how religious life and thoughts evolved in America. American scholarship (from the university to the elementary school classroom) has a way of implying, primarily by means of emphasis and omission, that our country traces its spiritual beginnings only to New England. Such a simplification may be useful to one studying the mythic structure of American life but, to put it bluntly, such a view is inaccurate. The White poem and epistle remind us of that and, to the extent that they are read and noticed by interpreters of American history, may help to correct imbalanced preceptions.

The poem and epistle specifically need more attention from literary scholars who can examine them critically as works of literature produced by an early colonist who was both native to American soil and who lived in an era not known for intellectual or literary life. Neither work seems destined to be acclaimed for its intrinsic literary value. Until more documents from this period are discovered, however, both of these works stand as historical and cultural treasures.



Deed (dated 1791) to a piece of property originally granted to Henry White in 1663. Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

HENRY WHITE'S EPISTLE¹

“from north Carolina or Ronake a shorte apesell of love and good will to frinds everywhere sent forth as the wedos might for the comforting consalating and _____ of the flocke of god and allsoe a few words in verse conserning the fall of man and how thay went from god in the fall and allsoe conserning Restoration by Crist Jesus and his glorious aperance and some wholsom exhortations for every one to take notis of given forth by one who has love in his harte to all mankind and desirs and breaths in his harte and soul that all may com to the knowlege of god which is life eternall and am known by the name of henry white.

“tender and beloved frinds and brethren in the Lord the love that is conseved in my hart abounds towards you ward in the overflowing of it and opens the springs of life love and pece and from thence esheweth forth strems of love which reacheth to the lest member in the camp of the lord and abounds to all the frock of gods heratage: soe in this love I greet you all and dsire and beseach all frinds everywhere to be valiant for gods truth which we profese and keep out of all incumberancis that may be a henderance of this blesed pece which yee knowe we have bin maid pertakers of and this holy aninting which we have known and our hands have handleed and our mouths have tasted of the swetness of the lovelynes of the vertue and comlynes of this devine techer and hevenly instructter of this trew informer and holy derecter who hath brought our souls into one holy reverance and blessed comunion with the father and with the son and one with another soe that this blessed felloshipe and holy comunion recheth from Island to Island and from sea to sea and abounds toward one another in a trew felling sence of one anothers condetions: by this we infailable know we are the children of god because y^e presious love of god abounds in our harts towards one another and sealls and bulds us upe together unto eternall life in the bundle of love which is marvelous and great incurgment

my deer and tender ons for us who hath bin maid sencable of this swete aninting and holy unction to prese forward in this holy way and plesant path let not that which we felt and enjoyed yesterday serve us today but let our souls be ever hongering for more of the same greater attainments and greater injoyments aferder manifestation of devine openings and hevenly Incoms that our stranth may dayly be renewed even from stranth to stranth and that we may know a groth and fele swete incoms and devine elumination of the lord to drope down as the small raine or as the dew of hevmon that our souls may therby be refreshed and that we may growe as lileis of the valey and like a well watered garden floesh and increse which bringeth forth frute in its seson and satisfieth the eater soe deer and tender babs and children of the morning what can our souls desire more but to be in Joye of that which we have bin waiting for and still to redobble our deligence for fresh suplis and hevenly satisfaction so to this I recomend yee all with my one soule henry white

HENRY WHITE'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT⁵

Allbamarll this 19 day of the 7 month 1706

I henry white senier being sike and week yeat in perfect and sound memory doe make this my last will and testiment in maner and form as folloeth revoking all former wills by me maid and concluding this will to be the very intente and full purpose of my mind

Imprimus after my justs debts are paid and funerall charges defraid I doe leve that small estat that the lord hath given me as hereafter folloeth

first I give and bequeth to my deer and loveing wife all my houshold goods with that small stock of cattle that she may dispose of them amongst her children that every one of them may have some thing of a stock to goe one: and I doe allsoe give unto my said wife one yong negro man named dick so long as she leveth or while her naturall life indurs but after desese I doe give the said negro to my three yongest sons namely henry: Arnould: and Isack: white to have him every one his tourne yere by yere begining at the eldest and I doe give unto my three daters content mary and naomy one yong mair she and her _____ to be divided amongst them and ech of them one yere and to my aforenamed sons one yong maire to be divided as aforesaid and the rest of horse kinds I doe give unto my wife onely my will is that she give to my grand daughter susana white the first mair fould that the maire bringeth I doe allsoe give unto my said wife my maner house and plantation with what land she may haive acation of dureing her naturall life: but I doe leve and give all my whole devednt that and all after my wifes desese unto my five sons namly Robert: John: henry: arnould and Isack white: Only thers none of them shall molest Jacub overman Junier if my said land doth rech his house but he shall in Joy it forever and ferder I give and bequeth unto my two eldest sons Robert and John white one yong negro man called tobee: to be divided after this maner Robert white to have him onr yere and John white to have him two yeres and soe forward it is ferder to be understood that all those premisis that is here by me given is to them and ther heirs forever and I do herby nomynat my deerly beloved wife and my two sons Robert and John white my exsebitrer and exsekitors of this my will te see after the performance of it to the premisis I have hereunto set my hand seall

henry white

sealled signed and delevered in the presence of us

Jeremyah Symons

John Raper

John Symons

Allbamarll this 28 of the 7 month 1711

this is a codisell anexed to this my will I am willing to tell everyone wher his part shall be that ther may be noe deference after my desese my son Robert his part to be wher his plantation now is my two sons John white and son Isack to have ther parts in the hekere equely to be devided my two sons henry and arnould to have ther parte from me on the crek being bound out ward with a branch I here give my wife the plantation we now live one and at her desese to desend to my two sons henry white and arnould my will is my son Isack have my riding horse saile and bridl

to this premisis I have so subscribed Henry white I gair in my will my grand dater a meare coulth the mear now being lost I dou recant that gift I doe allsoe give my land called the glead to 3 of my sons Robert John and arnould white arnould white to have his share wher he has den labor to the premisis

I subscribe
Henry white

testes by: Zacharias Nixon
John Symons
John Martin

Allbamarll this 17 day of the 7 month 1706

Henry white being sick and weak yet in perfect and sound memory doe make this my last will and testament in maner and form as foolloweth knowing all someth wills by me maid and concerning this will to be the very intent and full purpore of my mind

In witness whereof I have signed my name and seal and the seal of the said John Martin and John Symons after my just debts are paid and funeral charges defrayed and have thus small test that the Lord shall guide me

Portion of Henry White's will, 1706. North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

¹Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 1911), pp. 139-140.

²William Evans and Thomas Evans, eds., *The Friends' Library*, 14 vols. (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1837-50), 10 (1846): 88.

³*A Collection of Memorials Concerning Divers deceased Ministers and others of the People called Quakers, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Parts Adjacent, from nearly the first Settlement thereof to the Year 1787.* (Philadelphia: J. Crunkshank, 1787), pp. 41-42.

⁴Symonds Creek Monthly Meeting of Friends, Women's Meeting Minutes, 1715-1768; and Records, 1678, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C., pp. 185.

⁵North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.

Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina: Traditions and Reminiscences, IV

by

Addison Coffin

Cane Creek Monthly Meeting: Its Early Settlement and Influence

Tradition says that about 1727 the settlements had extended up the branches of Cape Fear river to where Cane Creek Monthly and Quarterly Meetings are now held, but the records and dates are lost, if any were kept. It is probable the first meetings for worship were established about 1730. The country was so beautiful and healthy that it soon became widely known, and Friends came by land from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia rather than risk a voyage along the dangerous coast in small coasting vessels. It was a long toilsome journey to go by wagon from eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey across Maryland and Virginia to Cane Creek, North Carolina, now in Chatham and Orange Counties. The roads were new and rough, much of the distance no road at all, the whole country was an open forest and wagons could not be driven anywhere on the upland. Immigrants and travellers guided themselves by the Indian signs and their acquired wood craft, changing their route to suit the rivers and creeks, high water or dry seasons, or avoid forest fires, hunters camps, or new settlements. Thomas Dixon is giving the tradition of those early days, gives a pathetic story of the first grave at Cane Creek. A traveller who was exploring the country with his son, a bright boy of ten or twelve years of age, had been turned from his line of travel and reached the camp of the pioneer settlers; the boy took sick and died, and there was nothing to make a coffin of. The grief stricken father wrapped his child in a blanket and laid him in the grave, then took his feed-trough and turned it over him and filled the grave and went his way leaving

This is the fourth and final installment of the previously unpublished paper written by Addison Coffin in 1894 at the request of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs. In this installment he describes the early settlement of Quakers in the Cane Creek and New Garden community. Addison Coffin (1822-1897) worked as a youth in Guilford County, North Carolina, on the Underground Railroad, and later in Indiana as an agent for North Carolinians who migrated north after the Civil War. He later traveled widely in the United States, Mexico, and the Holy Land. His autobiography, *Life and Travels*, was published in 1897.

his child in the forest to be heard of no more. Cane Creek burial ground is located around that lone child.

The records of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting begin in 1751, and continue to this day and are of peculiar interest, as it was the first Monthly Meeting established in the interior, as it was then called, and destined in connection with New Garden to become an important factor in future events. In the list of members received by certificate, the larger portion came from Virginia, next comes Pennsylvania, then Maryland, New Jersey, New England, Ireland, and Old England. There are over two hundred different family names and it is astonishing how widely diffused those names are among Friends today. It is interesting to look over the record of births and deaths with an eye to health, longevity and increase of population over the death rate. Taking an average list of families the following is the result. In forty-eight families the children were as follows: ten families had nine children; thirteen, had ten; ten, had eleven; seven, had twelve; six, had thirteen; two, had fourteen; one, had fifteen. Tracing out the record we find nine-tenths of these children grew to man and womanhood, and the grandfathers and mothers said there was very little sickness of any kind, outside of whooping cough, measles, mumps, small-pox, and the old fashioned shaking argue, all of which were readily controlled by domestic treatment that all mothers understood. Sometimes there would not be more than one or two regular doctors in a county, and they frequently looked quite lean.

It was a universal custom for families to have large quantities of all medicinal herbs, roots, barks, and nuts hung up to the rafters of their houses ready for any emergency, and the grand old grandmothers knew just how to apply all remedies to the body, sympathy and kind words to the heart, so much so, that many a child was glad to be sick to have grandmother come. Nor was this all, the quiet, temperate lives led by Friends was eminently conducive to health and long life; hence the natural overflow of population from older settlement and the establishing of new Meetings and schools. From Cane Creek many neighboring Meetings were established, these grew to Monthly and they in turn grew into Quarterly Meetings until at the beginning of 1800, there were more Friends in North Carolina than any other state in the Union. As with Cane Creek, so with New Garden, and many other central Meetings. There was also a general move from the eastern part of the state westward, which threw the center of membership around and soon west of Creek many neighboring Meetings were established, these grew to Monthly, general decline in the health of people on the coast, and Friends naturally sought the more healthy portions in the interior.

From the beginning, Cane Creek was a central point in influence, in education, general intelligence, and for originators and upholders of all the vital reforms that have claimed the attention of this century. The descendants of her two hundred families have gone out through the land; nor is this

detracting aught from a score of other centers, from which have gone out influences which in like manner have helped shape the destiny of our nation.

In going through the old records for a hundred years, we find many things that are intensely interesting and amusing. Offences considered disownable then, are considered harmless now, while the sins of today were unknown then, or passed unheeded. There was one offense common in early days that has disappeared wholly from the records: "For becoming intoxicated and using bad language," and again, "For using spirituous liquors to excess and using improper language to his wife and others present," or "For using violent language in a public place, and showing a disposition to fight his fellow-men."

For the first fifty years of the records, more than half the business is in receiving certificates of membership, and declarations of intent to marry by the young people. Sometimes there were whole years that proposals of marriage came up at every Monthly Meeting; in a few instances the young people by seeming consent of action would make proposals of marriage in regular order, two couples at a time for several months; in a few instances three couples have been married in one day at the same meeting.

The saddest thing in all the old records is the long continued disowning of members for marrying contrary to the rules of the church; like the continued record of marriages there is the same record of disownment. Looking back from this date, it seems that more members were lost to the church in that way than all others; in a few instances in some of the Monthly Meetings about the beginning of this century, there were two disownments for marrying out of the order to one marriage in the order. To judge by the records of births and deaths there were many times the young folks had to marry those not members, or not marry at all, for there were not enough of male and female members for mates for all.

Through all the early days, as at this time, there were violations of contract, dishonorable dealing, contentions over divisions of estates, disputes about title to land, taking advantage in buying and selling, disputes about the ownership of calves and pigs, offenses given by saying hard words, envyings, hatreds, backbiting, unchastity, fornication, stealing, adultery, private injury, playing tricks upon unoffending people, frightening children by playing ghost, tying gourds, buckets, and old boots to cattle to frighten them, mutilating stock, putting wagons on top of barns and other buildings, and fencing in houses by night or while the people were away.

The whole surroundings of the young life of a hundred years ago was calculated to make it wild and reckless. The spirit of the whole colony was unrestrained freedom; any and all law was looked upon as tyranny and resistance to it was a virtue. The situation of the country was such that the spirit of adventure filled the minds of young men; there was still a wide extent of country westward still unknown, which was full of imaginary won-

der and mystery; all this filled the young minds with a half-superstitious, half-wild desire to break away from the restraint of everyday life. Under such circumstances it is little wonder they were always ready to join in any thing that promised fun and a break in the routine of everyday life; many times their lively imagination and love of the ludicrous and comic prompted them to deeds that were beyond all bounds of reason and decency. One instance of this kind will give an idea of the spirit of the times. There was a marriage in the land among the rather pretentious class; the bride's chamber was up stairs and rather luxuriantly and tastefully furnished for the time. It was some miles to the Meeting where the marriage was solemnized. After the ceremony was over quite a cavalcade of friends and invited guests accompanied the party home. When the bride and her maids ran up stairs to her room, they were horrified to find an old vicious ram in the room, who not only showed fight, but proceeded to upset not only the ladies, but the furniture. The unearthly screams that arose soon brought the bridegroom and groomsmen to the scene, but before he could collect his dazed senses the old ram made a lunge at him with such energy that, though he caught his horns they both went down in a heap. The groomsmen secured the ram, released the demoralized groom, took the old sheep down stairs and turned him loose, and he was not slow in making a bee line for his flock. It was said, that when the whole scene had passed, and it was found no one was seriously hurt, the sense of the ludicrous got the better of the whole assembly, and there was unrestrained, prolonged and uproarious merriment; and tradition said that the bride and groom never liked to see sheep of the male kind from that day on.

Some times it was a standing wonder how the boys accomplished some of their practical jokes and deeds of mischief. Horses and cattle were found in rooms with no opening large enough to admit them, or through which they could not be taken out. Things were found suspended in trees with no possible way of recovering them, but to shoot the cord asunder, or cut the tree. Such was the activity, invention, enterprise and strategy of young pioneer life in N. C.

Tradition says that Solomon Dixon,* one of the pioneers, opened a general store near where Dixon's mill still stands, and that he procured his goods from Philadelphia, going after them in a two horse wagon. His capital stock sometimes amounted to the large sum of \$600 which made his place of business one of the noted centers of trade. Snow Camp, the post-office, was noted as one of the hunters' central camps, named from a company of hunters being snowed in for some weeks by one of the periodic great snows

*Coffin appears to have confused Solomon Dixon with his father Simon. Simon Dixon came to Cane Creek from New Jersey in 1751. His son Solomon was born ten years later — The Editors.

like those of 1805-6 and 1854-5; and they were given up as lost by their friends until the thawout released them. There was a celebrated school teacher in those days, named Ephraim Doan,** a jovial, excentric disciplinarian who did not spare the rod in his school; it was a standing joke among the mothers that Ephraim wore out more clothes with his switch than all other service, and that it was no uncommon thing to sweep up in the morning a basket full of broken switches, fragments of coat-tails, and lint as the result of the previous day's trimming.

One time the "big boys" planned to make him treat at Christmas by barring him out of the school-house. He got wind of their intent and determined to take part in the fun. The house had been a dwelling house, with a loft reached by a ladder and trap door. Before daybreak Christmas morning, old Ephraim was there and safely located in the loft with an abundant supply of switches. Soon the boys came and securely barred the door, and discussed their plans, what they should demand as a treat, &c., and indulged freely in comments on old Eph. At the usual hour the other children began to arrive, and the larger girls wanted to be admitted to have part in the fun. While the boys were discussing the propriety of admitting them old Ephraim suddenly dropped down among them, and began applying his switches with such frantic energy that a panic followed, and before the door could be unbarred he had thoroughly dusted their coats, and when at last they were free did not stop running till they got home. Old Ephraim did not treat that day, nor was another attempt ever made.

On his retreat from the Battle of Guilford Court House, Cornwallis camped two days on the hill east of Cane Creek Meeting House, and made his head quarters in Solomon Dixon's house; a split bottom arm chair is still preserved by Thomas Dixon in which he sat while stopping in the house. A pair of fire tongs is still kept in the neighborhood with which the tories pinched Solomon Dixon to make him give up his money; the tongs were heated in the fire, and then applied to his quivering flesh in a fiendish, barbarous manner.

While in camp many soldiers who were wounded in the battle died and were burried in the regular burial ground. It was said that Cornwallis was so overcome by his *disasterous* victory, that he seemed much depressed and seemed to enter into sympathy with his sick and wounded, and was kindly disposed toward the people, but the necessities of the army were so great that he had to forage near and far to feed his men. The regular soldiers, "the red coats," were not cruel, or unkind in their general treatment of the people, but hunger and suffering compelled them to take food wherever found. But the horror of the army were the merciless, murderous tories and camp fol-

**An Ephraim Doan, born 1768, is listed in the records of Cane Creek Meeting — The Editors.

lowers. They spared neither age, sex, or condition, and in turn were not spared when taken by their whig neighbors and Continental soldiers.

At the next camping place of Cornwallis down the river an event transpired that has been misrepresented by nearly all historians, and tradition is becoming distorted. As Cornwallis passed through the country he caused proclamation to be made that he had defeated General Greene and driven him out of the country, and that the king's authority was re-established. Over on Caraway and Uwharrie rivers in the neighborhoods of Friends, there had been much lawlessness, robbery and murder. When the Friends heard Cornwallis' proclamation they sent a deputation of twelve of their members to visit Cornwallis, and request him to appoint a man whose name they had forwarded, a deputy sheriff for that section, with authority to restrain and suppress the lawlessness; one of their number known as Uncle Bundy was to be their spokesman. On their way to the English Camp they were intercepted by Col. Lee and his cavalry, whom Gen. Greene had sent in that direction to cut off foraging parties. Lee recognized them as being Friends, and asked where and for what they were going. The Friends never doubting but what Lee belonged to the English army, as Greene was supposed to be driven out of the country, did not hesitate to tell all they had in their minds. Lee questioned them closely as to the situation of the English army, the spirit of the people in that part, and finally told them who he was, why there, and kindly advised them to go home and wait until Gen. Greene came and apply to him; the friends were astounded with the news, and the situation they were in. Before they had recovered from their astonishment, a company of tories and camp scavengers came up, and seeing the Friends talking with Lee, in like manner supposed he was English. It so happened that one of the robbers and murderers whom the Friends had mentioned was in the company, and was recognized by one of Lee's troopers. In a flash he was surrounded, dragged from his horse, and a rope put around his neck; at this the motley company broke and fled in the wildest terror. The Friends were silent witnesses to all this, but when they realized that the man was to be hung then and there, Uncle Bundy sprang from his horse, and pled earnestly for the man, until he could be heard, or have some sort of a trial. However, the man was swung up to the nearest tree, and hanged till dead. Uncle Bundy was so horrified at the sight, that he turned to Lee, and said indignantly, "That is nothing, but the work of the devil." Instead of being offended Lee simply said, "Such is war," and turning gave the order to move, and was off; he was in dangerous proximity to the enemy, and had to be on the alert and moving. A part of his men who had been looking at the fine horses of the Friends with envious eyes, lingered behind till Lee was out of sight; then they deliberately ordered Uncle Bundy and four others to dismount and swap horses, coats, hats, and boots, which in spite of vigorous protests and remonstrances, they were compelled to do. Then followed a scene; the

old Friends presented so ludicrous a figure in the battered cavalry cap and tattered regimentals, and the troopers in their plain Quaker coats, and broad brimmed hats, that *all* could not refrain from a hearty laugh. Then two scenes followed after; when Uncle Bundy reached home his own dog barked at him, and his wife did not recognize him at first, but felt alarmed to see a rather woe-be-gone trooper coming towards the house. In after years she said she never saw so shabby a specimen of manhood as Uncle Bundy when he came home, and Uncle himself said, he never felt so "Sheepish in his life." A similar scene occurred at the home of the other Friends.

When the troopers overtook Lee, and he learned and saw what had been done, he was indignant, and would have compelled the troopers to go back and make restitution, if time and circumstances would have permitted.

New Garden Monthly Meeting: Its Nantucket Origin and Characteristics

Between 1734 and 1737 three Friends from Nantucket came to Wilmington, N. C. in search of a place to settle the surplus population of that island. They came up the river to the new colony of Cane Creek by way of Fayetteville; there they spent some time exploring; that section was called the "Garden Spot" of the whole province, but these men had been sea captains, and were natural rovers, and adventurous, and determined to see more of the wonderful country. They started northward, passed the scattered settlers about Center, and pushed on into the great forest; guided by the valley of Deep river, they finally reached the vicinity of where Guilford College now stands. They were so charmed with the beautiful rolling country covered with an open park like forest, and a luxuriant growth of the wild pea vines, that they determined to locate; and called it the *New Garden* spot. In their wide wandering as sea captains about the world they had not seen a place that so near filled their ideals of a "beautiful land" of rest and peace.

On their return to Wilmington they found the ship ready for the return voyage, and in due time landed at their homes, running over with enthusiasm for their *New Garden*, the name it bears today. The next year 1737, or 38, several families of Friends came out and settled within three miles of where the college stands.* They were highly pleased with their new homes, and beautiful surroundings. The country abounded in game, from the buffalo down to the wild turkey and squirrel that swarmed on every hill; there

*These Nantucket Friends (Coffin's ancestors) did not arrive until the 1770s. New Garden was in fact settled by Pennsylvania Quakers in the 1740s and named for New Garden Meeting in Pennsylvania, which had been named for New Garden Meeting in Ireland — The Editors.

was also the panther, bear, grey wolf, wild cat, with beaver, otter, musk rat, mink, raccoon, fox and other smaller animals, making it a paradise for hunters and farmers. Most of the male portion of the immigrants had seen service at sea, had endured the hardships of whale-fishing and were strong, brave and fearless.

By 1744 there were near thirty families with several un-married young men the colony; all were Friends, and for that day in good circumstances; in their business of fishing and coast trading, they had laid by many a Spanish *dollar*. By 1750 there were near one hundred families in the colony. A very noted feature of this immigration was the number of girls and unmarried women who came over with the families, and as grandfathers and mothers used to explain "they were in demand for wives" by the hardy young men who had come on before to secure homes, build a house, and raise a crop, &c.

Between 1750 and 1760 several thousand of Friends had settled in what is now Guilford and Randolph Counties; the settlements going out from New Garden and Cane Creek had met in the intermediate country, large Meetings were organized and on every side, the Nantucket element, by its greater activity, predominated throughout the whole country, and the outlook was full of hope. Friends came from all parts of the colonies, and from England, as the old records show. Schools were opened at many places and the educational interest took first rank. Many of the Manhattan Dutch immigrated into the province bringing improved agricultural implements, among them the Dutch *fan* for cleaning wheat and other grain, also the scythe and cradle for harvesting grain; these added materially to the comfort and prosperity of the country. It was an old saying when anything new was found in inventions, "That beats the Dutch."

This infusion of Nantucket life into the central portion of North Carolina soon changed the moral, intellectual, and civil character of all that part of the state. The first immigrants were people of more than average ability. In their seafaring lives they had opportunities to study the manners and customs of all civilized countries, their arts and inventions, and above all they had a love of freedom not known to the plodding world. The influence of their schools was wider than their social and religious influence; and young people from all parts of the colony came to the Quaker schools, and today the grandsons of the men who were educated in those schools occupy many of the highest positions in the gift of the people in all the states and territories north of the Ohio, and west of the Mississippi river. Fifty years ago in my travels through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Missouri, I found many gray headed clerks of courts, judges, bankers, legislators, merchants, ministers, doctors and grand old farmers who had been educated in the Nantucket Quaker schools, and many a summer evening and winter night was spent in telling the tales of childhood in the far off home land.

As the numbers and influence of Friends increased, new questions arose and new responsibilities were thrust upon them. As the number of non-professing inhabitants increased the necessity for a fixed civil government became apparent, and Friends were looked to as the natural leaders. But it was no small matter to form a code of civil laws for a wild, roving race of hunters and frontier men; especially by those who needed no law for themselves, but the law of peace and goodwill to men.

There were so many conflicting elements in the makeup of the population that no system of laws could be framed to satisfy all. When the crown governors attempted to establish civil law, they met with stubborn opposition, or open defiance; many people were opposed to giving exclusive title to land, claiming that land should be as free as air and water that there should be no title beyond the right to cultivate. When the crown officers came to Cane Creek and New Garden, they found communities governed by "Common Consent," "What is customary, &c.," and there was no need of statute, or legislative laws as between neighbors. But for the collection of taxes, regulating titles to land, laws of inheritance and other general regulations, it was found necessary to establish fixed forms of legal procedure.

Friends were ever ready to yield active obedience to all civil laws not in conflict with the higher law of conscience; their superior education naturally fitted Friends for legislators and leaders, and in the early Colonial days they were elected to many offices of honor and trust, and were the balance wheels to legislation and popular opinion; but in time there arose a conflict between the military system introduced by the Colonial governors, and Friends' opposition to all war and military duty. Rather than be involved in contentions they, in time measurably withdrew from public service, and as military laws were enforced and slavery was established by law, they declined holding any and all executive offices, yet they formed a powerful factor in colonial and state affairs, and up to the last great emigration 1838 to 1846 held the balance of power and influence in many counties, and were still in the lead in education.

Along in the period of 1760 to 1785 they often were placed in very trying conditions; the spirit of discontent was abroad in the land; there was a spirit of rebellion and resistance towards the corrupt oppressive Colonial officials, which took definite form in N. C. in the celebrated agitation of the "Regulators." During the exciting times that preceded that agitation, and succeeded that outbreak, Friends were bitterly abused and misrepresented on account of their peace principles. In many cases they were between the two contending parties, the one condemning them for not joining their neighbors in the uprising, the other for not coming out as loyal subjects on the King's side. This continued for twenty, or more years, and was a time of close proving with many, and several lost their lives, rather than sacrifice their faith.

During the long contest between the governor and the Regulators, they were often wilfully, and maliciously misrepresented by the corrupt and unprincipled men in power, and a few historians have done the same. It was the universal custom in colonial days for every man to take his rifle with him when going from home, for up to the beginning of this century, dangerous wild animals were abundant, and a gun was needed for defense; and game being abundant, they nearly always brought home some kind of fresh meat. At all public gatherings the men carried their guns; oftentimes there would be many Quakers there with guns, but it was known of all men that under no circumstances, not even in self defense, would they use their guns to take human life. If they were present where there was riotous and rebellious conduct, they took no part, and their neighbors knew it. Dishonest officials, and unjust historians misrepresented them wilfully, because they had guns, "They were armed" on certain occasions. They were in sympathy with the object aimed at by the Regulators, but did not approve the means proposed to reach it.

Again, during the Revolution of 1776 and 1781, they were in sympathy with the cause of freedom, but they could not approve of freedom being obtained by war, and the destruction of so many lives. Personally they would rather continue to suffer wrong, than to right those wrongs in blood; and yet our history records many heroic deeds done by Quakers during the Revolution, whereby the cause of freedom was saved in the hour of need.

Many of the early crown governors charged them with being "traitors," "pestilent fellows," "rebels and traitors," for refusing to furnish supplies for the troops sent against the Indians in the aggressive wars; but subsequent governors pronounced them good, loyal citizens, ready and prompt to furnish supplies for troops stationed on the frontier to restrain the marauding bands of Indians, and the more dangerous bands of white murderers and robbers, distinguishing between police protection and aggressive war.

During the Revolution the Quakers suffered less than any other class of people; their peace principles were known throughout the state, and their neighbors knew them to be strictly honest and honorable. The British and tories claimed that they were in sympathy with the royal party, because they did not take up arms. The whigs knew them to be reliable as law abiding people. And chiefest of all with both contending parties, supplies were more abundant in their neighborhoods than anywhere else. Consequently, they were exempt from the destruction and violence that whigs and tories suffered. It happened many times that wounded and sick whigs and tories were nursed by Quaker families, being understood that they were on neutral ground, and must not be molested. Many times convalescents would help nurse their sick and dying enemies with tender hands. At the time of the Guilford Battle, both commanders, Cornwallis and Greene, acknowledged the sanctity of all Quaker homes, where were sick and wounded; many sick

and wounded British soldiers were permitted to pass on a certificate from any Quaker, when recovered sufficiently to rejoin the British army. The seventy-two mortally wounded and left by the British at New Garden Meeting-house were left wholly in the hands of the Quaker neighbors, who cared for them till they died, then buried them as carefully as their own countrymen would have done. A few days after the battle, it was reported to Greene that there were a lot of wounded soldiers at New Garden, he asked who was caring for them, when told he said, "They shall be protected, and have *safe conduct* if they recover"; afterwards, when Greene passed through the neighborhood, he thanked the entire neighborhood for their kind and humane treatment of the sick and wounded of both parties. Many of the English soldiers did not recover in time to rejoin the army, and remained with the families who had cared for them, afterwards marrying and becoming good citizens; others who did rejoin the army, and were taken back to England, in after years returned, and settled in Guilford County, whose descendants are here to this day.

Few men living in Carolina from 1750 to 1800 have been more misrepresented than the stanch old Regulator, Harmon Husbands; nearly all historians up to 1850 persisted in saying he was a Quaker, when he was helping regulate, which was not true. By the kindness of Mary C. Woody, I was put in possession of the following, which sets the question forever at rest, taken from the records of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, page 5, "Received into membership: Harmon Husbands produced a certificate 12th mo. 6th 1755"; page 30, "Disowned, Harmon Husbands = Complained of for being guilty of making remarks on the actions and transactions of this Meeting, and for publicly advertising the same . . . disowned 1st mo. 7th. 1764." So it is settled that he was not a member at the time charged, and had been a member at Cane Creek but eight years. It was currently reported and believed in 1830, that when his minute of disownment was read by the clerk, he arose and walked to the door, sat down, took off his shoes, stepped inside, struck them together three times in token of shaking the dust off his feet against them, then sat down, put on his shoes again, and walked away. Old men and women who knew him say, that he was afterwards suspected of meeting some of the obnoxious minions of injustice in narrow places, taking them by the throat and administering sundry applications of his broad palm to their ears, and it was shrewdly suspected that the notorious monster, Col. Fanning, felt the grip of his hand at his throat, and his ears made to ring like a tocsin for hours afterwards, and to make the matter more galling on all of them they were forced to swallow their wrath, for a prosecution at law would have subjected them to the unmerciful ridicule of even their own friends, for being *whipped* by a Quaker. With all his folly, faults, and human weakness, he had the elements of greatness in his character, that was not without its fruits in after years, but men of clearer discernment, more solidity of charac-

ter, and higher Christian attainments caught from him the inspiration of freedom that is yet bearing fruit.

There was another noted character that suddenly developed into a semi-hero, who showed the strange make up of the population in North Carolina, at the close of the Revolution. He was known as Tom Bullard, but that was not his real name. From causes never known, he became a robber of the rich, and a friend and benefactor of the poor. He made a regular business of riding through the country, and robbing the wealthy men and giving the money to the widow, the orphan, the poor, the hungry, and the helpless; sometimes he met men on the highway in open day, and compelled them to give up their money. Other times he would ride up and call a wealthy man out, as if to talk with him, then cover him with his rifle, and order his wife to deliver up the money, then ride deliberately away. Sometimes families would return from church or a short visit, and find tacked on the door a note signed by Tom Bullard notifying them that he had drawn on their deposit to such an amount, not always taking all. There was not a poor man in all the country that would have raised a hand against him; on the contrary kept him posted on all plans to capture him. In time there was a combination formed to capture him, and a reward of \$500 offered for him dead or alive. By what means it is not known, he learned that one of the company had \$500 on hand. Putting on one of his disguises he rode up to the man's house on a rather poor horse, and called the man to the gate, began talking about common things, then suddenly drew two pistols, and told the man to have his wife bring the \$500 reward as he was Tom Bullard, and had *delivered himself alive*; the money was brought out and paid over and Tom rode laughing away.

One singular thing about this strange man was he never disturbed a Friend though considered rich, often attended their religious meetings, and seemed to enjoy their solemn quietude, often called and stopped over night with them; and Friends not only had no fear, but had entire confidence in his word and promise. When he found a family or individual in sudden need, he was known to go and borrow money from Friends to relieve the want, and never failed to repay, though no note was given. He was a man of kindly sympathy, but knew no fear, and could read human character on sight. He at last died a natural death, kindly cared for by those whom he had aided in times of need. His funeral was as largely attended as any of the wealthy and great had been. Many whom he had robbed attended through curiosity to see what was said and done, and were astonished to see what an influence this strange character had gained over and in the hearts of the poor and lowly.

The excitement preceding and following the battle with the Regulators, intensified, as it was, by the brutal and murderous treatment of prisoners by Gov. Tryon, checked the tide of immigration into the middle and upper portion of the province, though a few families continued to come each year

from the northern states; but the Nantucket immigration continued with little interruption. When in Nantucket in 1863, a book was shown to me, a journal of a man who had visited Carolina in 1755 to 1760. He came to New Garden, and mentions names of families and people he met, whose names are found on the records of the Monthly Meeting held at that date. From the journal he appears to have gone west to the Yadkin river, and up stream for several days, then returned by the new settlement of the Moravians, at Old Salem, then by Springfield, through Randolph county, by Caraway mountain to Cane Creek and to Wilmington. He seems to have been highly pleased with the people and country, describing it as "Exceedingly beautiful and charming," noting everywhere the abundance of all kinds of game, and the abundance of fish in the rivers and small creeks, truly a land of plenty, abounding in good things. It is no marvel that Friends increased and prospered in such a goodly land in spite of bad governors and dishonest officials, the privations of pioneer life and distance from market.

Until 1745 to 1750 all foreign supplies came by ship to Wilmington, were taken up the river to Cross Creek (Fayetteville) in keel boats, then hauled, or carried on pack horses to the interior; but there was so much risk and loss in shipping around the dangerous coast about Cape Hatteras that all goods cost almost prohibitive prices. To avoid this Friends at Guilford and adjoining counties agitated the opening of a highway from Petersburg in Virginia to a point where Salisbury now stands. After much petitioning and delay in useless formalities, an order of council was secured and the road opened; this brought increased prosperity, though the distance to Petersburg was greater than to Fayetteville, and the needed supplies were greatly cheapened, the sea voyage being shortened and dreaded Hatteras avoided. For fifty years that road was one of the great commercial highways. Hundreds of wagons drawn by four and six horses passed over it every season, and the wagoners occupied about the position of the baggage-master, or conductor of our roads today. This road for many years was called the Quaker road, though its last name was the Salisbury road. More than half the teams were owned by Friends, who by their temperate and industrious habits gradually accumulated property; beside there was a community of interest among them in *interest*, as well as *honor*, preferring their neighbors. In those happy pioneer days a Friend's word was *better* than his bond; bonds could be lost, destroyed, or burned, but a solemn promise could not.

After the close of the Revolution in 1781, immigration received a new impulse among all classes and among many nationalities. It was now known there was one free spot of earth where justice, judgment, equality and freedom of conscience was secured for all white people. During the war the English soldiers saw much of the country, and its seeming unlimited capabilities and possibilities; on returning to England they were enthusiastic in their descriptions, which stimulated the spirit of emigration. The persecuted

in all lands heard the glad news and came, those actuated by the spirit of adventure came, and those who wanted a free gospel and a free God came, and thousands of sinners came; and at the beginning of this century we were of a strange make and composition, yet nearly all of one kindred and blood, capable of harmonious assimilation; yet every body is more or less influenced by their environment, and the spirit of the age. So it was with the early settlers of North Carolina; they partook of the wild, roving, restless spirit of the 16th century, including its superstition and intolerance.

If we could have the unwritten history of North Carolina during the 17th century it would read like a romance. Many of the incidents would be interesting and impressive, there would be strange adventure, hard fought battles, narrow escapes, scenes of destruction by fire and sword. Yet the hardy pioneers were brave, determined, and persistent in purpose and finally triumphed. Amid all their toil, privation and danger, there was much that was enjoyable in their wild, free lives; there was much of the old Norman hardihood and stubbornness, the Irish wit and fantastic supersitition, the sterling Scotch matter of fact practicability, the Dutch frugality and inventive ability, with the self satisfied English dignity; these elements when blended together gave the state a brave, independent, generous race of pioneers. Sometimes the adventurous spirit of the Norman planned and carried exploration parties into the unknown wilderness that lay beyond the frontier. The practical Scotchman would aspire to introduce stock and domestic implements from his native highlands. The Dutchman introduced the good old ways of home life, labor saving machinery, luxurious living and stolid sweet content. The Englishman introduced his high toned aristocratic ways, his hounds and hunting horse. But the irrepressible Irishman not satisfied with peace and plenty, must have his wild, free wake, and his tournament with the shillaly, and with his superstition peopled the hills and streams with imaginary phantoms, spooks and unseen spirits, and in common with many others had an undoubted belief in witches.

As the country abounded in game of all kinds, the natural result was many settlers became professional hunters, deer and coon skins being a circulating medium and standard of value, while all, even women and girls, became expert with long, heavy rifles then in use. Many wonderful feats of marksmanship were related by the grandfathers in the early part of this century, feats that would seem impossible when we look at one of the flint lock rifles preserved in the museums. Friends became celebrated as superior marksmen, their temperate habits and quiet peaceful lives gave them strong bodies and steady nerves and clear discerning [*sic*] eyes. A remarkable instance was told that may not be out of place here. There was a desperado who had been outlawed, but eluded capture and refused to leave the country. He finally became so brutal and vicious, that he was a perfect terror to defenseless women everywhere; finally a sheriff summoned a posse to hunt him

down, and shoot him. On the way they met a Friend who enquired where they were going, and the object, being told, he without a word turned and followed. When the man was sighted the sheriff summoned him to lay down his gun and surrender. In a flash the desperado's gun was on his shoulder, and the next instant the Friend's rifle went off, and the desperado's rifle fell to the ground and his right arm hung helpless by his side. He immediately surrendered. It was found that the Friend had cut the muscle of his arm at the shoulder with as much precision as if done with a knife. Without a word he re-loaded his gun and went his way, had saved two lives for that day by his skill as a marksman, though the criminal was hung by due course of law afterwards.

At one time the crows, blackbirds and squirrels became so numerous, and so destructive that the colonial legislature passed a law that all men should kill each year five crows, fifty blackbirds, and five squirrels, or pay a fine; places were appointed in each county, or district where the sheriff would meet the people to receive scalps; in time the meeting places became places where the hunters tried their skill and contested for the championships, and finally the custom became established of meeting in the early spring at what became known as a "closing out," and it became customary to have shooting matches, where premiums were offered for the best marksman and very often the premium would be a specified part of a beef; first the head and feet, then a fore-quarter, finishing up on choice hind-quarters. The boys generally entered the list for first prize, then the average marksman; but the wizard, as the crack shots were called, reserved their fire till the last. When there were several experts present the contest would some times last for hours; decisions would have to be made on the eighth of a diameter of a rifle ball. William Fluke was one of the celebrated marksmen; at one of the contests he put sixteen balls in one hole sixty yards off hand, and there was not an eighth of a diameter variation. His skill was such that poor widows far and near sent for him to come and "shoot their steak" for them. In time, he, and his class, were not permitted to shoot for beef except for widows, or the helpless. Another feat was to tie a turkey eighty yards away, and the hunter that shot both eyes out at one shot won the prize.

In many places it was the custom to have a grand festival at the closing out; a fat ox, and many deer were barbecued. It was a gala day; men, women, children and servants were present. At these festivals were rehearsed the noted events of the hunters, the battles with panthers and bears, the escapes and sometimes deaths with all that was interesting and amusing. It was on such occasions the unwritten history was rehearsed and perpetuated. The old hunters would rehearse to groups of eager, wondering children the adventures of their lives; many times these stories would so delight and impress the children that they were never forgotten; oftentimes they could repeat them with wonderful accuracy.

It was at one of these festivals, or closing outs, held in the year 1790, or

91, an incident occurred, small in itself, but of such a character that it had an influence on North Carolina, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, the whole Society of Friends, the United States and the world. There was a shooting match about one mile east of where Guilford College now stands, in the midst of a beautiful forest on the New Salisbury road. A large company had assembled, and many noted riflemen were there, performing wonderful feats of marksmanship. In the midst of the exciting contest a beautiful young woman suddenly made her appearance coming up the road from the north-east. She was dressed in a net walking dress with ornamented Indian leggins and moccasins. She carried a small rifle highly ornamented with silver mountings, and the usual shot pouch and belt, with hunting knife and small hatchet, a complete hunting outfit. After the excitement had somewhat subsided and shooting began again, she modestly asked permission to take a shot with the contestants; the request was granted and she stepped lightly out to the line, raised her rifle, took quick aim and fired; the ball drove the center to a hair's breadth sixty yards away. A shout of applause from the hunters made the forest ring; again she loaded and fired, again the ball drove the center. Astonished and bewildered the old hunters gathered around her, doubting whether they were seeing a vision, or were in the presence of flesh and blood; but her bright, intelligent face, respectful language and lady like bearing convinced them that she was a mortal, and one of the highest types of sacred womanhood; but to the inquiry who she was, from whence she came, and why thus alone among strangers, she respectfully declined to answer, but gave her name as Ann, the huntress. Richard Dodson,* a Friend, invited her to go home with him, his home being less than a mile away. She accepted the invitation, and as they walked away her form was so graceful, and her step so light and springing, that the old veterans shook their heads again, doubting whether, or no all was really human.

That night more than a hundred homes were filled with wonder at the story of Ann, the huntress. Next morning when she arose her greeting to all the members of the Dodson family was so genial, and full of kindly feeling that she captured the hearts and lasting friendship of every member. She was invited to make her house her home without limit of time, which was thankfully accepted. Every day she would go out hunting, and invariably bring in some choice game, or report where she had killed a fat deer and hung it up.

Her name and fame as a huntress soon spread far and wide, which together with the deep mystery that hung over her soon made her a universal favorite; she became a welcome guest at every home, there was not a mother within the range of her visitations but looked upon it as a blessing to have

*No Dodson has been found in the records of New Garden Meeting or any other North Carolina meeting of this period — The Editors.

Ann's refining influence among her children. Her education was far in advance of her day, and nothing gave her more joy than to be surrounded with eager, listening children wishing to learn. To the children and young people she was an angel of light, and so completely had she won the hearts of all that every man, or boy would have risked their lives in her defense. She would exchange deer and other skins for powder and lead, and the few articles of clothing she needed, indeed her wants were nearly always anticipated by the grateful mothers with whom she sojourned.

The most wonderful thing she did was the reform in the language of the people. Before she came nearly every body said "goin," instead of going, "doin," instead of doing. She taught all the children to sound the ing to all words with that termination, also taught them to drop the then universal mode of pronouncing, still largely in use in the eastern part of the state. Some very amusing stories were told of the ludicrous scenes that were witnessed when the old whalers tried to get their thick Nantucket tongues to twist off and pronounce in the polite language, but with the children she made a complete success, and ere she left, a half generation had grown up under her magic instruction, and their superior polish and intelligence was a striking contrast to outside communities.

Her cheerful smile, bright face, and gentle ways was [sic] a light in every household; so much so that many began to seriously believe there was something supernatural about her; but alas, the scene suddenly changed. In the winter of 1807-8 Ann disappeared as suddenly as she appeared, and no trace of her was ever found. For many years travelers in every direction made inquiry. Emigrants going west, and south-west were on the look out, but in vain. The mystery was never solved, but her work was done. The hundreds of children who came under her inspiration never forgot a word, a look, a tone that came from her. When they grew to man and womanhood, they in turn became teachers and instructors of the knowledge received from Ann. Their children were among the emigrants that started the great tide to the northwest after the close of the war of 1812-14. They engrafted the teaching of Ann, the huntress, on the school systems of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Iowa, and their language and their pronunciation is that of all the great north-west and Pacific coast, [and] will be the language of the nations of the world. There are few now living who can call back this wonderful local history, yet some gifted person might have taken the story of Ann, the huntress, and woven a romance of pioneer life in N. C. that might have immortalized their subject and name.

Another incident will serve to give an insight into the home life of a century ago, and will show another form of the environment of Friends. Among the large number of Irish immigrants who came over in 1784 to 1788 was James Christy and his wife Jêne (Jane) who were above the average in intelligence and refinement. The wife was the daughter of an eminent physi-

cian, who took much care in educating his daughter in many things considered above a woman's calling. In a few years, James Christy died leaving his widow in limited circumstances with three children, though he had secured a small farm and made some improvement.

Jêne worked hard and practised rigid economy to make both ends meet, until sickness came into the family, and want seemed staring her in the face. She was sorely perplexed as to the course best for her. One day it came into her mind to use her idle knowledge in working on the superstition of her neighbors; her knowledge of botany had shown her the effect that jimson seed had on man and animals when administered in safe quantities. Securing a supply of Jimson seed, she experimented in secret until she became expert. Then with portions of pounded Jimson seed done up in pellets of corn meal, she went among her neighbors' stock administering her medicine.

In a short time the neighborhood was wild with excitement. Jêne Christy had been seen going among the cattle, and hogs making strange pantomimes, and the animals were soon thrown into the wildest state of excitement: the cattle bellowed in an unearthly manner, and ran and plunged about as if distracted, the hogs raved in a frenzy of excitement, fighting and snapping the bushes as if possessed again by the cast out demons. In a few days, a trio of brave, strong minded men summoned courage to visit old Jêne, as they now called her, to know wherein they had sinned, that she had been commissioned by the Evil one to bewitch their cattle. She reminded them that she and her children were afflicted, and in want, and they had not fulfilled Scripture in visiting the widow and the fatherless in their affliction. They made haste to inform the neighbors the result of the interview, and Jêne's wants were promptly supplied.

Soon after this an event occurred that Jêne considered a special Providence for her. Fox hunting had become a favorite sport with a certain class. Many men took pride in having a fine pack of hounds, and spent much time fox hunting. It so happened that a very large fox had been seen for sometime in the neighborhood, and a grand hunt was arranged; the fox was started, and gave the hounds a long weary run. Then as daylight appeared it made a bee line for old Jêne's barn, where the trail was lost. As if by inspiration, she conceived the idea that there was something in the event for her. After daylight she went to the barn to investigate; near the barn stood a wide spreading tree with drooping branches. While Jêne was up in the mow she chanced to peep out to the tree, when lo!, there in a cavity formed by the branches lay the fox nicely coiled up taking a much needed rest. One of the branches drooped so low the fox could jump to it from the top of the fence and scramble to his hiding-place. Jêne went down with a smiling face and twinkling eyes; there was light ahead. Soon another hunt was proclaimed; in the meantime a vague rumor was abroad that old Jêne could, and had, turned herself to a fox, and it was all important that it should be proved.

Arrangements were made that a watch should be set at the barn soon after the hunt began, but Jêne's shrewdness anticipated the movement; she was in the barn before the watch came. As before, the fox made a long run, then made for, and disappeared at the barn. As soon as Jêne heard the fox scrambling up the tree, she walked out of the barn before the eyes of the astonished and frightened watchers.

Soon the hounds and hunters arrived, and were astonished at what was reported to them; for awhile there was the most intense excitement, if there was a person among them possessed of such supernatural power, no one was safe. Some of the more sensible would not accept the prevailing belief, and proposed another test. The most practical one of the company was chosen to come to the barn, conceal himself inside the door, the better to see by what process old Jêne got through the crack, as there was but one door. This arrangement was made before the hunters dispersed, but unfortunately for them in ear shot of Jêne's listening ear.

When the next hunt came Jêne was in the barn in the early twilight; in due time the neighbor came and took his position inside and near the door, not without some fear and misgiving. Again the hunt ended, the deep baying of the hounds indicated a hot pursuit in the home run, and again the fox scrambled up the tree. The next thing heard was a scratching on the wall of the barn, with a thud as one jumping down on the floor, and then old Jêne walked boldly out at the door almost touching the frightened and almost paralyzed watcher. The thing was now settled; there could be no longer a shadow of doubt about old Jêne's supernatural power. By noon the next day the whole neighborhood was in a ferment over the situation. There was quite a steady, reliable old Friend living not far away, whose wife was a favorite among all the neighbors for her sound practical sense and motherly heart. She was not disturbed, did not lose her head, but was rather amused at the whole thing: knowing Jêne Christy's superior ability of mind, she took her husband and went over to see Jêne, assuring her they would keep the secret, what ever it might be, if she would divulge the whole thing. With a merry twinkle in her eye she led them to the barn, and revealed the whole thing, making it all plain and intensely amusing. Jêne and the neighbor lady prepared a good dinner, while the man went for his gun and shot the fox, thus covering up the secret for all time. The fact that the two old Friends were seen going and returning from Jêne's house, and as the fox disappeared the mystery was deepened, instead of solved, but many verily believed that the old Friends cast the devil out of old Jêne. But she never lacked for anything her own labor would not procure; she found true friends in her hour of need. She raised her children, then moved to Deep river in west Tennessee, where her children settled, and she lived to a good old age.

Annual Report Of The Friends Historical Collection

1983-1984

by

Damon D. Hickey
and
Carole M. Treadway

During the year 1983-84, curator Damon Hickey returned from study leave, but spent much of his time, as associate library director, on general library administration, planning for a library building addition (including a substantial expansion of the Friends Historical Collection), and developing a proposal for library automation. To a large extent therefore bibliographer Carole Treadway continued to manage daily operations of the collection. In this work she was ably assisted by library secretary Gertrude Beal, student assistants Karen Vance and Samantha Moore, and volunteers Margaret Michener, Augusta Benjamin, and Theodore Perkins.

Outreach

In addition to the activities in the collection listed in the appendix, the staff was active in a variety of outside activities. Both Carole Treadway and Damon Hickey served on the board and committees of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Damon Hickey saw to the printing of the autumn 1983 issue of *The Southern Friend: Journal of The North Carolina Friends Historical Society*, and succeeded Herbert Poole as the journal's co-editor. He also served on the Steering Committee of the Guilford College Friends Center and the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records and the Publications Board of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (F.U.M.). Carole Treadway convened the Records Committee of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), in addition to serving as recording clerk for her monthly meeting. Damon Hickey was chosen recording clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) last summer. Both have spoken to and worked with a variety of Friends groups throughout the year.

Damon D. Hickey is the curator and Carole M. Treadway is the bibliographer of the Friends Historical Collection of the Guilford College Library, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Development

As a result of the consultative visits to campus of Arthur Dye, a start has been made on developing a selection policy for the Friends Historical Collection. It is hoped not only that such a policy will assist the staff in focusing its efforts on acquiring the types of materials most appropriate to the collection, but also that it will aid in raising endowment funds to support the arrangement, processing, cataloging, storage, preservation, and use of valuable collections of materials.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (F. U. M.) continued this year its generous support of one-half of Carole Treadway's salary, enabling the collection to continue its services to yearly meeting members, pastors, and office staff. It has also set the stage for possible assistance later on, when the college begins to raise funds for a library building addition, through joint fundraising to expand quarters for the collection. Discussions have been held with the yearly meeting staff looking toward eventual transfer of obsolete office records to the collection's safekeeping, a move that would further enhance the collection's service to North Carolina Friends, as well as benefit future researchers. The collection also received again this year a contribution from North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative).

Education

J. Floyd Moore's course in Quakerism was not taught this year, but other classes and individual students (see appendix) made good use of the collection's resources. The new state requirement of North Carolina history for eighth graders, along with a chapter on "The Quaker Era" in the new textbook, brought several inquiries from public school teachers. As a result of one of these, the curator spoke to all the eighth grade social studies classes at Greensboro's Jackson Junior High School about the Quaker influence in North Carolina and Guilford County.

Research

The appendix lists the variety of research projects conducted in the collection this year, and these will not be repeated here with one exception. Seth B. Hinshaw has spent much of his year in the collection doing research for his interpretive history of North Carolina Friends. This book, to be published jointly by North Carolina Yearly Meeting (F. U. M.) and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, will be released in conjunction with North Carolina's "American 400" celebration. The staff devoted considerable time to this project, including assistance with research, checking

sources, and reading and correcting the manuscript. It is anticipated that this book will be widely read and will contribute much to the appreciation of the Quaker witness and influence in North Carolina.

Acquisitions

The deposit by Quaker House in Fayetteville of its papers this year has put within the reach of researchers a valuable record of an important recent peace project by North Carolina Friends: counseling of conscientious objectors at one of the world's largest army bases. One major acquisition this year not listed in the appendix was the purchase of a collection of pamphlets and tracts of the Muggletonians. This group was the most vigorous rival of the Quakers in seventeenth-century England, and is the only radical sect of the period besides Quakerism to have survived into the present century. The Muggletonians did not proselytize, and circulated their writings only among their own members. With the death of the last of their sect their archives became available to researchers, and several previously uncirculated, nineteenth-century reprints of early Muggletonian works were offered for sale. Guilford College has now acquired copies of most of these, along with a new book on the sect written by Christopher Hill. The discovery and acquisition of this material is important for the light it can shed on seventeenth-century Quakerism. Along with the collection's already considerable holdings of early printed Quaker works, plus its recently acquired microfilm series, this new collection should greatly enhance the research opportunities for students of early Quaker thought.

Staff and Staff Development

The activities of the curator and bibliographer in their own Friends meetings have been noted above. Both also became charter members this year of the Society of North Carolina Archivists, and attended both its planning meeting and its organizational meeting. In the fall Damon Hickey delivered his paper, "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Quakers in Reconstruction," to the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. He is to deliver the same paper to the Friends Historical Association, meeting in Easton, Maryland, in May of this year. Carole Treadway began work on revising her master's thesis for eventual publication. Her alma mater, the Library Science and Educational Technology Department of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, judged hers to be the outstanding thesis of her graduating class.

The collection continues to benefit from the excellent work of its volunteers: Margaret Michener, a resident of Friends Homes; Augusta

Benjamin, a new resident of the community; and Theodore Perkins, who sorted one large manuscript collection. With the large volume of materials received this year, this assistance in processing, along with that of student assistants, has been invaluable.

Future Prospects: New Quarters And The Friends Center

Early in the fall Judith Harvey, director of the Friends Center and curator Damon Hickey formulated a proposal for the closer identification of the center and the collection, and the sharing of a physical facility. The center's office, including a secretary to be shared with the collection, would be provided for in the addition to the Library building. Although the center's activity is not confined to an office, the bringing together of these two Quaker-and-college agencies would enhance communication, provide an established base for the center, facilitate the use of the collection in programming, and provide a complementarity of focus on the Quaker past, present, and future. Reaction to the proposal has been generally favorable, and plans are moving forward.

Library building consultant Aaron Cohen met with Curator Damon Hickey and Library director Herbert Poole four times in the course of the year to make preliminary plans for a building addition, possibly in two to three years. The collection is presently more than full, and much material is stored elsewhere. There is virtually no room to process materials. The curator's "private" office, although most attractive, is also a thoroughfare for staff and the public. The vault is overcrowded, and other rare materials (books and private manuscripts) sit on open shelves in the office and stacks. Approximately six thousand square feet of space in the new wing (including two small offices for the Friends Center) have been requested to replace the approximately two thousand in the present facility.

Retired state archivist Thornton Mitchell visited the collection in the spring to review the architectural consultant's preliminary sketches. He made several valuable suggestions about arrangement that could result in more and better-used space for collection expansion. This work was performed without charge to the college, and Thornton Mitchell has very generously offered to review future plans as they develop.

The Friends Historical Collection is a treasure of the college and the Quaker community. A seminar room planned for its new quarters emphasizes the commitment of its staff to make it a working part of the curriculum and of Friends programs. The collection differs from the rest of the college Library, however, in several ways other than the obvious differences in the age of materials. The collection aims to be a bona fide research collection for scholars. It is therefore more comprehensive in its acquisitions, and it

attracts an extensive clientele from outside the college. Its materials require special care. It includes manuscripts and artifacts as well as printed works. The description of its holdings requires different techniques, specialized knowledge, and more physical area than is the case with books and periodicals. Its range of functions is at least as broad as the general library's, including acquisitions, cataloging, reference service, and even limited types of circulation.

Most important perhaps is the openendedness of the collection. The general collection may be "frozen" at a particular size, by requiring that each title added must be matched by a title deleted or at least stored elsewhere. An archival and historical collection, by its very nature, must grow if it is to serve the agencies and the area of history for which it was created. New acquisitions do not replace old ones; they add to them. For this reason it is important that plans include as much flexibility for future expansion, either internal or external, as possible, even though the general collection's future may be much more modest.

Gifts To The Friends Historical Collection

Benjamin, Augusta

Contribution of volunteer work in the Friends Historical Collection

Bivins, Caroline H.

Study of Dolley Payne Todd Madison (1768-1845) through Bibliographical Sources, by Caroline Holmes Bivins, 1983

Blackmore, Eleanor Cain

Family Connections, by Eleanor Cain Blackmore, 1983

Bond, James O.

We Held Hands Within the Dark: A Book of Poems, by James O. Bond, 1982; *The Diary of Rose Mills Bond, 1925*, 1983; contribution of Money

Bonner, Ruth E.

Quaker Ways: Pictures of Meeting Houses in Current Middle Atlantic America, by Ruth E. Bonner, 1978 (2 copies)

Brice, Doris

See Osborne, Charles Franklin and Arilla Ballinger

Brown, David H., Jr.

Section of a beam from the first North Carolina Friends Meeting house built in Pasquotank County circa 1705

Browning, Mary A.

Indes to Deceased Guilford Col. N.C. Court Records August 1781-Feb. 1811, compiled by Mary Browning, 1983

Bundy, V. Mayo

The Descendants of Neil Culbreth and Martha Autry of Samson Co., N.C., by V. Mayo Bundy, 1983; contribution of money

Copeland, J. William

Autograph album of James W. Copeland, 1853-54 (photocopy)

Cox, Joseph J.

Additions to Cox Family Papers including newspaper clippings, photographs, awards of Joseph D. Cox and J. Elwood Cox. Also letters to Mrs. J.J. Cox, 1919-1920. Ca. 50 items

Cox, Robert B.

Marriage license of Haniel Edwards and Ellen Scaife, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1730 (photocopy)

Craven, F. Duval

Additions to Craven Family Papers and family history materials (about 85 items, some photocopies); *Family Records of Thomas Gluyas and Letitia Beeson Gluyas & Walter Pharr Craven and Martha Gluyas*, by Sue Sample Craven, 1983

Crawford, Sybil

The Dillon Family In America. By Charles B. Davis, 1909 (photocopy)

Davis, Donald and Helen

Books and manuscripts from the library of the Mendenhall and Davis families including 109 titles and 7 manuscript notebooks of Nereus Mendenhall, J. Franklin Davis, and one unidentified writer

Edgerton, Ethel M.

Two books from the library of Mary H. Copeland: *An Account of a Divine Visitation and Blessing. Attending . . . the Teachers of Waltham Abbey School* 1874; *Through the Veil*, ed. by S. R.

Morgan, 1946. Additions to the Mary H. Copeland papers including a manuscript titled, "Some Account of the Last Illness and Departure of...Abigail W. Hall who Deceased 12 mo. 29, 1883..."; stationery portfolio of Mary G. Hazard Cook; lithograph of Elias Hicks, 1826; Fritchley General Meeting Epistle, 1903; letters

Edmonson, Dorothy (with Rufie Lee Williams)

Thomas Bell: Ulster Scot to South Carolina and Allied Families,
by Rufie Lee Williams, 1984

Elder, J.H.

Marriage certificate of Joseph Hill and Ann Vestal, 1821

Feagins, Carroll

"Critiques of Pacifism by Some American and British Philosophers since 1914," PhD Dissertation, Northwestern University, by Carroll Feagins, 1954

Feagins, Mary

Reversible doll made for Levi Coffin House, Fountain City, Indiana. One side dressed as a Quaker lady, the other as a black lady

Foster, Thyra Jane

A Tribute to Elizabeth Foster, Member of an Uncommon Family,
by Thyra Jane Foster, 1983

Friends Association for Higher Education

Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Conference, June 24-27, 1983: Quaker Education as Ministry

Friends Center (Judy Harvey)

Videotape of Stephen Cary lecture given October 1983, "The AFSC as Peacemaker"

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College

Six seventeenth century Quaker pamphlets

Friends World Committee for Consultation and Herbert Hadley

1983 Nitobe Memorial Lecture (in Japanese) titled: "The Quaker Friends of Asia: Harry Silcock, Passmore Elkinton and Gilbert Bowles" given by Herbert M. Hadley, 1984

Gibbs, Mary Ellen

David Schenk's "Guilford Battleground Memorandum Book, 1898"

Greensboro Historical Museum

Windows to the Past: Primitive Watercolors from Guilford County, North Carolina in the 1820's, by Karen Cobb Carroll, 1983 (sourcebook for the exhibit "Practical and Pleasing Samples of Piedmont Folk Traditions")

Hadley, Herbert

See Friends World Committee for Consultation

Haworth Descendants, by Clara F. Gallimore

The Haworth Family from 1684 to Now, (rev. ed.), 1982

Haworth, Cecil

Bulletins, Jamestown Meeting, July 1982-June 1983

Heiss, Willard

Additions to Edna Harvey Joseph Papers, including genealogical notebooks, correspondence, and notebooks of Webster Parry

Hickey, Damon

"Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Quakers in Reconstruction," by Damon D. Hickey, 1983; slide of aerial view of Guilford College and vicinity taken July 1983; "History in Buildings: the Architectural Heritage of Randolph Co., N.C.," by Mac Whatley, 1982

High Point Museum

Issues of *The Guilford Collegian*, 1899, 1901-1912, 1914; catalog and alumni numbers of *Guilford College Bulletin*, 1905-1906, 1909-1911

Hilty, Hiram and Janet

Benjamin Hilty (1846-1898) and Elizabeth Schumacher (1846-1910): Hilty Family Record, by Janet and Hiram Hilty, 1982

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

Genealogical charts of the Pike, Cox, Toms, Nicholson, and Albertson families; brief genealogy of the Albertson family

The Southern Friend

compiled by J. Waldo Woody, n.d.; typed copy of "Some Family Records Copied from a Bible Printed in Edinburgh in 1792"; nine miscellaneous photographs

Hodgin, E. Clay, Jr.

Hodgins . . . Kindred Forever, by Lester Hodgins, 1977

Hughes, Fred

Additions to papers documenting Guilford and Surry Counties Historical Documentation maps; additions to Fred Hughes personal papers including maps, aerial photographs, newspapers (24 items).

Johnson, Lorand V.

Selected References Relating to the Ancestry of William and John Johnston. Colonial Friends (Quakers) of Virginia, by Lorand V. Johnson, 1972

Lamb, Thyele and Adriana

Marriage certificate of Thomas White and Susanna Palin, 1801

Lindsay, William D.

"Origins of the Brazleton Family, Pioneer Settlers of Hardin County," by William D. Lindsay, 1983 (copy of a paper to be published in *Hardin County, Tenn. Historical Society Quarterly*)

Mackie, W. Worth

Two photographs showing participants of the 1929 American Friends Service Committee Peace Caravan

Macon, Lalah Cox

Christmas letters of Raymond and Helen Binford, 1950-52; Guilford College 50th anniversary alumni pin of Myrtle R. Cox

March, Lewis C.

Friends Intelligencer & Journal. Volume I, 1895 (bound)

Mason, Bert

Abington Friends Meeting, 300th Anniversary Celebration, 1683-1983, 1983, 1983

Michener, Margaret

Contribution of volunteer work

Milner, Clyde and Ernestine

Additions to Milner papers including travel diary, 1965, and awards; additions to Milner artifact collection including china, silver flatware, and various gifts received in the Milners' 1965 round-the-world trip

Moore, George

Summer Family History & Genealogy. by George Moore, 1983 (on microfiche)

Mount Airy Public Library

The Journal of Thomas Chalkley, 1866

Mower, Mary Blair

Costumes and artifacts including Judith Mendenhall's shawl, a linsey-woolsey blanket said to have been made by Tabitha Mendenhall (1755-1845) of Chester County, Pennsylvania; a linen damask tablecloth with initials "M.T.," possibly Mary Taylor Randolph, ca. 1789-1867

Newlin, Algie I.

Audiotape of an interview of Algie I. Newlin by James O. Bond, taped 8-15-1983

Newlin, Charles

Documentary photographs (23) copied by Charles Newlin. Pertaining to Cane Creek, Chatham, and West Grove (Conservative) Friends Meetings; residents of Alamance County; and North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)

Newlin, Inez B.

Braxton family Bible

Ohio Valley Yearly Meeting, Executive Committee by Thomas C. Hill

Rules of Discipline of Indiana Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Hicksite), rev. 1892; *Discipline of Indiana Yearly Meeting (Hicksite)*, 1869; *Book of Discipline of the Ohio Valley Yearly Meeting, Religious Society of Friends*, 1978

Osborne, Charles Franklin and Arrilla Ballinger, in memory of. Given by their children, Donald Jay Osborne and Doris Osborne Brice. Books (23); newspaper clippings (3); letter of Addison Coffin to W. G. Coffin and Samuel D. Coffin, 1892-1897 (8)

Osborne, Donald Jay

See Osborne, Charles Franklin and Arrilla Ballinger

Pendle, Hill

Of Holy Disobedience, by A. J. Muste, reprint, 1980; "To Martin Luther King with Love: A Southern Quaker's Tribute," by David W. Pitre (to be published as a Pendle Hill pamphlet)

Perkins, Theadore E.

Photographs (2) of Henry Davis Cox taken ca. 1897 and of Yearly Meeting attenders in front of New Garden Meeting House (now New Garden Hall, ca. 1912-1915); *The Perkins and Allied Families of Wayne County, North Carolina*, by Theodore E. Perkins, 1983; contribution of volunteer work; "Annual Essays of Mary Eliza Perkins Fentriss (April 17, 1851-April 7, 1940) (and) Other Miscellaneous Material," copied by Theodore E. Perkins, 1983; Bulletins of First Friends Meeting, 1983; miscellaneous newsclippings, brochures, bulletins, programs (30 items); volunteer work

Pipkin, John Moses

Sonnets from Hunger and Other Poems, by John Moses Pipkin, 1983

Powell House, By Dan P. Whitley, Director

Quaker Meetings for Discussion: A Working Paper, by Leonard S. Kenworthy, Powell House Occasional Paper #1, 1983

Pritchett, W.R., Jr.

1911 Guilford Quaker

Quaker House, by Bill Sholar, Director

Archival files of Quaker House, including papers of Board of Overseers and Director, 1969-1983 (4 linear feet)

Reynolds, Paul

Gravestone Records, Centre Friends Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina, compiled by Paul Reynolds, 1983

Rochelle, Herschel B.

Farrington and Kirk Family: Ancestors and Descendants of Abraham Farrington (1765-1845) of New Jersey and Ohio, and Wife Deborah Kirk (1781-1829) of Chester Co., Pa., by Herschel B. Rochelle, 1983

Annual Report of the Friends Historical Collection

Schmoe, Floyd

Why is Man?, by Floyd Schmoe, 1983

Shope, Nathaniel and Annie Schnieder

Additions to Frederick L. Boyer papers (approximately 100 items)

Southeastern Historical Association, by Richard N. Otterbourg

Framed display of items located on the Guilford College Campus with a metal detector

Stoesen, Alexander

The Life of Herbert Hoover: The Engineer, 1874-1914, by George H. Nash, 1983; *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March*, by Adelaide Fries, Stuart T. Wright, J. Edwin Hendricks, 1976; Founders Hall brick (1837) with imprint of hand

Szitty, Ruth O.

Henry T. Outland, His Lineage and His Life, by Ruth O. Szitty, 1983

Terrell, Thomas E., Jr.

"Some holsom exhortations: Henry White's Seventeenth-Century Southern Religious Narrative Verse," by Thomas E. Terrell, Jr. Offspring from *Early American Literature*, 18 (1983)

Townsend, George L.

Service with the War Relocation Authority, 1942-1946, by George Townsend, 1984

Tullis, Kathy

Wedding outfit of Phebe Mendenhall Baker (1859) including dress, bonnet, and shawl; short jacket made of feedsacks, 1860s?

Vernon, W.M.

Vernon Vignettes, 1983 issues

Whipple, Judith Cox

Photocopies of pages from the Cox-Kennedy family Bible with family records

White, V. R.

"The Quaker Educational Movement in North Carolina with

Special Emphasis on the Albemarle Section." Unpublished master's thesis by V.R. White, Wake Forest College, 1943

Whittier College

Pamphlets, tracts, books, and periodicals (uncounted)

Williams, Rufie Lee

See Dorothy Edmonson

Woke, Paul A.

"Descendants of Israel Mendenhall Jr. and Israel's Mendenhall Ancestry: The Benjamin Mendenhall Line in America," revised, by Paul Woke, 1983

Women's Society of First Friends Meeting

Contribution of money

Documents Of Monthly, Quarterly, And Yearly
Meetings Of North Carolina Deposited In The Friends
Historical Collection

Centre Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1972-December 1982

Charlotte Monthly Meeting

Minutes and papers, January 1963-November 1967

Minutes and papers, February 1976-December 1977

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1952-June 1983

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1982-December 1982

Harmony Grove Monthly Meeting

Minutes, Rosa Edgerton Missionary Circle, May 1979-December 1982

Bible School Records, February 1927-October 1928

Holly Spring Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1980-June 1983

Annual Report of the Friends Historical Collection

- Kernersville Monthly Meeting
Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, July 1959-June 1972
- Marlboro Monthly Meeting
Papers, Marlboro Cemetery Fund
Treasurer's Records, 1927-1952 (1 volume)
- North Carolina Yearly Meeting
Memorials, 1983
Spiritual Reports of the monthly meetings, 1983
- Piney Woods Monthly Meeting
Minutes, September 1973-June 1983
Minutes (Clerk's notes), September 1857-March 1865
(photocopies)
- Rich Square Monthly Meeting (Conservative)
Minutes, March 1939-April 1961
- Rocky River Monthly Meeting
Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, June 1977-June 1981
- White Plains Monthly Meeting
Minutes, 1979-1980
Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, 1966-1968
Color slides
- Wilmington Monthly Meeting (Conservative)
Minutes, August 1982-March 1983
- Yadkin Valley Quarterly Meeting
Minutes, July 1947-April 1967
Minutes, Evangelistic Committee, October 1902-July 1915
Treasurer's Records, September 1894-December 1911

Statistics
Acquisitions And Cataloging

New monographs	349 (including 254 requiring original cataloging)
Reclassified monographs	169 (including 25 requiring original cataloging)
Microfilm added	74 reels
Meeting documents	20 record groups
Manuscript items or collections received	21
Manuscript items or collections partially or completely cataloged	11
Costumes	5
Artifacts	17
Items added to vertical file	317
Serials - new titles	0

Users

Visitors	252
Groups	10
Genealogists	165
Guilford College faculty and staff	107
Scholars and other researchers from outside Guilford	119
Guilford students	78
Students from other institutions	8

Damon D. Hickey is the curator and Carole M. Treadway is the bibliographer of the Friends Historical Collection of the Guilford College Library, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Correspondence

Preliminary letters	33
Genealogy	58
Requests for copies	27
Acknowledgments	58
Publication orders	9
Historical research	17
General information	60

Summary Of Research

North Carolina Friends

Research in preparation for several meeting histories being sponsored jointly by the meetings and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society was carried out by the following persons:

Treva Dodd, Marietta Wright, Karen Myatt—Back Creek Meeting
Carlton Rountree—Early Eastern Quarter Meetings
J. P. Thompson—New Hope Meeting
Cecil Haworth—Deep River Meeting
Charles Newlin—West Grove Meeting

Research for the history of Spring Meeting by Algie Newlin, titled *Friends "At the Spring,"* was completed and the book is scheduled for publication this summer

Seth Hinshaw continued his research for a book on North Carolina Quaker history also to be published this year

Members of Harmony Grove Meeting and Chatham Meeting began research for histories of their meetings

Hiram Hilty began research for a history of Greensboro Monthly Meeting (First Friends Meeting)

The staff of the Friends Historical Collection provided Durham Monthly Meeting with information for a history of the meeting

Members of Centre, Asheboro, and Oakland Meetings also searched their records during the year for various purposes

William Stevens used one-act plays in the collection for a program at First Friends Meeting

The staff provided Pine Hill and Bethany Meetings with information about their meeting and compiled a list of pastors and their dates for Forbush Meeting properties

Friends groups made the following uses of the collection:

The North Carolina Yearly Meeting Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records held one of its meetings in the collection

Quaker Youth Pilgrimage included the Friends Historical Collection in its itinerary

During yearly meeting displays were set up in the collection on New Garden and White Plains Meetings in conjunction with the recent publication of their histories

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society held its September and March board meetings in the collection

Guilford College Students, Faculty, and Staff

President William Rogers was provided with information on the naming of Guilford County. The staff compiled Quaker epigrams for the college *Community Newsletter* at his request, and also compiled citations from Quaker writings concerning the attitudes of Friends toward spirituality and social concern in the Society of Friends

David Owens, sports information officer, continued his research on basketball at Guilford

Alexander Stoesen continued his research for a history of the college since 1937, and Donald Millholland continued his research into the relationship between early Methodist and Quaker history; Damon Hickey researched the history of the Baltimore Association for a paper which was given before the annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

Theodor Benfey was provided with a list of sources on Anne, Viscountess Conway, a 17th century English philosopher and Quaker, and her mentor, Francis van Belmont

The staff of the Public Relations-Publications Office used the collection to locate material on emeriti faculty and examined *Guilford Collegians* for ideas for a column in the *Alumni Bulletin*. Information was provided on T. Gilbert Pearson and a list of "famous Guilfordians" was prepared by the collection staff

The Development Office made the following uses of the collection: Alumni Board minutes were searched; information on trustees was sought; a vol-

unteer compiled a list of college contributors who qualified for the President's Club; the origin of the college endowment was researched

Student and class uses of the collection were as follows:

The Afro-American History class had a tour of the collection

An Interdisciplinary Studies class was required to read Dr. Richard Emmons' unpublished account of his volunteer medical relief work in Cambodia in 1981, which is in the collection

Sandra McLean did an independent study in the collection under the direction of the staff. She researched, described and cataloged antique furnishings in the Friends Historical Collection and elsewhere on campus

Linda Nagel wrote a paper on Mary Mendenhall Hobbs and the education of women at Guilford

Other student projects involving collection resources included a talk on Quaker families, past and present, for a sociology course; a paper on American Friends Service Committee involvement in community development projects; a history of college buildings; a paper on North Carolina Quakers and Cherokee Indians; and a paper on John Woolman

Helen Thomas searched Downtown Campus papers in the collection for information on Franklin McNutt and the Greensboro Evening College for a graduate course paper on the Downtown Campus as a model for community colleges

A special display of American Friends Service Committee publications was set up for the visit of Stephen Cary, chairman of the AFSC

A list of sources owned by the collection on or by Edward Hicks was prepared for Judith Harvey, Director of Friends Center

A "Guilford Today" tea and tour were held in the collection

Scholars, Students, and Other Researchers from Outside Guilford

George Cox and graduate assistant Martha Franklin from Georgia Southern College researched eighteenth century Georgia Quakers for a program titled "Quakers and Issues in Georgia History"

Marie McGraw, a scholar from McLean, Virginia, worked on Quakers and the American Colonization Society

Thomas Hamm, Indiana University doctoral candidate, researched for a dissertation on change in the Society of Friends in the nineteenth century

Robert Calhoun of the Department of History, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, used North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) minutes and Disciplines to prepare an encyclopedia article on Conservative Friends

Allen Trelease, also of the Department of History at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, read the journals of Sarah Smiley who surveyed the situation in North Carolina for the Baltimore Association following the Civil War

James Cooley, also of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, used the collection on several occasions

Larry Ingle, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, continued his research for a book on the Hicksite separation and also requested assistance by mail in identifying various early Friends for other writing and editing projects

Richard L. Blanco of the History Department of the State University of New York at Brockport requested information on the assistance provided by New Garden Meeting after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in 1781

Wilmer Cooper, Earlham School of Religion, used collection resources during his stay in North Carolina to conduct a seminar jointly with Guilford College

David Holden of the Sociology Department of Queens University, Toronto, researched the Wilburite separation in North Carolina

Students from other institutions researched in the collection for papers on North Carolina abolitionists, Quakers and slavery, Quaker missions in Africa, Quaker involvement in social service

A graduate student from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro began research for a dissertation on women in nineteenth century North Carolina as producers of textiles. Her research involved studying costumes and artifacts in the collection as well as manuscript and published sources

A representative from McDonald's Restaurants sought pictorial matter of local interest to adapt for the decor of the new McDonald's on College Road, and a muralist studied pictures in the collection for a mural in the expanded Guilford College branch of Wachovia Bank

Smith Barrier, *Greensboro Daily News* sports writer, researched *Colle-gians* for information on the first basketball game played in North Carolina. The material was used in his book titled *Tobacco Road: Basketball in North Carolina*

Laura Winston, reporter for the *Raleigh News and Observer*, interviewed the staff at length in preparation for an article on Quaker influence in North Carolina which was published July 3, 1983

Greensboro Historical Museum was provided with copies of Dolly Madison's birth record from the birth and death records of New Garden Monthly Meeting for a new exhibit on Dolley Madison, and High Point

Historical Museum borrowed slides to augment its collection of pictorial matter of local interest. The staff of the High Point Museum also examined collection sources on J. Elwood Cox, a prominent High Point businessman and Guilford College trustee

The Office of Continuing Education of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro borrowed artifacts to assist in interpreting a talk given at the Greensboro Historical Museum on Quakers as an ethnic group in North Carolina

Part of a program on Quaker social concerns was videotaped in the Friends Historical Collection by "Reel to Reel," a Washington, D.C., based television series. Curator Damon Hickey interpreted artifacts in the collection which illustrated aspects of Quaker social concerns

Biographical information on Henry Spray, Quaker superintendent of the Cherokee Indian reservation and businessman John M. Coffin was provided for the Division of Archives and History for articles in *North Carolina Historical Review*

Photocopies of Cane Creek Meeting documents were made for the author of an article on Eno Valley Quakers to be published in the *Eno Journal*

Additional information on ornithologist T. Gilbert Pearson was sent to Oliver Orr of the Library of Congress for an article on Pearson's early life which was published in *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (October 1983)

The collection participated in a survey of small college special collections conducted by Edward Waller of the Greensboro College Library. The results were published in *North Carolina Libraries* 41 (Fall 1983)

Other researchers sought material on William Penn High School in High Point; Jordans Meeting in England; early Quaker beliefs and practices; and Quaker postmasters in North Carolina

Guilford County reference librarians meeting on campus were given a tour of the collection

Quaker novelist Daisy Newman visited in the collection, autographed her books owned by the Library, and sought information on North Carolina Yearly Meeting Advices with regard to the reading and writing of fiction

Available January 8, 1985:

The Carolina Quaker Experience 1665—1985

AN INTERPRETATION

BY

Seth B. Hinshaw

From his lifetime of service to the Society of Friends as a pastor, clerk, and executive secretary and his years of research and writing, Seth Hinshaw in his warm, personal style has carefully crafted a highly readable, brief but comprehensive narrative of three centuries of the North Carolina Quaker experience. The familiar history is surveyed from the Albemarle genesis to the present church which encompasses different yearly meetings and the complete spectrum of Quaker beliefs and customs. Even more valuable is the focus on the institutional evolution of the past century and the clear explanations for the diverse, seemingly incongruous Quaker worship practices, social witnesses, and organizations. For those who view Friends as benign clones of the Quaker Oats man, the author illuminates the often baffling array that includes evangelical churches, unprogrammed meetings, and the pastoral ministry. His enlightened synthesis is the first study to emphasize the emergence of contemporary Quaker practices in North Carolina and is essential reading for Friends and non-Friends who seek to understand the origins of this unique church.

Lindley S. Butler

Co-editor, The Southern Friend

PUBLISHED BY

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

North Carolina Friends Historical Society

\$14.00 per copy, plus \$2.00 when mailed.

The Newsletter

Beginning with this issue of *The Southern Friend*, the Newsletter of the Society is being incorporated into the journal, and will alternate with the Book Reviews. The Newsletter will appear in the fall issue and the Book Reviews in the spring. Carole Treadway will edit these sections.



The speaker for the annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society was Edwin B. Bronner, librarian and professor of history at Haverford College. Edwin Bronner, who is also curator of Haverford's Quaker Collection, is expert on William Penn and on Anglo-American Quaker relationships. He is the author of numerous articles and books, is a leader in the Friends Historical Association, and is former chair of the Friends World Committee for Consultation. His topic, an outgrowth of his work on the publication of Penn's papers, was "The Importance of the Published Writings of William Penn." This year's meeting was held in the Living Room of Friends Homes in Greensboro, on Saturday, November 10.



Lorton Heusel's *Friends on the Front Line: The Story of Delbert and Ruth Replogle* is being prepared for publication by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. The Replogles have been involved in Alaskan frontier missionary work, the birth of the television industry, and relief work with Palestinian refugees after the partition. Theirs is an exciting and colorful story of a Quaker couple whose lives have exhibited sensitivity to other cultures and a strong religious witness to peace and humanity. The book is expected early in 1985.



Malone College in Canton, Ohio, will be host to the sixth biennial Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists, June 20-22, 1986. Previous conferences were held at Earlham College (1976 and 1978), Haverford College (1980), Guilford College (1982), and Moses Brown School (1984). Papers are encouraged from any aspect of Quaker archives and history, especially the history of evangelical Friends and Friends in the Midwest. Those interested in presenting or commenting on papers about either Quaker history or Quaker sources should write to Damon D. Hickey, Guilford College Library, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC

27410. The conference hopes to meet in 1988 at Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario.



Seith B. Hinshaw's newest book, *The Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665-1985: An Interpretation*, published jointly by North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, will be published January 8. This work is a comprehensive treatment of the development of Quakerism in North Carolina from its beginnings to the present. It is particularly valuable for its interpretation of twentieth-century Quakerism and for its treatment of more than a thousand individuals, making it of special value to persons interested in family history. The book may be ordered from the North Carolina Friends Historical Society for \$14.00 plus \$2.00 shipping.

Two new books concerning North Carolina Quaker history have recently been published. The latest in the series of meeting histories published by the society with North Carolina Yearly Meeting was issued earlier this year. It is *Friends "At the Spring": A History of Spring Monthly Meeting* by Algie I. Newlin and is available from the society for \$8.50 postpaid. Those who have used Hiram Hilty's doctoral dissertation will be pleased to know that it has been revised and published under the title *Toward Freedom for All: North Carolina Quakers and Slavery*. It may be ordered from the publisher, Friends United Press, at 101 Quaker Hill Drive, Richmond, Indiana 47374. The cost is \$8.95 plus 86¢ postage.



The papers of Raymond Binford, President of Guilford College from 1918 to 1934, and his wife Helen Titsworth Binford, are now available for research in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College. Spanning the years 1863 through 1952, the papers comprise personal, professional, and organizational correspondence of the Binfords; their writings, speeches, and diaries; and documents and reports of their various volunteer activities in the areas of higher education, Quaker religious and educational concerns, peace, and child development and family life.

In addition to his years as President of Guilford College, Raymond Binford taught zoology and biology at Earlham, Guilford, and William Penn Colleges; was a Friends minister; served as chairman of the Board of Education of Five Years Meeting from 1930 to 1945; also served, with Helen Binford, as director of Civilian Public Service camps during World War II, and of American Friends Service Committee work camps in Mexico in 1946-47. During his presidency of Guilford College, he developed an

innovative core curriculum for which there is some material in the presidential papers in the collection. In 1930-35 he was involved with a comprehensive survey of Quaker colleges conducted by the Association of American Colleges. Correspondence relating to the survey, the responses from the various colleges, and Binford's 1935 follow-up report are included.

Raymond and Helen Binford both held offices in their local Friends meeting and in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and travelled and spoke widely on behalf of Quaker interests. Raymond Binford's papers reflect his overriding concern for the promotion of Quaker values in education and in everyday life. Helen Binford taught French, German, and English occasionally throughout her adult life, but was primarily a community and Quaker leader. In the years between 1925 and 1950 she held local, state, and national offices with the Parent and Teachers Association; was a member of the Board on Christian Education of the Five Years Meeting; and was field secretary of the Carolina Institute on International Relations. She was widely known in North Carolina as a speaker on child development and family life, and published numerous articles on these and other topics. Her voluminous personal correspondence with family members and friends displays her lively mind and wit, and provides an intimate look at how she managed her busy household with limited financial resources, raised her children, assisted her husband, and involved herself increasingly in volunteer and professional activities outside her home as her family matured.

Papers from 1863 through 1894 comprise primarily personal correspondence of Raymond Binford's parents, Josiah and Margaret Hill Binford; and of Helen Binford's grandmother Naomi Harrison Jay, second wife of Quaker leader Allen Jay. Also included are reports and letters of Gurney and Elizabeth Binford, 1904-1933, concerning their missionary activities in Japan. Genealogical and biographical material is also included. Biographical material concerns the Binford, Titsworth, and related families. The Binford papers were arranged and described by Friends Historical Collection volunteer, Augusta Benjamin.



When Herbert Poole resigned as coeditor of *The Southern Friend* a year ago, Lindley S. Butler agreed to continue as coeditor with Damon D. Hickey for a year. With the departure of these founding editors the journal has completed six successful years of publication and looks forward to a long and successful life. Lindley Butler continues as a member of the Editorial Committee and as a contributor of book reviews. Herbert Poole remains active as vice president of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and as a member of its Membership Committee.

**The North Carolina Friends Historical Society
1984-85**

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