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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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Spring 1985

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

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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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Publications Committee

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

THE
SOUTHERN FRIEND
JOURNAL OF THE
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THE DIARY OF CHALKELY ALBERTSON CHAWNER

by

Mary Edith Woody Hinshaw

Chalkley Albertson Chawner of Azalia, Bartholomew County, Indiana, made an epic journey to England in 1845 "on business" in an effort to achieve a settlement of the Chawner family estate, and also to secure a bequest made by his father's brother William. The Chawner estate was at Denstone, near Cheadle in Staffordshire, and near "the Potteries" in Cotswold Country.

Chalkley Chawner was the son of John Squier Chawner, originally of London, and Sarah Albertson Chawner of Suttons Creek Meeting, Perquimans County, North Carolina.

The Chawner family of Denstone Hall at one time possessed considerable landed property. John's father Thomas lived the life of a country gentleman and spared no expense in the education of his children. Besides John Squier, there was a son Thomas who became a surgeon; a son William, also a surgeon; and a daughter Mary who was married to the pioneer missionary John Williams, Martyr of Erromonga in the Samoan Islands.

John S. Chawner, "an Attorney at the Kings Bench," came to America in 1810 (with letters from the King) to make a cruise down the Atlantic coast. While the ship changed cargo at Elizabeth City, North Carolina, he made a tour of the countryside. He came to a building where horses were hitched. Out of curiosity, he went inside. There he found a Friends meeting for worship — Suttons Creek. He wrote, "As I sat in that meeting such feelings came over me as caused me to change my whole plan of life."

John S. Chawner abandoned his cruise. He joined Friends and became their schoolteacher. He helped the settlers in securing titles to their lands. As time went along he married Sarah Albertson, daughter of Chalkley Albertson, resident minister at Suttons Creek.

In 1814 John and Sarah Chawner joined a caravan of Friends going west through Cumberland Gap to Indiana territory. They

settled at Driftwood, near Azalia. He was the first clerk of Sand Creek Meeting, and minister there until his death — the only minister of any denomination in the newly settled country at the time.

About 1815 John Chawner wrote of himself in his notebook: "John S. Chawner was an Attorney at Law, a solicitor in Chancery, a master extraordinary in Chancery and had commission to take affidavits in all the Courts of law and equity in Great Britain; and a military Commission under the king; and now is a teacher of a day school in the United States of America and a poor dispised Quaker." What a change!

Beloved and admired by the world in my youth
But now hated and dispised
Because I love the truth
Poor John Chawner
The frowns of the world I need not regard
Altho' to man's nature they seem very hard.

Chalkley Chawner's diary, written in 1845 when he was 26 years of age, tells of visiting Mary Williams, his aunt, widow of John Williams the martyr missionary. Her son Samuel T. Williams guided him on sightseeing trips around London. The year after Chalkley's return from England a daughter, Mary Williams Chawner, was born to Chalkley and Sarah Chawner named for this aunt.

Mary Williams Chawner married John W. Woody of the Spring Meeting community, Alamance County, North Carolina. John Woody had left New Garden Boarding School at the beginning of the Civil War and walked to Indiana to the home of an uncle who lived on the farm adjoining the Chawners' farm.

John and Mary Woody taught together in Friends boarding schools and colleges. John Woody was the first president of Penn College and served on the first faculties of Friends University, Whittier College, and Guilford College where John Woody was professor of History and Mary C. Woody taught English, Bible and Elocution. She was recorded as a Friends minister and was active in North Carolina Yearly Meeting as a resident minister for a time. Their children were Hermon, Waldo, and Alice.

J. Waldo Woody, a Friends minister, married Eva Terrell of the

Fairview Friends Meeting community, Ohio.

I discovered the account of Chalkley Chawner's travels from the Quaker settlement in Indiana to England in some family papers. No attempt has been made to correct or modernize his spelling.

As his great granddaughter, I am pleased for the account to appear in the pages of *The Southern Friend*.

C. A. Chawner's Memorandum Book
Residence At Azalia, Bartholomew Co.
Indiana, USA. 1845

Left home to go on business to Cheadle Staffordshire England on the 15th of the 4th Mo. 1845 at 12 oclock reached Madison by the Rail road at 5 oclock thence Steamer Benj. Franklin to Cincinnati 80 miles by 2 oclock next morning.

At 10 same day I started on board the Steamer Abiquippa for Pittsburgh but in consequence of low water I got another line 16 miles from Pittsburgh where I landed at 10 in the evening of the 19th near 500 miles.

20th at 8 oclock set sail aboard the steamer Consul for Brownsville where I landed about 3 same evening distance 60 miles up the Monongahela by what is called slack water navigation which is produced by the raising 4 dams to raise the water through which the boats pass by locks. All the way up the Ohio River the banks on one side or the other is very high and sometimes the elevation appears on both sides at once. In these hills we often see the coalpit some times near the bottom but sometimes they enter 40 - 50 or 100 feet above the river down which they run the coal by a simply constructed Rail way in order to supply steam boats or run it down the River on flats. After we leave Pittsburgh there is less recess in the nobbs and often running to a great height on both sides for miles and the number of coal pits with black well worn rail ways stretching down to the river edge is very frequent. About 10 or 11 oclock on the 20th I passed the place called Braddocks field. It lies on the North bank of the Monongahela in a somewhat broken place around which in sight from the river rises the mountaneous banks of the river over which one would fancy an army could scarsely pass at this day and it must have been much worse in those early times for so bigoted a man as Gen. Braddock in a perfect wilderness perhaps not a stick amiss for hundreds of miles except the roads the soldiers made. No regard

seems to be paid to the spot for the blood that has been spilled there on account of the souls that there took their exit for the regions of Eternity nor for the boddies that were there devoured by the beasts of pray and the fowl of the air. It is under cultivation either grass or wheat growing there. I passed it on a first day about the time that my neighbours were gathering around the meeting house at Sand Creek the recollection of which warned me that I should enter into solemn reflections about the future whilst viewing the place where was spilled blood without measure and boddies mangled without mercy.

As we approached Brownsville the Engineer gave warning with the land steam squaller to have 2 coaches ready which we found they had attended to so the passengers were soon reshaped and rolling off in the rattling stages for Cumberland where we arrived next morning a distance of 75 miles and across the mountains in time to take the Baltimore train of cars which start at 7 or 8 o'clock.

We had not traveled far before the huge hills and the blue mountain tops bespoke the prospect before. We stopped at Union town about 12 miles from Brownsville to change horses and eat supper. But for my part [part] I had paid 50 cts. for my dinner that day thought that I can not pay another half dol. for supper. Besides I had some little bread that I had brought from home which I thought would serve in case of a pinch. Soon after starting again we began the ascent of the mountains. Myself & 2 or 3 more chose to walk apace to view the surrounding scenery however the hill was too long for us and we got up again ere we got to the top, but I can't hardly ride with ease to think that 4 horses had to pull 9 passengers their baggage the driver & a heavy stage up so long and steady an ascent.

I would advise those who never saw a mountain not to be very positive that they can form correct ideas about rocks by mere imagination or even the best of heresay. There they lie pile upon pile big, little all sizes shapes & appearance. Here lies a monster above us projecting its weather beaten rump over the road as if to forbid the passenger to pass by. We cast our eyes on it in amaze. One corner perhaps 25 - 50 or 100 feet high sound as an acorn stares us in the face and as we turn to the right or to the left to inquire its size or appearance it book into mixture of stone & earth that conceal it from the view as it sleeps as quietly as innocently as the babe of yesterday.

The shrubby beech the knoty jack or the stumpy Butternut has found a crevice through which to send its weather beaten head it seems for naught but to bid the small storms to move a little further

as its sturdy roots beg a grain of nourishment from the scattering hand fulls of dirt that the Hoosier sapling would disdain to have near it. But I may as well stop for even eloquence nor a painters brush portray aright these stones of antiquity. However I was surprised to find now and then a house or an inhabitant of so dreary a landscape. I was curious to enquire with myself what they lived on could they live by seeing what was to me such curiosities! I would fancy not but they looked well and hearty for the most part were dressed clean that day. But I was still more surprised to find as we reached the top quite a flat on which there appeared to be quite a handsome farm house, barn etc. The peach trees were all full of bloom & the other trees beginning to show that the frosts of winter were quitting that region but the trees were forwarder in Indiana a week or more before I left, the fruit having been mostly killed.

As we receded down East of the Mountain the day light at once disappeared but moon shown verry bright.

It had been quite warm for several days previous as was also that day & myself not thinking of the change that would take place on the mountains had left my big coat in the bottom of my trunk & and the trunk was at the bottom of the rack so did not get it and did not think that I needed it much being but little too cool for comfort yet in 2 or 3 days I had a desperate cold which I laid to that.

We decended the mountains but in consequence of the night we could see but little of the surrounding scenery until day brake when we had reached the bottom of the mountains but the masses of stone that every where meets the eye giving ample evidence of the labour that a farmer has to undergo in preparing his land for cultivation. I believe that land is cleared here when there is stone enough comes off to fence it all around.

But at last we reached Cumberland passing between some verry high and stony mountains when near there they looked like little else than entire heaps of stones yet now & then a scrubby pine or some other shrub was bold enough to ask for a location in the crinies of those hand maids of antiquity. At Cumberland they were ready to ask for the 50 for a meal of victuals then the porter a bit or 20 cts to carry the trunk to the Rail way which was generally done whilst the passangers were taking breakfast.

We rolled off about 8 oclock on a long train of passinger cars passing through variagated surface & soil until soon we came to a small river which they said was the Potomac. The road then took

down, it bending so far as would do to fit the meanderings in order to avoid going through the grand and lofty mountains that often pressed the river hard on both sides. After running several hours among these elevations and some surprising excavations we broke off from the river & shot in to a tunnel that is cut through a ridge I think near half a mile long. I, to see the sight walked out on the guard where I stood until we got through & indeed it presented quite a terrific sight. Almost as soon as the cars entered it the darkness was most intense and the reader can perhaps better imagine than I can describe the scene. The sound of a hundred iron wheels the puffing of the crowded steam and miriads of sparks as bright as the stars of the firmament passing rapidly behind us all in a tunnel just large enough for the cars to pass in safety was sight worth witnessing. The road soon then broke off into Virginia away from the river and we saw it no more until we got near Harpers Ferry we stopped to take dinner and get the cars passed by that met us from Baltimore. Here indeed is a long bridge & a mountainous region.

Immediately on the Maryland side of the River is a ridge that runs along the road a good ways & sometimes it is perpendicular to the height of 1 or 200 feet.

We passed through every very variety of surface & soil sometimes deep excavations & then high embankments over branches, creeks, & rivers until we got to the Raleigh house located 9 miles from Baltimore where those that were going to Washington got off to await the Washington train which came soon.

One thing that seemed to interest me was the way the layers of stone seemed to run in all the mountains I have seen. Sometimes the sheets will be up and down, sometimes slantways and seldom if ever horizontal. If they were floating substances I should at once conclude that at some eventful day the entire Mountains had been drifted together as a heap along our rivers for I never saw anything more resembling a bunch of slabs cramed together by an enraged stream than the appearance of broad shores in a Mountain.

But when the red Washington cars came briskly up we were soon carried into another kind of soil. Instead of the stoney mountains it appeared to be white quicksands & swamps. A great deal of the way from Baltimore to Washington the soil is barely worth cultivation.

Swamps filled with scrubby pine and cedars and old fields grown up with small pines and broom straw is not infrequent. This Rail Road charges 200. to carry a man near 40 miles & well it may for a

hoosier would disdain to disgrace the soles of his feet in walking over such soil. When we reached Washington about dusk the hungry unmanerly porter and cab boys thronged the cars as bad as a gang of pigs would a slop troft and had it not been for the kind attention of Chas. H. Haswell a fellow traveler they might have almost carried me off in the press. But just before we stoped he asked me for the ticket of my trunk & as soon as we got out he went direct to a boy porter for the National Hotell & gave him his ticket & mine then bade me follow him. There were several ladies close by & the superintendent or some officer seeing them so crowded that they could not get along ordered the boys to give way and make a road, which me & my friends avaid ourselves of & after a few minutes walk along the spacious Pennsylvania Avenue, We entered the great National Hotell indeed a magnificent Inn where in a few minutes our trunks arrived.

The next morning I was accompanied by my above named friend Chas. H. Haswell to the department of State & showed me where the Brittish Minister lived & in a verry short time I had a certificate authenticated in proper order but after I got back to my room I perceived that I had done rong in having my papers all put up together and that I must have 2 packs of them instead of one.

I hastened back to the department of State but the Secretary was gone so I left them & could not get off until the next evening: when I took passage on the Stage for Baltimore where I was turned out about 10 oclock at the National Hotel of Baltimore.

Next morning about 6 I started on bord the Steamer Thomas Jefferson for Philadelphia where I arrived about 5 oclock after going 15 miles or so by canal & then taking another Steamer which was in readiness.

Soon after starting from Baltimore I became acquainted with a young man on bord by name Alexander G. Mercer of Philadelphia who had once studdied law & practised a while but had quit it to persue some literary branches and did not know that he would ever practice law any more. I have seldom ever been more agreeable in any man's company than I was in his. He seemed sociable, generous and so far as I could see was clear of every low & vulgar practice.

At Baltimore I saw the first ships that I ever saw & indeed it was quite a curiosity to see the tall masts & long ropes crowded together like a grape vine thicket in our western woods.

In regard to the above I will just except one or two small sea crafts that I saw at Pittsburgh but did not notice them much.

And as I have broken off from my subject I will note situation of Pittsburgh when I was there which I forgot in its proper place. About ten days before I was at Pittsburgh a distinctive fire broke out and consumed a great deal of the business part of the city which presents quite a sorrowful appearance.

A Tavern called the Monongahela house was burned which it is said was among the largest buildings in America. It was several stories high and occupied an entire Square. A verry fine bridge across the Monogahela river was burned which was situated some distance from any house. It was also said that many goods were burned that had been heaped out of the houses along the bank of the River.

The whole scene was such as I shall not attempt to discribe. Yet it is said this whole loss of perhaps ten millions or more was occasioned by the carelessness of a washer woman.

To return to my story the Newyork boat was nearly ready to sail when I landed at Philadelphia upon which & the Rail Road, I reached Newyork at 10 oclock that evening being the 26 of the 4th month.

Early next Morning I set out to look for E.H. Collins & Co. 56 Fourth St to whom I had a letter of introduction as I expected to take passage in one of their packet ships but finding the charge higher than some others I declined & engaged a passage in the second cabin of the St. Patrick which was to sail on the 29th but did not sail until the 1st of the 5th mo. I put up at Robert Folger's bording house No 9 Dye Street where I was most comfortably entertained. On first day 27th I was accompanied by a relative of the Land Lady to Friends meeting at 10 oclock where I returned at again to the evening meeting at 6 oclock. John Pease was at both these meetings & had considerable to say about halting between two opinions in regard to young people going off from the sure foundation the moniter within the Rock of ages. If Baal be God serve him but if the Lord be God then serve him was an expression often used. Again he said it was sometimes evidence of a sound and well balanced mind to be doubting for a time which course to persue in regard to worldly affairs when two objects appearing equally advantageous were presented at the same time to our view. But the matter was otherwise when on religious subjects. Jesus Christ within us the Christians faith the hope of Glory was sufficient to direct us aright then a halting or wavering was only an evidence that we were not guided by that Rock that teaches as never man taught. After the evening meeting broke

John Wood came to me and enquired who I was, etc. He then invited me to go to his house. I was then accompanied by the door keeper to Henry Hinsdales to see our English Friend John Pease but there was so many came in to see him that I went the next evening at 4 oclock to get the address of some Friends in Liverpool, Birmingham & London, which he readily gave me. He appears to be of a verry friendly and courteous disposition.

After I had got through with John Pease I accepted the invitation of my kind friend John Wood where I was verry kind received & hospitably entertained during the remainder of my stay at New York for which they would receive no pay. John is verry weekly & has been so ever since he returned from Indiana 3 or 4 year ago. His jaws & glands of the throat on both sides are swelled to a great size but he says they have been worse. The next morning third day 29th he & his amiable wife went off on a small journey hoping it would improve his health. I staid with his verry nice children. I think their names were Charles, Edward, George, Flora & Mary. Their son Dr. Wood several times asked me to go to see him, but I thought best to desist because his children had lately had the Measles. I had no idea of receiving so much attention as I did by Friends in New York. First day morning when I went into Meeting I took a seat about midway of the house but I had not more than sat down before I was invited further forwards & almost every one that spoke to me invited me to go to see them but after hearing the Measles were in the city I thought best to go to but few houses.

At Robert Folger's in the family room I saw the portrait of a plane statley looking elderly man. "Who is that said I" to a relative of theirs. "Elias Hicks you have heard of him no doubt" he replied. This at once revealed to me that I was not among my kind of friends as I had expected. Robert as well as his folks seem verry nice people yet after that I could not enjoy myself there as I could among my own friends.

At last the day of sailing arrived & I went down to get in readiness shortly after breakfast & was accompanied by my kind young friend Charles Wood who staid with me about the ship until 4 oclock in the evening when we started being towed quite out into the sea by a steamer. We hoisted sail about dark before a mild western breeze.

Although the sea was quite smooth yet most of the passingers were some sick before morning & was sick so myself soon after getting up. I puked several times through the day which contained some bile & a great deal of frothy phlegm.

The next morning I felt much better as was also the most of the passengers but my pleasure was short for as the wind grew higher I was soon made a victim of its sports from which I did not recover for about 16 or 20 days. The wind continued fare except a bearing to the South and about 14 days when we had a calm that lasted near a week, but we were not alone in the still water. There was often 12 or 15 ships in sight all sharing the same fate that we were.

In one week we were off New Fondland Banks. The wind was indication enough that we were near land for it is said that the land breeze is always cold at sea and it was cold enough then. I had not taken off my winter clothes before I went on bord of the ship & they were good thick homespun but I had to increase them or else be extremely cold. I put on 2 thick flannel shirts 2 pair of flannel drawers and good thick outside clothes & then had to often ware my great coat & tie up my ears.

Soon after we had passed the Banks on the 9th of the month a hard flow of wind raised my hat quite off my head & carried it into the sea over the bullwarks which was higher than my head. I expected then to be under some more exposure in going to Liverpool without a hat but my apprehension was shortly removed by one of the cabin passingers offering me an old hat that he had which I thankfully received and it served me well until I got to Liverpool. I often had kind of a dull headache from so much cold wind but it never arose to be severe until the night of the 16th when I had a severe spell.

But I was thankful to the conductor of Events that it was not seated so direct in the brain as my old complaint usually had been which enabled me to do for myself much better. However towards day it subsides & in the morning after stirring a little I felt as well as usual. The great profanity of the public everywhere is disagreeable to every sober minded person. He meets swearing in the steam boats in the tavern, in the Railroad car, on the ship bord, every where! it is swear swear all the time. I sometimes thought that I could almost be as comfortable both blind & deaf when traveling as to hear & see so much wickedness. I have often heard talk of the swearing of the sailors but I believe they were not so bad on the St. Patrick as many of the passingers & the Steward in particular who was a mulatto man and said he had served on bord a Brittish Man of War five years & as long on an American, however that might be he had learned the art of wickedness well. One day I said to him why did he swear so much it was certainly an injury to his race as well as to himself to go on in such

a way at which he seemed rather enraged but I hope it had not bad effect at last for he seemed more sober afterwards & talked quite soberly several times.

On the 18th we spoke the ship Great Brittain 6 weeks from Mobile. It is quite encouraging when one is out at sea to meet with others who seem to have fared worse than our selves. One of our sailors said he had left New Orleans only about five weeks previous and had staid one week in Newyork.

20th early in the morning we saw the Steamer Great Western. I suppose we were about 600 miles from Liverpool. The Captain had the flags hoisted so that the steamer might report us at New York.

22nd we were hailed by a brig who said they had been 60 or 70 days from the Isle of Sciscily in the Mediteranean Sea & had a load of tropical fruits for some port in England. It is extremely dificult for steerage passingers to get correct information on any subject about the ship for the Captain takes no panes to inform them & the sailors are delighted to deceive them even when they know aright.

But the fare is so low that no one can blame them for doing but little for them but the blame lies in the fact that the agents represent things so different from what they really are that they deceive those who do not expect to go in the steerage. It was represented to me when I came to New York to be as good fare in the second cabin as the first except perhaps carpets cusions & a delicate table & I would have to wait on myself which of course I was always used to.

I was shown two men who appeared quite respectable that lived in the west one of them Alexander Cameron of Ft. Joseph County Ind. who had engaged passage in the second department & I thought if these could make out both of them having crossed the water before, I could make out also. One of our passingers from Missouri one day swore that if one of the men from New York was to go to his house & say in the most positive terms that he had taken passage in the second cabin of a ship not one in a hundred would believe him. And that if any one ever told it in Missouri he intended to deny it.

For several days previous to this we were becalmed & the patience of the passingers was verry much tried & some of them seemed indignant at the disposer of events because the winds did not blow just as we wanted them regardless of the many favours we had received in the forepart of our voyage. One of them was so destitute of every principle of the high obligation we are under to our Great Benefactor as to curse the winds that does so many favours for us &

indeed is the verry life in which we exist. But I felt hapy to hear that unguarded act meet the severest condemnation by even the profane themselves.

On the 23 saw land on our left had supposed to be the south Western costs of Ireland. It was first seen by an Irish lad & indeed the news ran quickly over the ship. I found my self that I could judge of the joy in the crew with Columbus when the cry of land was sounded among them. But our joy was of little use for we were yet a great way off the place we were to land and the wind direct ahead except the turn that we there made to round Cape Clear it being just at night & the captain seeming verry careful did not wish to go verry near the stony costs of Ireland in the night.

The 24 in the evening a fishing boat hauled along side & we nearly all bought some fish which was quite a relish to us. The sailors acted verry kind towards the passingers as soon as the boat came up they stationed themselves up & down out side the ship to pass anything down to the boat that we had for them & return the fish that were bought. I ran out with a handkerchief of pilot bread & as soon as they saw me they took it & cried out what will you give for this, they answered 2 fish the sailor replied not enough at which I was surprised being ignorant of the high price of bread and the low price of fish. then the boatsman then cried 3 the sailor turned to me and said I believe I would take that. yes said I; give us big ones said the sailor. The fish were fastened to a rope & hauled in the bread tied and let down then the sailors were careful that they returned the handkerchief which one immediately carried to me. The decks had just been washed down (on the 7th day evening they wash off the ship to save the first day morning) and as might be expected after the cleaning of some dozen large fish they needed it again which the sailors did with so much speed that several of the passingers who expected to help clean up their own mess did not know they had begun..

I forgot to say that the brig hailed us for some water they had been out so long that they had got out. I thought that we had great cause to be thankful for our speedy passage when compared with them. They said they had been in the calm near that place 16 days which was about 3 times as long as we had been.

25th head winds all day made little progress.

26th evening saw land near Tuscar rock head winds still. We have been tacking all the time for 3 days and of course we make but little

progress. At night we were becalmed in sight of Tuscar light house.

27th at 8 o'clock wind raised a little & was fair so that they raised what they call the stensails which are large sails at the out ends of the yard arms which they never raise except in fair wind. But in one hour they had to take them down the wind having changed to our head.

At half past ten we were opposite Tuscar light house. Tuscar is a large rock near the Irish coast on which it is said many ships have been wrecked. But there is now a light house on it which looks white by day and light by night. It appeared to us not much larger than a man but is said to be near the height of a ship mast and perhaps 25 or 30 feet in diameter at the base. There is now between 25 or 30 ships insight all sharing the same fate from head winds that we are. Some of our company complain of the St. Patrick very much because it gets along so slow that we have not yet seen the first ship pass by us. At 6 o'clock we saw a steam boat sailing to the South West. The wind a little higher & more to the North. I had slight head ache which did not amount to very much.

28th Wind rose high early last night and gale was expected which was quite alarming owing to rough coasts on both sides. Some of the women on board were much frightened but so much silliness & so many soft expressions seemed rather to expel than create fear with me. But to say the least I must acknowledge that the roar of the winds & sails the earnest harsh loud voice of the Captain, the halloo! of the Sailors mingled with the sound of their busy feet direct over us was quite terrific if one gave the least vent to fear.

The Captain seemed very careful I believe. He staid on deck all night in the wind & storm they tacked the ship very often to keep in the middle of the channel the wind being direct ahead. I say any life but a seafaring one for me and mine. Indeed it seems to me that of all people in the world the sailor has as few luxuries or pleasures as any one else. His wages is only about 15 dollars per month & has to serve an apprenticeship of from 2 to 6 years to learn the art then he has the coarsest fare has to work all the time sometimes to their elbows in tar and grease is subject to the most insulting language from the Captain & mates, has to be up every 4 hours in the night in good weather & all night in the rain & storm when the weather requires it has to go to main top & even mast head up the frozen icy ropes day or night when ever the Captain orders it let the wind blow as hard as it may.

In bad weather they are willing to acknowledge their bad condition but in good weather it is seldom that they will own that they fare

worse than others.

I heard several say that when they got home again they intended to stay there but sometimes they would remark that that was always the way & when they would get home they wanted to go to sea again.

The wind fell some what in the forenoon but arose at 12 o'clock into quite a gale which soon subsided.

The sailors the carpenter & the mate all seem very tired of the head winds the chief mate seems to lament the time that he first went to sea. One morning as I went out I asked a sailor if the winds were still ahead at which he seemed to pay no attention. I repeated the question at which he raised up his head, looked around and said 0 the winds the winds I don't notice them much but I suppose they are still ahead. I am a-tired of them.

But few ships in sight today but we saw 2 steam boats this morning. At 5½ o'clock in the evening we saw a Mountain in Wales. It has been cloudy and occasional rain all day.

29th The wind raised high last night and blew quite hard all night still ahead. Two ships were seen this morning going outward, of course under full sail and a fine wind. How long we shall be kept here & for what purpose or whether we are ever to land safe are things unknown to us, yet it may all be for a wise purpose and a good end.

The weather cloudy & occasionally rain in the forenoon but fare in the afternoon yet the winds are high & cold & still ahead. The evening is quite brilliant & Holly head is fare in our view. It presents quite a magnificent appearance & perhaps is the more pleasing because we have been so long off good old Terra-firma yet it mingles the aspect with sorrow when we reflect that we have to beat among or at least near these stormy shores some forty or fifty miles yet against head winds.

Many sailes seem to be making their way to Liverpool & others are coming out to plow their way across the pathless ocean.

5th Month 30th a fine morning & pritty winds though some ahead. Holly head presents a broad side & looks beautiful. It must be highly cultivated. Many houses are seen on the coast & some steam works are seen belching from their iron lungs up into the immeasurable span their mingled map of white steam & black smoke.

A pilot boarded us this morning at 7 o'clock we have some hopes of landing today.

The wind continued light & quite ahead all day & we made but little progress. A steam Tug boat as they call it paid us a visit to toe us

in but the pilot refused to give his price. The boat then off to a ship that had been near us all day which it is said came from the East Indies & which received a pilot this morning from the same boat that we did. After floating along side of her for some time we supposed it difficult for them to make a bargain the Tug boat hitched her and off they went. A second Tug boat made for us which was larger and heavier than the other with whom the Pilot soon agreed & they hitched to us at 7 oclock & steamed for Liverpool at a rapid rate as the glad sailors halooed with unusual myrth as they hauld in and finally tied up the sales casted up the ropes & prepared every thing for landing. The Captain has supreme command of the ship when it is out to sea so it cannot fail to be a little remarkable to see how mute he is when a pilot comes aboard he has not a command to give except to enforce the pilots orders in short he is as completely tied as a man in a Magnetic sleep he acts only as his operator directs.

About 2 oclock we cast anchor to await the risings of the tide to enter the harbour. About 8 oclock we were ready to begin to ascend the enterence being towd a short distance further by the boat & then we were left to pull our selves along through the many narrow gates that were opened for us as we approached. And such crowding times as we had to pass some of the ships one that has never been to one of these large maratime seaports cannot imagine the crowds of ships of all sorts from all parts of the world that are joined up there some wanting to load some going out & others coming in.

But about 10 oclock we were permitted to reach the dock that she was bound for but no where could we touch the side.

Preparations however were soon made to land the cabin passangers & we in the steerage were left to land ourselves. There were 2 or 3 ships between us & the shore & and how were our boxes to be to over them. One positively denied to let us pass over his ship with our boxes & others seemed to forbid it from the difficult position in which they lay.

But the industry & perseverance of the men that were to unship our things soon over came the difficulties of the one & reconciled the disposition of the other & we were at last gratified to see our luggage handed from one place to an other over the most opposing difficulties until at last it reached the paved shore where was a large cart and a staunch horse to take it to the depot as it is called to be examined by the officers. For my part I was careful to have nothing but what I could take in, but some of the passangers had for several

days exhausted their ingenuity in devising ways and means to secrete some trifle by which they would make a penny but I think on the whole they made nothing for all that was found in this way was taken away and they got nothing for it and were themselves liable to a fine which was not inflicted to my knowledge a favor I am sure smugglers do not always meet with.

Having landed at Liverpool and got my luggage through the custom house I went in company with the most of the steerage passangers to a bording house at No 11 Golton street where the exchange of a tottering ship for a steady room was no small pleasure when in particular the addition to the neat room we had spread before us a *still* & neat table well fitted out.

We all washed and fixed up & I was glad to go the next day to several places of worship. (6th mo. 1st.) I attended a Meeting of friends one at 10 and the other at 6 for which I had to walk about one mile or a little more. I had all along been very anxious to attend the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London but the delay on sea entirely prevented for we landed the day after it broke.

On second day I went to hunt up my friend W.C. Fosberry which I did after about a mile & a quarter walk & to my pleasure found that his wife was my Uncle Thomas Chawner's daughter. After staying a few days to look at the town, clean up & write letters home, I left on the evening of the 5th of the 6 mo. to go to Cheadle. I went on an Omnibus to Lane End a town in the Potteries seven miles from Cheadle. There is a long string of towns along here where the China and all kind of Queens ware is made which is sent to all parts of the world. The whole cluster of towns along here is called the Potteries because they manufacture so much ware. The next morning I go on a conveyance to Cheadle in a comfortable marketing cart it being market day at Cheadle. On my arrival I proceeded to deliver the several letters of Recommendation that my kind friend W.C. Fosberry of Liverpool had given me all of which were received verry kindly & I was invited to make free if I want any help. A young man named Richard Thomkinson who studded under my uncle Thomas Chawner seemed as glad to see me as if I had been his brother and treated me as kindly.

Having arranged by business as well as I could at Cheadle I started the next morning 7th for London where I reached that night about 12 oclock. In the first place I went to Tean 2½ miles on foot then took an Omnibus that goes from New Castle one of the Potteries to Burton

on Trent on which I passed through Attoxeter, Tutbury & several other towns. Near Tutbury I saw the great ruins of the Tutbury Castle said to be 12 or 1400 years old. It is the place where Mary the Queen of Scots was protected for some time from her enemies. It is said to have been impenetrable before the discovery of the cannon.

It is situated on a prominence near the small stream called the Dove River. It indeed looks like a strong and grand edifice.

At Burton I reached the Birmingham & Derby Rail Road on which I went to the former place then on another Rail Road to London.

Having arrived at London in the night I put up at a boarding house near the station until next morning when after breakfast I set out to look for my friends that John Pease had directed me to. I got on an Omnibus & went some 2½ miles to cheapside where I was informed that it was quite probable that Wm Hughs of Scotts Yard to whom John Pease recomended me was quite full of borders so I put up at 29 on cheapside & after having examined the Directory to see where Friends meeting was held I set out to find one. But it being quite late, I getting a little bothered I gave up the search & went home. After dinner I set out to see my friend Wm. Hughs where I was verry kindly received, rested comfortably and went to Meeting with him at 6 oclock.

This meetinghouse seems to be in as retired a place as possible as well as all the other meeting houses that I have seen in the city. I think it is called Grace Church Street Meeting. The house is a plane looking & convenient house but not verry large. I was told that George Fox preached his last sermon here & died close by but the house has been rebuilt since that time.

The meeting was small but solid & deliberate. An aged friend made some verry good & I thought suitable remarks but was not lengthy.

The next being second day I started to look for my aunt Mary Williams & after a walk of 2 or 3 miles I found her house but she was not at home so I was obliged to go home and return the next day when I found her. She seemed glad to see me but she is a woman too noble in mind to give way or be overcome by an impulse of feelings. I was invited to come & put up with them which I did on the next day being prevented that day from getting my things by a ramble that I took with my cousin Samuel in the city. We went to the Oxford street Bazaar where there is a great number of pictures hung around the wall occupying one or two rooms then there are many large rooms full

of all kinds of small articles for sale some fitted with birds & flowers etc. This is a place built for those that wish to carry on small business & have no room to use. They come here & rent so many feet of counter by the day & furnish it as they like. After taking a small survey of this interesting place we called at a dining house & took dinner then went to what is called the Polytecnic Insitute. Here is all kinds of machinery exhibited by a model. A sample of the atmospheric Rail Way in complete operation a steam power printing press spinning weaving and almost a thousand different kinds of engines put in motion by atmospheric pressure every species of boat & ship, & the diving bell was beautifully represented in a beautiful pool erected for the purpose. They showed many animals and other things much magnified & inverted by the reflection of light. We then had a verry instructive lecture on the principles that create and govern combustion & many experiments shown to prove the reality of the position he took. Then after more exhibition of the machinery were called to the disolving so called during which they played with a band of musick which was the only thing that I could object too in the procession that I saw. They showed a man magnified to the length of eighty feet. They then showed the exact appearance of various places in ancient & modern times and as one vanished another came in and the name appeared in blazing letters to one side. Where all the spectators could see it. All of this was shown occupying the business part of a whole day for one shilling.

After leaving the Polytecnic building I took an Omnibus for my lodging at 29 cheapside & the next morning the 11th of the 6th month after breakfast I took my luggage & went to my aunts & there put up for the time stayed in London. I might have stated that on 2nd day as I went to look for my aunt I called at 14 American Square to see my friend & countryman G.W. Atwood who appeared very glad to see me & treated me with the utmost kindness. In short he told me to make myself just as much at home at his house as if I was at Azalia.

The most of the remainder of the week was occupied in searching out our pedigree & enquiring into a case of property in which I as well as my aunt felt the deepest interest. After making myself familiar with as many particulars as I could I went by the request of my aunt with cousin Samuel to see a Lawyer called Mr. Goodman who gave us his opinion gratuitous I suppose for the sake of my aunt.

But sorrowful enough his opinion was against us. On first day I went to look for Devonshire Meeting after which I went to look for a

man with whom I formed an agreeable acquaintance while crossing the water. Having spent some hours verry agreeable in his company & partook of a sumtuous repast through the hospitality of his brother at whose house he was, I returned to near the meeting house & called on John Burt to whom I had been directed by John Pease at New York who seemed to exhaust his ingenuity in kindness to me. And after all verry kindly asked me to call on him early sixth day morning next and he would go with me to some interesting parts of the city. At 6 oclock I went with him to meeting and it being a little early he called on the keeper of the Great Yearly Meeting house to show it to me which he saw to do with great pleasure. It is a great & nice house consisting of 2 seperate departments besides several committee rooms etc. in one of which they hold their weekday & first day meetings.

The forepart of this week was occupied by preparing letters to send home by the Boston steamer which sailed on the 19th from Liverpool.

Fifth day 19th I went in the morning to J. Burts to enquire for our North Carolina Friends Dugan Clark & wife who were on a religious visit to England. He went with me to a Friends house to enquire where they were and found they were out of the city at Samuel Gurney's.

I then went with my friend Burt to an old grave yard. He wished to examine the records for the burial place of some of his wife's relatives. Soon after starting out we came to the Roman Catholic Church & near by was an Independent Church. Where these stand as well as many other houses my friend told me that there was once quite a lake or bog but now is covered with houses and paved streets etc. Having passed this place we soon came in front of an enclosure that he said was one of the grounds that was filled with graves during the great plague and that many bones were found in making the street so it was likely that there had been graves all along where we then walked. I suppose during the plague either from or for want of time they buried them verry shallow. After several crooks & turns we arrived at the place called Bunhill Fields Burial grounds where George Fox John Wesley & many more of our worthy Christian reformers were laid but over whom ther is nothing now but smooth earth and green grass.

My guide told me that George Fox was seen near fifty years after his death by a man who dug so near the grave that he came to the

coffin. Upon lifting the lid the corps was just as full & features as plane as when burried but in a few moments after the are was let in the whole body fell to dust.

This burying ground contains perhaps 2 acres & is enclosed by a brick wall six or seven feet high on which are figures by which they draw lines to enable them to find the particular graves in search for there is not a clod nor tussock in one place more than another but all is smooth turf and grassy.

Not verry far from the centre is the remains of an old house just torn down which is expected shortly to be removed. At the entrance of the yard is a small house for the keeper to live in to keep the record etc. It is near this house that the venerable founder of our society was laid & perhaps before the house was built. We left this interesting place and wandered a spell in the city & came to the Bank of Engiand really a large & magnificent building.

After passing through the most of its grand and spacious rooms & viewing its many clerks we proceded through the Royal Exchange another great and grand building & thence to a verry great meat market where there was every species of meat and all kinds of live animals and fowls. We also visited an old building called the Crop, by Hall on Bishop Gate Street said to be the palace of Richard the Third now converted into a literary institute. It is many hundred years old & wears quite an ancient appearance. Over a room now used as a lecture room there is a lofty top arched shape & seems to be supported by stays of Oak Timber perhaps three inches thick & from one to three feet wide performing the double office of joist & ornament grattifying a taste perhaps peculiar to the age.

In the same room is a large fireplace some 8 feet wide near 3 feet deep & some 6 or 7 feet high not altogether unlike the rude shaped chimneys of the frontier Americans of the presant day except it was built of brick or stone. The small & low rooms narrow stareways & the small dimond shaped window lights are all characteristic of the age in which this edifice was built. I had forgotten to mention a curessity that John Burt showed me the first time that I went to see him. He handed me a chip which was planely marked with R in two places and was taken out of an oak tree 16 inches in from the bark & the tree was thought to be six hundred years old when the mark was made. From some tradition it seems that it used to be a practice on the ascension of a king to mark the nicest tree with the first letters of his name.

So it is thought that this was done in the days of King John (It may

be recollected that ? was formerly written ? .) Another curiosity was a flint stone near the shape of an egg quite smooth & hard weighing 4 lbs, 6 or 7 oz. that my friend showd me which was taken out of the stomach of a horse. Curious as this may seem there was the stone & I could not doubt the honesty of my friend in relating its origin.

But to return to my course, we suspended our rambles for the day, & I went to see my friends & countrymen at Samuel Gurney's where I arrived after 4 or 5 miles travel partly by an omnibus and partly on foot.

They seemed exceedingly glad to see me and I am sure I was glad to see them. Samuel Gurney was absent to attend the examination of a school in the City but returned a little before dinner which came between 6 & 7 o'clock. The English have a strange way of living or so it seems to me. I know it would be difficult for some of them to be at home at noon on account of their business being a mile or two off yet it seems one should hardly sacrafise every thing for convenience for surely no manner of living can be more unhealthy than of the business men and gentry of England. I suppose on an average they rise from 8 to 10 o'clock and breakfast from 9 to 11 then dine from 5 to 7 or after their days business is through. Then I suppose they have tea & supper and attend plays & time to get to bed by from 12 to 3 o'clock. Now it surely would be as well if custom would fix it so to attend to business as many hours in the fore part of the day as in the latter part. They might attend as many plays, eat as often and drink as much tea if they wished & then get to breathe the mornings are if they would but change their hours.

Why would it be any worse to open their offices at 6 and shut at five. It could be no worse for an omnibus or Cab to drive from six until seven than as they do from nine until ten & eleven. But the present arrangement is so deranged that there is a noise near all night. Soon after the cabs and omnibusses are down at night the marketing cars are coming in from the country to supply the various markets with articles for the day. Thus the country people who much the least need the fresh morning air are the only ones to get it.

Samuel Gurney & his wife seemed glad to see me & had me take dinner with them & what a table they did set yet I suppose it was quite in the bounds of their circumstances. My friend, Dugan Clark said as we were walking together that he had been told Samuel Gurney's income was one hundred pounds per day but he thought that was some what exagerated & perhaps it was but he is quite rich

enough for one man to be.

On the side of his house looking towards Elizabeth Fry's is a beautiful lawn of several acres encircled by a nice gravelly walk & beautifully shaded by various trees which he pointed me too were of the old stock of the Cedars of Lebanon.

Around the Parlor & other rooms are many beautiful paintings among them is the likeness of himself & his brother Joseph John and also a beautiful sketch of the murder of my lamented uncle John Williams the Missionary, and I was surprised to find among them an elegant sketch of the signing of the declaration of American Independence.

After we had eaten dinner he & several others proposed for a walk to go & put me in the way to London & by the way he seemed glad to take me to the house of one of his tenants & wished to know if our American tenants lived that well. He then said he must show me his sister Fry as he turned to her house, but he was informed at the door that she was absent whereupon he said, well thee would like to see her house any how as he stepped quickly in the passage and threw open the doors of both parlors. But I saw nothing more than is common in a wealthy Englishman's house.

The next morning 6th mo 20th I got off as soon as I could to take a walk with John Burt according to his invitation some days previous. As soon as he could get ready we set off. One of his borders a young woman went with us. He soon showed himself suitable for the task which he had so kindly undertaken for he seemed to know every thing in the city. We proceeded down Bishop gate & Grace Church Streets toward the Monuments created in memory of the great fire of London in 1666, which is distinguished for having begun at Pudding Lane near where the Monument stands and ended at Pie Corner a fact so curious that the people of that day were ready to account for the calamity by their own gluttonness.

But as I have a separate account of this voyage I shall not follow it in detail here.

21st I went with my aunt to Tottenham to see a man to whom my friend John Burt recommended me to get his opinion in case of some property that my grandfather was trying to claim. His name was John Hodgekins a minister in our Society but who has been one of the first barristers of London & has now retired. We first called at Robert Fosters & a woman went with us to J. Hodgekins who readily gave us the information that we wanted which was against us. We then called

a little at R. Fosters and then returned to my aunts house.

22nd Being first day I went to plaistone in the morning to meeting & then in the evening to Grace Church meeting having previously called a few minutes to see my friend Wm Hughes.

On my return to Cohorn street I was accompanied by a young man by the name of Abraham Tom of 72 Homedskick, who was desirous to know many things about the Untied States and said that he had had some notion of moving there but had nearly given it out however I think he would like to be away from England.

On 2nd day I went to see my country man G.W. Atwood and prepared my business as much as I could to go to Cheadle. 3rd day 24, I attended a large Quarterly meeting at the Devonshire house for London & Middlesex which I thought was a very good meeting. The men & women all sat together the first meeting at the close of which Samuel Gurney (clerk of the Meeting) read the London General Epistle. The friends all withdrew then to have a few minutes recess after which the men & women each convened in their respective rooms to transact the business. During the business a note was sent in from the women to know if it was a suitable time for a woman friend to come in the mens meeting. An other bill was returned that it was & two men were sent out to conduct them in. And after she had cleared herself the same friends who had sat down with them conducted them out.

A minister John Hodgekins of Tottenham asked & obtained leave to visit the few who profess our principles in the south of France. He seemed verry humble and as if he was much under the weight of his prospect although I suppose he is a man of much learning & parts.

Considerable simpathy was expressed and a minute made which concluded thus "it is the mind of this meeting that he go & may the Lord go with him."

After Meeting was over I went to dine with my friend, John Burt and on enquiry I found that the train of cars that I concluded to go on started at 7 oclock the next morning & when I was at Caborn street I was about 5 miles off. So it put me to great haste to go to get my things & get to the station that night which however I did in good time.

So next morning at 7 I started on the 3 class of cars for Hampton Station where I arrived between 2 & 3. Then at 4 I started on 2 class to go to Burton on Trent where I arrived just in time to take the Potteries Omnibus which was waiting. I go to Tean 2½ miles from

Cheadle just before 8 o'clock. I then walked to Cheadle that evening where I was very kindly received by my friend Dr. Tomkins who promised to give me victuals while I staid in Cheadle so I went to the Royal Oak Inn where I had left my trunk when I was at Cheadle before and engaged a bed.

26th I called to see Cottlaw to see how soon I can make my settlement which he had promised on the next day. But he said we could not settle on the next week which was sad news to me but I endeavored to take it as well as I could. A little after noon I went to see the new Roman Catholic Church that they are building here & of the magnificence of which I had heard much but indeed the painting inside did exceed my expectation.

I have often seen fine work on houses both here and in America but I was there surrounded by walls & pillars that were intended to enclose religious worshippers & shield them from the weather whilst they offered their devotion to an all seeing God.

But what walls they were; the fine painting that covered the walls pillars & window glass, the beautiful portrays & the fine sculpture so gaudily arranged though yet unfinished were as far beyond my power to describe as they were repugnant to my feelings.

The outside is, of course, brown stone with much sculpture & at the West end a Steaple is run to an enormous hight. I asked a bystander how much it was likely to cost. He did not know but expected it could be one hundred thousand which I think was not unreasonable though I do not believe it will hold many more people than one room of our house at Sand Creek.

In a shop near by there was many fine marble sculptures for ornament & one large fine bowl by which the great marble bowl at Washington City of which we have heard so much would be plane. I suppose it is intended to hold the Holy water wherewith to Christen themselves, a practice that the Catholics follow as they enter the place of worship by dipping the finger in the water & then touching the nose and both shoulders, pretending that it is to remind them they they must cross their own wills in their duty to God.

I requested Cattlow to give me a copy of his proceedings which he ordered to be ready at noon the next day.

27th got my papers near the time appointed & then spent the most of the time that evening & the next day aporing over them to try to make out what the Estate was worth but could get but little information and explanation. I gave up the task as hopeless.

On the 1st day of the 29th I was invited to attend the state church but rather declined being as I was altogether ignorant of their proceedings & fearing that they would require something of me that I was taught in my raising not to do. About one o'clock I went by invitation to dine with an aged man by the name of Brandon who knew my father when he was in England. He was kind to me & invited me to take tea with him at six o'clock which I accepted after which I took a walk to let him attend their church.

On 2nd day the 30th I attended mostly to writings, etc.

7th Mo. 1 Went to see John Blagg at his office in the morning and then to dine with him at his house at 4 o'clock. After dining we took a walk in a beautiful grove or plantation near his house which is on a high hill that affords a beautiful view of the town of Cheadle on one side and a broad view of a valley on the other. After the walk we went down to town and then to his house about one quarter of a mile off to take tea. He told me that about the very last time he saw my father was in a small room which is now a part of his house paying his addresses to the young lady that he was so anxious to marry, the prevention of which by his father was, I suppose, the cause of his going to America.

The 2nd I wrote some letters home & went at 3 o'clock to dine with J. Cattlow who lives about 1½ miles out of town. On our way to his house we passed by one or two of the numerous coal mines that are in this country. Cattlow informed me that they dug there about 200 yds. deep but in the potteries a few miles off some mines were dug to the depth of 700 yards. There are here 2 or 3 mines and there is a large Engine situated near a half mile off that pumps the water out for them all. I suppose it is carried down to the Engine by pipes or veins in the earth. The coal is raised out of the mines by means of a box that is raised by a chain which winds around a wheel propelled by steam. There are 2 of these flat chains & one of them rasses up as the other runs off. After dinner we walked out to look at his garden but our walk was cut short by the rain.

After tea I borrowed an umbarella & went to Cheadle through a thick mist of fine rain.

3rd - spent most of the day writing & preparing what little I could for a settlement; and in the evening took a walk with a student of Dr. Thomkinson. We went one mile or more towards what is called the Alton Tower the resident of which is doing a large share towards the erection of the Catholic Chapel of Cheadle. I think he is called Lord

Shrewsberry. He occupies a rich mansion, possesses a large estate & is a man of considerable influence & of course is a Roman Catholic.

4th made preparations for settlement but could not get at it before about one o'clock so we did not get through until it was late, but I having all things ready & leaving by a marketing cart that evening sent my luggage to New Castle under Tine, set off for that place. I walked about 3½ miles to a place called Blythe Marsh to get on an Omnibus to Newcastle. On my arrival at Blithe Marsh I enquired for the conveyance upon which a man rode up & anxiously enquired if I wanted to go to New Castle. I said yes, but did not like his meddling. He seemed to try to interest himself very much about me and said the Omnibus would not come in 2 hours & I was 2 or three times very near telling him to mind his own business but thought as I was in a strange place I had better keep my tongue still. He saw that I did not like him & said he was trying to help me along but I did not seem to like it. I hinted that I wanted none of his help & went into a poor Inn that stood (near) to see if I could get a seat, which I did & the omnibus came in a short time.

The man before alluded to looked very much like one that was a Cheadle when I went to settle with Cattlow & his impertinent interference gave me strong belief that he intended no good motive.

But I did not feel the least alarmed for I knew that the omnibus would come at its time & I did not believe the good citizens of that place would let a man be robbed in the high way & I knew he could not entrap me into a gambling spree for which the house I went into had the appearance of being a good place. But all fear of that place was taken away by his remonstrating against my going in there which he most strenuously did by assuring me that if I waited for the Omnibus I could not get to New Castle that night.

On arriving at Newcastle I was put down at a fine & spacious Inn where it seemed that every thing that a traveler could want both for comfort or pleasure was at hand. After taking tea I went to bed on a very good bed but in consequence of anxiety of mind about how I should dispose of my money to satisfaction & safety, I perhaps having taken too much tea, I had to pass a sleepless night.

The next morning I got up almost half dead for sleep & went to put my money in a better pack. I counted over a thirty pound note for five which made it appear that I had lost 25 pounds. This put me in the deepest reflection for the money had not been unraped since I left the office where I received it & I feared he would accuse me of judging

that he had stolen it. But 25 pounds was more than I thought I could loose so I fixed up and got on a coach & went back. Cattow was absent from the office but his clerk seemed much interested in my case & after looking verry diligently for the money & could find none, I concluded to count it over in his presence to let him see that there was some gone; so I took the bills one by one & he observed there was a thirty that I called a five which by examining I found to be true though it was stamped precisely like the fives except the letters were thirty instead of five. Then finding that it was all right I started to go back to a place called Draycot Inn to get on the coach as it returned from Derby being the same that I had come on in the morning. After I got to Newcastle I took the rail Rode Omnibus to go to Whitmore Station by which & the second class cars I got to Liverpool that night between 8 & 9 oclock having traveled perhaps 80 miles that day after 10 oclock & near half of it by coach.

On the 6th I attended 2 meetings at Liverpool where was Joseph John Gurney & also visited my cousin at 17 Caverton Terrace.

On the 7th I went to see several ships but engaged no passage, but thought I had a verry good offer on the Patrick Henry to sail on the 21st.

8th deposited some money in the Liverpool Bank & again went to look at the Patrick Henry. I engaged a passage.

The ninth early in the morning I started on the 3rd class of cars for London where I arrived about 10 oclock that evening & then took an omnibus and went to an Inn called the Swan with 2 weeks near Cheap Side.

10th went to Atwoods & then to look for my aunt having [moved] since I was there. I dined with John Huck, No 2 Rodney Terrace East Mile End road whose wife was sister to my uncle John Williams.

After dinner having got the address of my aunt I set out to hunt for her but had no difficulty in finding her. This John Huck and his wife seemed verry kind to me all the time that I was at London & many times invited me to go to see them which I was sorry I could not do more than I did.

My aunt had removed to 21 Paul's Terrace Ballsport where she occupies a pritty house and has a small garden behind besides privilege to walk in a green of some 2 or 3 acres adjoining the garden for which she pays about 11 shillings per year to the keeper. I think she pays £37. for the house & garden besides the tax.

11th Wrote several letters to my acquaintances etc. and drew a

plot of the *pedigree* of the Chawner family for my Friend W.C. Fosberry.

12th went to see William hughs of 7 Scotts yard and then to the Devonshire Meeting house to see James Bowden who is the Clerk of the Society of Friends in England. He took me to the fire proof rooms where the old records of Friends such as minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings & its Epistles, the minutes of the Yearly Meeting and its Epistles, coppies of the records of births & deaths etc as well as the original manuscripts of many letters of ancient Friends the Writings of these letters was verry various as well as verry different no two that I saw wrote the same hand.

First day 13th I went to see Robert Foster of Totenham Green who received me verry kindly. I attended 2 meetings at Totenham that day & then returned to my aunts accompanied the most of the way by a Friend from near Bristol who had dined with us at R. Fosters and was an Attorney or Barrister. Robert Foster is a Bachelor of perhaps 40 and lives with 4 sisters who are also single. I think they are all verry respectable Friends and surely no people can be kinder than they are.

Second day I went with Abam Tam of 72 Handsdick to take a round in some interesting part of London & vicinity.

In the evening I returned & took tea with him and then called to see John Burt of Liverpool St. Then went to my aunts as usual to stay the night.

3rd day 15th said mostly at aunts to write off some old minutes from a book that J. Burt had given me the evening before which contained extracts of the records of one of the first Monthly meetings that was ever held in England.

In the evening I went with my cousin to see Madam Tooso's exhibition of wax figures which indeed makes a grand show.

16th did some writing & went with my aunt to see a lawyer about the estate of Uncle William in which her children were concerned. I then went to America square & faling to see Atwood I hastened home to do the business that I had expected to do tomorrow as I will have to settle with Atwood tomorrow. In the evening I went with my aunt to the Independents Chapel being the first time I had ever went to meeting with my aunt. Notwithstanding she had frequently invited me.

The chapel was verry neat and plane & I think the service did not much differ from that of the Methodists except they made less noise.

17th I finished my letter & went to settle with Atwood & then hastened back to dine at Aunts as she expected a small party there among whom were some that I was anxious of seeing.

That evening I went to Smith Field expecting to go with my cousin to the House of Commons but I having been detained on my way did not get there until he was gone so I returned back.

18th Fixed up early to leave London which I did about 11 o'clock by the 2nd class cars having bid my aunt and her family a final adieu about 8 o'clock.

I arrived at Liverpool about dusk having much enjoyed my journey to Birmingham because of the very agreeable company of Anne Allen and a friend from Norway with whom I accidentally met at the Railway station.

After getting to Liverpool I took a cab & went to my previous boarding-house at 11 Catton St. in order to be near the ships.

19th Expected to go to see my cousin who was on a pleasure trip to East-ham a place about 7 miles up the River from Liverpool. But on hearing they were not prepared for me that day I concluded to go the next being the first day & I was anxious to go to Friends meeting but it seemed impracticable.

20th Started off near 11 o'clock to East-ham where I arrived some time before my cousin came from Church (as they call it) but was much interested in the company of a young man in whose company I fell whilst on board the boat. He anxiously asked many questions about America & thought that he should be much interested to visit our grand natural scenery so abundant in America.

My cousin and her husband having returned I with him & another man took a pleasant walk in the beautiful forest that renders Eastham so pleasant a resort for the people of a city on a holyday.

The Boat got stuck on the mud in consequence of low tide which shortened the number of its trips to Liverpool & the collection of people seemed too large to go that evening so the man with whom we had taken a walk & myself went to a lower ferry a distance of 3 or 4 miles which we found to be quite a walk. I got to my lodging about 10 o'clock.

21st was the day I expected to sail but the ship could not get ready so in the evening I went again to Eastham & returned that night by the regular boat.

22nd prepared a letter to send home by the Steamer Great Britain which was advertised to sail on the 26th & after taking it to the Post

office I called to take leave of my friend W.C. Fosberry at his office & then hastened on board the ship to take my leave of England & mingle again in the pleasing relations of my affectionate family & domestic friends.

On third day the 22nd of the 7th mo. at 1 o'clock I started on board the ship Patrick Henry for America a steam boat taking us about 20 miles out when we spread sail before a fair wind. We passed Holly Head about 8 o'clock.

23rd wind still fair but light have sailed well all night have stern sails up at both sides this morning. Wind low all day till evening when it rose a little. At 6 o'clock they said we were going $7\frac{1}{2}$ knots per hour.

24th fair & fine winds this morning. Have sailed well all night. Have had stern sails up on one side or both ever since we first raised them.

In the afternoon we were becalmed, I suppose off Cape Clear. The wind arose again in the evening to a light breeze but more from the north.

25th light winds in the morning have sailed but little last night. About noon a perfect calm, the sea quite smooth. I am almost seasick as well as some of the other passengers. About 1 o'clock a girl in the 2nd cabin died who has been sick just to fits & it is said she had to be carried on board the ship. I suppose her voyage was undertaken partly through necessity & partly through a hope that it would benefit her health. In the evening the winds rose but from the N. West.

26th winds pretty high & still nearly ahead made but little progress last night. Sailing S.W. about 4 or 5 knots per hour.

About 10 o'clock the girl that died yesterday was put overboard having been placed in a rough, long box one end being filled with stones & a bag full tied to the outside. The corpse before interment was placed on the edge of the ship & a young man standing near on the steps of the gang way read a prayer then the corpse was let down to the water & soon sunk from the great weight attached to it.

I suppose the deceased was about 14 years old & is said to have lived an innocent life.

About 1 o'clock we turned on our Northern tack.

First day 27th wind still high & from the N. West. Turned on our Western tack at 8 o'clock in the morning.

28th turned on our Northern tack but in half or $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour turned again to the West. I am still sea sick but hope I am some better. High

breeze from the N. West which continued all day & we run on our western tack.

29th wind light & more to the West myself some sick. About 11 o'clock we turned on our Northern tack. The captain said this morning we had made one fourth of our voyage. In the evening turned to the West.

30th Early this morning the wind fell a few points more to the North & in stern W.N.W. which we kept all day at the rates of 7 or 8 knots per hour. Have had a fine day but my stomach quite delicate.

31st fine winds this morning & have sailed well all night but some fear that it will soon be calm ahead. Saw 3 brigs two at 1 o'clock & one other after all on our right.

Wind raised a little higher at night & the day closed & also the 7th month 1845 while I was sailing 10 knots per chance about Longitude 27 or 28 & 47 N Latitude.

8th month 1 in the morning had fine wind from the N. & sailing about 10 knots per hour but fell some in the evening. Saw bark near us on our left about 3½ o'clock & just before night saw one other sail far before us.

2nd wind rather light & more to the westward. Have sailed but little the past night. Some thought they saw a Steamer this morning. Wind kept light all day & the weather fine and warm. Turned to the north about 9 o'clock then to the west about 11. Sail 5 knots per hour.

3rd and 1st of the week, weather calm & most pleasant all day except a slight squall in the evening. Sailed about 3 knots per hour. Some of the passangers think they could stand still ten days to enjoy this fine weather.

4th Tacked ship last evening & have made but little all night. Wind light & direct ahead. The vessel pitches verry bad in riding the little waves which come meeting us. Occasional mists of rain in the evening.

5th Wind high but nearly ahead sailing 6 or 8 knots per hour still on our West tack.

About noon it clouded up & rained in the evening which quieted the wind & sea.

Note. The reader may recollect that the variation of the compass is so much near England the Mariners in coming to America will prefer a Northern to a Southern course.

6th Cloudy this morning & verry fare have sailed but little the last night. I think I have never seen the sea so smooth as it is this morning.

We are now about Log 40 which is reckoned the meridian between New York and Liverpool.

7th Still calm & has been nearly all night but the wind soon arose from the East which enabled them to put out Stensails which they kept all day & got a pretty good sail. The weather seems now like clearing up & we have the cheering evidence of good wind. The sun set clear this evening which seemed to amuse the passingers as it hid its golden ball beneath the waters.

We saw several whales or verry large black fish sporting in the water near us this evening.

8th Wind still fare though more from the North. Have sailed about 8 knots per hour all night. The wind still low to the North & moved us off of our course before night. The air is so cool that a watch was stationed on the forecastle with strict orders to keep a close look-out for ice berges but saw none.

9th Quite foggy & wind low from S.W. Tacked ship this morning at 6 oclock & headed N.N.W. & sailed about 3 knots per hour. Perhaps we shall be on the N Foundland Banks today. This day is our Monthly Meeting at Driftwood & perhaps while I write my Friends are going to Meeting & perchance a thought may be directed after me. At 6 oclock overtook an English brig in Log. 48=15 bound for Montreale 28 days from L.Pool. Almost a calm before night.

First day 10th on the Banks this morning & surrounded by Fishing boats with a fine breeze from the North. Sailing 9 knots per hour at 8 oclock.

The wind gradually has moved to our head towards evening saw several Whales & several ships that are some to our North was the nearest a match for us in point of sailing of anything that we have seen since we started.

11th a fine morning but the wind too much ahead turned on our Northern tack last night & at 8 this morning were makeing about 5 knots per hour heading N.W.W. Several passingers have got bad falls on the ship since we were out the day before yesterday. A young woman named Hobson fell on the gang way & hurt herself verry much but has now got mostly over it. This morning a lad 12 or 14 fell down the steps into the steerage & seemed hurt verry much. About noon cast a bit & found bottom at about 60 fathoms. About 8 in the evening tacked ship to the Southward wind light & have had a calm clear & warm day.

12th Fare & calm have sailed but little last night turned on our

Northern tack at 12 last night.

A great many large fish called granpus about the ship & the Captain shot several times at them they are a species of the Whale and are perhaps 60 or 80 ft. long.

Today has been the warmest day that I have seen this summer. The Captain had awning put up this morning which made the Quarter deck very pleasant. We raised some stensails the wind getting a little more force this evening.

It is surprising what heavy dews fall about the N. Foundland Banks the decks are quite wet by sun down when the weather is fare. Sometimes the fog is so thick that one cannot see the length of the ship at noon. This will wet almost like rain. It will collect in large drops on the sails so as to keep a continual dripping.

13th calm & fare morning but some foggy have made but little last night. A Brig is lying very near to our left said to be bound to Ft. Johns N Brunswick & has been out 33 days from London. The wind arose a little in the evening & we left the Brig out of sight. This morning was the nearest like an American summer morn that I have seen this year though the air was some cooler. I understand that we were a little over 5 h long. at 12 oclock which makes more than 900 miles to NY & we have been out 22 days today at 1 oclock.

14th cloudy & high winds have sailed from 6 to 8 knots on our course all night. Wind lighter & more ahead in the evening.

15th fine, fare & warm morning but wind light & changeable made but little progress today have been steering S.W. by W. Today at 12 oclock the Captain said we were 690 miles from N. York, Lat 42—Long 59.5.

16th Warm & light winds but it is so fare that we have stensails up at both sides. I suppose we are now nearly opposite Novascotia a good fare wind would soon waft us in but we may be kept out many days.

Four vessels in sight this morning but we outsailed them all but one which seems rather to best us. The passingers are all well except bad colds & one or two children in the steerage. They generally keep lively but this evening they are unusually so in their sports on main deck. The Boatswain & one of the sailors had a fight this morning. It is said he is an uruly one having been tutored on bord a Man of War.

The Officers generally seem pretty sharp towards the sailors but perhaps not more than is required to make them keep their places. But people are not so thoughtful in general when they have the

supreme power as when they are under that power. I think as much as any other man the Sea Captain should be a reasonable and feeling man & perhaps few places are more trying than is sometimes the lot of a Captain. Just think of a vessel at Sea in a storm with half of the sailors sick & the other half wholly unable to manage the ship. What must the Captain do? It would seem wrong to let the ship and all to be lost yet it seems that a man must lay aside all fellow feelings to force a sick man out & compel him to do the hardest labour in the most inclement weather.

First day the 17th wind still fare & rose a little higher towards day this morning.

18th wind fine from the N.E. have sailed well ever since yesterday morning. The Lat. yesterday at noon was $41=48$, Long. $61=24$. which made us 560 miles from N. York, but from the speed we have been going I think this morning we are not over 400. We have been out 27 days today & I think we shall land in 2 days more if good luck.

The vessel that seemed to gain on us with the light winds of 7th day last we passed that night & with the brisk winds of yesterday & last night we have lost sight of her though perhaps some what obscured by the cloudy weather & thick fog of this morning. One month ago this day I left London & went to Liverpool which was my first start homewards & I hope to reach home in three weeks more.

A thick fog raised about 4 or 5 o'clock (as the wind became lighter & more ahead) thick enough to wet cloth through on deck in an hour or two.

We are supposed to be on George's banks.

19th Wind changeable & light sailing 4 or 5 knots pr. hour weather damp & cloudy. Have seen but few ships today but have outsailed all that I have seen. 220 miles from N. York today at noon.

20th The wind still keeps fare but light, have sailed from 3 to 4 knots tonight.

Got a pilot about $7\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock this morning. He brought news of a destructive fire in N. York. What will become of America if her cities keep burning down. Pittsburgh was almost laid in ashes last spring. Quebeck in the summer and now N. York has shared the same fate.

The Steamship *Great Britain* made her passage in less than 14 days. The pilot's boatsmen say that we have made the best passage of any sail ship lately. This was as I expected. By the pilot also we got news of the Annexation of Texas to the U.S. which all though not unexpected is quite painful from the fact that it has been sought for

& obtained by the Slave power for the sole purpose of strengthening their alleys.

Our Lat. is $40=32\frac{1}{2}$ Long. $71=39$ but little more than 100 miles to N. York.

10 oclock at night. Have had fine wind today but now rather light. Are off Fire Isle light house about 50 miles from Sandy Hook.

A woman in the second cabin is quite sick the steward fears it is inflammation in the stomach.

A child that has been sick near all the voyage died this morning & has just been put in the water. All the passingers seem verry anxious to land tomorrow which I hope will be allowed though I am so much more comfortable here than I was on the St. Patrick that I am much more easy about it.

21st All had the pleasure this morning of seeing the long looked for Sandy Hook & about 10 oclock we had the joy to see the anchor cast at Quarentine ground in the narrows where the doctors came aboard to see if we had any contagious disease aboard. I believe all that were sick were well enough to be passed by without detention.

Arrangements were soon made to land the cabbin passingers with whom the captain had the kindness to place me in order that I might get to shore immediately. Our baggage was sent to shore in a boat to be examined by the custom house officers & we followed in another boat. After a slight look into our trunks, etc. they were passed by with the mark.

We then went to a pear where a Steam boat soon arrived to take us to the city where we arrived about 11 oclock having been on the water about thirty days.

On landing I proceeded to No 9 Dry St. where a boarding house is kept in good order by one Robert E. Folger a Hicksite friend where they gladly rec'd me from the acquaintance they had with me when I was here before. After putting my things away I hurried to the office of Edward J. Mann where I was glad to receive a letter from my wife at home which brought me some sorrowful news.

Several of my acquaintances were gone to the silent house & several more were not expected to be in this troublesome world when I got home.

Isaac Parker Jr. who has been endeared to me by many boyhood rambles and the closest juvenile associations all my life besides we have been endeared together of late by the deep sympathy I have felt on his account for the loss of his beloved wife who held a conspicuous

place among the dearest of my maternal cousins. He seemed to pay a particular regard for me when I was about leaving home & the last time I saw him upon bidding me farewell he grasped my hand with affection & verry feelingly remarked "if I never see thee more I wish to be remembered as a friend." I have verry often thought of that whilst I have been gone but little dreamed of this sorrowful news that he was lying prostrate on a bed of sickness & in all probability has on this time retired behind the vale & shadow of death.

Another distressing account was the sickness of my brotherinlaw Daniel Cook which was said to be severe he too may now be passed the state of mortality.

The weather here has been verry dry & is still verry warm. The hay is cut so short that it is expected to be very dear.

I hear since landing that the wheat crop in England is cut verry short which was to me supprising news for when I left they were expecting a verry heavy crop but I suppose a damp misty spell of weather subject to that courtnty has continued so long that the wheat has taken a mildew.

Nothing is plentier in this market than peaches apples pears & melons which were quite a luxury to me for I have seen but verry little fruit of any kind since I left America except berries which abound in London.

22nd Went to see the family of John Wood who were verry kind to me when I was there before. Dear John having during my absence gone the way of all the earth. The family were just preparing to separate. The Widow & her daughter I think going to New Jersey & the boys to try there fortunes as farmers in the far Western country of Iowa.

It must be quite a change for young men raised in this city under the kind attention & regard of such a father as John Wood to stem the current of a back woodsman and endure the hardships and perils of the frontier state of Iowa.

They may be fully aware of all this but I fear they will find it to exceed their anticipations.

23rd Edward J. Mann with whom I had some business having returned home I left him to do all my business & prepared to go to Albany on the steamer North America, thence homewards by the way of the lake.

Southland College: The Society of Friends and Black Education in Arkansas

by

Thomas C. Kennedy

Quaker is not a name generally associated with Arkansas. Indeed, recent records of the Religious Society of Friends list only three Quaker Meetings with less than seventy attenders in the entire state.¹ Arkansans might be surprised to learn that a century ago there were Quaker settlements scattered about the state from Benton County to Arkadelphia and that an isolated rural community near Helena boasted a Quaker school for blacks and a monthly meeting with over four hundred members. Both the Friends who operated this institution, Southland College, and the educational experiment they undertook deserve to be better remembered. That is the object of this study.²

Even before the onset of the Civil War, the American Society of Friends could point with pride to its record on race relations. For though there had been a "lapse of one hundred years" during which some New World Quakers actually owned Negro slaves, slaveholding was entirely eliminated within the society during the Revolutionary War period. Thereafter, as one Quaker historian noted, Friends were apt to regard the "the colored people. . . as wards requiring their oversight and care."³ Certainly, Friends were among the most important leaders of the anti-slavery movement, although active abolitionists were not always supported by their more conservative Quaker brethren. Indeed, in the Indiana Yearly Meeting differences between a minority of active antislavery Friends and cautious "moderates" led to a temporary "separation." The minority eventually returned to the main body, but the steadfast zeal of their leaders such as Levi Coffin, "President of the Underground Railway," eventually held sway and inspired the Indiana Yearly Meeting's widespread activities on behalf of Negroes during the Civil War.⁴

From 1821 the Indiana Yearly Meeting had a standing committee charged with the care and education of those of African descent.⁵ This committee, however, was not equipped to deal with the crisis which ensued when, amidst the disruption and chaos of the Civil War, thousands of freedmen sought the protection of Union forces operating within the self-defined limits of the Indiana Yearly Meeting.

In 1863, at the urgent request of Indiana Governor Oliver Horton, a special Freedmen's Committee was charged by the Yearly Meeting to look "to the relief of the physical necessities of Freedmen and their advancement in knowledge and religion."⁶ This committee eventually employed over twenty Friends as agents for dispensing aid to ex-slaves throughout the Ohio-Mississippi valley. Early in 1864 one of these agents, Elkanah Beard, was virtually ordered by General Napoleon B. Buford, Union Commandant at Helena, Arkansas, to provide an asylum for a large number of lost and abandoned black children in that city "suffering greatly from neglect and exposure."⁷

To this end the Friends' Freedmen Committee dispatched Calvin and Alida Clark of Wayne County, Indiana, who, with two younger assistants, founded an orphanage and school on April 19, 1864. The school, as Alida Clark later fondly recalled, was like Jesus, born in a stable. Thus commenced the sixty-year saga of Southland College.⁸

With the aid of both the Friends' Freedmen Committee and the Freedmen's Bureau, the institution at Helena continued operations until early 1866, when Colonel Charles Bentzoni, the new commandant, received orders to return the orphanage buildings to their original owners. Faced with the prospect of turning eighty destitute children out into the cold, Colonel Bentzoni, a Prussian emigrant who commanded the 56th United States Colored Infantry Regiment, proposed to the Clarks that the men of his command would save the orphanage by donating both money to purchase land and labor to erect buildings. Alida Clark, in the words of a Quaker historian, recognized Bentzoni as "God's instrument to meet the difficulties confronting them," the answer to her prayers.⁹

In March 1866 Bentzoni marched the men of the 56th Colored Infantry Regiment nine miles northwest of Helena to a thirty-acre plot they had purchased in order to dedicate a group of plank structures they had built. When Alida Clark received the deed for the property on behalf of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, she assured her

benefactors "that the trust would not be betrayed" and pledged that the Bible would be "the foundation of all teaching." Later in the same year, the Indiana Yearly Meeting purchased an adjoining fifty acres which, with the original thirty, would comprise the Southland Campus.¹⁰ The first two permanent buildings on the site were erected with the aid of the Freedmen's bureau, though Friends noted that the bureau had "placed us in a very embarrassing situation" when, due to congressional parsimony, it could provide only \$3,000 of a promised \$5,000 appropriation for a new schoolhouse. The yearly meeting managed to make up the difference, partly through the generosity of English and Irish Friends whose contributions gave Southland an international dimension throughout its history.¹¹

When the Freedmen's Bureau closed down in 1869, the maintenance and welfare of the children who remained at the institution fell upon the Missionary Board of the Indiana Yearly Meeting which had superseded the Freedmen's Committee. Encouraged by the yearly meeting "to proceed with ... the arduous and responsible labor in which they are engaged," the Missionary Board asked Calvin and Alida Clark to continue at Southland as superintendent and matron. No more formidable and indomitable pair could have been enlisted.¹²

The faces of the Clarks glare out from old tintypes with a sternness that seems etched in stone, but they are not unnatural faces for weatherbeaten Indiana farmers, especially those further toughened by the deaths of two young children, the cause of abolition, and the austere, teetotal, evangelical Christianity common to nineteenth century midwestern Quakers.¹³ They needed a hard exterior to endure the primitive and isolated circumstances at Southland, cut off as they were not only from the conveniences of civilized society, but also from the company of white people, except for teachers at the school and an occasional visiting Friend. Alida Clark later recounted that in over twenty years of service at Southland only "three white women of this Southern land have ever given me a friendly shake of the hand, or an invitation to their home, or noticed me. . ." ¹⁴ But if "Mis' Clark," as local blacks called her, had little company, she had much work and a burning sense of mission to drive her on. She was, as one Quaker visitor noted, "the moving Spirit of the place," running the school, organizing religious and temperance activities, and soliciting the thousands of dollars needed to keep the enterprise afloat. Southland's original benefactor, Colonel Bentzoni, saluted

her as "the grandest woman I have ever known. With unusual executive abilities, she combined a tenderness of heart and unbounded desire to help the lowly and needy." A southern neighbor added: "She had more moral courage and invincible determination than any individual I ever met."¹⁵

Remaining largely in the background, Calvin Clark "ably and faithfully supported supported" his wife, taking "general oversight of the temporal interests of the institution" as well as managing the family's considerable local interests which eventually included 1,700 acres, a brick yard, a saw mill, a grist mill, a cotton gin, and a grocery store.¹⁶ However much Calvin Clark manifested the celebrated Quaker business acumen, neither he nor his wife made their fortunes through the school. Though they originally drew small salaries, for most of their twenty-two years labor at Southland they refused any compensation. Physical labor was not all they put into the place. They also provided care and attention for many black children who knew no other earthly parents. For example, Henrietta Kitteral, a mulatto girl abandoned to their charge, subsequently became not only a teacher and minister at Southland, but the Clarks' legally adopted daughter as well.¹⁷

The Clarks harbored few illusions about the condition of the freedmen among whom they lived. Their reports and correspondence are full of references to a despised, oppressed, benighted, and misused people, "helpless in poverty and steeped in ignorance." "No one," said Alida Clark, "can travel through this country and mingle with, and behold the depravity, ignorance and wickedness of the people without being seriously impressed with fearful forebodings. . ." ¹⁸ But if the former slaves were wont to wander aimlessly in their search for real freedom, Friends sought to guide them along the straight but arduous two-tracked path of useful knowledge and Christian morality. "The Bible and the spelling book," said one Quaker, were the only means of rescuing this people "from the almost Egyptian darkness and superstition" in which they dwelt. "The Macedonian cry reaches us from every quarter," warned Mrs. Clark, and its piteous sound fixed upon them the awesome responsibility of developing "some more energetic and systematic way of educating and Christianizing the races."¹⁹

Southland Friends quickly surmised that the light of learning could be brought to the black masses only by their own people. Thus, in 1869 a normal course was added to the curriculum and thereafter

the school's chief objective was to train young blacks as teachers "whose lives and examples should influence other lives and homes." To accomplish this goal students were trained on a rigorous schedule which, for boarders, began at 5 a.m. and ended with an 8 p.m. prayer meeting.²⁰ A major obstacle to systematic instruction, however, was the fact that many students attended irregularly, coming when money was available or when they were not needed on the family farm. This made the problem of placement, evaluation, and advancement doubly difficult.

Still, the Missionary Board was impressed by the fact that within five years Southland had put sixty teachers "in the field" instructing 1,800 students and receiving an aggregate income of \$8,000. Local school authorities were most complimentary to Southland teachers. One of them remarked to a visiting Friend that the school turned out "the best teachers for the colored people we can get."²¹ In 1876 the board announced that because of the Society's "duty to do everything in our power to advance. . . educational and other interests in this part. . . of Arkansas and especially to qualify teachers," they had determined that the institution be named "Southland College" and that its faculty should grant diplomas to students whose attainments warranted such an honor. Fittingly all three members of the first graduating class were orphans raised from childhood by Calvin and Alida Clark.²²

The question of whether Southland deserved to be called a college is moot. Certainly most of the instruction was rudimentary, but reports do indicate a progressive development of the curriculum. Whereas in the early 1870s teaching was largely "confined to the primary branches," by 1876 courses included science, natural history, bookkeeping, German, and Latin.²³ Eight years later Alida Clark revealed that "our male teacher" George W. Bell, a former Southland student and a graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, was instructing students in metaphysics, Greek, physics, and rhetoric. The results of Professor Bell's efforts cannot be ascertained, though such endeavors obviously impressed some representatives of the Missionary Board.²⁴ One of these noted in 1880—nine years after the University of Arkansas was founded: "Leading men, white and colored, say Southland is the best institution of learning in the State." For all of that, probably the fairest summary of Southland's approach under the Clarks was given by an English visitor.

The students are earnestly pressed to complete the simple course which is here required for graduation and endeavors are made to render the institution more worthy of the title that has been given to it.²⁵

Cultivation of the mind was only half of Southland's charge. The Clarks were as much missionaries as educators and they required students to seek out and "live upon the unsearchable riches of Christ" through a full schedule of preaching services, prayer meetings, and temperance activities. Strictly speaking, of course, Southland was never a "Quaker" school. Indeed, later catalogues took pains to identify its as a nondenominational Christian academy.²⁶ Still, nearly all students were, as Alida Clark admitted, "tinctured at least. . .with Quakerism;"²⁷ and a considerable number of them, as well as some black residents of the area, were officially received into the Society of Friends. In December 1873, the Indiana Yearly Meeting took the monumental step of recognizing seventy-eight Southland Friends as an official monthly meeting capable of establishing subordinate preparative meetings.²⁸

As Southland Meeting grew, the question inevitably arose as to the capacity of southern blacks to adapt themselves to a form of worship wherein, at intervals at least, "a . . .precious covering of Divine Silence prevailed." One Friend warned in 1878 that "false notions as to the necessity of maintaining a select respectability hindered Friends from extending the right hand of fellowship" to all peoples who grasped for it.²⁹ Calvin and Alida Clark were never troubled by such restrictive views. As early as 1868 they had petitioned the Executive Board of the Indiana Yearly Meeting asking that Daniel Drew, one of Southland's first converts to Quakerism, be recorded as a minister of the Society of Friends. The Clarks believed that Drew was "a chosen vessel of no ordinary qualifications," capable of serving God and his people as few others could. After nearly two years of deliberation, the yearly meeting duly accorded Daniel Drew this high honor. For his part, Drew fulfilled their trust in a thirty-year ministry during which he became, in the words of Alida Clark, "our main nursing father. . .always ready with a good word, fitly chosen from the clear brook of the spring of life."³⁰

Eventually the Southland Monthly Meeting established preparative meetings in the nearby communities of Hickory Ridge and Beaver Bayou. By the mid-1880s total membership grew to

about four hundred including seven recorded ministers, four of them black.³¹ So far as Matron Clark was concerned, the conduct of meetings by blacks proved "that these people may be Christians under Friends' organization. . . [without] boisterous shouting and unsightly gymnastics." An Indiana visitor was somewhat less sanguine in remarking on the "encouraging" signs that Southland meetings were "not quite so emotional" as previously.³²

Among the most time-consuming activities which engaged the attention of the Southland Monthly Meeting was "waging unabated war against King Alcohol." The Clarks lost no opportunity to emphasize that nearly all Southland scholars were total abstainers from alcohol, snuff, and tobacco, who when they took teaching positions, continued to campaign against these evil substances.³³

Reenforcements in the struggle against the liquor trade arrived in 1871 when Kansas Friends Amasa and Lydia Chace made Southland the base for their evangelical and temperance work. Fervent and plainspoken ex-abolitionists, the Chaces believed that the worst of the "bitter fruits" left by slavery were ignorance and drink, to which might be added a new fear of "the persistent influence of Catholicism." Their view was well summarized by Alda Clark:

Would that we could awaken Friends everywhere to the glorious work of rescuing the freedmen from the iron grasp of ignorance entailed by slavery; which rum is riveting more closely, and the Pope binding in his deadly embrace of avarice and superstition.³⁴

The Chaces remained in the area of Southland for the rest of their working lives and Lydia Chace appropriately crowned her career as president of the Arkansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union. By 1883 Southland's temperance organization boasted over 1,000 members, but the struggle was never easy.³⁵ Sometimes the enemy was victorious even within the very strongholds of abstemious Quakerism. In 1877 Alida Clark reported that at Hickory Ridge, which had been cut off from Southland by floods, "a faithful few. . . are waging a steady warfare against the six liquor saloons in this village of about seventy inhabitants." The \$1,500 paid for liquor licenses so wasted the area's resources that there was no money for either black or white schools. On the other hand, a considerable,

though temporary, victory was won in 1882 when Southland led antiliquor forces to triumph in a local option election.³⁶ But through victory and defeat, as one proud Friend noted, “few if any schools have sent out teachers more thoroughly imbued with the principles of Christianity, of sobriety and total abstinence. . . than Southland has.”³⁷

From the viewpoint of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, reports from Southland had many gratifying aspects. The school was seen as “a center of intelligence and Christian influence” improving the morals, minds, and manners of an abused people who, though they lacked every material comfort, somehow managed to secure the means for educating their children “not only in books but in better ways of living.”³⁸ A favorite early story told of a fourteen-year-old girl who daily navigated a mile and a half across the Mississippi in a dugout canoe so that she and her brothers could attend the school. In 1880 proof of the success that could accompany such determined efforts was provided with the fulfillment of Matron Clark’s dream of “seeing the school conducted by colored teachers” who were Southland graduates.³⁹

Likewise, evidence of rewarding missionary endeavors, of revivals and conversions, of “gamblers, fiddlers, . . . horse-racers and every grade of sinner” being put right with the Lord, and of Negro congregations on the way to becoming a “Black Quarterly Meeting,” struck a responsive chord among Friends on both sides of the Atlantic.⁴⁰ A steady stream of donations flowed in, but while Southland sometimes balanced its budget, its financial circumstances were always precarious. Except for two brief periods, the school received no public funds and had to subsist on tuition payments (one dollar a month for day students, three dollars a week for boarders); an annual appropriation from the Indiana Yearly Meeting; and charity.⁴¹

Any special needs brought on a crisis. In 1878, for example, Alida Clark travelled seven thousand miles to solicit \$2,000 for a boys’ dormitory from eastern Friends.⁴² In her plea for funds, Mrs. Clark emphasized the need for a steady source of revenue which would not only permit Southland to pay its bills but also allow it to offer scholarships to needy students. In 1881 her hope was fulfilled when George Sturge,⁴³ a wealthy English Friend, contributed \$25,000 “for the education of young colored men and women who are seeking to qualify themselves for teaching the colored race in the Southern

States.” The “Sturge Fund,” when added to smaller donations received before and after, eventually provided an endowment of over \$40,000. This fund was never liquidated and still gives scholarship grants to eligible black students.⁴⁴

All of this would seem to indicate steady progress in Southland’s development, but a careful reading of the Clark’s yearly reports to the Missionary Board reveals disturbing and frustrating tendencies. For example, despite glowing reports from northern visitors about the popularity of the school and the Clarks (“I doubt,” said one of these, “if two people in the state are better known and more generally liked.”) or the occasional glimmer of generosity by local whites toward the school, the prevailing white attitude was hostility.⁴⁵ As southern white resistance to Reconstruction became bolder and more violent, the school suffered accordingly. During the mid-1870s reports began to speak of “disturbed” conditions and a “mob-like spirit,” of blacks “being intimidated and. . .likely to be shot down if they were seen collecting together for meetings. . .” Alida Clark told of a “fearful reign of terror” which “brought poverty, hunger, rags and misery. . .in such hideous forms as we have never seen since the war.”⁴⁶ And as if white hostility, droughts, floods, and disease were not sufficient, she also spoke of growing violence among blacks themselves. During one six-month period in 1885, there were eleven killings of blacks by other blacks in the Helena area. Sometimes this violence came very close to home, as when the husband of a Southland graduate and Friend was shot down in his home. Even in Quaker meetings, Mrs. Clark remarked, “the work of the Lord is hindered by petty jealousies.”⁴⁷

Such events could cause the staunchest heart to falter. Even Alida Clark seemed to be giving way momentarily when she recounted how after twenty years in the South, she and Calvin were still

poor, isolated souls. totally ignored and despised. . .for our work’s sake by the pale faces here; and lightly esteemed by the masses of the others, because we will not lower the standard, and grant certain privileges of familiarity. . .that cannot without. . .great risk be taken in any like educational institution.⁴⁸

A year later, she confessed her fear that a “hot climate, rich and easily productive soil, naturally ensures thriftless indolence” among Negroes. Of course, she followed each of these weak moments with a

rousing exhortation to do better, but, in fact, the Clarks had been badly worn down by their experiences. In 1886 they submitted their resignations to the Missionary Board, thus ending an era in Southland's history.⁵⁰

Calvin and Alida Clark left Southland a considerable legacy of material and spiritual riches. There were five permanent buildings on the campus providing educational possibilities for nearly 300 students. Over 300 Christian teachers had been sent out into Arkansas and surrounding states to advance the minds and spirits of their people. Southland Monthly Meeting contained nearly 400 members in three different locations. One might expect Friends to be extremely proud of these achievements. In point of fact, however, Indiana Friends were discouraged by the slow or nonexistent progress of southern blacks. Members of the Missionary Board and the yearly meeting began to wonder if the Clarks, for all their determination and dedication, had always followed the best path.⁵⁰

Indeed, in one of her last reports to the board, Alida Clark had seemed herself to be questioning the efficacy of their past methods. "We have been encouraged," she said, "to increase the means of more manual labor amongst our inmates, the propriety and actual need of which we recognize more and more every year." She added a caution: "let none expect too much from these people. . .The greatest amount of head knowledge requires greater heart knowledge and years of common sense experience to be utilized beneficially amongst the masses."⁵¹

The Clarks were replaced, briefly, by Elkanah and Irena Beard and then by a succession of superintendent/matron (later president/matron) couples until the long tenure of Henry C. and Anna B. Wolford from 1903 to 1922.⁵² Almost immediately after the founders left, Southland was visited by disasters which local blacks might have seen as bad omens of the removal of their long time protectors. Fire destroyed two college buildings in 1887 and three years later a serious flood nearly shattered the area's fragile agricultural economy.⁵³ Such things could in time be made right again, but there were other changes of a more permanent character.

The appointment of William and Sabrina Russell in 1891 marked a clear movement toward the emphasis on "practical education" to which Alida Clark had alluded. The reports of "President" Russell and his successor Stanley A. Pearson indicate not only the obvious influence of Booker T. Washington's educational philosophy but

also an increasing distance between the school's management and the blacks they came to serve. William Russell spoke of his mission among "a crooked and superstitious people" whose "financial, moral and religious condition. . .is still. . .deplorable" as was their "looseness" and "go-as-you-please manner. . ." He added that the greatest gift that could be given was "to help them help themselves" through practical, industrial, and domestic training.⁵⁴ President Pearson noted the black leaders had made clear "that an education that does not include. . .industrial training is a positive injury to the colored race, as it tends to create desires they have no means of gratifying. . ." In 1898 Pearson received first-hand knowledge of the latest methods in practical education during a visit to Tuskegee Institute.⁵⁵

The fruits of the new emphasis on practical studies were obvious by 1898 when seven girls graduated from the Industrial Department — five in cooking and two in laundry. The curriculum for a laundry major is difficult to ascertain, but the teaching of practical arts was clearly divided along sexual lines: cooking, washing, ironing, sewing for girls; farming, painting, printing, and carpentry for boys.⁵⁶ It is also clear that expectations about the capabilities of students had fallen rather sharply from hopeful earlier days. Edgar Ballard, a teacher and later principal at Southland in the late 1890s, told Friends in Indiana: "It will not do to have the same standard of scholarship here as in our northern white schools. They are especially weak on. . .reasoning power. . .Most of them do not know what it is to work hard, either mentally or physically."⁵⁷

The years around the turn of the century were, however, full of dark days for Southland. One may speculate on whether difficulties arose mainly from changes in administration and attitude or simply from results of untoward circumstances. In any case, the sequence of events was exceedingly bleak. Following the sudden death (in office) of President Pearson, fire (set by an arsonist) burned down the school building and chapel. The financial situation, left in disarray by Pearson's death, was further damaged by the cancellation of insurance on all remaining buildings and by a drought that destroyed most farm crops.⁵⁸ Finally, enrollment was falling off precipitously, reaching what was probably an all-time low of 100 in 1902.⁵⁹

Such depressing circumstances apparently led one historian of Indiana Friends to conclude that during the twentieth century Southland followed a downward path until its doors were closed in

1925.⁶⁰ In fact, the institution underwent a remarkable renaissance following the arrival in 1903 of Henry C. and Anna B. Wolford as president and matron. Under the Wolford administration, Southland's enrollment rose yearly until it reached an all-time high of 403 in 1911. Figures fluctuated considerably thereafter but a new high of nearly 500 was reached in 1917 and there were still 350 students enrolled in 1919.⁶¹

"Harry" Wolford combined a severe demeanor and authoritarian personality with what seemed to be much more effective business management and accounting procedures. In 1914, for example, he produced figures which illustrated that while in 1904, 155 students had paid tuition equal to one-third of total revenue, ten years later, 400 students contributed one-half of all revenue without a raise in tuition. Per capita expenditure, said Wolford, had obviously been greatly reduced, while many more students had been exposed to "the gospel of right living."⁶²

This sort of cost accounting probably impressed northern Friends, though it did not abate a growing deficit which became alarming during the inflation-ridden war years.⁶³ Despite the continuing financial difficulties, however, surviving faculty and students of the Wolford era look back upon the school with respect and affection. It was, said one former teacher, "a garden spot" of the entire area to which young Friends came for service and adventure and from which many earnest, respectable students launched full and useful careers. The integrated faculty lived, worked, and ate together on terms of friendship and equality—a rarity in the South (or anywhere else in America) at the time.⁶⁴ As one former student recalled: "We didn't know the difference. . . They (northern whites). . . settled themselves in here. . . and acted just like colored people."⁶⁵ Perhaps these old Southlanders only remember being young and full of energy and hope, but there is little that is bleak and much that is joyous in their recollections.

Financial problems, however, would not go away. The Wolfords, pleading exhaustion and lack of sufficient support, threatened to resign almost yearly; they actually did withdraw for one year (1917-1918), but were persuaded to return in the fall of 1918 by promises of increased financial support and improved facilities.⁶⁶ Their return was concurrent with the transfer of responsibility for the school from the Indiana Yearly Meeting to the Home Mission Board of the Five Years' Meeting of Friends. Because the Five Years' Meeting

coordinated the home mission activities of all American yearly meetings, the obvious assumption was that it could draw on a broader base to support Southland's needs.⁶⁷

Upon assuming control of Southland, the Home Mission Board undertook a "careful and systematic study" of the school in cooperation with the Rockefeller General Education Board, the Phelps-Stokes Fund for Negro Education, and the Supervisor for Negro Schools in Arkansas. After a three-day inspection tour in January 1921, an all-white Visitation Committee composed of representatives from each of the cooperating agencies reported back to the board with the recommendations upon which the future development of Southland were to be based.⁶⁸ The committee noted that although Southland was "well-managed" and had inculcated some of the white man's standards of work in the class room, and living conditions in the dormitories," it was "not quite up to modern school standards." To improve these standards the committee recommended that Southland increase the size of its faculty, concentrate on the upper elementary and high school grades and place more emphasis on agricultural and industrial training. Furthermore, the committee concluded that Southland should "reach out into the community and develop as a center of life for Negroes. . .of Phillips County."⁶⁹

The Home Mission Board attempted to fulfill each of the Visitation Committee's recommendations. A trained director of agriculture was appointed and "interest in industrial training stimulated and community influences widened" through classes for local farmers and an evening "Opportunity School" for illiterate black adults.⁷⁰ But in order to fulfill the board's stated desire "to make Southland a second Tuskegee,"⁷¹ the academic standards of the school also had to be raised. To this end, the board hired F. Raymond Jenkins as principal for the 1922-23 school year. Jenkins, a member of an influential Indiana Quaker family, brought to Southland youthful enthusiasm and an ardent desire to do meaningful social work, especially in coming to grips with the "Negro problem." His arrival, however, was not greeted with universal approbation.⁷² Henry and Anna Wolford, though outwardly supportive of the new policies introduced by the Home Mission Board, were obviously less than enthusiastic about the changes which weakened their control over school administration or implied criticism of their methods. On the other hand, some impatient

northern Friends had begun to feel that the Wolfords, despite their experience and long service, were actually an impediment to the wheels of educational progress and wished them gone.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, when the Wolfords did leave Southland, it was under a considerable cloud of ill-feeling, dissension, and bitterness.

The occasion of the Wolford's withdrawal was a dispute between Raymond Jenkins, whose youthful energy and idealism fully accommodated the ambitious, and perhaps unrealistic, objective of the Home Mission Board, and Harry Wolford, whose accumulated attitudes and limited aims more nearly represented the views of the local black community. Their differences could hardly have been more pronounced, but the clash between them has an aura of tragedy, for there seems to be little question of ill-will or unworthy motives on either side.

Harry Wolford's views of the aims and objectives of Southland had been shaped by seventeen years of difficulty, denial and disappointment; his experiences had taught him to cut his coat to fit the available cloth. Thus, by 1922 Wolford was more concerned with keeping Southland open than with ensuring uniformly high standards. He saw the school as a haven for the sort of "Christian education of mind and morals" which southern blacks so desperately required; and he had become especially sensitive to the needs of the inhabitants of the rural community that had grown up around Southland. Wolford spared no effort to ensure that every seeker-after-knowledge who appeared at Southland's door could be accommodated. The fact that the student body might double in size from September opening to Christmas not only created serious overcrowding but also made systematic curriculum development nearly impossible. Still, even if these circumstances lowered standards and placed a heavy burden on the faculty, open-ended admission allowed "some seed to be sown" in many black homes.⁷⁹ Furthermore, despite Southland's increasing insolvency and the deteriorating condition of its physical plant, Wolford did not press local blacks for tuition payments, realizing that many of those who could not pay were desperately anxious to ensure their children had an education which, for all its deficiencies, was far sounder than any they would receive in under-funded, poorly-staffed public schools.⁸⁰

To ensure the survival and development of the Southland community, Wolford adopted the role of unofficial banker, making loans (at interest) to local people to put in a crop or to meet some

emergency. He also developed a scheme for purchasing large tracts of land and reselling them in smaller parcels. In this way he could offer inducements for black families to migrate to the area. For example, Frank Roden moved his large family from near Huntsville, Alabama, to Southland for the express purpose of providing his children with a decent education. Wolford arranged for Roden to purchase farmland near the school. Three-quarters of a century later, Emma Roden Young still lives in the two-story house her father built less than half-a-mile from Southland Institute.⁷⁶ Frank Roden's story was not unique. As one former Southlander recounted: "Lots of twenties and forties 'round here. . . (were) purchased from Mr. Wolford."⁷⁷

Undoubtedly, Harry Wolford's resistance to change had something to do with his self-defined role as local benefactor and the implied threat to his considerable influence and authority in the small community. His attitude was unquestionably paternalistic, but it was the sort of paternalism that permitted local blacks to see results beneficial for themselves. Surviving students universally attest to the respect in which Wolford was held because he had, in his own words, helped them "to live kindly and honestly" and to build "a community. . . which stands for ambition and energy and peace." In short, the Wolfords "did right" by local blacks and, as Harry Wolford once admonished two boys he had discovered fighting, "we want you all to do what's right, too."⁷⁸

Raymond Jenkins, on the other hand, was shocked to discover that Wolford was acting as a money-lender, but that was only one aspect of the Wolford regime of which he disapproved. Jenkins believed that in his efforts to become "the lord of the manor," Wolford had allowed both the educational goals and physical facilities of Southland to break down.⁷⁹ The recent Earlham graduate shared the Home Mission Board's desire to impose high standards in all fields. The board wanted better teaching, better learning, better facilities, and "a better class of student" on the way to making Southland a new Tuskegee or Hampton Institute. In its view, the Society of Friends' role in seeking a solution to the Negro problem required larger scope than running a local, largely elementary school that was rapidly going to seed.⁸⁰ Indeed, members of the Home Mission Board, much more so than Jenkins and the other younger Quaker faculty, tended to be appalled by the primitiveness of local conditions and even of Southland's facilities.⁸¹ Unquestionably, their

motives were of the highest order, but they had little real knowledge of local people and were often, unconsciously perhaps, extremely condescending in the assumptions about the real needs of the black people that Southland was attempting to serve.

The attitude and approach of the board was well-illustrated in an article entitled "Down Among the Cotton and the Pickaninnies" published in the *American Friend*.⁸² Written by Indiana Quaker Walter C. Woodward, the article describes a visit to Southland by a four-man delegation of the Home Mission Board, including the author, "charged with responsibility of making some important adjustments in the work and administration of the school." As these "Hoosiers" neared Southland after an overnight train ride from St. Louis, Woodward related their impressions of the Arkansas landscape:

flat, unalluring country over which there hung a grey pall of dust; discouraged looking fields upon fields of cotten; ragged little towns of disheveled and distressed little houses; dilapidated countryside hovels raised sufficiently. . .to allow shelter for pigs, the chickens and the dogs. . .the fleck of a white face here and there amid "the rising tide of color." Yes, we were in the land where the cotton and the sweet potatoes grow—but where the pickaninnies do grow more abundantly.⁸³

At first glance, Woodward noted, Southland offered an "inviting" contrast to the "drab, dreary landscape" around it; and the inhabitants of the local community seemed to be "earnest, substantial people" keeping "well-farmed tracts and comfortable. . .sometimes even attractive homes." But beyond these first impressions, the visitors found not only "buildings. . .rather badly in need of paint and . . .improvements" but also an educational program that had "been made too subservient to the general administration and lacked force and identity." The time had come, they believed, "when the school should be making a larger, more comprehensive contribution to the colored life of the South. It has been too largely a local, private institution." Therefore, the delegation concluded that changes in policy and perspective were essential if Southland was to be the "avenue of a great service" in helping to solve the race problem in America: "It is no serious reflection to say that the

successful carrying out of such a program requires new leadership.”⁸⁴

The Indiana delegation's visit was brief but decisive. Within a few days of their departure, Raymond Jenkins was called upon by a contingent of local blacks who politely asked him to leave because his conflicts with Wolford were disrupting the school. Jenkins, who believed that Wolford had instigated this attempt to drive him off, notified the Home Mission Board and they immediately dispatched another visitation committee. The arrival of the second delegation from the north sounded the death knell of the Wolford administration: “Harry and Anna Wolford withdrew from all official connection with Southland on October 8th [1922].”⁸⁵

The Wolfords' resignation was a traumatic event for Southland school and community. Ten of eleven teachers did agree to remain at their posts, with Raymond Jenkins assuming the position of acting director,⁸⁶ but local blacks were not so easily reconciled to the change in leadership. In its yearly report the Mission Board admitted that things had not gone well after Wolford left, citing not only financial difficulties,⁸⁷ illness, and bad crops but also “petty theft” and “veiled threats” among their concerns. Nonetheless, they concluded that “frankness and good will” had removed “active opposition” and that the community had renewed its loyalty to Southland and pledged its support to Raymond Jenkins as director. Whether or not this optimistic assessment had any validity, the strongest recollections of surviving Southlanders are that the school “went down” after Wolford left and that Raymond Jenkins, though he “did his best,” was too young and inexperienced.⁸⁸

Both Jenkins and the board seem to have agreed that it would be better for all concerned if a more seasoned leader could take the helm at Southland. But when the board sent out the call for “some Friend and his wife, of mature years, wide experience, business ability, and spiritual power, with practical knowledge of farming” to lead Southland during its period of readjustment, not surprisingly no such paragon emerged.⁸⁹ Still, if Jenkins had little experience, he had a wealth of ideas and sufficient energy to act upon them. Not only did he reorganize the school along more modern lines,⁹⁰ he also promoted higher standards of scholarship, a longer school year, better discipline, and even a better library. As safeguards against “moral looseness,” he instituted “frank talks” to inform students of “the high standard of sexual morality for which Southland stood.” Furthermore, students, who were often found to be “so superstitious

and so ignorant of spiritual truths that it was difficult to make clear to them even the first steps of Christian experience," were exposed to a ten-day evangelistic revival during which more than sixty "took some definite stand" as Christians.⁹¹

For all of Jenkins's energetic activity and his admonishment that Southland had to take on "bigger work if it. . . (were) to fulfill the Mission of the Friends Church and do its duty to the negro race," the greatest single concern of the Home Mission Board was how to raise sufficient money to keep Southland open. Indeed, following a year of growing indebtedness and declining income, the board announced that if "adequate support" was not forthcoming by June 1924, the school would be closed.⁹²

Simultaneously with this warning, however, the board gave notice that it would not feel justified in closing Southland "until Friends have had further opportunity to understand the unique possibilities of service it can afford." Therefore, plans were formulated for a special campaign to raise \$12,000 to pay off indebtedness and effect necessary repairs.⁹³ While this fund drive continued, Southland opened in September 1923 with new regulations requiring advanced payment of tuition, a nine-month school year, and a final registration date of November 1 to prevent disruptions by late-entering students. These new rules were enforced with a view to raising the rank of the average Southland student above the rank of the average student in the country. This was an admirable objective to be sure, but, as one teacher noted, the means for achieving it did "not fit perfectly into the program of the colored farmer."⁹⁴ By the first of November only ninety-six students had registered; that total was obviously affected by a disastrous cotton crop, but it was, nevertheless, the lowest in Southland's history and seemed to point the way toward the school's imminent demise.⁹⁵

Indeed, the Home Mission Board's Southland Committee met in Indianapolis on December 31, 1923, to confront the "cold and depressing facts" that the school faced "difficulties seemingly too great for solution." Then, literally at the eleventh hour, Southland was given a reprieve by the intervention of representatives from the Young Friends Board of the Indiana Yearly Meeting who related how young people were "gripped with a sense of the call of God through Southland to show forth the good will of His Son to all men." Moved by the Spirit of this plea, the committee decided to delay its decision for six weeks in the hope that the necessary financial assistance

would be forthcoming.⁹⁶

Word of Southland's rescue by the Young Friends reached the school concurrently with the harshest weather of the decade; the pipes frozen, the furnace broken down and the lighting plant out of order. Some classrooms were unusable and students and faculty huddled in those that remained without electric lights, water pressure, or central heating.⁹⁷ All these untoward events pointed to the seeming futility of carrying on. Yet, by early March the entire \$12,000 Emergency Fund had been raised or pledged and Southland was again saved. Just before graduation, the mood of exhilaration arising from the knowledge that the school would reopen in the fall was heightened by an announcement that the Rockefeller General Education Board had voted to match, up to \$20,000, any funds Friends raised for Southland by October 1, 1924.⁹⁸ The way now seemed open to a full-scale revitalization. Unfortunately, this joyous moment was followed almost immediately by a new series of adverse developments.

After the General Education Board's offer was accepted and Friends began to contribute matching gifts, the Home Mission Board, anticipating Rockefeller Funds, spent over \$3,000 on equipment and repairs. Then, to its utter consternation, the board discovered that no Rockefeller money would be forthcoming so long as Southland remained in debt. Since the Mission Board was still carrying \$6,700 in notes on the school, they were suddenly placed in the position of having to raise (including the \$3,000 already expended) nearly \$10,000 before the General Education Board would match the first dollar.⁹⁹

As if such a blow was not enough, during the summer of 1924, while drainage equipment was being installed at Southland the contractor discovered "a serious problem resulting from the flatness of the school campus." This disclosure as well as the deplorably bad roads in the area raised the question of whether the school site ought not to be moved to a more convenient and healthy location.¹⁰⁰ Such a move would have, of course, cost immeasurably more than anyone had previously contemplated.¹⁰¹

Faced with these difficulties, the Home Mission Board determined that Raymond Jenkins should remain in the north during the 1924-25 school year in order to devote full-time to fund-raising activities. Jenkins, as usual, undertook these new responsibilities with energy and enthusiasm—attending conferences, visiting

foundations, writing stories and pleas for help in the Quaker press. Years later, Jenkins still believed that "a real fund-raiser" might have saved the school, but his own efforts were met with a generally cold response. Furthermore, in late 1924 the board revealed that Southland was running a monthly operating deficit of nearly \$500.¹⁰² And things did not improve as the year passed. On Thanksgiving morning, the two-year-old child of the Southland school cook was accidentally burned to death on the campus; another addition to the spreading pall of gloom.¹⁰³

Finally, and perhaps inevitably, in early April 1925, the Home Mission Board gave up the ghost and announced that despite "earnest and persistent efforts," Southland as it presently stood did not offer the scope for service to which they could appeal for general support. Therefore, they were reluctantly compelled to admit that there was "no alternative but to close the school and discontinue the work in Arkansas."¹⁰⁴

Prior to this public announcement, Raymond Jenkins had been dispatched to Southland as the bearer of bad tidings. The *American Friend* later published extracts of a letter he had sent back to Indiana describing the reactions of the students and community to his bitter news.

It was certainly not easy to tell them. . . There was hardly a dry eye. . . Mr. Freeland spoke at the close and broke down. . . Everyone here is heartbroken. . . To many. . . they see no light. It is terrible. If there is anything we can do, we must do it.¹⁰⁵

But there was nothing to be done.

While Indiana Friends attempted to console themselves with recollections of the triumphs and achievements of their sixty-year venture in Arkansas, the final Southland commencement ceremony was played out in June 1925. Reflecting upon those last students and all the others that Friends would never again influence and guide, L. Willard Reynolds, acting principal during Southland's terminal year, noted:

It is with sadness that we contemplate that this little garden which we have been cultivating. . . must be plowed up and its plants scattered far and near. Some will survive the transplanting and go on to flower and fruit under others' care.

Some may not be able to take root in strange soil. But that must be left in the hands of the Great Gardener.¹⁰⁶

Some Southland students of that era did indeed "take root" in other soil but all the surviving Southlanders who recalled the closing of the school regarded the event as an inexplicable tragedy. "We never did understand what happened in Indiana," said one. Another remembered the way in which the school had affected the community, an influence that could never be replaced:

It seemed to motivate a lot of people to go into higher education. There have been some doctors and some very famous people. Not that many. . . You could count them on one hand, but it seemed to motivate the people to be more intelligent. The Quakers brought a lot of culture here. . . People just seemed to solve a lot of their problems. We were proud of that. Some of it is wearing off, part of it. We wished something else could happen to this community. Now we have another faction.¹⁰⁷

Southland was "laid down" as the Quakers say because it no longer served the unique purpose for which it had been created. Public schools were available and free and other institutions could better serve the needs of blacks who could afford private schooling.¹⁰⁸ But Southland deserves to be remembered not for its final failure to become a new and better institution, but for the long service it performed for a small body of truly needy human beings and for the spirit that impelled that service. One Southland pioneer spoke for each of the "messengers of the Lord in Arkansas:"

It seems to us so vastly important to our stability as a nation that the ignorant should be taught and the degraded lifted up and enlightened, and we surely. . . owe a debt to this long trodden people that will not be paid in our lifetime. . .¹⁰⁹

Perhaps that debt has yet to be paid, but at least one small body of Indiana Friends should no longer be held accountable.

APPENDIX A
Leaders of Southland College

	SUPERINTENDENT	MATRON
1864-86	Calvin Clark	Alida Clark
1886-88	Elkanah Beard	Irena Beard
1888-89	Charles W. Osborn	Mrs. Charles Osborn
1889-91	Elkanah Beard	Irena Beard
1891-97	William Russell	R. Sabina Russell
	PRESIDENT	
1897-99	Stanley A. Pearson (died in office)	Mrs. S. Pearson
1899-1903	Barclay Johnson	S. Anna Johnson
	SUPERINTENDENT	
1903-05	Henry C. Wolford	Anna B. Wolford
	PRESIDENT	
1905-17	Henry C. Wolford	Anna B. Wolford
	DIRECTOR	
1917-18	John A. Baldwin	Mildred J. Baldwin
1918-22	Henry C. Wolford	Anna B. Wolford
1922-24	F. Raymond Jenkins	Ceclia C. Jenkins
1924-25	L. Willard Reynolds (acting)	

APPENDIX B
Sample Southland Budgets*

YEAR(ENDING)	RECEIPTS	EXPENSES	BALANCE
1874	\$ 5,252.71	\$ 5,423.91	—\$171.20
1879	\$ 1,047.33	\$ 1,025.61	+\$ 22.72
1881	\$ 1,259.26	\$ 1,231.38	+\$ 27.88
1886	\$ 4,216.46	\$ 3,844.71	+\$371.75
1889	\$ 6,378.74	\$ 6,561.80	—\$183.06
1892	\$ 6,437.70	\$ 6,106.13	+\$331.57
1894	\$ 6,458.10	\$ 7,318.68	—\$860.58
1900	\$ 3,084.26	\$ 3,544.66	—\$460.40
1904	\$ 4,149.33	\$ 4,397.33	—\$248.00
1907	\$ 6,415.46	\$ 6,407.46	+\$ 8.00
1911	\$ 9,721.77	\$10,675.18	—\$953.41
1917	\$12,848.36	\$13,739.63	—\$891.27
1918	\$14,195.98	\$14,273.86	—\$ 77.88
1920	\$15,348.68	\$15,319.12	+\$ 29.56
1922	\$16,767.17	\$16,606.77	+\$160.40

*Sources: Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1874-1920; Second Annual Report of Board of Home Missions, 1922.

APPENDIX C

The Black Scholarship Fund of Indiana Yearly Meeting***

George Sturge Bequest	1881	\$28,500.00
Benjamin Coate Bequest	1882	500.00
James P. and Julia Ann Boyce Fund	1901	1,000.00
Amos and Hannah Bond Fund	1905	775.00
Joseph Hill Bequest	1917	3,068.29
Edward and Mary Bellis Bequest	1918/1919	3,000.00
Slade and Tole Land Sales	1919	5,363.50
Elkanah and Irena S. Beard Fund	1921	500.00
Cynthia Cowgill Fund	1925	930.00
Adjustment to Account		8.21
	TOTAL	\$43,645.00

*Now called the "Geoffrey Sawyer Fund"

**Source: Letter, Charles E. McCracken, Treasurer, Indiana Yearly Meeting, to author, November 27, 1982.

APPENDIX D

*Enrollment at Southland College/Institute, 1869-1921**

Year (Ending)	Total	Boarders	Year	Total	Boarders
1869	216		1901	158	
1870	—		1902	100	
1871	136		1903	130	
1873	186	37	1904	155	
1874	155		1905	168	
1877	154	41	1906	225	
1878	200+	51	1907	235	
1879	177		1908	260	
1880	300	88	1909	300	160
1881	213	76	1910	385	
1882	277	52	1911	403	
1883	273	73	1912	300	
1885	286		1913	390**	
1886	274	40	1914	400+	
1887	302	55	1915	300**	
1888	—	103	1916	380	

(Chart Continued on Next Page)

(Continued from Page 61)

Year (Ending)	Total	Boarders	Year	Total	Boarders
1889	189	62	1917	490**	
1890	224	102	1918	375	
1894	171	58	1919	350	
1896	233	76	1921	200	
1897	173		1922	300	
1898	184	37	1923	172	
1899	135		1924	96	
1900	127		1925	130	

* These figures represent the highest attendance figure in any school year; average daily attendance was often much lower. Source: *Minutes of the Indiana Yearly Meeting* for the year given.

** Estimate

Thomas C. Kennedy is professor of history at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville. Research for this study was made possible by grants from the Arkansas Endowment for the Humanities. An earlier version of the essay was presented to the Arkansas Association of College History Teachers, Hot Springs, October 1981. This article appeared originally in *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, and is reprinted with the author's and editor's permission.

¹Currently recognized Meetings are DeWitt (thirteen members; twenty-five attenders at Sunday School); Little Rock (thirty members and attenders); and Fayetteville where the clerk is the only member listed.

For Friends in Benton County and Arkadelphia see *Christian Worker*, 4 (August 15, 1874): 250; 10 (March 4, 1880): 118; and 10 (September 30, 1881): 474-75. The figures for Southland Monthly Meeting are from *Minutes of the Indiana Yearly Meeting*, 1885, p. 76; hereinafter cited as *Minutes*, with year and page.

Quotations are from a handwritten "History of Southland College Near Helena, Arkansas," 2, [4], 5; hereinafter cited as "Southland History" (Lilly Library Quaker Archives, Earlham College Quaker Collection, Richmond, Ind.); hereinafter cited LLQA. In 1901 the Indiana Yearly Meeting (Ind. Y.M.) appointed a committee to prepare a history of Southland College (*Minutes*, 1901, p.47). The above noted manuscript, largely written by Eli Jay, was probably the draft presented to the Yearly Meeting in 1905; see *ibid.*, 1905, p.57. For an interesting article praising Quaker efforts on behalf of blacks see W.E.B. DuBois, "How Negroes Have Taken Advantage of Educational Opportunities Offered by Friends," *Journal of Negro Education*, 7 (April 1938): 124-31.

²See Walter Edgerton, *History of the Separation in Indiana Y[early] M[eeeting]* (Cincinnati, 1856). Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (2 vols., London, 1921), Vol. 2 pp. 580-97, provides a concise and readable summary.

"Southland History," 4-8.

⁴*Ibid.*, 8-9. The original name of the Freedmen's Committee was the "Committee for Contraband Relief": see Jones, *Later Quakerism*. Vol.2, pp. 606-8.

⁵See "Southland History," 10; Eli Jay, "History (Southland Institute)," 1-2, handwritten manuscript dated 12-20-1896 (LLQA); "Friends and the Negro Problem" mimeographed pamphlet located in Box FPG IV, 2, *ibid.* Also see Lydia W. Hinshaw to Friends, November 6, 1864, FPG III, *ibid.*; and Dale P. Kirkman, "Southland College," *Phillips County Historical Quarterly*, 3 (September 1964): 30-33. This informative article is the best discussion of the topic that I have found.

⁶Kirkman, "Southland College," 30; "Southland History," 10-11. The Clarks returned to Indiana twice, 1864 and again in 1865, the second time because of the death of their daughter. During these periods, they were replaced by Nathan and Lydia Hinshaw and then by Lucienda Jenkins, see Eli Jay, "History (Southland Institute)," 2; and Lydia Hinshaw to Friends, November 6, 1864, FPG III (LLQA). Also see *The Friend* (London), November 1, 1876, p. 289; and January 1, 1883, p. 14.

⁷"Southland History," 12-13; *Christian Worker*, 7 (May 8, 1878): 217; Kirkman, "Southland College," 30.

⁸"Southland History," 16-17; "Friends and the Negro Problem," FPG IV, 2 (LLQA); Kirkman, "Southland College," 30-31. The 56th paid \$900 for its thirty acres; the second fifty cost \$1,500. The *Catalogue of Southland Institute, 1917-1918*, p. 10 says that the men of the 56th raised \$400 for the purchase of twenty acres, but these figures are contradicted in all other accounts. Colonel Bentzoni continued his interest in the school, sending occasional contributions. See *Minutes*, 1877, p. 36 and 1878, p. 39.

⁹British Friends contributed \$3,519.06 in 1869, *Minutes*, 1869, p. 39. Also see *ibid.*, 1871, p. 13; "Southland History," 18-19; and *The Friend* (London), December 1, 1869, p. 277. Material in the Enoch K. Miller Papers, Small Manuscript Collection, Box XII, No. 1 (Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Ark.) seems to indicate that Southland had at least an unofficial connection with the American Missionary Association. Enoch K. Miller was missionary superintendent of freedmen for the AMA. Also see Larry Wesley Pearce, "Enoch K. Miller and the Freedmen's Schools," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 31 (Winter 1972): 321.

¹⁰*Minutes*, 1869, p. 43; "Southland History," 16-17.

¹¹There are brief biographical sketches of the Clarks in the Haverford College Library's *Dictionary of Quaker Biography (DQB)* and in *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Eastern Arkansas* (Chicago, Nashville and St. Louis: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1890), 756-57. Also see Alida Clark's obituary in *Friends Review*, 45 (1892): 605 and Calvin Clark's in the *American Friend*, February 14, 1908, p. 108.

¹²*The Friend* (London), July 1, 1884, p. 186.

¹³Quotations from *Christian Worker*, 8 (May 15, 1878): 231, and "Southland History," 45-46. For reminiscences by ex-slaves about Mrs. Clark's early work at Southland, see *American Friend*, August 2, 1923, pp. 602-3 and November 1, 1923, p. 860.

¹⁴*Christian Worker*, 8 (May 15, 1878): 231; Kirkman, "Southland College," 31. Theodore F. Wright, the Clark's son-in-law who had been stationed at Helena during the war, was their business partner in Arkansas.

¹⁷See *Minutes*, 1879, p. 52, and *The Friend* (London), January 1, 1883, p. 14.

¹⁸*Minutes*, 1874, p. 13.

¹⁹H.E. Merrill to Missionary Board (MB), reprinted in *Christian Worker*, 4 (October 15, 1874): 319; *Minutes*, 1874, pp. 11, 13.

²⁰"Southland History," 22-23; Kirkman, "Southland College," 31; Stanley Pumphrey, "A Visit to Southland College," *Christian Worker*, 8 (June 20, 1878): 294-96. The 1895 report of Edward Bellis and Charles A. Francisco reveals that the school's routine changed very little over the years, see *Southland College* (1895), 14, FPG II (LLQA).

²¹H.E. Merrill to MB, *Christian*, 4, (October 15, 1874): 319; Stanley Pumphrey to Ind. Y.M., n.d., reprinted in *ibid.*, 8 (May 8, 1878): 218.

²²*Minutes*, 1876, p. 34; "Southland History," 36; *The Friend* (London), November 1, 1876 pp. 288-89; Kirkman, "Southland College," 31.

²³*Minutes*, 1872, pp. 11-12; *Christian Worker*, 4 (August 15, 1874): 251 and 8 (May 8, 1878): 218.

²⁴Alida Clark to Mary E. Beck, January 8, 1884, reprinted in *The Friend* (London), March 1, 1884, pp. 71-72. George W. Bell later served as Arkansas state senator from 1890 to 1894 and was reputed to be one of the wealthiest black men in the state. See Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., "Negro Legislators in Arkansas, 1891: A Document," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 3 (Autumn 1972): 222; John W. Graves, "The Arkansas Separate Coach Law of 1891," *ibid.*, 32 (Summer 1973): 159-61; and J. Morgan Kousser, "A Black Protest in the 'Era of Accomodation': Documents," *ibid.*, 34 (Summer 1975): 156, 163-68. In 1909 a white teacher at Southland recounted Bell's visit to his old school: "He talked awhile. Good words and good opinion of himself, and such oratory!" Herschel Folger to Lydia Folger, November 3, 1909, Folger Letters, Alumni Biographical Files (LLQA).

²⁵*The Friend* (London), January 1, 1883, p. 14; *Minutes*, 1880, p. 48; Stanley Pumphrey to Ind. Y.M., reprinted in *Christian Worker*, 8 (May 8, 1878): 218. It is also of interest to note that Alida Clark was one of two individuals instrumental in persuading the university board of trustees in 1873 to ask for the creation of a Negro branch of the university as a normal school in Pine Bluff. See Thomas Rothrock, "Joseph Carter Corbin and Negro Education in the University of Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 30 (Winter 1971): 281.

²⁶"Southland History," 22-24; *Minutes*, 1872, p. 9-10; *Christian Worker*, 4 (August 15, 1874): 251-52; *Southland College Catalogue, 1898-1899*, p. 10 (Special Collections, Mullins Library, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.).

²⁷*Christian Worker*, 3 (October 15, 1873): 308. One former Southland student noted that even sixty years after she had attended the school, she felt as if she were "about half a Quaker" since she still preferred quiet religious services to the more boisterous kind. Interview with Willa Burchett Graves, February 18, 1982, West Helena, Arkansas.

²⁸"Southland History," 24-27; *Minutes*, 1869, pp. 31-39 and 1873, p. 16.

²⁹*Christian Worker*, 4 (January 15, 1874): 21; Stanley Pumphrey to Ind. Y.M., *ibid.*, 8 (May 8, 1878): 218.

³⁰Calvin Clark and Alida Clark to Executive Board, Ind. Y.M., March 11, 1868 (LLQA); *The Friend* (London), December 1, 1869, p. 277 and December 1, 1870, p. 283; Alida Clark to an English Friend, May 29, 1883, reprinted in *ibid.*, August 1,

1883, p. 209. Also see *Christian Worker*, 2 (October 15, 1872): 191 and 4 (August 15, 1874): 251. Daniel Drew later moved to Portland, Oregon, with his son William S. Drew, a graduate of both the Normal and College Departments at Southland as well as a Christian minister. See *Catalogue of Southland Institute, 1917-1918*, pp. 40-43; and W(alter) C. W(oodward) "Down Among the Cotton and Pickaninnies: A Visit to Southland," *American Friend*, November 2, 1922, p. 876.

³¹See *Minutes*, 1883, p. 8 and 1886, pp. 59-60 and *The Friend* (London), December 1, 1883, p. 307, for Monthly Meeting figures. Alida Clark was recorded as a minister in 1872. See *Minutes*, 1873, p. 13.

³²*Christian Worker*, 4 (February 15, 1874): 59-60; *Minutes*, 1878, p.33. Also see remarks of Lydia M. Chace on "what kind of Quakers the colored people make," *Christian Worker*, 8 (April 3, 1878): 158.

³³*Christian Worker*, 4 (February 15, 1874): 60; Kirkman, "Southland College," 32; *Minutes*, 1871, p. 16; "Southland History," pp. 28-29; *Christian Worker*, 4 (May 15, 1874): 153-54 and 8 (October 17, 1878): 495.

³⁴*Christian Worker*, 6 (November 15, 1876): 367-68; 5 (August 1, 1875): 238; 8 (April 10, 1878): 169. See Haverford *DQB* for Amasa Chace (1823-1888).

³⁵See *Minutes*, 1886, pp. 55-56 and 1874, p. 13; and *Christian Worker*, 8 (May 15, 1878): 231.

³⁶*Minutes*, 1877, p. 36 and 1882, p. 10. The "license" forces reversed this decision in 1886, see *ibid.*, 1886, p. 56.

³⁷"Southland History," 28.

³⁸*Christian Worker*, 1 (May 15, 1871): 69; *Minutes*, 1877, p. 36.

³⁹See *Minutes*, 1869, p. 42 and 1880, p. 49. Also see *The Friend* (London), December 1, 1869, p. 277; and "Southland History," 39.

⁴⁰*The Friend* (London), July 1, 1884, p. 177 and December 1, 1884, p.311.

⁴¹*Christian Worker*, 8 (May 8, 1878): 218; Kirkman, "Southland College," 32. Remarkably, the rates for boarders and elementary school day students were exactly the same forty-five years later in 1923. See *The Third Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions*, 1923, p. 30 (LLQA). Also see Appendix B.

⁴²*Minutes*, 1879, pp. 47-50; "Southland History," 31-32.

⁴³For George Sturge (1797-1888), see *Dictionary of Quaker Biography*, Friends Library, Friends House. London. I am most grateful to Edward H. Milligan, librarian at Friends House, for sending me his newly revised *DBQ* entry on Sturge.

⁴⁴"Southland History," 35-36; *The Friend* (London), November 1, 1881, p. 301 and January 1, 1883, p. 14; Eli Jay, "History (Southland College)," 7 (LLQA); Kirkman, "Southland College," 31-32; interview with F. Raymond Jenkins, Richmond, Indiana, June 9, 1981. Charles E. McCracken, current treasurer of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, notes that after Southland closed, earnings from its endowment fund were provided to needy black students, mainly from the Richmond, Indiana, area. However, this "informal and probably unofficial arrangement" was halted temporarily in 1973 because the Sturge Fund was specifically earmarked for Southland and for a specific sort of education. After a 1976 court order permitted the trustees of the Indiana Yearly Meeting to go outside strict provisions of the Sturge Grant, aid for black students was resumed as the "Geoffrey Sawyer Fund" in memory of the son of George Sawyer, a black Quaker attorney. Charles E. McCracken to the author, November 27, 1982. Also see

Appendix C.

⁴⁰Compare *Christian Worker*, 4 (October 15, 1874): 317-18 and 8 (May 7, 1878): 219. Also see *Minutes*, 1869, p. 44 and 1880, pp. 51-52; and *Southland College* (1895), 5, FPG II (LLQA).

⁴¹*Christian Worker*, 9 (April 7, 1879): 185; *Minutes*, 1874, p. 11 and 1876, p. 35; *The Friend* (London), November 1, 1876, p. 289 and August 1, 1883, p. 210.

⁴²*Minutes*, 1882, p. 7 and 1884, pp. 35-36. Also see *The Friend* (London), July 1, 1882, p. 183, May 1, 1885, p. 112, and February 1, 1886, pp. 44-45.

⁴³*The Friend* (London), September 1, 1884, p. 241.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, April 1, 1885, p. 92; *Minutes*, 1886, p. 59.

⁴⁵*Minutes*, 1886, pp. 54-60; John William Buys, "Quakers in Indiana in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1973), 180.

⁴⁶*Minutes*, 1885, p. 76.

⁴⁷See Appendix A.

⁴⁸*Minutes*, 1888, pp. 65-67 and 1890, pp. 89-90; "Southland History," 37-39.

⁴⁹*Minutes*, 1896, p. 81. Also see *ibid.*, 1894, p. 85; and Buys, "Quakers in Indiana," 180.

⁵⁰*Minutes*, 1897, p. 102 and 1899, p. 76.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 1898, pp. 95-100.

⁵²Edgar Ballard to Eli and Mahala Jay, November 1 and December 17, 1896. Southland folder (LLQA).

⁵³*Minutes*, 1899, pp. 73-74; 1900, pp. 129-34; 1900, pp. 129-34; 1901, p. 48. Also see "Southland History," 41-42; and Kirkman, "Southland College," 32.

⁵⁴*Minutes*, 1902, p. 50. Also see Appendix D.

⁵⁵See Buys, "Quakers in Indiana," 182. Buys, on the other hand, erroneously concludes that Friends' "religious work in the area proved more successful," p. 182. Though membership in the Monthly Meeting was recorded as 563 in 1899, the Southland Meeting was made up largely of students. Most local blacks who had been Friends drifted off to other congregations. Interview with Russell and Tressie Ratliff, Richmond, Indiana, June 9, 1981.

⁵⁶See Appendix D. Also see *Minutes*, 1902-1919 *passim*.

⁵⁷*Minutes*, 1914, pp. 33-34.

⁵⁸Although Southland generally came close to breaking even on yearly operating expenses (see Appendix B), indebtedness grew rapidly during and immediately after the war years. See *Minutes*, 1915, pp. 42-43; 1916, pp. 39-40; 1918, pp. 25-26.

⁵⁹Black teachers were probably paid less than whites, but white faculty members had to pay their own transportation to the school; interview with Russell and Tressie Ratliff.

⁶⁰Interview with Willa Burchett Graves.

⁶¹*Minutes*, 1918, pp. 92-93.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 1919, pp. 24-26, 38; 1920, p. 23; 1921, pp. 109-10. The name "College" was dropped in 1916 because it was "really a misnomer." There after, the school was called Southland Institute. See *ibid.*, 1916, p. 38; and *Minutes of the Five Years Meeting*, 1917, p. 75.

⁶³*Minutes*, 1919, pp. 31-32 and 1921, p. 20. Also see *Friends Missionary Advocate* (November 1920), pp. 350-51. Members of the Visitation Committee

were: Professor Harlow Lindley of Earlham College, chairman of the Southland Committee of the Home Mission Board; Ruthanna M. Simms, executive secretary of the Home Mission Board; Dr. Jackson Davis, Rockefeller General Education Board; Dr. T.J. Woofter, Jr., Phelps-Stokes Fund; Dr. T.J. Presson, supervisor of Negro schools in Arkansas; and Dr. C.M. Favrot, superintendent of Rural Schools in Louisiana. See *First Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1921, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁹*First Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1921, pp. 20-22.

⁷⁰*Minutes*, 1922, p. 25; *American Friend*, June 1, 1922, p. 439; *Second Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1922, p. 20.

⁷¹*Minutes*, 1920, pp. 32-33; *Friends Missionary Advocate* (November 1920, p. 351).

⁷²*Second Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 20; interview with F. Raymond Jenkins. Raymond Jenkins's uncle, Charles M. Jenkins, was a member of the Southland Committee of the Home Mission Board (see *Minutes*, 1920, pp. 32-33) and his father, Attwood L. Jenkins, later held the same position.

⁷³Interview with F. Raymond Jenkins; "An Important Crisis Passed at Southland," *American Friend*, November 2, 1922, p. 879.

⁷⁴See Wolford's reports in *Minutes*, 1906, pp. 15-16; and *ibid.*, 1907-1916, *passim*.

⁷⁵Interview with Willa Burchett Graves. The *Second Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1922, p. 21, reported that as late as 1919 only five high schools in all of Arkansas would admit Negro students. State support for education was \$9.25 per black student and \$26.20 for each white.

⁷⁶Interview with Emma Roden Young and Willa Burchett Graves, Southland, Arkansas, February 18, 1982. Also see *American Friend*, October 16, 1924, p. 800, for a note on Frank Roden and "Friends and the Negro Problem," in FPGIV, 2 (LLQA), for a statement by him about Southland.

⁷⁷Interview with Alfred L. Billingsley, Sr., Southland, Arkansas, February 19, 1982. Wolford seems to have had an odd method of paying his teachers: "Asked H.C.W. about money. He said he was supposed to do the paying & whenever I wanted any money to ask him but he wouldn't offer it. Said part of the time he would have it & part of the time he wouldn't." Herschel Folger to W.O. Folger, November 14, 1909, Folger Letters, Alumni Biographical Files (LLQA).

⁷⁸Quotes are from "A Salutation" by the Wolfords in the *Catalogue of Southland Institute, 1917-1918*, pp. 9-10; and interview with Alfred L. Billingsley, Sr.

⁷⁹Interview with F. Raymond Jenkins.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, "A Statement Concerning Southland Institute," *American Friend*, April 2, 1925, p. 264.

⁸¹See "Are Other Patures Greener?" *American Friend*, July 20, 1922, p. 578, where one northern visitor noted that there were "no bathtubs, no lavatories, no toilets, no not even in the teacher's quarters." Also see Attwood L. and Mary Jenkins, "Christmas at Southland—What Shall the Future Be?" *ibid.*, January 18, 1923, p. 48.

⁸²*Ibid.*, November 2, 1922, pp. 879-79.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 876.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 876-79.

⁸⁵Interview with F. Raymond Jenkins; "An Important Crisis," *American Friend*,

November 2, 1922, p. 879; *Third Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*. 1923, pp. 24-25.

⁸⁶John Moses, a white Quaker who had acted as director of agriculture, 1921-22, was released from further service on October 1, 1922. See "An Important Crisis," *American Friend*, November 2, 1922, p. 891.

⁸⁷See *ibid.*, February 15, 1923, p. 129, for a notice that the salaries of Southland faculty were \$1,084.51 in arrears.

⁸⁸*Third Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*. 1923, pp. 24-26. Also see "An Important Crisis," *American Friend*, November 2, 1922, p. 891.

⁸⁹*American Friend*, May 31, 1923, p. 422; interview with F. Raymond Jenkins. Also see *American Friend*, March 25, 1923, p. 231.

⁹⁰Southland's first six grades were reorganized as the "Edward Bellis Training School" in honor of the long-time corresponding secretary to the Southland Board of the Indiana Yearly Meeting. Grades seven through nine and ten through twelve were called the Junior and Senior Academies respectively. *Third Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1923, pp. 28-29.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 28; *Minutes*, 1923, pp. 31-32; *American Friend*, April 12, 1923, p. 290; "Friends and the Negro Problem," FPG IV, 2 (LLQA). Charles O. Whitely of Indiana preached the revival.

⁹²"Southland on the Move," *American Friend*, January 25, 1923, p. 71; *ibid.*, April 5, 1923, pp. 268-69; *Minutes*, 1923, pp. 32-33; *Third Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1923, pp. 31-35.

⁹³*Minutes*, 1923, pp. 32-33; *American Friend*, May 31, 1923, p. 423; "Proposal from Southland Institute," *ibid.*, July 19, 1923, p. 568; *Third Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1923, p. 35.

⁹⁴*American Friend*, August 23, 1923, pp. 661-62; R[uthanna] M. S[imms], "Beginning Most Things New at Southland," *ibid.*, October 11, 1923, pp. 802-3, 807; *Fourth Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1924, pp. 21-23, 25-30.

⁹⁵*Fourth Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1924, p. 21. Also see Appendix D.

⁹⁶W[alter] C. W[oodward], "Within the Shadow of a Great Tragedy," *American Friend*, January 10, 1924, pp. 24-26 and *ibid.*, February 21, 1924, p. 156. Also see *Fourth Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1924, p. 21.

⁹⁷"If Winter Comes at Southland," *American Friend*, January 24, 1924, p. 72. Also see Ruthanna H. Simms, "Where Cold Figures Talk: A Translation of Home Mission Finances," *ibid.*, November 29, 1923, p. 944.

⁹⁸R[uthanna] M. S[imms], "Southland Shall Live and Grow Strong," *ibid.*, March 13, 1924, p. 206; F. Raymond Jenkins, "A Message of Thanks from Southland," *ibid.*, May 1, 1924, pp. 340-50; and R.M.S., "Southland Progress Encouraging," *ibid.*, June 5, 1924, p. 453.

⁹⁹"Present Situation at Southland," *ibid.*, September 11, 1924, p. 733.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.* *The Catalogue of Southland Institute. 1917-1918*, describes the Southland location as "a beautiful and healthful neighborhood"; this was perhaps an overstatement. *Minutes*, 1904, p. 46, notes that both Henry and Anna Wolford were suffering from "malaria, so prevalent in that section of country this season."

¹⁰¹Raymond Jenkins actually looked at another site near West Helena, though no further action was taken. Interview with F. Raymond Jenkins.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, "Present Situation at Southland," *American Friend*, September 11,

1924, p. 733; F. Raymond Jenkins, "Do Friends Realize the Truth?" *ibid.*, October 30, 1924, p. 877; "How Southland Helps to Pay Its Way," *ibid.*, November 13, 1924, p. 913; "Southland Institute Again Reports," *ibid.*, February 5, 1925, p. 112.

¹⁰³"Extended Sympathy," *ibid.*, December 18, 1924, p. 1024.

¹⁰⁴"A Statement Concerning Southland Institute," *ibid.*, April 2, 1925, p. 264; *Fifth Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1925, p. 29; *Minutes*, 1925, pp. 23-24.

¹⁰⁵"Telling the Students," *American Friend*, April 9, 1925, pp. 277-78. Duncan Freeland, a former slave and Southland student, was one of the few remaining black Friends at Southland. See *ibid.*, February 7, 1924, p. 108, for his picture.

¹⁰⁶*Fifth Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1925, p. 39.

¹⁰⁷Interview with Willa Burchett Graves; interview with Ernestine Pruitt Billingsley, Southland, Arkansas, February 19, 1982.

¹⁰⁸*Fifth Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1925, pp. 30-31; *Minutes of the Five Years Meeting*, 1927, pp. 63-64; interview with F. Raymond Jenkins.

¹⁰⁹Lydia M. Chace of Friends, March 12, 1878, reprinted in *Christian Worker*, 8 (April 3, 1878): 158.

FRIENDS ON THE FRONT LINE

THE STORY OF DELBERT AND RUTH REPLOGLE

by

Lorton Heusel

From the frozen slopes of Alaska to the broiling deserts of Palestine. From a Poor missionary family to affluence and influence. From the first radio station in America's northernmost outpost to the birth of television. Delbert and Ruth Replogle saw it all.

The son of Quaker missionary, "Mission Charlie" Replogle, young Delbert grew up among the Alaskan Eskimos, hearing stories of his father's exploits: backpacking freight over Chilkoot Pass, outsmarting a swindler, practicing frontier medicine, tackling a grizzly bear, and thwarting liquor smugglers. When his parents retired from the field and left him in charge, he had to find a wife, and telegraphed a bewildered college girl friend that he was coming to marry her.

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LORTON HEUSEL has been a Quaker pastor for twenty-four years and a church administrator for eleven. Born in Nebraska in 1926, he has traveled widely and addressed many different kinds of groups. Formerly the general secretary of Friends United Meeting, he is currently pastor of First Friends Meeting, Indianapolis, and vice-chairman of the Friends World Committee for Consultation. He met Delbert and Ruth Replogle in the 1960s through the World Committee, and later served with Delbert on the Advisory Board of Earlham School of Religion.

\$9.00 paperbound, \$14.00 hardbound, plus \$2.00 postage.

NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BOOK REVIEWS

Seth B. Hinshaw. *The North Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665-1985: An Interpretation*. Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1984. 342 pp. \$14.00.

Carolina Quakers have many distinctions. They formed the earliest organized religious group in the northern part of the colony, and dominated its early government. They alone of nineteenth-century Friends bore witness against slavery in the midst of a society based on slavery. They were the only sizeable group of Quakers to undergo virtual extinction due to disownments and emigration, and to be resurrected almost entirely through the influx of new converts, to become the largest group of Friends in the country today. When Hicksites and Orthodox divided elsewhere, Carolina Quakers (with no Hicksites) remained united. When Wilburites and Gurneyites sundered the Orthodox bodies elsewhere, North Carolina Yearly Meeting sided with the Gurneyites, but again without division. When Holiness preachers sowed disunity among midwestern Quakers, Carolina Friends adopted a moderate, reformist posture. The only divisions have been twentieth-century ones, and these have been relatively small, and relatively free of bitterness. Today, North America's largest yearly meeting is the only east-coast body of Friends that is largely programmed and pastoral.

Yet with all these remarkable distinctions and this remarkable unity, Carolina Quakers are the least well known of the early American Friends groups, and their remarkable contributions to the religious, educational and economic history of their region - both in colonial times and since the Civil War - have not been recognized. The only major work on their early history, Stephen B. Weeks's *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, is nearly a century old. Only one historian, Francis Anscombe, has attempted an update, but his *I Have Called You Friends* is no longer widely read, and does not bring the story into the present decade. Few academic historians in fact would attempt such a task today, since academic history seems to focus on increasingly narrow periods, regions, and topics. *The Carolina Quaker Experience*, by Seth B. Hinshaw, is therefore a much needed surprise.

Seth B. Hinshaw is an "amateur" historian who is fast losing his

amateur status. For sixteen years executive secretary of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, he and his wife Mary Edith have devoted their retirement to historical research and writing. Their first joint effort, published for the tercentenary of North Carolina Quakers in 1972, *Carolina Quakers* was a pictorial history that summarized major topics, trends, and the histories of individual meetings. In *Walk Cheerfully, Friends*, Seth Hinshaw provided a profound personal view of the Quaker experience, outstanding for its warmth, wit, and depth. With *Friends at Holly Spring* and its sequel, *Mary Barker, Hinshaw, Quaker*, published by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and others, he focused his attention on the life of his own meeting, community, and grandparents. In each of these works, as in *The Carolina Quaker Experience*, the design, illustration, and production of the book were the work of Mary Edith Hinshaw. The latest work is a particularly outstanding unity of scholarship, religious concern, and beauty.

The author of this review was privileged to be a member of the Editorial Committee that assisted the Hinshaws in their work, once the first draft of the manuscript was complete. The comments that follow must therefore be read with an awareness that the writer cannot be unbiased. Seth Hinshaw has read carefully everything he could find about Carolina Friends. He has not accepted at face value secondhand accounts, even by highly regarded authorities, and has checked and double-checked his sources repeatedly, and endless and frustrating experience as every historian knows. He has asked penetrating questions, and has dug for the answers. His book, if carefully read, will dispel many wrong notions. If it generates any new falsehoods, the fault will likely be with the incompleteness or inaccuracy of the sources available, not with the author. Sources for each chapter are included in notes at the end of the book, followed by a full bibliography. There are three appendices: a chronology, a list of yearly meeting officials, and a recent statistical summary. An index, including a wealth of personal names, will be of particular use to both historians and genealogists. The work is fully illustrated, beautifully printed, and bound in a durable hardback.

But these are only outward, as Friends say. This book is significant partly because it makes use of a wealth of research (including the monthly meeting history series published by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and the articles in the society's journal, *The Southern Friend*) that were unavailable to earlier writers. This is

the first work to deal fully with the changes wrought among Carolina Quakers since the Civil War by Quaker reconstruction and evangelism. It also deals frankly with the relatively minor divisions of "Conservative" and "Evangelical" Friends from the larger body of North Carolina Friends. It does not, in this reviewer's opinion, deal fully enough with these divisions. Like many other Quaker authors, Seth Hinshaw prefers not to dwell on division, although he reluctantly acknowledges its existence. This reviewer, on the other hand, believes that since divisions define and therefore narrow the direction of each group, they deserve careful scrutiny. Seth Hinshaw nevertheless rightly sees that Carolina Friends have enjoyed longer and greater unity than any of the other, older American yearly meetings.

Perhaps the most important chapters in the book are those which deal with the emergence in this century of the present-day Quaker landscape, which most Carolina Friends simply take for granted as the way things have always been. Of special interest is a chapter on groups of Friends other than those in the two North Carolina Yearly Meetings. Two areas of vital concern stand out: Quaker leadership and the Quaker testimonies, especially the peace testimony. The author is circumspect in discussing them, and stops short of presenting specific recommendations for the future. He chooses instead to point backward in time to those whose faith and witness set them apart from the world. Although their example accompanied a decline in membership, it provided a model of Christian discipleship that was sorely needed then, and remains so today. He also points back to opportunities missed - in evangelism, education, and race relations, to name a few - with the implicit plea that Friends not miss today's opportunities. Almost he seems to suggest that perhaps there is a role still to be played by a group of Christians who are willing to be a remnant, a minority; who are willing to take again the risk of being a peculiar people; who are determined to be utterly faithful to their Lord, to be his people in the world; who take individual and corporate responsibility for their own spiritual lives; and who resolutely live in the Spirit that makes friends out of those who were enemies.

The Carolina Quaker Experience may be ordered directly from The North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502, for \$14.00 plus \$2.00 shipping.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Algie I. Newlin. *Friends "at the Spring:" A History of Spring Monthly Meeting*. Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society; North Carolina Yearly Meeting; Spring Meeting, 1984. 147 pp. \$7.50.

In his last work, Algie Newlin has written about his first historical love—the families and the history of Cane Creek valley. Blending thorough knowledge of local tradition and documentary research, this interesting study of Spring Friends Meeting is much more than a history of a monthly meeting. The author uses this now small meeting as an archetypical monthly meeting around which he weaves the early history of Piedmont Friends in the context of the daily life of each era.

Spring, one of the earliest meetings in the Piedmont, was founded in the 1750s by Irish Quaker families from southeastern Pennsylvania. The pioneer Hollidays, Lindleys, and Laughlins were soon joined by Newlins, Woodys, Hollingsworths, Braxtons, Hadleys, Pyles, Whites, and Carters, and a thriving community developed that centered on the meeting. The meeting for worship began just after 1751; Spring was recognized as an indulged meeting in 1764; in 1779 it became a preparative meeting, and in 1793 Spring Monthly Meeting was finally established.

The unhurried development of the meeting over several decades, common in that period, is difficult for modern Friends to understand. But Quakerism is grounded in a religious dissenter movement that actively protested against the bureaucracy of the established church; hence the official status of a meeting was of little concern to these early Friends. The three preparative meetings which were part of Spring Meeting also reflect this measured pace. Eno, begun in 1754, was a preparative meeting when its membership was so diminished by emigration that it was laid down in 1847. It took nearly a century for South Fork to become a monthly meeting in 1897, and the formation of Chatham spanned about 150 years.

In its first century of existence Spring Meeting was caught up in the major conflicts of North Carolina history. The turmoil of the Regulator movement caused some disruption in the meeting, and the American Revolution brought bitter family strife. Most destructive was the Battle of Lindley's Mill, a crucial battle of the internecine "Tory War," which was fought around the meetinghouse and the nearby mill.

In the early nineteenth century the monthly meeting reached its greatest strength with over five hundred members scattered through the four particular meetings. But the meeting scarcely survived the antebellum wave of emigration to Indiana caused by slavery and poor economic opportunity in North Carolina. Meetings in Southern Indiana at Lick Creek, Bloomfield (Bloomington) and Sugar Plain were begun by former members of Spring.

During the past century Spring Meeting has experienced the influence of evangelical religion, the yearly meeting split, and the coming of the pastoral ministry. The meeting has contributed to education in the region and to foreign missions, especially in Cuba. The early period receives more attention in the book, reflecting the relative importance of the meeting during its first century. The author's frustration with the significant loss of meeting records emphasizes the responsibility that local meetings have always to preserve their records. Algie Newlin has written a fine study of Spring Friends Meeting, and with the ties this meeting has to other North Carolina and Indiana meetings, this book should be of interest to many Friends throughout the country.

Lindley S. Butler

Rockingham Community College

The book may be ordered from The North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502 for \$7.50 plus \$1.00 shipping.

Hiram H. Hilty. *Toward Freedom for All: North Carolina Quakers and Slavery*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1984, 158 pp. \$9.95.

Quaker historians have long awaited the publication of Hiram Hilty's doctoral dissertation (Duke University, 1968) on the struggle of North Carolina Friends against slavery. The antislavery stance of North Carolina Quakers is unique in Southern history and deserves to be better known. In the eighteenth century North Carolina Quakers publicly challenged slavery and maintained their testimony until the institution was dismantled. In no other Southern state can be found a long-term group dissent from slavery that was tolerated. Quakers have been too unassuming about their own history, and even the antebellum Quakers did not consider their actions extraordinary. They simply came to believe that for their own salvation they must free their slaves.

How did North Carolina Friends manage to “free themselves of the taint of slavery,” confront a monolithic brutal institution, and be tolerated by their neighbors? The answers lie in the historical presence of Friends in the state from early colonization, the conservative nature of the protest, and the willingness of Friends to develop out of spiritual concerns a practical solution that allowed them to remain within the law while simultaneously undermining slavery. Eventually some Friends found slavery so repugnant that they defied the law by helping runaways escape to free territory. Although there was at times some wavering, once North Carolina Quakers embarked on a course of dissent, they consistently adhered to it until the peculiar institution was shattered forever in bloody conflict.

Colonial Friends not only acquiesced to an institution that destroyed human dignity but also were slave holders themselves. Nearly a century passed before the patient prodding of inspired individuals compelled the Society of Friends to take the unpopular antislavery position. As early as the 1750s individuals were expressing concern about slave owning and encouraging manumission, and queries about slavery and the slave trade began to appear. By 1777 a large number of slaves in Eastern Quarter were freed through the leadership of Thomas Newby. To protect their freed slaves from an unsympathetic state, Friends evolved the practice of consigning their slaves to the yearly meeting which could allow them to live as freedmen under the protection of the yearly meeting. Despite an aversion to legal action Quakers did not hesitate to sue in the local and state courts to protect the rights of freedmen.

Other important expressions of the North Carolina Quaker commitment to oppose slavery were their extensive involvement in state-wide manumission and colonization societies, the formation of the Underground Railroad which had a terminus in Guilford County, and migration by the thousands to Indiana and Ohio to escape an increasingly stifling environment.

Hiram Hilty has in this well-written and thoroughly researched study documented every aspect of the most important social witness in the entire history of North Carolina Friends. The book contains a valuable index and extensive bibliography. This fine work is flawed only by the author's failure to update his research. This excellent book should be of interest not only to Quakers world-wide but also to the general reader who wishes to know more about an important

phase of American social history.

The book may be ordered from Friends United Press, 101 Quaker Hill Drive, Richmond, IN 47374 for \$9.95.

Lindley S. Butler
Rockingham Community College

John Punshon. *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers*. London: Quaker Home Service, 1984. 293 pp. \$10.00.

John Punshon's new book is the best one-volume history of Friends available. But it may not be everyone's favorite. Howard Brinton's *Friends for Three Hundred Years* will still appeal to many, as will Margaret Hope Bacon's *The Quiet Rebels* (American Quakers only), or Elton Trueblood's *The People Called Quakers*. None of these however reflect the great strides made by Hugh Barbour, Christopher Hill, and other historians of English Puritanism and its rivals, who have done much to illuminate the social, religious, and political context of early Quakerism. In particular John Punshon, a faculty member at England's Woodbrooke College, views English Quakerism as the English expression of the European Anabaptist movement, the "Radical Reformation," that also gave birth to the other historic peace churches in Germany, the Mennonites and the Brethren, which later found a safe haven in Quaker Pennsylvania.

This is a British view of Quaker history, and it is not surprising that British Quakerism is extensively treated. More surprising, and gratifying for readers this side of the Atlantic, is the amount of space devoted to American Quakerism. Punshon cogently observes in describing one of the divisions among U.S. Friends that, although English Quakers did not divide, the American division meant that *Quakerism* divided, and that included England! (Indeed, as Edwin Bronner has shown, British Friends contributed to, then later regretted, the American divisions.) This sense of what Frederick Tolles called the transatlantic community of Friends is felt throughout this work, and should be of benefit to both British and American Quakers.

The book is not always easy reading, however. Its emphasis on Quaker theology (rather than Quaker politics, personalities, or adventures) will probably restrict its appeal somewhat. But the

additional effort will be rewarded by a better understanding of the beliefs that have moved Friends, even when they moved them apart. More serious from the point of view of southern Friends is Punshon's almost total neglect of their peculiar history. Various excuses could be made for the author—that he spent most of his time in this country in Indiana, or that no recent book on southern Quaker history was then available—but they do not really explain this neglect. Stephen B. Week's *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, although nearly a century old, was available, both in England and in Indiana, and it would have revealed the southern Friend's struggle over slavery and the two wars fought on their soil. Yet Punshon describes the trials of Irish Friend Abraham Shackleton, who was impressed into the military by rebels in the 1790's, and of others whose goods were confiscated during the hostilities—experiences with direct parallels in the American South.

More serious still is the neglect of non-Anglo-American Friends. Kenya and East Africa Yearly Meeting have only one page reference each in the index—to the same page! And this reference is primarily to their history as an American mission field. Punshon notes that East Africa is now the world's largest yearly meeting (North Carolina is America's largest), but limits his discussion of its history to one paragraph. Surely it would be of interest to know why the Friends, whose generally declining membership in the U.S. is virtually all white, have been so numerically successful in a black African nation.

Despite these limitations—and they are serious—this book remains an outstanding source of information and provocative insight for those who want to know where the Quakers came from, and where they may be headed. Punshon's last chapter draws attention to the influence that Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Carl Jung have had on contemporary Quaker thought of the non-evangelical variety. That intriguing assertion alone is worthy of extended discussion. This book deserves a wide readership, especially among Friends who, the author whimsically notes, tend to "publish a continuous stream of books and pamphlets largely about themselves." They are seldom as good as this one.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Dorothy M. Jones, compiler. *Wrightsborough 1768, Wrightsboro, 1799, McDuffie County, Georgia 1870*. Thomson, Ga.: Wrightsboro Quaker Community Foundation, Inc., 1982. 185 pages. \$21.50 ppd.

The Quaker town and township of Wrightsborough in what is now McDuffie County, Georgia has long captured the interest of historians and genealogists. It was the only Quaker settlement of any size or official status in Georgia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was the southernmost outpost of Quakerism until modern times. The beginning of Wrightsborough was a grant in 1767 to two Orange County, North Carolina Quakers, Joseph Maddock and Jonathan Sell, who soon brought a number of Quakers and others to the new settlement from North Carolina. By 1772 an official monthly meeting, also called Wrightsborough, had been established, and soon more settlers moved in from the Carolinas, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey. Although it has lingered in memory as a Quaker settlement, it was by no means exclusively Quaker, a fact which has confused many researchers who have assumed that anyone who lived in the community was a Friend and would therefore be found in Quaker records.

From the beginning, the settlement was beset by problems: crop failures and Indian riots interfered with the establishments of farms; the Revolutionary War put an extraordinary strain on the Quaker commitment of nonviolence; a legal controversy involving one of the founders further weakened the Quaker community; and the growing dependence of the local economy on slavery to which Quakers were increasingly opposed was a final blow. From the outset, the Quaker settlers were disadvantaged by their isolation from other Friends, and before 1800 many were already returning to North Carolina. Even greater numbers of them left soon for Ohio and Indiana as new land opened up in these slave-free territories. By 1806, Wrightsborough as a Quaker community had ceased to exist. Others remained to carry on, however, extending the history of the town into the early twentieth century when it finally died out altogether.

The existence of a body of records from the extinct monthly meeting has seemed to researchers to be a promise of more information than the actual records deliver. Minutes covering the period 1772-1793 have unexplained omissions and fail to cover both the earlier and later years of the Quaker community's existence. The

birth and death records do not list many Quaker families known to have lived in Wrightsborough. To fill in the gap, and to fill the need for information on the non-Quaker residents, Pearl Baker of nearby Thomson, began in the 1950s or earlier, to compile information about the community from public records, and to collect source material about it and its families. She wrote a short history in a booklet, *The Story of Wrightsboro, 1768-1964*, and, even more importantly, established a library where her valuable materials are housed and where they can be seen and used today in the headquarters of the Wrightsborough Quaker Community Foundation in Thomson.

The Wrightsborough Foundation not only cares for the library but has been responsible, under the direction of its administrator, Dorothy Jones, for an archaeological survey of the site of Wrightsborough, and now, for the publication of much of the basic source material pertaining to Wrightsborough and McDuffie County, Georgia in *Wrightsborough 1768. Wrightsborough and McDuffie County, Georgia 1870*. It is a compilation of land records; Quaker records, including William Hinshaw's abstracts of the minutes and birth and death records of Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting as they appear in Volume I of the *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* and Quaker records from public records. In addition, there are petitions from the Revolutionary War era, and public records from later periods including voter and tax lists, and land lottery lists; and materials concerning churches, schools, and the formation of McDuffie County. The gathering together of these valuable sources in one volume goes a long way toward easing the frustration of the researcher who has previously relied solely on Quaker records and one or two other published sources. The documents and compilations of records are supplemented with a series of maps and there is an index. The book may be purchased from Wrightsboro Foundation, Inc., 633 Hemlock Drive, Thomson, Ga. 30824.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

Michael J. Sheeran. *Beyond Majority Rule: Voteless Decisions in the Religious Society of Friends*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1983. 153 pp. \$4.95.

Why would a book by a Jesuit priest about Quaker decision-making become a best-seller among Friends? For one reason, it is an admirable marriage of history with contemporary religious sociology. But even more, it is a manifesto in the current movement away from "humanistic liberalism" toward "spiritual authority" in the faith and practice of Friends, particularly in the American Northeast.

Michael Sheeran began his study in an attempt to help Catholic religious communities, following Vatican II, that were trying to share authority in decision-making, but had few religious models to emulate. He first set out to study the background of early Quaker practice, the results of which form the first part of this book. He then conducted intensive interviews within Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to learn the attitudes of its members toward their ways of deciding issues. His research revealed a strong correlation between Friends' belief in a transcendent power at work in the meeting for business and their acceptance of the authority of its decisions in their lives. Those who sought and experienced a "gathered" or "covered" meeting (one in which a transcendent Presence is felt) saw its decisions as reflective of Truth with a capital "t," to which the wills of those present were conformed, and to which they submitted themselves. For them, the meeting for business was a meeting for worship, with a concern for business, and its goal was not merely unity, but unity in Truth, an experience of being gathered and led. Those who did not seek or expect this experience saw the consensual method as the best available because it gave everyone a voice in the meeting's decisions, and insured that no one would be neglected or coerced by the group. These Friends were far less likely to uphold the meeting's decisions if their opinions changed, or if the consensus later broke down.

Sheeran explores other matters well. He describes with care the possible meanings of exception to the meeting's decisions: for example, one may dissent, but step aside and permit the meeting to go ahead, thereby accepting responsibility for the decision; or one may refuse to step aside, thereby forcing the meeting to deal with the objection before it can proceed. Sheeran addresses the sensitive and critical role of the clerk in sensing when the meeting is ready to "make a minute," and when further discussion is needed; and (hardest of all) when the meeting has correctly apprehended Truth and is united in expressing its decision, despite a member's vocal

objection. Sheeran also raises the seldom-raised issue of Quakerly manipulation of the business procedure. Some skillful and highly regarded Friends, he points out, wait for an opportune moment in the discussion of an issue, when other views have been expressed, and an impasse reached, to put forward their own idea, which will then be more readily accepted than if it had been stated earlier. Does such an approach, Sheeran wonders, give to a human skill the misleading appearance of divine guidance?

Friends, who seem to delight in Quakerly enigmas, will find much to discuss in this book. If Sheeran has drawn a sharp line between those who do and do not experience the divine Presence in their meetings for business, he has at least done so in terms of their *experience* which is the Quakerly place to draw it. His distinction, unlike much of the popular Quaker press today, is not between "Christian" and "Universalist" *ideas* about Quakerism. A Quaker "Christian" and a Quaker "Universalist" could share the experience of a "gathered" meeting for business, and accept as authoritative for their lives the decisions arrived at by such a meeting. That shared experience, not shared theology, should be the starting point for discussions of Quaker unity. It is remarkable that a Jesuit priest has been able to make that clear to Friends.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Leonard I. Sweet, ed. *The Evangelical Tradition in America*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1984. 320 pp. \$22.95

The focus of this book is the emerging agenda—rich in implications for Quaker historiography—created by recent scholarship on American evangelicalism. As editor, Professor Sweet opens with a stunning 86 page, 307 footnote survey of, and commentary on, historical writing about evangelicalism and to identify the need for the same sensitivity in studying non-evangelicals and opponents of evangelicalism. This framework is reminiscent of the "inner and outer plantations" in Frederick B. Tolles' work on Quaker merchants in Philadelphia.

Jon Butler's essay on the pre-evangelical religious culture of the colonial South contains two intriguing examples of Quakers' limited

but still pointed resistance to conformity: a Quaker family in Virginia won back to Anglicanism in 1697 by the Reverend Nicholas Moreau whose daughter called Moreau “a naughty man” who hurt her “with cold during the baptismal ceremony” and Sophia Hume whose *Exhortation to the Inhabitants of ... South Carolina* (1750) was a stinging attack on every form of spiritual and secular pride except slavery.

Other essays suggest implicitly the correspondence between evangelical and Quaker experience: Nathan O. Hatch’s on millennialism ought to be contrasted with what Sydney V. James has called “the totality of souls united with God” in Quaker ecclesiology; Henry W. Bowden’s on an evangelical mission to native Americans reveals the same mix of egalitarian and ethnocentric motives found in William Penn’s Indian policy; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg’s and Nancy A. Hewatt’s essays on evangelical women treat sexuality and femininity as integral to religious experience in ways familiar to readers of Margaret Hope Bacon and Mary Maples Dunn. The book badly needs an index.

Robert M. Calhoon
University of North Carolina at Greensboro



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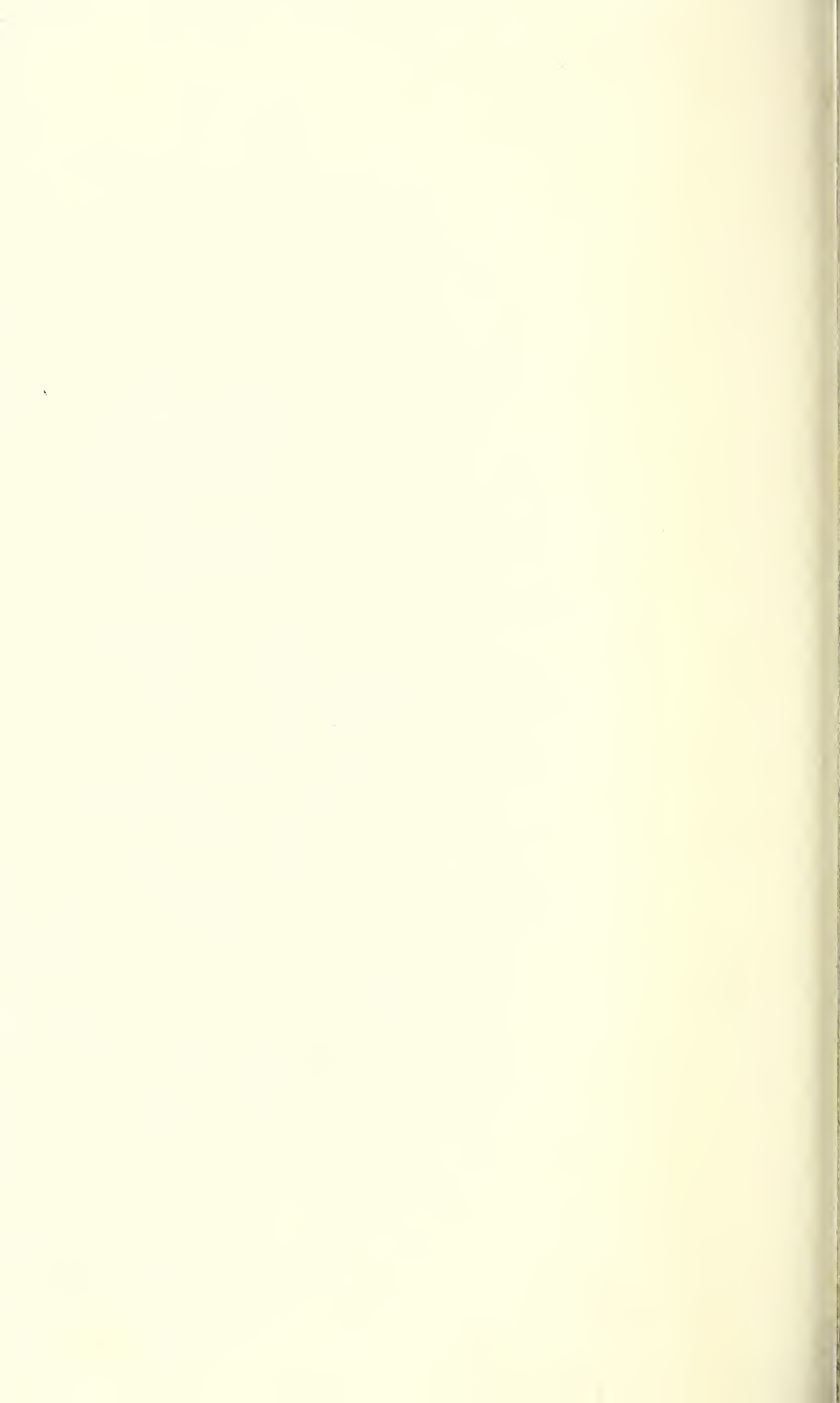
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Editorial Policy

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

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

Publications Committee

Damon D. Hickey and Herbert Poole, editors; Carole M. Treadway, associate 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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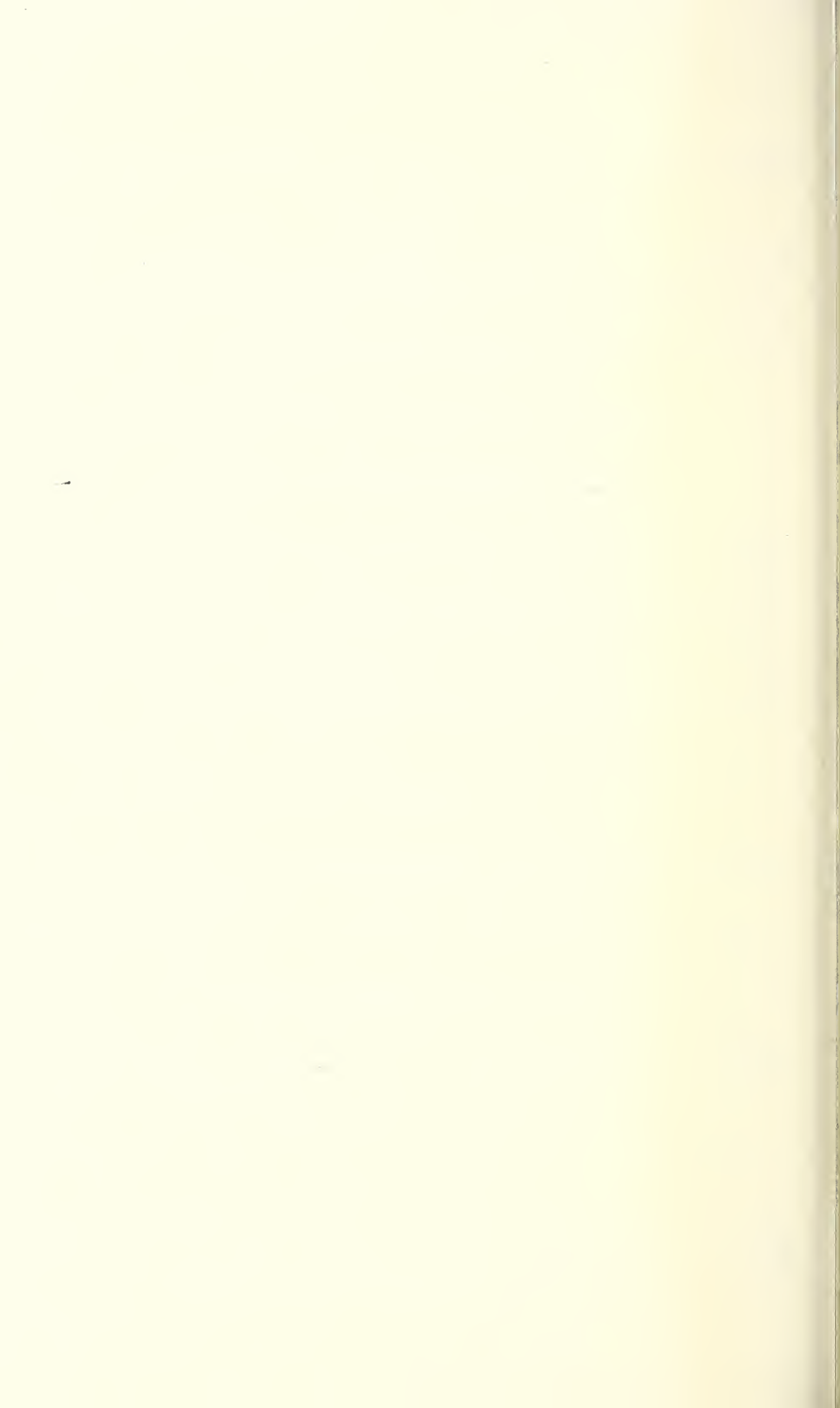
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JOSEPH UNTHANK AND HIS BOOK: AN ENGLISH FRIEND IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NORTH CAROLINA

Edited by

*Thomas D. Hamm,
Mary Louise Reynolds,
and
Carole M. Treadway*

Among the hitherto unappreciated treasures of the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College is a battered little volume, its pages stitched together and its back cover missing, identified only as "Joseph Unthank's Book." Within its pages lie not only a chronicle of the spiritual life of the New Garden community of Friends in the 1750s but what also may be the oldest surviving history of any North Carolina Quaker family. Overlooked by historians and genealogists, its contents are now published for the first time.

Joseph Unthank, the author of these memoranda and the family history, was born in Yorkshire, 4th Month 4, 1704, the oldest son of George and Mary (Shipton) Unthank. Joseph's grandfather, George Unthank, was an early convert to Quakerism. In 1660 George Unthank, Sr., was imprisoned as a Quaker by the justices for the East Riding of Yorkshire, and in 1671 he had goods to the value of £4 seized. Of the other grandfather, Henry Shipton, a rather unlikely convert to Quakerism, nothing is known save what Joseph recorded.¹

About 1730, Joseph Unthank was married in Yorkshire to Ann Allen. The record of this marriage has yet to be located, so her parents are not definitely known, but it seems likely that she was born in Yorkshire 10th Month 12, 1707, the daughter of William and Mary (Pilmore) Allen. In 1735, Joseph and Ann Unthank sailed for

Thomas D. Hamm is visiting assistant professor of history at Indiana University-Perdue University-Indianapolis. Mary Louise Reynolds is assistant professor of medical technology at West Virginia University. Carole M. Treadway is Quaker bibliographer at Guilford College.

Pennsylvania, accompanied by Ann's sister Rachel. They settled on Cook's Creek in Springfield Township, Bucks County, where Joseph built a substantial stone house. They were active in the affairs of Richland Monthly Meeting; a meeting for worship was held in their home from 1743 to 1755. Tragedy also came to them in Pennsylvania: in the 1740s they lost six children to an unidentified epidemic.²

In 1755, Joseph and Ann, with their surviving sons John, Jonathan, and Allen, left Pennsylvania for North Carolina, taking up land in the New Garden Friends community in present-day Guilford County. Joseph soon established himself as a "weighty" member of New Garden Monthly Meeting, serving as an overseer and as a member of numerous committees. It was soon after his arrival in North Carolina that Joseph began his notes on visiting ministers.³

In 1769, Ann (Allen) Unthank died, followed a year later by her son Jonathan. In 1772, Joseph went back to England. The New Garden records suggest that he may have been considering a permanent stay, but he returned to North Carolina. In 1779, at the age of seventy-five, Joseph married again. His bride, Judith Thornburgh, was twenty-two. Joseph and Judith had one son, Josiah, born a year later. It was about this time that Joseph began his family history. It is easy to imagine him, old and sick and guessing that he would not live to see Josiah arrive at an age of comprehension, trying to leave his youngest son some account of his English relatives. Two months after Josiah's birth, on 4th Month 9, 1780, Joseph Unthank died.⁴

Joseph Unthank's book has four major sections. Two are not reproduced here. One, apparently penned by Joseph, consists of various recipes and home remedies. The other is a record of deaths in the New Garden community in the 1840s and 1850s, along with several pages of accounts kept about the same time, apparently by a member of the Armfield family.

Most of the early pages of the book are given to short summaries of the sermons of ministers who visited New Garden meeting between 1756 and 1770. Although such accounts are common for Friends to the north and in England, Unthank's writings are virtually unique for southern Friends in this period. They provide the only account we have of certain events, like the Quaker response to the Indian threat in 1760, or the ministry of early New Garden Friends like Nathan Dicks, Hannah Ballenger, and Martha Hiatt.

In many ways, the most remarkable portion of Joseph Unthank's book is his family history, one of the first ever written by a North Carolina Friend. Its value for the early history of the Unthank family is incalculable; research in abstracts of English Friends records has verified the family relationships that Joseph gives and provided the dates that he omits. But it is also a poignant portrait of an eighteenth-century Quaker family: his mother reading to his semiliterate father; his uncle William going about in his "fine broad cloth"; his Aunt Close left a widow and turning to trade; his grandfather Shipton remembering his naval exploits from the days before he was "convinced."

The editors of this document have followed standard practice in reproducing it. Joseph's handwriting can charitably be described at best as eccentric and at worst as abominable, while his erratic spelling and punctuation are characteristic of the written English of his day. The editors have reproduced it without attempting changes or corrections, even of obvious mistakes.

I. Memoranda of Ministers at New Garden

Our friend Joshua Dickson from Raby in Bishoprick and Isaac Greeneaf from Philadelphia attended our monthly meeting at newgarden the Last day of the first month caled January 1756 & also had a meting at Thomas Milsis and our meting besides the select meting of ministers

He gave us great charg to example well in our families that we might say upon a good foundation to our children follow us as we have followed Crist⁵

Thomas Gothorp from England & Beniamen Bufinton from newengland had a meting at newgarden ye 2mth 1757 they spoke of many things to our comfort in this time of barenes and and of righteousnes exalts a nation T.G. also said righteousnes exalts a family he also said what signifies being afraid of the french sword or the indian hatchet and not go afraid of the enneminy in our selves⁶

Christopher Willson from Cumberland & Thomas Nickalson from Pequimimon was at our meting at newgarden ye 26 of ye 2 mth 1757 also first & second and 3 days at NG & MM & BB & recommended us to it in our families⁷

William Ricketts from Linconshire vissited our meting the 12th day of April fourth month 1758 he semed to have a good sence of the

state of the meting and cautioned us that we might not loock back^s

Samuell Sparroule visited us in the winter 1758 & spoke of the great Leaveitin in england and the shares looked Big but yeilded but little but little principle wher^d

John Storer from Notinghamshire & Samuel Emblin from Philadelphia visited our meting the seventh day of 12th month 1758 part of his testimony was conserning -e-enes of -e-enes coms no good thing a deep river of faith & of Moses and of Israel children and ye hav fields of ye rights and cerimonies of the Church of England and of his own experience at Eng & S.E. spoke of the chirlesness of Abel & thus if I ----- might ---- cere

Cain Creeks spoke of the figure & JN spoke of Moses and conpaired us to the elders of Isreal & of the mercy of the lord to the sons of Jacob. John told us we were naked & bair in the sight of the lord but the elders of israel proved evil wickednes spoke of in Ezekiel^l

Mary Kirby & Grace Croasdale visited and was at both our montly meting the 4th of ye 2 month 1759 and first day meting ye day following and ye select meting on the 2 day following all midlin open metings

So said Mary Kirby came from Norfolk near Linn and Grace from bucks County in Pensilvania near to our Evins and Grace recommended us to wachfulness & Mary to wait in our monthly metings to be filed & quallified for business & how she had ben iproved even all most lost hold of all good signified some were under the prepairing hand and the lord would fil them and last meting spoke of the prepairing hand that proved his chosen ones to macke them fit to speak to the state of others signified her backwardnes in being obedient to be a minister desiring that the lord would tacke her a way she waes not better then tham that was gone before.¹¹

At our quarterly meting the first that was held at new garden the 9th day of the second month 1760 Thos Nickolson and his companion atended his companion spoke first that the way to Sion is a tribulating way & Abbi Pick signified the lord owned that meting and TN told us the them that would dig should drink water & that the labourer is worthy of his hire and at the general meting their was some that were not sons signifying thou art not my son I do not own the for my son at the Center meting on the 18 of 2mth Charity Beson admonnished us to for gave in sinnes until 70 times seven and spoke of the many talents that was forgiven and of the 100 pence that was

not forgiven but tacked by the throat & the 21 of the 3 month at our preparative meting Wm. Hunt told us to be still and mind our own business Nathan spoke of Abraham & David of his being yong & old¹²

William Ferrel atended our meting in the begining of the 2 month 1761 some remarks on his testimony he said in his heart surely Lord our siting in silence can not hurt thy people yet he was made senseible of the uneasiness of some and that it might sem a cros we must come under the cros or we could not enjoy the crown he all so said the Judgements of the Lord was near at hand and it would be well fro them that knew the lord to be their shield and that we might be circumspeck becaus our days are evil¹³

Danniel Stainton Isaac Zane both of Philadelphia atend our quarterly meting at newgarden the 14 day of the 2 month 1761 allso Susanah Hatn from Warrerford in ireland and Phebe Tremble of Chester County atended the same metings both seventh day & first day

I met Danniel and Isaac [two words illegible] and he spoke of some that came to be rich without labour signifying felt a spirit of cauteousnes and allso spoke of some C ----- ment of the heathen we allso had a precious meting in our family of the 14 day evening Susanah on the 14 told us one wo was partly over and another wo was near at hand if we did not repent but was conserved that we might live every day as if it was our last day.

We were favoured with Danniel & Isaacks company from fourth day to the first day following and it semed to me as a few hours Danniel requested at our little evening meting that we might remember him when is it wel with us so I hope we remember¹⁴

The 17 day of the 4th mth 1760 it being perilous times the Cherokee indians killing and burning as far as they came which was so near that most of our neighbours back left their places and fled for their lives even our very next neighbours back so the inhabitants was in continull fear of murder and we had nothing to trust to but the lord which was a present comforter in a nedfull time for which we have forever caus to bles and prais his ever blessed name & being in much fear and trouble friends meting 7th day of ye week we sat in silence priti long & William Hunt stood up and said I will ventor to say I an glad to see so many of us gathered in such a solem manner I do not question but it would be exceptable to some to have a word of encouragement but stay friends I shall be cairful to communicate unto you as to to pleas god to open my way mentions how the lord

delivered Israel & how the cloud was darkness unto the Egyptians but light unto Israel and Nathan Dicks spoke of the great deliverances of Israel and Hannah Ballinger prayed and Wm Hunt concluded the meting by advice¹⁵

The 26 of ye first month 1771 Joseph Oxley from Noring or Norwich with Samuel Neel from irland at a meting meting at newgarden allso first day meeting at deep river¹⁶

At our 4th day meting held ye 22 day of ye 4th month 1760 friend came preached the forenoon told us that them that did not know their minds established was subject to be caried away with with every news of seming danger in the afternoon Martha Highat said our unworthines made her to fear Nathan Dicks was acseding clouce in his doctrine signifiing that we should macke readi to met the Lord¹⁷

The Contents of Thomas Galthorps testimony which he had to recommend to us at Philadelphia the twentininth day of the ninth month in the year 1747 Being at the evening meting

viz

Sin is a shame to any people but righteousness exalts a nation very notable on this acount from the king to the begger, the magistrate and the common exorting the magistrate to discourrage and bear their testimony against seting up to many taverns & drinking to exces conclusion great shal be the dignities the lord shal confer upon his people and great shal be ther peace This was his fairwel testimony

II. The Unthank Family History

Being in a poor State of health and not able to work it came in my mind to mention Something Conserving my ancestors which is as follows my Father & mother and their fathers & mothers were all members of the People called Quakers my fathers father died before I knew him but I have ben at many metings of friends at my Grandmothers their being no meting hous at that time belonging to Luck Cooks meting but after a time one was bought at Castletown 1 mile from where my Father Lived & where my Brother Georg Unthank now lives and the place being in the center of divers metings to wit Roseby & Moorsome toward the north & northEast & Gisbrough toward the norwest and Yattem west and Stoseley near west & hutton in the hole where my first wife was broughtup & where John Richardson lived & also Kinbi moorsid meting those two

metings is over a Great moor south from Cartletown but all belongs to Castle town monthly meeting the said moor is called the Cocksheads on which stands a cros for a waimark caled Ratsrog or Rats Cros and a great stone called Morgins Breadbox and 3 hils caled 3 hours As to my Grandfather Unthank Which died before I knew him he was a reputeable liver and had a good farm of his own where his Grandson Peter Unthank now lives who is very rich of this worlds goods and I know no other but hes a good friend I was at his hous in the year 1772 and he had a good strong beer of his own brewing his hous and barn door benches is of chois hewn stone and the best orchard in those parts Castletown being upon the river Esk is of times flooded My Unkle Peter Unthank was the most cuning farmer I ever knew he died middle aged and was not rich becaus of his niceiti the veri handls of his beast hous doors was larg oval & ov iron and -he -- is -- cing Creek comes out of another plantation Cusn Peter has bought that falls into Esk upon his land and acres but a stone cast from his door in which at the time a year there is samon and trout Grandfather Unthank had four sons the oldest and stoutest was John and he married a Lawson a very kind woman and had but one son called John a very toping lad think as my Jonathan But kept not to friends

My father was George Unthanks Second son and put prentice to a weaver and followed that and farming all his days until two old for if I mis stake not he was 17 years older than I am now when he died he had only two sons & 2 daughters named Joseph Georg Hannah & Rachael Hannah is dead about 9 years since left no issue Rachel had a son & daughter when I was their called Robert & Mary Pursglome the yong woman was married to a friend of Whitby of a toping family both Publick friends his name is if I hant for got Aaron Richardson Robert was a fine yong man when I was their Executor to a great Estate with my Brother Georg I heard nothing about his marriage he is about the cise of my Allen and very hansom his hair light of flaxen all exceding loving to me and I do believe would a ben glad if I would have spent all my dayes their now I leave kin and give some account of father and mother father was themost spiritual minded man I think I ever was aquainted with my mother used to read to him She was scoler & was Clark of that Great monthly meting many years When my mother used to read to him some times he could not contain himself without giving notice of his concern he had no learning but what he got without a scool but could write down his won affairs and

but poorly could read notwithstanding he had one hundred pound lent out when I left him and a rented farm well stocked I have known him have eight oxen and Horses at one time drawn when I lived with him yet he kept most all of his son Georg the next brother was William Unthank a little brisk man used to go in his fine broad cloth tho not common in that meeting he had an uncl gave him two farms on which his two sons lived in the year 1772 of Williams & Isaac Williams farm is a good one walled round but Isaacks a poor one but I think has no children and my brother Georg is a gentl man Cusn Joseph Cloe my mothers sisters son left him on hundred pound Sterlin yearly per annum and it had altered him none when I was there Having said something of my fathers family I would now mention something of my mothers friends my mother as I said was Clark of that great monthly meting many years to which belong 8 particular metings to wit Castletown, Robely, Moorsom, Gisbrough, Yattam, Cirbimorside and Hutton in the hole where my wife Anne Allen was brought up my mother was an extronerry good wife i think my father loved her more then his own life She kept store of everything thing thing that I can think of she dealed at York & had a carrier to bring her goods their She was much thought of by toping merchants becaus she was punctual in paiment merchant was caled Jack of all traids I have ben at York dealing for her She used to find the family with fresh meat William Featherstone my fathers sisters son a bucher lived just by and kept markets constant with sheep and calves mutton & veal I should have said my mother seemed more to me than all the world besides until i was married and I was very near to her her sister writ to me that if I new what store mother set by my brother I would not forget it She was very had som both in person and in face Father but midlin they both had black hair and I think father had black eyes My mothers sister was married to James Close and he lived until they had two sons James & Joseph Close and going up toward london in a new ship she it was thout sprung a leak and sunk and the ships crew & 19 pasingers all were drowned & my ant being left a widdow and most distressed never sen any bodi until the Blessed lord let her se the folly of greiving two much and then not with standing her husband had took all that ever he could make so that she was poor she took to merchandise & the merchants had piti for her and let her have plenti of goods notwithstanding they lay out of their money which was lost in the sea and she had somuch custom that she frequently went without her dinner for want to time her oldest son died and the yonger was very true and loving to her in so

much that he never would marry for fear he should get a wife that would offend his mother so that it was said never mother had such a son nor never son had such a mother for she was really a widow indeed and one that truly feared God and did what good she could to her neighbors and was gifted in many things and the Lord blessed her so that her son left my Brother 100 pound a year in farms and choise houses in Whitby town as to my unckle William Shipton mothers brother he never married yet lived so alone The -- e he was a famous ship carpenter and with help of his men carved a many a ship side of — hard ---- ed I was to have been his Executor but I suppose Cusn Joseph got his estate I only heard that William Shipton was dead My grandfather Henry Shipton of Whitby and my grandmother Elizabeth Jues of London lived and died members of the Quaker religion how my grandfather came to be convinced I can give no account for he had ben a great warior at sea I have heard him tel of great exploits he and the ships in his company did captor ----- the men of war Few --- ----- and was taken by the French off the coast of Yorkshire and his men the French took all his men out of his ship but him self and aboy & put Frenchmen in their stead and so left them and went on their carnige and grandfather retook the vessel by a wild Ce-ing in Ceck and scared the frenchmen and so put the vessel a shoar at hul and maide the French all prisoners in that Castle in Yorkshire I helped to atend him when he was on his death bed and was about 20 years old we had as good a meeting when he was buried as i think I was ever at My grandmother grandfathers wife was a precious heavenly minded woman and was took sick and died at my fathers hous I was well acquainted with them both

III. Additional Information on the Unthank Family

The records of Pickering and Guisborough monthly meetings in Yorkshire as abstracted by Gilbert S. Cope supply additional details for Joseph Unthank's account of his family. They show that George Unthanke of Danby was buried at Danby 1st Month 11, 1679. His wife's name apparently was Ann; she died 9th Month 12, 1712. Their children are recorded as follows:

John Unthanke	born 2nd Mo. 25, 1663
Mary Unthanke	born 11th Mo. 24, 1664
George Unthanke	born 4th Mo. 19, 1667

William Unthanke	born 10th Mo. 29, 1669
Anne Unthanke	born 12th Mo. 18, 1672
Peter Unthanke	born 4th Mo. 29, 1676
Thomas Unthanke	born 5th Mo. 12, 1679 ¹⁸

George Unthanke, Jr., son of George and Ann, was married under Guisborough Monthly Meeting, 2nd Month 15, 1703, to Mary Shipton of Whitby. No record of the death of her father, Henry Shipton, has been found, but Elizabeth, her mother, died 1st Month 13, 1713. George and Mary were the parents of four children:

Joseph Unthanke	born 4th Mo. 4, 1704
Hannah Unthanke	born 10th Mo. 4, 1707
Rachel Unthanke	born 2nd Mo. 7, 1712
George Unthanke	born 1st Mo. 6, 1722

Record of the marriage of Joseph Unthank to Ann Allen has yet to be located, but it is known that Ann had a sister Rachel who accompanied them to Pennsylvania. Available records show that Joseph and Ann (Allen) Unthank were the parents of nine children: Rachel, George, Joseph, Mary, John, Allen, Hannah, and and two named Jonathan. Rachel, George, Mary, Joseph, and the first Jonathan were born before 1741, Hannah sometime afterwards.²⁰ Of the three sons who survived to adulthood, the following is known:

John Unthank was born in Bucks County in 4th Month 1741, and died at New Garden in Guilford County 1st Month 29, 1781. He was married at New Garden, 4th Month 1, 1767, to Sarah Hunt, daughter of Thomas and Ann (Beals) Hunt, born in Prince George's County, Maryland, 9th Month 29, 1747. New Garden Monthly Meeting recorded of John Unthank that he had "been a minister divers years and left a good report." Sarah later married Solomon Hiatt. She died in Wayne County, Indiana, in her ninety-ninth year.²¹

Johathan Unthank the second was born in Bucks County about 1747 and died unmarried at New Garden, 6th Month 19, 1770.²²

Allen Unthank was born about 1750 in Bucks County and died at New Garden, 5th Month 30, 1822. He was married at New Garden, 12th Month 7, 1774, to Jemima Hunt, daughter of Thomas and Ann (Beals) Hunt, born at New Garden about 1755, died there 2nd Month 11, 1840. Allen was active in the affairs of New Garden Meeting throughout his life. he is buried in the New Garden Friends Cemetery

, where his grave is marked by a crude stone now almost illegible.²³

Joseph Unthank married as his second wife at New Garden, 3rd Month 31, 1779, Judith Thornburgh. She was born at New Garden, 12th Month 17, 1757, the daughter of Thomas and Abigail (Brown) Thornburgh. After Joseph's death, Judith married Jeremiah Horn. In the 1790s they moved to Lost Creek, Tennessee.²⁴

Joseph and Judith (Thornburgh) Unthank had one son, Josiah Unthank, born 2nd Month 28, 1780. Joseph provided amply for him in his will. It appears that after his mother's remarriage Josiah was left in the care of his half-brother Allen. In 1801, Josiah married Anna Brittain, daughter of William and Rebecca (Ballenger) Brittain, born in Guilford County, 10th Month 9, 1779. In 1830 they moved to Wayne County, Indiana. Josiah died there 6th Month 20, 1833. On 2nd Month 20, 1839, Anna married William Hobbs (1780-1854). Both Anna and William were well-known Quaker ministers. Anna died at Spiceland, Henry County, Indiana, 1st Month 2, 1875. Josiah Unthank is buried in the New Garden Friends Cemetery near Fountain City, Indiana. Ann is buried with William Hobbs in Spiceland Friends Cemetery.²⁵

¹Gilbert S. Cope, comp., *Abstracts of English Quaker Records: York Quarterly Meeting, Births*, s.v. *Unthanke*; Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (2 vols., London, 1752), II, 101, 131.

²Albert Cook Myers, *Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia, 1682-1750* (Baltimore, 1957), 100-01; Cope, *Abstracts, York, Births*, s.v. *Allen*; Clarence V. Roberts, *Early Friends Families of Upper Bucks* (Philadelphia, 1925), 30; George R. Unthank, comp., *Unthank Family History* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1932), 12.

³William Wade Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (6 vols., Ann Arbor, 1936-1950), I, 579. The New Garden Monthly Meeting Men's Minutes from 1755 to 1780 in the Friends Historical Collection record Joseph Unthank's activities as a member of the meeting.

⁴Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia*, I, 520, 579.

⁵Isaac Greenleaf (ca. 1715-1771) was an important Philadelphia Friend who had married into the Wistar family. Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia*, II, 368, 536.

⁶Thomas Gawthorp (1709-1781) was one of the more influential English Quaker ministers of the eighteenth century. He visited America four times. William Evans and Thomas Evans, *Piety Promoted in a Collection of Dying Sayings of Many of the People Called Quakers* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1854), III, 119-21.

⁷Christopher Wilson was one of the two English Friends sent by London Yearly Meeting to Philadelphia in 1756 to urge Pennsylvania Friends to give up their

offices in the provincial government. Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 236. Thomas Nicholson (1717-1780) of Perquimans County, North Carolina, was a well-known minister who traveled extensively. His journal maybe found in *Publications of the Southern History Association*, 4 (1900), 172-86, 233-47, 302-15.

⁸William Reckitt (1706-1769) arrived in America in 1757 after having been a prisoner in France for six months. His detailed account of his journey mentions a meeting at Deep River but none at New Garden. "Life of William Reckitt," in *The Friends' Library: Comprising Journals, Doctrinal Treatises, and Other Writings of Members of the Religious Society of Friends*, ed. William Evans and Thomas Evans (14 vols., Philadelphia, 1837-1850), IX, 46-47, 61-64.

⁹Samuel Spavold (ca. 1732-1795), another English minister, traveled with Reckitt. "Life of William Reckitt," IX, 61; John Field and Josiah Forster, *Piety Promoted in a Collection of the Dying Sayings of Many of the People Called Quakers* (4 vols., London, 1812), II, 551-53.

¹⁰Samuel Emlen (1732-1799) apparently spent much of his life traveling as a companion to other ministers. At the time of his visit to New Garden he had just returned from England. He returned there in 1772 as John Woolman's companion. "Memoirs and Letters of Samuel Emlen, of Philadelphia," *Friends' Miscellany*, 12 (4th Mo. 1839), 162-94.

¹¹Grace Croasdale (1703-1769) of Middletown Monthly Meeting in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, was recorded a minister about 1745. Most of her later life was spent traveling in the ministry. *A Collection of Memorials concerning Divers Deceased Ministers and Others of the People Called Quakers (Philadelphia, 1787), 278-79.*

¹²Abigail (Overman) Pike (1709-1781) was born in Pasquotank County but became known as a minister at Cane Creek. She died at Deep River in Guilford County. Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia*, I, 363, 415, 790. Charity (Grubb) Beeson (1687-1761), born in New Castle County, Delaware, came to Center Meeting early in the 1750s from Frederick County, Virginia. Daniel Stanton wrote of her in this year: "We also had a comfortable sold time at Richard Beason's whose wife had been a valuable servant to the church, but was now grown old and feeble and much confined through infirmity of body; but I thought lively and sensible of the best things." Jasper Lewis Beeson, *Beeson Genealogy* (n.p., n.d.), 15-20; *A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of a Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, Daniel Stanton* (Philadelphia, 1772), 123-24. William Hunt (1733-1772) was New Garden Meeting's outstanding minister in its early years. He traveled extensively, dying in Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, about a month before the death of his cousin, John Woolman, at York. *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt* (Philadelphia, 1858), *passim*; Henry J. Cadbury, *Journal of William Hunt's Visit to Europe 1771-1772 Together with William Hunt — A Memoir* (Greensboro, N.C., 1968), *passim*. "Nathan" is undoubtedly Nathan Dicks (died 1765), who was "a minister divers years" and left "a good report behind him." He was the son-in-law of Hannah Ballenger and the first recorder of births and deaths for New Garden Monthly Meeting. Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia*, I, 496, 536; Elijah Coffin, "Friends in North Carolina," *Friends' Review*, 5th Mo. 18, 1861, p.581.

¹⁴William Ferril apparently had been in America at least three years. In 1758 he had traveled with William Reckitt. "Life of William Reckitt," 63.

¹⁴Daniel Stanton (1708-1760) of Philadelphia left a record of this visit in his journal: "We were likewise at the Quarterly-Meeting at New-Garden, at their ministers' meeting, and that for the business of the church, also at their first day meeting; the two last were large and weighty seasons, wherein the Divine Presence was witnessed to the refreshment of the solid-minded." *Journal . . . of Daniel Stanton*, 124. Isaac Zane (ca. 1710-1794) was a prominent Philadelphia Friend especially interested in Indian affairs. *Memorials concerning Deceased Friends: Being a Selection from the Records for the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania etc., from the Year 1788 to 1878, Inclusive.* (Philadelphia, 1879), 34-37. Phebe Trimble (ca. 1718-1784) from Concord Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania "at two different times. . . visited friends in Maryland and Virginia, and once in North and South - Carolina, in which visits her gospel labours were well-received." *Collection of Memorials*, 420-22.

¹⁵Hannah Ballenger (born 1709) was the wife of Henry Ballenger and daughter of James and Mary Wright, prominent members of Hopewell Monthly Meeting in Frederick County, Virginia. She may have been the first recorded minister to settle at New Garden. Coffin, "Friends in North Carolina," 581; Emma Barrett Reeves, *Three Centuries of Ballingers in America* (n.p., 1977), 3.

¹⁶Joseph Oxley (1715-1775), a native of Lincolnshire, came to America in 1770, traveling first in the North. Oxley wrote of this visit:

Sixth-day, rode to New Garden, took up our quarters at E. Hunt's, whose brother William, an acceptable minister, was on his way to Europe on a religious visit to the churches. Seventh-day was at their Monthly Meeting. In the opening of the meeting for discipline, a young couple proposed their intentions of marriage; it is usual for Friends in these parts to admit those of other societies to see the manner of our proceeding herein, which when done they withdraw; these opportunities draw many young people of other societies to our meetings, whose minds are attended with too much lightness and instability and other inconveniences, so as to make it painful, and the disuse thereof desirable.

"Journal of Joseph Oxley," *Friends' Library*, ed. Evans and Evans, II, 456. Samuel Neale (1729-1792) made a two-year visit to American Friends from 1770 to 1772. Unfortunately the published extracts of his journal do not mention this meeting. "Some Account of the Life and Religious Labours of Samuel Neale," *ibid.*, XI, 1-2, 49-50.

¹⁷Martha (Wakefield) Hiatt (ca. 1705-1794), the wife of George Hiatt, was one of the earliest settlers and ministers in the New Garden community. Coffin, "Friends in North Carolina," 580; Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I, 499.

¹⁸Cope, Abstracts, York, Births and Deaths, s.v. *Unthanke*.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Births, Deaths, and Marriages.

²⁰Myers, *Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia*, 100-01; Unthank, *Unthank Family History*, 12.

²¹Unthank, *Unthank Family History*, 12; Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, I, 520, 579; Edna Harvey Joseph, "Descendants of William and Mary (Woolman) Hunt," n.d., typescript, p. 3 (Friends Historical Collection).

²²Unthank, *Unthank Family History*. 12; Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*. I, 579.

²³Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*. I, 519, 579.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 519-20, 579, 964.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 520, 579-80; Willard C. Heiss, *Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana* (7 vols., Indianapolis, 1962-1977), II, 87, IV, 243; Beverly Yount, comp., *Tombstone Inscriptions in Wayne County, Indiana* (4 vols., Fort Wayne, Ind., 1966-1970), IV, 137. Joseph Unthank's will is recorded in Guilford County Will Book A, page 397. The original, in Joseph's distinctive handwriting, is in the Guilford County Original Wills files, Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. The records of the Guilford County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions show that on February 21, 1786, Allen Unthank was appointed guardian of Josiah Unthank.

THE FIVE CLAYTON FAMILIES OF COLONIAL AMERICA

by
James E. Bellarts

There were at least five distinct Clayton families in colonial America: (1) The Pennsylvania Branch: The family and descendants of William Clayton of Chichester, born 1625, Parish of Rumbaldswick, near Chichester, Sussex, England, son of William Clayton, born ca. 1590, Sussex, England and Joan (Smith) Clayton; grandson of Thomas and Elizabeth Clayton, born ca. 1560, Rudgwick, Sussex. He married Prudence Lanckford. Came to Pennsylvania in the "Kent", arriving in New York between August 4 and 16, 1667, and then sailed on south to the Delaware River, where they established their settlements, the Yorkshire Quakers adjacent to the London Quakers. The family of William Clayton of Chichester did not accompany him in the "Kent," but followed later. William Clayton of Chichester was acting Governor of Pennsylvania under William Penn, who is referred to as both his "friend" and "cousin." William Clayton of Chichester was long thought to be "of Chichester, Chester County, Pennsylvania," where he resided at one time, when he was actually "of Chichester, Sussex, England." He was a Quaker whose

James E. Bellarts, compiler of this article is a Fellow of The American College of Genealogists, and Honorary Life Consultant to National Society Descendants of Early Quakers. He also compiled "The Quaker Yeoman. A Genealogy of Clayton, Reynolds, Beal, Brown and Descended and Related Lines" in 1973, and is editor and publisher of "The Quaker Yeoman" a quarterly newsletter of Quaker and related genealogy, now in it's twelfth year of publication. He has done extensive research on the Clayton family, which will be included in his forthcoming book *The Descent of Some Of Our Quaker Ancestors From Adam; The Hebrews; The Egyptians; The Romans; The Irish, Scots, Saxon and British Kings; Charlemagne; The Normans; The Vikings and Others - FACTS, FICTION, FOLKLORE AND FAKELORE*. He was educated at San Diego State College, California, The University of Maryland, The University of Paris (Sorbonne), and the Overseas Extension Service of The University of Maryland. He is a retired military officer and president of Brookside Business Consultants, Inc.

incorrect descent from the West Lancashire Claytons has been perpetuated by a 1904 paper by Henry F. Hepburn, Esq., published by the Historical Society of Delaware. Hepburn show him as the son of Thomas Clayton, born 1598, resided in London, England, where he died in 1666, having five sons and two daughters. Thomas Clayton was descended from Robert de Clayton, born ca. 1470, who succeeded to his grandfather's estates. His second son John Clayton, born 1499, Clayton Hall, Lancashire, England, married Jane Farrington, founded Clayton Hall, High Hoyland Parish, Yorkshire, England, died after 1570. His eldest son Thomas Clayton, born at and referred to as "of Clayton Hall, Lancashire," although he resided at Clayton Hall, Yorkshire, married Anguis Thornhill of Fixby, Yorkshire, died 1585. His second son, William Clayton, resided at Oakenshaw, Yorkshire, referred to as "of Oakenshaw," of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law, married Margaret Cholmley, daughter of Jasper Cholmley of the East Riding of Yorkshire, died 1627. His third son Thomas Clayton, born 1598 is the Thomas above. This Thomas had a son, William, born 1625 whom Hepburn incorrectly assumed to be William Clayton of Chichester. Research continues in an effort to determine any connection between the Claytons of Sussex and of Lancashire and Yorkshire. However, as Roderick N.L. Hamm of Leyland, Lancashire points out, it may well be that there is no connection, since there is a town of Clayton only five or six miles from Brighton in Sussex. This town of Clayton, as well as others throughout England with the same name, were named for the rich deposits of clay surrounding them, which were brought into the towns for manufacture into pottery, bricks, etc. There are also towns of Clayton in Kent, Suffolk, and other counties throughout England. Since it was common in the middle ages for families to take their surname from either their profession or place of residence, the Family of William Clayton of Chichester may well have origins in Clayton, Sussex, or one of any of the numerous other towns of Clayton.

The bracketed {} portions of the following genealogy of William Clayton of Chichester are speculative, prepared as a basis for further research.

{1 Thomas de Clayton, b. ca. 1440, eldest son of John de Clayton and Mary Mainwaring, was disinherited for disobeying his parents.

Nothing further is known of him except that his third son Robert de Clayton succeeded to his grandfather's estates. The name of his wife is unknown. It is likely that he was disinherited for a marriage unacceptable to his parents. Perhaps his two eldest sons died young, allowing Robert to inherit from his grandfather, or perhaps the two eldest sons were not allowed to inherit by their grandfather. One of the sons would have probably been named Thomas since that name appears in almost every generation of this family. It is likely that having been disinherited, Thomas would have left West Lancashire, perhaps settling in London, or Sussex, a days journey south of London at that time. His possible son:

1.1 Thomas de Clayton, b. ca. 1470. His possible son:

1.11 Thomas Clayton, b. ca. 1500. (Note: The Chichester Record Office states that Rudgwyck is the same as Rumbaldswick, and was sometimes called Wyck. This is not Rudgwyck Parish located to the north on the County Surrey line.) He was known to have made a will in Rudgwick parish July 4, 1557, proved October 5, 1557 (Consistory Court Wills Register 1553 - 1571, Vol. 8, p. 268, microfilm XA10/6, in West Sussex Records Offices, Chichester, Sussex, England). This will in bold writing but very faded contains no signatures and names no witnesses. Based upon the wording of the will, the maker was possibly a Roman Catholic, reflecting his Norman heritage, which he would have retained despite the acts of the Reformation Parliament 1529 - 1536, breaking the Church in England headed by King Henry VIII away from the Church of Rome. This will, naming his wife Margaret, a son of John, a daughter Alice and a son-in-law (-) Nalovite?, was partially transcribed by Louis E. Jones, May 21, 1984. Other children may have been named in the illegible portions of the will. His known children:

1.111 John Clayton, b. ca. 1530.

1.112 Alice Clayton, b. ca. 1530, m. (-- Nalovite?)

John Clayton, or an unnamed brother was possibly of:}

1.1111 Thomas Clayton of Rudgwick, County Sussex, b. ca. 1560, will dated September 10, 1630, proved April 28, 1631, (Consistory Court of Chichester Record, Volume 18, p. 76b, microfilm STC I/18

XA/18, County Record Office, Chichester, Sussex, copied by Louis E. Jones, 1984), names his wife Elizabeth, sons Walter (probably eldest, named with his mother as co-executor,) William (probably second eldest, named with Thomas Penfold to assist his mother and older brother in their duties as executors,) Mathew, Richard and Thomas; daughters Mary wife of Richard Martin, and Elizabeth. Witnesses Thomas Penfold, William Clayton, Thomas Clayton and Richard Clayton. Thomas Clayton was buried in the churchyard at Rudgwick. (Note: A son who has moved to another location, is sometimes not mentioned in a will which of course mentions only things that are to be disposed of by the executor. Similarly, a parish register may mention only the children born in that parish, and if the family moves to another parish, only the children born there are mentioned). The children of Thomas and Elizabeth Clayton:

- 1.11111 Mary Clayton, b. ca. 1590, named as a daughter in her father's will. Married Richard Martin who was named as a son-in-law.
- 1.11112 Walter Clayton, b. ca. 1590, named with his mother as co-executor of his father's estate.
- 1.11113 William Clayton, b. ca. 1590. Named as a son in his father's will. See below:
- 1.11114 Thomas Clayton, b. ca. 1600. Named as a son in his father's will.
- 1.11115 Richard Clayton, b. ca. 1600, m. (license dated December 1, 1610) Archdeaconry of Chichester, Elizabeth Peter of Walberton, Sussex. Named as a son in his father's will.
- 1.11116 Mathew Clayton, b. ca. 1600.
- 1.11117 Elizabeth Clayton, b. ca. 1600. Named as youngest daughter in her father's will.

1.11113 William Clayton, b. ca. 1590, will dated ca. 1658 copied by Louis E. Jones, April 16, 1982 (Chichester Miscellaneous Wills 1653 - 1658, Vol. 21B, p. 59, Consistory Court Will Register 1653 - 1658 STC1/21B, in West Sussex Record Office, Chichester), no probate located. Married (1), October 30, 1631, Boxgrove parish, Joan Smith who was buried April 27, 1644 (A Calendar of the Parish of Boxgrove, Sussex 1560 - 1812, by W.D. Peckham, 1946). Married (2), 1644, Elizabeth Simmons, buried October 16, 1638. His will

indicates that he was a timberman (lumber dealer,) residing in the Parish of Pancras without the East Gate of Chichester, Sussex. It lists sons William, Richard (not yet 21 years of age), Thomas (not yet 21 years of age, placed with Thomas Coby until the first day of May next ensuing the date of his 21 st birthday); daughters Elizabeth who received a bequest of 40 shillings one year after his decease, possibly as a dowery for an anticipated marriage; and youngest daughter Mary, his child by his second marriage; and grandchildren William and Prudence Clayton, children of William. Also named: John Peele of Pegham as bondsman; Will Steele, a miller living without the East Gate of Chichester and John Avery of Chichester as auditors; and Thomas Hopkins and John Rogers as witnesses. Toatal bequests over the ensuing twenty years totalling 161 shillings, a sizeable estate at that time. His children:

- 1.111131 William Clayton of Chichester, b. 1625, baptized December 9, 1632 below.
- 1.111132 Elizabeth Clayton, baptized February 11, 1637 Boxgrove, Sussex.
- 1.111133 Richard Clayton, baptized September 13, 1640, Boxgrove, Sussex.
- 1.111134 Thomas Clayton, baptized February 26, 1642, Boxgrove Sussex.
- 1.111135 Mary Clayton, b. after 1644, daughter by second marriage.

1.111131 William Clayton of Chichester, born 1625, Parish of Rumbaldswick, near Chichester, Sussex, England, baptized December 9, 1632, Boxgrove, Sussex. Married November 7, 1653, St. Pancras Parish, Chichester, Sussex, Parish Register Calendar, by V. Lodon, 1945, copied by Louis E. Jones, 1982), Prudence Lanckford of St. Peters the less, daughter of William Lanckford of Broughton Parish, Hampshire. She was probably born in Surrey according to "The Genealogy of the Gordon - Macy, Middleton - Curtis and Allied Families".

The above mentioned wills together with early Quaker and Parish records of Chichester and Rumbaldswick (Rudgwick) prove conclusively that William Clayton of Chichester was not the son of a London lawyer or Oxford University dignitary, and none of his

descendants have any proveable claim to illustrious ancestry.

References: "Calendar of the Parish Register of Boxgrove, Sussex 1660 - 1842" by W.D. Peckham 1946 (In West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, Sussex, England, May 1982); "Sussex Record Society", Volume 9, 1909, page 43; "Sussex Marriage Licenses, Archdeaconry of Chichester 1575 - ", in West Sussex Record Office, 1982 - May.3; "Consistory Court Register of Wills 1630 - 1635", volume 8, page 76b, in West Sussex Record Office May 21, 1984 "The Quaker Yeomen" quarterly, January 1985:

(2) The New England Branch: Descendants of Thomas Clayton, born 1650, Dover, Kent, England. To Rhode Island ca 1670. Father of Ann Clayton, second wife of Governor Nicholas Easton and of the next Governor, Henry Bull. Also father of Sarah Clayton who married March 4, 1674, Matthew Borden. Other children are not named. If the David Clayton (New Jersey Branch) who went from Rhode Island to New Jersey in 1691 was part of this line, it leaves the possibility that this family was Quaker open to further research. No connection to other Clayton lines has been established.

(3) The Delaware Branch: The family and descendants of James Clayton. The ancestors of this Quaker line are not well documented while the descendants of the immigrant are well documented. William Clayton, born ca. 1595, was the son of William Clayton of Oakenshaw (above). His son James Clayton, born ca. 1615, Middlewich, County Chester, a blacksmith, came to Pennsylvania with his wife Jane in the "Submission," part of Penn's fleet, in 1682. It stretches the imagination to picture the grandson of a prominent Barrister at Law, an obvious member of the established Church (Church of England) appearing in Pennsylvania as a Quaker and a blacksmith. He is referred to as a "cousin" of William Clayton of Chichester. It must be kept in mind that in colonial times the term cousin was used to indicate any close relative, or even a close friend.

(4) The New Jersey Branch: The family and descendants of John Clayton. The ancestry of this line remains obscure despite intensive paid research by Peter Wilson Coldham, Director of Coldham (Genealogical Research) Purley, Surrey, who states that John Clayton, born ca. 1630 "may" have been the son of James Clayton

who was baptized June 6, 1630, Burnley Parish, Dimley, Cilvinger, near Clayton le Moor, Lancashire. This James could have been one of the four children of Thomas Clayton and Anne Blondell whose names are unknown? John Clayton first appeared in Monmouth County, New Jersey in 1677 when he acquired land. His brother David Clayton came to New Jersey from Rhode Island in 1691. There may be an unproven connection between this Delaware branch and the Rhode Island branch. John Clayton had three sons and three daughters. His daughter Leah Clayton, born 1668, married July 29, 1692, Abraham Brown, son of Abraham Brown, grandson of Nicholas Brown a Quaker who also came from Rhode Island. There were marriages between the Brown family and the Pennsylvania Clayton family. Leah Clayton is referred to as a "cousin" to Honour Clayton, daughter of William Clayton of Chichester. John Clayton was the father of John Clayton, born ca. 1710, and grandfather of Joshua Clayton, born July 20, 1774, Dover, Delaware, a Lieutenant Colonel Physician in the Delaware forces of the American Revolution, and first Governor of the State of Delaware. His son John Middleton Clayton, born July 24, 1796, was a United States Senator from Delaware 1829 - 1836 and 1845-1849, Chief Justice of Delaware 1837 - 1839, Secretary of State of the United States under President Zachary Taylor and negotiator of the Clayton - Bulwer Treaty which assured British neutrality in Latin America. He died Dover Delaware November 9, 1856.

(5) The Virginia Branch: The family and descendants of John Clayton, born 1655, son of Sir John Clayton, born ca. 1630, grandson of Sir Jasper Clayton, fourth son of William Clayton of Oakenshaw. John Clayton came to Virginia in 1705, was Attorney General for the colony from 1714 until his death November 18, 1737, member of the House of Burgesses, Presiding Justice of James City County and Recorder of Williamsburg. This family was not Quaker. They were probably Church of England.

Thus, with the numerous implied relationships between four of these five branches of the Clayton family and possible connection to the fifth, I am continuing research into a connection between William Clayton of Chichester and the Lancashire and subsequent Yorkshire branch, possibly through the descendants of the disowned Thomas, son of John de Clayton.

A manuscript in the Los Angeles Public Library entitled "The Manor of Clayton" by Wilfred Robertshaw, M.A., is based upon research into collections know as the Ferrand, the Norton and the Jowett manuscripts. The first two were in the possession of the Bradford, Yorkshire, Corporation libraries, and the third in the possession of J. Atkinson Jowett of Bilton Hall, Knaresborough, when the manuscript was written in 1939. Reference is also made to "History of Bradford" by John James, which gives a brief account of the township of Clayton, Yorkshire. This manuscript deals with the Clayton Fee; the Leventhorpe Fee; The family of Bolling, Lords of Clayton; The family of Tempest, Lords of Clayton; and later Lords of Clayton. The fifteen page document deals with Claytons of Yorkshire, and establishes that there were two Clayton families in Yorkshire, the township of Clayton predating either family. The Claytons of Clayton Manor, located about four miles west of the township had been in residence since at least 1246, and had no priven connection to the Lancashire Claytons who established another Clayton Manor around 1500 in High Hoyland Parish, about nine miles south of Wakefield in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Roderick N.L. Hamm, of Leyland, Lancashire, England, has provided information to correct the corruption to the name Cabaldeston (Margaret Cabaldeston who married Robert de Clayton, born 1090, to her correct surname "Osbaldeston", derived from the hamlet of Osbaldeston., Lancashire.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION OF GUILFORD COLLEGE

by

Damon D. Hickey
and
Carole M. Treadway

The year 1984-85 has been marked particularly by accelerated editorial and publishing activity, various types of outreach, and planning for a library building expansion.

EDITING AND PUBLICATION

Curator Damon Hickey and Bibliographer Carole Treadway serve on the Board of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, and have been extensively involved in the society's publication program. Two issues of *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* were edited by the staff. They also read and helped to edit Seth B. Hinshaw's *The Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665-1985: An Interpretation*. Damon Hickey researched and prepared most of the material for the chapter, "Other Groups of Friends." Lorton Heusel's *Friends on the Front Line: The Story of Delbert and Ruth Replogle*, scheduled for publication in June 1985, has been edited and seen through the publication process entirely by the collection staff. Carole Treadway prepared the index. The staff is currently involved in careful editing of Cecil Haworth's history of Deep River Meeting.

Damon Hickey's article on the division of North Carolina Yearly Meeting appeared in the spring 1984 issue of *The Southern Friend*. His article on the Baltimore Association of Friends is scheduled for publication in the spring 1985 issue of *Quaker History*. He is

preparing an article on historian-educator Andrew Dickson White for *The Dictionary of Literary Biography*. He has also published several book reviews.

OUTREACH

Carole Treadway remains convenor of the Records Committee of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), and recording clerk of Friendship Monthly Meeting. Damon Hickey continues to serve ex officio as a member of the Friends Center Steering Committee of Guilford College and the Publication Board and the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (F.U.M.) He is the recording clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) and represents that yearly meeting in the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Section of the Americas, serving also as a member of its Executive Committee. He participated in meetings and the fall retreat of the Guilford College Student Quaker Concerns Group, and in several of its projects. He attended the Quaker Hill Conference on Spiritual Authority and Accountability in December. He was the keynote speaker for South Central Yearly Meeting in April, and led two workshops on Quaker history there.

In February the collection was host to a large reception in honor of Seth and Mary Edith Hinshaw upon the publication of *The Carolina Quaker Experience*. The reception was sponsored by the collection, the Friends Center, and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society.

DEVELOPMENT

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (F.U.M.) continued this year its generous support of one-half of Carole Treadway's salary, permitting her to care for its records and to serve its members. North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) also contributed again this year to the collection's support. In the spring North Carolina Yearly Meeting (F.U.M.) approved a four-year contribution of a total of \$20,000 for endowment for the Friends Historical Collection and the Friends Center of Guilford College.

As part of the college's "Quest" campaign, Damon Hickey worked with members of the Milner family to edit and publish *The Milner*

Month of May, 1965, a momento volume that will be used in the fundraising effort. His preface to the volume relates the Milner Collection for International Quaker Studies to the Friends Historical Collection as a whole. Carole Treadway participated in a "phonathon" for the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, and Damon Hickey assisted in a similar effort for the Friends Center.

EDUCATION

A number of Guilford College students have used the collection for papers and projects, including several from Professor Melvin Keiser's "Quaker Origins" course. One student, Gwendolyn Frost Hurst, did an independent study that involved research leading to a projected revision of Treva W. Mathis' *Genealogical Resources in the Guilford College Library*.

ASSISTANCE

This year the regular staff of the collection is grateful for the invaluable assistance of its student worker, Gwendolyn Frost Hurst, and especially of its dedicated volunteers, Augusta Benjamin and Margaret Michener, without whom the staff would be much farther behind in its work.

BUILDING PROGRAM

The college continued to revise its building program for an addition to the library. Architect Frank Asbury proposed a plan that would include a new stacks and study wing for all books in the general collection, leaving a significant part of the present building, after renovation, for expansion of the Friends Historical Collection to double its present size, including offices for the Friends Center. Most of the present quarters would be retained in the expansion, but facilities would be rearranged to provide (1) a research room with wall shelves for genealogical reference materials; (2) a room of open stacks for Quaker books and periodicals that are not especially rare or fragile; (3) a seminar room for classes and committee meetings; (4) a workroom for processing materials; (5) two study rooms for extended research projects by faculty or visiting

scholars; (6) a microfilming room; (7) a staff restroom and four offices; (8) two levels of closed stacks for storage of rare books and periodicals, manuscript collections, college archives, artifacts, and all meeting minutes and records; and (9) a large public display area along the main entry hall of the building. Current estimates of fundraising and construction time place the completion of this facility four to five years into the future.

THE FRIENDS CENTER

Close cooperation between the Friends Historical Collection and the Friends Center continues. Center director Judith Harvey and collection curator Damon Hickey meet weekly to share information and coordinate planning. Quaker campus visitors are regularly routed to both offices. Judith Harvey serves as a member of the board of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, and Damon Hickey, as a member of the Friends Center Steering Committee. The center, collection, and historical society jointly sponsored the publication reception for Seth Hinshaw's *The Carolina Quaker Experience*. Fundraising efforts have also been coordinated, resulting in a major contribution by North Carolina Yearly Meeting (F.U.M.) to the collection and the center. It is envisioned that the collection will be used increasingly as a resource for the center's programs, and that the collection's staff will be even more active in the center's program.

GIFTS TO THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION 1984 - 1985

Anscombe, Viola

"The Contribution of the Quakers to the Reconstruction of the Southern States." (photocopy of Anscombe's Ph.D. dissertation, 1926)

Benfey, O. Theodor

Six Quaker pamphlets

Benjamin, Augusta

Contribution of volunteer work in the Friends Historical

Collection

Boone, Roger S.

Some Quaker Families: Scarborough-Haworth. Rev. ed., compiled by Roger S. Boone, 1984 (photocopy)

Branch, Benjamin

Publications of the Evangelical Friends Church, Eastern Region as follows: directories, 1980-1983; minutes, 1983; Discipline, 1981. Brochures and pamphlets from Perquimans County, N.C., Friends meetings and historic sites

Bremer, Ronald A.

Compendium of Historical Sources: The How and Where of American Genealogy, by Ronald A. Bremer, 1983

Broadfoot, Thomas, of Broadfoot's Bookmark

1715 copy of "An Act for Making Perpetual an Act. . . That the Solemn Affirmation. . . of the People Called Quakers Shall Be Accepted Instead of an Oath in the Usual Form." (two-page leaflet)

Brown, Christine F.

Issues of *North Carolina Historical Review*, 1955-1956; printed minutes of New England, Ohio, New York, Canadian, London, and Iowa Yearly Meetings; *Memoirs of John S. Stokes*, ed. by Joseph Walton, 1893; *A Brief History of Ohio Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Conservative)*, compiled by Charles F. Morlan, 1959

Bryan, Mrs. Leon

Thirty-nine seventeenth century Quaker pamphlets bound in one volume

Bundy, Dr. V. Mayo

Donation of money

Buscombe, William

Illinois Yearly Meeting minutes, 1976-1977, 1981-1982; Jonathan Plummer Lectures for 1974-1975, 1980

Butler, Lindley

Nine Quaker books; issues of *Historic Preservation*, 1969 - 1982; issues of *Quaker History*, 1965; minutes and reports of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1923 - 1926, 1943 - 1983

Carroll, Kenneth

"Nicholites and Slavery in Eighteenth-century Maryland," by Kenneth Carroll, from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Summer, 1984 (Photocopy); "T.W.M.," by F.S.L. Lyons, from *Ireland Under the Union: Varieties of Tension: Essays in Honour of T.W. Moody*, 1980 (offprint); "Quakers and Muggletonians in Seventeenth-century Ireland," by Kenneth Carroll, from *A Quaker Miscellany for Edward H. Milligan*, 1985 (offprint)

Chapel Hill Friends Meeting

Fourteen books

Corinth Monthly Meeting

Microfilm copies of early minutes and records of Western Branch Monthly Meeting, Lower Monthly Meeting, Somerton Monthly Meeting, Pagan Creek Meeting, Black Creek Monthly Meeting Corinth Monthly Meeting, Upper Quarterly Meeting, and Curles Monthly Meeting, all in Virginia (3 reels of microfilm)

Craven, Duval

The Andrews Family of Orange and Chatham Counties of North Carolina, by Lawrence Routh and Betty A. Holland, 1984; additions to Craven family papers; one issue of *Phipps Family Journal*, March, 1984; *Entire Sanctification*, by Byron Osborne, 1949; contribution of money

Crownfield, Frederic

Miscellaneous periodicals and pamphlets and a mimeograph copy of "Science of Philosoph - Metaphysics," by John Wild, 1946?

Dodd, Treva Mathis

The John Phillips Family: Eleven Generations Originating in Moore County, North Carolina, by Emma Phillips Paschal, 1982

Dye, Arthur

Framed print of Quaker caricature, 1847, by "F.G."

Feagins, Mary E.B.

Tending the Light, by Mary E.B. Feagins. Pendle Hill Pamphlet no. 255, 1984

Forlaw, Marietta

Papers of Mattie Blair Mendenhall including her report card from New Garden Boarding School, 1879; the marriage license of Mattie Blair and Will D. Mendenhall, 1879; and the 1875-76 catalogue of New Garden Boarding School

Forsyth, Alice D.

New Orleans Genesis: The Journal of the Genealogical Research Society of New Orleans XXII (1983) (four issues)

Friends Association for Higher Education

Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference: Discovering Fellowship in Friends Education, 1984; supplement to the FAHE Directory

Fulton, Groome and Ann

Carolina Cookery from Quaker Kitchens, by Woman's Auxiliary, High Point Friends Meeting, 1924

Hamm, Thomas

Minutes of Ohio Yearly Meeting - Hicksite (printed) for 1891, 1894-1902, 1904, 1909, 1912; miscellaneous memorials and tracts; *Some Account of the Life and Labors of Ephraim O. Harvey. 1921?*; minutes of Iowa Yearly Meeting-Conservative, 1955; minutes of Western Yearly Meeting, 1922, 1926, 1950, 1952-1954, 1958-1959, 1961; poem by Amos Kersey, 1809 (photocopy of typed copy)

Harriman, Mrs. J. Kimball

Wedding dress of Roxie Dixon White with bonnet, hoop, silk apron, and net cap

Highfill, Margaret

Guilford College memorabilia, 1904 - 1905 (three items)

Hinshaw, Calvin

Notebook containing the record of donations given to pay for the support of a pastor of Providence Monthly Meeting, 1915 - 1923; minutes of Five Years Meeting, 1912, 1917; Guilford College catalogs, 1916 - 1919; two issues of the *Guilfordian*, 1941

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

The Light Shines On, poems by Catherine McCracken, 1982; *Perquimans County History: Native American Proprietary Period, and Early Quakers: A Meeting of Cultures*, 1984; *Friends and Their Children*, by Harold Loukes, 1958; miscellaneous pamphlets and photographs; directories of Forbush, Randleman, and Deep River Meetings; manuscript materials relating to the writing of *Carolina Quakers*

Hallowell, Edith

Guilford College Art Appreciation Club minutes, 1967 - 1970; programs, 1980 - 1985; clippings, miscellaneous papers; and one picture

Hughes, Fred

Additions to *Historical Documentation* map papers for Guilford, Surry, Stokes, Rockingham, and Davie counties; additions to personal papers including maps, notebooks, aerial photographs, newspaper clippings, and materials pertaining to the fiftieth anniversary celebration of Jamestown High School class of 1934; school slate found in the wall of the Richardson home in High Point; reprint of Tanner's 1839 map of North Carolina (1984); *Silversmiths of North Carolina, 1696 - 1860*, by George B. Cutten, revised by Mary Reynolds Peacock, 1984; *High Point Enterprise* one hundredth anniversary issue, January 25, 1985; contribution of money

Hurwitz, Philip

Memorabilia of Guilford College, Fall 1939 - Spring 1944, including programs and bulletins

Illinois Yearly Meeting

Jonathan Plummer Lectures for 1969, 1973, 1976 - 1979, 1981 - 1983; minutes of Illinois Yearly Meeting, 1970 - 1971, 1973 -

1975, 1978 - 1980, 1984

Lasley, Elizabeth

Five Quaker books

Levering, Miriam

Additions to the Levering family papers including publications of the Ocean Education Project, correspondence, newsclippings, and material on the Levering children and some of their publications; *Living in the Light: Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century*. Vol. I: *In the U.S.A.*, ed. by Leonard Kenworthy, 1984

Macon, Lalah Cox

Draft exemption paper of Anthony Chamness of Centre Meeting dated 9 - 14 - 1863; *The Friend of Peace*, Nos. I, II, III, IV (bound in one volume), by Philo Pacificus (pseud.), 1817

Macon, Seth

The Promised Land, by Edith B. McGinnis, 1969; *First Quakers in Texas*, by Edith B. McGinnis, 1975

Massey, Vance D., Jr.

Panoramic photograph (framed) of Guilford College students and faculty, ca. 1917

May, Nila Hunt

"A Saga of the Hunts, 1690 - 1961," compiled by Nila Hunt May, n.d.

McBane, Wilson

Framed enlargement of Lossing's "View of the Battle - ground" Miami Quarterly Meeting of Ohio Valley Meeting (with Miami Center Quarterly Meeting of Wilmington Yearly Meeting) *May 1809 - 175 Years of Miami Quarterly Meeting - May 1984* (2 copies), and program of the 175th anniversary celebration of the founding of Miami Quarterly Meeting

Miami - Center Quarterly Meeting of Wilmington Yearly Meeting.
See Miami Quarterly Meeting of Ohio Valley Yearly Meeting

Michener, Margaret

Contribution of volunteer work in the Friends Historical Collection

Milner, Clyde and Ernestine

Additions to Milner papers and artifacts including a silver Revere bowl inscribed "Ernestine Cookson Milner, Woman of the Year, Quota Club of Greensboro, 1963"; two scrapbooks; Wilmington College Annual, 1921; annotated copy of *The American Student Hymnal*, 1928; annotated copy of *Guilford, A Quaker College*, by Dorothy Gilbert, 1937

Moore, J. Floyd and Lucretia

Contribution of money in memory of Algie Newlin; framed photograph of Rufus Jones; framed print of "Elizabeth II sail plan," by Stanley Potter, with a post card of the same and a North Carolina 400th anniversary map; photograph, mounted, of Samuel and Evelyn Haworth

Newlin, Charles

Photographs of Lindley's mill, ca. 1920, and West Grove Conservative Friends Meeting House, 1915; letters between members of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), 1910 - 1954 (photocopies of typed copies); a paper on Conservative Friends in the Midwest of Ella Newlin (photocopy); sermon of Henry T. Outland, 1897 (photocopy of typed copy); "Summary of Southern Quarterly Meeting minutes," 1911 - 1917; miscellaneous summaries and membership records of Chatham and West Grove Monthly Meetings, and Eastern Quarterly Meeting of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) (photocopies)

North Carolina State University Archives

An article on Eula Dixon from the November 1947 issue of the *State College News* (photocopy); photocopy of a page from the 1901 - 02 catalog of the N.C. College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts listing Eula Dixon as a student

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)

Contribution of money

Ohio Valley Yearly Meeting, Executive Committee, by Thomas C.

Hill Discipline of Indiana Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), 1849; minutes of Ohio Valley Yearly Meeting, 1981, 1982; "Account of Preparative Meetings and Meetings for Worship in Indiana Yearly Meeting and Indiana Yearly Meeting - Hicksite," compiled by Clark Butterworth ca. 1905, written 1914 (photocopy of typed transcript)

Parker, George (of Bakersfield, California)

Letter from Julia White to Laura White Parker, n.d. (photocopy); correspondence of John M. Macy to his wife Lydia pertaining to his religious visit to New England, 1862 (15 items, photocopies); photograph of Laura White Parker

Parker, George and Elizabeth

Photograph of the Guilford College freshman class, 1903

Perkins, Theodore

Forebears of the Thornburg and Hockett Families, by Velma Hockett Haworth, 1984; photograph of Samuel Perkins, 1786 - 1868, and a photographic copy of a drawing of his wife Rachel Pike Perkins, 1795 - 1862; miscellaneous directories, pamphlets, programs, bulletins, and newsclippings of various Friends meetings

Poole, Herbert and Joan

Audiotape of the memorial service of Algie I. Newlin, 1 - 12 - 1985

Ragsdale, Emily

Memorial for Dr. Virginia Ragsdale, 1945, prepared for Guilford College

Raleigh Friends Meeting

Materials from the collection of Ellen Raiford Glenn including a typescript of an article "Quakers in North Carolina," by Frances Pitts Broadway; miscellaneous Guilford College publications; newsclippings; and publications of Five Years Meeting, American Friends Service Committee, and the Wilmington (Ohio) Friends Meeting

Rathburn, Mrs. L.S.

Guilford College memorabilia of Eva Leonard Tate including a Henry Clay Literary Society oratorical contest invitation, 1910, and an invitation to the 1911 commencement

Replogle, Delbert and Ruth

Audiotape of "Stories from the Life of Leslie Barrett" recorded 4-21-1985

Smith, Irving and Mary

Olney Current, 1914 - 1968, and miscellaneous pamphlets and memorials of Ohio Yearly Meeting

Smith, Mary M.

Letter from George C. Mendenhall to John McLeod of Montgomery Co., N.C. concerning the disposition of slaves to be freed, dated 12 - 27 - 1856 (photocopy)

Speer, Linda

"Mount Carmel Friends Meeting," by Linda Speer, 1984, with photograph album

Spencer, Virgil

The Spencers of Upper Randolph County, North Carolina: Some of the Descendants of Benjamin S. and Margaret (Peggy) Cox Spencer, compiled by Brenda Gray Haworth and Virgil M. Spencer, 1983

Stephenson, E.P.

Photograph of the 1791 New Garden Meeting House taken in the 1870s

Stoesen, Alexander

Composite picture of the individual photographs of the members of the Guilford College class of 1889

Swigget, Jean

The Earth Abideth Forever: A Portrait of the Davis and Coltrane Families of Randolph County, North Carolina, by Minnie Hohn Robertson, Jean Davis Swiggett, 1985

Szitty, Ruth O.

Letter from Henry T. Outland to sons Jehu and Arthur dated 10 - 27 - 1900

Treadway, Carole

Discipline of Ohio Yearly Meeting (Conservative), 1963

Trosper, Edith, estate of

Twenty-seven books from donor's library and that of her father John W. Gregg

Wellons, William S.

Charles Wellons of Johnston County, North Carolina: His Ancestors and Descendants, ed. by V. Mayo Bundy, 1984

White, Clara

Fifty-two Quaker books from the library of William Alpheus and Roxie Dixon White

Williams, Addie Morris

The Guilfordian from January 1914 through March 1917

Wilmington, Yearly Meeting, by Thomas C. Hill

Faith and Practice of Wilmington Yearly Meeting, 1977

Women's Society of First Friends Meeting

Contribution of money

Wright, Marietta

William Penn High School (High Point, N.C.) preservation project promotional packet

DOCUMENTS OF MONTHLY, QUARTERLY, AND
YEARLY MEETINGS OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPOSITED IN THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL
COLLECTION

1984 - 1985

Asheboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1978 - June 1984

Battle Forest Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1977 - December 1980

Minutes, October 1982 - May 1983

Bethel Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1977 - November 1982

Cane Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, December 1958 - June 1968 (photocopies)

Chapel Hill Monthly Meeting (Photocopies given by Charles Milner)

Minutes, August 1980 - May 1984

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January - December 1983

Graham Monthly Meeting

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel

July 1964 - March 1970

July 1979 - September 1981

High Point Monthly Meeting (deposited by Cecil Haworth)

Central Friends Church Bible School Attendance Records, 1937 -
1971

Holly Spring Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1982 - June 1984

Jamestown Monthly Meeting

Duplicate copies of the unofficial minutes and records of the

beginning of Jamestown Monthly Meeting starting with an October 1963 gathering and ending June, 1969; bulletins, 1983 - 1984; two scrapbooks; twentieth anniversary directory, history and slides of celebration June 24, 1984
Minutes, July 1977 - September 1981

Marlboro Monthly Meeting

Bulletins, January 1980 - June 1984

New Garden Monthly Meeting

Minutes, June 1972 - December 1980

Women's Society Executive Board Minutes, July 1973 - December 1977

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

1984 epistles (34)

Oak Hill Monthly Meeting

United Society of Friends Women Minutes, September 1971 - June 1984

Raleigh Monthly Meeting

Minutes, April 1926 - May 1962

Miscellaneous papers and correspondence, 1945 - 1949

Science Hill Monthly Meeting

Missionary Society minutes, January 1911 - June 1917

South Plainfield Monthly Meeting

Ministry and Counsel minutes, April 1949 - March 1960

Spring Garden Friends Meeting

Minutes, April 1928 - June 1952

Minutes, June 1968 - March 1977

Pomona Meeting Pastoral Committee minutes, December 1924 - December 1928

Guest book, December 1963 - November 1969

Miscellaneous papers, January - November 1976, March 1977

Union Hill Monthly Meeting

The Southern Friend

- Minutes, with miscellaneous reports, September 1963 - July 1981
- Virginia Beach Monthly Meeting (North Carolina Yearly Meeting -
Conservative)
Minutes, March 1955 - November 1980
- West Grove Monthly Meeting (North Carolina Yearly Meeting -
Conservative)
Select Preparative Meeting minutes, March 1916 - April 1947
- White Plains Monthly Meeting
Treasurer's records, 1937 - 1977
Treasurer's annual reports, 1954 - 1972
Treasurer's contribution records, 1924 - 1926, 1968 - 1982
Building Fund records, 1952 - 1967
White Plains United Society of Friends Women records,
December 1961 - December 1978
United Society of Friends Women miscellaneous papers
Missionary Circle I (USFW)
Minutes, 1973 - 1979
Treasurer's records, 1961 - 1963; 196? - 1974
- Lottie Robertson Missionary Society
Treasurer's records, 1957 - 1961
Minutes, 1939 - 1946
- Sunday School
Registers, 1920 - 1967, and uncounted class books
Treasurer's reports, 1945 - 1959
White Plains Ruritan Club records, 1961 - 1962
- Winston-Salem Montly Meeting
Minutes and miscellaneous papers, July 1967 - June 1979

NORTH CAROLINA FRIEND'S HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

The annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society was held on November 9 at 12:30 at Friends Homes, 925 New Garden Road, Greensboro. Following a buffet luncheon, Stanley Potter, architect of the sixteenth century replica sailing ship Elizabeth II, gave an illustrated lecture about the designing and building of the ship. Built in Manteo, North Carolina, the ship completed its sea trials in September, Hurricane Gloria notwithstanding. Stanley Potter was on board and was able to tell us what special precautions were taken and what problems were met in meeting the challenge of the hurricane.

* * *

Guilford College was the site of an historic event in July when the World Gathering of Young Friends convened on the campus. Three hundred young Friends, ages eighteen to thirty-five, from all over the world met for a week of intense sharing, worshiping, and exploring of belief and experience. Three years of preparation culminated in one of the most representative Friends gatherings ever to assemble. Observers and attenders expect that the gathering did much to shape the future of Quakerism and will go far toward enabling Friends of different branches to work together as a community of faith in years to come.

In light of the importance of the gathering for Quakerism now and in the future, its planners have selected two depositories for the papers and other materials accumulated in preparation for and during the gathering. Papers of the western hemisphere are to go to the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College, those of Europe, Africa, and Asia to Friends Library in London.

* * *

Microfilms of selected records from the Archives of Yorkshire

General Meeting of the Society of Friends in Yorkshire, England for the period circa 1651 to 1800 have been acquired by the Friends Historical Collection. The records comprise minutes, birth and burial records, and papers of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, including records of sufferings; minutes of Owstwick Monthly Meeting; minutes and records of York Monthly Meeting; correspondence of William Dewsbury, 1656 - 1679; epistles of Benjamin Holme; and the journal and correspondence of Ann Mercy Bell, 1745 - 1786. The originals are deposited at the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

* * *

James E. Bellarts, editor and publisher of *The Quaker Yeoman*, informs us that he has recently been named an honorary life consultant to the National Society Descendants of Early Quakers. Before accepting the position he investigated the society and found it to be "beyond reproach" in its policies and practices. He reports that the society's publication *Plain Talk* is well edited and in good taste, and that no one is asked to submit a paper for membership unless he is recommended by an existing member, or requests information him (or her) self. Anyone wanting information should inquire of Agnes McVeigh Brooks, National Presiding Clerk, 2114 Martingale Drive, Norman Oklahoma 73609. Meetings are held at Whittier College, Whittier, California.

James Bellarts has also recently been made a fellow of the American College of Genealogists. Readers of *The Southern Friend* who are particularly interested in Quaker genealogy will find *The Quaker Yeoman* very helpful. It is published quarterly and the subscription rate is \$15.00 per year. Featured are articles on Quaker genealogy, genealogies of Quaker families, and queries. Articles and genealogies have not, as a rule, been published previously. Subscriptions should be sent to Brookside Business Consultants, Inc., 2330 S.E. Brookwood Avenue, Suite 108, Hillsboro, Oregon 97123.

* * *

The conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists will meet June 24 - 27, 1986, at Malone College, Canton, Ohio. This is a change

from the previously announced date. (The Friends Association for Higher Education will meet at Malone June 20 - 24. Those who wish to may attend both, since they will be held back-to-back.) **LAST CALL FOR PAPERS:** If you would like to deliver a paper on a topic in Quaker history or archives, please write immediately to Damon D. Hickey, The Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410.

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society
1984-85

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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society



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Spring 1986

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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 *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to Damon D. Hickey, The Library, Guilford College, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, NC 27410.

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

Publications Committee

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

THE
SOUTHERN FRIEND
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HISTORICAL SOCIETY

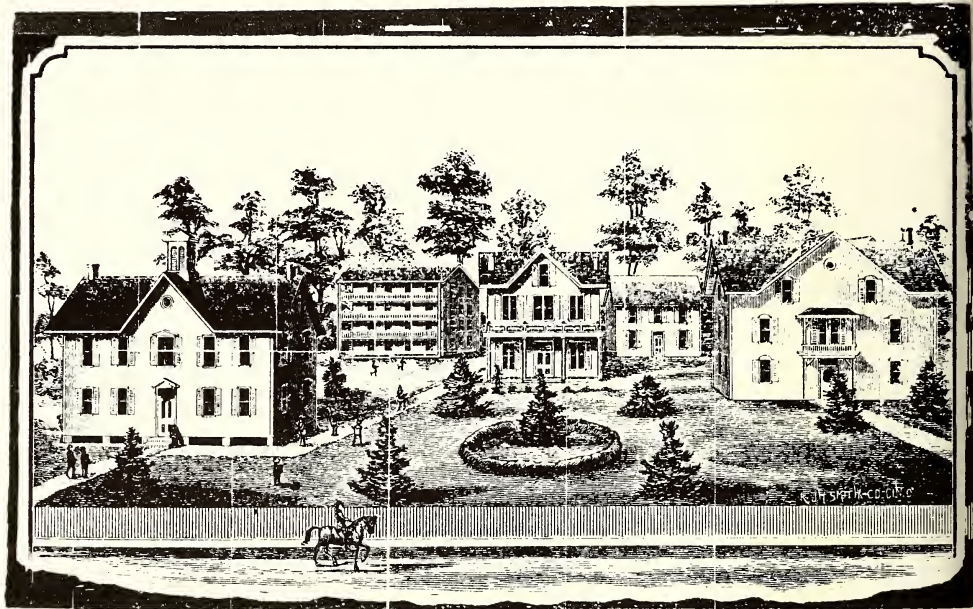
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Southland College, copy of an original engraving given to the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, by Willard Heiss.

THE LAST DAYS AT SOUTHLAND

by

Thomas C. Kennedy

In the autumn of 1922 Southland Institute had been in continuous existence for nearly sixty years (though it had only recently discarded the rather pretentious title of Southland College¹). Founded by Indiana Quakers in April 1864² at Helena as an orphanage for lost or abandoned black children, the institution had been moved in 1866 to a rural setting nine miles northwest of Helena on land purchased by members of a black infantry regiment stationed in Helena. Throughout the intervening years, Southland had operated as a private school for Negroes, partially staffed and almost entirely financed as a missionary activity of the Indiana Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. Because it was one of the few schools in Arkansas or indeed in the entire Mississippi Delta that offered post-elementary education for blacks³, a substantial rural community, taking its name from the school, grew up in the vicinity. Some black farmers removed their families hundreds of miles to purchase land near the school in order that their children might take advantage of the educational opportunities afforded by Southland.⁴

During the nineteenth century the school had survived white

Thomas C. Kennedy is professor of history at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville. His previous article, "Southland College: The Society of Friends and Black Education in Arkansas," appeared in the spring 1985 issue of *The Southern Friend*. The present article is the result of a discovery by the author of fifteen letter boxes filled with correspondence, minutes, financial records, and other materials which deal exclusively with the period in Southland's history from October 1922 to June 1925. These papers were stored in the headquarters of Friends United Meeting, Richmond, Indiana, and are now housed in the Mullins Library, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

hostility and black factionalism, devastating floods and disastrous fires (some deliberately set) as well as perpetual financial crisis while steadily building a sizeable and loyal group of alumni, hundreds of whom graced the classrooms of black schools throughout the Delta and a few of whom distinguished themselves as doctors, lawyers or ministers.⁵ By 1903, however, a staggering array of problems and a precipitous drop in enrollment seemed to augur a short, bleak future. But in the autumn of that year, the administration of Southland was taken in hand by Harry C. and Anna B. Wolford, a thirtyish couple, apparently Quaker, who would direct the destinies of the school for nearly twenty years. Under the Wolfords, Southland recovered its composure and restored its enrollment. During the first decade of the Wolford era, the student body grew from an all-time low of one hundred to over four hundred while per capita expenditure dropped dramatically.⁶ In the years that followed, enrollment continued to grow, reaching about five hundred in 1917, but these years also brought an alarming indebtedness fueled by war-time inflation. Indeed, in 1917, the Wolfords, citing insufficient financial support from Indiana Yearly Meeting as the cause, resigned from service at Southland. But the disastrous year that followed under inexperienced leadership seemed to illustrate effectively the Wolfords' indispensability. Their return in the fall of 1918 was shortly followed by the passing of responsibility for Southland from Indiana Yearly Meeting to the Home Missions Board of the Five Years Meeting of Friends, a body drawing upon the combined resources of nearly all Friends Yearly Meetings in America.⁷

Under the auspices of the Home Missions Board, Southland could expect more substantial financial support, but the corollary to such aid was a more vigorous, careful, and critical supervision from the North, a prospect apparently unwelcome to Harry Wolford and certainly fateful to the concluding chapter of Southland's history.

As soon as it took responsibility for Southland, the Board of Home Missions began planning an "expert survey" of the school "in the light of the needs of the Negro and Arkansas public school standards." Eventually, the promised survey was carried out by the chairman and secretary of the Board assisted by four men, all white, whose names loomed large in Southern Negro education: Jackson Davis, general field agent of the Rockefeller General Education Board (G.E.B.); T.J. Woofter, Jr., field agent for the Phelps-Stokes Fund; T.J. Presson, supervisor of Negro schools in Arkansas; and

L.M. Favrot, supervisor of rural schools in Louisiana. These distinguished visitors may seem to have represented a balance of public and private officials, but, in fact, both Presson and Favrot were employees of the Rockefeller Board, permitted by their respective states to overwatch black schools in cooperation with the supervisors of white education, but paid by the G.E.B.⁸ Given their knowledge of existing conditions in Negro public education and the improbability of substantial improvement, these men unanimously agreed "that there was no immediate hope for the state giving educational opportunities for Negro children anywhere equal even to Southland's. . . ."⁹ But they went on to say that Southland, in order to be of real service to the black community, had to raise its academic standards to those of public high schools, to develop further its Teacher Education Department and to increase its stress on industrial training, with "especial emphasis upon practical farming and principles of agriculture."¹⁰

In its report the Visitor's Committee was naturally complimentary to the Wolfords for all they had accomplished with so little monetary support. "The foundation which they have laid," the committee said, "will make possible the development of Southland Institute into a school which may exert a nation-wide influence."¹¹ But beneath such cliché-ridden phrases, the survey report carried the implication that Southland had slipped academically and that its industrial and agricultural training were not even close to the standards set by places like Tuskegee and Hampton, the inevitable models for comparison.

Far from being discouraged by negative aspects of the Visitor's Committee report, The Home Missions Board showed its determination to rehabilitate Southland's academic programs by offering an impressive list of new faculty appointments. The emphasis was on hiring young Quaker graduates of Earlham, such as the fresh-faced newly-weds, Lois and Wilbur Kamp, who began their life together at Southland in the fall of 1921. But the prize catch of that school year was John W. Moses, Southland's new director of agricultural studies, who seemed to have all the attributes of a rising black super-star—and A.B. from Oxford, a M.A. from Cornell, and two years special study and teaching at Tuskegee as well as proud, handsome face and sincere religious convictions.¹² So it seemed.

Moses was brought to Southland to turn the institute's badly neglected 167 acre farm into an educationally useful and

economically profitable operation. In the year that followed, his name constantly reappeared in the pages of *The American Friend* and other Quaker publications as a sort of black Renaissance Man who not only trained students and local farmers in advanced agricultural techniques but also taught "physiology, general science, geometry and Latin" when farm work was slack. Universally popular with Southland students, Moses was early on selected as commencement speaker by the class of 1922. He also wrote articles for *The American Friend*, such as one describing Southland as "the Quaker's living monument to his love of justice, fair play, progress and life." And when the school year ended, he even delivered a series of addresses to Ohio and Indiana Friends outlining the future needs of the school.¹³

Despite the enthusiastic response to Moses and the seeming progress of the Wolford administration in implementing the recommendations of the 1921 Visitor's Committee, there were warning signs of trouble beneath the surface. For one thing, members of the Home Missions Board seemed to feel more and more strongly that conditions in Phillips County, in Arkansas and throughout the South made it imperative that Southland "become more than a local school." Indeed, they saw Southland's role as helping to provide national "leadership for Negro Americans in this their day of big racial problems."¹⁴ During the spring and early summer of 1922, however, evidence seemed to be accumulating that, in spite of all the talk of new policies and directions, little or nothing had been done to shake Southland out of the doldrums. Some northern Friends, visiting Southland for the first time, were amazed at the lethargy and primitiveness of the place. One such visitor recounted in horror that Southland had "no bath tubs, no lavatories, no toilets, no, not even in the teachers quarters." Such shameful conditions, he said, were not a reflection upon those running the school, as they were "probably" doing their best with limited resources. But how, he asked, could students be taught "a better way of life" without "modern, sanitary conditions"? How indeed?¹⁵

To their credit, members of the missions board generally looked beyond the plumbing to what they saw as a lack of initiative and drive. This missing quality could be provided, they believed, by vigorous young white teachers who would make the most of "opportunities for expression of good will and racial cooperation" as well as supply the energy and efficiency needed to fulfill Southland's

long-range goals. One of those recruited to provide this sort of leadership for the 1922-1923 school year was twenty-five year old Francis Raymond Jenkins, son of an influential Indiana Quaker family and an Earlham graduate who just completed a year at Hampton Institute where he made a "special study of Negro education." With Jenkins as Southland's principal, the board announced, "the academic standards of the school will be gradually raised."¹⁶

When Raymond Jenkins arrived at Southland in the late summer of 1922, he brought with him, in addition to his wife Cecilia, the hard-headed youthful vigor of one determined to overcome every obstacle and the confidence that he had at hand the means to do so. This confidence arose, in part at least, from his experiences at Hampton and from assurances given by members of the Southland Committee of the Home Missions Board that he would have a free hand in his efforts to improve academic and other standards.¹⁷

Not surprisingly, Director Wolford and his wife did not see the Jenkin's arrival as a day of deliverance. Tensions were immediately apparent as the new principal wasted little time in passing out criticism in broad strokes and pronouncing Southland utterly unfit for the usual mid-September opening of classes. Certainly, Raymond Jenkins' negative evaluation of nearly every aspect of the school's operation, including the farming activities of that seeming paragon John W. Moses, quickly reached the ears of the Southland Committee, which had "met almost continually" during the summer of 1922. Finally, in late September, four members of the Southland Committee journeyed to Arkansas "charged with responsibility of making some important adjustments in the work and administration of the school."¹⁸

One of the first acts of the visiting delegation was to "release" John W. Moses from further service. Because the depositions subsequent report to the Home Missions Board has apparently been lost, the reasons for Moses' leaving are not precisely clear, but his firing probably resulted from Jenkins' criticism and seems to have been connected with some less than honest dealings.¹⁹ In any case, neither Moses' dismissal nor the visitor's efforts "to bring order out of emotional and mental chaos" ushered in a new reign of peace and goodwill to Southland's Quakerly confines. The delegates stayed longer than they had intended in attempting to smooth over the difficulties between the Wolfords and Jenkins, but they had "hardly

reached home when telegrams arrived to report more serious discord.”²⁰

A second delegation was duly dispatched with the result that “Harry and Anna Wolford withdrew from all official connection with Southland on October 8th” as they had not found it possible to appreciate the need for certain changes in policy agreed upon by the Home Missions Board and have experienced great difficulty during the past two years in carrying out plans for the larger development of the school.” The board believed that under new leadership Southland could become “the avenue of great service in the solution of one of the gravest domestic problems that ever faced any country;”²¹ and it placed the fulfillment of this objective in the youthful but eager hands of F. Raymond Jenkins. During the next three years, helmsman Jenkins steered Southland through a series of raging storms and treacherous shoals from which she emerged, battered though intact; not, alas, to take her place in the line of the great Negro educational institutions but rather to slip back into the obscure place from which she had set out, there to sink quietly and irrevocably into oblivion.

Raymond Jenkins had come to Southland with the clear resolve to effect fundamental changes, with or without Harry Wolford’s cooperation, but, certainly, he viewed Wolford’s dismissal with the utmost satisfaction. Jenkins had expected lax administration and low academic standards, but he was truly shocked to discover Wolford’s activities as land broker and money lender (“at high rates of interest”) to the Southland community and deeply upset by Wolford’s thinly veiled attempts to arouse community animosity against him and his supporters on the faculty.²² The crisis that finally led to Wolford’s dismissal was precipitated by demands from local blacks that both Jenkins and Walter Webb, his hand-picked replacement for the popular John W. Moses, resign from the Southland faculty. By removing Wolford instead, the Home Missions Board had, as one observer noted, given Jenkins “a clear field. . . (to do some real work in Arkansas: From all that I have heard of the schools of that state, there seems plenty of room for a lot of hard work.”²³

Jenkins first few letters to the board (he usually wrote at least twice weekly) seemed to indicate that his hard work had already begun to pay dividends. On 27 October he reported that the school was “going along very nicely” and that they were on the way to “a

much better year than it looked like for awhile.”²⁴ There was, of course, the seemingly perpetual shortage of funds for paying everything from grocery bills to faculty salaries, but the accumulating debits did not dampen Jenkins’ ardor for fulfilling the school’s mission to provide “a good Christian education” and, thus, “at least in a small measure, to help solve America’s Race Problem.”²⁵

To accomplish this mission, Jenkins believed that strong discipline was nearly as important as high scholastic standards. He quickly instituted a series of measures designed to tighten up the slack, go-as-you-may demeanor of the school. Visits to the community store were curtailed, chewing gum was removed from classroom and chapel and “face cards” were banished completely; ragtime music was prohibited on Sundays and “the music termed ‘Blues’ [was] to be left off entirely.”²⁶ In light of these earnest provisions, *The American Friend* reported growing community support, increasing enrollment and “splendid discipline.” A few days later this euphoric mood was interrupted when the entire student body, “led by a certain few”, boycotted breakfast to protest the menu.²⁷ Within a month, calm was positively shattered by a grim letter from Raymond Jenkins recounting a near “epidemic” of “immoral relations” which had occurred “off and on ever since the very beginning of school. . . .” Principal Jenkins was chagrined not only by the events but also by the realization that the “terrible lack of knowledge” of the students involved was partially the result of the faculty’s failure to impart the necessary warnings.²⁸ He added: “Our constructive work along these lines is in many cases opposed by heredity and environment, much being due to environment.” Jenkins attempted to strike back at this “moral looseness” by requiring physical examinations for older students and by instituting “frank talks” on sexual morality as well as pleading for a full-time matron in the girl’s dormitory where most of the illicit acts had occurred.²⁹ Thus, did Raymond Jenkins begin his rite of passage from the innocence of shining hopes to a more prosaic and at times distinctly unpleasant reality.

Difficulties with student behavior were not all that troubled Southland and its young principal. Even before the discovery of immorality on campus, parents, responding to vague but disturbing rumors, had begun to remove their children from the school. By late January 1923, approximately one-quarter of the student body (69 of 270)³⁰ had withdrawn. Mrs. Fannie Buford, for example, wanted her

Rosie back because "i do not like the way that they have [been] going around by them selfs [sic]. . . ."; and J.C. Bobo withdrew his daughters because his wife was "dissatisfied" with the school. Jenkins was understandably upset by such withdrawals since most were the result, as he told Mrs. Buford, of "stories regarding Southland which are not true."³¹ His consternation was increased by the fact that he believed he could identify the chief source of the slanders being heaped upon Southland and its administration. As he told a Board member in December: "It appears that Mr. Wolford or some one or perhaps several are still doing their best to wreck the school."³²

After his removal as director of Southland, Harry Wolford had moved into a Helena hotel, ostensibly to settle arrangements for his real estate and other interests in the area. The routine correspondence that passed between Wolford and Jenkins was correct if not amicable. But Jenkins' friends in the Southland community, mainly limited to the few remaining black Quaker families, reported on Wolford's visits to the community and his efforts to organize the people, many of whom had purchased land from him and remained in his debt, in a coalition against Jenkins' leadership. Thus, during the final years at Southland, Harry Wolford became a sort of *bete noire* or bogey man in Raymond Jenkins mind. And, indeed, events would reveal that Jenkins' preoccupation with Wolford's subversive activities was not entirely misplaced.³³

Jenkins' concerns about attempts to undermine his administration were exacerbated by a chronic monetary crisis. In nearly every one of the principal's frequent letters to the board, he cited some new unmet obligation. Despite the Home Missions Board's persistent pleas to Friends for donations as well as Jenkins' personal efforts to raise money from wealthy individuals,³⁴ Southland's monthly operating deficit continued to grow. Just after New Years 1923, for example, Jenkins told HMB Secretary Ruthanna Simms that he had been forced to advance faculty members twenty dollars each from his petty cash box so that they could have at least something for Christmas, as they had not been paid for November or December. "Regular salary payments," he noted with masterful understatement, "tend to make a contented faculty."³⁵

Regardless of such pleas, letters of late January 1923 reveal that the faculty had received only about half of what was due them and that the board had no resources to send other than fifty dollars from an emergency fund.³⁶ Payment to the faculty was only part of the

problem. Local merchants and other creditors were constantly pressing for their arrears. The local wholesale grocer, for instance, presented a two-month's bill for \$476.20 in early February and was less than enthusiastic when Jenkins responded with a check for \$89.70.³⁷

And, as if money woes and being "head over heels with work" were not enough, Raymond Jenkins had to cope with a series of personnel problems that reflected the difficult and primitive conditions in which Southland workers had to toil. Shortly after he had spent the last available funds to send seriously ill music teacher Nell Vore home for an operation, Jenkins telegraphed the board to report that another teacher, Mabel Martin, had suffered a nervous breakdown and that the visiting sister of a third teacher would have to undergo emergency surgery. All this transpired at a time when Southland could purchase no more food because the wholesale grocer was still unpaid.³⁸

Jenkins was permitted to float a short-term loan and eventually sufficient funds were found to keep Southland afloat. Very little of that money, however, came from the poor black folk who struggled to pay monthly tuition and board charges of fifteen or sixteen dollars per student.³⁹ The Southland Collection is dotted with letters from nearly illiterate parents asking for partial or complete respite from school bills. On the one hand, such missives are a pathetic revelation of confusion and poverty, but, on the other, they are touching and even inspiring reminders of the depths of sacrifice their authors were willing to make on behalf of their children. On 20 February 1923, for example, Mrs. Caroline Cooper wrote: "Hear is your money. I am sick and are in bead [sic] so hear [sic] is \$2.00 and owe you 14 cents moore [sic]Send me a reecat [sic]."⁴⁰ Generally speaking Southland carried delinquent accounts at least as long as those it could not itself pay, but Jenkins believed that patrons should make at least token contributions to the school's maintenance. Thus, he would occasionally notify parents that "unless some move is made to settle this account. . . we shall have to ask your children to stop school. . . ." His action in this regard did not endear him to some in the community who remembered Harry Wolford's tendency to ignore the unpaid bills of black families that lived in the neighborhood.⁴¹

Even amidst these trials and tribulations, Raymond Jenkins' buoyant personality constantly came to the fore. In late March he told a correspondent that "the community is coming around slowly. .

. . Mr. Freeland and Mrs. Busby (black Quakers) feel that things are in a very good shape.”⁴² One encouraging sign of local support was a pledge from Southland’s most distinguished local alumnus, Anna Paschal Strong, principal of a black high school in nearby Marianna, to head-up a fund-raising campaign among Southland alumni, especially those living in northern cities such as Chicago and Detroit.⁴³ By early May, regardless of an unpaid grocery bill for \$538.52 still sitting on his desk, principal Jenkins told the faculty that “in spite of a bad beginning, the school has made very definite strides. . . . All look forward to an even better year next fall.”⁴⁴

Within a week of Jenkins’ hopeful assessment of Southland’s condition, a petition signed by one hundred members of the Southland community was sent to the Home Missions Board at Richmond, noting that under Raymond Jenkins’ leadership, the school’s operation had been “the most unsatisfactory in many years” and requesting “that the management be changed and that Mr. and Mrs. H.C. Wolford be re-employed as managing heads of the institution.”⁴⁵ If this petition, apparently representing a broad consensus of local opinion, were not sufficient to belie Jenkins’ optimistic view of the situation, he himself was forced to report on still another shocking incident that would bring the school year to a distressing and dismal conclusion.

On 23 May 1923, a few days after the end of the school year, Raymond Jenkins felt obliged to disclose some “unpleasant facts” concerning the conduct of one black faculty member, Mr. J.C. Penn. Penn, a Wilberforce graduate, had once been described by the *American Friend* as “a bright, capable young man” whose “good influence in the (boys) dormitory was not lacking.”⁴⁶ Now it seemed that Penn had had considerable influence in the girls’ dormitory as well. From the tear-filled testimony of Catherine Penney, a strikingly attractive but “sassay” mulatto student of sixteen or seventeen, Jenkins learned that Penn had “been having immoral relations” with her since early in the school year when “he finally overpowered her and committed the deed.”⁴⁷ All this was revealed a few days after Penn had left for the summer. Jenkins was deeply moved by Catherine Penney’s story — “Poor girl she was broken-hearted. . . . She tried so hard to keep away from him” — but he refrained from taking any action against Penn, beyond vowing that he would never return to Southland, until he had personally consulted with the Home Missions Board in Indiana.⁴⁸

In this instance, Jenkins' reluctance to bring charges or otherwise confront Joseph Penn probably saved himself, the school, and the Board even more embarrassment and trauma. After Jenkins left for the North, Catherine Penney's subsequent behavior seemed to belie her image as a violated innocent. An outraged acting principal reported to Jenkins that Catherine had not only twice slipped away with boys for most of the night but had also told "all kind of stories in the community" and finally, was discovered to have carried on a steady and romantic correspondence with J.C. Penn even while she testified against him.⁴⁹

For Southland Institute the Catherine Penney-Joseph Penn affair ended without long-range repercussion other than Catherine's dismissal from school and Penn's taking other employment.⁵⁰ On the other hand, Raymond Jenkins emerged from the incident a sadder but wiser man considerably less sure about whom he could trust.⁵¹ Indeed, one of his decisions over the summer was to return the contract of a long-time black teacher Marylee Moore, whom he suspected of disloyalty because of pro-Wolford sentiments. As he told the secretary of the Home Missions Board, "under the present circumstances it would be most unfortunate to have Miss Moore anywhere on the place."⁵²

From the summer of 1923 Southland limped along for another two years with her fate constantly in doubt. There were times of severe depression as when, amidst a siege of bitter cold, the central heating boiler, the electric light plant, and the water supply system broke down almost simultaneously.⁵³ But there were also moments of great elation as when the General Education Board voted to provide a \$20,000 matching grant for the refurbishing of the schools' rapidly crumbling physical plant. Unfortunately, such elation seldom lasted very long for, in the end, something always went awry, as when it was revealed that the GEB matching funds could only be given *after* Southland was entirely free of nearly \$10,000 in debts. The Quakers, of course, were barely able to pay off their creditors, let alone raise matching funds.⁵⁴

Through all of this Raymond Jenkins remained undaunted, throwing himself into his work, apparently believing that somehow things would work out. As GEB field agent Leo M. Favrot told Ruthanna Simms of the Home Missions Board:

His whole soul is wrapped up in trying to improve the

school. . . He is genuine, sincere, full of energy. . . and except for. . . [his] faith, buoyancy, and determination. . . I should be inclined to advise that it be left to die. With Raymond Jenkins in charge, however, I believe it can be revived. . . .⁵⁵

All of Jenkins' virtues, however, whether as principal or as full-time fund raiser in the North (a task he undertook during 1924-25), were finally insufficient to save the school. But though each of his designs for Southland were ultimately frustrated, there were some compensations. For example, he had the satisfaction of learning that his suspicions about John W. Moses in 1922 were fully warranted and that his accusations against Harry Wolford were not simply paranoid fantasies.

During the summer of 1924, in correspondence with Charlotte Hawkins Brown-Moses, Principal of The Palmer Memorial Institute, a black school in Sedalia, North Carolina, the Home Mission Board learned not only that John W. Moses' alleged degrees from Oxford and Cornell were fraudulent but that he was also, in the words of his bilked and abandoned wife, "a fraud and a swindler" whose "friendship for Mrs. Wolford. . . [was] of a criminal nature" and who had inflicted "one of the greatest frauds ever perpetuated upon my race." Finally, the distraught Mrs. Brown-Moses enclosed a letter which revealed that John W. Moses had been plotting with Harry Wolford "to *keep away* students, *keep away* donations, and to *irritate Jenkins* and the Board by criticizing [sic] the *management* and Board. . . ."⁵⁶

After Raymond Jenkins left Southland in October 1924 on his last desperate mission to save the school, the faculty and students who remained carried on, seemingly unmindful of its threatened demise. But on Christmas Day 1925 an incident occurred that served as a grim reminder that financial and physical deterioration were not all that militated against a reasonable education for blacks in the Arkansas Delta.

On Christmas afternoon, a black faculty member Joseph Moses (no relation to the departed John W.) was driving a group of students to a free movie in Helena when he collided with a car driven by a white woman. No one was injured and the damages were not extensive. Two young women in the other automobile, however, began verbally assaulting Moses and then threatening him with a tire iron. Finally, they snatched the keys out of the school's truck and

called the sheriff who, in Moses' brief absence, drove the vehicle back to the county courthouse and, after Moses followed, ordered his deputy to "lock the nigger up." When acting principal Willard Reynolds attempted to intervene, he was informed that Moses would be let out only after the posting of a sizeable property bond, even though there had been no formal investigation to establish fault for the accident. After Reynolds had secured his colleague's release, he was advised not to contest the case as "the evidence would probably go against Moses," especially since he was black and his adversary was a white woman. The idea of racially assumed guilt was troublesome enough to an Iowa Quaker, but what really upset Reynolds was the conduct of the thoroughly respectable young lady in the other car whom he described to Raymond Jenkins as a

type of rabid [sic] nigger hater such as I scarcely supposed existed. She seemed to resent the "nigger's impudence" much more than the damage to the car. She told us she ought to have killed him and would if she had had a gun. "I would not think any more of killing a nigger than a dog" she said.⁵⁷

Of course, white racism was not really a factor in the closing down of Southland Institute; it was simply a fact of life. But for some black people, the closing of even so humble a place as Southland deprived their race of yet another tool that might in a small way help a few young men and women cope more effectively with life in a racist society. As one Southland alumnus said on hearing that the school was to be shut down: "The shock to me was equally as great[sic] as the Elaine riot. . . . Lelain cried[sic] all night. Will you kindly advise me what the trouble is?. . . . I thought. . . the storms had passed."⁵⁸

When Raymond Jenkins returned to Southland in late March 1925, it was not to bear away the storm clouds, but, quietly and irrevocably, to lay the struggle down. "For me personally," he recalled,

one of the hardest times was at supper. . .
when the students in the other dining-room
broke out with the Southland song. . . .
Dear old Southland, our dear old Southland
Dear old Southland, we're all for you.
We will fight for the white and yellow,
For the glory of old S.I.

Never daunted, we cannot falter
In the battle, we're tried and true,
Dear old Southland, our dear old Southland
Dear old Southland, we're all for you.⁵⁹

Six months later, long after the strains of that song had faded along with the strife and quarrels and rancor that had troubled some of Southland's final days, one of the Quaker caretakers, looking after the school property until it could be sold, wrote back to Indiana:

We are pretty much alone down here. . . . There is a certain restfulness about it, for we are far from annoying controversy and high-pitched argument. . . . One is led to think that, though controversy is perhaps justifiable at times, it robs us of the prayerful, unselfish interest we would do well to have in each other. . . .⁶⁰

Prayerful, unselfish interest is, of course, a rarer commodity than controversy even among Quakers, but at Southland some of these gentle Friends sustained such interest long enough to keep the school alive for sixty years and to permit us to see, even its sometimes angry and distressful death throes, a not ignoble story.

¹"College" was dropped in 1916 because it was "really a misnomer". *Minutes of the Indiana Yearly Meeting*, 1916, p. 38 (hereafter *Minutes*, with year) and *Minutes of the Five Years Meeting*, 1917, p. 75.

²See Ruthanna M. Simms (RMS) to FRJ, 3 June 1924, SP which set the date of Southland's founding as 14 April 1864; other sources give the date as 19 April, see handwritten manuscript "History of Southland College Near Helena, Arkansas", pp. 10-11, Earlham College Quaker Collection, Richmond, Indiana.

³As late as 1919 only five high schools in all of Arkansas would admit black students; see *Second Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1922, p. 21.

⁴For example, Frank Roden moved his family from near Huntsville, Alabama, to Southland in the early twentieth century and his descendants still live in the house he built about one half mile from the school. Interview with Emma Roden Young, 18 February 1982. Also see, Kennedy, "Southland College", 227.

⁵See *Minutes* 1902, p. 50. Also see Edward Bellis to *The American Friend* (AF), 6 March 1902, 227.

⁶See *Minutes*, 1914, pp. 33-34. Also see Edward Bellis, "Southland College", AF, 17 April 1913, 247-49 and H.C. Wolford to *ibid.*, 31 December 1914, 845.

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⁷*Minutes*, 1919, pp. 24-26, 38 and 1920, p. 23.

⁸See *AF*, 3 June 1920, 529-30 and 17 Feb. 1921, 135 and Ruthanna M. Simms (?) to Willard Reynolds (copy), n.d. (March-April 1924), S.P.

⁹See Ruthanna M. Simms, "Four Days At Southland Institute", *AF*, 165-66.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 165.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²For stories on and pictures of John W. Moses and the Kamps, see *ibid.*, 4 Aug. 1921, 625 and 3 Nov. 1921, 882-83.

¹³John W. Moses' articles include, "Christian Work at Southland Institute", *ibid.*, 883; "Thanksgiving at Southland", 8 Dec. 1921, 999; and "Our Southland", 9 March 1922, 187-198-99. Also see Anna B. Wolford, "Southland and the Farm Home", *ibid.*, 12 Jan. 1922, 39 and *Second Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1922, pp. 16-17.

¹⁴*AF*, 2 Feb. 1922, 95 and 1 June 1922, 439.

¹⁵"Are Other Pastures Greener?", *ibid.*, 20 July 1922, 578. The article was unsigned but evidence indicates that it was written by Atwood L. Jenkins, a Richmond insurance man whose son, F. Raymond Jenkins, would play a key role in Southland's last period.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 1 June 1922, 439 and *Second Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1922, p. 20.

¹⁷Interview with F. Raymond Jenkins, 9 June 1981, Richmond, Indiana and FRJ to Warren K. Blodgett (Hampton Institute), 27 Oct. 1922, SP.

¹⁸*Second Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1922, pp. 18-19; *Third Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1923, pp. 24-25; and Elizabeth H. Emerson, *Walter C. Woodward: Friend on the Frontier. A Biography* (Richmond, 1952), pp. 155-56. The Delegation included Woodward, General Secretary of the Five Years Meeting; Harlow Lindley, a Professor at Earlham College; Charles A. Reeve, an Indianapolis ice cream manufacturer; and J. Willis Beede, a Richmond Friend.

¹⁹*AF*, 2 Nov. 1922, 891 and Walter C. Woodward to Charlotte Hawkins Brown, 6 Sept. 1924, SP.

²⁰FRJ to Warren K. Blodgett, 27 Oct. 1922, *ibid.* and Emerson, *Walter C. Woodward*, p. 156. Emerson briefly summarized the delegations' nineteen page report to the Home Missions Board, but this document is not among the Walter C. Woodward Papers at Earlham College nor is it listed among the microfilmed reports to the H.M.B. For the Quaker reading public, Woodward wrote an article entitled "Down Among the Cotton and the Pickaninnies: A Visit to Southland", *AF*, 2 Nov. 1922, pp. 876-79. Also see, "An Important Crisis Placed at Southland", *ibid.*, 879.

²¹*Ibid.*; "Down Among", *ibid.*, 878-79; and *Third Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1923, pp. 24-25.

²²Interview with F. Raymond Jenkins, 9 June 1985 and FRJ to Warren K. Blodgett, 27 Oct. 1922, SP.

²³E.D. Proachran to FRJ, 7 Nov. 1922, and Helen Hilt to FRJ, 9 Nov. 1922, *ibid.*

²⁴FRJ to Prof. Harlow Lindley, 27 Oct. 1922, and FRJ to Ruthanna M. Simms (RMS), 18 Oct. 1922, *ibid.*

²⁵FRJ to Moses Votaw, 13 Feb. 1923, *ibid.*

²⁶*Minutes of Weekly Staff Meeting*, Southland Institute, 23 October, 30 October

and 6 Nov. 1922 and 26 Feb. 1923.

²⁷“An Important Crisis”, *AF*, 2 Nov. 1922, 891 and *Minutes of Staff Meeting*, 13 Nov. 1922.

²⁸FRJ to Prof. Harlow Lindley, 4 Dec. 1922, *SP*. Also see FRJ to Mrs. S.H. Bennet and to Mr. Robert Darwin, 5 Dec. 1922, *ibid.* informing parents that “Southland Institute cannot have boys and girls. . . who commit such actions,” but allowing the guilty parties one more chance because “we had not done our part in warning the

²⁹FRJ to Harlow Lindley, 4 Dec. 1922, *ibid.* and *Third Annual Reports of Board of Home Missions*, 1923, pp. 28.

³⁰Minutes, Southland Staff Meeting, 29 Jan. 1923, *SP*.

³¹Mrs. Fannie Buford to FRJ, 29 Oct. 1922; J.C. Bobo to FRJ, 23 Nov. 1922; Mrs. Lena Adam to FRJ, 15 Nov. 1922; FRJ to Mrs. Buford, 1 Nov. 1922; and to Mr. Bobo, 23 Nov. 1922, *ibid.*

³²FRJ to Harlow Lindley, 12 Dec. 1922, *ibid.*

³³*Ibid.* Also see below. p.

³⁴See, for example, FRJ to RMS, 21 Nov. 1922 and to Harlow Lindley, 20 Dec. 1922, *ibid.* Also see FRJ to Mary M. Crossand, 8 Dec. 1922, *ibid.*

³⁵FRJ to RMS, 8 Jan. 1923, *ibid.*

³⁶FRJ to RMS, 25 Jan. and 3 Feb. 1923 and RMS to FRJ, 29 Jan. 1923, *ibid.*

³⁷Wellford White to Southland, 9 Feb. 1923 and FRJ to Wellford White, 21 and 23 Feb. 1923, *ibid.*

³⁸FRJ to RMS, 8 Jan. 1923; RMS to FRJ, 29 Jan. 1923; and FRJ to Harlow Lindley (telegram), 23 Feb. 1923, *ibid.*

³⁹A summary of current tuition and board fees is given in FRJ to RMS, 25 Jan. 1923, *ibid.*

⁴⁰Caroline Cooper to FRJ, 20 Feb. 1923. Also see Will Edwards to Mr. Gankis (sic), 31 March 1923; John L. Culp to FRJ, 18 March 1923; and Samuel Baldwin to FRJ, 4 June 1923, *ibid.*

⁴¹FRJ to C.C. Burchett, 23 Feb. 1923, *ibid.*

⁴²FRJ to Ann E. Colby, 29 March 1923, *ibid.* Also see FRJ to RMS, n.d. (March 1923), *ibid.*

⁴³FRJ to Anna Strong, 8 March 1923 and A.M.P. Strong to FRJ, 26 March 1923, *ibid.* Also see RMS to FRJ, 21 May 1923, *ibid.*

⁴⁴Southland Staff Meeting, 7 May 1923 and Wellford White to Southland, 10 May 1923 asking for payment of March and April bills, *ibid.* Also see *Third Annual Report of Board of Home Missions*, 1923, pp. 25-26.

⁴⁵Petition to the Home Mission Board of Five years Maturing of Funds (?), 15 May 1923, *ibid.*

⁴⁶FRJ to Florence Jamison, 23 May 1923, *ibid.* and RMS, “Four Days at Southland”, 3 March 1921, 165-66.

⁴⁷FRJ to Florence Jamison, 23 May 1923, *ibid.* There is a picture of Catherine Penney in the Southland Collection at Fayetteville.

⁴⁸*Ibid.* Also see Jesse Overman to Leigh Barrett, 16 July 1923, *ibid.* in which Overman notes that Penn and Walter Webb “had a scrap” though he does not indicate if it was over Catherine Penney.

⁴⁹Leigh Barrett to Mrs. Minnie D. Wells, 26 July 1923, and FRJ to Florence Jamison, 28 July 1923, *ibid.*

⁵⁰During the next winter, however, Jenkins told Ruthanna Simms that the boy who had impregnated a girl who had to leave school told him "that if Penn. . . could get by with it that he guesses he could", 9 Feb. 1924, *ibid.*

⁵¹Interview with Raymond Jenkins, 9 June 1981.

⁵²See correspondence between FRJ and Marylee Moore, June-Aug. 1923, SP. Also see FRJ to RMS, 13 Aug. 1923, *ibid.*

⁵³FRJ to RMS, 14 and 23 Jan. 1923, *ibid.* and "If Winter Comes to Southland", *AF*, 24 Jan. 1924, 72. Also see Ruthanna M. Simms, "Where Cold Figures Talk: A Translation of Home Mission Fiances", *ibid.*, 29 Nov. 1923, 944.

⁵⁴"Present Situation at Southland", *ibid.*, 11 Sept. 1924, 733.

⁵⁵Leo M. Favrot to RMS, 13 May 1924, S.P.

⁵⁶Charlotte Hawkins Brown to Principal of Southland Institute, 25 July 1924; FRJ to Mrs. C. Hawkins Brown-Moses, 5 Aug. 1924; Charlotte Hawkins Brown to Walter C. Woodward, 15 Aug. and 6 Sept. 1924; Walter C. Woodward to Charlotte Hawkins Brown, 6 Sept. 1924. Mrs. Brown-Moses enclosed a copy of a letter from Harry Wolford to John W. Moses, 25 March 1924, *ibid.*

⁵⁷L. Willard Reynolds to FRJ, 31 Dec. 1924 and FRJ to Reynolds, 13 Jan. 1925, *ibid.*

⁵⁸B.W. Knox to president (Southland), 2 April 1925, *ibid.*

⁵⁹"Telling The Students", *A.F.*, 9 April 1925, 278.

⁶⁰Lester Perisho to *ibid.*, 26 Nov. 1925, 816.

A QUAKER HILL FAMILY

DESCENDANTS OF SAMUEL HILL AND HIS SON WILLIAM HILL OF ENGLAND, VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA

by

James E. Bellarts

1 Samuel Hill, b. ca 1630, England, was Treasurer for Oliver Cromwell's government. When King Charles II resumed the throne Samuel Hill wrote in his diary "I find the climate in England very unwholesome, so I am going to seek a change of climate". Having wearied of fighting he joined the Society of Friends and came to Virginia, and then to Perquimans County, North Carolina, where he is recorded as having served six months imprisonment for refusing to bear arms (1680-05mo-04). Also listed as being so imprisoned were William Bundy, John Pierce, Jonathan Phelps and James Hogg (Ref: History of Perquimans County, North Carolina" by Winslow, and "Sam Hill, the Prince of Castle Nowhere" by John Tuhy). His son:

1-1 William Hill, b. ca 1655, England, m. Mary Spivey. Was also persecuted for his religious beliefs, and came, possibly with his father, to Virginia and then migrated to the eastern shore of North Carolina, along the Pimlico Sound in Perquimans County. His son:

1-1-1 William Hill, Jr., b. ca 1680, Perquimans Co., N.C., (another William Hill, Jr., b. 1736-12mo-02 is often confused with this William, Jr. The two could not be the same person in view of the verified dates of this William's son Aaron Hill's activities, below) migrated to Randolph Co., N.C., where he settled along the Uwharrie River near what is now the site of the Old Hill's Store Post Office. His descendants still operated the Store and Post Office in 1885

(Ref: "Hill's Store Post Office 1823-1907". His son:

1-1-1-1 Aaron Hill, b. ca 1700, d. 1761-10mo-30, Pasquotank Co., N.C., m(1) Friends Meeting House, Prince George County, Virginia (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 180), where he came from Pasquotank Co., N.C. 1726-12mo-10, Margaret Chapell, d. 1742-05mo-01, Pasquotank Co., N.C., dau. of Thomas Chapell of Prince George Co. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. VI, p. 162, which also lists her siblings). He was in Perquimans Co., N.C., 1735-12mo-05 when Friends were appointed to inquire into his life and conversion, and that of his father William Hill, Jr. Aaron Hill m(2) 1745-12mo-02, Pasquotank Co., N.C., Miriam Overman, b. 1727-10mo-13, Pasquotank Co., N.C., d. 1787-02mo-12, Pasquotank Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 142), dau. of Thomas and Miriam (-) Overman (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 112, which also lists her siblings). Miriam (Overman) Hill m(2) 1766-10mo-19, Pasquotank Co., N.C., Joseph Morris (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 143). The children of Aaron Hill by his first wife Margaret Chapell (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 10), all b. Pasquotank Co., N.C.:

1-1-1-1-1 Huldah Hill, b. 1737-10mo-18 (below).

1-1-1-1-2 William Hill, b. 1740-01mo-31 (page 2).

The children of Aaron Hill by his second wife, Miriam Overman (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 100):

1-1-1-1-3 Mary Hill, b. 1746-12mo-16 (page 11).

1-1-1-1-4 Moses Hill, b. 1748-09-16, d. 1760-11mo-22.

1-1-1-1-5 Aaron Hill, Jr., b. 1752-05mo-04 (page 11).

1-1-1-1-6 Miriam Hill, b. 1754-03mo-13, d. 1787-02mo-12

(Ref: D.H. Hill records).

1-1-1-1-7 Jacob Hill, b. 1756-02mo-06.

1-1-1-1-8 Jesse Hill, b. 1758-04mo-05 (page 12).

1-1-1-1-9 Thomas Hill, b. 1760-03mo-07 (page 13).

1-1-1-1-1 Huldah Hill (above), b. 1737-10mo-18, Pasquotank Co., N.C., m. 1763-04mo-07, Center MM, Guilford Co., N.C., Samuel Bundy (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 132, 142, 169, 650). Their children:

1-1 Mary Bundy, b. 1763-12mo-01, m. John Albertson.

1-2 Miriam Bundy, b. 1766-01mo-11.

1-3 Margaret Bundy, b. 1777-03mo-04.

1-5 Sarah Bundy, b. 1780-09mo-01.

1-1-1-1-2 William Hill (page 1), bo. 1740-01mo-31, Pasquotank

Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 53, 101, 655, 679), m. 1762-11mo-10, Center MM, Guilford Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 74, 689), Mary Smith, d. 1815-09mo-15 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 701)., dau. of John Smith of Perquimans Co., N.C. Their children (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 655):

2-1 Margaret Hill, b. 1763s-09mo-09, Guilford Co., N.C.; m. 1782-10mo-02, Center MM, Guilford Co., N.C., Christopher Bundy, son of Gideon Bundy who d. 1762-02mo-17, Pasquotank Co., N.C., and Mary (Bogue) Bundy who d. 1762-03mo-14, Pasquotank Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 95).

2-2 John Hill, b. 1765-06mo-18, d. 1782-10mo-17, Guilford Co., N.C.

2-3 Joseph Hill, b. 1767-11mo-27, Guilford Co., N.C., bur. 1858-03mo-16, Bloomington, Parke Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, p. 213), m(1) 1792-02mo-09, Cane Creek MM, Orange Co., N.C., Ann Clark (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 213), b. 1767-10mo-27, Fairfax MM, Loudon County, Va., d. 1819-02mo-09, Cane Creek MM, Orange Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 353, 482), dau. of Jonathan and Ann (-) Clark. Joseph Hill m(2) 1821-05mo-09, Cane Creek MM, Orange Co., N.C., Ann Vestal, b. 1778-11mo-12, Chatham Co., N.C., d. 1845-11mo-22, Bloomington, Parke Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, p. 213), dau. of David Vestal, son of William and Elizabeth (-) Vestal; and Sarah Chamness, dau. of Anthony and Sarah (-) Chamness (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 366, 395, 426; Heiss, Vol. 5, p. 213; TQY, p. 82). Joseph and Ann (Vestal) Hill were received 1831-11mo-09 at Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind. together with their son Daniel and their daughter Rebecca (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, p. 247). The children of Joseph and Ann (Clark) Hill (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 353, 395, 701):

2-3-1 Mary Hill, b. 1792-10mo-27, Randolph Co., N.C.; m. William Hornaday (Ref: D.W. Hill records). Their children:

2-3-1-1 Rebecca Hornaday, b. 1835-10mo-15, Samuel Atkinson, b. 1812-05mo-09, son of John and Mary (Woody) Atkinson (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 346, 372, 399).

2-3-1-2 Sarah Hornaday, b. 1813-11mo-13, d. 1844-02mo-06; m. 1837-02mo-16, Cane Creek MM, Orange Co., N.C., Nathaniel Woody, b. 1814-10mo-01, Cane Creek, Orange Co., N.C., son of Samuel Woody, son of James and Mary (Laughlin) Woody; and Eleanor Hadley, dau. of Joseph and Mary (-) Hadley (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 399, 430, 441, 446, 455). Their children:

2-3-1-2-1 Mary Ann Woody, b. 1837-12mo-10.

2-3-1-2-2 William N. Woody, b. 1839-05mo-01.

2-3-1-2-3 John W. Woody, b. 1841-03mo-17.

Nathaniel Woody m(2) 1858-04mo-28, Center MM, Guilford Co., N.C., Margaret Cox, b. 1829-10mo-16, d. 1888-12mo-04, dau. of Enoch and Mary (-) Cox (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 441, 455, 692).

Their children:

2-3-1-2-4 Sarah J. Woody, b. 1859-01mo-27.

2-3-1-2-5 Samuel E. Woody, b. 1860-06mo-26.

2-3-1-2-6 Catherine E. Woody, b. 1862-08mo-25.

2-3-1-2-7 Rachel H. Woody, b. 1865-02mo-05.

2-3-12-8 Amy E. Woody, b. 1867-04mo-01.

2-3-1-2-9 Martha J. Woody, b. 1867-03mo-02.

2-3-2 Sarah Hill, b. 1794-08mo-15, d. 1794-08mo-18, Orange Co., N.C.

2-3-3 Rebecca Hill, b. 1795-09mo-16, Randolph Co., N.C., m. as his second wife, 1834-03mo-12, Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind., Joseph Hadley, b. 1784-07mo-04, Chatham Co., N.C. «he m(1) 1807-04mo-08. Spring MM, Orange Co., N.C., Susanna Woody, b. 1788-12mo-05, d. 1827-05mo-06, bur. Lick Creek MM, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind., dau. of James and Mary (Laughlin) Woody». The children of Joseph and Rebecca (Hill) Hadley (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, p. 211):

2-3-3-1 Infant, b. 1835-01mo-07, d. same day.

2-3-3-2 Susannah Hadley, b. 1838-02mo-06.

2-3-4 William Hill, b. 1797-09mo-19, Randolph Co., N.C., d. 1875-01mo-28, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind.; m. 1820-08mo-09, Cane Creek MM, Orange, Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 395), Ashsah Vestal, b. 1801-06mo-01, bur. 1885-08mo-07, Bloomington, Parke Co., Ind., dau. of Benjamin and Ruth (Newlin) Vestal. Their children (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 6, p. 159):

Newton Clark Hill, b. 1821-05-15, N.C., disowned 1852-06mo-09 by Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind., for misconduct (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, p. 247).

2-3-4-2 Julia Ann Hill, b. 1823-02mo-20, Orange County, N.C.; m. 1843-03mo-18, Poplar Grove MH, Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind., Jonathan Maris, b. 1823-05mo-08, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind., son of Aaron and Mary (-) Maris (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, pp. 154, 219, 221, 247).

2-3-4-3 Anna Hill, b. 1825-08mo-15, Orange Co., N.C.; m.

1845-08mo-14, Poplar Grove MH, Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind., Laban Rubottom, b. 1825-06mo-12, N.C., d. 1870-06mo-16, bur. Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind., son of Thomas and Edith (Dixon) Rubottom. Anna Hill and family went to Vermillion MM, Illinois in 1871 after the death of her husband (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, pp. 228, 247, 262).

2-3-4-4 Sarah Hill, b. 1828-01mo-21, Orange Co., N.C.; m. as his second wife, 1853-01mo-12, Bloomfield MM, Parke Co., Ind., William C. Morris of Vermillion MM, Ill. b. 1822-12mo-16, N.C., son of William and Piercy (-) Morris. He m(1) Greenfield MM, Ind., Susannah Lewis, b. 1825-12mo-16, d. ca 1851, Ill. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, pp. 222, 247).

2-3-4-5 Alfred Hadley Hill, b. 1830-03mo-28 (1830-05mo-28?); m(2) 1852-10mo-08, Pilot Grove MH, Vermillion MM, Ill., Mary Lewis, b. 1832-04mo-26, Vermillion Co., Ill., dau. of Thomas and Anna (-) Lewis. Their children, all b. Vermillion Co., Ill:

2-3-4-5-1 Sylvester Hill, b. 1854-03mo-03, d. 1854-10mo-24.

2-3-4-5-2 John Henry Hill, b. 1856-02mo-21.

2-3-4-5-3 William Egbert Hill, b. 1858-02mo-21.

2-3-4-5-4 Charles Hill.

Alfred Hadley Hill, his wife and minor children were granted certificate to Greenwood MM, Iowa 1868-05mo-02 (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, pp. 247, 417, 419, 441).

2-3-4-6 Benjamin Franklin Hill, b. 1832-09-15, Orange Co., N.C., bur. (sic) 1812, age 78 yrs 4 mos 14 days; m. Ellen Hadley, b. 1846-12mo-08, dau. of Sidney Hadley and his first wife Sara (-).

2-3-4-7 Jane Hill, b. 1836-02mo-26, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind.; m. 1853-02mo-16, Bloomfield MH, Parke Co., Ind., Henry Lewis, b. 1830-04mo-12, Vermillion Co., Ill., son of Thomas and Anna (-) Lewis (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, pp. 247, 252, 446). To South River MM, Iowa 1862-04mo-16. Their children, all b. Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, p. 252):

2-3-4-7-1 Almira Lewis.

2-3-4-7-2 Thomas Lewis.

2-3-4-7-3 Sylvanus Lewis.

2-3-4-7-4 William Edwin Lewis.

2-3-4-8 John Milton Hill, b. 1838-06mo-06, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind. m. contrary to discipline, 1864-06mo-05, Bloomington, Parke Co., Ind., Mary E. Woodward, b. 1840-10mo-14,

Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind., dau. of Thomas and Sarah (--) Woodward. They apparently made apology, and were forgiven, since John Milton Hill, his wife and family were granted certificate 1881-11mo-16 to Springfield MM, Kansas; returned to Bloomfield on certificate from Hesper MM, Kansas dtd 1889-03mo-13; and were granted certificate from Bloomfield to Adrian MM, Michigan dated 1891-05mo-13. Their children, all b. Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, pp. 213, 247):

2-3-4-8-1 Alice Hill, b. 1864-08mo-16, d. 1865-09mo-29.

2-3-4-8-2 Lydia F. Hill, b. 1868-01mo-12.

2-3-4-8-3 George Goldsmith Hill, b. 1871-03mo-19.

2-3-4-8-4 Warner Franklin Hill, b. 1873-11mo-18.

2-3-4-8-5 Robert Barclay Hill, b. 1876-01mo-10, d. 1877-05mo-03.

2-3-4-8-6 Wilfred Roy Hill, b. 1878-07mo-30.

2-3-4-8-7 Walter H. Hill.

2-3-4-8-8 Charles D. Hill.

2-3-4-9 Nathan V. Hill b. 1842-04mo-27, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind., bur. 1871-06mo-14, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind.; m. 1863-03mo-25, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind., Eliza A. Canaday, b. 1843-02mo-05, bur. 1882-01mo-08, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind., dau. of Herman and Charity (--) Canaday. Their children, all b. Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind:

2-3-4-9-1 Laura Hill, b. 1864-03mo-14.

2-3-4-9-2 William Hill, b. 1865-05mo-03.

2-3-4-9-3 Herman Hill, a twin, b. 1866-08mo-12.

2-3-4-9-4 Henry Hill, a twin, b. 1866-08mo-12.

2-3-4-9-5 Gilbert Hill, b. 1869-06mo-29.

2-3-4-9-5 Nathan V. Hill, Jr., b. 1871-07mo-12.

2-3-4-10 Mary Hill, b. 1845-03mo-29, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind.; m. contrary to discipline 1866-04mo-18, Bloomfield, Parke Co., Ind, (--) Allen (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, pp. 213, 247).

2-3-5 Ann Hill, b. 1799-11mo-13, Randolph Co., N.C.; m. 1824-01mo-07, Cane Creek MM, Orange Co., N.C., Temple Uthank, son of Joseph and Rebecca (--) Uthank of Wayne County, Indiana (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 395, 425). Their son (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 425):

2-3-5-1 John Uthank.

2-3-6 John Hill, b. 1802-03mo-20, Randolph Co., N.C., disowned 1823-11mo-01 by Cane Creek MM, Orange Co., N.C. for

marriage out of unity (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 395).

2-3-7 Clark Hill, b. 1804-02mo-04, Randolph Co., N.C., disowned 1827-02mo-03 by Cane Creek MM, Orange Co., N.C., for marriage out of unity to Rebecca Hornaday who was disowned 1828-07mo-05 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 395).

2-3-8 Samuel Hill, b. 1806-02mo-22, Orange Co., N.C., disowned 1828-10mo-03 by Cane Creek MM, Orange County, N.C., for marriage out of unity (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 395).

2-3-9 Daniel Hill, b. 1809-07mo-28, Orange Co., N.C.. To Parke Co., Ind., 1832-12mo-05, and to Vermillion Co., Ill. 1833-06mo-08. Disowned for marriage contrary to discipline (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 5, pp. 247, 441). The children of Joseph Hill and his second wife Ann Vestal:

2-3-10 Daniel Hill.

2-3-11 Rebecca Hill.

2-4 Benjamin Hill, b. 17770-06mo-22, Guilford Co., N.C., d. 1829 (Ref: D.H. Hill records); m(1) 1794-01mo-08, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Sarah Pearson, b. 1775-01mo-06, Randolph Co., N.C., d. 1794-12mo-01, dau. of Nathan and Rebekah (-) Pearson of Symons Creek (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 704, 719, 730); m(2) 1796-05mo-18, New Garden MM, Guilford Co., N.C., Mary Jessup, b. 1776-07-12, Guilford Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 504), dau. of Jacob and Rachel (Cook) Jessup (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 546, 553, 719). Benjamin Hill and his family moved to Carol Co., Va. in 1802 and Whitewater Co., Va. in 1806. The children of Benjamin Hill and his second wife Mary Jessup:

2-4-1 John Hill, b. 1797-02mo-20, Randolph Co., N.C.

2-4-2 Sarah Hill, b. 1798-06mo-17, Randolph Co., N.C.

2-4-3 Jacob Hill, b. 1800-02mo-03, Randolph Co., N.C.

2-4-4 William Hill, b. 1802-03mo-18, Grayson Co., Va.

2-4-5 Joseph Hill, b. 1804-08mo04, Grayson Co., Va.

Benjamin Hill and family were granted certificates 1806-08mo-11 to Miami MM, Ohio (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 72). No further record in Hinshaw. Benjamin Hill m(3) Martha Cox, (Ref: D.H. Hill records). The children of Benjamin and Martha (Cox) Hill:

2-4-6 Benjamin Hill, b. 1809-09mo-21.

2-4-7 Harmon Hill, b. 1811-04mo-26.

2-4-8 Rebecca Hill, b. 1814-02mo-18.

2-4-9 Ezra B. Hill, b. 1816-08mo-10.

MM, John Lee who was received by request 1803-08-27 (Ref:

2-4-10 Enos Hill, b. 1819-09mo-07.

2-5 Thomas Hill, b. 1774, Guilford Co., N.C.; m. 1798-03mo-01, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Sarah Pritchard, b. 1771-03mo-01, Pasquotank Co., N.C., dau. of Matthew Pritchard and his second wife, Sarah (Symons), widow of Thomas Low (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 115, 145, 167, 719, 732). Their children, all b. Randolph Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 701, 719, 1010):

2-5-1 Hannah Hill, b. 1800-09mo-21.

2-5-2 Sarah Hill, b. 1803-02mo-06.

2-5-3 Abram Hill, b. 1806-01mo-15.

2-5-4 Mordica Hill, b. 1808-10mo-05.

2-6 Rachel Hill, b. 1777-10mo-07, Guilford Co., N.C.; m. out of unity prior to 1797-04mo-29, when she was disowned by Back Creek MM, John Lee who was recieved by request 1803-08-27 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 719, 724). There is no indication that Rachel (Hill) Lee was reinstated, but it is assumed that she was since minutes continue to record her name. Their children, all b. Randolph Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 702):

2-6-1 Samuel Lee, b. 1797-04mo-16.

2-6-2 William Lee, b. 1798-09mo-17.

2-6-3 Anna Lee, b. 1800-08mo-07

2-6-4 Mary Lee, b. 1802-08mo-08.

2-6-5 Margaret Lee, b. 1804-09mo-18.

2-6-6 John Lee, Jr., b. 1806-08mo-29.

2-6-7 Ruth Lee, b. 1808-11mo-13.

2-6-8 Nathan Lee, b. 1812-03mo-22.

John Lee and his family were granted certificate to Newberry MM, Tenn., 1813-08mo-28. Rachel (Hill) Lee is not named as having gone to Tenn. She is shown by Hinshaw as the mother of all John Lee's children. She may have died between 1812-03mo-22 and 1813-08mo-28. John Lee, Jr. and family, and Samuel Lee and family were granted certificates from Newberry MM, Tenn., to Springfield MM, Ind. 1824-04mo-03, John Lee, Sr. apparently having died in Tennessee.

2-7 Robert Hill, b. 1780-01mo-31, Guilford Co., N.C., d. 1830 (Ref: Edwin R. Hill records); m. 1801-04mo-30, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Susanna Morgin (Morgan), d. 1782-03mo-24, Pasquotank Co., N.C., dau. of James and Susanna (Nixon) Morgan (she was the dau. of Barnabee Nixon). Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 102, 719, 726; Vol. III, p. 26; Vol. VII, p. 30). Robert Hill and family

received certificates from Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C. to Westland MM, Pennsylvania in 1803. Their children (Ref: D.H. Hill records):

2-7-1 George Hill, m(1) Lucy B. Hibbard; m(2) Rebecca (--), widow of (--) Lathrop (Ref: Edwin R. Hill records).

2-7-2 Martha Hill, b. 1802-04mo-18, d. 1808-02mo-24.

2-7-3 William Hill, b. 1804-10mo-05, m. 1830-12mo-23, Zilpha Hollowell.

2-7-4 Benjamin Hill, b. 1807-01mo-17, m. 1828-10mo-02, Anna Clark.

2-7-5 Samuel Hill, b. 1809-04mo-30, m. Susan Cook.

2-7-6 Elizabeth Hill, b. 1811-07mo-31, m. Charles Shute.

2-7-7 Mary Hill, b. 1813-12mo-09, m. William Parry.

2-7-8 Penniniah Hill, b. 1817-02mo-23, m. Edward Shaw.

2-7-9 Charles Hill, b. 1819-05mo-24, m. Jemima Clark.

2-7-10 Robert Hill, b. 1821-10mo-18, m. Eleanor Clawson.

2-8 Samuel Hill, b. 1782-03mo-07, Guilford Co., N.C., m. 1806-01mo-30, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Mary Branson, b. 1790-10mo-17, d. 1839-03mo-16, Carthage, Rush Co., Indiana (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 701), dau. of Henry Branson. Their children, all b. Randolph Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 701):

2-8-1 Henry Branson Hill, b. 1807-08mo-01, Randolph Co., N.C., d. 1874-Nov-17 (Ref: Edwin R. Hill records); m(1) 1830-02mo-04, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Lucretia Henley, b. 1808-02mo-14, Randolph Co., N.C., d. prior to 1861-01mo-30, dau. of Joseph and Penninah (Morgan) Henley. Their children, all b. Rush Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, p.343).

2-8-1-1 William Penn Hill, b. 1830-07mo-19.

2-8-1-2 Allin Hill, b. 1832-07mo-15, d. 1909-02mo (Ref: Edwin R. Hill records); m. 1860-11mo-20, Walnut Ridge MM, Rush Co., Ind., Ann R. White, b. 1832-12mo-15, dau. of Bethel C. and Hannah (Binford) White (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, pp. 343, 355, 371). Allin Hill was disowned 1862-08mo-16 for participating in military training. Ann R. (White) Hill was granted certificate to Minneapolis, Minn. 1866-05mo-19. Their children:

2-8-1-2-1 Irving Hill.

2-8-1-2-2 Henry Hill.

2-8-1-2-3 Mary Hill.

2-8-1-2-4 Horace Mann Hill, b. 1861-11mo-03, Carthage, Rush Co., Ind., d. 1948-Jul-20, Minnesota, m. 1886-08mo-11,

Minneapolis, Minn., Mary B. Whitmore. Their children (Ref: Ann McCarthy records):

2-8-1-2-4-1 Allen Janney Hill, b. 1887, d. 1972.

2-8-1-2-4-2 Ruth Hill, b. 1892, d. 1969.

2-8-1-2-4-3 Henry Whitmore Hill, b. 1894.

2-8-1-2-4-4 Horace Prentice Hill, b. 1897.

2-8-1-3 Jane Hill, b. 1835-02mo-27, d. 1835-10mo-14, bur. Walnut Ridge M.H. Rush Co., Ind.

2-8-1-4 Thomas Elwood Hill, b. 1836-09mo-09, Disowned 1862-08mo-16 for contributing money and participating in military training (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, p. 371).

Henry Branson Hill m(2) 1861-08mo-22, Lucinda (-) (marriage out of unity noted by Heiss, Vol. 4, p. 186). They were in Hamilton Co., Ins. 1870-09mo-28, where they were received on certificate, apparently reinstated. Henry Branson Hill served in the Union Army in the Civil War (Ref: Heiss, Vol.4, p. 370).

2-8-2 William Hill, b. 1809-05mo-28, d. 1810-11mo-19.

2-8-3 Allin Hill, b. 1811-05mo-05, d. 1832-07mo-05.

2-8-4 Jane Hill, b. 1813-06mo-02, d. 1832-12mo-23.

2-8-5 Elizabeth Hill, b. 1815-03mo-25, d. 1818-01mo-05.

2-8-6 Dr. Nathan Branson Hill, b. 1817-05mo-13; m. 1845-05mo-15, Deep River MM, Guilford Co., N.C., Eliza Lenora Mendenhall, b. 1823-01mo-14, Guilford Co., N.C., dau. of Richard and Mary (Pegg) Mendenhall (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 701; Ann McCarthy records; Margaret Sparks records):

2-8-6-1 William Allen Hill, b. 1863-08mo-22.

2-8-6-2 Samuel Branson Hill, b. 1857-05mo-13, Uharee (Deep River), Guilford Co., N.C., (Ref: Harvard Law School Alumni Book, Class of 1879, p. 236). He attended Haverford College, Pennsylvania, earning an A.B. degree in 1878, an A.B. from Harvard in 1879, and LLD from Penn College, Iowa in 1912, and was admitted to the legal profession in Minneapolis, Minn. He married 1888-09-06, St. Paul, Minn., Mary Frances Hill, dau. of James Jerome and Mary Theresa (Mehegan) Hill of Minneapolis. «James J. Hill was born 1838 of immigrant English Quaker parents in the small Quaker community of Brotherstown, later Rockwood, which was founded by Quakers in the early 1830's in Eramosa Township, Ontario which dates from 1784, and lies fifty miles west of Toronto. His father died on Christmas day 1852. James J. Hill was raised from that date in upper Canada, where he had little chance for formal

education, but through his self-education had attained more than a college degree. He converted to the Roman Catholic Church prior to his marriage to Mary Theresa Mehegan. He settled in Minneapolis, where he acquired the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, and organized the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad. He was a millionaire early in life. He had two sons, and a daughter Mary Frances. James J. Hill d. 1916-May 29, North Oaks, Minn.» Samuel Branson and Mary Frances (Hill) Hill settled in Seattle Wash., where his business ventures prospered, and he became a millionaire. He built a mansion in Seattle with a theater room identical to one built for Kaiser Wilhelm, and a roof garden for entertaining. Mary Frances Hill disliked the west, and in an effort to placate her, in 1907 Samuel Hill obtained seven thousand acres of land facing on the Columbia River in Washington, about one hundred miles east of Portland, Oregon, which he believed to be a perfect spot for a Quaker farm community. The land he said "was where the sun of the eastern part of the state met and blended with the rain of the west". He brought Quakers for the east to see the land but they were uninterested. In 1914 Samuel Hill started construction of a mansion on the land. As an experimenter in horticulture he planned to raise all types of fruit. He named the estate Maryhill in honor of his wife and daughter. Samuel Hill had traveled extensively, and had learned road building in France and Italy. He foresaw the increase in automobile traffic and the need for better roads. He was the first President of the Good Roads Association, and established the first Department of Road Building for the University of Washington. Through Samuel Hill's efforts Washington roads became a model for other states. He built a loop from Goldendale, Washington to Maryhill to show Oregon legislators what could be done in road construction. World War I, and a divorce, halted construction of the mansion. Samuel Hill was active in war relief work when he met and became close friends with Queen Marie of Roumania; Alma Spreckles, widow of sugar magnate Adolph Spreckles; and Loie Fuller, the creative dancer who left the prudish United States and became a hit at the Folies Bergere in Paris. He also traveled incognito through Russia, assisting in planning supply routes to the Russian front. He later imagined he was being persued by foreign agents because of his wartime missions. In 1926 Samuel Hill dedicated the Maryhill mansion, still a shell, as a Museum. For this dedication he brought Queen Marie half way around the world. Her ornate gold leafed furniture and throne are

still the major attractions of the "Queen Marie Room" of the Museum. It is among the gifts of Alma Spreckles who was a constant advisor and patron to the museum in its early years. The ramps on either end of the mansion were driveways, and the circular domes were to have been the roofs of garages. Samuel Hill had the house designed by eastern architects Hornblower and Marshall so that he could drive through it, this because of the high winds that occur in the area. At the time of Samuel Hill's death in 1931 the museum, was still incomplete. Alma Spreckles continued her efforts on behalf of the museum, donating many priceless works of art. The museum was finally opened to the public in 1940. It is noted for its collection of Rodin sculptures, certainly the finest in the United States; and for its collection of Indian baskets and artifacts; Russian icons; antique chess sets, a wide range of paintings; and "Theatre de la mode", a collection of miniature mannequins dressed in creations of the 1940's by such leading designers as Balenciaga, Worth and Jean Patou. The thirty inch high mannequins were originally shown on theater sets created by French artists. East of the Museum, Samuel Hill built in 1918, as a memorial to the dead of World War I, a replica of Stonehenge, the ancient attraction on the Salisbury Plain of England. The Maryhill Museum is now open to the public during the summer months. The admission charge is modest. One should check the hours of operation before making the long drive to visit it, to avoid disappointment. The children of Samuel Branson and Mary Frances (Hill) Hill:

2-8-6-2-1 Mary Mendenhall Hill, b. 1889-Jul-03. She was mentally retarded and d. prior to 1927.

2-8-6-2-2 James Nathan Branson Hill, b. 1893-Aug-23.

2-8-7 Ann Daugh Hill, b. 1819-07mo-23, Randolph Co., N.C., d. 1856-12mo-23; m. 1841-06mo-14, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Elihu Emery Mendenhall, b. 1817-05mo-04, d. 1906-08mo-28, son of James and Miriam (Hoggatt) Mendenhall of Guilford Co., N.C.. Elihu Mendenhall m(2) 1859-05mo-12, Back Creek MM Randolph Co., N.C., Abigail N. Hill (2-10-10, page 36), dau. of Aaron O. and Miriam (Thornburgh) Hill. The children of Elihu and Ann Daugh (Hill) Mendenhall (Re: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 726):

2-8-7-1 Samuel H. Mendenhall, b. 1842-03mo-18.

2-8-7-2 James N. Mendenhall, b. 1844-10mo-02.

2-8-7-3 Mary Eliza Mendenhall, b. 1850-03mo-17.

2-8-7-4 William Allen Mendenhall, b. 1854-07mo-20.

2-8-8 Mary Hill, b. 1821-10mo-10, d. 1839-03mo-17.

2-8-9 Eunice A. Hill, b. 1823-12mo-09, Randolph Co., N.C.; m. 1842-08mo-11, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., John M. Clark, son of Jonathan and Ruth (-) Clark of Guilford Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 711, 720).

2-8-10 Eliza J. Mendenhall, b. 1826-02mo-08; m. 1850-05mo-02, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Alfred (Alford) Lindley, b. 1821-05mo-03, Orange Co., N.C., son of Thomas and Mary (Pickett) Lindley (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 404, 449, 724, 726).

2-8-11 Samuel Bettel Hill, b. 1829-02mo-02, Randolph Co., N.C.; m. 1851-10mo-31, Spring MM, Orange Co., N.C., Nancy H. Newlin, b. 1831-02mo-18, dau. of John and Rebecca (Long) Newlin (Ref: "The Newlin Family" by Algie I. Newlin, p. 53; Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 448, 452, 720). Their children:

2-8-11-1 Eunice A. Hill.

2-8-11-2 Emily R. Hill.

2-8-11-3 Edgar N. Hill, b. 1861, d. 1945 (Ref: Margaret Sparks records).

2-8-11-4 Bertha Hill, b. 1873, d. 1945, California (Ref: Margaret Sparks records).

2-8-11-5 Walter Bettel Hill, b. 1868, d. 1950, Carthage, Rush Co., Ind.; m. Susan (-). Their children (Ref: Margaret Sparks records):

2-8-11-5-1 Howard Hill, b. 1896, d. 1921, Carthage, Rush Co., Ind.

2-8-11-5-2 Edgar Hill, b. 1902, d. 1932, Carthage, Rush Co., Ind.

2-8-12 Thomas Clarkson Hill, b. 1831-03mo-11, Randolph Co., N.C., to Rush Co., Ind., dropped from membership 1857-06mo-20 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 701, 720; Heiss, Vol. 4, p. 371).

2-8-13 Fowel Buxton Hill (son), b. 1836-02mo-31 (sic), Randolph Co., N.C., to Chicago, Ill. 1870-04mo-09 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 701, 720).

2-8-14 Josiah Foster Hill, d. prior to 1839.

2-9 Sarah Hill, b. 1784-07mo-27, d. 1784-07mo-28, Guilford Co., N.C.

2-10 Aaron O. Hill, b. 1785-12mo-02, Guilford Co., N.C., d. 1863-05mo-13, Randolph Co., Ind.; m(1) 1808-05mo-28, Mary Henley, b. 1788-01mo-06. Their children (Ref: D.H. Hill records):

2-10-1 Micajah Hill, b. 1808-10mo-22, m(1) 1830-02mo-24, Cane Creek MM, Orange Co., N.C., Naomi Pugh (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 395); m(2) 1832-03mo-01, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Sarah J. Mendenhall, b. 1807-12mo-07, d. 1884-11mo-29 (Ref: "Mendenhall Genealogy" by Henry Hart Beeson, p. 91; Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 720, 828) dau. of James and Miriam (Hoggatt) Mendenhall of Guilford Co., N.C. Their children (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 783):

2-10-1-1 Mary Ann Hill, b. 1832-05mo-12, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C.; m. 1856-10mo-09, Deep River MM, Randolph Co., N.C., David W. Elliott, b. 1829-03mo-28, son of Aaron and Rhoda C. (Mendenhall) Elliott. To Walnut Ridge MM, Rush Co., Ind. 1861-12mo-05 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 780, 808, 816). Their children (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 780):

2-10-1-1-1 Elihu Oliver Elliott, b. 1857-06mo-30, Guilford Co., N.C. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. IV, p. 339).

2-10-1-1-2 Micijah A. Elliott, b. 1863-05mo-03, Rush Co., Ind.

2-10-1-1-3 Margaret Mary Elliott, B. 1864-12mo-22, d. 1891-03mo-14.

2-10-1-2 unknown child.

2-10-1-3 unknown child.

2-10-1-4 Daniel M. Hill, b. 1838-06mo-14, Guilford Co., N.C.; m. 1863-03mo-18, Walnut Ridge MM, Rush Co., Ind., Phariba M. Stanley, dau. of Wyatt and Mary (deceased) Stanley of Hancock Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, pp. 371-378; Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 816). To Minneapolis, Minn, 1863-08mo-15 (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, p. 371).

2-10-1-5 James M. Hill, b. 1840-05mo-10, Guilford Co., N.C.. Disowned 1862-10mo-18 by Walnut Ridge MM, Rush Co., Ind. for participating in military training. He reappears in Carthage MM, Rush Co., Ind. 1868-03mo-17, where he obtains a certificate back to Walnut Ridge MM to marry Charity H. Binford, b. 1846-08mo-25, Rush Co., Ind., dau. of Joseph and Elizabeth C. (Hill) Binford, dau. of William and Charity (Hawkins) Hill.

2-10-1-6 Margaret Fell Hill, b. 1843-06mo-05, Guilford Co., N.C.; 1826-06mo-21, Walnut Ridge MM, Rush Co., Ind., Josiah C. Binford, B. 1826-06mo-17, son of Benjamin and Mary (Cook) Binford (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, pp. 331, 371). Their children:

2-10-1-6-1 Joseph John Binford, b. 1856-02mo-15.

2-10-1-6-2 Adaline Binford, b. 1857-12mo-22.

- 2-10-1-6-3 Morris Binford, b. 1859-04mo-03.
- 2-10-1-6-4 Emma Jane Binford, b. 1860-10mo-17.
- 2-10-1-6-5 Marcia Binford, b. 1862-12mo-21.
- 2-10-1-6-6 Charles Binford, b. 1864-08mo-03.
- 2-10-1-6-7 Irvin H. Binford, b. 1866-09mo-19.
- 2-10-1-6-8 Walter Binford, b. 1869-10mo-09.
- 2-10-1-6-9 David Warren Binford, b. 1872-10mo-29.

2-10-2 John Hill, b. 1810-12mo-20, Guilford Co., N.C.; m. 1837-07mo-20, Deep River MM, Guilford Co., N.C., Lydia Starbuck, b. 1817-10mo-15, Deep River, Guilford Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol I, pp. 701, 783, 792, 816, 839). Their children:

- 2-10-2-1 Charles Alpheus Hill, b. 1837-10mo-15.
- 2-10-2-2 Mary Emaline Hill, b. 1840-08mo-10.
- 2-10-2-3 Penelope Florine Hill, b. 1843-06mo-22.
- 2-10-2-4 Aaron Linus Hill, b. 1845-11mo-27.
- 2-10-2-5 Robert Barclay Hill, b. 1848-07mo-11.
- 2-10-2-6 Micijah Hill, b. 1853-08mo-14.
- 2-10-2-7 William G. Hill, b. 1853-08mo-14.
- 2-10-2-8 Lydia Jane (Sarah?) Hill, b. 1856-04mo-21.
- 2-10-2-9 Ruth E. Hill, b. in Ind.

John Hill and family to Kansas 1863-12mo-19 (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, p. 371).

2-10-3 Mary Hill, b. 1813-06mo-14; m. 1831-12mo-25, Eli Branson.

2-10-4 Margaret F. Hill, b. 1815-10mo-03, m. 1837-05mo-04, Winslow Davis, b. 1814. To Cottonwood, Ks. (Ref: "Davis" by Eleanor M. Davis, p. 937; Hinshaw Vol. I, p. 720).

2-10-5 Penelope Hill, b. 1817-09mo-11, d. 1841-03mo-11, bur. Hesper, Ks; m. 1840-05mo-06, William Gardner. Lived at Lawrence, Ks.

Aaron O. Hill m(2) 1840-05mo-06, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., Ind., Miriam Thornburgh, b. 1802-10mo-08, Randolph Co., N.C., D. 1896-05mo-12, Carthage, Rush Co., Ind., age 93 yrs 7 mos 4 days, dau. of Thomas Thornburgh "and his former wife Meriam" (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 720, 735). Their children, all b. Randolph Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 700):

2-10-6 Thomas T. Hill, b. 1825-02mo-21; m. 1846-03mo-25, Randolph Co., N.C., Nancy Davis, b. 1823-07mo-26, dau. of Joel and Penninah (-) Davis (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 698, 713, 720). They were reported married out of unity. This was apparently dropped

since they were received on certificate from Whitewater MM, Wayne Co, Ind. 1868-01mo-22 and 1870-11mo-23 (Ref: Heiss, Vol 1, p. 117). Their children (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 30):

2-10-6-1 Benjamin C. Hill, b. 1848-01mo-04, d. 1817-07mo-08; m. 1871-04mo-27, Whitewater MM, Wayne Co., Ind., Mary Esther Wickett, b. 1848-08mo-05, d. 1924-03mo-01, dau. of Benjamin and Susan (-) Wickett (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 1, pp. 62, 117, 184). Both are buried at Earlham. Their children (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 29):

2-10-6-1-1 Freddie Reece Hill, b. 1872-01mo-24, d. 1873-11mo-05, buried at Earlham.

2-10-6-1-2 Bertha C. Hill, b. 1875-05mo-17.

2-10-6-2 Miriam P. Hill, b. 1850-06mo-15.

2-10-6-3 Eli B. Hill, b. 1852-04mo-19, Randolph Co., Ind.; m. 1885-05mo-20, Rush Co., Ind., Josephine Buck, b. 1851-10mo-20, Rush Co., Ind., dau. of Presley and Nancy (-) Buck.

2-10-6-4 Emma Hill, b. 1854-02-01, d. 1854-10mo-08, N.C.

2-10-6-5 Abbie E. Hill, b. 1856-03mo-27, d. 1922-05mo-21.

2-10-6-6 Asenath E. Hill, b. 1858-04mo-10.

2-10-6-7 Margaret M. Hill, b. 1860-05mo-02; m. (-) McCarter, moved to Topeka, Ks.

2-10-7 William T. Hill, b. 1827-04mo-14, Randolph Co., N.C.; m. 1851-10mo-23, Holly Springs MM, Randolph Co., Ind., Martha A. Allen, b. 1833-01mo-30, Randolph Co., N.C., dau. of John and Martha (Clark) Allen (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 459, 473, 481). Their children (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 720; Heiss, Vol. VI, p. 329):

2-10-7-1 Asenath Ella Hill, b. N.C.

2-10-7-2 John C. Hill, b. N.C.

2-10-7-3 Mariam Emma Hill, b. N.C.

2-10-8 Nathan Hunt Hill, b. 1829-01mo-22, Randolph Co., N.C.; m. Nancy Maria Harms, b. 1850-01mo-06, dau. of Jason and Lucille, (dau. of Nixon Henley) Harms. Nathan Hunt was disowned 1877-05mo-12 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 721). The Harms and Henley families lived on Caraway Creek near Shepherd Mountain in Randolph Co., N.C. Their children (Ref; D.H. Hill records):

2-10-8-1 Lillian Harris Hill, b. 1872-03mo; m. Numa Thornburgh.

Their children:

2-10-8-1-1 Aaron Carson Thornburgh,

2-10-8-1-2 Rupert Thornburgh.

2-10-8-2 Jason Carson Hill, b. 1874-04mo-23, d. bef. 1921-07mo-19; m. 1909-11mo-08, Lelia Denney, dau. of John T. and Sarah (McAllister) Denney of Reidsville, N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 943). Their children (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 927):

2-10-8-2-1 Jason Carson Hill, Jr., b. 1910-08mo-23.

2-10-8-2-2 John Denney Hill, b. 1914-07mo-31.

2-10-8-2-3 Nancy Harris Hill, b. 1917-09mo-10.

2-10-8-3 Edna Maria Hill, b. 1878-Apr-16, never married. A Registered Nurse, served in France in World War I, living in Los Angeles, Calif. in 1932 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 927).

Nathan and Nancy (Harris) Hill are buried in the cemetery at Concord Church near Farmers, Randolph Co., N.C. John and Lucille (Henley) Harms are buried at Shelby, N.C.

2-10-9 Asenath H. Hill, b. 1831-09mo-12 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 700); m. 1860-04mo-19, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C.. David Reece of Chester Co., Penna., son of Jesse Reece late of Delaware County, Delaware to Chester MM, Delaware Co., Penna., 1860-07mo-14.

2-10-10 Abigail N. Hill, b. 1834-03mo-31; m. as his second wife 1859-05mo-12, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Elihu Mendenhall, b. 1817-05mo-04, Randolph Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 726, 787, 829), who m(1) Ann Hill 2-8-7, page 21. Their children:

2-10-10-1 Jehu Mendenhall, b. 1861-06mo-06, d. 1861-07mo-07.

2-10-10-2 Elihu Clarkson Mendenhall, b. 1863-09mo-29.

2-10-11 Jospeh B. Hill, b. 1837-02mo-28; m. 1860-02mo-22, Pleasant View MH, Walnut Ridge MM, Indiana, Rebecca Hastings, Dau. of Daniel C. and Keziah (-) Hastings of Hancock, Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 6, p. 374). Their son:

2-10-11-1 Daniel A. Hill, b. 1860/63, Rush Co., Ind.

2-10-12 Aaron Orlando Hill, b. 1840-10mo-20, received at Carthage MM, Rush Co., Ind. 1872-02mo-05 (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, p. 495).

2-10-13 Meriam E. Hill, b. 1843-03mo-07.

2-11 Nathan Hill, B. 1788-09mo-07, Guilford Co., N.C.; m. 1810 Mary Henley (Ref: D.H. Hill records). Their children:

2-11-1 Robert Hill, m. Lydia Binford.

2-11-2 Elizabeth Hill, m. Alfred Hunt.

2-11-3 Henry Hill, m. Lydia J. Thornburgh.

- 2-11-4 Thomas Hill, m. Melissa Hodson.
- 2-11-5 Sarah Hill, m. Eli Brown.
- 2-11-6 Nathan Hill, m. Martha Bundy.
- 2-11-7 William S. Hill, m. Mary Newsome.
- 2-11-8 James Hadley Hill, m(1) Emma McCormick; m(2) Ella Stewart; m(3) Maggie Bitner.
- 2-11-9 Mary Hill, m. George Nicholson.

11113 Mary Hill (page 21), b. 1746-12mo-16, Pasquotank Co., N.C., d. 1779-12mo-12, Pasquotank Co., N.C.; m. 1766-03mo-12, Center MM, Guilford Co., N.C., Henry Palen (Pailen), d. 1781-12mo-12 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 113, 159), son of Thomas Palen of Pasquotank Co., N.C. Their children, all b. Pasquotank Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 113, 143, 159):

- 3-1 Mariam Palen, b. 1768-10mo-27.
- 3-2 Elizabeth Palen, b. 1772-01mo-03, d. 1796-10mo-30.
- 3-3 Thomas Palen, b. 1774-04mo-14, d. 1774-11mo-14.
- 3-4 Henry Palen, b. 1778-12mo-06.

Henry Palen m(2) 1780-12mo-27, Pasquotank Co., N.C., Ann Overman, d. 1781-08mo-16, Pasquotank Co., N.C., dau. of Nathan Overman.

3-5 Thomas Palen, b. 1781-07mo-22, Pasquotank Co., N.C.; m. 1775-12mo-27, Pasquotank Co., N.C., Elizabeth Squires, dau. of Roger and Elizabeth (-) Squires. Their children:

- 3-5-1 Penninah Palen, d. 1792-01mo-14, Pasquotank Co., N.C.
- 3-5-2 Ann Palen, d. 1792-11mo-19.

11115 Aaron Hill, Jr. (page 21), b. 1752-05mo-04; m(1) 1781-11mo-08, Center MM, Guilford Co., N.C., Sarah Rich, dau of John and Sarah (-) Rich (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 679, 688). Their children, all b. Guilford Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 654, 655, 700):

- 5-1 Jacob Hill, b. 1872-10mo-16.
- 5-2 John Hill, b. 1784-05mo-08, d. 1796-02mo-05.
- 5-3 William Hill, b. 1786-11mo-09, Guilford Co., N.C.; m. 1807-08mo-09, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Mary Hoggatt, b. 1784 -09mo-23, Guilford Co., N.C., dau. of Phillip and Alice (White) Hoggatt (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 501, 547, 719). Their children (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 30):

- 5-3-1 Ruth Hill, b. 1808-06mo-13, Guilford Co., N.C.

(Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 701).

5-3-2 Aaron Hill, b. 1810-03mo-15, Fairfield, Highland Co., Ohio.

5-3-3 Hiram Hill, b. 1812-11mo-01, Wayne Co., Indiana.

5-3-4 Martha Hill, b. 1815-01mo-07, Wayne Co., Ind.

5-3-5 Sarah Hill, b. 1817-04mo-27, Wayne Co., Ind.

5-3-6 Phillip Hill, b. 1819-05mo-04, Wayne Co., Ind.

5-3-7 Rebecca Hill, b. 1821-11mo-14, Wayne Co., Ind.

5-4 Sarah Hill, b. 1788-04mo-14, Guilford Co., N.C.; m. 1809-08mo-03, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Thomas Gilbert, son of Jeremiah and Meriam (-) Gilbert of Guilford Co., of N.C.

5-5 Unknown child.

5-6 Hannah Hill, b. 1793-07mo-11, Guilford Co, N.C.; m. 1813-11mo-11, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Amos Peacock, B. 1787-10mo-13, Wayne Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol I, pp. 314, 704, 720), son of Abraham and Margaret (Elliott) Peacock (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 314).

11118 Jesse Hill (page 1), b. 1758, Pasquotank Co., N.C.; m(1) 1786-03mo-01, Newbegun Creek MH, Pasquotank MM, Pasquotank Co., N.C., Mary Pritchard dau. of Benoni Pritchard (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 143). Their children (Ref: Hinshaw Vol. I, p. 701):

8-1 Christopher Hill, b. 1787-01mo-15, Pasquotank Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 143, 701). To Whitewater MM, Wayne Co., Ind. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 116).

8-2 Benoni Hill, b. 1788-12mo-05, Pasquotank Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp 143, 701), m. 1814-03mo-10, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Mary Boswell, b. 1789-05mo-13, Pasquotank Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 697, 709, 720), dau. of Joshua and Miriam (Nicholson) Boswell (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 720). To New Garden MM, Wayne Co., Ind., 1821-05mo-19 (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 116; Vol. 2, p. 55). Their children (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 116):

8-2-1 Matthew Hill, b. bef. 1811, Randolph Co., N.C.

8-2-2 Rebecca Hill, b. bef. 1811, Randolph Co., N.C.

8-2-3 Miriam Hill, b. 1811/21, Wayne Co., Ind.

8-3 Henry Hill, b. 1790-11mo-28, Guilford Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 143, 701); m(1) 1814-08mo-04, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., Ind., Achsah Peacock, b. 1793-01mo-02, Wayne Co.,

N.C., d. 1835-09mo-29, bur. Jericho, Randolph Co., Ind. dau. of Abraham and Margaret (Elliott) Peacock (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 314, 704, 720, 730). To Whitewater MM, Wayne Co., Ind., 1817-07mo-26 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 720), and to New Garden MM, Wayne Co., Ind., 1819-02-27 (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 116; Vol. 2, p. 55). Henry Hill m(2) 1836-03mo-23, Avis (Cox) Woodward, widow of Luke Woodward, b. 1796-12mo-09, dau. of Thomas and Miriam Cox. The children of Henry and Achsah (Peacock) Hill (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 2, p. 55):

8-3-1 Daniel Hill, b. bef. 1817, Randolph Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 720; Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 116, Vol. 2, p. 55).

8-3-2 Asenath Hill, b. 1815-08mo-14, Randolph Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 700, 720; Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 116, Vol. 2, p. 55).

The children of Henry and Avis (Cox) Hill:

8-3-3 Henry Hill, b. 1838-01mo-07, Wayne Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 2, p. 14).

8-3-4 Miriam Hill, b. 1840-01mo-06, Wayne Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 2, p. 14).

8-4 Meriam Hill, b. 1792-10mo-19, Randolph Co., N.C. Disowned 1813-03mo-20 (Ref Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 719).

8-5 Unknown child.

8-6 Unknown child.

8-7 Aaron Hill, b. 1798-12mo-17, Randolph Co., N.C.; m. 1819-04mo-04, Nancy Winslow, b. 1801-12mo-15, Randolph Co., N.C., dau. of Joseph and Peninah (Pritchard) Winslow (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 177, 701, 706, 720, 738). To Whitewater MM, Wayne Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 117). Their children, all b. Randolph Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 720; Heiss, Vol. 2, p. 14):

8-7-1 Hannah Hill, b. 1821-05mo-06.

8-7-2 Mary Hill, b. 1822-12mo-11.

8-7-3 Sarah Hill, b. 1824-12mo-07.

8-7-4 Benoni Hill, b. 1826-12mo-12.

8-8 Elizabeth Hill, b. 1800-12mo-20, Randolph Co., N.C.; m. 1825-06mo-01, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Luke (Nucem) Newsome, son of Ransom and Sarah (-) Newsome. To Whitewater MM, Wayne Co., Ind., 1827-07mo-25 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 701, 720, 728; Heiss, Vol. 1, p. 148).

8-9 Mary Hill, b. 1802-03mo-20.

8-10 Samuel Hill, a twin, b. 1804-01mo-02.

8-11 Nathan Hill, a twin, b. 1804-01mo-02, d. bef. 1840-05mo-14; m. 1827-08mo-02, marriage out of unity, Martha Beard, dau of William and Polly (--) Beard. She m(2) Abel Coffin (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 816).

Jesse Hill m(2) 1805-03mo-31, Back Creek MM, Randolph Co., N.C., Elizabeth Overman (Ref: D.H. Hill records: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 719).

8-12 Exum Hill, b. 1806-03mo-12, Randolph Co., N.C. to Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind., (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, p. 186).

8-13 Penninah Hill, b. 1807-04mo-16, Randolph Co., N.C. To Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. 4, p. 186).

8-14 Thomas Hill, b. 1808-10mo-31, Randolph Co., N.C. To Duck Creek MM, Henry Co., Ind. (Ref: Heiss, Vol. I, p. 186).

8-15 Anna Hill, b. 1811-07mo-16, d. 1825-07mo-22, Randolph Co., N.C.

11119 Thomas Hill (page 21), b. 1760-03mo-07, Pasquotank Co., N.C.; m. 1785-04mo-20, Pasquotank Co., N.C., Ann Haskett (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, pp. 141, 143). Their children, all b. Randolph Co., N.C. (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 701):

9-1 Jesse Hill, b. 1786-02mo-01.

9-2 Miriam Hill, b. 1788-03mo-02, d. 1788-07mo-07 (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. I, p. 100).

9-3 Elizabeth Hill, b. 1789-08mo-02.

9-4 Penninah Hill, b. 1791-09mo-30.

9-5 Huldah Hill, b. 1793-09mo-29.

9-6 Jonathan Hill, b. 1795-11mo-21.

9-7 Thomas Hill, b. 1797-11mo-30.

9-8 Matthew Hill, b. 1800-08mo-10.

9-9 Sarah Hill, b. 1802-10mo-05.

9-10 Anna Hill, b. 1805-10mo-05.

T. GILBERT PEARSON: YOUNG ORNITHOLOGIST IN FLORIDA

by
Oliver H. Orr

In the introduction to T. Gilbert Pearson's autobiography, *Adventures in Bird Protection*, Frank M. Chapman praised Pearson as the "leading bird conserver of his generation," the person who, more than any other, must be credited with having "secured legal rights for Citizen Bird."¹

Teacher, ornithologist, and wildlife conservationist, Thomas Gilbert Pearson (1873-1943) in 1902 founded the Audubon Society of North Carolina and in 1903 persuaded the legislature to empower the society to enforce the state's bird and game laws. The society thus became the first state game commission in the South and Pearson, as the society's executive secretary, the South's first state game commissioner. In 1905, when the National Association of Audubon Societies (now the National Audubon Society) was organized, he was chosen secretary of that organization as well. He also became the association's field agent for the South Atlantic states. For several years he held the three positions simultaneously. In 1910, he assumed the responsibility of being, as the association's secretary, its full-time executive officer; from 1920 to 1934, he was its president and executive officer. He also founded in 1922, the International Committee for Bird Protection, for which he served as president until 1938. Under his direction, over a period of almost twenty-five years, the National Association of Audubon Societies developed into the largest organization in the world interested in the protection of wildlife.²

Pearson began his career an ornithologist in Archer, Florida,

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where he grew up. Born on November 10, 1873, at Tuscola, Illinois, he was the fifth and last child of Thomas Barnard Pearson and Mary Elliott Pearson, a Quaker farm couple who moved to Dublin, Indiana, about 1874 and then to Archer in January 1882. Thomas Pearson had been advised by a physician to leave the cold winters of the midwest; he had been encouraged to come to Archer by William B. Lipsey, another Quaker farmer from Indiana. Lipsey had moved to Archer about 1878 and had become partner in a nursery, Lipsey and Christie. In correspondence with Thomas Pearson, Lipsey told him that in Archer the weather was pleasant, the land was cheap, and the soil was rich.³

Thomas Pearson built a log house for his family and, in partnership with his son Charles, who was already twenty-five years old, opened a nursery near the Lipsey and Christie nursery. Eight-year-old, Gilbert was enrolled in the neighborhood school, which was conducted in the buggy shed of Charles W. Bauknight, proprietor of a general store.⁴

In the 1880s, by one contemporary estimate, less than 40,000 of Alachua County's approximately 800,000 acres had been "improved." There were farms, towns, roads, and railroads, but most of the countryside was still relatively undisturbed.⁵ As Gilbert Pearson put it in 1891, "In this section of the country. . .the naturalist may wander to his heart's content through the forest and never see a human being or a cultivated field if he chooses."⁶

By the time Pearson was twelve, he had met two other boys who were interested in birds and other wildlife. One was W. Morgan Martin, who came to Archer about 1885, when he was nineteen and moved away the following year. The other was Altus Lacy Quaintance, who was fifteen in 1885, and who became Pearson's closest friend.⁷

Martin owned a gun and, in Pearson's words, had "nothing in particular to occupy his time, so he often wandered about the country shooting at ducks, blue jays, bullfrogs, or any other creature he happened to find."⁸ Pearson followed Martin around, watching him make bullets, load cartridge shells, and shoot at birds and animals. He liked to examine closely the bodies of whatever Martin killed.⁹

Martin also collected bird eggs. One day he let Pearson watch as he made a hole in a killdeer's egg with a small steel drill and forced out the contents by blowing into the hole with a brass blow pipe. Egg

collecting attracted Pearson more than anything else Martin did. When Martin and Quaintance, intent on collecting heron eggs, planned a hike to Bird Pond, about five miles from Archer, Pearson wanted to go along. Martin, the leader, maintained that Pearson was too small, he would be unable to keep up on the hike, he would be in danger of being bitten by snakes and alligators, he was not tall enough to wade through the water and collect eggs. By promising to give to Martin almost all the eggs he found, Pearson won permission to join the hunt.¹⁰

They went on Tuesday, April 27, 1886. Pearson described the expedition in his first publication, which appeared almost two years later in *The Oologist* for January 1888. He was then fourteen years old. Entitled "A Day With the Herons in Florida," it initiated a series of nine articles that he ultimately published in that periodical. "Hundreds of herons," Pearson wrote, rested on "Button-wood bushes" growing in the shallow waters of Bird Pond. "The beautiful White Egrets and Great White Herons and their dark cousins the Louisiana [sic], little Blue, and Great Blue Herons all joining their notes in one confused medley made pleasant music." The boys waded from bush to bush, collecting eggs in their hats, while the "terrified Herons quacked and flapped." After returning to Archer, the boys studied the eggs and decided they could identify those of seven species. "We felt well repaid for the days [sic] tramp and that night slept peacefully, to dream of Herons, Egrets, &c." The article was signed "Oologically, T.G. Pearson, Archer Fla."¹¹

Morgan Martin left Archer in the summer of 1886. His departure appears to have ended Pearson's relationship with him, but he "left behind him two zealous bird-egg collectors."¹²

For Quaintance, birds ultimately became secondary to insects. He earned a bachelor's degree at the Florida Agricultural College in Lake City and a master's degree at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, where he worked for a year as an entomologist before returning to the Florida Agricultural College for three years. He then served successively with the Georgia Agricultural Experiment Station, the Maryland Agricultural College and Experiment Station and the Bureau of Entomology of the United States Department of Agriculture, where he spent most of his career conducting special studies and administering research work.¹³

Pearson, on the other hand, had found his profession. Morgan Martin had demonstrated egg-collecting for him and awakened his

interest. *The Oologist*, a monthly magazine published in Albion, New York, under the editorship of Frank H. Lattin, enabled him to carry on that interest and begin his scientific education. Lattin published items on oology, ornithology, and taxidermy, largely for beginning students. In addition to answering questions about birds and bird eggs, he devoted a column to notices submitted by readers, sold pamphlets, books, eggs, and oologists' equipment, and published queries, letters, and articles about birds.

Lattin also published *The Oologists' Hand-Book 1885*, a catalog of eggs and supplies upon which Pearson relied to help identify eggs that he collected. Quaintance had gotten a copy of the catalog from Martin and had traded it to Pearson for eleven alligator eggs.¹⁴

Oologists measured eggs with calipers, made holes in them with drills, and expelled yokes with blow pipes. Embryos were extracted with hooks and scissors; the insides of the shells were washed with syringes. When the shells had dried, holes were patched with tissue paper, which could be bought with gum already applied. Cracks were mended with cement. There were pens and pencils for labeling and forms for keeping records.

Lattin's *Hand-Book* offered eggs of several hundred species of birds, the equipment for building a collection from the field, instructions for using the equipment, and books and pamphlets for further study. Drills of varying quality cost from ten cents to \$1.50; blow pipes, fifteen to thirty-five cents; embryo hooks, thirty to seventy-five cents; and embryo scissors, twenty-five cents to \$1.50. Data sheets were six cents per dozen (less for larger quantities); syringes, \$1.50; and climbing irons, \$2.50. Lattin also sold boxes and cabinets for storage of eggs.¹⁵

These were minimum costs for an oologist. If he traded eggs by mail, as Pearson and many other oologists did, there were also the costs of packaging and mailing. To support his interest in birds, Pearson made money in various ways. He picked blackberries and sold them at three cents a quart. From Negro boys he bought trapped quail for three cents apiece, dressed them, and sold them for five cents. He worked successively in a store and in a blacksmith's shop.¹⁶

In 1886, he acquired a gun. He then needed still more money. Occasionally his mother gave him chicken eggs to trade for ammunition. For a time, his father paid him to kill woodpeckers and mockingbirds, which were viewed as destructive to the trees and fruit in the orchard.¹⁷ Owning a gun enabled Pearson to begin serious

study of ornithology as well as oology. The accepted way to study birds, even for a beginner, was to kill them, skin them, and make a collection of skins. An ornithologist needed several, sometimes many, skins of each species, so that he could note characteristic shapes and markings, occasional variations and aberrations, and differences between male and female, young and adult.¹⁸

Pearson was later proud of having "started right" as a scientist.¹⁹ He learned early to prepare his specimens properly and to keep records. He also developed skill in taking eggs in such a manner as to minimize damage to the nest and to the birds' welfare. For example, he and Quaintance learned from observation that taking all the eggs from a nest was better for the birds than taking part of the set. If part were taken, the parents usually incubated what was left and thus raised only part of a brood. If all the eggs were taken, the female bird would usually lay another setting. "One spring I robbed a pair of red-headed woodpeckers four times, whereupon the birds built a fifth nest in a tree so high I could not climb to it. In a few weeks a family of young woodpeckers with grayish-brown heads emerged from the cavity."²⁰

In his beginning efforts at collecting, Pearson climbed tall trees by using other, shorter trees and fallen limbs. Later, he used climbing irons with spikes, strapped on his legs and feet. With them he went up a tree in the same way a lumberjack did, or the way a telegraph lineman went up a pole. Reporting on the day of collecting (Monday, May 6, 1889), Pearson related that he successively climbed, using his spikes, a dead tree containing a sparrow hawk's nest in which he took five sparrow hawk eggs, forty feet up; an "old stub" of a tree containing a flicker's nest from which he took five eggs; and a hundred-foot pine in which crows had built a nest.

The crow's nest was so high in the pine tree that he hesitated before climbing. "I had to look at the nest a long time before I could make up my mind to climb it. But finally I could stand it no longer." So up he went. The nest was made of sticks, twigs, and grass, and lined with cow hair. It held five eggs, which Pearson took. His next problem was to climb down the tree without breaking the eggs. "Putting three of the eggs in my mouth and taking two in my hand I descended without mishap."

On the same venture, he took eggs from a mockingbird's nest in a small bush; flushed a nighthawk from a nest on the ground and picked up two eggs that he "blowed" and found to be slightly incubated;

bailed out a leaky boat and rowed to bushes where he gathered five sets of grackle eggs; and found a ground dove's nest containing two eggs and another containing two young birds.²¹

In this period of his life, Pearson was devoted to bird study but not yet learned enough to be aware of how rapidly some bird species were being destroyed. He killed birds readily in order to study them; he also hunted for pleasure and for food. At one point, he even decided to make money by killing egrets in order to take their plumes, which he would then sell to the millinery trade. But he was very young then and still so ignorant about birds that he could not distinguish the plumeless little blue heron in the white phase from the snowy egret that bore the marketable feathers. After one heron skin was rejected by a firm in New York, he abandoned the idea of being a plume hunter.²²

As he became increasingly interested in the study of birds, he pursued it avidly, even willfully at times. Once while plowing for his father, he heard a sparrow hawk call. He tied the horse to a fence and went to look for the hawk's nest. He was gone so long that when he returned his father had taken up the plowing. "I hid in a pine thicket and did not approach the house until darkness and hunger drove me to face my father's displeasure."²³

One school day he and Quaintance left the grounds at noon recess to examine a red-headed woodpecker's nest. When they returned, recess had ended, and the teacher whipped them. Smarting, they left school in the afternoon, went to their respective homes for food, took a quilt from Pearson's home, disregarded admonitions from their mothers, and walked to Levy Lake, about eleven miles away. They camped out for three days, watching birds and hunting for eggs.²⁴

Although the local school had improved since Pearson's initial enrollment (it had moved from the buggy shed into a large one-room schoolhouse with a bell on the roof), he found little inspiration there.²⁵ The school term was short (four and one-half months was the average length of a school term in Alachua County in 1883-1884), teacher pay was low (the county's average monthly salary in 1883-1884 was \$23.10), and rarely did one teacher remain for an entire term.²⁶ A list of teachers holding first-class certificates in Florida in 1888 shows only six in Alachua County and none in Archer.²⁷ "Every year," Pearson wrote, "we started in with our studies about where he had begun the year before and went over the same subjects, using the same text-books."²⁸

One teacher, who stayed only two weeks, impressed Pearson by his learning and grace of manner. When Pearson told his father he wanted to be learned and gracious, his father suggested he read good books. The books at home, where evening readings aloud were common, were largely on religion. Thomas Pearson suggested to Gilbert that John T. Fleming, who ran a general store in Archer and was considered civic-minded and generous, might have biographies of great men he would lend.²⁹ Pearson approached Fleming in his store, where several men were idling put his question awkwardly, and was teased rather than helped.³⁰

Pearson wrote numerous letters offering to trade bird eggs for used books. A rich man whose name he had seen in a newspaper did not reply. The Century Company did reply, saying it had used books to exchange for eggs.³¹

Pearson's parents indulged their younger son's desire to study birds rather than work on the farm and nursery. Perhaps indulgence was natural in his case. He was so much younger that the rest of the family—almost eighteen years younger than his brother, twelve years younger than the youngest of the three sisters—that he was possibly treated as the child of all of them.³²

For long-distance expeditions, he was allowed to take a horse or a horse and wagon. On March 12, 1888, he went out to find a black vulture's nest he had been told about. "A ten mile ride and a hard hunt revealed two young about four days old. . . . The nest was on the bare ground by a log in a swampy wood." In addition to the black vulture's nest, he found in the months of February, March, and April of that same year nests of fourteen other species: loggerhead shrike, "great white heron," turkey vulture, Florida screech owl, brown-headed nuthatch, sparrow hawk, "American egret," boat-tailed grackle, bluebird, mockingbird, flicker, black-crowned night heron, green heron, and purple martin. He reported these as being "some" of the species he had found breeding in the county at the time.³³

Often he went to Ledworth Lake, about fifteen miles south of Gainesville, to watch the flocks of white ibises and wood ibises that gathered there to feed after having nested in the cypress swamps. One July a flock of wood ibises, "at least a thousand individuals," suddenly "took wing from a little island perhaps half way across the lake and the sound of their wings borne across the water was like the rumbling of thunder or the distant roar of cannon." Now and then among the ibises he was a roseate spoonbill. "By watching a flock in

this way. . . I was enabled to obtain my first specimen of this rare and beautiful bird.”³⁴

For a while he took special interest in the pied-billed grebe, provoked in part by his failure to find the bird sitting on its nest. In the spring of 1890 he examined sixteen grebe nests; no bird was ever there. He noted that eggs were covered, partially or wholly, with decaying vegetation. Until a full set of five or six eggs had been laid, the covering was partial; after that, the eggs were fully covered and, when he uncovered them, always seemed to be warm. “And although further observations may lead me to change my views,” Pearson reported, “for the present I must believe that the Grebe does not sit on her eggs in the daytime for the purpose of incubating; but that the incubation is carried on largely by heat generated from the decaying vegetation of which the nest is composed.”³⁵

Early in the spring of 1890, Pearson and Quaintance drove a horse and wagon to a lake twenty miles away in the hope of finding nests of the anhinga, or diver. Pearson had taken anhinga eggs in 1886, but in the succeeding years he had been unable to find another nest containing eggs. The boys camped on high ground, rose before dawn, packed lunch and guns in the bow of a boat, and pushed off for the south shore, where aningas were believed to be nesting. “High overhead wild geese could be see in straggling flocks commencing their long journey northward. The frogs and alligators which had been booming all night had now hushed, and scarce a sound broke the almost breathless silence, except the frantic plunge of some little fish in his race for life as he flung himself from the water to avoid the jaws of some large cannibal of his own tribe, and ever and anon the muffled sound of heavy flapping was borne across the water from a Buzzard roost half a mile to the south.”

In cypress trees along the south shore, they did find anhinga nests—a year old and not being used. They rowed on. Then they saw a lone anhinga sitting on a cypress limb. They killed it for one of them to take home. The sound of gunfire raised a “cloud of birds,” among which were more aningas. Soon Pearson “was twenty feet from the ground gazing down into a nest beautifully lined with moss at four handsome eggs which lay in the bottom. There were perhaps a dozen Divers’ nests in the colony, most of which contained eggs, usually three or four in number. Some nests were not yet complete, and on one nest, viewing us with open-mouthed wonder, stood two young perhaps ten days old.”

After an hour of climbing up and down cypress trees, Pearson and Quaintance had collected twenty-one anhinga eggs. From nests to one side of the anhinga rookery, they had also collected twelve eggs of the "great white heron." The rest of the day was spent exploring islands where the buzzards had roosted the night before. Late in the evening, the boys broke camp and began the twenty-mile drive through the night back to Archer.³⁶

When Pearson was in the field for several days he often depended on game to supplement his food supply. One July he and Quaintance camped at Levy Lake while looking for alligator nests. It was hot, rain fell every few minutes, mosquitoes were thick. After two days of eating the potatoes and salt pork they had brought with them, the boys were hungry for something else. Because of the rain, game animals stayed in sheltered places. Pearson finally shot a female wood duck and they ate it: "we stripped it of its feathers, washed in the water from a horse-track, and sticking a stick through it, without salt, and only ashes and cinders to baste it with, we held it before a little smoky fire until well charred on the outside and then tearing it limb from limb while the inside was yet raw. . . we devoured it, cracked and sucked the bones."³⁷

Wood ducks were common around Archer. They could be seen on "almost every little pond or lake," Pearson noted. "As you emerge from the wood and your thirsty horse comes down the slope to drink, see them pause a moment and spring up in the air, making the little dale resound with the whistling sound produced by their wings as they dash off through the forest to some other lake, or, as they will often do, circle round and round until you have passed on and then settle down again to their old feeding ground."

Their nests, he learned, were usually away from water (one was a mile and a half from the nearest lake). They might also be high in the hollow of a dead tree (he climbed forty feet to reach one) or low to the ground (one was in a cultivated field). When he climbed thirty feet to reach a wood duck's nest in a hole made by a flicker, the sitting female refused to leave. He enlarged the hole, lifted her out, and took her thirteen eggs.³⁸

On January 16, 1891, Pearson acquired a copy of Elliott Coues's *Key to North American Birds*. He traded eggs for it, perhaps with Frank H. Lattin, who in *The Oologist* for December 1890, had advertised the fourth edition as being for sale for \$7.50. First

published in 1872, Coues's *Key* was the basic textbook in ornithology, for beginners and advanced students alike, over a period of several decades. The fourth edition of this great work contained more than 900 pages of information about birds, bird study, collecting and preserving bird eggs and bird skins, and mounting birds. Pearson could now proceed with his studies at a heightened level of accuracy and understanding. He also obtained, in collaboration with Quaintance, a pamphlet on taxidermy. Guided by the information in it and in Coues's *Key*, he began to mount birds and occasional animals.³⁹

From time to time, Pearson was allowed to drive a horse and wagon to Gainesville, the county seat of Alachua. Several young men there were interested in natural history.⁴⁰ One was J.P. Hovey Bell, whose father, James Bell, appears to have collected specimens for the Smithsonian Institution while simultaneously working for the United States General Land Office and operating a stationery store in Gainesville. Hovey Bell was an employee of the railway postal service who ultimately became assistant postmaster of the post office in Gainesville. Like Pearson, Hovey Bell collected natural history specimens.⁴¹

On a visit to Gainesville in March 1891, Pearson, in a restaurant, talked to a man he did not know but who was later identified for him by Hovey Bell as Frank Michler Chapman. Chapman was associate curator of ornithology and mammalogy at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. In 1895, he published his *Handbook of Birds of Eastern North America*, which ultimately succeeded Coues's *Key* as the basic text for field study of birds in the East. At the American Museum, where in 1908 he became curator of ornithology, he created exhibits of birds placed naturally in simulations of their native habitats rather than merely stationed in otherwise empty glass cases. By the end of his career, he had written numerous books, been a leader in several organizations, and won awards and honors.⁴²

In 1905, when the National Association of Audubon Societies was established and Pearson was named secretary and a director, Chapman was also named a director. *Bird-Lore* (now *Audubon*), which Chapman had founded in 1899 as the organ of the state Audubon societies, was adopted as the new organization's official publication. Pearson and Chapman worked together through many years.

Beginning in 1886, Chapman's mother spent each winter in Gainesville, escaping from the cold weather of New Jersey. By 1887, Chapman had a small workshop there and made photographs of birds, among the first in the United States. In 1888, he published in *The Auk* "A List of Birds Observed at Gainesville, Florida."⁴³ That was the same year in which he began work at the American Museum of Natural History. He managed, nonetheless, to be in Gainesville from time to time when his mother was there.

When Pearson talked with Chapman in March 1891, he saw him as being "carefully attired," with "the confident bearing of an experienced man of the world" and a "nice way of eating."⁴⁴ On April 8, following the conversation, Pearson wrote a bold, inquisitive letter to Chapman. "Although I had often seen you I never really knew you to be F.M. Chapman," Pearson began. Not knowing about Chapman's list of local birds, Pearson announced that he wanted to compile and publish a list of the birds of Alachua County. "I now have on my list nearly one hundred varieties that I have either seen or actually taken. And I thought that perhaps you would just as soon help me in my list as not, as you have traveled around over the County a good deal." Then he asked seven questions, one right after another, about the limpkin, caracara, swallow-tailed kite, everglade kite, painted bunting, woodcock, passenger pigeon, and ani. "I would be very glad if you could make it convenient to come down and see me," Pearson added. "I would be very glad to have the pleasure of entertaining you."⁴⁵

Chapman answered Pearson's letter promptly, thus affirming his willingness to begin a relationship with this brash, awkward young man who on his own had learned a great deal about birds.⁴⁶ He probably never accepted Pearson's invitation to visit him in Archer. It is even possible that the two of them were never in Alachua County at the same time again. Chapman's visits to Gainesville were ordinarily confined to winter and early spring, when his mother was there. After the winter of 1890-1891, Pearson never spent another winter in Archer. The two men met formally in 1893, when Pearson called upon Chapman at the American Museum of Natural History.⁴⁷

Chapman was possibly in Gainesville in May 1891, but in that month Pearson went on a collecting expedition to Cedar Key, on the Gulf coast, and took a trip up the Suwanee River by steamer, the *Belle of the Suwanee*.⁴⁸ He wrote to Chapman that he had a "splendid view" of a Mississippi kite, the first one he had ever seen,

and on May 19 was "so fortunate as to find nest containing a set of three eggs of the Fla. Sea-side Finch."⁴⁹

Chapman himself had gone down the Suwanee the year before. In company with ornithologist William Brewster of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Charles Slover Allen, physician and ornithologist of New York City, he had taken a flatboat with a cabin from Branford to the river's mouth.⁵⁰ Brewster, like Chapman, became one of the original directors of the National Association of Audubon Societies.

Shortly after the trip to Cedar Key, Pearson, was bitten by an alligator. He wrote to Chapman, "I had my left wrist badly torn not long ago by a four foot alligator I was capturing, having to lay down on him in the water to hold him. I now have him mounted and placed in my museum, and as I enter the room his glass eyes glare at me as though he would like to fasten on me again."⁵¹

By now he had apparently decided to try to make his living as a naturalist. He obtained letterhead stationery saying "T.G. Pearson. Field Ornithologist and Oologist. Birds Mounted in first class order, Nests & Eggs Collected and Exchanged." He used this stationery for at least four years, 1891-1894.

Although his letterhead limited his specialties to ornithology and oology, he thought of himself as building a "museum," going well beyond birds in its coverage. In addition to telling Chapman about the alligator, he asked questions about the muskrat and the manatee and mentioned that he had "gotten in several minerals, arrow-points, and chards." His collection was growing rapidly. In a two-week period, he collected and mounted ten birds: one Louisiana heron, one little blue heron, one yellow-crowned night heron, one coot, one anhinga, two sparrow hawks, and three green herons.⁵²

At Pearson's request, Chapman proposed to the American Ornithologists' Union that he be admitted as an associate member. The fee was \$3.00, which he was unable to send to Chapman at the time he asked him to offer his name. Nonetheless, he paid it early enough to be enrolled in 1891.⁵³

The idea of making some kind of living as a naturalist-merchant was a plausible one. Advertisements from taxidermists, naturalists, and natural history stores appeared regularly in the ornithological publications Pearson read. His intent was to offer as many services as possible. It seems evident, however, that he learned rather quickly to expect small and uncertain profits from his enterprise.

At any rate, he was soon trying to find a way to strengthen his formal education. His ignorance about most subjects other than birds and his lack of social poise concerned him. Chapman had impressed him with his easy, cultivated manner.⁵⁴ The one school teacher who had exhibited notable grace and learning had affected him strongly. When the man left, Pearson, with tears in his eyes, gave him several sets of his choicest bird eggs. He resolved to "learn to speak, walk, and act like that perfect gentleman."⁵⁵

Quaintance had been attending the Florida Agricultural College in Lake City since 1889. His departure that fall was later viewed by Pearson as the "first real bereavement" of his life. "I now suffered from the lack of companionship. There was no one with whom I could talk about birds."⁵⁶ Although Quaintance ultimately turned to entomology as his professional interest, he continued for a time to study birds. As a college student, he collected bird specimens for the institution's museum. Pearson and he still managed to go on hunts together. At one time they considered jointly opening a natural history store in Gainesville, but Quaintance apparently lost interest in this project while he was in college.⁵⁷

Since Thomas Pearson could not afford to pay for his son's board and tuition, Gilbert had to find a way to earn the privilege of getting an advanced education. In the summer 1891, he wrote letters to schools and colleges offering his museum for a term's enrollment. Quaker schools seemed especially attractive to him. He wrote to Earlham College, in Richmond, Indiana, which his mother and his brother had attended.⁵⁸ He also wrote to Guilford College, near Greensboro, North Carolina.

For a long time, "no encouraging replies came." The one evening he received a letter from Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, president of Guilford College. Hobbs wanted to build up the small natural history "cabinet" begun at the college by a faculty member who had resigned. He offered Pearson tuition, board, and room in the preparatory department for two years in exchange for his collection and his services as curator of the cabinet. That evening, Pearson lay in a hammock on the veranda of the Pearson home in Archer and rocked as he planned his future at college.⁵⁹

In August 1891, he reached Guilford.⁶⁰ With him, or in boxes shipped separately, was his museum, such a large addition to the college cabinet that new cases had to be built. One case was constructed for the bird eggs. Representing more than 200 species of

birds, the 1,000 eggs in the collection included not only the specimens he had taken from nests in Florida but also those he had received by exchange.⁶¹ At Guilford, the egg collection was initially appraised as "probably the largest collection in the state."⁶² Two years later, when more was known about it and Pearson had added to it, it was characterized as the "largest collection of bird-eggs in the South."⁶³

During his first year at Guilford, Pearson published two articles about birds in Florida: "The Ibises of Ledworth Lake" and "The Herons of Alachua County, Florida."⁶⁴ In the two-part article on herons, he discussed eight species (great blue heron, American egret, snowy heron, Louisiana heron, little blue heron, green heron, yellow-crowned night heron, and black-crowned night heron) observed by him in Alachua County during the five-year period, 1887-1891. "By straining the point a little," he said, "I might to these make the addition of another variety, the *Ardea wardi*, making a total of nine varieties, but not being able to substantiate the statement with specimens I will not at the present time claim this last variety in the avifauna of our county."⁶⁵

He had read about the Ward's heron (*ardea herodias wardi*) in Coues's *Key to North American Birds*, in which it was mentioned as a large heron resembling both the great blue heron and the great white heron.⁶⁶ The description was so brief and imprecise that Pearson could not be certain that he had ever seen a Ward's heron. In the summer of 1892, as he was returning to Guilford from a collecting trip to the Great Dismal Swamp and Cobbs Island, Virginia, he visited the Smithsonian Institution and talked with Robert Ridgway, curator of birds and one of the most eminent ornithologists in the United States.⁶⁷ Ridgway told him that the Ward's heron was the large blue heron commonly seen the year round in Florida and that the great blue heron (*ardea herodias herodias*) was only an occasional winter visitor. Later Pearson wrote to Frank Chapman asking for clarification. "Will you kindly inform me which is really [sic] the bird we have here."⁶⁸ Chapman agreed with Ridgway as to the distinction between the two birds and as to which was the Florida resident, but he did not regard them as representing two species. Taking the view that appears now to prevail, he classified the Ward's heron as merely a "peninsular race," or subspecies, of the great blue.⁶⁹

A teacher at Guilford gave Pearson two circulars issued by the

Audubon Society founded in 1886 by George Bird Grinnell, editor of *Forest and Stream*, and disbanded by him in 1889.⁷⁰ Drawing on these for information to support his own observations, Pearson composed an oration, "The Destruction of Our American Birds," that he delivered on May 21, 1892, at the annual contest of the Websterian Society. Under the "despotic rule of man," Pearson wrote, "thousands upon thousands" of birds were being needlessly destroyed each year. "This is not done by the collecting naturalist, for he limits himself to a few of the species; nor is the sportsman's gun so very destructive. But the great havoc is played by the murderous work of the plume hunter—men who spend their entire time in the woods and by the lakes killing birds for their plumes and feathers." Since the plume hunters killed because women wanted to beautify themselves with feathers, Pearson tried to show the cruelty by which such beauty was achieved. "In the Cypress swamps of Florida I have stood and gazed with horror upon the ghastly heaps of dead and putrifying Herons, while near by the smouldering embers of a camp fire also bore witness of the recent presence of the plume-hunter. But this was not all; on every hand, and from the Cypress limbs above me, came the screams of hundreds of starving young birds, while ever and anon, weakened by exposure and starvation, one would fall to the ground with a sickening thud."⁷¹

At the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, Pearson displayed the eggs of ten species of birds, some—possibly all—of which he had collected in Florida. They were part of an exhibit on North American birds mounted by Frank H. Lattin, who had urged participation by readers of *The Oologist*.⁷² Pearson provided eggs of the Florida barred owl, Florida grackle, laughing gull, wood duck, little blue heron, chuck-will's-widow, fish crow, loggerhead shrike, brown-headed nuthatch, and mockingbird.⁷³ While on an errand for Guilford College, he managed to visit the exposition.⁷⁴

Pearson spent the summer of 1894 in Florida collecting for the college museum. He stayed with his parents in Archer and went on expeditions from there. He made a trip to Cedar Key, from which a fishing boat took him to Connegan's Reef to collect brown pelicans. On other trips he collected minerals and fossils and captured marine life that he put in bottles of alcohol. During the course of the summer he mounted a total of twenty-seven birds.⁷⁵

In 1895, Pearson collaborated with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of North Carolina in the publication of a leaflet,

Echoes From Bird Land, An Appeal to Women, urging women to stop wearing bird feathers. Again he drew upon his experience in Florida. Describing an American egret rookery as he saw it after plume hunters had come and gone, he said, "The air was filled with the screams of young birds pleading for food which their dead mother could never bring. The buzz of green flies here and there in the swamp marked the spots where the plume hunters had shot down their victims."⁷⁶

Pearson's last summer in Florida was in 1896. Once more he stayed with his parents in Archer and made trips from there, collecting for Guilford College. For several days he was a guest in a hunter's one-room house near Palmetto, on the Manatee River, where the two men lived on "cornbread, jerked venison, dried grapes, and boiled buds of the cabbage palmetto."⁷⁷ Then he walked to Terra Ceia Bay and boarded a fishing boat that took him to Bird Key (later Indian Key Bird Reservation). During the night, he stumbled among the mangrove bushes until he was able to collect a man-o-war-bird, some cormorants and brown pelicans, and a clutch of brown pelican eggs.⁷⁸ At Archer, he collected an English sparrow, one of the first to be recorded in that part of Florida.⁷⁹ In the fall, he took these specimens to Guilford, along with a black duck, a swallow-tailed kite, a pair of roseate spoonbills, an assortment of nests, and more than "fifty varieties of shells and other curiosities of the sea."⁸⁰ He also took the message, as he put it in *The Auk*, that there was a "falling off in the number of large waders" in the parts of Florida he had visited.⁸¹

After graduating from Guilford in 1897, Pearson earned a second bachelor's degree at the University of North Carolina in 1899, returned to Guilford to teach for two years, 1899-1901, and then taught at the State Normal and Industrial College for Women in Greensboro (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro) from 1901 to 1904. Meanwhile, he published numerous articles on birds and, in 1901 his first book, *Stories of Bird Life*. In New York, the book was seen by William Dutcher, chairman of the bird protection committee of the American Ornithologists' Union, who asked Pearson to organize an Audubon society in North Carolina to promote adoption of a law to protect non-game birds.⁸² When Pearson began serving as the executive secretary of the state society, the preservation of birds and other wildlife supplanted the study of them as his major occupation. During the years 1904-1911, he divided his time between the Audubon Society of North Carolina

and the National Association of Audubon Societies. In 1910, when William Dutcher, first president of the National Association became ill, Pearson took over as the organization's executive officer. In 1911, after it became apparent that Dutcher would not soon recover, Pearson resigned from the Audubon Society of North Carolina and moved to New York. Upon Dutcher's death in 1920, Pearson became president of the National Association. He held that position until he retired in 1934.

Although Pearson never returned to Florida to live, throughout his life he drew upon the knowledge he had acquired there. Much of the content of *Stories of Bird Life*, which was designed primarily to stimulate in young people an interest in birds, was based on his observations in Florida. He also wrote *The Bird Study Book*, *Tales From Birdland*, *Adventures in Bird Protection*, and numerous articles and educational leaflets. In addition, he was senior editor of *Birds of America*, senior author of *The Birds of North Carolina*, and a major contributor to *The Book of Birds*.

As secretary and then president of the National Association of Audubon Societies, he made trips to Florida to study bird colonies, lobby for legislation, and promote the establishment and protection of bird reservations. For the Florida Department of Game and Fish annual report of 1915, he wrote an article on Florida bird life and listed 350 species of birds for which he could find records for the state.⁸³ Under his direction, the National Association organized Audubon clubs for children in Florida (2,000 clubs by 1930), distributed literature, provided lecturers, worked for the establishment of federal reservations, paid wardens to protect them, and supplied funds to help state officials enforce the laws.⁸⁴

In a historical survey of bird protection in Florida, Robert W. Williams wrote, "The long and unremitting, but finally triumphant struggle of the National Association of Audubon Societies for the rescue from extinction of the plume birds of Florida presents a record probably unparelled in the annals of conservation in this or any other country."⁸⁵

¹T. Gilbert Pearson, *Adventures in Bird Protection; an Autobiography* (New York, 1927), xiv.

²*Ibid.*; *Who was Who in America, 1943-1950*, 417; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, D, 334, and XXXIII, 339; *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three*, 592-93; *Bird-Lore*, XLV (January-February 1943), 26-29, XLV (November-December 1943), 370-71.

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³Pearson, *Autobiography*, 1-3; Earlham College, *Catalogue, 1875-1876*, 12; United States, Tenth Census, 1880, Indiana, Wayne County, Manuscript Census Schedules, v. 38, sheet 1, enumerating district 62, microfilm reel 322, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Carl (Charles H.) Webber, *The First Eden of the South ... Alachua County, Florida* (New York, 1883; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1981), 96-97.

⁴Pearson, *Autobiography*, 4-5; Webber, *Alachua County*, 73, 127; U.S. Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States*, Florida, Alachua County, precinct 11, Manuscript Census Schedules, microfilm reel 165, National Archives, Washington D.C. (microfilm available at Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.)

⁵Webber, *Alachua County*, 29.

⁶T. Gilbert Pearson, "The Wood Duck," *Ornithologist and Oologist*, XVI (September 1891), 134-35.

⁷Pearson, *Autobiography*, 9-22.

⁸*Ibid.*, 9.

⁹*Ibid.*; T. Gilbert Pearson, *The Mourning Dove*, *The National Association of Audubon Societies Educational Leaflet No. 2* (New York, n.d.), 5-8.

¹⁰Pearson, *Autobiography*, 9-10.

¹¹T. Gilbert Pearson, "A Day With the Herons in Florida," *The Oologist*, V (January 1888), 8-9. In the first years of Pearson's bird studies, when he had no field manual to guide him and the names of birds had to be gotten from local usage or wherever else he could find them, he at times applied the name great white heron to the American egret and the names white egret and American egret to the snowy egret. These usages do not appear in his writings after he obtained a copy of Elliott Coues's *Key to North American Birds* in 1891.

¹²Pearson, *Autobiography*, 10.

¹³Washington Post, August 9, 1958; *Who's Who in America, 1940-1941*, 2118; Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Biennial Report, 1893-94*, 152-53.

¹⁴Pearson, *Autobiography*, 12.

¹⁵Frank H. Lattin, *The Oologists' Handbook, 1885* (Rochester, N.Y., c. 1884).

¹⁶Pearson, *Autobiography*, 18.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 15-16.

¹⁸Elliott Coues, *Key to North American Birds*, 4th ed. (Boston, 1890), 12-13.

¹⁹Pearson, *Autobiography*, 17.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 18.

²¹T. Gilbert Pearson, "Collecting Experience," *The Oologist*, VII (February 1890), 25-26.

²²Pearson, *Autobiography*, 15-16.

²³*Ibid.*, 12.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 12-15.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 19.

²⁶Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Biennial Report, 1883-84*, 5; Pearson, *Autobiography*, 19.

²⁷Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Annual Report, 1888*, 33-35.

²⁸Pearson, *Autobiography*, 19.

²⁹Webber, *Alachua County*, 77; F.W. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical* (St. Augustine, 1929), 406-07.

³⁰Pearson, *Autobiography*, 16-21.

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³¹Ibid., 22.

³²United States, Tenth Census, 1880, Indiana, Wayne County, Manuscript Census Schedules, v. 38, sheet 1, enumerating district 62, microfilm reel 322, National Archives.

³³T. Gilbert Pearson, "Notes From Alachua Co., Florida," *The Oologist*, V (October-November 1888), 150. In this, Pearson's second published article, he applied the name great white heron to the American egret and the name American egret to the snowy egret.

³⁴T. Gilbert Pearson, "The Ibises of Ledworth Lake," *The Oologist*, IX (April 1892), 99-100.

³⁵T. Gilbert Pearson, "Nesting of the Pied-billed Grebe," *Ornithologist and Oologist*, XV (October 1890), 152-53.

³⁶T. Gilbert Pearson, "The American Anhinga," *Ornithologist and Oologist*, XVI (April 1891), 49-50. This is the last article in which Pearson applied the name great white heron to the American egret.

³⁷Pearson, "The Wood Duck," 134-35.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Pearson, *Autobiography*, 22; *The Oologist*, VII (December 1890), 257.

⁴⁰Elizabeth S. Austin, ed., *Frank Chapman in Florida: His Journals & Letters* (Gainesville, 1967), 79-85.

⁴¹Webber, *Alachua County*, 5; Buchholz, *History of Alachua County*, 284-85.

⁴²Pearson, *Autobiography*, 10-11; Austin, *Frank Chapman in Florida*, 46, 79-80, 123-30; Frank M. Chapman, *Autobiography of a Bird-Lover* (New York, 1933); *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three*, 161-62.

⁴³*The Auk*, V (July 1888), 267-77.

⁴⁴Pearson, *Autobiography*, 10.

⁴⁵Pearson to Chapman, April 8, 1891, T. Gilbert Pearson folder, Historical Correspondence, Department of Ornithology, American Museum of Natural History, New York, N.Y., hereinafter cited as Pearson folder, AMNH.

⁴⁶Notation by Chapman on Pearson's letter of April 8, 1891, *ibid.*

⁴⁷Pearson, *Autobiography*, 37; *The Guilford Collegian*, V (September 1893), 18; Austin, *Frank Chapman in Florida*, 80.

⁴⁸Ibid., 130; Pearson, "The Wood Duck," 134-35.

⁴⁹Pearson to Chapman, July 17, 1891, Pearson folder, AMNH.

⁵⁰Arthur H. Howell, *Florida Bird Life* (New York, 1932), 19; Austin, *Frank Chapman in Florida*, 88-121.

⁵¹Pearson to Chapman, July 17, 1891, Pearson folder, AMNH.

⁵²Ibid., July 17 and August 8, 1891.

⁵³*The Auk*, IX (January 1892), xx; Pearson to Chapman, August 8, 1891, Pearson folder, AMNH.

⁵⁴Pearson, *Autobiography*, 10.

⁵⁵Ibid., 20.

⁵⁶Ibid., 19.

⁵⁷Ibid., 17; Altus L. Quaintance, "The Pileated Woodpecker in Florida," *The Oologist*, VII (May 1890), 86-87.

⁵⁸Pearson, *Autobiography*, 22; Earlham College does not have complete registration records for the years prior to 1900. The college catalogs for 1875-1876

and 1876-1877 list Pearson's brother, Charles E. Pearson, as a student in the preparatory department.

⁵⁹Pearson, *Autobiography*, 22-24; *The Guilford Collegian*, VI (December 1893), 116; Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, "T. Gilbert Pearson and Guilford College," *Guilford College Bulletin*, XXXVII (January 1944), 1-8.

⁶⁰Pearson, *Autobiography*, 24; Gilbert, "T. Gilbert Pearson and Guilford College," 2-3.

⁶¹*The Guilford Collegian*, IV (October 1891), 53, IV (January 1892), 128.

⁶²*Ibid.*, IV (January 1892), 128.

⁶³*Ibid.*, VI (December 1893), 116.

⁶⁴Pearson, "The Ibises of Ledworth Lake," 99-100; T. Gilbert Pearson, "The Herons of Alachua County, Florida," *Ornithologist and Oologist*, XVII (March 1892), 36-37, XVII (May 1892), 71-72.

⁶⁵Pearson, "The Herons of Alachua County, Florida," part 1, 36.

⁶⁶Coues, *Key to North American Birds*, 658.

⁶⁷Pearson, *Autobiography*, 35; Paul H. Oehser, ed., *Biographies of Members of the American Ornithologists' Union* (Washington, 1954), 480.

⁶⁸*Pearson to Chapman, August 1, 1894. Pearson folder. AMNH.*

⁶⁹John K. Terres, *The Audubon Society Encyclopedia of North American Birds* (New York, 1980), 501; Chapman, *Handbook*, 132.

⁷⁰Pearson, *Autobiography*, 34; T. Gilbert Pearson, "Fifty Years of Bird Protection in the United States," in American Ornithologists' Union, *Fifty Years' Progress of American Ornithology, 1883-1933*, rev.ed. (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1933), 200-01.

⁷¹T. Gilbert Pearson, "The Destruction of Our American Birds," *The Guilford Collegian*, IV (June 1892), 240-42, IV (June 1892), 251.

⁷²*The Oologist*, X (March 1893), 90.

⁷³*Ibid.*, XI (January 1894), 14-20.

⁷⁴Pearson, *Autobiography*, 38.

⁷⁵*The Guilford Collegian*, VII (September 1894), 16, VII (November 1894), 73; T. Gilbert Pearson, "Hunting the Brown Pelican," *The Guilford Collegian*, VII (December 1894), 83-86.

⁷⁶T. Gilbert Pearson, *Echoes From Bird Land. An Appeal to Women*, with message from Eula L. Dixon, "State Supt. Dept. of Mercy, W.C.T.U., Snow Camp, N.C." (1895), n.p.

⁷⁷Pearson, *Autobiography*, 39.

⁷⁸T. Gilbert Pearson, "How We Got Our Man-o-War Bird," *The Guilford Collegian*, IX (November 1896), 76-78.

⁷⁹T. Gilbert Pearson, "Passer Domesticus at Archer, Fla., and Other Florida Notes," *The Auk*, XIV (January 1897), 99.

⁸⁰*The Guilford Collegian*, IX (September 1896), 16.

⁸¹Pearson, "Passer Domesticus at Archer Fla.," 99.

⁸²Pearson, *Autobiography*, 66.

⁸³Howell, *Florida Bird Life*, 532-34.

⁸⁴Robert W. Williams, "History of Bird Protection in Florida," in Howell, *Florida Bird Life*, 54-56.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 54. Pearson's father died in Archer in 1917, and his mother the following

year. Pearson died in New York in 1943, and was buried in Greensboro, North Carolina. His wife, the former Elsie Weatherly, a graduate of the Normal and Industrial College for Women, whom he had married in 1902, died in 1962. Also deceased are the couple's three children: Elizabeth Pearson (Mrs. Charles T.) Jackson. Thomas Gilbert Pearson, Jr., and William Gillespie Pearson. The one grandchild, Charles T. Jackson, Jr., became an attorney in New York, Helen Cubberly Ellerbe to the author, January 29, 1983; *The New York Times*, February 19, 1962; Margery Keith Kelly to the author, December 4, 1972; A.L. Hoover to the author, November 27, 1972; Charles T. Jackson, Jr., interview with the author, May 29, 1973.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jack D. Marietta. *The Transformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984. 352 pp. \$27.50.

During the 1950s and early 1960s, American historians sought to understand the nature of American society. Groups which stood aside from the mainstream or were excluded from it received sympathetic treatment, but only in their relationship to the nation as a whole. So it was that Sydney V. James in *A People Among Peoples* argued that as the Friends became more deeply implicated in American society, even as humanitarians and pacifists, they jettisoned much of their religious exclusivism. Two decades later, historians treat deviation and victimization as subjects in their own right. In his major reconsideration of James's thesis, Jack D. Marietta credits American Friends, during the middle decades of the eighteenth century, with a serious and extensive program of reform which tightened the bonds of discipline.

The first part of the book is a detailed examination of 12,998 disciplinary actions in Pennsylvania Quaker churches in which the author finds a deepening sense of spiritual obligation and sectarian cohesiveness that Henry Drinker called in 1788 "that Godly Simplicity into which the primitive Christians were led & out of all vain & corrupting amusements."

The second part of the book tells the more familiar story of the tribulations of the Quakers in Pennsylvania politics but from the fresh perspective of social ethics. Marietta is concerned with the concrete ways the Quakers dealt with their estrangement from American society and their duty to be pure and peaceable in that murky setting. He draws this view of social ethics as entwined with messy realities and increasingly more difficult for a community to practice--from his study of Quaker disciplinary cases, thus linking private and public spheres of their experience.

A final chapter on the Revolution brings this understanding into

focus: "Progress on Quaker ethics was not to be measured by what the church required, but by what the members volunteered to do--with the undisguised encouragement of the church. The number of Friends who refused to pay taxes for war had increased immensely since the French and Indian War, together with the amount of property lost on account of pacifism." That is surely an important finding, well worth the author's painstaking research in disciplinary cases and ethical discourse and probably not possible without it.

Robert M. Calhoun

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* * *

David S. Lovejoy. *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World: Heresy to Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985. viii, 291 pp. \$25.00

It is hard to think of any book in American religious history--except perhaps Sydney Ahlstrom's *magnum opus*--which covers as much ground with scholarly authority and interpretive verve as does this volume. The author of the standard works on pre-Revolutionary Rhode Island politics and the Glorious Revolution in America and now professor emeritus at Wisconsin, Lovejoy explores here the avowed reliance on the Holy Spirit as authority for dissenting beliefs which hostile commentators called "enthusiasm." Puritan Antinomians and Separatists, Quakers, Baptists, Dunkers, Moravians, Labadists, the whole vanguard of preachers and converts of the Great Awakening, and finally secular and sectarian millennialists of the pre-Revolutionary era provide the material for this book and pose the problems it seeks to solve.

The solutions range from the sensible to the ingenious. Lovejoy's commendable attention to Old World origins (four of the book's eleven chapters) creates a fascinating conceptual problem. He suggests in the introduction that "the New World. . .seemed to make spiritual truth easier to come by," thus rehabilitating somewhat the notion of American "exceptionalism" in matters of spirit and psyche. While he provides plenty of evidence to support that view, he also reveals that Old World enthusiasm was more radical and that in the

colonies wider opportunity turned dissenters toward problems of order and polity which encouraged conservative solutions. Perhaps what was easier to come by was also easier to temper.

Lovejoy's two chapters on the Quakers were a useful case in point. Nothing in American Quaker practice resembled the Friends who visited Wales in 1653 "trembling and quaking, . . . howling and yelling and roaring" so that they caused "dogs to bark, the swine to cry, and the cattel to run about." But when the itinerant Quaker, George Keith, tried to separate traditional Friends from their more zealous brothers and sisters, known as "the ranters," he only succeeded in bringing the two groups closer together and generated so much opposition that he departed for the Church of England.

Robert M. Calhoon

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

* * *

Philip F. Gura. *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620-1660*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1984. 398 pp. \$29.95.

Philip Gura has attempted in this book to do for seventeenth-century radical religious groups in New England what British historian Christopher Hill did for similar groups in England: place them in the context of Puritanism, and trace the ways in which Puritanism was shaped by their presence. Unlike Hill he has not used a Marxist approach. His is primarily an intellectual history less concerned with issues of economic class struggle. He argues "that in large measure New England Puritanism developed as it did because of, and not in spite of, the criticism of the colony from those in the population whose vision of the kingdom of God in America differed significantly from John Winthrop's." This effort distinguishes Gura's book from another new work on a similar topic (also reviewed in this issue of *The Southern Friend*), David S. Lovejoy's *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World: Heresy to Revolution*.

Gura's work is to be praised for the breadth of its scope, for in fact bringing together between two covers for the first time the full range of early New England radicalism. But has he made his point? The developments of New England Puritanism can be attributed to many

sources, among them the inner logic of the movement itself—essentially the argument put forward by Perry Miller. Gura shows us that the New England religious environment was considerably more complex than Miller surmised. But he does not make a convincing case that this religious environment was a major determining factor in the development of New England Puritanism.

Another difficulty is in Gura's characterization of New England radicalism as Puritan. Quaker historians have engaged in a longstanding debate about whether early Quaker thought was truly Puritan, or something else. There can be little doubt that Quakerism sprang from Puritan soil, or that it embraced and extended some of the tendencies of Puritanism, for example iconoclasm and the removal of "pagan" elements. But Quakerism also rejected the central tenets of Puritan Calvinism, including predestination, the marks of the true church, and creedalism. To characterize all New England radicalism as Puritan is to suggest that radical sects were merely alternative versions of Puritanism, not alternatives to it, a suggestion that both the Puritans and the radicals would have rejected.

Finally Gura's sources for his treatment of the Quakers are inadequate. He depends heavily on secondary sources, particularly Rufus Jones's seriously dated *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, which he describes as, "The best account of the Quakers' arrival in New England still." He omits from his notes and bibliography Arthur J. Worrall's excellent *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, NH, and London: University Press of New England, 1980), written to "incorporate recent scholarship and to use all relevant Quaker records," specifically in order to "replace Jones's work" for the colonial Northeast.

The value of Gura's work for Quaker scholars, therefore, is the same as its values for scholars of New England Puritanism: its comprehensive sketch of the religious landscape of early colonial New England.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Leonard Kenworthy, ed. *Living in the Light: Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century*. Vol. I, *In the U.S.A.*; vol. II, *In the Wider World*. Kennett Square, Pa.: Friends General Conference; Quaker Publications, 1984, 1985. 283, 273 pp. \$9.00/each.

Leonard Kenworthy has assembled in two volumes thirty-five biographical essays of Friends in this century, many of whom are still living, who have made important contributions to the world at large as well as to the Society of Friends. Volume I includes eighteen essays on twenty-one American Friends, while volume II has seventeen on Friends in other parts of the world. Nearly one-third of the essays are about women and ten of the Friends "in the wider world" are from countries other than England. The essays are written by persons with intimate knowledge of their subjects, either from close personal acquaintance or because they have studied and previously written about them. The length of the essays averages about fifteen pages which is long enough for some exploration of background and character and permits description of the major events and contributions of each life. Considering that there are thirty-one different contributors, the essays are remarkably consistent in format and emphasis.

The persons treated include a wide range of reformers, peacemakers, social service workers, educators, and explorers of the life of the spirit. Many of the subjects have made major contributions in more than one area of activity and all have based their work in the world on a deep spirituality which has been nurtured by or found a home in the Society of Friends. Common among them also are independence of mind, creativity and initiative, and a view of the world that is neither narrowly sectarian nor national.

In most cases some biographical material has already been published, but the reader would have to live near a major Quaker library to have access to most of it. Thus Leonard Kenworthy has served students of Quakerism well by providing in these two inexpensive volumes, basic information on and some analysis of several important shapers of twentieth century life. The usefulness of the books is enhanced by the inclusion of brief biographies of the authors, all of whom have made their own contributions of note and deserve their own volume of biographical essays.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

* * *

Willard Heiss and Thomas D. Hamm. *Quaker Genealogies: A*

Selected List of Books. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1985. 73 pages. \$4.95.

Some genealogical collections, especially those which emphasize Quaker Family history, have copies of Willard Heiss's *Quaker Genealogies: A Preliminary List*, distributed in 1974. Now, its successor is available in neat pamphlet form, and it more than doubles the number of titles listed in the earlier work to nine hundred or more. The addition of a cross-reference index of families "hidden" within other genealogies greatly increases the number of names which can be located. The list is not annotated but many of the titles are descriptive enough to enable the reader to make judgments about their usefulness.

Criteria for including a title as a Quaker genealogy were either that the progenitor and first generation in the work were Quaker, or that a substantial section of a non-Quaker genealogy covers a Quaker family. A few titles one might expect to find are not included because they turned out not to be Quaker or were not available for examination.

Some of the titles will be difficult to locate in libraries and almost none for purchase, but many are in one or more of the Quaker college libraries, especially the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College, the Earlham College Library, and the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College. The authors have thoughtfully added a list of the genealogical bibliographies or published catalogues of the Library of Congress and several major genealogical collections around the country.

The authors are especially well qualified to produce a work like this. Willard Heiss is best known for his editing of the *Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1962-1977) and is widely regarded as one of the foremost authorities on Quaker genealogy at present. Thomas Hamm teaches history at the Indiana University-Perdue University campus in Indianapolis and has been avidly working on Quaker families for several years, even while doing his doctoral research. They are to be thanked for producing this most helpful genealogical reference tool. It may be ordered from the publisher at 101 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

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Editorial Policy

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

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Publications Committee

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

THE
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FROM THE VESTRY ACT TO CARY'S REBELLION: NORTH CAROLINA QUAKERS AND COLONIAL POLITICS

by
Stephen Jay White

During the early years of the eighteenth century an insurrection known as Cary's Rebellion occurred in the northern part of Carolina, sometimes called Albemarle. The Religious Society of Friends in North Carolina played a prominent if somewhat misunderstood role in this uprising. The rebellion's cause was directly related to the Quakers' opposition to the efforts of the Church of England to establish itself as the dominant religious force in the colony. This endeavor became a disruptive and upsetting issue in North Carolina and "kept the province in a state of turmoil and confusion for almost a decade, finally culminating in a 'rebellion.'"¹

Cary's Rebellion actually consisted of two phases, political and military. Quakers actively participated in the former but refrained from the latter when the movement turned to violence. However, both contemporary observers and early historians suggested that the Quakers were involved not only politically but also militarily. One modern chronicler even calls Cary's Rebellion "The Quaker War."² Another historian, William Saunders, editor of the *North Carolina Colonial Records*, transmitted this myth into the twentieth century, when he wrote:

¹ Stephen Jay White is a Ph.D. candidate in American History at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

There seems to be but little doubt that the Quakers, how many, it is now impossible to say, bore arms during the Cary Rebellion. This violation of the principles of their faith was doubtless due to the fact that they were not born Quakers and were still under the dominion of the natural habit of belligerency.⁴

Yet in the final analysis grounds can be found that suggest Saunders was incorrect and that contemporary evidence for direct involvement of the Society of Friends as a group in the violent phase of Cary's Rebellion came from prejudiced sources with direct Anglican affiliations.

During the seventeenth century, North Carolina was an underdeveloped, sparsely populated, loosely governed colony which remained politically linked with South Carolina. The governor for the whole of Carolina was expected to reside in Charles Town and rule the entire colony. Geography, however, wrecked this fine scheme: "Between the colonies lay 300 miles of primeval wilderness, wide rivers, broad sounds and impenetrable swamps."⁴ In 1691 the rulers of Carolina, the eight lords proprietors, authorized the governor of the colony to call two separate legislatures for the two provinces and to appoint a "Deputy Governor of North Carolina." This deputy governor was technically subservient to the governor in Charles Town but, in reality, often acted as an independent agent.⁵

As the representative of the lords proprietors, the deputy governor of North Carolina was encouraged to make his colony as profitable as possible. The proprietors, correctly assuming that their province would be worthless in its backward state, encouraged almost anything that would swell the population and thereby increase the amount of money in their pockets. In the colony's earliest charter, the now famous Carolina charter of 1663, provision was made for toleration of dissenters, although it always was assumed that the Church of England would be "the church" in the province. Nonconformists, such as Quakers, were not slow to take advantage of this open door.⁶

Quakers who had been persecuted not only in England, but in Massachusetts and Virginia, looked for a haven where individuals could start a new life, worship as they pleased, and remain true to their beliefs.⁷ For this reason, members of the religious society were among the dissenters in the New World who looked to North Carolina as a southern sanctuary. Although the earliest Quakers in

North Carolina brought their religion with them, most Friends in the colony were converted during the visits of George Fox, the founder of the Society, and one of his main aides, William Edmundson. Dr. John Brickell, an English physician, commented during his visit to North Carolina in the early 1700s that "Quakers composed the only religious organization in the colony during the seventeenth century."⁸ In this type of environment the Society flourished and gained social, religious, and political control of northern Carolina.

While the proprietors for their own profit encouraged dissenters like the Quakers to prosper, they never intended Friends to become such a strong religious force. In the royal charters of 1663 and 1655 the proprietors implied that the Anglican church should be the only one to receive official encouragement. Their motives were more clearly revealed in the Concessions of 1665, the Fundamental Constitutions of 1669, and in the repeated instructions to the governors that the Church of England would be the established church of the colony.⁹

It was the neglect and inaction of the Anglicans, however, that allowed Friends to assume their position of prominence. Until 1700 there was not even one Episcopalian minister in the colony, and when one was finally sent he proved unsatisfactory.¹⁰ Quaker dominance severely worried the established church and as a result, many letters were written to England begging the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the SPG) to take a more active role.¹¹ An Anglican missionary, the Reverend John Blair, wrote such a letter in 1704 criticizing the Quakers as "the most powerful enemies to Church government. . . . a people very ignorant of what they profess."¹² Five years later the Reverend William Gordon, also a missionary for the Church of England, complained to the London church authorities that "there are few or no dissenters in this Government but Quakers."¹³ "The Quakers," he noted, "are very numerous, extremely ignorant, insufferably proud and ambitious, and consequently ungovernable."¹⁴ Still another minister, James Adams, informed the SPG that "the Quakers, alarmed at our arrival, did, in a most tumultuous manner, stir up the ignorant and irreligious . . . by bold lies and calumnies against both the government and us."¹⁵ However, Giles Rainsford, another cleric, expressed the fear of the Church of England most clearly when he wrote:

That poor colony (North Carolina) will soon be overrun

with Quakerism and infidelity if not timely prevented by your sending over able and sober missionaries as well as Schoolmasters to reside among them.¹⁶

The supporters of the Anglican church clearly saw the Society of Friends as a blasphemous adversary whom they must combat with strong measures. In response King William III finally agreed. It was this attempt to establish the Church of England which became the major cause for Cary's Rebellion.¹⁷

For many years Quakers had held the balance of power in North Carolina, including control of all branches of government, and were loath to give it up. The proprietors had induced Quakers to settle in North Carolina, and those Friends who desired to make their principles prevail in the affairs of the colony were strong and aggressive throughout this early period. This live and enterprising band of Quakers, led by Quaker proprietor John Archdale, "saw themselves for once in a region where their type of Christianity had no rival."¹⁸

John Archdale had migrated to America and settled in North Carolina around the winter of 1683. He was considered so important that Deputy Governor Seth Sothel received instructions to consult him in making his official appointments. These instructions read in part: "that he doe forwith, with the advice of Mr. Archdale, choose four of the discreatest honest men of the country . . . to be justices."¹⁹ During those times when Sothel was absent from the colony in the years 1685 and 1686, Archdale temporarily performed the duties of the deputy governor, evidently to the great satisfaction of the colonists. As Archdale wrote to George Fox, "the people are very fearful of falling into some troubles againe if I should leave them before my Bro. Sothel returns which makes my stay here longer."²⁰ Except for a brief tenure as Governor of Maine, Archdale returned to England in 1686 and remained there until 1694. In that year, after a procession of governors of indifferent qualifications in Charles Town, the proprietors selected Archdale as the new governor. He received his commission as governor of both Carolinas and was empowered to appoint a deputy in the northern colony. A year later, Archdale landed in Maine and traveled overland down through Virginia into North Carolina. He remained six weeks in Albemarle in an attempt to reduce the disorder in the colony, spending much of his time with Thomas Harvey, also a Quaker, who had been acting as deputy governor. Archdale evidently thought well of him, for when he

continued on his way to Charles Town he kept Harvey in charge of the administration in North Carolina.²³

Deputy Governor Harvey was recognized as a leader in the colony and was considered a man of good character who was interested in the welfare of the people. Because Quaker influence was paramount in North Carolina, Archdale selected a Quaker council. Since the leading colonists of the province were Quakers, they elected a Quaker assembly, and many justices and other public officials were likewise Friends.²⁴ Fearing Quaker dominance, the Anglican William Gordon blamed Archdale for the Church of England's poor showing in North Carolina.²⁵ His colleague, James Adams, thought similarly:

The Quakers, though not the seventh part of the inhabitants, yet, by the assistance and contrivance of Archdale, a Quaker and one of the lords proprietors, have in a manner the sole management of the country in their hands.²⁴

Even though Archdale had made intelligent appointments of deputies and had provided Albemarle with effective government, the Anglican missionaries saw him as a dangerous heretic. The Church of England rejoiced when he returned to the British Isles in 1698.²⁵

The Church of England now finally awoke from its slumber of some thirty years in North Carolina and took bold steps to regain its lost parishes and to gain control by a law establishing the church. In 1699 the Anglicans were aided by the appointment of Henderson Walker, an able and zealous churchman, as president of the council and acting deputy governor to replace William Harvey. Walker, disturbed that the colony had gone so long "without priest or altar," urged the bishop of London, who had religious jurisdiction over all the colonies, to send a permanent missionary to the province.²⁶ In 1700 Daniel Brett was dispatched as a missionary and schoolmaster at Walker's request. However according to Walker, Brett turned out to be "the monster of the Age." The acting deputy governor complained to the bishop that "the first minister who was sent us should prove so ill as to give the Dissenters so much occasion to charge us with him."²⁷ Brett, however, was only the first of many missionaries. From that time forward there was a strong party in the colony determined to make life difficult for those that would not conform.

Walker made huge strides toward church establishment when he

secured by "a great deal of care and management," the passage of the Vestry Act of 1701, the first church law in North Carolina. After many attempts the Anglicans had carried the act in the assembly, but only by "one or two votes." The Vestry Act provided for the laying out of parishes, the organization of vestries, the erection of churches, and a poll tax "not exceeding thirty pounds" on all titheables for support of clergyman.²⁷

Pleased by their victory, the churchmen then proceeded to implement the law, creating parishes in Chowan, Pasquotank, and Perquimans. The Quakers, supported by the Presbyterians and some Anglicans who were opposed to increased taxes, were determined to repeal the act at the next session of the assembly, which would have a Quaker majority. Walker wrote to the bishop of London:

My lord, I humbly beg leave to inform you, that we have an Assembly to sit the 3rd November next, and there is above one half of the burgesses that are chosen Quakers, and have declared their designs of making void the act for establishing the Church.²⁸

The proprietors, however, rejected the law, much to the relief of the Society of Friends and their allies. They did this, not to support the Quakers, but because the law gave too much authority to the vestry and did not provide adequate salaries for the clergy. However, the idea of an established vestry was not dead, and Quaker jubilation was short-lived. In spite of the fact that Friends had a large representation in the lower house, Walker secured the passage of a second Vestry Act in 1703, which was designed not only to break Quaker religious power but political power as well. It included most of the provisions of the first act; in addition, all members of the assembly were required to take an oath that they were communicants of the Church of England and an oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. This provision of the new Vestry Act also denied the right of affirmation which the Quakers had enjoyed for many years.

In the middle of this swirl of controversy, Walker became sick and died. If, however, the Quakers hoped that Walker's death would weaken Anglican resolve, they were mistaken. Robert Daniel, sent to replace Walker, was an equally dogmatic Episcopalian and vigorously continued to enforce the Vestry Act. Further, Daniel received the full approval of the proprietors and was given the title of deputy governor, not acting deputy governor as Walker had held. Daniel and other Anglican leaders contended that the oath had nothing to do

with the question of the established church. Quakers, however, maintained that it was aimed directly at them and that they were being denied their rights. Because Friends could not in good conscience take any oath, Daniel had effectively excluded all Quakers from office. By this action the assemble was cleared of Quakers, and Daniel thought he had a majority willing to follow his leadership.

Daniel's policies were so unpopular that the Quakers and other dissenting forces in North Carolina secured his removal from office after only a year. Thomas Cary, a successful Charles Town merchant and a step-son-in-law of John Archdale, was named deputy governor to replace Daniel, and Friends were encouraged that he would return to the previous policies of tolerance. Archdale described Cary, who married the daughter of his wife's first husband, as a "sober discreet and hopeful young man about 27 years old . . . who principally on my account is governor of the North."² Nevertheless he was also, in the words of late nineteenth-century North Carolina historian Francis Lister Hawks, an "artful demagogue."³

Although Cary had been considered friendly to dissenters in South Carolina, "his conduct in North Carolina was even more offensive to Quakers than his predecessors."⁴ Cary alienated the dissenters by enforcing the oath of allegiance, thereby continuing to deprive the Friends of their seats in the legislature. He further imposed a fine of five pounds on anyone who entered office without taking the oath to Queen and Church.⁵ Missionary William Gordon wrote that "this so nettled the Quakers that in the year 1706, they sent one John Porter to England with fresh grievances and new complaints to the Lords Proprietors."⁶

The extent that English Quakers supported Porter and contributed to the success of his mission has never been fully examined, but there is evidence to suggest that they were involved. As early as January 14, 1706, the meeting for sufferings of London Yearly Meeting of Friends recorded that they had received a "letter brought in by John Porter . . . for the removing of the Governor of Carolina."⁷ On the 28th of January, the meeting additionally recorded that "the letter to friends there [North Carolina] about removing of their Governor is sent to John Porter."⁸ This exchange of letters intimates that the London Yearly Meeting cooperated with Porter's objectives and clearly demonstrates the direct lines of communication between London and Carolina Quakers.

Porter's prime objectives were to restore the rights of the Quakers to hold office, to obtain the repeal of the laws requiring the members of the assembly to take an oath of office, and to restore to the colony the privilege of choosing its own deputy governor from among the council. This amounted to the removal of Cary. It can be inferred through an entry in the minutes of the meeting for sufferings that London Friends agreed with and cooperated with these wishes: "John Hisle acquainted the meeting that John Porter had been with him for some time the charge of obtaining the repeal of those severe laws in Carolina that were injurious to our friends there."³⁹ The same entry also hints at the involvement of the London Yearly Meeting on the behalf of the North Carolinians toward the Quaker proprietor, John Danson [Dawson].⁴⁰

Danson had been interested in the Quakers of North Carolina for some time and would send them an entire library of books over the course of several years.⁴¹ That the London Friends felt that Danson could help is found in another entry:

Edwards Wrigles (?) acquaints this meeting that the friends appointed had met with John Porter (who they find to be a very friendly man) . . . the Friends of North Carolina was of the opinion that the law made there for Imposing an oath on Persons in office or members of the Assembly has been sureptiously (sic) and unduly by the singular practices of the Governor . . . They are of the opinion that the Lords Proprietors (will) disallow Said Law and redress other Grievences.⁴²

London Friends later reported that "several other friends appointed attended the Lords Proprietors and that they were fairly heard and afterwards were called in and acquainted that they would remove the present Governor and put the Quakers and their allies into office under their protection."⁴³

In addition to the help of London Friends and friendly proprietors, Porter's visit to England was well timed, for he found that public attention was focused on Carolina affairs due to two recent publications: the first was John Ashe's *Representation of the Case of the Dissenters in South Carolina*; the second, Daniel Defoe's *Party Tyranny in Carolina*. Under these circumstances, Porter obtained substantial redress of grievances and after a year in England, he returned to North Carolina bearing a commission for the settling of

the government.⁴⁴

According to this commission, all laws regarding oaths were to be suspended; the affirmation of Quakers was to be restored; new proprietary deputies were to be appointed, most of whom were to be Quakers; and the council was authorized to elect a president to act as deputy governor and direct the election of a free assembly. However, when Porter returned in the fall of 1707, he found Cary in South Carolina and William Glover acting in his place. Glover, who had been elected president of the council, had administered the affairs of the colony for more than a year as acting deputy governor.⁴⁵

At first, Porter and the Quakers accepted this arrangement, and it seemed satisfactory to everyone. However, when Glover refused to accept new members of the council until they took the oath, the Quakers realized they once again had misjudged a new deputy governor and turned elsewhere for assistance. Confessing his disappointment, Porter broke off relations with Glover and called a new council without the benefit of the assembly.⁴⁶ In doing so, the Quakers found a new ally in the person of Thomas Cary! Porter and his followers formed this strange alliance and selected Cary as the newest president of the council and acting deputy governor. No doubt Cary had promised to respect the wishes of the Quakers if he were allowed to retain his office.⁴⁷ Now that his mentor, Lord George Granville, a staunch churchman, was dead, Cary, it appears, could accept the Quaker views with less hesitation.⁴⁸

After being overthrown, William Glover refused to relinquish power and, protesting the "illegal" action of the council, began plotting to retake office by force if necessary. Both factions prepared for military action, thus beginning the second phase of the rebellion. This violent clash would decide which of the two rival governments would rule. Each side claimed to be lawful and legitimate, and both had supporters who loudly proclaimed their opponents to be rebels and traitors. Colonel E. Jennings of Virginia wrote to the lords of trade during this period "that they [Quakers] had the cunning to set all the Country in flame and all but themselves in arms against one another."⁴⁹

In an attempt to compromise, the two leaders agreed to submit their respective claims to the voters. Colonel Thomas Pollock, an aide to Glover and a zealous churchman who later became governor of North Carolina, negotiated an agreement with Cary that each man would issue separate writs for an election of the assembly.⁵⁰ Each of

the two counties which comprised North Carolina at the time thus took part in an election which would be bitterly contested. Albemarle County consisted of the four precincts of Pasquotank, Perquimans, Currituck, and Chowan. The County of Bath consisted of three precincts: Pamptecough (Pamlico), Wickham, and Archdale. Each of the four Albemarle precincts had five delegates; the Bath precincts had two delegates each.

A majority of the delegates stood with Cary, and his faction carried all of Bath, while Pasquotank and Perquimans had always been Quaker spheres of influence. Glover controlled only Currituck; Chowan was evenly divided. When the legislature convened in October 1708, there were two sets of delegates from each county. Although Glover's representatives were ousted by the powerful speaker of the house and Cary supporter, Edward Mosely, Glover refused to recognize the legality of any action taken by delegates who would not take the oath.⁵¹

Despite the fact that the legislature had been duly elected, Glover continued to insist that all members of the assembly must be sworn and all Quakers must be expelled before he would abide by any of their legislative decisions. His protests were met with scorn and ridicule. Opponents pointed out that Glover appealed to the people, and after losing, now wished to reverse their judgement. His efforts failed, however, and after withdrawing from his agreement to submit his claims to the decision of the assembly, Glover fled to Virginia with Pollock and many other supporters, still claiming to be the lawful governor.⁵²

Historian Stephen Weeks gives the credit for Cary's victory to John Porter, whom he calls "the cleverest politician in all colonial North Carolina. He outwitted the Church party so completely on this occasion that its defenders are still unable to comprehend his policy." According to Weeks, Porter knew that he technically had never given Glover the new instructions from the lords proprietors and that until he did, Cary was still deputy governor by law.⁵³ The Cary faction, which remained in power from 1708 to 1711, brushed aside Glover's claims, declared all laws during the Glover regime void, and appointed numerous Quakers to office.⁵⁴ With Thomas Cary acting as the president of the council and deputy governor, and a council consisting primarily of Quakers and Quaker sympathizers, the Cary government was left virtually intact.

Although the Quakers did not take part in military preparations,

they were quick to take advantage of any official positions available. Emanuel Lowe, Archdale's son-in-law, was appointed to the land office and other Quakers, Presbyterians, and dissenters were given public employment. Thus Glover's supporters were turned out of office and replaced by those sympathetic to Cary. Anglican missionary James Adams wrote in 1708:

Our old worthy patriots who have for many years born rule in the government with great applause, cannot without concern and indignation think of their being turned out of council because they are members of the Church of England, and that shoemakers and other mechanics should be appointed in their room, merely because they are Quaker preachers.⁵⁵

Historian S. A. Ashe described Cary's management as one marked by a considerable expansion and development of the province, yet the administration was not efficient. The new men appointed to office were not trained in official duties, grave complaints were constant, and the government lost some of the prestige it had acquired on the withdrawal of Glover and his adherents to Virginia.⁵⁶

When notified about the chaotic conditions in their colony, the lords proprietors decided in late 1710 to appoint a governor for North Carolina who was independent of Charles Town. Thus Edward Hyde, a purported cousin of Queen Anne and a staunch churchman, was named the first governor of an independent and legally separated North Carolina. Hyde landed in Virginia in 1710 and was to travel to Charles Town to be sworn in, but complications connected with the death of Edward Tynte, the governor of both Carolinas, delayed Hyde's official appointment until 1712. Glover's faction anxiously awaited Hyde's arrival and hastened to present its case before him when he landed in Virginia, where he remained after the death of Tynte in Charles Town. Being thought by many to be related to the Queen, he possessed great respectability, and popular opinion in North Carolina turned away from Cary to Hyde.⁵⁷

Since there was no question that the proprietors had designated Hyde as governor, even Cary was persuaded to join in an invitation that he should come to North Carolina and replace him as the president of the council and deputy governor.⁵⁸ In January of 1711 this invitation was accepted and Hyde journeyed to North Carolina, settling in Chowan near the home of Pollock and Glover who had

returned with him.

Although Hyde came to power by common consent, one question remained: how would Hyde decide the old unavoidable problem concerning Quaker participation in the government? As Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia wrote at the time, this question could not be avoided.⁵⁹

Hyde might have decided the matter in favor of Cary's position, which would have been consistent with the original intentions of religious freedom in the Fundamental Constitutions, but the influence exerted by the Glover faction and the fact that Hyde was another staunch churchman worked against Cary's party. In addition, Glover's supporters had met Hyde upon his arrival in Virginia and had presented their case to him. No doubt, Hyde also espoused the views held by the Glover faction since they were in conformity with the prevailing notions in England in regard to the Quakers.⁶⁰ The newly appointed Anglican missionary, Dr. John Urmston, wrote:

After long debates he (Hyde) persists in Mr. Glover's opinion of not suffering the quakers who had deputations either forged or granted by those who were not proprietors to be of the council or have any thing to do in the Administration.⁶¹

Pollock commented to the lords proprietors that during this period "the Quakers are not permitted to sit in the Assembly."⁶² Urmston described this assembly as:

a strange mixture of men of various opinions and inclinations a few Churchmen many Presbyterians Independents but most anythingarians some out of principle and others out of hopes of power and authority in the Government to the end that they might Lord it over their Neighbors all conspired to act answerable to the desire of the president and Council.⁶³

The new assembly passed a law for the punishment of "seditious words or speeches" and "scurrilous libels" against the government, imposed a fine of one hundred pounds on all officials who refused to qualify "according to the strictness of the laws of Great Britain now in force," and provided that "all such laws made for the church" were effective. All of the laws of Cary's second administration were nullified. The assembly also petitioned the lords proprietors to remove Cary, Porter, and Mosely from any share in the government

and to recognize that it had declared void all proceedings of Cary's courts for the past two years with certain exceptions.⁶³

These decisions by Hyde and the Church faction opened up all the old wounds and served to galvanize the opposition to the Hyde-Glover faction. The Cary officers withdrew their support and declared that Hyde, having no commission, was not a legal governor. They kept all their records, seals, and other symbols of office and would not surrender them to Hyde's appointees.⁶⁴

The assembly, called by Hyde at Colonel Pollock's residence in Chowan, declared that since Cary and Porter had not attended as members of the council, they were guilty of sedition. The assembly impeached and removed them from office because of their "high crimes and misdemeanors" and committed them to the custody of the provost marshal. An act was passed directing Cary to account for all funds that he had collected for the lords proprietors. When he failed to do so, Hyde had all of Cary's property seized for security. Baron Christoph Von Graffenried, later a member of the council, neutral at first but later a strong supporter of Hyde, reported that Cary was arrested for treason and non-payment of debts but soon made his escape.⁶⁵

Cary was accompanied by Porter in his flight from the provost marshal. Hyde immediately raised a force to track them down and return them to custody. On Sunday, May 26, 1711, Hyde collected about 80 men at his house and the next day crossed the Pamlico Sound and went twelve miles up the river where he increased his force to 150. Hurrying through the wilderness, they reached Cary's house at Pamlico on the 28th of May, finding that Cary had been warned and had escaped to Governor Daniel's old house a few miles down the river. The next day Hyde advanced toward Cary's refuge, finding him fortified with five pieces of cannon and forty followers. Unwilling to take the casualties that would have been necessary to storm the house, Hyde withdrew. One of Hyde's men, a relative, was killed accidentally during the expedition. As historian S.A. Ashe has noted: "So ended Hyde's fiasco, and well indeed it terminated there! Whatever else may have been the disposition of Cary, he was not a man to shun danger, no matter in what form it came."⁶⁶

Cary then proceeded to convince the people of the Pamlico area that Hyde's assembly was not called by proper authority, that it was not duly elected, and that Hyde was not deputy governor since he had no commission. Cary did not stop with mere political activity,

however, he erected his standard and began to gather his forces. They met at his house and made preparations for war. Cary's house was well supplied "with Great Guns and other warlike stores." He also had a "Brigantine of six Guns" and some other ships "Equipp'd in a warlike manner" hidden nearby. The brig belonged to Emmanuel Lowe, a Quaker, who armed it with cannon and helped equip a smaller ship.⁶⁸ Baron Von Graffenried, now a member of Hyde's council, ridiculed these preparations, declaring that Cary:

became an open and declared rebel and brought together a gang of tramps and roiters by means of promises and . . . by means of good liquor, rum and brandy to which he treated the rabble, he secured many adherents and they finally came to an open rebellion against Mr. Hyde.⁶⁹

A Captain Roach, an agent for the Quaker proprietor Danson, brought his ship into Pamlico Sound with a cargo of several cannon and a quantity of small arms and ammunition. Graffenried described the scene:

At this same time there came from London a turbulent fellow (Roach) with a ship full of goods belonging to A Quaker who was also one of the proprietors, and wanted to trade in these parts. he was immediately won over by the opposing party and this strengthened their courage, because he was well provided with shot, powder and lead. This man libeled and defamed the governor, giving out that he had different orders from the Lords Proprietors, but not in favor of Edward Hyde.⁷⁰

Missionary Urmston wrote that Roach unfairly attacked the Hyde faction, claiming that "Roach and the Quakers reported that the Baron (Graffenried) had no credit in England, nor had he any money anywhere." In this same letter, Urmston attacked the Quaker proprietor Danson by calling this "another instance of Quaker Knavery" and accused Danson of bragging to his friends that he could get them an estate "by these foreigners" by taking land from Graffenried's Swiss settlers around New Bern.⁷¹

Hyde and his supporters, inflamed by the arrival of Roach, prepared for war. However, it is significant to note that the Quaker districts of Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Currituck seem not to

have been involved in the fray, and the majority of Quakers remained quiet and associated with neither side. The other citizens of the colony responded so slowly to Hyde's call for active support that he realized that he would be at a great disadvantage if he attacked Cary immediately. Hyde thus appealed to Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia for help.

On June 20, 1711, Spotswood sent a Mr. Clayton as a mediator to seek a suspension of military operations until the differences between the factions could be ironed out and presented to the lords proprietors. Clayton took with him two letters from Spotswood, one each for Hyde and Cary, urging moderation and reconciliation. By June 25, 1711, Clayton had reached Hyde's headquarters at Pollock's home west of Edenton, and the next day delivered the second letter to Cary, whose ships were on the sound about twelve miles from Hyde.⁷² Clayton persuaded Cary to meet Hyde the next day and leave his forces in place. Meanwhile Hyde, finding the meeting place "inconvenient," suggested two other places for a conference on the 28th. This proposition, according to Hyde did not reach Cary in time because of bad weather, and negotiations were broken off.⁷³

Upon hearing this, Cary became extremely angry and announced that he would seize Hyde and his council and that Hyde might expect the same fate that befell Colonel Daniel Parke at Antigua, who had been torn limb from limb.⁷⁴ Realizing that the time for mediation had passed, Cary decided on June 30, 1711, that the time was ripe for an attempt to seize Hyde. Cary, Roach, and Emmanuel Lowe, who was described as "a Quaker . . . who contrary to the foremost article of his own religion or sect, had made himself a colonel," approached Pollock's house by water in the brig owned by Lowe.⁷⁵ The flotilla lay still in the water and fired two cannon from the brig and Cary, after throwing his forces into two smaller boats, eagerly made for the shore.⁷⁶ Hyde's forces had been deployed along the shore and were ready and waiting for the attack; they returned the musket fire from the ships. As Graffenried wrote: "We put ourselves in the best position possible, and had only two pieces and not more than some 60 armed men."⁷⁷ Cary's men tried to land but Hyde's forces repelled them, striking "terror into Cary's men who quickly returned to their vessels and sought to draw off."⁷⁸ However, an additional factor may have influenced their retreat. One of Graffenried's servants was dressed in a yellow coat, which led to the impression that some of

Queen Anne's troops were present. Since it was treason to make war against representatives of the Queen, Cary's forces withdrew.

Flushed with victory, Hyde manned some boats of his own and took off in pursuit. Cary's forces were now fleeing in complete disarray and they ran the brig aground on the nearest shore and fled into the woods. When Hyde's boats approached, they captured the brig, six cannon, the crew of three sailors and her owner, Emmanuel Lowe. Hyde then issued a proclamation pardoning all the rebels except Cary and his chief lieutenants. This, along with Cary's military failure, tended to draw people away from Cary; his forces rapidly dispersed and his support evaporated.⁷⁹

Cary and Roach, however, were unwilling to surrender and fortified themselves at Palico. Hyde manned the captured brig with a force of his own men and sailed to Roach's house to capture the fugitives. Finding that Cary was once again too well entrenched, he retreated without attacking. Twentieth-century historian S. A. Ashe suggests that "again did the governor find discretion the better part of valor."⁸⁰ Once again Hyde sent to Governor Spotswood of Virginia for help. In response Spotswood sent

a man of war with the usual equipment of sailors. Since they were likewise servants of the Queen, were in red uniforms, and moreover were good soldiers, they could accomplish much; Soon after this there arrived a valiant captain with his brave marines.⁸¹

Spotswood later wrote that they "found a mob up in arms obstructing the cause of justice, demanding dissolution of the Assembly and the Repeal of all Laws they disliked."⁸² The sight of these troops so frightened the rebellious party that they dispersed with great haste, leaving their leaders to fend for themselves. Cary and several of his most active supporters escaped to Virginia and made plans to sail to England to present their case in person to the lords proprietors. However, on July 31, 1711, they were seized by Spotswood and arrested for treason; they were quickly shipped to England on a man of war under charges of sedition and rebellion.

Cary and his lieutenants arrived in London on September 25, 1711, but amazingly enough they were freed without trial for "lack of evidence," perhaps due to the intercession of Danson or Archdale. A year later Cary returned to North Carolina, and Hyde, having been instructed by the lords proprietors not to punish any of the parties who had participated in Cary's Rebellion, left him alone. Cary's

return exited neither the hopes of his former friends nor the fears of his enemies. Bitter experience had taught both a lesson, and Cary, finding no further opening for the exercise of his talents in North Carolina, "departed for the West Indies, where history loses sight of him."⁵⁴ Thomas Cary's part in the rebellion was at an end but the effects, results, and repercussions lingered on.

Even though Cary was unable to rekindle "the fire of differences and division among the people, his rebellion had left the colony weakened, divided, and demoralized."⁵⁵ Three years of virtual civil war, a series of bad crops, and the "sharp" and "irregular" practices of the Carolina traders who "dealt too hard" with the natives and cheated them in many ways, proved to be an explosive situation. This was coupled with the fact that the Indians knew that the Quakers would not fight. In September 1711, the Tuscarora Indians, frustrated by white actions and encouraged by their division, thus attacked the white settlements of North Carolina and slaughtered hundreds of people. It was the most disastrous Indian war in the history of the colony, and Cary and the Quakers quickly received the blame.

Supporters of Edward Hyde accused "John Porter [of going] among the Indians. . . to persuade them to fall upon the people of the western shores of Chowan, the inhabitants there having espoused the case of Hyde."⁵⁶ Anglicans suggested that the Indians, instead of attacking them, had waited until after Cary's Rebellion for a more opportune time. Dr. Francis Hawks, an historian who seems to have admired Thomas Pollock, appears to have given this idea credence.⁵⁶ Pollock, who became governor after Hyde, blamed the Quakers when he wrote to Governor Spotswood some nine months after the Tuscarora War: "Our own divisions, chiefly occasioned by the Quakers and some few evil-displaced persons, hath been the cause of all our trouble."⁵⁷

Cary's connection with Quaker ex-governor John Archdale and the involvement of the Society of Friends in the early stages of the rebellion led many people to believe that Friends were greatly involved, thus reinforcing the prejudices of the Anglican establishment. Governor Spotswood, never an admirer of the Quakers, wrote to the Earl of Rochester:

Since Quakers are a numerous people there; and have fatally trusted with a large share in the administration of

that Government (North Carolina), and have often taken up arms to maintain themselves therein; Since it has been the common practice there to resist and imprison their Governors, as they look upon that as lawful which has so long tolerated, but lately since neither the Great Moderation (I may justly say) prudent behavior of Mr. Hyde, nor the respect due his birth and Character, could avail anything on that mutinous people. I cannot see how it is possible to reduce that Anarchy into a regular form of government, without their Governor be invested with a greater Authority than the Lords Proprietors can confer.⁸⁸

Stephen B. Weeks, the most noted historian of early North Carolina Quakers, disputes these charges; he claims that they were "made by the aristocracy in North Carolina in 1705-11. [and are] more easily made than proved."⁸⁹ Weeks does not deny that there was some Quaker involvement in the rebellion but notes that "Quakers took an important part in the first half of the struggle [only]." He concedes that some Quakers' actions were "unnecessarily harsh" and that "Cary and the Quakers fell into errors and committed blunders that are not to be defended." However grave these errors were, Weeks criticized some writers who unjustly called Cary's insurrection a "Quaker Rebellion."⁹⁰

The evidence seems to support Weeks' contentions. Few Quaker names are found among Cary's faction; Emmanuel Lowe was the most prominent exception. Thomas Cary and John Porter, thought by many to be Quakers, took oaths of office to the Queen, something a true member of the Society of Friends would never have done. Lowe, on the other hand, was a member of the religious society and the only Quaker to be punished by the yearly meeting. It appointed a committee to deal with his offenses which was "to inquire into the action of Lowe in stirring up a parcel of men in arms, and going to Pamlico, and from there to Choawn on a Barkentine with men and Force of Arms contrary to our Holy Principles."⁹¹ Lowe was removed from the yearly meeting's Executive Committee but presumably, because he expressed suitable regrets for his actions and promised to refrain from warlike behavior in the future, was not disowned from the society. Friends were very firm in their actions concerning members involved in violence. The yearly meeting emphasized that

"Those Friends who have given away their Testimony of Hiring, Paying and Working to make any fort or defence against enemies do give from their hands to the monthly meeting [a written statement] for the clearing of the truth."³² It stands to reason that if Lowe, one of the most prominent men in the Society of Friends in North Carolina, was tried, the lesser offenders would have been tried likewise. Lowe, however, was the only member who had action taken against him.³³

Cary's Rebellion was indeed an insurrection influenced by Quakers, and some Quakers did participate in its violent phase; however, to claim that the whole Society was responsible for the mistakes of a few is an error made by the Anglican establishment and perpetuated by a succession of Carolina historians. The rebellion was an important event in the history of North Carolina which harmed the Quakers of the colony several ways: first, the rebellion had a disrupting effect on the province; it cast a shadow of doubt on the religious society; the Friends were remembered for the role they had played in the early part of the insurrection; and finally, the rebellion ended to all intents and purposes the active political life and power of Quakers in North Carolina. Throughout the whole rebellion, the Society of Friends as a group was innocent of contemporary and subsequent criticism of their role in the insurrection. Perhaps Stephen Weeks best summarized the situation:

The conclusion is that the Quakers, as an organization, had nothing to do with this part of the movement—the violent part], but that they continued steadfast in their testimony against war. They refused during the next four years to take part in the Indian War [1711-1714], and this discovery relieves them of the inconsistency of bearing arms at one time and refusing at another, and agrees with the statement of Pollock that they became good citizens when left to themselves.³⁴

Modern-day Quaker historian Henry G. Hood, Jr. agrees that the main issue of the rebellion was religious freedom and that "Quakers generally took no part in the rebellion"; if they had, it would have violated their testimony of non-violence.³⁵

If the blame for the violent phase of Cary's Rebellion has been unjustly placed on the shoulders of the North Carolina Quakers, what then is the significance and relationship of the insurrection to the society of Friends in the colony? One way of judging the impact

and consequence of Quakers on politics in colonial North Carolina is to compare their situation to that of Friends in the other regions of America. The political activities of the Quakers in the American colonies have been explored most fully for Pennsylvania, but there have been other recent studies which have concentrated on the South. For our purposes, Maryland as well as Pennsylvania will serve as points of comparison.

It is a fact that Cary's Rebellion severely restricted active Quaker power in North Carolina politics. It is interesting to compare their fall from power with a similar occurrence which took place in Pennsylvania in 1756. Pennsylvania Quakers were more solidly entrenched and much more sophisticated in the affairs of government. The members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends were forced by their own convictions, and not necessarily by outside forces, to abdicate their political power in the colonial government. It was the advent of a declared war against the Delaware and Shawnee Indians that made them lay aside the reins of power for what they believed, according to the historian Daniel Boorstin, would be only a short period.⁶⁶

However, Quaker historian Frederick B. Tolles believed that "the years 1756-1758 marked more than the end of an era in the political history of Pennsylvania; they witnessed the beginning of thorough-going 'reformation' in the Society of Friends."⁶⁷ Quakers, in withdrawing from the political scene in Pennsylvania, were better able to pursue their other functions and act as the conscience of the colony. It is interesting to note that Cary's Rebellion started among North Carolina Friends the beginnings of their own reformation forty years before the Pennsylvania Quakers'. This reformation would turn Carolina Quakers away from the world and make them a "peculiar people," outsiders in their own land.⁶⁸ The Philadelphia Quakers had laid down power on account of principle; by contrast, power was roughly torn from the hands of the North Carolina Friends. However, the results were both the same; each group lost its influence and its role in colonial politics was almost eliminated. As Tolles relates about northern Quakers, Carolina Quakers too

abandoned the outer plantation and turned again to the cultivation of the plantation within. For the increased spirituality and humanitarian zeal which followed...they paid a price; the loss of immediate influence upon the world.⁶⁹

Maryland, however, was slightly different. Although Friends had contributed substantially to the early evolution of county and provincial government in the colony, they were not the founders of the province as in Pennsylvania. Eventually Maryland Quakers voluntarily withdrew from some offices and were forced from others. But like the Friends of North Carolina, they "became integrally involved in struggles to create viable political institutions."¹⁰⁶ Additionally, both groups served as role models for the way a colonial government should be run. Maryland and North Carolina Quakers both presented "prosperity, stability, and [a] moral example . . . [of] political and social importance, for . . . colonists [who] were . . . overwhelmingly poor, ill-educated and often illiterate, undisciplined, and generally, ill-fitted, in contemporary eyes, for political responsibility."¹⁰⁷ As David Jordan has said of Maryland Friends, North Carolina Quakers too "helped to stimulate a more open discussion of governmental proceedings" and involved the colonists more extensively in legislative affairs.¹⁰⁸

Thus the North Carolina Quakers, because of Cary's Rebellion, left a dual legacy to the colony: they became a conscience for social matters as in Pennsylvania, and they became "God's Candle" in the government of North Carolina as in Maryland.¹⁰⁹ But the golden age of Quaker history, which had been started in North Carolina by George Fox himself in 1672, was now over: the society would no longer take aggressive action to maintain its position in the province. Yet the end of Quaker political power did not mean the end of Quaker influence in North Carolina; this influence would survive and continue over the next three centuries in the Tar Heel State.

¹⁰⁶ Hugh T. Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), p. 58. For a brief summary of Cary's Rebellion see Nancy Judd Martin, "North Carolina Quakers in Politics," *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* 3 (Spring 1981): pp. 628-629.

¹⁰⁷ Francis C. Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends: The Story of Quakerism in North Carolina* (Boston: Christopher Publishing, 1959), P. 150.

William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh: P.M. Hale, 1880-1895), vol. 1, p. xxix; hereafter cited as *N.C. Recs.*

⁴R.D.W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding the Ancient Commonwealth*, 2 vols. (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1925), I, p. 5.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶Hugh F. Rankin, *Upheaval in Albemarle: The Story of Culpepers' Rebellion, 1675-1689* (Raleigh: The Carolina Tercentenary Commission 1962), pp. 4-5.

⁷Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 28-29.

⁸John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina (Dublin: 1737)*, pp. 34-35.

⁹Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, p. 58.

¹⁰"Henderson Walker to the Bishop of London" (Oct. 21, 1703), *N.C. Recs.*, Vol. 1, p. 572.

¹¹The name of the Society will hereafter be cited as SPG.

¹²"Mr. Blair's Mission to North Carolina," *N.C. Recs.*, Vol. 1, p. 601.

¹³"Mr. Gordon to the Secretary" (May 13, 1709), *N.C. Recs.*, Vol. 1, p. 708.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 713.

¹⁵"Mr. Adams to the Secretary" (Oct. 4, 1709), *N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 720.

¹⁶"Giles Rainsford to the SPG" (Aug. 17, 1716), *N.C. Recs.*, Vol. 2, p. 245.

¹⁷D.D. Oliver, *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Province of North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Society, 1910), p. 5.

¹⁸Rufus Jones, *Quakers in the American colonies* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962), p. 339.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 341.

²⁰Henry G. Hood, Jr., *The Public Career of John Archdale: 1642-1717* (Greensboro: The North Carolina Friends Historical Society and the Quaker Collection of the Guilford College Library, 1976), p. 3.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 9.

²²Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends*, p. 149.

²³*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 708.

²⁴"Mr. Adams to the Secretary" (Sept. 18, 1709), *N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 686.

²⁵Beth Crabtree, "John Archdale," *North Carolina Governors, 1585-1958: Brief Sketches* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives, 1958), p. 21.

²⁶Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, p. 59.

²⁷*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 572.

²⁸*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 709. A vestry is the governing board of an Anglican parish or district.

²⁹*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 709. A vestry is the governing board of an Anglican parish or district.

³⁰*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 572.

³¹Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, pp. 59-60.

³²S.A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., 1908), vol. 1, p. 159.

³³Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), p. 60.

³⁴F.L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Fayetteville: E.J. Hall, 1857-1858), vol. 1, p. 366.

- ⁴⁸Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, p. 60.
- ⁴⁹*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 709.
- ⁵⁰*Ibid.*
- ⁵¹The Minutes of the London Meeting for Sufferings, 1/14/1706, p. 231. Found on microfilm, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C. Hereafter cited as Minutes.
- ⁵²Minutes, 1/28/1706, p. 236.
- ⁵³Minutes, 12/21/1706, p. 270.
- ⁵⁴*Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵Minutes, 2/19/1707, p. 309; 6/15/1707, p. 796; and 2/4/1707, p. 243.
- ⁵⁶Minutes, 6/10/1706, p. 183.
- ⁵⁷Minutes, 12/14/1706, p. 217.
- ⁵⁸Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 162-163.
- ⁵⁹*N.C. Recs.*, Vol. 1 p. 709-710.
- ⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 710.
- ⁶¹Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 165.
- ⁶²Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 165.
- ⁶³"Coll. Jennings to the Lords of Trade" (Sept. 20, 1798), *N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 688.
- ⁶⁴*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, pp. 696-698.
- ⁶⁵*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, pp. xxviii.
- ⁶⁶Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 167.
- ⁶⁷Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 164.
- ⁶⁸Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, p. 60.
- ⁶⁹*N.C. Recs.*, Vol. 1, p. 687.
- ⁷⁰Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 171.
- ⁷¹Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, p. 61.
- ⁷²Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, Vol. 1, p. 171.
- ⁷³"Col. Spotwood to the Board of Trade" (July 25, 1711), *N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 781.
- ⁷⁴Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, Vol. 1, p. 172.
- ⁷⁵"Mr. Urmston's Letter" (July 7, 1711), *N.C. Recs.*, Vol. 1 p. 768.
- ⁷⁶Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 172.
- ⁷⁷*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 769.
- ⁷⁸*N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, pp. 785-786.
- ⁷⁹Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 172.
- ⁸⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 174.
- ⁸¹*Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 175.
- ⁸²*Ibid.* A brigantine is a two-masted sailing vessel.
- ⁸³Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, p. 61.
- ⁸⁴Vincent H. Todd, ed., *Christoph Von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., 1920), pp. 230-231.
- ⁸⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.
- ⁸⁶"Letter from the President and Council of North Carolina to Colonel Spotswood" (June 29, 1711), *N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 760.
- ⁸⁷"Spotswood to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina" (July 28, 1711), *N.C. Recs.*, vol. 1, p. 794.

⁷⁴ Ashe, *History of North Carolina*. vol 1, pp. 176-177. Daniel Parke was the tyrannical and oppressive governor of Antigua, a British island in the Caribbean, who was killed in an insurrection in 1710. Parke had many close relatives in Virginia; with his threats, Cary alienated many powerful officials in the Old Dominion.

⁷⁵ Todd, *Graffenried's Account*. p. 231.

⁷⁶ N.C. Recs., vol. 1, p. 917-918.

⁷⁷ Todd, *Graffenried's Account*. p. 231.

⁷⁸ N.C. Recs., vol. 1, p. 918.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Ashe, *History of North Carolina*. vol 1, pp. 177-178.

⁸¹ Todd, *Graffenried's Account*. p. 233.

⁸² "Gov. Spotswood to the Earl of Rochester" (July 30, 1711). N.C. Recs., vol 1, p. 798.

⁸³ Connor, *North Carolina*. p. 129.

⁸⁴ Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*. p. 61.

⁸⁵ Ashe, *History of North Carolina*. vol 1, p. 182.

⁸⁶ N.C. Recs., vol. 1, p. xxix.

⁸⁷ Ashe, *History of North Carolina*. p. 181.

⁸⁸ N.C. Recs., vol. 1, p. 798.

⁸⁹ Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*. p. 178.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*. p. 165.

⁹¹ North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes of 1711. Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*. p. 166.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Hood, *Archdale*. p. 78.

⁹⁶ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Random House, 1958). p. 61.

⁹⁷ Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763* (New York, W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1963), p. 235.

⁹⁸ Howard Beeth, "The South and the Outsider: Origin of A Partnership." *Southern Humanities Review* 9 (Fall 1975): pp. 345-357

⁹⁹ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*. p. 243.

¹⁰⁰ David W. Jordan, "'Gods Candle' within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland." *William and Mary Quarterly*. 3rd Series, 39 (October 1982): pp. 628-629.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* p. 633.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 653.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 654.

“GODS CANDLE” WITHIN GOVERNMENT: QUAKERS AND POLITICS IN EARLY MARYLAND

by
David W. Jordan

Quakers and their role in early American history have long fascinated historians, but studies have explored primarily the religious, social, and economic aspects of the Quakers' interesting past. Rarely have historians concentrated on the political activities of the Friends in the English colonies, except in several excellent studies of Pennsylvania, where Quakers, initially in the majority of the population, established their own holy commonwealth.¹ Quakers elsewhere have been portrayed more often as strange isolates who withdrew or were excluded from active participation in politics; they usually appear as anomalies, only footnotes to the real political history of the colonies.²

The political activities of Quakers in Maryland, where Friends enjoyed some of their first substantial gains in the New World, suggest other ways to understand the history and influence of this sect. In Lord Baltimore's colony, Quakers became integrally involved in struggles to create viable political institutions; they worked assiduously to fashion a polity that could accommodate an increasingly heterogeneous society in a peaceful and reasonably tolerant manner. As freeholders and as occupants of numerous elected and appointed positions of civil trust, Friends contributed substantially to the early evolution of county and provincial govern-

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ment in Maryland. Later in the seventeenth century, when they voluntarily withdrew from some offices and were forced from others, adherents to the Inward Light still continued to exercise extraordinary political influence through their votes and through innovative tactics designed to further their political objectives. In the process, they helped to reshape the political expectations of many other Maryland residents and to fashion new governmental practices later adopted by non-Quakers.

Begun under the leadership of George Fox in England in 1652, Quakerism first appeared in Maryland some three or four years later. In 1655 or 1656 (the precise date is uncertain), Elizabeth Harris arrived to initiate Quaker missionary efforts. She found a receptive audience among the community of strong dissenters settled along the Severn and Patuxent rivers on the Western shore and among the overwhelmingly Protestant but unchurched residents of Kent Island in the Chesapeake Bay. So, too, did missionaries Josiah Coale, Thomas Thurston, and Thomas Chapman, who followed her in testifying throughout the colony in 1657 and 1658.³

Marylanders responded more positively to Quaker missionaries than did most colonists elsewhere in America. Although Protestants constituted a majority of the population of Maryland, they lagged significantly behind Catholics in establishing churches and recruiting clergy; only one Church of England clergyman was then officiating in the colony. Furthermore, dissenters probably outnumbered the nominal Anglicans. Western Shore Protestants, for example, included some four hundred to six hundred settlers who had accepted Lord Baltimore's invitation in 1648 to make a new home in Maryland and thereby escape the religious persecution they had suffered in Virginia.⁴

These dissenting immigrants assumed a prominent role in establishing what eventually became Anne Arundel and Calvert counties, and many of them soon acquired important political posts at both the local and provincial levels. Baltimore's patronage of these dissenters and his appointment in 1648 of Virginia Protestant William Stone as governor constituted part of his feverish efforts to offset criticism of his Catholic proprietorship on both sides of the Atlantic and to win support from the influential Puritan community in England. Similarly, the Protestants of Kent Island, initially an

outpost of the Virginia colony, were treated generously by Baltimore's deputies. The islanders, overpowered by Maryland forces early in 1637, had received full right of participation in the new government, and in the difficult two decades that followed, Baltimore was anxious to retain their allegiance. Consequently, many Protestants remained loyal to the proprietary when parliamentary agents Richard Bennett and William Claiborne overthrew Baltimore's deputies in 1654, although others lent their support to the new Puritan regime. It was amid turmoil and division, and among the two critical Protestant communities of the upper Western shore settlements and Kent Island, that Quaker missionaries first successfully spread their message.⁵

William Fuller, who was in effect the acting governor of Maryland after 1654, became one of Elizabeth Harris's earliest converts. Within a short period, at least five and probably eleven of the twenty-four provincial commissioners who served with Fuller under the Bennett-Claiborne parliamentary commission between 1654 and 1658 also embraced Quakerism.⁶ Such highly placed support enabled the missionaries to proselytize without facing the same measure of hostile resistance that Quakers encountered elsewhere in the New World. Although some persecution ensued, Quakers in Maryland never experienced the degree of official intolerance and physical punishment meted out to cobelievers in Massachusetts and Virginia. This initial sense of belonging, of Quakers being full and rightful participants in the life of the colony rather than disruptive intruders, never wholly disappeared in Maryland, and it helps explain the subsequent history of the Quakers there.⁷

A brief but intense effort to combat Quakerism was made in 1658, when the proprietary forces regained control of the colony. The high visibility of Quakers in the rebellious commonwealth government exacerbated the uneasiness felt by the Calverts and many of their adherents about this rapidly increasing sect and its strange practices. When some Quakers refused to subscribe an oath to the reinstated Lord Proprietor or to fulfill militia obligations, stern measures followed. According to Joseph Besse's *Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers*, at least forty persons were punished for refusing to bear arms, for rejecting oaths, or for entertaining Quaker missionaries in their homes. Although Quakers had lost their most influential support in the provincial government, three Friends—Fuller, Michael Brooke, and Richard Preston—as well as a

probable Quaker, Woodman Stockley, won election to the new assembly that convened in April 1658. Fuller, Brooke, and Preston gained reelection to the assembly of 1660 along with Quakers Robert Clarkson and William Burgess, and numerous Friends continued to be active in local politics. Still, none of them could do much for the moment to defend their coreligionists, and some Quakers suffered further as a result of Fuller's participation in 1660 in a briefly successful rebellion against the proprietary government.⁸

Official persecution abated shortly, however, and within a year the government adopted a more tolerant attitude toward the Quakers. In a dramatic volte-face, Charles Calvert, the proprietor's son and in 1661 the new governor, encouraged a group of Virginia Quakers to settle on the Eastern Shore under Maryland protection. Kenneth Carroll, the leading historian of Quakers in the southern colonies, has argued that the changes in 1660-1661 occurred for several reasons: the acknowledgement by the proprietary that Quakers posed no serious threat to the colony; the success of Friends in gaining converts among influential colonists; the withdrawal from the government or the political inactivity of those officials who had been most intolerant in the previous few years; and the intervention of Lord Baltimore, whom Carroll describes as moved by the sufferings of the Quakers.⁹

These explanations are valid but incomplete. The change and its timing arose more from practical, political considerations than from proprietary sympathy, conversions to Quakerism, political retirements, or any sudden perception that Quakers no longer posed a threat. Just as Baltimore in 1648 had shrewdly attempted to appease critics of proprietary policies by appointing a Protestant governor and recruiting Protestant settlers, the relaxed policy initiated toward Quakers in 1661 constituted another calculated effort to broaden the proprietor's base of support and, in this instance especially, to bolster his claims to the disputed territory of the Eastern Shore. By populating this area with persons indebted to him, particularly former Virginians, Baltimore hoped to enhance his claims to it. Moreover, the increase in population would create financial benefits for him. In an extension of this strategy, Baltimore subsequently encouraged Augustine Herman and his Bohemian entourage, and the Labadists, another dissenting group, to settle on the northern frontier of his colony, a second area where his claims were much disputed. By furthering religious diversification and by extending

toleration. Baltimore helped ensure the continued acceptance of an active, though minority, Catholic presence in Maryland. In addition, a lenient policy toward Quakers was in keeping with Charles II's directives on religious toleration in the colonies. Finally, the Calverts no doubt appreciated the valuable political contributions that Quakers had made in Maryland. Despite some evidence of disloyalty and the refusal of some Quakers to swear oaths, the Friends were on the whole a law-abiding people, and their active participation, leadership, and service in local and provincial government provided a measure of stability that Maryland, as a frontier colony, very badly needed. The proprietor and his son Charles wisely reversed their deputies' policy of persecuting Quakers and instead became increasingly dependent on Friends in governing the colony.¹⁰

Extraordinary growth occurred in the Quaker communities over the next two decades. Friends from Virginia gladly accepted Baltimore's invitation and broke ground along the Patapsco and Choptank rivers in what became Baltimore and Talbot counties. Other Quaker families added substantially to the population of Dorchester and Somerset counties on the lower Eastern Shore. Quaker meetings sprang up in most areas of the colony; by the mid-1660s four thriving Quaker meetings existed in Talbot alone, and by the late 1670s Quakers had fourteen meetings in Maryland.¹¹

The presence of so many Quakers with active meetings attracted further converts among Protestant settlers who were adrift in a world where the accustomed religious institutions were few and weak. (As late as 1676, for example, there were only three Anglican ministers in Maryland.)¹² Moreover, the Quakers were generally solid, prosperous planters and merchants who enjoyed favorable reputations and provided desirable models for new immigrants. In such circumstances, the missionary efforts of English Friends proved effective. When George Fox visited Maryland in 1672-1673, large gatherings of common planters and high-ranking officials alike listened to his preaching and contributed still more converts to the growing ranks.¹³

The prosperity, stability, and moral example of Quakers contributed to their political and social importance, for Maryland colonists were still overwhelmingly poor, ill-educated and often illiterate, undisciplined, generally ill-fitted, in contemporary eyes, for political responsibility. Quakers seemed to their neighbors unusually high-minded and honest in business dealings, successful in economic enterprises, literate, and certainly less contentious than the average

colonist. Moreover, Friends tended to settle close together and to establish close bonds with one another. They constituted a strong foundation for community institutions. It is no wonder then, that both the proprietary government and the general populace looked to the Quakers to provide leadership in the young counties of the upper Western Shore and in the rapidly growing Eastern Shore. Lord Baltimore appointed Friends to important local offices such as sheriff and justice of the peace, while free holders elected numerous Quakers as burgesses in the assembly. Friends also performed a host of other less prominent political duties.¹⁴

Officeholding apparently posed no insurmountable moral problem for most Quakers during these early years. Government officials had complained in July 1659 that Quakers were coming into the colony and "diswading the People from Complying with the Military discipline in this time of Danger as also from giving testimony or being Jurors in causes depending betweene party & party or *bearing any office in the Province.*"¹⁵ Still, the minutes of Quaker meetings fail for many years thereafter to reveal any serious objections to taking oaths of office, which suggests that the subsequently familiar stricture was slow to gain adherence in Maryland. Not until the mid-1670s and the 1680s do Quaker minutes articulate a clear prohibition against oathtaking or express concern about Friends who subscribed to oaths as public officials.¹⁶ Meanwhile, any could in good conscience sit in the assembly if elected, because Lord Baltimore did not require delegates to swear the oaths of allegiance that had effectively barred Friends from serving in representative assemblies in England and in most other colonies.¹⁷

It is hardly surprising, then, that Friends were disproportionately represented in positions of political authority. As county magistrates and justices, Quakers were relied upon by their fellow colonists to settle disputes, maintain law and order, levy taxes, and perform other essential executive and judicial functions. Between 1658 and 1678, governors appointed at least eight Quakers to the bench in Anne Arundel, three in Calvert, five in Dorchester, six in Talbot, six in Somerset, and one in Kent; there were probably several more Quakers among the justices whose religious affiliation is not definitely known.¹⁸

The office of sheriff was another powerful and important local position. A Quaker, Samuel Chew, served as sheriff of Anne Arundel County in 1663-1664, while another, George Johnson, officiated in

Somerset in 1668-1670, following the tenure of a probable Quaker, Stephen Horsey. Robert Dunn and Thomas Marsh II, both Friends, were sheriffs of Kent in 1673-1676 and 1676-1678 respectively, while Stephen Gary held the same office in Dorchester from 1678 to 1682. Most of these men retained their appointments for several years, a testament to their satisfactory performance in the eyes of both the public and the proprietor. Chew later became a member of the Council and sat on the Provincial Court. These were the highest-ranking posts in the colony, usually reserved for Catholic friends and relatives of the proprietor.¹⁹

Perhaps the surest evidence of a high regard for Quakers was their frequent election to the assembly. At least thirteen Quakers (and probably a few more) won election to the five assemblies that sat between 1661 and 1675, and many served repeated terms. Anne Arundel County rather consistently returned at least one Quaker, and through most of the 1660s one-half to three-fourths of that county's delegates were Friends. In 1661, Richard Preston of Calvert was elected to a fourth term in the lowerhouse where he also officiated as Speaker—he retained this position in the next two assemblies as well. Preston went on to serve his seventh and eighth terms in 1666 and 1669. Richard Beard represented Anne Arundel for three terms, and Richard Hall of Calvert began the first of five terms in 1666. The tenures of these men were most unusual during a period when 75 percent of the burgesses sat for no more than two terms.²⁰

This pattern of active involvement at all levels of government began to alter in the mid-1670s, when Maryland Quakers entered a period of profound religious and political change. A troublesome tension arose between their desire to be true to their faith, as they were coming to conceive of it, and their desire to participate in the broader political and economic life of the colony. Quakers increasingly experienced uneasiness about swearing, whether in taking an oath of office, in testifying before a court, or in fulfilling other duties that often fell to them in appraising estates, offering surety, and asserting claims to property. This tension no doubt arose as a consequence of the systematic efforts that Quaker missionaries, especially Fox, John Burnyeat, and William Edmondson, made between 1672 and 1676 to develop tighter organization among the Maryland Friends, to render their beliefs and practices more consistent with evolving English Quaker thought, to combat heresy.

and generally to leave the colonial Quakers "*well established* in the Truth," as Fox expressed it. Simultaneously, Maryland Friends proceeded in numerous ways to distinguish themselves further from other colonists. For example, Quakers increasingly discouraged marriages with nonbelievers, and, refusing to allow any marriages to be performed by regular clergy, adopted instead their own simple ceremony. They objected to the burial of Quakers and non-Quakers in the same cemetery and established their own poor fund for the needy so as not to be dependent on non-Quaker resources.²¹

As early as 1658 in Anne Arundel and Calvert counties, Thomas Meeres, William Burgess, and Michael Brooke had declined to swear oaths and to serve as justices of the peace, but few other Quakers had followed them. Occasionally in the 1660s a Western Shore Friend, as a consensus gradually emerged there against oaths, apparently declined to swear and was removed from the commission; other Quakers, however, resisted the rising current. For example, Samuel Chew continued as an officeholder until his death in 1677, and John Homewood served as a justice until 1679. Thomas Marsh, who had apparently balked at becoming a justice in 1668, nonetheless swore the necessary oath to become sheriff of Kent from 1676 to 1678.²²

In 1665, George Johnson and James Jones of Somerset on the Eastern Shore requested "time to consider the oath" when they were initially appointed as justices of the peace, but they eventually complied and served. In contrast, William Ford and John Hudson of Dorchester failed to qualify in March 1676, as did William Dorrington of Dorchester, who declined in 1681 "for Conscience sake." Dorrington's example appears to have been followed by every Quaker appointed after 1680. Willaim Sharpe, Ralph Fishborne, and William Stevens of Talbot failed to swear the requisite oath in 1685; most likely John Goddin and Thomas Everden of Somerset in 1681 and Samuel Chew II of Anne Arundel in 1685 did likewise, for their appointments were not renewed with the next commission and no proof of any service survives. The governor and his deputies apparently ceased after 1685 even to appoint anyone known to be a Friend. Authorities were probably unaware of the beliefs of Edward Day of Somerset, who was named a justice in 1687; he promptly declined to take the oath of office.²³

By the mid-1680s, in short, widespread acceptance of the prohibition against oathtaking seems to have prompted Quakers to withdraw completely from local officeholding. Indeed, few has served at

all after the mid-1670s. Only Stephen Gary of Dorchester, who became sheriff in 1678, is known to have definitely accepted a new appointment after 1676. Otherwise, the few definitely Quaker officeholders in these years were long-term appointees, all of whom had died or withdrawn from service by 1681. Two possible exceptions were William Stevens, Sr., of Dorchester, a justice from 1669 to 1684, and Henry Hosier of Kent, a justice from 1671 to 1683, and Henry Hosier of Kent, a justice from 1671 to 1683, when he was removed for misbehavior. Evidence is strong that Stevens was the same member of the Third Haven meeting who disturbed his fellow Quakers in 1681 for "putting off his hat to the proprietary" and for failure to settle amicably a dispute with another Friend, leading to the group's refusal to hold a regular weekly meeting at his home. Hosier's Quakerism is quite probable but not certain. If Stevens and Hosier were Quakers, their continuance in office undoubtedly reflected Friends' unwillingness or inability to prevent the service of veteran justices in their later years, despite the now widely accepted prohibition against oaths.³⁴

Even more serious than the loss of political offices and authority was the impact of the prohibition on Quakers' social and economic affairs. The requirement of oaths for the administration of the estates of the deceased, for the care of orphans, and for testimony in civil and criminal actions caused distressing hardship. Quakers repeatedly attested to the handicap imposed by their unwillingness to swear. They found themselves at the mercy of unfriendly neighbors who might assert spurious claims to Quakers' estates, sue them unfairly, or commit perjury against them. In all such instances, Quakers were under a legal disadvantage because they could not testify in their own behalf or for each other without taking an oath. Appraisal and executorship of their estates were going to non-Quakers, and Friends feared that their widows' and orphans' fortunes might suffer. Therefore, at a time when Quakers were becoming more self-consciously a community set apart by their own choice, they also found themselves losing control over aspects of their lives that they did not wish to surrender to outside hands.³⁵ Furthermore, the government, perplexed and disgruntled by Quakers' refusal to perform needed services such as jury duty, often responded unsympathetically, as the Talbot County Court did in 1673 when it assessed five Quakers a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco each for their refusal to serve on a grand jury.³⁶

Quakers attempted to resolve some of these dilemmas by personally adjudicating disputes involving Friends within the meetings whenever possible, and by avoiding recourse to the courts. They discouraged one another from entering suits, but if court action was unavoidable, meetings provided counsel for the party involved. To settle any internal disagreements regarding an estate, debts, or disputed claim to land, for example, a meeting would appoint several members to serve on a fact-finding committee and jury. Meetings thereby gradually assumed a more powerful and far-ranging role of governance among Quakers and proceeded more explicitly to discipline wayward behavior. In many ways this further accelerated the withdrawal of Friends from the affairs of the larger community.⁴⁷

In a curious way, however, the prohibition against oaths concurrently and paradoxically prompted Friends' greater involvement in the political arena. Seeking some dispensation from oath requirements and greater toleration of their scruples "for the sake of Conscience," Quakers were led to develop new tactics of political pressure and mobilization, including lobbying, special interest legislation, and shrewd employment of the vote.

As early as 1661 and 1662, and probably at the instigation of Quaker Richard Preston as Speaker, the lower house had proposed an "Acte for pr[e]scribing how to give Evidence to those of tender Conscience." In 1662, however, the upper house voted unanimously not to alter the current form of taking an oath. Its members reasoned that courts and judges in Maryland had to proceed according to English law, that the proposed bill would disrupt the execution of provincial laws, that people wanting to give harmful testimony might pretend to be of "tender Conscience" and so "wave a perjury before God," and that such an act would render all testimony in Maryland invalid in England and other plantations. Finally, the councillors complained of the inability of those proposing the legislation to promise "that all persons pr[e]tending a tendernes of Conscience would soe give Evidence if settled by a Law."⁴⁸ The election of at least three Quakers to represent Anne Arundel in the next assembly of 1663-1664 probably indicates a determined effort of Friends in that county to change the laws; if so, this attempt also failed. Not for another decade, according to surviving assembly records, did the issue arise again. By that time, the problem was more serious for conscientious Quakers, since a consensus against oaths had been established. Some more extensive, even desperate, strategy was required.

Quakers in Maryland during these transitional years may well have looked to coreligionists in England as models. Certainly by the late 1670s, London-based Quakers had stepped up their own political activity—they had developed a centrally organized machine for influencing elections, lobbying officials, and affecting parliamentary legislation. This campaign was eventually directed by the London Meeting for Sufferings, established by 1677, which sent agents to Parliament as observers and lobbyists. These agents kept members of Parliament fully informed on issues of concern to Quakers. The Meeting also dispatched members to lobby highly placed men outside of Parliament.

The English Friends became impressively sophisticated in promoting the political fortunes of men sympathetic to Quakers. For example, Quaker leaders in London directed in 1675 that "Friends in the several Counties seriously consider together and be unanimous about giving their voice in election of Parliament men to appear or not appear therein as in the wisdom of God they see convenient and safe." A general letter to Friends in 1681 requested all Quakers "who are in capacity . . . may appear, and make what good interest they can in the elections of Parliament men, for sober discrete and moderate men such as . . . are against persecution and popery, and that deport themselves tenderly toward our friends."²⁹

Among nonconformist sects in England, the Quakers were clearly the most centrally organized. The London meetings maintained communications with Friends throughout the world, and they knew of sufferings and persecution endured by Quakers in Maryland as well as in Hereford. For example, William Berry, who emerged as a leader among the Maryland Quakers after the death of his father-in-law, Richard Preston, sent to the London Morning Meeting in February 1675 "a Narration of the County Courts proceedings with some friends for not swearing . . .," and London Quakers actively sought to influence Lord Baltimore with regard to the concerns of their coreligionists in his colony.³⁰

Whether Maryland Friends followed the lead of England's Quakers in pursuing new political tactics, or actually established an independent pattern themselves, is unknown. In the early 1670s they certainly became more centrally organized, establishing, for example, a Yearly Meeting of all Maryland Friends in 1672 in conjunction with George Fox's visit. This centralization in turn prompted a more efficient network of regular communication among

the various local meetings.³¹ Maryland Quakers could present themselves as legitimate candidates for the legislature, an option rendered unavailable in England by the oaths required for taking a seat in Parliament. In 1674, a year before the earliest evidence of comparably extensive political activity in England, Quakers launched an ambitious offensive in Maryland. In by-elections for the third session of the sitting assembly, Quakers William Berry and Richard Hall of Calvert gained seats; they were followed a few months later by William Ford, who won a by-election in Dorchester prior to the fourth session.³² These victories signaled a new strategy of direct Quaker representation designed to press the government more vigorously on the question of oathtaking.

Four men, acting on behalf of "us who are in Scorne Called Quakers," presented to the assembly at its 1674 session a petition that carefully explained their scruples against oaths and asked that Friends be allowed to respond "yea yea & Nay nay" as an alternative. The petition noted that the Carolinas, Rhode Island, and New Jersey now allowed such substitutions, and requested "the same Liberty here as o[u]r Bretheren have in other Places, Colonies or Provinces." It cataloged some of the sufferings of Friends unable to defend their property under the present oath requirements, and further reminded the assembly that Quakers "Cannot be soe Serviceable in o[u]r Generac[i]on to the Countrey as we might be & allsoe w[ha]t Trouble we have had who have been Overseers or Execut[o]rs or the like th[at] have been entrusted w[i]th Orphans fatherles & Widdowes Estates or Wills for want of an Oath." The petitioners urged that laws provide that any Quaker who violated the affirmation be held as accountable as other colonists who broke an oath.³³

The upper house tabled the petition pending advice from Lord Baltimore, Gov. Charles Calvert, noting that his father "hath formerly had Intentions of Gratifieing the desire of the s[ai]d People Called Quakers in th[at] kind but hath Signified his Pleasure to him th[at] all Proceedings therein be for the Present Suspended till his Excelency shall Receive further Com[m]ands."³⁴ Baltimore undoubtedly feared any move that might unwittingly endanger the degree of toleration existing in the colony. Maryland was then receiving a stream of settlers unaccustomed to such leniency toward Catholics and sectarian Protestants. More than most earlier settlers, these latest immigrants brought a much stronger devotion to the Church of England and to English practices toward dissenters.

These newcomers increasingly championed the Anglican cause in Maryland and challenged the proprietor's policy of toleration while moving into positions of political power and influence.³⁵

Quakers, too, aggressively challenged the existing policy, but to fight for more toleration. On failure of the petitions, they continued their offensive by carefully marshaling their numbers when writs for electing a new assembly were issued in 1676. They named candidates and then delivered enough votes (of both Quakers and non-Quakers) to elect at least ten Quakers and several others whose support was likely.³⁶ Calvert, who had recently succeeded his deceased father as proprietor, diluted somewhat the Quakers' strength when he summoned only two of the four elected delegates from each county to attend the first session. Despite this controversial move, at least several Quakers were present in the representative assembly when William Berry and others presented a new petition "in behalf of the people Called Quakers." Again the upper house blocked action, arguing that it was "utterly unsafe for the L[or]d Propriet[or] to make any Law in this province to exempt the people thereof from testifying upon Oath and therefore thinke it Unfitt for this house to advise his Lord(hi)p to Condescend to any Votes of either house of Assembly tending that way till he have advised with his Learned Councill in England."³⁷

The Quakers declined to be put off so easily, even though their blatant politicking and their high visibility in the assembly had already drawn caustic comments. Councillor Vincent Lowe, the proprietor's brother-in-law, "spread abroad" a report that reflected adversely on the actions of the Quakers in the recent session; he blamed Quakers particularly for the higher taxes levied by the assembly. Quaker meetings promptly counterattacked, instructing delegate John Edmondson to obtain from Robert Ridgely, clerk of the lower house, a letter exonerating Friends of the charges. Armed with this letter, Edmondson and others were to visit Lowe and "to act toward him accordingly as they shall soe meet." Ridgely obliged, and Lowe backed down.³⁸

Prominent Quakers outside the colony encouraged aggressive action by Friends. The much-respected missionary, William Edmondson, who visited the colony in 1672 and 1676, wrote at length to Chesapeake Quakers in January 1677 about their role politics. While admonishing them strongly against swearing oaths, he supported active participation in elective government. Friends

serving as assemblymen or in other offices should "stand for the publick Interest and the publick good of all to undoe the heavy burthen and to ease the oppressions that lie upon the people." Quakers should avoid allying with men who "spend the publick goods upon their lusts," but should "be good Stewards and good husbands for the Country that hath chosen you." Quakers had a valuable role to play, Edmondson asserted. "It is a great thing that any that professteth Truth should be admitted to place of authority within Government, so prize this liberty, and do not abuse it but let your Light shine before all men as Gods Candle."⁴⁰

Before the next session of the assembly, the Maryland Quakers also heard from Fox, whose assistance as a lobbyist in England was sought. Fox sent advice "to those friends chosen as Burgesses" and especially recommended that they meet together and peruse suggestions that he had provided, and then "as in the wisdom of God they see meet so to act."⁴¹ The assembly convened in October 1678, but the Quakers chose not to push the oath question. Troubles with Indians had erupted, and as William Richardson later reported, "We had enought to doe to save our friends from being Concerned in the warr and military laws to be kept under." Indeed, two Quakers served actively on the Committee of Security and Defense, undoubtedly to protect Quaker interests.⁴¹

Reviving the issue in 1679, Quaker meetings selected two of their number from each shore to attend the next session of the assembly as lobbyists. Prorogations delayed that third session for three years, but the strategy that Richardson outlined in a letter to Fox in 1681 remained the same. These lobbyists were prepared to call upon the legislators, and "we shall have many Friends in the Lower House Assembly Men and we have been with the Lord Baltimore [Charles Calvert] and have gotten a few lines from under his hand, for his assent, and that he will show us all the kindness that lays in his power, and he is very kinde and loving to us and I had a very loveing letter from him when he was in England Concerning our Yea and Nay wherein he promised very fare."⁴²

Though weakened by the deaths of five Quaker burgesses, the remaining Quaker members of this assembly acquired enough new support through by-election victories of two Quakers (Francis Billingsley of Calvert and John Goddin of Somerset) to hold at least seven of the forty-two seats. Moreover, they could rely on new members Richard Hill of Anne Arundel and George Robotham of

Talbot, who, though not Quakers, were close to the Society of Friends.⁴³ When the legislature convened, William Berry and Richard Johns, acting as lobbyists, presented to authorities a petition entitled "The Case of the People Called Quakers in Maryland," which detailed quite thoroughly the problems that Friends had encountered. As in 1676, it noted how oath requirements rendered a Quaker "unserviceable to the Proprietary . . . almost as an useless Member of the Province." even to the point of being unable to testify for the government if a Quaker learned of any sedition or rebellion afoot in the colony—a shrewd allusion to the threat of uprisings in 1676 and again in 1681. The paper concluded with a lengthy statement explaining how an alternative to the oath was not contradictory to the Magna Charta.⁴⁴

The upper house forwarded the petition to the burgesses, suggesting that "if the Rights and Priviledges of a free born Englishman Settled on him by Magna Charta so often Confirmed by Subsequent Parliaments can be preserved by yea and Nay in Tryalls and other Occurrences," they should "prepare Such a Law & the Upper House will consider of it." The burgesses accordingly passed with very little opposition a "Bill of those of Tender Consciences."⁴⁵

Then to the surprise and dismay of the Quakers, the proprietor voiced his opposition to the bill. Richardson's confidence in Calvert's support had been unfounded. Moreover, the proprietor expressed his opposition in exceedingly harsh language. He referred to the Friends as "an Obstinate people" who "only Quarrell with the form and not the Substance of an Oath and only incline to change the Rules of Government." He regarded the recommended substitute for an oath, included in the proposed legislation, to be virtually the same as an oath and therefore an unnecessary change. With this dramatically clear signal from the proprietor, the upper house quickly altered its course and voted down the bill.⁴⁶

Stunned by Calvert's apparent double-cross and his harsh attack, Quakers responded in kind, and at least in Anne Arundel County raised such "frequent Clamours" that Calvert felt obliged to issue a "Declaration in Relation to his Proceedings the last Assembly," in which he blamed Quakers particularly for the length and cost of the recent session. He resented the amount of time devoted to their special pleadings and to their opposition on questions of defense. Since the mid-1670s, disturbances with Indians on the colony's frontier commanded his attention and were the focus of most of the

legislature's business. Calvert now charged that despite serious threats to the safety of colonists, the Friends wanted more "of their faction Elected who would alwayes oppose Musters Trainings, and all protections by armes without which noe Governm[en]t can subsist, and who from time to time breake all Laws of that nature made, and for Conscience sake (as they pretend) will see their brother or father murdered rather than stirr one foote to his Defence or expend one penny for his protection." To combat such efforts, Calvert resolved thereafter "to publish the Proceedings of all Assemblies for the Satisfaction of the People of this Province in generall" In future elections, the proprietor cautioned, Marylanders should "beware of Chooseing Delegates who shall endeavour to stifle their protection in its birth."⁴⁷

The reasons for Calvert's personal assault on the Quakers in 1681 remain unclear. Surely, Friends were not solely responsible for the opposition to his defense proposals or for lengthy and expensive meetings that disgruntled taxpayers. But he did turn on them specifically. Perhaps he desired to rally to his side other colonists who were unsympathetic to the Quakers. No doubt the withdrawal from local service of competent Quakers in recent years had also angered him. This loss, combined with their overt rejection of militia duties in a period of crisis, probably exhausted Calvert's patience. Moreover, Councillor Samuel Chew had recently died, and no Quaker remained close to the proprietary circle. The proprietor was probably also taking his cue from the king's heightened persecution of dissenters in England.

Within seven years, however, Calvert reversed himself and again found it expedient to rally Quakers as his allies. In 1688 he granted by executive action a limited dispensation from oaths to the "many Ingenious and industrious people called Quakers."⁴⁸ The metamorphosis of "Obstinate people" into such admirable citizens, and the proprietor's final extension of partial relief from the oath requirement, owed little to any appreciable changes in the behavior of Quakers during the intervening years or to any significant alteration in their political strategy. True, Quakers had withdrawn further from the public arena: now fewer Quakers served in the assembly and none sat on the county benches. Nonetheless, Richard Hall and William Richardson were very active delegates in the assembly of 1682-1684 (despite some harassment for declining to remove their hats), and both men gained appointment to the Committee of Accounts. In the

assembly of 1686-1688, John Edmondson and Thomas Thurston were delegates; these men were often at odds with fellow Quakers, however, and may have been atypical Friends. A reduction in the number of seats per county from four to two probably better accounts for the presence of fewer Quakers in the assembly than does disinclination on their part to stand for election or their inability to gain election. Outside the legislature, Quakers continued during these years to lobby at home and through English connections, and they particularly pressed men who were close to the proprietor.⁴⁹

Changes in the political climate in both Maryland and England were more important than any of the Quakers' actions in explaining Calvert's about-face. Proprietary responses to the Quakers had always been more pragmatic than principled and owed much to prevailing circumstances. As earlier crises had influenced the Calverts to adopt a more favorable policy toward nonconformists in the 1640s and again in the early 1660s, so also renewed threats to the charter went far toward explaining Calvert's action in the late 1680s. He was now confronting serious challenges to the proprietorship from Whitehall officials, who were unhappy with the independent colonies, and from anti-Catholics in England and Maryland, who were unhappy with his rule. William Penn was actively disputing the location of Maryland's northern border and the control of thousands of acres. Dissident elements in the colony had recently attempted several unsuccessful rebellions and were dispatching correspondence to England with unfavorable comments on the proprietary government. In all these struggles, Baltimore could certainly use the good will and support of Quakers in both Maryland and England, and the common assault on the Maryland and Pennsylvania charters made it advantageous to work cooperatively with Penn, whose assistance Maryland Friends had already solicited in lobbying Calvert on the question of oaths. Furthermore, James II had embarked in 1686 on a decidedly more tolerant and cooperative policy toward Quakers in England.⁵⁰ As a result, Calvert, in England defending his charter, informed London Quakers in the summer of 1687 that he could willingly do what he could for the relief for the Friends in Maryland. Consultations ensued, and representatives of the London meeting prepared a paper for the proprietor and maintained a flow of visitations to him. Meanwhile, Quakers in the colony continued to lobby the proprietor's provincial officers. The dispensation, executed on July 23, 1688, commanded all magistrates and

officials on probate of wills or the taking out of papers to administer estates to obtain sufficient security from Quakers but to forbear the tendering of any oath. This satisfied a major complaint of Friends about discrimination against them, although it stopped short of allowing a substitute for oaths in many other critical areas.⁵¹

Quakers in Maryland were jubilant; they moved quickly, through various meetings, to express appreciation to Lord Baltimore, to London Friends, and to Henry Darnall, a prominent member of the Council, for their assistance.⁵² What the proprietor really desired was an assurance of loyalty to him, and Quakers obliged the following year when most of them refrained from either participating in the revolution of the Protestant Associators that overturned the proprietary government or from endorsing the new government. Three Quakers—among them Edmondson and Thurston—did win election to the revolutionary convention and served in that body, but otherwise Friends were conspicuous by their silence or, on the Western Shore, by their vocal opposition to the victorious rebels. George Fox, perhaps fearing reprisals against Quakers by the victorious party, strengthened the traditional advice of noninvolvement when he counseled Maryland Friends in November 1690 that “it will be no ways Wisdom in friends to concern themselves with him [Lord Baltimore] or his business or Concerns. Leave that to the Lord and mind your own and the peaceable Government of Christ Jesus and concern your Selves as little as may be with outward Government except the Lord doth move you to Speak to them for their good and to pray for them.”⁵³

The new royal government, installed in the spring of 1692 following the revolution, proved indeed to be no friend to the Quakers. However much they had wished for kinder treatment from Lord Baltimore's government, Quakers quickly found royal officials much less sympathetic and much harsher in the application of English practices. First, in 1692, came the requirement of subscribing to oaths of allegiance in order to sit in the assembly, as was customary in England. This brought dismissal of four Quakers—Edmondson of Talbot, John Goddin and Thomas Everden of Somerset, and George Warner of Cecil—who had been elected to serve in the first royal assembly. The lower house tried unsuccessfully to allow Quakers to substitute affirmations for the oaths, but Gov. Lionel Copley adamantly insisted on the English practice.⁵⁴

Long accustomed to considering Quakers as equal participants in

the elective process and often as very desirable representatives, freeholders balked at this restriction. At an election court held in Talbot in 1692 to choose a replacement for the dismissed Edmondson, a "large multitude" protested the dismissal and disrupted the proceedings.⁵⁵ In 1694 voters again returned Edmondson to the assembly and also elected Richard Johns from Calvert, but unwillingness to subscribe to the required oaths brought their prompt dismissal.⁵⁶ After 1694 voters apparently acquiesced in the restriction and made no further attempts to elect Quakers. Three burgesses in subsequent years converted to Quakerism during their tenure, but then disqualified themselves from further service either by declining to take the oath or by withdrawing voluntarily from politics.⁵⁷ The new oath requirement for assembly membership and the continuance of oaths for other offices thus effectively prevented devout Quakers from serving on both the provincial and local levels of government for the remainder of the colonial period. Occasionally a Friend would disregard the Society's prescription against oaths and accept an office, but such challenges were few. Whether unhappiness over the ban on oaths was a factor in the decision of some children of former Quaker officeholders to leave the faith is unknown, but several members of the next generation did embrace other religious faiths and subsequently held political office.⁵⁸

Further measures of intolerance soon followed. In 1692 the assembly established the Church of England in Maryland and levied a compulsory tax of forty pounds of tobacco per poll to support it.⁵⁹ Quakers sprang immediately into opposition to the tax, with a determination that "no friend ought to pay it Either directly or indirectly or any other person for the use a[ff]oresaid it being antichristian so to do."⁶⁰ The early 1690s also brought a renewed effort by governors to compel Quaker support of and participation in the militia. In response, the West River Meeting in 1694 voiced the general sentiment of all meetings in admonishing Quakers "to keep to their Antient Testimony, and not to Concern [themselves] with fighting or takeing away mens lives."⁶¹ Finally, the Provincial Court ruled in 1693 that Quakers could no longer give evidence in court except on oath.⁶²

A full-scale lobbying campaign ensued, reminiscent of Quaker efforts against the oaths two decades earlier. Though lacking the benefit of Quakers actually in-office, the highly organized Quaker strength could still be galvanized at the polls to discriminate

between friends and foes. The political activity of Friends was so pronounced that contemporaries even came to speak of a "Quaker party."⁶³ Quakers encouraged one another in resistance and brought pressure on wavering Friends to refuse to pay the church tax or to support the militia. Meetings maintained extensive records of the tobacco or other goods seized from members by authorities to meet the church levy or collected as fines for failure to comply with various laws. Quakers sent regular accounts of these losses to the London Meeting of Sufferings. For example, in 1699 the West River Yearly Meeting reported that 40,000 pounds of tobacco had been taken from Friends on the Western Shore and an estimated additional 100,000 pounds from the Quakers on the Eastern Shore to support the Church of England. Several Friends were imprisoned for their persistent opposition.⁶⁴

Well-coordinated lobbying efforts continued in both Maryland and England. Maryland Friends unsuccessfully petitioned the assembly and the governor in May 1695. More encouraging results attended their appeals through London Quakers, who beseeched members of the Privy Council to disallow the establishment legislation. The king eventually vetoed the statutes in 1696.⁶⁵ Quakers had only a moment to enjoy their victory, however, for later that same year the Maryland assembly passed a slightly modified act of establishment, accompanied by a statute sponsored by Gov. Francis Nicholson to establish free schools for the purposes of converting Indians, educating white colonists, and bringing the troublesome Catholics and Quakers into the growing community of the Church of England.⁶⁶ Quaker resistance persisted, with the local meetings even dispatching at least four of their most influential members to England to plead their cause before the crown; London agents worked cooperatively with these delegates. Discussions in Whitehall focused on the rights of dissenters, the questionable organization and powers of vestries under the establishment, and the act's full extension to the colony of English law wherever Maryland's statutes were silent. This campaign threatened the cause of establishment enough to spur Anglicans into their own aggressive transatlantic lobbying effort. At least partly in response to the protests from Quakers, who spearheaded the campaign for disallowance and persistently called attention to the disputable provisions of the law, the king on November 30, 1699, again declared the act of establishment null and void.⁶⁷

Once again the victory was short-lived. Although Quakers in Maryland, through their impressive transatlantic communication network, heard the news before official word even reached the governor and assembly, assiduous efforts of the Friends failed to prevent the revival of establishment legislation. The assembly in 1700 easily passed another modified act that Gov. Nathaniel Blakiston presumed was "now washed and purged of all [th]e Dreggs that were [th]e cause of its being disassented to." In a letter accompanying the new statute to England, Blakiston maligned the Quakers for their opposition to the law.⁶⁸ Undaunted, the Quakers seized upon some remaining "Dreggs"—the new act's failure to address objections about the rights of dissenters and the powers of vestries—by lobbying once more against the legislation in England. Sentiment, however, now favored too strongly some form of establishment. The Privy Council resolved the problem of the "Dreggs" by drafting a bill passed by the Maryland assembly in 1702.⁶⁹ The assessment of forty pounds of tobacco a year for every taxable person remained in the final law, and Quakers suffered under this tax until the American Revolution. The 1702 act did make some concessions to the Friends: by extending English law governing these matters to the colony, it bestowed on Quakers the right, in most instances, to affirm rather than to take an oath. This substitution did not affect, however, the oaths required of officeholders. Queen Anne's instructions to Gov. John Seymour in 1704 directed that a law requiring all officeholders to take the stipulated oaths be enacted, and the assembly complied.⁷⁰

Seymour, the governor for the next four years, regarded Quakers and Catholics as the primary causes of many of his problems. He complained particularly that under a pretense of toleration Quakers with "plentifull fortunes" refused to accept militia duty or allow their servants to attend musters, and that they "sitt at home without the least concern of the Public Safety or Welfare." His protests led to the Board of Trade's ruling that Quakers must either serve or pay for substitutes, but efforts at enforcement never proved totally successful.⁷¹

During the early years of the eighteenth century, Quakers worshiped with relative peace in their respective local meetings, although the Yearly Meeting did become the frequent occasion of disturbances as non-Quakers tried to disrupt the gatherings. Now it

was the growing Anglican establishment, state-supported and influential, that attracted old and new colonists, including some Friends, into its fold. Concern mounted in the Quaker meetings about their young people marrying outside the faith. Attempts to restrict this practice only increased the rebellion. As the years passed, a heightened preoccupation with opposition to slavery and personal waywardness, and with "the cultivation of the plantation within," also turned away some members.⁷²

We have thought that In as much as our friends here during the Lord Baltimore's Government Enjoyed their Priviledges with other freeholders to sit and act as dellegates in the general Assemblys (when duly Elected) without any Oath Imposed and for as much that Priviledge was taken from us (by Imposing an Oath) when the Government was taken from the Lord Baltimore, we may Reasonably hope that now the Government of this Province (as we understand) is Returned again to the Lord Baltimore that upon application made to him our Antient Priviledges on that Account may be by him Restored to us who ever approved Our Selves friends and well wishers to the Lord Baltimore's Interest here.⁷³

The Marylanders enclosed an appeal to be delivered by London Friends to Lord Baltimore, at this time an infant who had succeeded his grandfather and father, both of whom had died within the year. But the effort was rebuffed. Sadly, the London correspondents reported, "We doubt not you have heard Ere now, that he who is Heir is a Child and his Guardian Cautious of Stirring therein at present."⁷⁴

Although Quakers in Maryland worshiped peacefully and suffered little denial of their religious freedom, except for the church tax, their full enjoyment of political rights was decades away. Nonetheless, in their previous political activities they had contributed substantially, if not always intentionally, to the evolution of governmental institutions and practices that eventually became the basis of greater political freedom for all colonists. Quakers had helped alter political relationships and expectations in the province, and they had evolved strategies of political activity that others subsequently adopted and refined.

Friends constituted the first group in Maryland to employ sustained and disciplined petitioning and lobbying for a particular cause or interest. The first evidence of such action came in the

1660s, when Friends launched their campaign against the oath requirement. Freeman had appealed earlier for private bills—laws of naturalization or the settlement of disputed estates, for example—but these were individual actions for a limited purpose. The Quakers were better organized and more persistent in pursuing legislation on behalf of a larger community and its interests. This style of political activity gradually became more widespread; by 1666 there is some evidence of assemblymen receiving complaints from constituents to carry to the assembly, and by 1692 the lower house organized a committee of grievances to consider such appeals.⁷⁵

Friends similarly influenced the evolving relationship and interaction between the electorate and the elected. In the early years of representative government in Maryland and other colonies, voters generally chose neighbors who seemed best able and most willing to serve in the assembly, and the freeholders expected these men to search their own experience and consciences in determining provincial policies. However, as Timothy Breen and John Rainbolt have noted for Massachusetts and Virginia respectively, a new relationship developed between the elected official and the electorate during the second half of the seventeenth century. A growing diversity of interests among colonists and the more frequent introduction of divisive issues into the electoral process served to heighten voters' expectations that their representatives would more aggressively promote or defend the particular concerns of their constituents. Meanwhile, increased participation in politics, rising competition for seats, and greater salience of issues began to render assemblymen more accountable to the electorate and the electorate more discriminating in its voting.⁷⁶ Quakers played an important role in introducing this new style of politics into Maryland, with its shift from discretionary to delegatory powers, and its growing sophistication in selection and support of candidates. As the Quakers developed measures new to Maryland for bringing concerns before the government, they also pioneered in selecting slates of candidates, in carefully choosing men to support at the polls, and in successfully marshaling the votes for their election. The Friends persistently petitioned the legislature and regularly dispatched individuals to lobby elected and appointed officials. Although these efforts met with only mixed success, their potential was certainly clear to other observant colonists.

Quakers learned particularly well the value of exploiting contacts

in England, for they perceived early that Maryland did not stand independent in its political actions. Regular and ready channels of communication, the careful selection of transatlantic lobbyists, the wise determination of whom to lobby, the value of a centralized machinery to coordinate such efforts—these were all examples that Quakers set for fellow colonists. The rebels of 1689 may well have been adopting the Quaker model when they pursued similar tactics to attain royal support for the revolution that overthrew the proprietary government.⁷⁷ Thereafter, the assemblies and individual groups in Maryland made increasing use of London-based agents and private as well as official channels of communication to protect colonial interests. Certainly after observing the success of Friends in defeating the first two acts that established the Church of England, proponents of the measure dispatched their own lobbyists to counter the tactics of Quakers.⁷⁸

Finally, Quaker political actions in these years, and the response of both the proprietary and royal officials, helped to stimulate a more open discussion of governmental proceedings and to involve colonists more extensively in the affairs of the legislature. In the Quakers' ultimate political act—encouraging and practicing organized civil disobedience against militia duty and the payment of the church tax—Friends introduced another tactic into Maryland politics that later colonists would also find attractive as a last resort.

Quakers in the first century of Maryland's history participated integrally in the local and provincial political life of the colony. The traditional picture of a people withdrawn or excluded from an active role in government is seriously distorted. Numerous Quakers provided extensive political service and leadership until the last decade of the seventeenth century; Friends were very actively and intimately involved in government during those critical formative years, when offices and institutions developed their most fundamental features and when capable leadership was desperately needed. After Quaker officeholding declined, the influence of Friends in the political process continued. Ironically, even as they withdrew from the public arena, Quakers remained a decided influence. The political history of early Maryland cannot be fully understood without considerable attention to those "people called Quakers" who served as "Gods Candle" in government.

¹For a recent survey of some of this literature see Douglas Greenberg, "The Middle Colonies in Recent American Historiography," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XXXVI (1979), esp. 417-418. Frederick B. Tolles has probably been the most widely read and influential of historians writing about Quakers; his *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948) is a fine example of the social, religious, and economic emphasis of most of the literature on Quakers.

²One notable exception is Kenneth L. Carroll's "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXV (1970), 149-170. Otherwise, studies with a primarily religious emphasis often mention Quakers who held political office, but more as a matter of identification than as an avenue toward analysis of political activity. Little recent work moves beyond two chapters in Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: 1911), "New England Quakers in Politics," and "Southern Quakers in Public Life," but Author J. Worrall breaks new ground in *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, N.H., 1980).

³Kenneth L. Carroll, "Elizabeth Harris, the Founder of American Quakerism," *Quaker History*, LVII (1968), 96-111, and *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore, 1970), 7-22. Phebe R. Jacobsen, *Quaker Records in Maryland*, Hall of Records Commission Publication, No. 14 (Annapolis, Md., 1966), is the best guide to surviving primary materials on Quakers in the colony. (All dates in the text are rendered in New Style, with the year beginning on Jan. 1 rather than on Mar. 25.)

⁴Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History, II* (New Haven, Conn., 1936), 312. For evidence of greater Catholic success in establishing churches see Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), esp. 113-114. On Protestant efforts see Percy G. Skirven, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), and Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Lebanon, Pa., 1956), 1-19.

⁵Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689* (Baton Rouge, La., 1949), 196-198, 202-203, 234, 257-261.

⁶Commissioners who were Quaker converts included Fuller, Michael Brooke, Thomas Meeres, Richard Preston, Philip Thomas, and Samuel Withers; probable Quakers were William Qurand, Richard Ewen, Thomas March, Philip Morgan, Woodman Stockley, and Leonard Strong. Still others maintained close family ties with certain Quakers and may also have been converts. Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers . . . II* (London, 1753), 378, 380; Carroll, *Quakerism*, 9-14; Jones, *Quakers*, 267-268; J. Reaney Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1963), 10-28. For a list of all commissioners and their biographies see Edward C. Papenfuss et al. (comps.), *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1979-), hereafter cited as *Biographical Dictionary*.

⁷Compare the treatment described here with that received by Quakers in Massachusetts and Virginia. Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, 1966), 107-136; Jones, *Quakers*, 267; Craven, *Southern Colonies*, 229-230; Carroll, *Quakerism*, 25. Attitudes in Rhode Island, however, paralleled those in Maryland (Worrall, *Quakers*, 18-20).

¹Kenneth L. Carroll, "Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland (1658-1661)," *Quaker Hist.*, LIII (1964), 67-80; Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding*, 29-35; Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings . . .*, II 378-382; Josiah Coale to George Fox, Jan. 21, 1661, *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, XXXV (1938), 88-99. See respective entries on the assemblymen in the *Biographical Dictionary*. Burgess later left the Quaker fold.

²Carroll, "Quaker Opposition," *Md Hist. Mag.*, LXV (1970), 153.

³For a comparable assessment of Baltimore's earlier policies on toleration see John D. Krugler, "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration: Religious Policy in Maryland During the Early Catholic Years, 1634-1649," *Catholic Historical Review*, LXV (1979), 49-75. On Herman see the Rev. Charles Payson Mallory, "Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor," *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, VII (Wilmington, Del., 1888), 11-23, and for the Labadists, Bartlett B. James, "The Labadist Colony in Maryland," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, XVII (June 1899), 7-45. Jones, *Quakers*, 271-273, discusses Charles II's views, which Virginia disregarded in continuing to persecute nonconformists.

⁴Kenneth L. Carroll, "Talbot County Quakerism in the Colonial Period," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIII (1958), 327; Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, Va., 1935), 12-15, 25-26, 85-111; Baltimore Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting, Minutes, 1677-1758, fol. 246, microfilm, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

⁵Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974), 33-34.

⁶Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding*, is a fine study of the Quaker community and its influence in Anne Arundel County; see esp. 36-55. The high standing of many Quakers is most apparent in Fox's account of his trip ("The American Journey of George Fox, 1671-3," *Jour. Friends' Hist. Soc.*, IX [1912], 5-52).

⁷David W. Jordan, "Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 243-273, describes the political context in which many Quakers rose to prominence. For Quaker officeholders see below, esp. nn. 18, 20.

⁸William Hand Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883-), III, 362 (italics added), hereafter cited as *Md. Archs.*

⁹See below, pp. 636-638. This concern was also not paramount among the first generation of English Quakers who stressed preaching and missionary activity more than discipline and organization. J. William Frost, "The Affirmation Controversy and Religious Liberty," and Edwin B. Bronner, "Quaker Discipline and Order, 1680 to 1720" (papers delivered at the conference on The World of William Penn, Philadelphia, Mar. 19-22, 1981).

¹⁰The proprietary assembly in 1658 endorsed articles agreed on when the parliamentary commissioners surrendered on Mar. 24, 1658. These included the agreement "that the Oath of Fidelity shall not be pressed upon the people now resident within this Province . . ." and provided a substitute "promise" to submit to the authority of the proprietor (*Md. Archs.*, I, 369-370). Baltimore did not propose an oath for assemblymen until 1684. The lower house avoided taking the oath at its

next meeting in 1686 on technical grounds. It became a heated issue in 1688, when members eventually agreed to swear the oath privately as individuals, not as an official body. Quaker members received a dispensation (*ibid.*, XIII, 153-157, 159, 161-163). Rhode Island likewise required no oath (Worrall, *Quakers*, 99).

¹⁵For a valuable discussion of the justiceship and its important duties see Lois Green Carr, "The Foundations of Social Order: Local Government in Colonial Maryland," in Bruce C. Daniels, ed., *Town and Country: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies* (Middletown, Conn., 1978), 73-110.

Quaker justices with their dates of appointment and probable service are as follows:

Anne Arundel—William Burgess (1658), Thomas Meeres (1658), Samuel Withers (1658-1668), Francis Holland (1661), Samuel Chew I (1665-1669), Thomas Marsh (1668), John Homewood (1674-1679), and Samuel Chew II (1685). *Md. Archs.*, III, 16, 348, 358, 424, 534-536, V, 30, XV, 37-38, XVII, 379.

Calvert—Michael Brooke (1658), Peter Sharpe (1670-1672), William Berry (1670-1671), and probably both Philip Morgan (1658) and Edward Keene (1670-1676). *Md. Archs.*, III, 358, V, 62, XV, 37, LI, 341-343, 353-355.

Dorchester—Stephen Gary (1669-1678), Robert Winsmore (by 1671-c. 1678), John Hudson (1672-1676), William Ford (1674-1676), William Dorrington (1681), and probably William Stevens (1669-1684). *Md. Archs.*, V, 52-54, LI, 365-366, XV, 38, 254.

Talbot—Philip Stevenson (1664-1679), Thomas Powell (1665), Richard Gorsuch (1670-c. 1679), William Sharpe (1685), Ralph Fishborne (1685), and William Stevens (1685). *Md. Archs.*, III, 491, XV, 70, XVII, 380, LIV, 353-356.

Somerset—George Johnson (1666-1681), James Jones (1666-1676), Henry Boston (1666-1670, 1676), John Goddin (1681), Thomas Everden (1681), Edward Day (1687), and probably both Stephen Horsey (1665, 1668-1671) and Ambrose London (1680). *Md. Archs.*, III, 531, V, 61, XV, 69, 275, 332, 380.

Kent—Robert Dunn (by 1669-1676) and probably Henry Hosier (1671-1683). *Md. Archs.*, LIV, 260-262, 291, 317-318, 340.

¹⁶*Md. Archs.*, III, 481, 555, V, 4, 33, LI, 100, 131, 180, 329, LXVII, 436, XV, 232; Kent Court Proceedings, 1676-1698, fol. 8, Hall of Records. Henry Carline also served as sheriff of Kent in 1656-1657, but this tenure may have preceded his conversion (*Md. Archs.*, LIV, 66, 108.). David W. Jordan, "Maryland's Privy Council, 1637-1715," in Aubrey C. Land *et al.*, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977), 65-87, discusses provincial patronage more extensively.

¹⁷Quaker delegates included the following, listed by successive sessions of the assembly: 1661—Samuel Chew of Anne Arundel and Richard Preston of Calvert (Speaker); 1662—Richard Beard and Ralph Hawkins of Anne Arundel; Preston of Calvert (Speaker); 1663-1664—Beard, John Homewood, Thomas Meeres, and perhaps George Puddington of Anne Arundel; Preston of Calvert (Speaker); and now of Dorchester; Hall and probably Edward Keene of Calvert; Dunn of Kent; and probably Stephen Horsey of Somerset; Hall and William Berry of Calvert; William Ford of Dorchester. See entries for these men in the *Biographical Dictionary*. Jordan, "Political Stability," in Tate and Ammerman, eds., *Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake*, 255-260, details the low incidence of multiple terms of service before

1700.

²¹Jones, *Quakers*, 302-328, quotation on p. 304; Third Haven Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1676-1746, *passim*, particularly fol. 12, microfilm, Hall of Records.

²²*Md. Archs.*, III, 351-352, 358; see entries on Chew, Homewood, and Marsh in the *Biographical Dictionary*. There is no evidence of service for Francis Holland (1661) or Marsh as justices.

²³Lois Green Carr has graciously shared her notes on Quaker refusals. Torrence, *Old Somerset*, 318; *Md. Archs.*, LXVI, 280-281, XVII, 44; Talbot Judgments, 1682-1685, *passim*, and Somerset Judicial Record, 1687-1689, fols., 4, 27, Hall of Records.

²⁴I am again indebted to Lois Carr for additional information identifying Stevens as a Quaker. See Patents AB&H, fol. 14; Third Haven Monthly Meeting, Minutes, fols. 1, 15, 38, 39, 41, quotation in fol. 37; Wills 2, fol. 285, Hall of Records; Charles F. C. and James M. Arensberg, "Compton, Talbot County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVIII (1953), 215-226. Hosier's son was definitely a Quaker (Carroll, *Quakerism*, 210), and the father did not sign in 1682 a petition from those Protestants in the assembly who adhered to the Church of England (*Md. Archs.*, V, 353-355).

²⁵See, for example, complaints later included in "The Case of the People Called Quakes," in Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings . . .* II, 383-385; Third Haven Monthly Meetings, Minutes, fols. 19, 22-23; Baltimore Quarterly, Half-Yearly, and Yearly Meetings, Minutes, 1680-1688, fols. 14, 95, 97; and Baltimore Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting, Minutes, 1677-1758, fol. 3.

²⁶*Md. Archs.*, LIV, 599.

²⁷Third Haven Monthly Meeting, Minutes, fols. 17, 18, 22-23, 28, 35, 37-38, 58, 71, 73, 77, for some examples. In 1687, Talbot Quakers read to "great satisfaction" an exhortation from Friends in Dublin to "keep out of the passions & customs of the world" (*ibid.*, fol. 86).

²⁸*Md. Archs.*, I, 436-437.

²⁹Douglas R. Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England, 1661-1689: A Study in the Perpetuation and Tempering of Parliamentaryism* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), 106-113, quotations on pp. 109, 113.

³⁰London Morning Meeting, Minutes, Transcript, 1673-1693, Friends' House Library, London, 4, 17.

³¹Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding*, 49-55. Visits of English Friends had a similar effect in Rhode Island (Worrall, *Quakers*, 61).

³²*Md. Archs.*, II, 345, 422. Quaker Ambrose Dixon and probable Quaker Ambrose London were elected as original members of the assembly in 1671, but neither served when Somerset County expressed a desire to send only two of its four elected delegates for financial reasons (*ibid.*, 241). George Fox claimed to have converted the Speaker of this assembly during his visit to Maryland; there is no other evidence that Thomas Notley became a Quaker ("The American Journal of Goerge Fox," *Jour. Friends' Hist Soc.*, IX (1912), 21-22, 35). Friends in Rhode Island became active as a faction in politics at this time too (Worrall, *Quakers*, 99-110).

³³*Md. Archs.*, II, 354-356. The four men were Berry, a member of the assembly, John Homewood and Richard Beard, former delegates, and Wenlock Christison, who would soon be elected from Talbot.

³⁴*Md. Archs.*, II, 356.

³⁵Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, 226-227.

³⁶Quakers elected to the initial session were Richard Hall of Calvert; John Edmondson and Wenlock Christison of Talbot; Thomas Marsh II of Kent; William Ford of Dorchester; William Richardson, John Homewood., and James Rigby of Anne Arundel; and John Stevens and John Hudson of Dorchester. Two other possible Quakers were Henry Hosier of Kent and Thomas Notely of St. Mary's. Quaker Samuel Chew sat in the upper house until his death after the first session. See entries in the *Biographical Dictionary*.

³⁷*Md. Archs.*, II, 492, V, 137-138. Quakers present included at least Hall and Edmondson (*Biographical Dictionary*).

³⁸Baltimore Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting, Minutes, fol. 2; Third Haven Monthly Meeting, Minutes, fols. 7,8.

³⁹Herring Creek Quarterly Meeting, Minutes, 1682-1708, fols. 78-81, microfilm. Hall of Records. On Edmondson see Carroll, *Quakerism*, 31-40.

⁴⁰Baltimore Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting, Minutes, fol. 6. Fox's suggestions cannot be found.

⁴¹Richardson to George Fox, Apr. 4, 1681, postscript, Manuscripts, Portfolio 32, no. 118, Friends' House Library. Christison sat on the Committee of Laws and the Committee of Security and Defense; Richardson joined him on the latter (*Md. Archs.*, VII, 19, 26).

⁴²Manuscripts, Portfolio 32, no. 118; Third Haven Monthly Meeting, Minutes, fol. 15. Various meetings were admonished to choose carefully those sent to the assembly. Baltimore Quarterly and Half-Yearly Meeting, Minutes, 1680-1688, fol. 18.

⁴³Marsh, Rigby, Christison, Ford and Hudson died.

⁴⁴For a full text of the petition see Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, . . . II, 383-384.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 385-387; *Md. Archs.*, VII, 152, 179, quotation on pp. 153-154.

⁴⁶*Md. Archs.*, VII, 184-185; Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, . . . II, 387.

⁴⁷*Md. Archs.*, XVII, 41, VII, 221. For the text of the declaration, see *ibid.*, XVII, 37-42.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, VIII, 57-58. On Charles II's policy in the early 1680s see Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics*, 150-174.

⁴⁹A rule in Nov. 1682 that "no Member whatsoever of the Lower house be at any time during the Sitting of this house, Admitted into this house with his hatt on." was probably directed against the two Quaker members (*Md. Archs.*, VII, 353). In 1684, Lord Baltimore further chastized unnamed delegates for coming before him with their hats on (*ibid.*, XIII, 50). In addition to entries in the *Biographical Dictionary* on the delegates, see Frank B. Edmondson and Emerson B. Roberts, "John Edmondson—Large Merchant of Tred Haven Creek," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, L (1955), 219-233, and Kenneth L. Carroll, "Thomas Thurston, Renegade Maryland Quaker," *ibid.*, LXII (1967), 170-192. On lobbying efforts see London Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes, 1687-1688, fols. 21-22, 30, 36, Friends' House Library; Baltimore Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting, Minutes, fol. 31; Baltimore Quarterly and Half-Yearly Meeting, Minutes, fol. 18.

⁵⁰Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, 146-148; Richardson to Fox, Apr. 4,

1681, Manuscripts, Portfolio 32, no. 118; Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics*, 175-208.

⁷⁷London Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes, 1687-1688, fols. 72, 92, 103, 114, 119, 170; Baltimore Quarterly and Half-Yearly Meetings, Minutes, Mar. 16, 1688, fol. 97; *Md. Archs.*, VII, 57-58. Quakers continued to suffer particularly in economic matters. For a full exposition of continuing complaints in the 1690s, see "A Petition and address of the people called Quakers," in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (Hartford, Conn., 1870-1878), IV, 4-7.

⁷⁸Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings* . . . II, 387-388; Maryland Quakers to George Fox, Dec. 5, 1688, Epistles Received, 1683-1706, I, fols. 73-75, Friends' House Library; Herring Creek Quarterly Meeting, Minutes, fol. 26.

⁷⁹Fox to Friends in Maryland, Nov. 12, 1690, Epistles Sent, 1683-1701, I, fols. 62-63, Friends' House Library; *Md. Archs.*, VIII, 110-111, 126-127; Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, 195-199. The third delegate was William Sharpe of Talbot.

⁸⁰*Md. Archs.*, XIII, 253, 254, 358, 361, 366-367.

⁸¹Talbot County Land Records, NN, no. 6, fik. 32b (rear), Hall of Records.

⁸²*Md. Archs.*, XIX, 29-30.

⁸³Elisha Hall, son of Quaker Richard Hall, sat in the assembly of 1698-1700 and in the first four sessions of the assembly of 1701-1704 before declining to take the required oaths upon arrival of the new governor, John Seymour, in 1704. Hall had also served on the Calvert bench during these years, and he held a pew in All Saints' Anglican Church in 1704. John Hammond of Anne Arundel, whose father, John Hammond, had been a Quaker briefly in his young adulthood, was elected in 1704 but declined to swear the oaths. A decade later, however, he was baptized as an Anglican with his children. Aquila Paca represented Baltimore in 1708-1711, but he converted to Quakerism by 1714 and retired from public life. See their entries in the *Biographical Dictionary*.

⁸⁴William Edmondson, son of John Edmondson, was admonished in 1701 for taking the oath of a magistrate (Third Haven Monthly Meeting, Minutes, fols. 179, 180, 188). Thomas Edmondson, his brother, sat in the assembly for the years 1719-1722. Other children of Quaker officeholders who became burgesses after 1692 include Thomas Dixon, son of Ambrose, and John Hudson, son of John. See the *Biographical Dictionary*.

⁸⁵*Md. Archs.*, XIII, 425-430.

⁸⁶Third Haven Monthly Meeting, Minutes, fol. 128.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 130; Carroll, "Talbot County," *Md. Hist. mag.*, LIII (1958), 346; Board of Trade to John Seymour, Aug. 24, 1704, W. Noel Sainsbury *et al.*, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, 44 vols. (London, 1860-), XXII, no. 525; Seymour to Board of Trade, Mar. 6, 1707, C.O. 5/716/II, no. 28, Public Record Office.

⁸⁸Provincial Court Judgements, DSC, fol. 206, Hall of Records.

⁸⁹Thomas Bray, Maryland Paper, fols. 226-227, Sion College Library, London; Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, IV, 4-7, 30-31; Carroll, "Quaker Opposition," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXV (1970), 157. Quaker lobbyists in England in 1701 reported that Maryland freeholders were still willing to elect Quakers to the assembly but that the governors' insistence on the oaths thwarted the elections (London Meeting for

Sufferings, Minutes, XV, fols. 101, 109).

⁶⁴Quakers had little, if any, local recourse against the seizure of their tobacco, other goods, and even on occasion their servants, to satisfy the church levy and court fines (Epistles Received, London Yearly Meeting, I, fols. 227-228, 283-285, 299-301, II, fols. 112-113, 156). English Friends sent a larger than usual number of "Publishers of Truth" to Maryland to encourage Quakers there. Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding*, 85-86; Carroll, "Talbot County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIII (1958), 348; Clifts Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1677-1771, fols. 21, 23, microfilm, Hall of Records.

⁶⁵*Md. Archs.*, XIX, 55-56, 155, 185; London Yearly Meeting, Minutes, II, fol. 130, Friends' House Library; Carroll, "Quaker Opposition," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXV (1970), 157-158.

⁶⁶Carroll, "Quaker Opposition," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXV (1970), 158-159.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 159-163; London Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes, XIV, fols. 29, 32, 37, 41, 44, 68, 78, 83, 88; London Yearly Meeting, Epistles Sent, I, fols., 342-344, 346-349, 366.

⁶⁸Carroll, "Quaker Opposition," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXV (1970), 163-165, quotation on, 165; London Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes, XIV, fol. 256. For the act, see *Md. Archs.*, XXIV, 91-98. Nicholson described receipt of the news of the earlier act's disallowance in his letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, May 27, 1700, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, I, 118.

⁶⁹Carroll, "Quaker Opposition," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXV (1970), 165-170. *Md. Archs.*, XXIV, 265-273, presents the full text of the final act of establishment.

⁷⁰*Md. Archs.*, XXIV, 265-273, 340, 418-420.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, XXV, 210; Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, nos. 525, 1486; Seymour to Board of Trade, May 23, 1704, and to Earl of Nottingham, Sept. 29, 1704, C.O. 5/715/IV, nos. 78, 81.

⁷²Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding*, 60-86; Clifts Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1677-1771, fols. 57-63; Third Haven Monthly Meeting, Minutes, especially fols. 162, 200, 241, 244, 255; Herring Creek Quarterly Meeting, Minutes, fol. 63; Carroll, *Quakerism*, 93-144; Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, 204n. The quotation comes from Tolles's description of contemporary Quakers in Philadelphia (*Meeting House*, 243).

⁷³London Yearly Meeting, Epistles Received, II, fols. 183-184. One of the signers was Elisha Hall.

⁷⁴London Yearly Meeting, Epistles Sent, I, fols. 239-240.

⁷⁵*Md. Archs.*, II, 18, 168, IXXX, 355; George Alsop, "A Character of the Province of Maryland," in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 350.

⁷⁶T.H. Breen, *The Character of the Good Ruler* (New Haven, Conn., 1970), and John C. Rainbolt, "The Alteration in the Relationship between Leadership and Constituents in Virginia, 1660 to 1720," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXVII (1970), 411-434. For similar developments earlier in England see Derek Hirst, *The Representative of the People? Voters and Voting in England under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1975).

⁷⁷See, for example, Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, esp. chap. 5, and Kenneth L. Carroll, "American Quakers and Their London Lobby," *Quaker Hist.*, LXX (1981), 22-39.

Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution, 178-179*; Ella Lonn, *The Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1945); Carroll, "Quaker Opposition," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXV (1970), 149-170.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION OF GUILFORD COLLEGE

by

*Damon D. Hickey
and
Carole M. Treadway*

The year 1985-86 has seen increased cooperation between the Friends Historical Collection and the Friends Center at Guilford College. This cooperation has meant increased activity by the staff of the collection in program activities of the center, and help by the director of the center in planning strategies for development of the collection. It has also been a year of preparation for the college's sesquicentennial and for the expansion of the Friends Collection and Friends Center offices.

COLLECTION

Carole Treadway ordered most and cataloged all of the published materials added to the collection. For the first time this year the college library was a part of the Southeastern Library Network (Solinet), which uses the OCLC national online bibliographic database to provide member libraries with swift, accurate, automated cataloging for their materials. Carole Treadway received instruction in the use of the system and used it to catalog Quaker materials this year. She also processed all manuscript collections, assisted most researchers, handled most research questions by mail, and supervised the student and volunteer assistants in their work. Detailed

Damon D. Hickey is curator and Carole M. Treadway is Quaker bibliographer of the Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College.

lists of acquisitions, cataloging, and research follow the narrative section of this report.

During the summer of 1985 the staff of the collection, under Carolie Treadway's supervision, completed an inventory of the regular books in the collection.

The collection has been served ably this year by three student assistants. Jennifer Fang-Jian Zhai, a Quaker student from the People's Republic of China, and Jennifer Kletzin, a Wake Forest University student, worked in the collection during the summer of 1985, followed by Ann Marie Reardon, a Quaker student from New Jersey during the academic year.

The assistance of the collection's volunteers has been once again most valuable. Margaret Michener completed her project of indexing back issues of the *Guilford College Alumni Bulletin* and is keeping her work up-to-date. Augusta Benjamin organized the Hutchison Papers and the Cox Family Papers, transcribed the Sarah Smiley journals, and answered genealogical inquiries by mail. Their loving gifts of time, talent, and energy have made valuable resources accessible to users of the collection.

EDUCATION

The staff and the collection served the educational needs of students in a variety of courses, particularly those in Melvin Keiser's "Quakerism" class. In the spring the staff furnished to a member of the Department of History a list of fifty researchable topics that can be pursued in original and secondary sources in the collection. The department is currently considering ways to use these in the education of history majors. The staff plans to develop these topics further to include research strategies as a guide for students. In the spring Judith Harvey and Damon Hickey, with the assistance of faculty development director Carol Stoneburner, designed and submitted to the Curriculum Committee a plan for a one-credit-hour, pass/fail course on "Quaker Faith and Practice" to be taught six consecutive Sunday evenings by six faculty members in the fall semester. The course was approved and will be open to students, faculty, staff, and community. Initial reception to the proposal among all groups has been extremely positive.

GUILFORD COLLEGE ACTIVITIES

This year saw the beginning of serious planning for Guilford College's sesquicentennial as an educational institution and its centennial as an institution of higher education in 1987-88. Because much of this celebration will focus on the history of the school, the Friends Historical Collection will be involved in many ways. Damon Hickey served this year on six sesquicentennial planning committees, including the Steering, Campus-Based Activities, Friends Activities, Edward Hicks Exhibit, Publications, and International Congress on Friends Education Committees. In the spring of 1986 he was appointed convenor of the Program and Arrangements Committees for the International Congress on Friends Education, and staff coordinator for the congress, to be held in April 1988.

Both members of the staff spoke to the Board of Visitors about the Friends Historical Collection. Damon Hickey served as a member of the Friends Center Steering Committee and of the Steering Committee for the Student Quaker Concerns Group, participated in the group's fall retreat, and hosted its spring picnic. He led a discussion of the topic "Will Guilford Be a Quaker College in the Year 2000?" in the 1985-86 Faculty Colloquium. He also led a workshop on Quaker decision-making for the Student Government Association of the Center for Continuing Education.

OUTREACH

Carole Treadway serves as convenor of the Records Committee of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative) and as recording clerk of Friendship Monthly Meeting. She and Damon Hickey are members *ex officio* of the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM). Damon Hickey is also a member of its Publication Board. He is recording clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) and clerk of the Peace and Social Concerns Committee of Friendship Monthly Meeting. Both members of the staff serve on the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society.

Damon Hickey represented his yearly meeting as a representative to the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Section of the Americas, and is a member of the section's Executive Committee. He was local arrangements coordinator for the section's annual

meeting, held in Greensboro in the spring of 1986. He also represented his yearly meeting at the triennial meeting of the entire World Committee in Oaxtepec, Morales, Mexico in the summer of 1985, where he served as a recording clerk for the business sessions. He represented both his yearly meeting and the World Committee at Jamaica Yearly Meeting two weeks later. Earlier in the summer he participated as an official observer in the World Gathering of Young Friends in Greensboro.

Carole Treadway spoke on resources of the collection to the Guilford County Genealogical Society. She also attended the biennial meeting of the North Carolina Library Association. Damon Hickey conducted two workshops for Quaker recording clerks, in Eastern and Surry Quarterly Meetings (North Carolina Yearly Meeting, FUM), and a similar workshop for local church historians at the Yadkin County Historical Society. He spoke on the Quaker context of Dolley Madison's birth to the Dolley Madison Tour sponsored by the Greensboro Historical Museum. For the third year he taught all the eighth-grade social studies classes at Jackson Junior High School about the Quaker influence on North Carolina history. He judged junior high individual and group performances at North Carolina History Day in the spring of 1986. He led a workshop on the Quaker method of decision-making for the Unitarian Church of Greensboro. He chaired the Program Committee for the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists at Malone College in the summer of 1986. He spoke and led a workshop on Quaker divisions in North Carolina for the Piedmont Friends Fellowship at its spring 1986 retreat. He participated in the spring 1986 meeting and workshop of the Ministers' Association of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM).

DEVELOPMENT

Both North Carolina Yearly Meetings continued their support of the Friends Historical Collection this year. North Carolina (FUM) supported a portion of Carole Treadway's salary, and North Carolina (Conservative) made a contribution to the collection.

With the assistance of Judith Harvey, Friends Center director, and James C. Newlin, director of finance and development, Damon Hickey convened a series of meetings that led to a commitment by the college to begin to build a significant regional collection of

materials in the field of peace and justice, centering upon the collection of papers of Sam and Miriam Levering which they have pledged to the Friends Historical Collection. In anticipation of expanded quarters an advisory committee of interested persons is being formed to plan and to seek appropriate gifts of papers as well as financial support for this new portion of the Friends Collection. In planning for the expansion of the library building and for the renovation and expansion of the Friends area, provision is now being made for displaying current materials in the field of peace and justice where they can be readily used by students, particularly in the college's Peace and Justice Concentration. Seminar space will also be offered to peace and justice classes of appropriate size, and a nearby study and conference room will allow faculty and students to work together on projects.

The Friends Historical Collection and the Friends Center continue to work together to raise funds for their work. Staff of the collection participated this year in contacting in person and by telephone potential contributors to the center's annual budget.

EDITING AND PUBLICATION

Damon Hickey and Carole Treadway serve as coeditor and associate editor, respectively, of *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society*. Damon Hickey solicits, reviews, and edits all manuscripts for articles, and Carole Treadway edits the "Newsletter" and "Book Reviews" sections. Three issues were produced during this fiscal year. As members of the Meeting Histories Committee of the historical society, they made extensive editorial suggestions for *Deep River Friends: A Valiant People*, by Cecil E. Haworth, which was published in the spring of 1986. Damon Hickey edited and Carole Treadway indexed Lorton Heusel's *Friends on the Front Line: The Story of Delbert and Ruth Replogle*, published by the society in the summer of 1985. In the spring of 1986 this book was selected for the reading list of the United Society of Friends Women.

Damon Hickey's article, "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction," appeared in the spring 1985 issue of *Quaker History*. His "Survival and Recovery: North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction"

was published in the October 1985 issue of *Quaker Life*. His biography of Andrew Dickson White was published in *American Historians: 1866-1912*, edited by Clyde N. Wilson (volume 47 of *The Dictionary of Literary Biography*). Carole Treadway was one of the editors of "Joseph Unthank and His Book: An English Friend in Eighteenth-Century North Carolina," which appeared in the Autumn 1985 issue of *The Southern Friend*. Both Damon Hickey and Carole Treadway have published several book reviews.

THE FUTURE

The year ahead promises to be one of continued, exciting activity in the collection and for its staff. As sesquicentennial plans move forward, the collection, which traces its origin to the centennial of 1937, will once again become a focal point of campus and community attention. An increasing awareness among students, staff, and faculty of the importance of Guilford's Quaker heritage makes the work of both the Friends Center and the Friends Historical Collection crucial to the college's development. At the same time the North Carolina Quaker community is rediscovering and reaffirming its Quaker roots. The Friends Historical Collection serves for many as the focal point for the Quaker identity of both the college and the Friends community. Development of a peace and justice emphasis in the collection cannot fail to strengthen this classic Quaker focus of concern in both the curriculum of the college and in the programming of the Friends Center among North Carolina Friends. With the physical combining of the collection and the center, providing space for the Peace and Justice Concentration, Guilford College will be able to provide a powerful resource for the development of historically based and innovative approaches to learning, growth, and transformation.

Damon D. Hickey
Curator

Carole M. Treadway
Bibliographer

GIFTS TO THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION
1985-1986

- Armstrong, Patricia Wood
Miscellaneous records and genealogical charts of the
Thornburgh family (photocopies)
- Austin, Bera Brown
Framed photograph of Clara Cox
- Ballysingh, Harold R.
Quaker Lady in Jamaica: A Memoir of my Wife. by
Harold Ballysingh (1983)
- Beeth, Howard
"Outside Agitators in Southern History: the Society of
Friends, 1656-1800," by Howard Beeth (Ph.D. disserta-
tion, University of Houston, 1984)
- Benfy, O. Theodor
Quaker pamphlets (4)
- Benjamin, Augusta
Contribution of volunteer work
- Bradley, A. Day
*A Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South
Caroliniana Library.* by Allen H. Stokes, Jr. (1982)
- Branson, B. Russell
Quaker books (51) and audio recordings (5), including
archival recordings of Elbert Russell, 1951; also a folder
of Friends World Conference materials
- Bundy, V. Mayo
*The Descendants of William R. Dunham and Elizabeth
Singletary and Sarah Cain of Bladen County, North
Carolina and Allied Families.* by V. Mayo Bundy,
Norman Melvin Bundy, and Wanda Suggs Campbell
(1984); issues of *The Henry County Historicalog.*

beginning with volume 10, 1982; contribution of money

Carroll, Kenneth

"Quakers and Muggletonians in Seventeenth-Century Ireland," by Kenneth Carroll (offprint from *A Quaker Miscellany for Edward Milligan*, ed. by David Blamires, et al. 1985); "An Eighteenth-century Episcopalian Attack on Quaker and Methodist Manumission of Slaves," by Kenneth Carroll (photocopy from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, summer 1985)

Cave, Marie

A Brief Catechism for the Younger Members of the Religious Society of Friends (Philadelphia, 1891)

Chapel Hill Friends Meeting

Quaker books (8 titles)

Cowgill, R.J.

Cowgill (family history), by R.J. Cowgill, n.d.

Craven, F. Duval

Additions to the Craven family papers: audiotape recording of a sermon given by Dr. Byron Osborne at Malone College, 9-20-1984; unpublished genealogy of the Craven family; paper on the E.F. Craven company; *The Architectural History of Randolph County, N.C.*, by Lowell McKay Whatley, Jr., (1985); contribution of money

Dodd, Treva Mathis

Letters of James Larkin Pearson to William and Lois Suiter, 1966-1967 (3) (from the estate of William O. Suiter)

Edgerton, Ethel M.

Photographs of groups at North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) sessions, 1957

Farlow, Clara

Photograph of women students at Guilford College, ca. 1893-94 (original and copy)

First Friends Meeting (by Theodore Perkins)

Lineberry genealogy (2 photocopies of typed copy); *The Friend*. (LXII, 1899), bound; miscellaneous programs, bulletins

Friends Association for Higher Education

Sixth Annual Conference: Quaker Education and Ministry of Reconciliation and Peacemaking (1985)

Friends Council on Education

Occasional Papers on the Meeting for Worship for Friends Schools (1985)

Gray, Vannie

Account book of the Lindsay store at Friendship, Guilford County, 1835

Hadley, Herbert

Typescript, in English, of *Three Quaker Friends in Asia: Harry Silcock, Passmore Elkinton and Gilbert Bowles*, by Herbert M. Hadley (photocopy; published in Japanese)

Haverford College Library

Quakerisme: The Path-way to Paganisme: or a View of the Quakers Religion, by John Brown (1678)

Heiss, Willard

Miscellaneous Quaker pamphlets on microfilm (1 reel); engraving of Southland Academy, 4 copies

Hickey, Damon D.

Documents of Jamaica Yearly Meeting, 1985; *Friends Consultation on Spiritual Authority and Accountability* (proceedings), Richmond, Indiana, Dec. 6-9, 1984; documents of Friends World Committee for Consultation, 16th triennial, 1985

Hickey, Mary

Reproduction of 1879 map of Greensboro, North Carolina

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

Correspondence of the Publications Board, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1972-77; *Hopewell Friends Meetin, 1885-1985* (1985); additions to the Woody family papers including newsclippings, genealogy, diary of J. Waldo Woody, 1901-03 (typed copy), memorial of J. Waldo Woody, and miscellaneous material; 7 photographs

Hobbs, Grimsley T.

Issue of *l'Humanite* (Paris) dated 12-15-1918; issue of the *New York Herald*, 4-15-1865

Hollowell, Edith

Photograph of Guilford College community residents standing in front of the Couch home, ca. 1900

Hood, Harriet C.

Account of the Guilford Graded School (typescript, 1985), with a photocopy of the deed for the school

Horney, Audrey Fields

Photograph of Guilford College women students and Priscilla Benbow ca. 1905

Hughes, Fred

Reprint of the 1812 map of North Carolina drawn by S. Lewis; additions to Montgomery County and Guilford County Historical Documentation map papers; additions to personal papers; copies of *Southern Antiques and Interiors*, vols. 1-3; Greensboro town records 1828-1830, with a summary of activities relating to Greensboro government through the 1870s (photocopies); pieces of rifle barrels and ribs from Jesse Lamb's gun factory site on Bull Run in Jamestown, NC (4 pieces)

Huntley, Annette

See Redman, Catherine

Illinois Yearly Meeting

Parable and Transforming Power among Friends: an Address Given at Illinois and Ohio Valley Yearly Meetins. 1985. by Judy Brutz (1986, 2 copies)

Jordan, Jai

Journal of George Fox (Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, n.d.)

Levering, Miriam

Additions to the Levering papers including Law of the Sea Ocean Education Project files, World Federalist files, family papers, and books; framed document: endorsement by citizens of North Carolina of the North Carolina House Concurrent Resolution 64 supporting the United Nations

Matthews, Dale

Marlboro Monthly Meeting bulletins, 1968-78, 1984-85

McBane, Wilson

Framed enlargement of Lossing's "New Garden Meeting-House"

Messick, Larry

Descendants of Thomas Casteven: A Genealogical History. by William Clinton Castevens and Frances Harding Casstevens (1977); *The Surry County Book.* 2nd ed (1981)

Michener, Margaret

Contribution of volunteer work

Miller, Ida Mae Good

Contribution of money

Milner, Clyde and Ernestine

Chinese ebony folding screen; three Chinese jewel-tree rugs; crystal punch bowl with stand; table-top globe; an antique bed-case; stereo AM/FM radio/phonograph with phonograph albums; Korean bride doll; Greek doll

Mitchell, Henry H., Jr.

Charles Coble in Tallahassee. by James van Pelt (1984)

Myers, Mrs. Allen J.

Two pamphlets on the Levi Coffin House, Fountain City, Indiana

New Garden Friends School

What it Means to Grow Up: A Guide in Understanding the Development in Character (1938); *Character Growth Education* (1939), both by Fritz Kunkel and autographed by him while he was at Pendle Hill.

Perkins, Theodore

The Theodore Edison Perkins Collection of Genealogy--Mostly Wayne County, North Carolina. compiled by Theodore Edison Perkins (1985); *These Are Our Ancestors. Part II--Hockett.* by Velma Hockett Bosworth (1985)

Pike, Doris

Proceedings of the Conference of Friends of America, 1892 (printed, unbound); program for the 90th anniversary celebration of Anderson (Indiana) Friends Meeting

Poole, Herbert Leslie

The Pettypool-Thrift Genealogy: Being the Direct Ancestral Lineage of Luther Herbert Poole III and John Wesley Poole. by Herbert Leslie Poole (1984)

Raymond, Madeline R.

The Replogle-Reprogle Genealogy. by Edith Madeline Replogle Raymond and Paul Hudson Replogle (1984)

Redman, Catherine

Clothing of Henry and Esther Macy including man's suit and hat, woman's shirtwaist and skirt, apron, nightgown, Quaker bonnet and bonnet cover, woman's hat, and wool cape (19th century). Given with Annette Huntley

Replogle, Delbert and Ruth

Slides taken by Delbert and Ruth Replogle in connection with Friends World Committee travels, 1952-1979 (twelve trays)

Rockett, Renie Brown

Papers of Gurney L. Cox (1862-?) including letters (photocopies), 1889-1895, 1933; notebook of essays and family birth, death, and marriage records; store account book of John Welch, 1821

Shelton, Louise

"The First Twenty Years: A Brief History of the Graduating Class from Guilford College in 1914;" and "After Fifty Years, commemorating the 50th reunion of the class of 1914" (from the personal papers of Sarah Olive Smith, class of 1914)

Shope, Nathaniel and Anne Schneider

Friends Review (five bound volumes, 1849, 1860, 1862-64)

Stoesen, Alexander

The Doctor Abel Anderson Family. by Lucille Lopp (1984)

Suiter, Christopher

Books from the library of William O. Suiter, Sr.

Treadway, Carole

Quaker pamphlets (2)

Valentine, Hazel

1917 Guilford yearbook; framed copy of "A Quaker

Wedding"

Vernon, William M.

Vernon Vignettes, issues for 1983-September 1985,
and six early issues

Vogel, Jonathan

Papers of the World Gathering of Young Friends, 1985

Wasko, Cassie H.

Family photographs, legal and financial papers of the
Samuel Hill Mendenhall family of High Point, ca. 1850-
1920; also minutes of the Woman's Foreign Missionary
Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1914-1926

Woman's Society of First Friends Meeting

Contribution of money

Woodstown Friends Meeting, Woodstown, New Jersey

Woodstown Friends Meeting, 1785-1985 (1985)

Yow, Howard B.

The History of the . . . Christian People Called Quakers,
by William Sewel (2 volumes in 1, 1876)

DOCUMENTS OF MONTHLY, QUARTERLY, AND YEARLY
MEETINGS OF NORTH CAROLINA DEPOSITED IN THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION

1985-1986

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, June 1983-May 1985

Holly Spring Monthly Meeting (Conservative)

Minutes, 1947-1981

Hunting Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, November 1964-May 1981 (photocopies)

Nahunta Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1946-June 1985

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Epistles and memorials for 1985

Quaker Heights Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1982-June 1985

Rich Square Monthly Meeting

Marriages, volume I, 1760-1826

Science Hill Monthly Meeting

Missionary Society minutes, January 1911-July 1917

Spruce Pine Monthly Meeting

Two membership records and certificates

Up River Monthly Meeting

Minutes, October 1971-December 1981

Minutes, Ministry and Oversight, November 1946-
December 1953

Minutes, Youth Missionary Society, August 1965-July
1971

Minutes, Young Friends, May 1961-August 1968

Attendance Records, Missionary Society,

January 1923-January 1952

Minutes, Missionary Society, 1920-November 1926

Deed, Trustees of Piney Woods Monthly Meeting to Up
River Church, July 1946

Deed, Fernando C. White to Trustees of Piney Woods
Monthly Meeting, April 1914

Virginia Beach Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1981-March 1984; April 1984-
September 1985

Wilmington Monthly Meeting

Minutes, August 1984-June 1985

Report to Yearly Meeting, 1985

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH IN THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION

1985-1986

North Carolina Friends

Research in reparation 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, Barbara Grigg--Back
Creek Meeting

J.K. Thompson--New Hope Meeting (due to be published during the
summer of 1986)

Cecil Haworth--Deep River Meeting (published under the title *Deep
River Friends* in March 1986)

Clay Hodgkin, David Robinson--Centre Meeting

Anne Cain--Harmony Grove Meeting

Hiram Hilty--First Friends Meeting (Greensboro Monthly Meeting)

Members of New Garden Meeting were assisted several times during the year in researching in their minutes, in selecting materials for a program on George Fox, and in selecting materials for a junior high Sunday school class. The New Garden children's summer program staff brought the children in the program to the collection for a tour.

A member of Chapel Hill Meeting did research in disciplines on the changes, over time, in Quaker marriage vows.

Seth Hinshaw continued research in the collection for various projects.

Theodore Edison Perkins completed his *Collection of Genealogy, Principally Wayne County, N.C.* and distributed copies to several major libraries.

The Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting met three times during the year in the collection, and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society held

two board meetings in the collection.

Guilford College Students, Faculty, and Staff

History students, in several different courses, worked on such topics as the history of dancing at Guilford College, desegregation at the college, and North Carolina Quaker women in the Civil War.

The International Politics class wrote papers on non-violence using materials in the collection.

Quakerism students used the collection extensively for course projects.

The Development and Publications offices were assisted in historical research during the year, as was the Friends Center office.

A picture was provided for the spring issue of *The Guilford Review*.

Helen Thomas was assisted in locating materials in the Downtown Campus papers as she prepared her paper on the history of the Downtown Campus for publication.

A student working for the Sesquicentennial Committee located a number of Guilford College commencement addresses for a project in connection with the sesquicentennial celebration.

The Board of Visitors held its fall meeting in the collection and was given a brief orientation to the collection.

A tea for new faculty and staff was held in January in the collection.

Scholars, Students, and Other Researchers from Outside Guilford

Carole Troxler, of the Elon College faculty, did research in North Carolina Quaker records on Guilford County Quakers who went to New Brunswick, Canada during the Revolution.

David Shi, Davidson College, sought illustrations appropriate for a book on simple living.

George Cox, Georgia Southern College, continued research on Wrightsborough Meeting in Georgia for a book on Quakers in Georgia.

Roberta Jacobs, Bowdoin College, inquired about Quaker abolition-

ists for a research project.

Oliver Orr, of the Library of Congress, writing a short article on T. Gilbert Pearson for the spring issue, 1986, of *The Chat*, was supplied with a photograph of the subject.

Photographs were supplied for *North Carolina Portraits of Faith: A Pictorial History of Religions*, by Anne Russell and Marjorie Megivern (1986).

Bibliographic information on the holdings of the Friends Historical Collection was provided for projected bibliographies on Christianity in China and one on women's histories.

A patron was assisted in researching records for evidence of eighteenth century Quaker potters in Randolph County.

A novelist consulted with the collection staff on the authenticity of details for a novel on the American Revolution in North Carolina.

Garland Stout was provided information on the collection for his talk to the National Society, Descendants of Early Quakers.

A patron sought information on the origin of the meeting for suggestings in England.

A reporter for the *Jamestown News* interviewed Damon Hickey for an article on the collection.

The Greensboro News and Record was supplied with a photograph of T. Gilbert Pearson.

Pictures were made of collection items for a Greensboro video history documentary.

Thomas Hill, chair of the Historical Materials Committee of Wilmington Yearly Meeting, searched meeting records for references to beginnings of Tennessee meetings.

William Edgerton sought the name of an English Friend who stayed with the Benbow family during the Civil War.

Thirty-four English Friends on a study tour of American Friends meetings sponsored by Woodbrooke College visited the collection.

A number of Friends who attended the World Gathering of Young Friends in July took advantage of the occasion to do genealogical and other research.

Many Friends who attended the annual meeting of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Section of the

- Americas, in April used the collection for research.
- The North Carolina Friends Historical Society board met twice in the collection.
- High School guidance counselors who were having their annual meeting on the campus were given a tour of the collection.
- Students from other colleges and universities researched in the collection for papers on Jamestown, N.C. schools, the Lindley family, special collections, and Jamestown Quaker potters.
- A graduate student in higher education from George Washington University studied early Guilford catalogs, history, and yearbooks for a comparison of several institutions of higher education.
- Rachel Osborne completed her research for her M.A. thesis in folklore at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- A student in the archives program at North Carolina State University attempted to identify Quaker members of the Orange and New Salem Peace Societies for a bibliographic study of nineteenth century North Carolina peace societies.
- A graduate student from the University of Texas at Austin researched the John B. Crenshaw papers for his dissertation on the Civil War in the South.
- The Academic Libraries class in the Library Science/Educational Technology Division at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro was given a lecture on and a tour of the collection.

STATISTICS

ACQUISITIONS AND CATALOGING

New Monographs	255
Reclassified monographs	50
Microfilm added	0
Meeting documents	19 record groups
Manuscript items or collections received	11
Manuscript items or collections partially or completely cataloged	10
Costumes	10
Artifacts	14
Pictorial matter	19, and 12 carousels of slides
Items added to vertical file	233
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NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

The annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society will be held Saturday, November 8, at Friends Homes in Greensboro. The speaker will be Clyde A. Milner II, associate professor of history at Utah State University. He will speak on Joseph Moore Dixon, 1867-1934, who was born to the Quaker Dixon family of the Cane Creek community in Alamance County, North Carolina, and was educated at Guilford and Earlham Colleges. He went on to a career in politics that culminated in a term as governor of Montana, 1921-25. He also served in the House of Representatives and in the Senate from that state and was Assistant Secretary of the Interior in the Hoover administration. Registration forms for the dinner meeting will be in the mail to all members soon.

Anne Schneider Shope, a member of the board of directors of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, died in an automobile accident on August 8 near her home in Greensboro, North Carolina. A native of Cincinnati, she was a retired high school teacher, past president of the United Society of Friends Women International, and most recently, with her husband Nate, administrative coordinator of the Friends Association for Higher Education. Anne had been on the board of directors for six years and had given generously of her valuable talents and experience as an administrator, teacher, and editor to the society, providing editorial assistance for several of the meeting histories and arranging for the annual meetings. She will be greatly missed. She is survived by her husband, parents, two children, and two brothers.

The conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists plans a one-day conference next summer at Guilford College during the Friends United Meeting Triennial, June 12-19, and the centennial of the Richmond Declaration. The conference will also take place during the celebration of the bicentennial of Guilford College. Papers given at that time will focus on the historical ties between North Carolina and Indiana Friends as well as other topics pertaining to the events being commemorated.

Two meeting histories are at the press and will be announced to members shortly. They are the history of New Hope Meeting in

Wayne County, N. C. which is being prepared by J.K. Thompson and the history of Greensboro Monthly Meeting, better known as First Friends Meeting. The latter has been written by Hiram Hilty who also wrote *New Garden Friends Meeting: The Christian People Called Quakers*. As with other meeting histories, these will be published in cooperation with the local meeting and North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society
1984-85

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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society



Volume IX, Number 1

Spring 1987

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

The Southern Friend is published semiannually in spring and autumn by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502. Members of the society, for which the annual dues are \$10.00, receive the journal without charge. Single issues may be purchased for \$3.00 per member.

Editorial Policy

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

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

Publications Committee

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

THE
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“KNOW THYSELF”: THE USES OF THE QUERIES AMONG EARLY SOUTHERN QUAKERS

by

Howard Beeth

Quaker theory encouraged every Friend to seek a private, direct relationship with God, without the assistance of ministers or ritualistic procedures. A distinguishing characteristic of Quaker meetings for worship was silence--the sound of an unspoken, interior dialogue that was the central religious experience for all devout Friends.¹

In practice, however, the Society of Friends was deeply communal and collectivistic. Its organizational operation hinged on meetings, and Friends met together frequently. In addition, the society's Discipline contained rules governing the behavior of members in their various roles as parents, neighbors, and citizens. Furthermore, the society required its meetings throughout the South to answer a set of questions known as the Queries every time they met. Responding to the Queries regularly obliged every Quaker meeting to assess its collective success in observing the rules set forth in the Discipline. The written answers to the Queries, passed upward through the meeting system from local to monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, composed a continuous self-portrait of Quakerdom in the South.²

The Queries helped the society to know itself. From their origin in the seventeenth century, they focused on the ordinary, day-to-day behavior of Friends, and answering them provided Quaker meetings in the South with a regular opportunity to assess their performance as a group in maintaining the habits Friends were supposed to cultivate and practice. In 1725, for example, the Maryland Yearly

Howard Beeth is head of the Afro-American Collection of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston, Texas.

Meeting of Men asked eighteen questions of its subordinate meetings:

1. Do members attend meetings regularly?
2. Do members guard against drowsiness and other inappropriate behavior during meetings?
3. Do members raise their children properly and keep them away from bad companions (i.e., non-Quakers)?
4. Do members keep their promises, pay their debts, and honor their contracts?
5. Do members resolve their differences peacefully among themselves or refer them to their superior meeting for mediation?
6. Do members avoid lawsuits?
7. Do members maintain the testimony against paying taxes for a state-supported church?
8. Do members make their will while in good health?
9. Do members avoid divisive gossip?
10. Do members speak plainly, using language approved by the Scriptures?
11. Do members avoid excessive drinking?
12. Do members avoid excessive "Smoaking & Chewing" of tobacco?
13. Do members avoid participation in illegal, clandestine trade?
14. Do members avoid improper marriages?
15. Do members seeking apprentices offer work first to young Friends and avoid contracts with non-Friends without the approval of their monthly meeting?
16. Do members provide education for their poor?
17. Do members provide for their widows and orphans?
18. Do members otherwise conduct themselves in an orderly fashion?³

Although the Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina Yearly Meetings each devised their own Queries, their similarity in content and phraseology reflected the homogeneity of the Society in the South. The eighteen Queries used by the Maryland Yearly Meeting in 1725, for example, were almost a restatement of the seventeen questions adopted by the Virginia Yearly Meeting three years earlier. When the North Carolina Yearly Meeting decided to reformulate its Queries in 1765, its members had no hesitancy in using "part of the London Queries, Part of the Pensilvania Queries,

& part of our old Queries."⁴

The Friends revised the Queries periodically "so that they may be fitted to the present State of the Church" as Quaker ideology evolved to embrace new issues and as changing circumstances emphasized or deemphasized the need for Friends to examine their behavior in certain areas.⁵ In 1778, for example, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting reviewed its Queries and retained all but one which its members found "unnecessary at this time."⁶ Conversely, the Maryland Yearly Meeting of 1759 decided to add a question on slavery and the slave trade.⁷ Alterations in the Queries traced the ideological evolution of the Society of Friends by charting the changing priorities and concerns of Southern Quakers.

Friends answered the Queries with customary honesty. Usually, in fact, meetings understated their accomplishments and reserved elaboration for their problems. The Wells, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Women confessed that "some Parents are too Negligent ... towards their children."⁸ A quarterly meeting received a report from one of its subordinate meetings that "two friends have been concerned in horse racing," a common enough occurrence in the South but not one favored by the society.⁹ A Query reply from a meeting near the Atlantic coast contained unwelcome news "respecting friends being concerned in Running contraband goods from a distant port"--smuggling.¹⁰ Other Query answers revealed instances of Quakers who patronized taverns,¹¹ were guilty of "tale bearing, backbiting & spreading of evil reports,"¹² were improperly married,¹³ took one another to court,¹⁴ engaged in dishonest business practices,¹⁵ disrupted meetings,¹⁶ and more.

Whatever the transgressions of their members, Quaker meetings dutifully recorded them when they answered the Queries. The questions themselves were searching and practical, a guide to correct behavior that promoted consistency of conduct among southern Friends. Responding to the Queries was a process of administrative self-examination, and the answers provided by Quaker meetings decade after decade in the South composed a continuous, collective confession--a mirror which the religious society used to see itself and to measure the difference between what should have been and what was.¹⁷

Friends took action when Query replies revealed a serious or widespread deviation from the conduct expected of them. Meetings which reported a difficulty had to describe fully their efforts to remove

it in subsequent Query reports. In 1711, for example, the Virginia Yearly Meeting instructed Quakers at Curles to provide additional information about whether all of its members were in compliance with the prohibition against paying taxes to support the Anglican Church and clergy.¹⁸ The Maryland Yearly Meeting, disturbed by reports of excessive materialism among members, some of whom refurnished their homes “with such gay and costly furniture as may be a stumbling block in the way of their tender offspring,” asked its inferior meetings to explain how they were combatting this problem.¹⁹ In North Carolina, the yearly meeting of 1788 requested local meetings which still included slaveholders to take appropriate action against them and to notify the meeting when they had done so.²⁰ Throughout the South, unsatisfactory answers to the Queries led only to more and more inquiries. A problem revealed was never a problem ignored.²¹

Sometimes the Queries indicated the presence of a difficulty which warranted faster remedial action than could be achieved through the normal Query process. On those occasions superior meetings assigned an investigative team to visit troubled meetings immediately. In the mid-1740's for example, Friends on the Cape Fear peninsula in North Carolina became bitterly divided and antagonistic towards one another. In 1745 the Yearly Meeting was sufficiently concerned to send four of its members to counsel with them, but reports of disputes and acrimony persisted through the following year and into 1747. Finally, determined to quell the friction, the yearly meeting dispatched an investigative team of no fewer than fifteen members, which included its most reliable mediators. Their probe traced the source of the trouble to two local residents who had used “Subtilty & Craft” to sow “Strife & Division.” The yearly meeting disowned the two forthwith, and peace was restored among Cape Fear Quakers.²²

A Maryland meeting, alarmed by information that some Friends had backslid so far as to patronize Anglican clergymen, formed a committee to visit the alleged offenders in their homes.²³ On another occasion, women and men formed a joint visitation team to call on smaller meetings which reported lagging attendance “in order to Ster them up to their duties.”²⁴ Not all such visits were successful. Instead of noting progress, one committee report concluded that “there are too many professing with us who are living in a State of ease & Indifferency [,] too much Contenting themselves with the name only & not enough seeking after the substance of true religion.”²⁵

Friends also sent delegations to labor with meetings whose Query answers evidenced repeated failure to cope effectively with problems. Reports turned in to the Virginia Yearly Meeting in 1755 indicated that its lesser meetings had a rash of minor difficulties due to their own "slackness And indifferency." Despite expressions of concern by the Yearly Meeting, some local meetings made no headway in removing them. In 1757 the yearly meeting worried at the continued tendency of too many local meetings "to...wink at trifles untill they appear to the publick to be practices our known principles lead us to abstain from," which discredited the reputation of Friends everywhere. According to the yearly meeting, current examples of that trend included "a slackness in attending week day Meetings, ...some unfaithfulness in some in bearing a faithful testimony against paying priest's wages, a neglect in others in...making their wills, and others in...training their Negroes in the principles of the Christian religion." Written encouragement having failed, the yearly meeting ordered its quarterly meetings to appoint committees to visit all Monthly Meetings immediately "and assist them to promote good order."²⁶

Sometimes the problem was more specific. Query replies given to the Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in North Carolina reported violations of the Friends' ban against importing and selling alcohol, or consuming it to excess. Eventually the meeting felt compelled to appoint a committee to meet with wayward members personally, an assignment which took the committee nearly six months to complete.²⁷ A monthly meeting in Maryland authorized a visitation team to remedy abuses detected in the education of children, apprentices, and servants of Friends.²⁸ In the late 1790s, Quaker women in South Carolina were on the road continuously to aid local meetings with a host of particular problems.²⁹ Whatever the cause or location, the Society of Friends in the South sent help when it was needed. If replies to the Queries indicated trouble, whether a sudden emergency or a persistent difficulty, women and men left their work, families, and communities to visit and assist their brethren in distress.³⁰

Friends recognized the importance of the organizational self-analysis produced by the Queries. Once introduced, they remained a permanent fixture of the society. Their success depended on the cooperation of all meetings in answering the questions honestly as well as regularly, which most of them did most of the time. Friends tolerated few excuses for doing otherwise. Yearly meetings expected

all their subordinate meetings to convene regularly and to file reports on schedule. Occasionally circumstances prevented that, as when one meeting suspended operations "by reason of the Small Pox being near" and another due to "an uncommonly deep snow."³¹ But in 1776, notwithstanding the disruptions then occurring, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting reminded each of its member meetings nevertheless to strive for "clear and distinct answers given in writing...from the preparative [i.e., local meetings] to the monthly, from the monthly to the Quarterly, & from the Quarterly to the Yearly [.]"³² Incomplete or obfuscatory replies were not acceptable. Dissatisfied with an account submitted by one of its quarterly meetings, the Maryland Yearly Meeting decided "after solid Consideration...to return it to the Representatives from that Quarter in order to be laid before their next Meeting for some necessary alterations [.]"³³ Meetings which failed altogether to respond to the Queries were subject to immediate investigation by their superior meeting.³⁴ Friends not only had to answer to their own conscience but, in a formal and systematic way, they were also expected to answer to their religious society.

No other religious organization went to such lengths to examine itself. The Queries were a useful administrative innovation that helped Friends maintain uniform standards of collective behavior and provided the southern Yearly Meetings with a flow of regular, reliable information about their members throughout the South. They were especially useful in exposing problems within the Society of Friends. Sharing those problems, and working together to solve them, contributed to the unity of a people who were as critical of themselves as they were of others.

¹"Know thyself" is, of course, the most famous injunction of the Delphic Oracle.

Most general histories of the Society of Friends include a chapter or a subsection on Quaker worship. See, for example, John Sykes, *The Quakers: A New Look at Their Place in Society* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1959), chapter one, "Relationship with God," 15-48. See also T. Edmund Harvey, *Silence and Worship: A Study in Quaker Experience* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1923, 64 pages); William W. Comfort, "The Friends' Theory of Worship," *The Friend* (Philadelphia), IV.19. 1930, 483-484; and Beatrice Saxon Snell, "The Devotional Life of Early Friends," *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 44 (1952) 1, 52-69.

²After recording the members present, the minutes of Friends' meeting for business in the South usually began with a discussion of the Queries--what they said, whether they had been submitted properly by subordinate meetings, and so forth.

For Query reports handed in by preparative or local meetings to monthly meetings, see Lucy Kate McGhee, compiler, *Maryland Quaker (Friends) Records of Third Haven (Tred Avon) Talbot County*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: nd, np), I, entries of IX.26.1765, X.31.1765, and XI.28.1765. In the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College, see also Symon's Creek, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Women, Minutes, entries of II.18.1778; II.17.1779, and II.15.1800; Springfield, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of III.5.1791, VI.4.1791, and XI.3.1791; and Deep Creek, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Women, Minutes, entries of III.1.1794, XI.6.1794, and XII.6.1794.

For Query reports handed in by monthly meetings to quarterly meetings which are now housed in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College, see Perquiman's/Little River, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting, Minutes, entries of X.30.1710, X.29-30.1711, and IV.27-28.1712; Bush River, South Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Women, Minutes, entries of I.14.1793, IV.15.1793, and VII.15.1793; and Eastern, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of II.27.1796, V.28.1796, and VIII.27.1796.

For Query reports submitted by quarterly meetings to the southern yearly meetings, see the annual minute entries of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men, 1677 to 1800, on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reels M-547-A and M-549; Baltimore Half-Yearly and Yearly Meeting of Women, *ibid.*, M-776; Virginia Yearly Meeting of Men, *ibid.*, M-810; and North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Men, 1704-1800, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

For the importance of replying fully and regularly to the Queries, see the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of VIII.4.1704; and Epistle, Perquiman's/Little River, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Men to Carteret County, North Carolina, Friends in the minutes of the meeting, entry of V.30.1767, both in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College. See also the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of VI.6-10.1767, on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-547-A.

Prior to the establishment of regular quarterly meetings, monthly meetings gave their Query replies directly to their yearly meetings. Initially all Queries were answered orally by representatives of subordinate meetings. Later, to reduce the margin for error and misunderstanding, written replies became the rule.

³Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, VIII.9-13.1725, on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-547-A.

The Society used Queries extensively. Besides those used by men's meetings, there were also Queries for women's meetings, Queries for meetings of ministers and elders, and a short series of special annual Queries which meetings were required to respond to once a year.

The women's Queries adopted by the southern yearly meetings were nearly identical to those used by men's meetings. The main difference was that they lacked questions about business. See, for example, the women's and men's Queries written out in the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of X.27.1786, in

the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College.

The Queries for ministers and elders used by each of the southern yearly meetings were also similar, and the questions they posed bore on the leadership role expected of those people. The Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men authorized the following for its meetings of ministers and elders, which were typical (see entry of X.20-24.1770 on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-547-A):

“Query 1st...Are Ministers & Elders carefully duly to attend all their Meetings for Worship & Discipline...& are they good Examples in humble Waiting therein, not giving way to Drowsiness?

“2^d...Are Ministers sound in Word & Doctrine...?”

“3^d...Do Ministers & Elders rule their own Houses well [,] laboring to bring up those under their Care in Moderation and Plainness [?]”

“4th...Are they in unity and one with another & with the Meeting they belong to & do they bear a faithful Testimony against Slave Keeping, Priests Demands, & in every other branch of our Discipline[?]”

“5th...Do any Travel...as Ministers without being first recommended to, & accepted by the Quarterly Meeting...& do any appoint Meetings out of the Quarterly Meeting [area], without a Certificate thereof?”

The annual Queries were designed to provide administrative and statistical information about the society. The Baltimore and North Carolina Yearly Meetings used annual Queries that were identical to those used by the Virginia Yearly Meeting of Men (see entry of 1757 on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-810):

“1stWhat ministers or Elders deceased and when, and what memorial concerning them[?]”

“2ndWhat new meeting houses built or new meetings settled[?]”

“3rdWhat convincement (i.e., conversions) since last year, and where in each Quarter[?]”

“4thAre the Queries recommended by this meeting to quarterly, monthly and preparative meetings read in each, and are the reports made to this meeting founded thereon[?]”

When it came to self-examination, the southern yearly meetings left no stone unturned.

⁴Virginia Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of 1722, Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-810; North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Men’s Standing Committee Meeting, Minutes, entry of V.25.1765, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

⁵Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of X.16.1754, on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-547-A. The Virginia Yearly Meeting, for example, revised its Queries in 1722, 1757, 1758, 1760, 1770, 1783, 1785, 1788, and 1801; see the entries for those years on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-810.

⁶North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of X.23.1778, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

⁷Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of VI.2-6.1759, Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-547-A.

⁸Wells, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Women, Minutes, entry of VIII.6.1783,

Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

⁹Perquiman's/Little River, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of II.26.1785, *ibid.*

¹⁰Pasquotank, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of II.28.1789, *ibid.*

¹¹Virginia Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of 1762, Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-810.

¹²Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of X.16-20.1773, *ibid.*, Reel M-547-A.

¹³Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Women, Minutes, entry of III.24.1738, *ibid.*, Reel M-776.

¹⁴Symon's Creek, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of II.20.1796, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹⁵Perquiman's/Little River, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of XI.27.1780, *ibid.*

¹⁶Virginia Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of VII.27.1702, Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-810.

¹⁷On the origin of the Queries in England, see L. Hugh Doncaster, *Quaker Organization and Business Meetings* (London: Friends Home Service Committee, Study Papers No. 2, 1958), 20-21, 34-35; "The Significance of the Advices and Queries," *The Friends' Quarterly*, January 1957, 1-7; and Richard Stagg, "Friends' Queries and General Advices: A Survey of Their Development in London Yearly Meeting, 1682-1860," *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, XLIX (1959) 3, 209-229.

Similar interest in the Queries of North America is lacking. Stephen Weeks surprisingly ignores them in *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1896), while Thomas E. Drake treats only the Query on slavery in *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 42, 64, 72, 77-78, 82. For a partial remedy of this oversight, see Howard Beeth, "Outside Agitators in Southern History: The Society of Friends, 1656-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Houston, 1984), 96-106. Other standard works focus on the Queries of the northern yearly meetings: Howard H. Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years: The History and Beliefs of the Society of Friends Since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), 125-126; J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 56-57; and Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (Macmillan and Company, 1911), 535-538.

¹⁸Virginia Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of 1711, Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-810.

¹⁹Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of X.13-19.1793, *ibid.*, Reel M-549.

²⁰New Garden, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of XII.15.1788, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

²¹For follow-ups to the Queries which resulted in monthly meeting visitation teams being sent to local or preparative meetings, see the Cecil, Maryland, Monthly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of II.9.1785; III.9.1785; III.13.1787; VIII.13.1788; X.11.1788; IV.14.1789; II.18.1797; I.16.1798; I.19.1799; VI.15.1799; and VI.14.1800,

on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reels M-908 and M-909. In the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College, see the Piney Woods, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Women, Minutes, entries of IV.1.1797; V.6.1797; IV.7.1798; and I.3.1799.

For Query visits by quarterly meeting committees to monthly meetings, see Bush River, South Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of XII.26.1772; VII.30.1785; VII.30.1791; and VII.27.1791, as well as the Western, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of II.14.1761; VIII.8.1761; XI.12.1763; II.11.1764; V.12.1764; VIII.11.1764; XI.10.1764; II.9.1765; V.11.1765, in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College.

For Query visits by yearly meeting committees to their subordinate quarterly, monthly, and preparative meetings, see Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of V.13-17.1758; VI.7-11.1777; and X.14-18.1799, on Maryland Hall of Record Microfilm Reels M-547-A and M-549; Virginia Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of 1758, 1764, and 1798, *ibid.*, M-810; and North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of X.25.1764; X.23.1772, and X.28.1785, in Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

In addition to visits prompted by unsatisfactory Query answers, Quaker meetings sent committees to their inferior meetings for many other reasons and on many other occasions as well. They were used often because they worked. Even when unsuccessful, they reduced geographic and psychological isolation by keeping Quakers in touch with Quakers. They also kept the level of required participation by members high and in general contributed to the collective ethos and sense of community in the society.

²²North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of VIII.4-6.1745; VII.3-5.1746; and VIII.2-4.1747, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

²³McGhee, *Maryland Quaker...Records of Third Haven...*, I, entry of IX.26.1765.

²⁴Symon's Creek, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Women, Minutes, entry of L21.1778, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

²⁵Sutton's Creek, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Women, Minutes, entry of II.14.1795, *ibid.*

²⁶Epistle, Virginia Yearly Meeting of Men to London Yearly Meeting of Men, 1755, plus Virginia Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of 1755-58, on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-810.

²⁷Cane Creek, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of III.3.1798; VII.7.1789; and VIII.4.1798, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

²⁸Cecil, Maryland, Monthly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of I.19.1798, and VI.15.1799, on Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-909.

²⁹Bush River, South Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Women, Minutes, entries of I.15.1798; IV.16.1798; X.15.1798; I.14.1799; IV.15.1799; VII.15.1799; and X.14.1799, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

³⁰For a few of the many examples of this in the minutes of Quaker meetings in the emergent South, see note 21 above.

³¹Perquiman's/Little River, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of V.29.1773, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, and Maryland Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of V.20-25.1774, Maryland Hall of Records

Microfilm Reel M-547-A.

³²North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of X.25.1776, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

³³Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entry of VI.6-10.1778, Maryland Hall of Records Microfilm Reel M-547-A.

³⁴Western or Cane Creek, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of II.11.1769; V.13.1769; II.8.1772; V.9.1772, and Perquiman's/Little River, North Carolina, Quarterly Meeting of Men, Minutes, entries of V.30.1767 and VIII.29.1767, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

A PRELIMINARY PAPER
ON THE
QUAKER PEARSON FAMILY

OF CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND AND
COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA AND
RELATED, DESCENDED AND COLLATERAL
FAMILIES OF BOGUE, LAWRENCE, TOMS,
NEWBY, CHICKEN, HOODT, DE LA PLAINE,
CRESSON, COLLYER, MARTIN, PEELE,
RATLIFF, HILL, AND OTHERS

by

James E. Bellarts

PEARSON

1. John Pearson, farmer of Dean Parish, Ullock, Cumberland, England, was by 1641 Church Warden and Overseer of the nearly 800 year old St. Oswald's Parish, where his ancestors had worshipped since at least 1580. He made a will in 1649 and died in 1650. His son:
 - 1.1 (--) Pearson died as a young man. His name is not recorded. He married Elizabeth (--) who d. 1678-October, leaving a will naming her children:
 - 1.11 Christopher Pearson (below).
 - 1.12 Isabella Pearson; m. (--) Oyes.
 - 1.13 Dorothy Pearson, lived with her brother Christopher for several years, d. 1695 leaving a will.

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This is part one of a two-part article. The Pearson Family is included in this installment. The Bogue, Lawrence, Toms, Chicken, and Hill families will be dealt with in part two.

- 1.11 Christopher Pearson was educated in the Parish School, evidently paid for by his grandfather, b. ca 1630, Ullock, Cumberland, d. in Ullock, bur. 1711-Apr-19, probably at Pardshaw Cragg, a limestone formation to the north of Ullock, where the Quakers held outdoor services until they built a Meeting House. Christopher Pearson, his family and sister Dorothy became Quakers when George Fox preached in Cumberland in 1653, the same year the first Meeting House was erected at Pardshaw. Christopher Pearson m. in Quaker ceremony, 1670-Jun-09, at the home of Richard Faucett, about 2½ miles north of Pardshaw Cragg, Elinor Fearon who was buried at Pardshaw 1714-May-02, dau. of George Fearon, whose headstone is the oldest standing at St. Oswald's, dated 1687. His will, made in 1685, leaves a bequest to his son-in-law Christopher Pearson. Their children who lived:
- 1.111 Mary Pearson; m. John Gill of Eaglesfield.
- 1.112 John Pearson, whose descendants continue to live in Cumberland.
- 1.113 A child whose name is unknown.
- 1.114 Peter Pearson, b. 1679-12mo-21, Dean Parish, Ullock, Cumberland England, d. 1735-04mo-21, Perquimans County, North Carolina, will probated 1735-04mo-21; m. 1708/10, Rachel (--). It is frequently stated that he married Rachel Newby, dau. of Nathan and Elizabeth (Hollowell) Newby. There is no evidence in Quaker records checked by the compiler, or in a Newby genealogy privately commissioned by the late Nancy Esther (Hutchins) Hineman, compiled by the late William Perry Johnson, to indicate this is true, although Peter Pearson's will names Nathan Newby brother of Rachel Newby as "brother". The children of Peter Pearson:
- 1.1141 Peter Pearson II.
- 1.1142 John Pearson, b. 1714-09mo-22, d. before 1760-Jun-07; m. 1738-11mo-03, Perquimans County, North Carolina, Elizabeth Croxton, daughter of Arthur Croxton.
- 1.1143 Rachel Pearson, b. 1716-11mo-16; m. 1738-08mo-04, Robert Bogue (1.24, "Bogue"), whose descent and descendants are as follows:

- 1.1144 Nathan Pearson, b. 1718-12mo-06, d. bef. 1750, not named in his mother's will.
- 1.1145 Mary Pearson, b. 1720-11mo-20, d. 1773-03mo-13; m(1) 1740-09mo-02, Perquimans County, North Carolina, John Winslow, son of Timothy and Rachel (Wilson) Winslow; m(2) Joshua Morris, b. 1726, d. 1777, son of Aaron and Mary (Pritchard) Morris.
- 1.1146 Jonathan Pearson.
- 1.1147 Elizabeth (Betty) Pearson; m. 1748, William Bagley.
- <1.1148. (doubtful) Bailey Pearson. Probably named as a son in error, actually being "Betty", with old writing being misread. Peter names only seven children in his will, and Rachel names six, Nathan having predeceased his mother.>
- 1.1141 Peter Pearson II, b. 1711-06mo-19, Virginia; m(1), letter to marry dated 1733/4-12mo-06, Rachel Bogue, dau. of William and Eleanor (Perisho) Bogue (1.28, "Bogue"); m(2) out of unity, for which they were disowned, Mary Ann (Martin) (Lacy) Jessup, widow and third wife of Thomas Jessup <who m(1) Rachel Pease, b. 1690, dau. of William and Ann (Pearson) Pease; m(2) Jane (Clare) Robinson, dau. of Timothy and Mary (Bundy) Clare.> His children (named in his will 1799-May-27, Perquimans County, North Carolina) by his first wife Rachel. Rachel Bogue:
- 1.11411 Nathan Pearson; m. 1773-12mo-26 at Meeting House near Little River Bridge, as her third husband, Rebecca (Symons) Nicholson, dau. of Thomas and Ann (Keaton) Symons, who m(1) 1765-06mo-13, John Low; m(2) as his second wife, Joseph Nicholson; to Center MM, North Carolina in 1793 with daughters:
- 1.114111 Sarah Pearson, b. 1775-01mo-06; m. as his first wife, 1794-01mo-08, Back Creek MM, Randolph County, North Carolina, Benjamin Hill, b. 1770-06mo-22, Guilford County, North Carolina, d. 1829. <He m(2) 1796-05mo-18, New Garden Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina, Mary Jessup, daughter of Jacob and Rachel (Cook) Jessup.>
- 1.114112 Anna Pearson, b. 1779:12mo-21.
- 1.114113 Huldah Pearson, b. 1784-08mo-04, d. 1796-08mo-28.

- 1.11412 Peter Pearson III, reported married 1763-11mo-02, Ann Morgan, to Contentnea Monthly Meeting, Wayne County, North Carolina in 1776; m(2) 1789-10mo-15, at the house of Thomas Hollowell, Polly Beamon, daughter of Frances Beamon. They moved to Guilford County, and then to the northwest where he is untraced. His probable children by his first marriage:
- 1.114121 Peter Pearson IV, b. 1780-05mo-25.
1.114122 Ann Pearson, b. 1790-06mo-16; m. 1790-06mo-16, Jonathan Hastings, Sr.
1.114123 Jesse Pearson; m. 1789, Polly Beeman.
- 1.11413 Rachel Pearson; m. 1766, Samuel Newby, b. 1745-06mo-08, d. 1771-12mo-06, son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Albertson) Newby. < Samuel Newby was the younger brother of Miriam Newby who m. William Lamb, and the uncle of Elizabeth Lamb who m. Mark Pearson (1.11463, page 6) and of Miriam Lamb who m. Ichabod Pearson (1.11464) > Their children:
- 1.114131 Millicent Pearson.
1.114132 Jesse Pearson; m. Elizabeth (White) Townsend.
1.114133 Elizabeth Pearson; m. Benjamin Hill.
1.114134 Margaret Pearson.
1.114135 Samuel Pearson; m. Peninah Hobbs.
1.114136 Rachel Pearson; m. Reuben Lamb.
1.114137 Anna Person; m(1) William Osborn; m(2) Obadiah Harris.
1.114138 Jemima Pearson.
1.114139 Nathan Pearson.
1.1141310 William Newby Pearson.
- 1.11414 Elizabeth Pearson, d. bef. 1779-05mo-27; m. Nathan Lacy. Their children:
- 1.114141 Nathan Lacy, Jr.
1.114142 Josiah Lacy
1.114143 Peter Lacy.

Children of Peter Pearson II by his second wife Mary Ann Martin.

- 1.11415 Jonathan Pearson, a soldier of the American Revolution, disowned 1775.

- 1.11416 William Pearson; m. bef. 1773, Miriam Evans, dau. of Robert Evans.
- 1.11417 Christopher Pearson, disowned 1771-12mo-04. He had married his half-sister Mary Hasket, and moved west (that is to Wayne County, and then to Georgia).
- 1.11418 Mary Pearson, reported married 1769-12mo-06 to John Moore.
- 1.11419 Ruth Pearson; m. (-) Boyce.
- 1.114110 Levi Pearson, d. ca 1778, reported married in Perquimans County, North Carolina, 1776-11mo-16, to Elizabeth Bogue.
- 1.1146 Jonathan Pearson, b. 1722-11mo-10; d. before 1784-02mo-22, Wayne County, North Carolina, where he moved ca 1776; m(1) 1745-06mo-04, Perquimans County, North Carolina, marriage reported to Perquimans Monthly Meeting 1745-09mo-06, Rebecca Elliott, b. ca 1720, d. 1763/4; m(2) 1765-Oct (1766-01mo-02), Sarah (Bogue) Bundy, b. 1738, dau. of William and Sarah (Duke) Bogue, widow of Joseph Bundy, whom she married 1758-01mo-04, Randolph County, North Carolina. His children by his first wife Rebecca Elliott:
- 1.11461 Rachel Pearson, b. 1746; disowned for marrying (-) Coley out of unity.
- 1.11462 Jemima Pearson, b. 1747; disowned for marrying out of unity 1778-11mo-14(-) Peacock.
- 1.11463 Mark Pearson, b. 1748; m. 1772-03mo-06, Elizabeth Lamb, daughter of William and Miriam (Newby) Lamb. To Wayne County, and Surry County, North Carolina, and to Clinton County, Ohio in 1812. Their children:
- 1.114631 William Pearson, b. 1773-02mo-24, d. 1849-01mo-02, will probated 1849-03mo-13, Greene County, Ohio; m(1) Elizabeth Chance; m(2) Sarah (-). His children:
- 1.1146311 Mary Pearson, b. ca 1800, d. before 1849, married and had children.
- 1.1146312 Rebecca Pearson, b. 1802; m. 1820-05mo-04, William Jackson who d. 1859-12mo-16 age 75 yrs 11mos 20 days.
- 1.1146313 Rachel Pearson, b. 1803; m. Samuel Williams.

- 1.1146314 Jonathan Pearson, b. 1804; m. Violet Haughey.
1.1146315 Elizabeth Pearson; m. John Nelson.
1.1146316 Mark Pearson, b. 1807; m. Mary Stewart.
1.1146317 Isaac Pearson, b. 1808; m. 1833, Susan Haughey.
1.1146318 Peter Pearson, d. 1840; m. 1831 Mary Evans.
1.1146319 Lewis Pearson, b. 1815; m. 1835, Corey Gillis.
1.11463110 William Pearson.
- 1.114632 Rebecca Pearson, b. 1777-12mo-30, d. 1816; m. out of unity 1794-09mo-13, Benoni Bentley, for which she was disowned.
- 1.114633 John Pearson, b. 1780-09mo-29, d. 1858-11mo-23; m. 1805-11mo-05, Grayson County, Virginia, Hannah Stanley, b. 1785-05mo-13, d. 1840-07mo-18. Their children (Reference family records owned by Mary Majorie Beard Sand of Riley, Kansas):
- 1.1146331 Joseph Pearson, b. 1807-Jul-07, bur. Chatanooga, Tennessee.
- 1.1146332 Rebeccah Pearson, d. in infancy.
- 1.1146333 Asmath Pearson, b. 1812-Jun-04; m. Steven Studeman.
- 1.1146334 Hezicih Pearson; m. Eli Lamb; a twin to:
- 1.1146335 Jesse Pearson, b. 1815-03mo-24, Highland County, Ohio, d. 1893-07mo-27, Greene County, Ohio; 1838-02mo-21, Greene County, Ohio, Achsa Turner, b. 1812-06mo-21, Hamilton County, Ohio, d. 1901-04mo-17, Greene County, Ohio, bur. Clinton County, Ohio, daughter of James and Rachel (--) Turner of Greene County, Ohio. Their children:
- 1.11463351 Hannah Pearson, b. 1839-11mo-22, d. 1910-08mo-04, Waverly, Minnesota; m. 1855-12mo-09 John William Cruzen who d. 1904. Their children (Reference: Obituary):
- 1.114633511 Jesse Cruzen, d. age 21.
1.114633512 Eli Cruzen, in Sequim, Washington in 1894.
1.114633513 John H. Cruzen, in Minneapolis, Minnesota in 1904.
1.114633514 Archie Cruzen, in Wisconsin in 1904.
1.114633515 Frank Cruzen, in Montana in 1904.

- 1.114633516 William Cruzen, in Minnesota in 1904.
- 1.114633517 Alva Cruzen, in Michigan in 1904; m. Verna May Hewitt, b. 1833, adopted by Herbert Tanner.
- 1.114633518 Alice Cruzen, in Kent, Ohio in 1904; m. (--) Bosworth; moved to Oregon, had at least one daughter.
- 1.114633519 Tabitha Cruzen, in Waverly, Minnesota in 1904; m. (--) Holiday.
- 1.1146335110 Anna Cruzen.
- 1.11463352 Rachel Pearson, b. 1840-05mo-06, d. 1884-11mo-01; m. 1866-02mo-08, Charles Pearson.
- 1.11463353 Anna Pearson, b. 1844-07mo-09, d. 1933-03mo; m. 1868-12mo-17, Xenia, Ohio, Archibald Stittsworth, a Union veteran of the Civil War and prisoner of war at Andersonville. They moved to Kansas. Their children:
- 1.114633531 William H. Stittsworth; m. Sade Mellinger, lived around Milford and Junction City, Kansas. Their children, all of whom married, had children and are deceased.
- 1.1146335311 Esther Stittsworth.
- 1.1146335312 Lola Stittsworth.
- 1.1146335313 Bill Stittsworth.
- 1.1146335314 Howard Stittsworth, a twin to:
- 1.1146335315 Harold Stittsworth.
- 1.114633532 Clarence E. Stittsworth; m. (-?-). His children:
- 1.1146335321 Janette Stittsworth.
- 1.1146335322 Jack Stittsworth.
- 1.1146335323 Joe Stittsworth.
- 1.1146335324 Kathryn Stittsworth.
- 1.1146335325 Unknown son.
- 1.1146335326 Unknown son.
- 1.114633533 Ella Stittsworth; m. Rev. (--) Narcy. Their children, all of whom married, had children and died prior to 1986:
- 1.1146335331 Chester Stittsworth.
- 1.1146335332 Frank Stittsworth.
- 1.1146335333 Laura Stittsworth.

- 1.1146335334 Askren Stittsworth.
- 1.114633534 Carrie Stittsworth; never married, a school teacher in Junction City, Kansas for many years.
- 1.114633535 Mamie (Mary) Stittsworth; never married, lived around Milford and Junction City, Kansas.
- 1.114633536 Emma K. Stittsworth; never married, lived around Milford and Junction City, Kansas.
- 1.11463354 George Pearson, b. 1846-03mo-16.
- 1.11463355 Thomas Pearson, b. 1847-08mo-29.
- 1.11463356 Mary Pearson, b. 1849-10mo-14, d. 1937-12mo-03, Milford, Kansas; m. 1866-05mo-24, Zenia, Ohio, Charles Lewis Martin, b. 1843-01mo-13, Warren County, Virginia, son of Robert and Nancy (Dowell) Martin of Van Wert County, Ohio. Their daughter:
- 1.114633561 Carrie Alice Martin, b. 1867-08mo-06, Ohio, d. 1890-10mo-01, Geary County, Kansas; m. 1886-02mo-28, Geary County, Kansas. Will Taylor, son of Joe Taylor; went to Oklahoma when Cherokee Strip opened. No issue.
- 1.114633562 Will Henry Martin, b. 1869-02mo-21, Ohio, d. 1942-4mo-10, Geary County, Kansas; m. Anna Dalquist, daughter of Andrew and Caroline (-) Dalquist. They had children, including:
- 1.1146335621] Charles Martin who was married twice and had several children, including:
- 1.11463356211 Floyd Martin, deceased; never married.
- 1.11463356212 Clarissa Martin, d. young.
- 1.11463356213 Ruth Martin; m. (-) Haskell; no issue.
- 1.11463356214 Helen Martin; m. Frank Franklin, living in Dallas, Texas in 1986. Their daughter:
- 1.114633562141 Mary Lou Franklin; m. Robert Campbell who d. in an automobile accident. Their children:

- 1.1146335621411 Marcy Campbell.
1.1146335621412 Anna Campbell.
1.1146335621413 Robert Campbell.
- 1.114633563 Annie Louise Martin, b. 1870-07mo-27, Ohio, d. 1896-09mo-23, New York; m. 1896-09mo-23, New York, James E. Coffey, lived in New York City and on Long Island. Their children:
- 1.1146335631 James Coffey; married, no children; living in Virginia in 1986.
- 1.1146335632 Alice Coffey; m. (--) Moore. Their children:
- 1.11463356321 Patricia Moore; m. Artie Hartsch.
- 1.11463356322 James Moore, served in U.S.M.C. in World War II, d. in Virginia; m. in England, a British girl. They had several children.
- 1.114633564 Oscar Elmo Martin, b. 1873-08mo-10, d. 1942, Tacoma, Washington; m. (-?-); no issue.
- 1.114633565 Gertrude Nancy Martin, b. 1875-08mo-09, Ohio, d. 1936-Aug, New York; never married.
- 1.114633566 Flora Dell Martin, b. 1877-10mo-30, Ohio, d. 1974-07mo-28, Manhattan, Kansas; m. 1904-04mo-11, Junction City, Kansas, John F. Hickman; lived in Kansas City, Kansas; no issue.
- 1.114633567 Robert Franklin Martin, b. 1879-11mo-23, Ohio, d. 1916-04mo-21; m. Johana Welsh, daughter of John and Anna (Gallagher) Welsh; lived in Milford, Kansas; no issue.
- 1.114633568 Homer Elmer Martin, b. 1881-09mo-27, Ohio, d. 1953-Jan-16, Tacoma, Washington; never married.
- 1.114633569 Joseph Allen Martin, b. 1884-01mo-06, Kansas, d. 1933-Oct, Geary County, Kansas; m. 1911-07mo-10, Junction City, Kansas, Nora Sanders, daughter of Ike and Sylvia (Younkin) Sanders. Their son:

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- 1.1146335691 Dean Martin; m. Verda Britt, Their son:
1.11463356911 Jerry Joe Martin; m. (-?-), living in
Junction City, Kansas.
- 1.1146335610 Charles Ernest Martin, b. 1886-04mo-12,
Kansas, d. 1936-Feb-24; m. Augusta
Steinbruck, daughter of Theodore and
Phebe (Warnick) Steinbruck. Their children:
- 1.11463356101 Geneva Martin, b. 1916-01mo-23, Kings
County, Kansas; m(1) 1941-Jan-18,
Harold O. Brown, divorced; m(2) 1963-
Jan-17, Byron Vignery. Her children by
her first husband Harold O. Brown:
- 1.114633561011 Lowell F. Brown, b. Dickinson County,
Kansas; m(1) Marjorie A. Shockley;
divorced. Their son:
1.1146335610111 Calvin L. Brown, b. 1964.
- 1.114633561012 Harold Brown, b. Dickinson County,
Kansas; m. Kay Kaskey. Their
children:
- 1.1146335610121 Eric S. Brown, b. 1974.
1.1146335610122 Austin J. Brown, b. 1974, a twin to:
1.1146335610123 Justin L. Brown.
1.1146335610124 Kendall M. Brown, b. 1981.
- 1.114633561013 Steven Brown, b. Dickinson County,
Kansas; m. Carla Sue Hayes. Their
children:
- 1.1146335610131 Jason S. Brown.
1.1163356110132 Jared D. Brown
- 1.114633561014 Dana E. Brown; m. as her second
husband, Marilyn (Ford) McAvoy.
- 1.11463356102 Norma E. Martin, b. 1918-08mo-26,
Geary County, Kansas; m. 1950-Jun-24,
Kenneth I. Bruns; divorced 1955. Their
children:
- 1.114633561021 Dean Bruns; m(1) Merrie Kay
Eckman; m(2) Julie Wright. His

daughter by his first wife Merrie Kay Eckman:

- 1.1146335610211 Jayme Ray Bruns, b. 1979,
Mc Pherson, Kansas.
- 1.11463356103 Audrey E. Martin, b. 1920-10mo-22,
Geary County, Kansas; m. 1940-Jul-14,
Thomas L. Diehl. Their children:
- 1.114633561031 Sherry Lou Diehl; m. Joe Puckett.
Their children:
- 1.1146335610311 Hershel L. Puckett, b. 1960,
Geary County, Kansas.
- 1.1146335610312 Daniel Joe Puckett, b. 1961,
Geary County, Kansas.
- 1.1146335610313 Nina L. Puckett, b. 1964,
Germany.
- 1.1146335610314 Sherry D. Puckett, b. 1967,
Texas.
- 1.114633561032 Tom Larry Diehl; m. Pamela Parks.
- 1.114633561033 Charles Diehl, b. 1923-11mo-25,
Clay County, Kansas; never married;
lives in Bakersfield, California;
works worldwide with oil drilling
crews.
- 1.114633561034 Mary Ivalo Diehl, b. 1925-08mo-01,
Clay County, Kansas; m. 1956-Jun-
30, Joel Richard Butts; lives in
Junction City, Kansas.
- 1.114633561035 Linnie Ernestine <L in Ellen>
Diehl, b. 1927-01mo-25, Clay
County, Kansas; m. 1956-02mo-01,
Stev Mariano, Jr.; divorced 1953-
Aug, lives in California. Their
daughter:
- 1.1146335610351 Denise Lin Mariano, b. Denver
Colorado.
- 1.1146335611 Linnie Mildred Martin, b. 1888-02mo-28,
Kansas, d. 1975-09mo-18, Kansas; m.
1909-06mo-12, Junction City, Kansas,

Henry Miller, son of George and Catherine
(Bentz) Miller. Their children:

- 1.11463356111 Verna Miller; m. Fred Wick. Their
daughter:
1.114633561111 Mary Janet Wick.
- 1.11463356112 Richard Miller; m. Ruth Bitterland;
no issue.
- 1.11463356113 Kermit Miller, d. in infancy.
- 1.11463356114 Dale Miller; m. Evelyn Slupianek.
Their children:
1.114633561141 Gary Miller; m. Louise Anderson.
Their children:
1.1146335611411 Gary D. Miller.
1.1146335611412 Farrah Miller.
1.1146335611413 Troy Miller.
1.1146335611414 'Trenton Miller.
- 1.114633561142 Linde Miller; m. Gene Schlesener.
Their children:
1.1146335611421 Bill Schlesener.
1.1146335611422 Phil Schlesener.
- 1.11463356115 Howard Miller; m. Betty Dozler.
Their children:
1.114633561151 Jodi Miller.
1.114633561152 Scott Miller
- 1.1146335611 Frances Kathryn Martin, b. 1891-01mo-
18, d. 1981-Jul-17, Manhattan, Kansas,
bur. Riley, Kansas; m. 1912-02mo-14,
Geary County, Kansas, Clyde Thomas
Beard, b. 1892-04mo-15, Milford, Kansas,
d. 1964-03mo-20, Manhattan, Kansas, bur.
Riley, Kansas. Their daughter:
1.11463356111 Mary Marjorie Beard, b. 1916-Jan-06,
Milford, Geary County, Kansas; m.
1937-Jun-02, Ivan Sand, a farmer of
Riley, Kansas and long time Republican
member of the Kansas Legislature.
Their daughter:

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1.114633561111 Mary Charlotte Sand, b. 1945; m. Herbert Shawyer. Their son:

1.1146335611111 Harwood Shawyer.

1.1146335612 Hazel Bernice Martin, b. 1893-08mo-21, Kansas, d. 1921-May-04, Geary County, Kansas; never married.

1.11463357 John Pearson, b. 1852-10mo-17.

1.11463358 James Pearson, b. 1854-01mo-19; m. 1878-12mo-22, Louise Sapp.

1.11463359 Henry Pearson, b. 1858-03mo-14; m. May Pidgeon who d. in 1910-Jul-06. They lived near Browsersville, Ohio. Their children:

1.114633591 Fleeta Pearson.

1.11463359 Maude Pearson.

1.1146336 Rachel Pearson, b. 1820-10mo-30; m. Cyrus Carter; a twin to:

1.1146337 Lydia Pearson, b. 1820-10mo-30, Ohio, d. 1860-Apr-09, Shelby County, Ohio; m. 1843-Feb-16, Fielding Feagan, b. 1821-Jul-17, Ohio, son of Absalom and Margaret (Cook) Feagan.

1.1146338 Susannah Pearson, b. 1823-Dec-14; m. George W. Hiatt;

1.114634 Dorcas Pearson, b. 1773-01mo-01, d. 1785-03mo-20, Wayne County, North Carolina.

1.114635 Isaac Pearson, b. 1784-09mo-07.

1.114636 Betty Pearson, b. 1786-10mo-22; m. 1806-12mo-09, Lewis Chance who d. 1806.

1.11464 Ichabod Pearson, b. 1749, d. 1803; m. 1774-09mo, marriage reported 1774-10mo-06, Perquimans County, North Carolina, Miriam Lamb, dau. of William and Meriam (Newby) Lamb who were m. 1750-12mo-06, Perquimans County, North Carolina. They moved to Wayne County, North Carolina ca 1776, where all their children were born. Their children:

1.114641 Huldah Pearson, b. 1777-03mo-18; m. Jesse Maudlin.

1.114642 Rhoda Pearson, b. 1779-03mo-07, 1800-12mo-13 reported married to John Collyer. Family moved to St. Joseph, Cass County, Michigan, where Goshen Monthly

Meeting records them. Their children:

- 1.1146421 Jonathan Collyer.
- 1.1146422 Sarah Collyer.
- 1.1146423 Rachel Collyer.
- 1.1146424 Ichabod Collyer.
- 1.1146425 Celia Collyer.
- 1.1146426 Margaret Collyer.

- 1.114643 Ichabod Pearson II, b. 1781-03mo-15; m. Elizabeth Bradbury. Ichabod was disowned, but the records of Contentnea Monthly Meeting mens meeting were lost, so there is no record of the reason. His will is dated 1845-May-02, and was probated in the May term of the court of Wayne County, North Carolina. Their children:
 - 1.1146431 Solomon Pearson.
 - 1.1146432 Sarah Pearson; m. John Hooks of Wayne County, North Carolina, lived in Wayne County, North Carolina. Their children:
 - 1.11464321 John Robert Hooks.
 - 1.11464322 Elizabeth Hooks.
 - 1.11464323 Mary Hooks.
 - 1.11464324 Miriam Hooks.

- 1.1146433 Ichabod Pearson III, lived at Black Creek, Wayne County, North Carolina.
- 1.1146434 Lazarus Pearson, b. 1814-01mo-01, Wayne County, North Carolina, was a manager of the underground railway; he died three weeks before the end of the Civil War in 1865; m. ca 1835, Sarah Edgerton, b. 1816-07mo-97, d. 1872-01mo-31, daughter of Thomas Edgerton III and Absilla (Pike) Edgerton <she was the dau. of Nathan and Rachel (Maudlin) Pike>. Their children:
 - 1.11464341 John Thomas Pearson (below).
 - 1.11464342 Sarah Pearson, b. 1838-05mo-25, d. Lamar, Colorado; m. 1859-10mo-13, Edwin G. Copeland, b. 1831-09mo-17, son of Henry and Dorothy (-) Copeland of Rich Square, Northampton County, North Carolina.

- 1.11464343 Ichabod Emory Pearson, b. 1839-05mo-18, d. 1919-06mo-01, Lamar, Colorado; m(1) 1870-09mo-02, Bartholomew County, Indiana, Mary Bell Moffatt who d. ca 1885; m(2) Harriet E. Crowder, b. 1866-01mo-28, Iowa, d. 1953-01mo-14, Denver, Colorado, daughter of Thomas and Frances (Good) Crowder.
- 1.11464344 Nathan Pearson, b. 1840-09mo-20; m(1) Ashsah Newlin, b. 1838-01mo-21, d. 1871-11mo-19, daughter of Joseph and Ruth (Farlow) Newlin; m(2) 1876-11mo-16, Mary Jane Farlow.
- 1.11464345 Elizabeth Pearson, b. 1842-08mo-20, North Carolina, d. 1927-07mo-24, Colorado Springs, Colorado, unmarried.
- 1.11464346 Mary M. Pearson, b. 1847-02mo-01, d. 1867-10mo-29, unmarried.
- 1.11464347 William Lazarus Pearson, b. 1849-07mo-04, Coonsboro, Johnston County, North Carolina, d. 1935-10mo-26, Pasadena, California; m(1) 1895-01mo-01, Nancy Greaves of Newburgh, New York; m(2) 1922, Tokyo, Japan, Alice G. Lewis.
- 1.11464348 Joseph D. Pearson, b. 1851-10mo-17, d. 1867-10mo-09.
- 1.11464349 Richard M. Pearson, b. 1855-10mo-05, 1867-10mo-09.
- 1.11464341 John Thomas Pearson (above), b. 1837-03mo-21, d. 1877-10mo-29; m. 1858-03mo-10, Dicena Sarah Newlin, b. 1836-03mo-19, d. 1897-01mo-24, dau. of Joseph and Ruth (Farlow) Newlin of Randolph County, North Carolina. Their children:
- 1.114643411 Joseph Lazarus Pearson, b. 1859-06mo-02, d. 1944-06mo-27; m(1) 1810-01mo-10, Mary Elizabeth Deans, b. 1861-01mo-18, d. 1917-12mo-12, daughter of Thomas A. and Edith (Howell) Deans of Wayne County, North Carolina; m(2) 1919-01mo-15, Virginia Alexander Perrow, b. 1883-04mo-23, d. 1955-10mo-31, daughter of

William Adolphus and Ella (Haley) Perrow of Concord, Virginia.

- 1.114643412 John Newlin Pearson (below).
- 1.114643413 William Eli Pearson, b. 1863-05mo-28, d. 1928-05mo-30; m(1) 1886-12mo-01, Annie E. Howell, b. 1868-03mo-04, daughter of Admiral and Annie (Best) Howell of Wayne County, North Carolina; m(2) 1897-04mo-07, Mary A. Jinnette, b. 1876-03mo-04, d. 1981-05mo-20, daughter of William Sanders and Talitha (Cox) Jinnette.
- 1.114643414 Emily Ruth Pearson, b. 1865-09mo-29, d. 1954-09mo-01; m(1) 1887-12mo-27, Robert Hardy Smith, b. 1865-10mo-02, d. 1911-05mo-06, son of Joseph P. and Eulie (Best) Smith of Pikeville, Wayne County, North Carolina; m(2) ca 1926, Daniel A. Bulla, b. 1852-02mo-03, d. 1945-04mo, son of Calvin and Luida (Wade) Bulla of Randolph County, North Carolina.
- 1.114643415 James Richmond Pearson, b. 1868-06mo-08, d. 1952-05mo-19; m(1) 1900-03mo-22, Mary Catherine Massey, b. 1860-05mo-25, d. 1925-08mo-06, daughter of Levi H. and Avis (Coleman) Massey of Wayne County, North Carolina; m(2) Roberta May Moore, b. 1878-04mo-22, d. 1954-11mo-16, daughter of David S. and Tabitha (Hollowell) Moore of Wayne County, North Carolina.
- 1.114643416 Minnie Whitaker Pearson, b. 1871-05mo-05, d. 1872-07mo-03.
- 1.114643417 Mary Achsah Pearson, b. 1874-04mo-01, d. 1915-01mo-28; m. 1902-04mo-30, Hardy Haskell Edgerton, b. 1875-11mo-13, d. 1956-06mo-07, son of William Leonard and Sophronia (Jinnett) Edgerton of Wayne County, North Carolina.
- 1.114643418 Thomas Oliver Pearson, b. 1877-03mo-16, d. 1949-07mo-07, Memphis, Tennessee; m(1) 1915, Sarah Thomas Martin of Memphis, Tennessee, d. 1916; m(2) Clyde Martin, his first wife's younger sister who d. 1960.

- 1.114643412 John Newlin Pearson, b. 1861-08mo-12, Randolph County, North Carolina, d. 1928-12mo-18, Wayne County, North Carolina; m. 1884-12mo-23, Sarah Smiley Massey, b. 1865-05mo-20, d. 1929-01mo-15, daughter of Levi and Ann (Coleman) Massey of Wayne County, North Carolina. Their children:
- 1.1146434121 Leslie Winston Pearson.
- 1.1146434122 Lucy Delphina Pearson, b. 1889-08mo-26, d. 1900-11mo-20m age 11.
- 1.1146434123 Earl Whittier Pearson, b. 1892-04mo-04, d. 1971-07mo-29, unmarried.
- 1.1146434124 Harold Edgar Pearson, b. 1895-01mo-22, d. 1906-03mo-25, age 11.
- 1.1146434125 Ruth Hazel Pearson, b. 1901-04mo-13; m. 1933-06mo-06, Homer Barto Harper, b. 1903-02mo-05; both killed instantly 1985-Mar-19, when a tree blew on top of their car while she was taking him to a hospital in a storm.
- 1.1146434126 Sallie Gertrude Pearson, b. 1904-03mo-12; m. 1936-05mo-31, Lyman Lyndon Moore, b. 1897-09mo-17, d. 1967-03mo-27, son of George C. and Julia (Mendenhall) Moore.
- 1.1146434127 Mary Newlin Pearson, b. 1907-11mo-10, d. 1950-06mo-05, unmarried.
- 1.1146435 Elizabeth Pearson, m. Wiley Garriss, son of Joshua Garriss of Pikeville, North Carolina. Their children:
- 1.11464351 Jonathan Garriss, b. ca 1832, d. 1905-03mo-24.
- 1.11464352 Grey C. Garriss, b. 1835-04mo-17, d. 1887-03mo-22.
- 1.11464353 Susanna Garriss.
- 1.11464354 Ichabod Pearson Garriss, b. 1842-03mo-14, d. 1919-04mo-04 at Mulvane, Kansas; m. 1861-10mo-18, North Carolina, Elizabeth (Bradbury) Hodges, b. 1829-07mo-03, North Carolina, d. 1901-08mo-24, Kansas.
- 1.114 6436 Jonathan Pearson III, inherited the homestead, which was divided and sold after his death in 1896.

- 1.114644 Abraham Pearson, b. 1784-08mo-01; m. Wayne County, North Carolina, Selma or Senna? Lamb. To Indiana, and Ohio, with descendants in Liberty, Logan County, Ohio.
- Their children:
- 1.1146441 Celia Pearson; m. Logan County, Ohio, (- -) Gray.
- 1.1146442 William Pearson.
- 1.1146443 Jane Pearson.
- 1.1146444 Marie Pearson.
- 1.1146445 John Wesley Pearson.
- 1.114645 Margaret Pearson, b. 1786-11mo-11; m. 1803-12mo-10, Samuel Collyer who with his wife and daughters Miriam and Mary obtained certificate from Contentnea Monthly Meeting, Wayne County, North Carolina to a meeting in Highland County, Ohio 1814-02mo-12. Sons Josiah and Joseph went to Ohio in 1811 after the death of their mother. Margaret (Pearson) Collyer m(2) husband's name unknown. The family moved to Logan County, Ohio and then to Goshen Monthly Meeting, Ohio. Their children:
- 1.1146451 Josiah Collyer, b. North Carolina; twin to:
- 1.1146452 Joseph Collyer.
- 1.1146453 Miriam Collyer, b. 1808, North Carolina; m. 1825-03mo-24, Logan County, Ohio, by Rev. Levi Garwood, to Peter Marmon, b. ca 1804, North Carolina. 1850 Census shows them in Jefferson Township, Cass County, Ohio with children:
- 1.11464531 Jesse Marmon, b. 1828.
- 1.11464532 Margaret Marmon, b. 1836.
- 1.11464533 Hester Marmon, b. 1838.
- 1.11464534 Rachel Marmon, b. 1839.
- 1.11464535 Eliza Marmon, b. 1841.
- 1.11464536 Hannah Marmon, b. 1843.
- 1.11464537 Sabrina Marmon, b. 1847.
- 1.11464538 Mary Ann Marmon, b. 1830; m. Asa Marmon, son of Joshua and Zilpha (Marmon) Marmon.
- 1.11464539 Ruth Marmon, b. 1834.
- 1.1146454 Mary Collyer.

- 1.1146455 John Elbert Collyer.
1.1146456 Rhoda Collyer.
1.1146457 Sidney Collyer.
- 1.114646 Barnaby <Barnabas, Barney?> Pearson, b. 1789-02mo-11, d. ca 1864, Starksville, Mississippi; m. 1811, Lydia Dean, b. 1784-01mo-07, Hampshire County, Virginia.
Their children:
- 1.1146461 Daniel Pearson, b. 1813, Wayne County, North Carolina, d. 1869, Starkville, Mississippi; m. Harriet Williams.
1.1146462 Hilary B. Pearson, b. 1815, Wayne County, North Carolina, d. 1869, Starkville, Mississippi; m. Temperance Walker.
1.1146463 James Aaron Pearson, b. 1817-03mo-30, d. 1844-04mo-09, Wilderville, Texas; m. 1837-08mo-15, Jency N. Williams, sister of Harriet Williams. The genealogy of James Aaron Pearson takes twenty-six pages in *History of the Pearson Family of Wayne County, North Carolina: 1700-1981* by Ruth Pearson Harper.
1.1146464 Barnaby Pearson II, b. 1822; m. Mississippi, Piety Eastman.
1.1146465 Bartley D. Pearson, b. 1823-08mo-17, d. 1860-01mo-13, Seguin, Texas.
1.1146466 Elizabeth Pearson, b. 1826-03mo-26, d. 1917-08mo-17, Starkville, Mississippi; m(1) (--) Nelson; m(2) Dr. J.B. Saunders.
- 1.114647 Job Pearson, b. 1791; name of wife unknown. Moved to Sampson County, North Carolina. They stopped communicating with the family. Their children:
- 1.1146471 Sallie Pearson.
1.1146472 Larinda Pearson.
and others.
- 1.114648 Jonathan Pearson III, b. 1791-03mo-03, d. 1875; names of wife and children unknown. Went to Ohio, and possibly Michigan. He was eventually buried in the family plot in Oswego, Kansas.
1.114649 William Pearson, b. 1797-09mo-02, d. after 1887, New Sharon, Iowa; m. 1816, Catherine Pickerell who d.1864-

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10mo-08, daughter of Henry and Achsa (- -) Pickerell
Their children:

- 1.1146491 Susanna Pearson, b. 1817-08mo-04.
- 1.1146492 Achsah Pearson, b. 1819-07mo-27.
- 1.1146493 Ichabod Pearson, b. 1821-01mo-20, d. 1821-11mo-17.
- 1.1146494 Lydia Pearson, b. 1822-10mo-17.
- 1.1146495 Rebecca Pearson, b. 1825-07mo-20.
- 1.1146496 Henry Pearson, b. 1828-06mo-26.
- 1.1146497 Mary Pearson, b. 1831-04mo-12.
- 1.1146498 Sidney Pearson, b. Try County, Indiana; m. at Duck
Creek Meeting; Guelma Kees, b. 1837-09mo-21.
- 1.11464910 Catherine Pearson, b. 1838-12mo-07.
- 1.11465 Rhoda Pearson, b. 1750-04mo, d. 1833-11mo-24. Clinton
County, Ohio; m. 1778-08mo-18 Contentnea MH, Wayne
County, North Carolina, Ruben Peele, b. 1760-10mo-29,
d. 1834-08mo-18, son of Josiah Peele. To Belmont County,
Ohio before 1807-12mo-12, then to Clinton County, Ohio
before 1832-11mo-22. Their children:
 - 1.114651 John Peele, b. 1781-06mo-02, d. 1869-12mo-01; m.
1807-12mo-02, Lydia Bundy, daughter of William and
Mary (Peele) Bundy. Their children:
 - 1.1146511 William Peele, b. 1807; m. ca 1833, Clarissa Starbuck.
 - 1.1146512 Reuben Peele, b. 1810-03mo-04; m. Emily Jessup.
 - 1.1146513 Mark Peele, b. 1821-01mo-11; m. Mary E. Jessup.
 - 1.1146514 Mary Peele, b. 1813-07mo-27; m. Isaac Pearson.
 - 1.1146515 Emma Peele, b. 1818-05mo-11; m. Benjamin Bentley.
 - 1.1146516 Lydia Peele, b. 1828-02mo-18; m. Cyrus Carter.
 - 1.114652 Margaret Peele, b. 1783-03mo-31, disowned 1809-
10mo-28.
 - 1.114653 Sarah Peele, b. 1784-11mo-03; m. 1808-09mo-07,
George Maudlin.
 - 1.114654 Mark Peele, b. 1786-07mo-21; m(1) 1809-10mo-11,
Zilpha Elliott, b. 1792-03mo-15, d. 1813-10mo-15;
m(2) 1814, Mary (- -), b. 1786-08mo-18. His children by
his first wife Zilpha Elliott:
 - 1.1146541 Nancy Peele, b. 1810, d. 1811.
 - 1.1146542 Rebecca Peele, b. 1812-04mo-13; m. 1829, Dover
Meeting House, Amos Whitson. Their children:

- 1.11465421 Hannah Whitson; m. (- -) Ellis.
- 1.11465422 Mary Whitson; m. (- -) Metcalf.
- 1.11465423 Phoebe Whitson; m. (- -) Carter.
- 1.11465424 Anne Whitson; m. (- -) Shugart.
- 1.11465425 Jesse Whitson.
- 1.11465426 Enos Whitson.

1.1146543 Zilpha Peele, b. 1813-09mo-25.

The children of Mark Peele by his second wife Mary (- -):

- 1.1146544 John Peele, b. 1814-10mo-16; m. Larannah Phillips.
- 1.1146545 Lydia Peele, b. 1818-09mo-05; m. 1836-10mo-19, Hiram Bond.
- 1.114655 Chloe Peele; m. 1810-08mo-29 (- -) Rouse, disowned for marrying one "not of our Society".
- 1.114656 Mary Peele; m. 1810-11mo-14, Jacob Elliott.

(Reference for Peele Family: Notes on the Prewitt-Light, Ringer-Hollowell and Allied Families, by L.D. Prewitt, 1939).

- 1.11466 Jonathan Pearson II, b. 1760, d. bef. 1793, reported married 1780-09mo-09, Contentnea Monthly Meeting, Sarah Peele, daughter of Josiah and Jaehova (- -) Peele, who m(2) 1783-03mo-09, Frederick Loving.

The children of Jonathan Pearson (1.1146, page 6) by his second wife Sarah (Bogue) <Bundy> Pearson:

- 1.11467 Elizabeth Pearson, b. 1767-07mo-16, d. 1839-05mo-22, Wayne County, Indiana; m. 1784-02mo-22, Contentnea MM, Wayne County, North Carolina, Richard Ratliff, b. 1759-11mo-04, d. 1826-02mo-11, son of Joseph and Mary (Fletcher) Ratliff. To Henry County, Indiana in 1822. Their children:
 - 1.114671 Anna Ratliff, b. 1786-04mo; m. William Maudlin, son of John and Ann (- -) Maudlin.
 - 1.114672 Joseph Ratliff, b. 1788-03mo-08, d. 1837-Apr-12, Clear Springs, Indiana; m. Rebecca Lamb, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Stone) Lamb. Their children: (Reference: The Bachelor-Williams Family, by Lyle Williams).

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- 1.1146721 Jane Ratliff, b. 1808-Oct-28, Surry County, North Carolina, d. 1846; m. 1827-Oct-04, Duck Creek Meeting, Henry County, Indiana, Bailey Pearson.
- 1.1146722 Reuben Ratliff, b. 1811-Mar-19, Surry County, North Carolina, d. 1875-Aug-24; m. 1836-Apr-07, Margaret Kendall.
- 1.1146723 Huldah Ratliff, b. 1812-Nov-30, Surry County, North Carolina; m. 1833-May-09, Henry County, Indiana, Daniel Presnall.
- 1.1146724 Anna Ratliff, b. 1814-Jun-25, Surry County, North Carolina; m 1835-Dec-10 Clear Springs Monthly Meeting, Henry County, Indiana, John Hinshaw.
- 1.1146725 Sarah Ratliff, b. 1816-Jul-12, Wayne County Indiana, d. young.
- 1.1146726 Jesse Ratliff, b. 1820-Apr-11, Wayne County, Indiana, d. 1839-Sep-22, Clear Springs, Henry County, Indiana.
- 1.1146727 Eli Ratliff, b. 1822-Oct-07, Wayne County, Indiana, d. 1903-Oct-04, Duck Creek, Henry County, Indiana; m. 1845-Feb-26, Clear Springs Monthly Meeting, Henry County, Indiana, Jane Draper.
- 1.1146728 Nathan Ratliff, b. 1824-Dec-05, Cadiz, Henry County, Indiana, d. 1901-Apr-23, Camby, Marion County, Indiana; m(1) 1843-Feb-01, Cynthia Stafford, daughter of Eli and Elizabeth (Pritchard) Stafford; m(2) 1852-Jan-22, Walnut Ridge Monthly Meeting, Carthage, Indiana, Penelope Coggeshall, daughter of Tristram and Millicent (Newby) Coggeshall; m(3) 1805, Fairfield Monthly Meeting, Indiana, Hannah Furnas, daughter of Joseph Furnas.
- 1.1146729 John M. Ratliff, b. 1826-Oct-07, d. 1854-Aug-29.
- 1.114673 Jonathan Ratliff, b. 1791-08mo-02, d. 1854-Aug-23, Hopewell, Henry County, Indiana; m(1) Sarah Palmer, daughter of John and Anna (- -) Palmer; m(2) Sarah Bogue, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (- -) Bogue.
- 1.114674 Nathan Ratliff, b. 1793-11mo-08; m. Lydia Palmer, daughter of John and Anna (- -) Palmer.
- 1.114675 Richard Ratliff II, b. 1796-11mo-08, d. 1842-Dec-22,

- Clear Springs, Indiana; m. Catherine Bailey, daughter of John and Catherine (- -) Bailey.
- 1.114676 Mary Ratliff, b. 1799-08mo-22; m(1) John Elliott; m(2) David Palmer.
- 1.114677 Gabriel Ratliff, b. 1802-05mo-08, d. 1846-Oct-18, Spiceland, Henry County, Indiana; m. at Duck Creek Meeting, Henry County, Indiana, Catherine Pearson, daughter of Nathan and Mary (- -) Pearson.
- 1.114678 Elizabeth Ratliff, b. 1805-10mo-11; m. Exum Pearson (1.114683, page 14) son of Nathan and Huldah (Lamb) Pearson.
- 1.114679 Cornelius Ratliff, b. 1810-Feb-17, Surry County, North Carolina, d. 1892, Grant County, Indiana; m(1) 1827-Aug-29, Hopewell Monthly Meeting, Henry County, Indiana, Abigail Gilbert, daughter of Joel and Lydia (Morgan) Gilbert; m(2) 1852-Nov-24, Lydia Ann Macy, daughter of James and Anna (Mendenhall) Macy. His children by his first wife Abigail Gilbert:
- 1.1146791 Richard Ratliff, b. 1828-Oct-07, d. 1849-Dec-28, Hopewell, Henry County, Indiana.
- 1.1146792 Betty Ratliff, b. 1830-Dec-16, d. 1905-Apr-11, Hopewell, Henry County, Indiana; m. 1852-Jun-23, Phineas Macy, son of James and Anna (Mendenhall) Macy. Their children, all b. Hopewell, Henry County, Indiana:
- 1.11467921 Albert Macy, b. 1853-Mar-27, d. at birth.
- 1.11467922 Mary M. Macy, b. 1854-Aug-17, d. 1892-Sep-12; m. 1875-Dec-05, Nicholas Campbell.
- 1.11467923 Rachel Macy, b. 1856-Feb-27, d. 1917, Hopewell, Henry County, Indiana; m. 18XX-Feb-02, William Pearce.
- 1.11467924 John Wesley Macy, b. 1858-May-11, d. 1931-May-29, Hopewell, Henry County, Indiana; m. 1883-Oct-18, Marion County, Indiana, Jenny Green, daughter of Matthew and Jane (Armstrong) Green. Their daughter:
- 1.114679241 Mabel Macy, b. 1894-Feb-18, d. 1978-Jul-05, Henry County, Indiana; m. 1915-Nov-05, J. Alvin Hardin, son of Horace and Emma (Test) Hardin. Their daughter:

1.1146792411 Dorothy Hardin; m. Robert Grant Massey, living in Alexandria, Virginia.

1.1146792412 Clifford M. Hardin, living in St. Louis, Missouri.

1.11467925 Joseph R. Macy, b. 1860-Mar-07; m. 1879-May 18, Julia Emma Hendrix, daughter of William and Matilda (Ross) Hendrix.

1.1146793 Calvin Ratliff, b. 1832-Oct-25.

1.1146794 Reuben Ratliff, b. 1834-Mar-06.

1.1146795 Millicent Ratliff, b. 1836-Feb-25.

1.1146796 Joel Ratliff, b. 1838-May-03.

1.1146797 Mary Ann Ratliff, b. 1840-Jul-02.

1.1146798 Exum Ratliff, b. 1843-May-16; m. 1866-Aug-18, Virginia E. Baker. He served in Company "I", 69th Indiana Infantry in the Civil War.

1.1146799 Lydia Ratliff, b. 1845-June-08.

The children of Cornelius Ratliff by his second wife Lydia Ann Macy:

1.11467910 Abigail Ratliff, b. 1853-May-18.

1.11467911 Anna Flora Ratliff, b. 1856-Jan-30.

1.11467912 Seth Carson Ratliff, b. 1857-Sep-27.

1.11467913 James F. Ratliff, b. 1860-Mar-24.

1.11467914 Avis L. Ratliff, b. 1864-Nov-02.

1.11467915 Phineas M. Ratliff, b. 1866-Jul-15.

1.11467916 Henry H. Ratliff, b. 1868-Aug-11, d. 1870-Mar-07. Cornelius and Lydia Ann (Macy) Ratliff moved to Grant County Indiana in 1872.

1.11468 Nathan Pearson, b. 1770-10mo-28, Perquimans County, North Carolina, d. 1845-11mo-13, Henry County, Indiana; m. 1794-03mo-16, Center Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina, Huldah Lamb, b. 1778-09mo-25, Guilford County, North Carolina, daughter of Jacob and Sarah (Stone) Lamb. To Wayne County, Indiana where they were received at Whitewater Monthly Meeting on certificate from Back Creek Monthly Meeting, North Carolina 1816-10mo-26. Their children:

1.114681 Jonathan Pearson, b. ca 1795; m. Anna (-) <Nancy (-)
Possibly a second wife>. From Milford Monthly Meeting
to Duck Monthly Meeting in 1830, and to Clear Springs
Monthly Meeting, Henry County, Indiana from 1830 to
at least 1848. Their children:

1.1146811 David Pearson.

1.1146812 Lydia Pearson.

1.1146813 Eli Pearson.

1.1146814 Zeno Pearson (below).

1.1146815 Moses Pearson.

1.1146816 Sarah Pearson.

1.1146814 Zeno Pearson, b. 1824-03mo-24, Wayne County, Indiana;
m(1), Nancy Craig, dau. of William and Mary (- -) Craig;
m(2) Martha V. (- -), who d. 1902-09mo-12. Zeno Pearson
was a Ranger in the Regular Army of the United States in
the Civil War. His children:

1.11468141 Susannah Pearson.

1.11468142 David Daniel Pearson, b. 1846-05mo-01, d. at the
home of his daughter Ruth Hilda (Pearson) Bolinger,
705 East Walnut Street, Kokomo, Howard County,
Indiana after a brief illness 1932-01mo-06. His fune-
ral was conducted from the Friends Church at Russia-
ville, Howard County, Indiana, with an American Flag
being presented for the funeral by the Postmaster at
Kokomo. David Daniel Pearson enlisted in the Indiana
Volunteers of the Union Army in the Civil War. He
served from 1864-09mo-03 to 1865-07mo-11. Both
his and his father's names are listed in the Great Mon-
ument in Indianapolis, commemorating Indiana vet-
erans of the Civil War. He m. 1868-10mo-14, Tipton,
Indiana, Rachel Carter, b. 1855-Nov-14, Reserve, In-
diana, daughter of Mason and Ann Eliza (Keel) Carter.
Their children (Reference: documents found in the
belongings of Nellie May (Pearson) Black at the time
of her death):

1.114681421 Ann Eliza Pearson, b. 1871-09mo-28, Tipton
County, Indiana, d. 1904, Kokomo, Howard
County, Indiana; m. Charles Winch.

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- 1.114681422 George Washington Pearson, b. 1874-12mo-31, Tipton County, Indiana, d. Indianapolis, Indiana; m. Faye Shear.
- 1.114681423 Nellie May Pearson, b. 1884-Aug-13, Russiaville, Howard County, Indiana, d. 1972-Jul-07, Community Hospital, Chula Vista, California, near National City, in the San Diego area where she had resided since 1934. Her funeral was conducted from the First Methodist Church in National City, and she was buried in Greenwood Cemetery, San Diego, California. She m. as his second wife, 1908-Aug-28, Fairbay, Nebraska, Charles Aaron Black, d. 1934-Jul-27, Springfield, Illinois, son of Samuel and Priscilla (- -) Black. He m(1) 1900-Feb-16, Granit, Oklahoma, Luella M. Warrell who was b. 1876-Feb-16, and had one daughter; Cleora Black, b. 1901-Aug-03, Granit, Oklahoma, who m. (- -) Sedwick, and had one daughter. Nellie May Pearson was the mother, by Orphe Miller, whom she apparently never married, of:
- 1.1146814231 Thelma Orpha Pearson, b. 1903-Apr-03, Kokoma, Indiana, raised as the daughter of David Daniel Pearson, d. 1967-May-08, Chula Vista, California; m(1) Lawrence Baeckelman of Logansport, Indiana, no issue; m(2) 1927-Oct-29, Louisville, Kentucky, Paul Alfred Hill, b. 1891-Sep-16, Upland, Grant County, Indiana, son of Walter B. and Nancy (Hillman) Hill; divorced Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1932-Dec-07; m(3), 1933-Dec-08, Denver Colorado, as his second wife, Lawrence Peter Bellarts, b.1897-Jan-20, St. Paul Oregon, d. 1965-Apr-25, U.S. Navy Hospital, San Diego, California, buried with Thelma Orpha (Pearson) Bellarts at U.S. Military Cemetery, Fort Rosecrans, San Diego, California, son of Henry John and Elizabeth Ann (Zollner) Bellarts. The son of Thelma Orpha Pearson by her second husband Paul Alfred Hill:

1.11468142311 James Edward Hill, (2.1112142, "Hill", page 16) whose paternal line of descent is shown in "Hill", page 14. He is the compiler of this paper.

<Lawrence Peter Bellarts m(1) Helen Pattee of The Dalles, Oregon, and had one son: Lawrence Joseph Bellarts, b. 1922-Nov-28, The Dalles, Oregon, who m. 1946-Sep-11, The Dalles, Oregon, Stella Beach. They are both retired U.S. Air Force Officers and have no children.> The children of Thelma Orpha Pearson and her third husband Lawrence Peter Bellarts:

1.11468142312 Elizabeth Ann Bellarts, b. 1934-Jul-14, Cheyenne, Wyoming; m 1951-Jan-05, Yuma, Arizona, Donald Richard Thompson, b. 1928-Nov-25, San Diego, California, son of George W. and Mildred (Coffin) Thompson. They reside at Mt. Shasta City, California. Their children:

1.114681423121 Donald Richard Thompson, Jr., b. 1951-Aug-21, San Diego, California; m. Donna (- -); divorced; resides at Mt. Shasta City, California. Their son:

1.1146814231211 Joshua Thompson, b. 1976-Mar-17.

1.114681423122 Larry Wayne Thompson, b. 1953-Apr-23, San Diego, California. Unmarried, a beautician, resides in Seattle, Washington.

1.114681423123 Lynn Ann Thompson, b. 1955-Jul-19, San Diego, California; m. Michael Kobseff. Resides in Mt. Shasta City, California, where she and her husband operate a restaurant. Their children:

1.1146814231231 Angela Christine Kobseff, b. 1976-Nov-06.

1.1146814231232 Michael Brandon Kobseff, b. 1980-Nov-06.

1.11468142313 William Henry Bellarts, b. 1936-Aug-03, San Diego, California; m. 1955-Apr-26, St. Matthews Episcopal Church, National City, California,

Emily Martha Mannweiler; divorced 1959, no issue. He is a retired California Highway Patrol Officer, now employed as a United States Marshal, residing in Dan Diego, California.

- 1.114681424 Omer Pearson, b. 1886-11mo-04, d. 1890-03mo-09, Howard County, Indiana.
- 1.114681425 Ruth Hilda Pearson, b. 1892-08mo-13, d. 1959-09mo-01, Kokoma, Indiana; m(1) Homer Wilson; m(2) Homer Crouseau; m(3) John Wesley Bolinger.
- 1.114681426 Carl Ernest Pearson, b. 1879-11mo-06, Howard County, Indiana, d. 1952-09mo-18, unmarried.
- 1.11468143 Nancy Mary Pearson, b. 1849.
- 1.11468144 Manerva J. Pearson, b. 1853.
- 1.11468145 Sarah L. Pearson, b. 1857.
- 1.11468146 William Luther Pearson, b. 1855.
- 1.11468147 Elizabeth Pearson, b. 1852.
- 1.11468148 Ella Pearson, b. 1865.
- 1.11468149 Ruth Ellen Pearson, b. 1865.

The remaining children of Nathan and Hulda (Lamb) Pearson:

- 1.114682 Sarah Pearson, b. 1799-11mo-10; m. David Palmer.
- 1.114683 Exum Pearson, b. ca 1800, d. 1875-08mo-22; m. 1822 Elizabeth Ratliff (1.114678, page 12). b. 1805, dau. of Richard and Elizabeth (Pearson) Ratliff.
- 1.114684 Catherine Pearson, b. 1806-10mo-12; m. Josiah Draper.
- 1.114685 Hulda Pearson, b. 1809-03mo-01; m. Joshua Draper.
- 1.114686 Aaron Pearson, b. 1811-11mo-12.
- 1.114687 Rhoda Pearson, b. 1814-03mo-03; m. 1834, Joseph Small.
- 1.114688 Joseph Pearson, b. 1816-11mo-07.
- 1.114689 Zeno Pearson, b. bef. 1818.
- 1.1146810 William Pearson, b. bef. 1818.
- 1.1146811 Nathan Pearson, b. 1819-03mo-02.
- 1.1146812 Zimri Pearson, b. 1821-03mo-04.
- 1.11469 Sarah Pearson, b. ca 1770, d. 1788-08mo-07, Randolph County, North Carolina; m. 1788-03mo-19 Pasquotank County, North Carolina, Exum Elliott, who m(2) 1790-03mo-24, Center MM, Guilford County, North Carolina, Catherine Llamb, dau. of Jaco (Clare), Quaker of Perquimans County, North Carolina.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN THE CONFEDERACY: THE QUAKERS IN NORTH CAROLINA

by

Richard L. Zuber

The years of the Civil War were a time of soul searching, mental anguish, and some physical suffering for the southern members of the Society of Friends, almost all of whom were concentrated in North Carolina.¹ The same thing is true of other southerners too, but the peculiar beliefs, practices, and attitudes of the Quakers made them especially vulnerable to the ravages of war. One of them summarized their position and explained the main sources of their difficulties by saying, "We had been a little band of believers in peace in the midst of war, of antislavery abolitionists in the heart of slave territory, of hearts almost to a unit loyal to the union in the midst of secession. The way had not been strewn with flowers."² An inquiry into the wartime experience of this small but significant "band of believers" ought to yield some insight into the nature of conscientious objection, as well as a better understanding of some of the manpower problems and policies of the Confederate government.

The most important question the Quakers faced at the beginning of the war was what the policy of the state of North Carolina would be towards conscientious objectors. This question was soon answered when the state legislature extended the previous exemption of Quakers from militia duty just after the fighting started in the summer of 1861. This law did not require the payment of an exemption tax but stated clearly that the Friends might later become subject to taxation. The basic state policy which emerged in this

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legislation of September, 1861, was that if it became necessary the Quakers would be expected "to finish their quota of men or pay an equivalent."³ After the state started organizing its military forces, the Quakers made their position clear to the state authorities, who then passed a new exemption act. This measure freed from state military service those Friends who would pay a hundred dollars into the state treasury.⁴ The state secession convention, which remained active throughout 1861, authorized the governor to send all Quakers who were not able to pay the hundred dollars to work in the manufacture of salt; they could also be detailed to serve in the state's hospitals.⁵ Gradually the state evolved less formal procedures for handling manpower problems that helped the Quakers to avoid both military service and the salt works. The state salt commissioner, for example, allowed men who normally would have been sent to the salt works to hire substitutes, or if they preferred and could afford it they might pay a commutation fee of eleven dollars a month and stay at home.

At first the Quakers were reluctant to go to the salt works, but when they were told that there was little danger, that the sea breezes were healthy, and that the possibilities for escaping were relatively good, several of them went.⁶ It is uncertain how many Quakers were at the salt works throughout the period they operated, but in September of 1862 there were between sixty and seventy.⁷ They worked primarily at cutting and hauling wood for the ravenous boilers.

The presence of the Quakers resulted in charges by the Confederate military authorities around Wilmington that the men at the salt works were disloyal and that they had been in communication with the union army which occupied parts of the coast. W. H. C. Whiting, the Confederate general in command of the Wilmington area, began to interfere with the manufacture of salt and tried to move the works to what he considered a safer location. An unseemly controversy developed between the state and Confederate authorities. State officials, including Governor Vance, and the ever-critical William Holden, editor of the state's leading anti-Confederate newspaper, vigorously denounced General Whiting and his usurpation of state authority. Vance appealed to Whiting's military superiors, and was temporarily successful, but in the end the salt works were moved and ceased to operate.⁸ This meant that one of the major havens of the Quaker pacifists was gone, and as a result some of them ended up in the army who otherwise would have been able to stay out. The truth

of the assertion that the salt workers were disloyal is hard to determine, but in view of the Quakers' general attitude towards the war and the fact that in some other matters they were clearly disloyal it is probable that General Whiting's allegations had some basis in fact.

In general, state policy towards the Quakers was more liberal than one might expect in the circumstances of war. Still, there were ominous moments when policy might have taken a direction that would have completely destroyed the Society of Friends in North Carolina. Such a time came in December of 1861 when Asa Biggs, an ardent secessionist and devout Confederate, introduced into the state convention an ordinance requiring that all white males over sixteen years old should take this oath: "I..., do solemnly swear, (or affirm, as the case may be,) that I will bear faithful and true allegiance to the state of North Carolina, and will to the utmost of my power, support, maintain and defend the independent government of the Confederate States of America, against the government of the United States, or of any other power, that by open force or otherwise, shall attempt to subvert the same. I do hereby renounce my allegiance to the government of the United States, and will support and defend the Constitution of the Confederate States of America..."⁹ Anyone who refused to take the oath was to be banished from the state within thirty days.

Fortunately for the Quakers, when the ordinance requiring this oath came on the floor of the convention, they found an able champion in the person of William A. Graham, the former governor and United States Secretary of the Navy, and still one of the most influential Whigs in the state. He pointed out in his eloquent denunciation of the test oath that "the requirement of this 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."¹⁰ Graham pointed out that the laws of North Carolina had traditionally respected the pacifistic views of the Friends and insisted that the measure in question would change everyone of them "into a warrior or an exile." The oath clearly included military defense, Graham argued, and since it did, no Quaker could take it. They would all have to leave the state. Expulsion of a people characterized as "quiet, moral, industrious, [and] thrifty" would subject the state to shame and ridicule. After hearing Graham's speech, which extended far beyond a defense of the Quakers into the

realm of individual freedom and liberty, the convention postponed the test oath measure indefinitely. Later on Graham became a guardian of Quaker interests at the national level after he became a member of the Confederate Congress.

Besides the fact that Graham and a few other politicians defended Quaker interests in the formation of state policy, there are other factors that help explain why the Friends suffered relatively little at the hands of the state. The number of Quakers in proportion to the total population of the state had at one time been much larger than it was during the war, and there were still many more members of that faith in North Carolina than in any other southern state. Also, as Graham pointed out in his defense of the group, they had been an admirable people, and had contributed much to the development of the state's economic and cultural life. Another thing that helped them was the great pains they took to clarify their attitude towards war both to the general public and to the men who formulated state policy. This they did through personal contact, extensive correspondence, and through the printing and circulation of broadsides on the general theme of the un-Christian and destructive nature of war.¹¹

The Confederacy's policies towards conscientious objectors were developed in the original conscription act passed in April, 1862, in an exemption measure passed later in that same year, and in a series of laws adopted in 1864, at a time when the Confederacy was becoming hard pressed for able-bodied men and was compelled to enforce the various conscription and exemption measures more rigorously than it had before.¹²

The original Confederate conscription act did not exempt any denomination on religious grounds. When the North Carolina Quakers became aware of this they took immediate steps to secure exemption. The Meeting for Sufferings, that is, the permanent governing board or executive committee of the Yearly Meeting, was active throughout the summer and fall of 1862. One committee corresponded with the Secretary of War. Another presented a memorial to Congress, but it was buried in the Committee on Military Affairs.¹³

The most effective approach to the problem of getting exemption for the Friends was to send a delegation to Richmond to confront the crucial members of Congress personally. The Meeting for Sufferings appointed Nereus Mendenhall, the articulate leader of the New Garden Boarding School, two prominent businessmen, John Carter

and Allen Tomlinson, and Isham Cox, a well-known Quaker minister in the state. They were joined in their work by John B. Crenshaw, a prominent Quaker leader who lived just outside Richmond and had extensive connections in the city.

Shortly after the North Carolina delegation visited Richmond the Confederate Congress passed a law exempting all ministers and all Quakers, Dunkers, Mennonites, and Nazarenes who would furnish a substitute or pay a tax of five hundred dollars.¹⁴ A few days later the Quartermaster General received an order to appoint an officer to collect the exemption money.¹⁵ Further military orders issued early in November, 1862, established the mechanics of the exemption process. Friends had to pay five hundred dollars to a bonded quartermaster and get a receipt. They had also to secure an affidavit from the clerk of their monthly meeting "setting forth distinctly the fact that the party on the 11th day of October, 1862, was in regular membership with such denomination."¹⁶ The receipt for the exemption money and the certificate of membership then were presented to the enrolling officer and presumably guaranteed that a man would not be taken into the army.

The policy towards conscientious objectors formulated by the Confederate Congress in the fall of 1862—exemption for those who would pay a tax or hire a substitute—remained the basic approach throughout the war. The idea of exemption was reaffirmed early in 1864, but later that year an amendment to the earlier laws and new procedures adopted by the War Department resulted in the conscription of several Quakers who had previously been exempt. In June, 1864, Congress authorized the Secretary of War to revoke any exemption which had been "obtained by any fraud, misrepresentation, or error."¹⁷ Later in 1864, as the Confederate manpower problem became more acute, the War Department issued an order that all men between eighteen and fifty years old who had been detailed to various manufacturing enterprises should have their exemptions revoked and be sent to camp immediately; only those making "indispensable" supplies would be allowed to stay out of the army.¹⁸ This far-flung net was to catch some Quakers who had never taken advantage of the religious exemption privilege because they had found some other method of staying out of the war.

It is relatively simple to describe the evolution of Confederate policy towards Quakers at the highest levels. But only when one attempts to examine the actual operation of the conscription and

exemption procedures at the local level can he appreciate the complexities of the subject and begin to understand why there was such a discrepancy between the apparently liberal policies of the government and the fact that many Quakers were taken into the army. The operation of the laws and rules affecting Quakers was characterized by much administrative confusion, stupidity, and failures in communication. The perplexities faced by a local enrolling officer may be seen in a list of questions the officer at Asheboro addressed to his superiors in the summer of 1864: Is a non-birthright Quaker exempt if he paid an exemption fee after October 11, 1862? If a birthright Quaker works on a government job and subsequently pays the exemption fee shall we allow him to stay at home or send him to camp? What about those who have been exempt as neighborhood millers and are no longer entitled to exemption? The enrolling officer explained that the quartermaster at Greensboro would not accept the millers' exemption fees and wanted to know how to proceed. He also indicated that he distrusted Quakers who had worked for the government and now tried to keep out of the army. Could they really be sincere?¹⁹ He thought not. In this particular instance the district officer ruled that only birthright Quakers could take advantage of the exemption act, and said that the neighborhood millers could apply for exemption. He never could answer the question about the status of birthright Quakers who had worked on government jobs.²⁰

One of the major reasons that the Quakers continued to be taken into the army was that by 1864 the local enrolling officers had secured the power to revoke or confiscate their exemption papers. As mentioned earlier, the Secretary of War had the authority to withdraw the exemption privilege if a person had acquired his papers through "fraud, misrepresentation, or error." In actual practice at the local level this meant that the conscription officer in a given county, who might hold a military rank as low as private, could make the decision whether a certain Quaker would be sent to the army. One or two specific cases will show some of the forces operating to determine the fate of individual Quakers.

In effect the conscription officers had to decide whether men applying for exemption were sincere Quakers or not. Some of the difficulties they faced appear in the case of D. W. C. Benbow, a member of Dover Monthly Meeting. Benbow hired a substitute in April, 1862, under the terms of the original Confederate conscription

act, and in compliance with the exemption act he had paid five hundred dollars and secured an exemption certificate. Then his neighbors started complaining. How could he be considered a good Quaker when he had once sold a slave and had been involved in selling whiskey on a large scale, they asked. Even his Quaker friends seem to have had some doubts about him. His monthly meeting conducted a lengthy investigation of charges that he had hired slaves, had failed to attend meetings, and had married outside the Society; he was cleared of these charges and allowed to remain a member of his meeting.²¹

On the basis of the charges made against Benbow by his non-Quaker neighbors, the enrolling officer at Greensboro confiscated Benbow's receipt for his five hundred dollar exemption tax and ordered him to report to duty at Camp Holmes. John A. Gilmer, an able lawyer, influential Whig, and former United States senator, interceded in Benbow's behalf by writing to Governor Vance. He admitted that Benbow had sold a slave, that he sold whiskey, and that he had married outside the Society of Friends, but Gilmer still insisted that since Benbow was a birthright Quaker who had never been disowned, and since he had gone through the prescribed exemption process he should be exempt. Governor Vance then asked the commandant of Camp Holmes to allow Benbow to remain at home until his case was decided by the Bureau of Conscription.²²

Late in 1864 Jonathan Worth, state treasurer and a birthright Quaker himself, saw the report of a county enrolling officer which recommended the revocation of one Charles Macon's exemption certificate. According to Worth, the action of the enrolling officer was based "entirely upon hearsay evidence from persons entertaining malignant feelings." No one charged that Macon's personal conduct had been wrong, but his neighbors apparently had told the conscription officers that Charles Macon had been a draft dodger before he became a Quaker, and that the whole Macon family was disloyal to the Confederacy.²³

Charles Macon is representative of a category who might be called for lack of a better term "War Quakers." These persons joined the Society of Friends after the passage of the exemption act and were not legally eligible for exemption because they had not been members of the Society on October 11, 1862. Closely related to this group were a number of individuals who had close connections with the Society and shared its beliefs although they were not members.

Some of these belonged to other denominations; others were former Quakers who had been disowned by the Society for technical violations of discipline but still had emotional and family ties with the Society and shared its views on the un-Christian nature of war.

The War Quakers presented difficult problems both for the Confederate conscription authorities and for the North Carolina Quakers. The military authorities naturally suspected the motives of men who joined a pacifist sect after the passage of the exemption act, and were inclined—sometimes determined—to take them into the army. The Quakers were equally determined to keep their members out of the war regardless of whether they came into the Society before or after the passage of the act. Out of this situation developed one of the most revealing aspects of the contest between conscientious objectors and the Confederacy.

Understanding the problem of the War Quakers requires first some knowledge of why they joined the Society. It is also helpful to see how some of their actions made them particularly suspect not only to the military authorities but also to their non-Quaker neighbors. One of the most illuminating examples is that of Jesse Buckner, who at the beginning of the war was not only a member of the Baptist church, but also a colonel in the militia.²⁴ Buckner was exposed to the Quaker views on war when he tried to raise volunteers at the start of the war. Soon he became a convert to their anti-war position. Before he could become a member of the Society of Friends, and before the exemption act became law he was drafted. He took to the woods and became what was known in the Civil War period as a "bushwhacker." Shortly after the passage of the exemption act he joined the Spring monthly meeting. He then secured a certificate of membership in the Society of Friends from Isham Cox, the Quaker minister who spent most of his time during the war helping men to stay out or get out of the army. The Confederate quartermaster allowed Buckner to pay his five hundred dollar exemption fee. Then early in 1864 the enrolling officer, apparently instigated by bitter complaints from Buckner's neighbors took away his exemption papers and sent him off to camp.²⁵

When Jesse Buckner began filing petitions and affidavits in an effort to get out of the service, the county and district enrolling officers both investigated his case. Soon the commandant of conscripts for the state reported to the Bureau of Conscription in Richmond that "this claim for exemption was found upon thorough

examination to be a glaring fraud upon the Government and a gross attempt to avoid military duty."²⁶

The charge that some of the War Quakers were not sincere and were blatant draft dodgers was a serious one, but it is easy to understand why the military authorities made such accusations. In the case of Jesse Buckner, for instance, it was a matter of timing; his application for membership in the Society of Friends happened to be approved about the time the exemption act was passed. The military authorities must have noted too that there was a sharp increase in the membership of the monthly meetings during 1863 and 1864. This increase was particularly noticeable in the monthly meeting at Center, in Guilford County, but it occurred in practically all of them.²⁷ A number of those who joined during the war were persons who had been disowned by the Society, but were now restored to membership. Obviously an enrolling officer hard pressed for recruits would take a dim view of such proceedings. One restored member professed "to be very conscientious on the subject of bearing arms," and the board which investigated his plea for exemption admitted that he was indeed conscientious, but still recommended that he be conscripted.²⁸

The Quakers also defended the right of persons who were no longer members of the Society to oppose the war on conscientious grounds. In September, 1863, for example, the Back Creek monthly meeting recommended one Joshua Davis for exemption on the grounds that he still professed to have the Quaker attitude on war. The local enrolling officer forwarded Davis' plea for exemption to Raleigh, but the state authorities denied it, "unless he belongs to the Society."²⁹ Davis then flooded the conscription office with affidavits certifying his conscientious objection, but he was drafted anyway. He appealed to Raleigh, then to Richmond, but all in vain.³⁰

All these circumstances—the increasing membership of the Quaker church during the war period, the restoration to membership of disowned members, and the Quaker defense of conscientious objectors outside their Society—caused the War Quakers to be suspect in the eyes of the military authorities and brought their sincerity into question. But the most suspicion and mistrust probably arose because there undoubtedly *were* some individuals who deliberately evaded military duty by hiding in the Society of Friends.

The evidence of this is sometimes transparently clear, and sometimes it comes from reading between the lines of the official

exhortations of the Yearly Meeting. In 1864, for example, the "minute of advice" sent out to the monthly meetings read in part: "Let it not be said of any of our young members, that they are willing to be considered as Quakers, when in the presence of the enrolling officer but that they show no such disposition in other places. It would be a shame to claim the privileges of members and the protection of the society when you are in danger and then turn your back upon it and its principles, if you think, perchance, the danger may be overpassed."³¹ Even clearer evidence is found in the personal letters of Quakers written during the war period. Rebecca Carter stated in 1864 that "N. H. Vestal and John and Boid Vestal have all joined the friends and that lets them off."³²

In the same letter she named three others who had recently joined the Society of Friends and were being allowed to stay at home. One of John Crenshaw's correspondents commented to him on the number of people who were joining the Society,³³ and Job Martin wrote a friend that one of their mutual acquaintances "and Alexander. . . have joined the friends, and they get to stay at home on that account."³⁴

The conclusion seems to be clear that the membership of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting was swelled by an influx of draft dodgers. Yet if one looks at the question of the War Quakers from the viewpoint of a devout regular member of the Society, such a conclusion would be both unfair and unjust. Certainly there are circumstances which tend to exonerate the Friends of the charge that they took advantage of their privileged status by the indiscriminate admission of members. Every application for admission to the Society was examined by a committee appointed especially for the purpose of determining the degree of readiness and sincerity of the applicant. These examinations sometimes dragged on for months.³⁵ Unfortunately there is no way to determine in a given case on what basis an applicant for admission was accepted or rejected. Almost all of those who applied during the war period were admitted to the Society, although there was an occasional rejection. It is highly significant that most of those who joined the Society after the passage of the exemption were the type one Quaker leader characterized as those who "have in some measure been connected with [the] Society, and thus seem to have been awakened to a sense of duty by the calamities of the present war."³⁶ Even in the case of those who had not been connected in any way with the Quakers before the war, it is revealing that at least some of them remained devout

members of the Society after the war was over. Certainly Jesse Buckner, the ex-Baptist militia colonel, remained in his new-found faith, and Rufus King, who became one of the most outstanding Quaker leaders in the world in the postwar period was converted to Quaker principles by his military experience.³⁷

Even after generous rulings by Confederate military officials it was still possible for a county enrolling officer to draft a War Quaker. Late in 1864 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting sought to fill this gap in their protection by securing legislation from the Confederate Congress and appointed a lobbying committee. William A. Graham and one of the Representatives from Virginia presented the memorials to the Senate and the House, but in both places they disappeared in the committee on Military Affairs and never reappeared.³⁸ This meant that the War Quakers were not legally exempt from military service; they continued to be drafted until the end of the war.

As conscientious objectors the Quakers faced other problems created by the war policies of the Confederate government. Besides keeping their men out of the army they had to cope with the question of whether they would pay their taxes, and if so which of the various taxes they could pay with clear consciences. The one which troubled them the most was the exemption tax of five hundred dollars. Even before the passage of the exemption act the Yearly Meeting adopted a statement that "we cannot conscientiously pay any fines that may be imposed upon us, individually, for nonperformance of military duty, but rather quietly submit to have the value of the same distrained by the proper officer."³⁹ The meeting expressed a willingness to pay any taxes that were imposed on all citizens, and cast upon the government the responsibility for the manner in which the money was spent.

When the Yearly Meeting assembled in 1862 Congress had just passed the act requiring the payment of what amounted to a five hundred dollar tax for exemption. The delegates repeated the statement they had issued on taxes a year earlier—that they would pay just taxes uniformly imposed—but stated flatly that the exemption tax should not be paid because it was "the price exacted of us for religious liberty."⁴⁰ Realizing that this decision would create a dilemma for those Quakers who had already paid the exemption money, the Yearly Meeting then recommended that those who had already paid the tax should be "treated in a tender manner."⁴¹ This

meant in effect that no one who paid the tax would be disowned.

After the Yearly Meeting adopted its official stand on the exemption tax, individual opinion as to whether Quakers could conscientiously pay it was divided. At first many persons had their doubts, but Jonathan Harris reported in April, 1863, that those who had earlier opposed paying the tax were now willing to pay it or approved letting someone else pay it for them.⁴²

The decision to pay the tax came to some men only after they had seen the results of not paying. Milton Woody, for example, was drafted late in 1862. After seeing "the extent to which the many evils of the military camp are practiced" he paid the exemption money and left the army. After returning home he wrote a letter resigning as clerk of the Cane Creek Monthly Meeting and explaining his conduct. Better he thought to "come away from 'the path of the wicked, and out of the way of evil men'"⁴³

The number of Quakers who persisted throughout the war in refusing to pay the exemption tax was very small—only seven. We do not know exactly how many took advantage of the exemption privilege, but figures giving a fairly close approximation are available. At the request of Assistant Secretary of War Campbell, Isham Cox made a survey of the monthly meetings in North Carolina to determine how many members of the Society had paid the tax, and how many persons closely associated with the Society but not members had been allowed to pay it. Cox found that up to the first of August, 1863, 173 members and eleven non-members had secured exemption.⁴⁴ Almost at the end of the war the superintendent of the Bureau of Conscription reported that three hundred and forty-two men from North Carolina had been exempted as conscientious objectors.⁴⁵ A handful of these might have been members of the Dunkers, Mennonites, or Nazarenes, but nearly all were Quakers or people associated with them.

More revealing and certainly more interesting from the standpoint of human nature than a study of government policies and the official Quaker reaction to these policies is the question of how individual Quakers reacted to the war. Here one enters into a never-never land of filio-pietistic writing done by amateurs who were primarily interested in proving that the Civil War Quakers were shining examples of Christian heroism. The only work which deals extensively with the history of the North Carolina Quakers in the war is entitled *Southern Heroes*. The author, Fernando Cartland, was interested primarily in

finding out what happened to each Friend who was dragged off to the war. He learned a great deal by visiting each monthly meeting and talking with the men who had lived through the war, and he even looked at a few old papers, but essentially what he wrote was a series of moralistic anecdotes about heroic resistance to conscription and to the brutal treatment of conscientious objectors. He spent more time on the seven who never paid the exemption tax than he did on any other aspect of his subject. His point would have been lost if he had ever admitted that any Friends departed from their principles.

A close approximation to the truth about individual reaction to the war comes from the monthly meeting minutes. Fernando Cartland states, in *Southern Heroes*, that only one Quaker in the South willingly entered the Confederate arm.⁴⁶ Yet it is clear that volunteering and performing military duty both in the Confederate army and in the state forces was a problem in most of the monthly meetings. Complaints about individuals "for participating of and exercising in military performances" were not uncommon.⁴⁷ A few Friends apparently were swept away from their conscientious moorings by the wild enthusiasm that accompanied the outbreak of war. Some went into the service because all their non-Quaker cronies were leaving. Nathan Winslow, Jr., is a fair example of these early volunteers. Soon tired of army life and disturbed because he had abandoned his Quaker beliefs, he deserted and hid out. When his father was arrested he gave up and went back to the army, only to desert again about the time of the battle of Antietam. Winslow's monthly meeting had disowned him in 1861,⁴⁸ but in the summer of 1863 he applied for readmission and was accepted.⁴⁹

The monthly meetings had to decide in each individual case what to do about a man who voluntarily had gone into the army or participated in local military activity. After a complaint was filed the meeting appointed a committee to examine the charges. Ordinarily these committees recommended disownment for failure to abide by the church's testimony on war; this happened at least twenty times during the war.⁵⁰ Sometimes if a member seemed particularly penitent for his violation of discipline the meeting would allow him to retain membership.⁵¹ In one unusual case, Isaiah Collier was allowed to keep his membership after "participating of and exercising in military performances," and then in a most ungrateful gesture he proceeded to volunteer for the Confederate army.⁵² The second violation was not treated with the generosity displayed toward the

first, and Collier was soon outside the Society.

In spite of all the Quakers could do, both as an organization and as individuals, many eventually found themselves taken into the army. Some had to go before the passage of the exemption act, a few refused to pay the exemption tax, and a large percentage of those who joined the Society after the passage of the exemption act were taken. The theme which runs through most of their accounts of their army experience is stubborn refusal to perform any act of war and frequent punishment for their refusal. Although these accounts have been exaggerated, there can be no doubt that life in the army was painful for conscientious objectors.

A typical military experience, one which illustrates most of the generalities one could make about Quakers in the army and is more authentically documented than the later romanticized accounts, is the experience of Thomas Hinshaw and a small group who were inducted from the Holly Spring meeting in October, 1862.⁵³ Thomas was taken away from his breakfast table by a band of armed men. They also took his brother Jacob, his two brothers-in-law, Cyrus and Nathan Barker, and two other Quakers. They refused to pay their own way to the enrolling office and then refused to give bond for their appearance a week later. When the group arrived at Raleigh, one Friend was excused on medical grounds and one paid the exemption tax, but the Hinshaws and the Barkers all decided they could not conscientiously exempt themselves. When they got to camp in Virginia they would not draw guns, knapsacks, or clothing. The captain of their company was well-disposed towards them, but one of the lieutenants ordered the soldiers to stick them with bayonets. The soldiers refused. When the colonel ordered the Quakers to pull fodder and help load wagons they were still stubborn and were threatened with hanging and shooting. After these frightening initial encounters, the Friends seem to have been treated reasonably well. About all they were expected to do was keep up with the company. The Hinshaws and Barkers went home on leave early in 1863 and were sorely tempted to pay the exemption tax, but chose to stand by their principles. After moving about from one camp to another they found themselves at Gettysburg. During the battle there they simply walked away, headed north, and lived with Quakers in the Gettysburg neighborhood for a few days until Union soldiers captured them. After being imprisoned in Fort Delaware they were released and given a pass to travel freely in the North. All of them made their way to the Quaker settlements in Indiana, where they

found numerous other North Carolinians who had settled there both before and during the war.

The conclusion to be reached about the experience of Quakers who went into the army is that they were so varied as to defy neat generalizations. A man's reaction depended upon his whole personality, his physical condition, the strength of his objection to war, the personal nature of the officers who commanded his regiment and company, and probably a number of other variables.

One reaction among those Quakers who were taken into the service was desertion. This was common—among both the heroic and the more human individuals. It was what one could expect of a people who had no use for war in general and would not have supported the Confederacy even if they had not been conscientious objectors. At any rate there is abundant evidence both that the Quakers themselves frequently deserted and that they offered strong encouragement to non-Quakers who abandoned the army. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs recollected that while her father was teaching at New Garden Boarding School “there were several young men here rather in hiding to keep out of the army.”⁵⁴ The ridge north of the school, and much of the countryside in the Quaker counties, contained caves full of draft dodgers and deserters.⁵⁵ The conscription records for the fall of 1864 show numerous desertions by men from Randolph County; among these were several Quakers, especially from the Cox family. Georgia Lee Tatum, in her study of *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, noted the heavy concentration of Quakers in Davidson, Forsyth, Guilford, and Randolph counties and added that “deserters, knowing of the sentiment against war in these counties, collected in them in great numbers.”⁵⁶ Because of their humanitarian attitude the Friends took in not only their own sons who had deserted, but soldiers from both the Union and Confederate armies. It was simply their duty as Christians, they believed, to shelter and feed men who were cold and hungry, regardless of where they came from.

Inevitably the Friends' attitude towards desertion, and deserters, caused them serious trouble. Their pro-Confederate neighbors naturally were hostile, sometimes to the point of violence. Neighborhood feuds that lasted for years were generated. The Home Guard found it necessary to invade the Quaker neighborhoods periodically to round up deserters, and they were hardly gentle about it. But the most serious problems were created by the deserters themselves. One Quaker summarized their situation well when he said that, “We

don't believe in war, nor do we believe in a deserter, particularly those that rob, steal, and murder."⁵⁷

We began, then, talking about a group of calm Christian pacifists and end up talking about hostility, theft, and murder. The story verges on the tragic sometimes, but it is also a commentary on the strength of the human spirit. It reveals men in their strength and stubbornness, their weaknesses and vagaries, and the individual variations in their reactions to a profound crisis. The North Carolina Quakers went into the war as pacifists, mild abolitionists, and devout Unionists. Because of this combination of beliefs they refused to support the war and suffered the consequences of their refusal. But one must conclude that their suffering was not extreme. The policies of both the state and national government were basically liberal, and tempered by a humane and generous interpretation of the conscription and exemption acts, especially by Judge John Campbell, the Assistant Secretary of War. In spite of individual hardships it is doubtful that the North Carolina Yearly Meeting was, in an overall view, damaged by the war. It is true that some families migrated as a result of the war, and many of the deserters who left for the midwest never returned. But these losses were offset by the addition of members during the war years.⁵⁸ One is even tempted to conclude that the Yearly Meeting was strengthened and some men who had never doubted that war was justifiable now detested it.

The influence of the Quakers on the state of North Carolina and the Confederacy was of course minimal. There were not enough people who shared their beliefs. Their pleas for peace in 1860 and 1861 were lost in the madness of the moment. Later on when they supported the peace candidate for governor in the 1864 election their efforts proved equally futile. The Yearly Meeting itself, after the fighting had ended, made a remark which may serve as the final estimate of their stand towards the war and the extent of their influence. "The position which Friends have held in respect of war and slavery [was] comparable to a little taper casting a glimmering light through the surrounding gloom."⁵⁹ Their candle never dispelled the darkness, but still it was a light.

The Southern Friend

¹Minutes, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, p. 50; Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes, or the Friends in War Time* (Cambridge, 1895), p. 117; "Religious Reconstruction in North Carolina after the Civil War," no author or date, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College; Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), pp. 244-286, 295-302. The work of Cartland will be cited hereafter as Cartland, *Southern Heroes*.

²Allen Jay, *Autobiography of Allen Jay* (Philadelphia, 1910), p. 168.

³*Public Laws*, 1861, 2nd Ex. Sess., ch. 17.

⁴*Ordinances of the State Convention*, (Raleigh, 1863), 4th Sess., No. 34.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶Richard L. Zuber, *Jonathan Worth, A Biography of a Southern Unionist* (Chapel Hill, 1965), p. 132. Cited hereafter as *Jonathan Worth*.

⁷Ella Lonn, *Salt As a Factor in the Confederacy* (New York, 1933) p. 66.

⁸Zuber, *Jonathan Worth*, pp. 174-176.

⁹*Speech of Hon. William A. Graham, of Orange, In the Convention of North Carolina, Dec. 7th, 1861, on the Ordinance Concerning Test Oaths and Sedition* (Raleigh, 1862), p. 10.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings, North Carolina Yearly Meeting 1861-1864, *passim*.

¹²The evolution of Confederate policy is concisely summarized in Edward N. Wright, *Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 91-120. Cited hereafter as Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*.

¹³Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*, pp. 101-102.

¹⁴*Official Records: War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. 4, II, 160-162.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁶General Orders, No. 82, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Richmond, November, 1862.

¹⁷*Confederate Statutes at Large*, 2nd Cong., 1st Sess., Ch. 24.

¹⁸General Orders, No. 82, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Richmond, November 3, 1862.

¹⁹E. R. Holt to D. C. Pearson, Asheboro, July 19, 1864, Confederate Conscript Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

²⁰D. C. Pearson to E. R. Holt, Lexington, July 20, 1864, Confederate Conscript Papers.

²¹Minutes, Dover Monthly Meeting, August 30, 1863 to June 30, 1864.

²²Gilmer to Vance, Greensboro, April 16, 1864, and endorsement of Vance, Crenshaw Papers.

²³Worth to John B. Crenshaw, Raleigh, November 3, 1864, Crenshaw Papers, Guilford College.

²⁴The Buckner case is summarized in Cartland, *Southern Heroes*, pp. 146-150, but there it is seen only in retrospect and from the Quaker viewpoint.

²⁵Buckner to Marmaduke Robins, Camp Holmes, November 24, 1864, Marmaduke Robins Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

²⁶Petitions for Exemption, No. 167, Confederate Conscript Papers.

²⁷See Minutes of all monthly meetings, 1863-64, *passim*.

Conscientious Objectors in the Confederacy: The Quakers of N.C.

²⁸Undated report of investigating board in Confederate Conscript Papers, folder No. 32.

²⁹Affidavit and endorsements in Confederate Conscript Papers, September 29, 1863.

³⁰Endorsements on affidavit of October 14, 1863, Confederate Conscript Papers.

³¹Minutes, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1864.

³²Letter from New Providence, Iowa, October 2, 1864, Guilford College.

³³Joseph Newlin to Crenshaw, New Market, July 20, 1863, Crenshaw Papers.

³⁴Martin to William Dobbins, Martin Papers, Guilford College.

³⁵See the monthly meeting minutes for the war years. This procedure was the same as that followed in peacetime.

³⁶Joseph Newlin to John B. Crenshaw, quoted in Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*, p. 116.

³⁷Emma King, "Rufus P. King," in *Quaker Biographies* (Philadelphia n.d.) Ser. 2, II, 175-199.

³⁸Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*, pp. 119-20.

³⁹Minutes, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1861.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 1862. Cited in Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 306, and in Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*, p. 108.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²Harris to John B. Crenshaw, Westminster, April 10, 1863, Crenshaw Papers.

⁴³Minutes, Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, February 7, 1863.

⁴⁴"History of the Sufferings of Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting during the war!! of 1861-2-," MS notebook in Isham Cox Papers, Guilford College, p. 98.

⁴⁵*Official Records*, Ser. 4, III, 1103.

⁴⁶P. 223.

⁴⁷The following minutes of Monthly Meetings give typical cases: Contentnea, May 11 and July 7, 1861; Deep River, June 11, 1863; Holly Spring, September 20, 1862; Marlboro, May 2, 1863; Cane Creek, January 4, 1862.

⁴⁸Minutes, Back Creek Monthly Meeting, Dec. 14, 1861.

⁴⁹David Henley to John B. Crenshaw, Science Hill, July 14, 1863, Crenshaw Papers.

⁵⁰Disownment proceedings may be seen in the following examples from Monthly Meeting minutes: Springfield, Dec. 11, 1861; Neuse, Oct. 4, 1862; New Garden, Jan. 29, 1862; Spring, Oct. 29, 1864; Deep River, Nov. 14, 1861.

⁵¹Minutes, Deep River Monthly Meeting, Feb. 12, 1863.

⁵²Minutes, Contentnea Monthly Meeting, Jan. 11, 1862 and March 14, 1863.

⁵³"Some Account of other Trials and Travels That Thomas Hinshaw, with others, Have Had to Pass Through While Kept in the Confederate Army, Written by Thomas Hinshaw, the 5th of the 8th month, 1863." MS in Thomas Hinshaw Papers, Duke University.

⁵⁴Jay, *Autobiography*, p. 159.

⁵⁵David Dodge [O. W. Blacknall], "Cave Dwellers of the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVIII, (Oct., 1891), No. 408, 514-521.

⁵⁶(Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 113.

⁵⁷"Thy Friend," to Marmaduke Robins, Holly Spring, Feb. 1, 1865 Marmaduke Robins Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

⁵⁸North Carolina Yearly Meeting. *A Narrative of Cruelties*, pp. 4, 12-13, which places the number of members added during the war at six hundred. One historian states that the Quaker attitude towards the war "resulted in N.C. in an actual increase in membership." A. C. and R. H. Thomas, *A History of the Friends in America* (Philadelphia, 1930) P. 178.

⁵⁹Minutes, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1865.

BOOK REVIEWS

William P. Taber, Jr. *The Eye of Faith: A History of Ohio Yearly Meeting, Conservative*. Barnesville: Representative Meeting of Ohio Yearly Meeting, Religious Society of Friends, 1985. 279 pages. \$11.50 including postage.

The Eye of Faith is an important Quaker history. Ohio Yearly Meeting (the conservative body is the only "Ohio Yearly Meeting" still in existence) is the largest, strongest, and "purest" of the Conservative yearly meetings. (Quaker Conservatism in Iowa and North Carolina has been "diluted" by monthly meetings that are not historically Conservative, and the other Conservative yearly meetings have been laid down or have reunited with the bodies from which they were separated.) This book is the only recently published history of a Conservative yearly meeting, and it is the first to come close to meeting the canons of historical objectivity. It also deals with much more than the history of Ohio Conservative Friends, including as well the earlier history of Friends in Ohio.

William P. Taber, Jr., was well qualified to undertake this work. A child of Ohio Yearly Meeting he received part of his education beyond its borders, returning to teach for many years at its boarding school. He is currently on the faculty of Pendle Hill, the Friends study center in Pennsylvania. He is also the author of *Be Gentle, Be Plain*, the history of Olney Friends Boarding School in Barnesville. As he indicates in his "Forward" he has pursued a lifelong fascination with the distinctive culture preserved among Conservative Friends, and has tried to understand both its essential and its incidental features in order if possible to preserve the essence.

This study is unusual among Quaker histories in its non-polemical frankness about the separations that occurred during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. Earlier histories have tended either to gloss over or to ignore separations, assuming perhaps that "the less said about that sort of thing the better," or to portray separations as the result of bad theology and/or bad behavior on the

part of the other group. Instead William Taber tells the facts as best he is able to determine them, reminding us as he does of the biases of each of the sources he cites. As a result the physical and spiritual violence of the separations, particularly the Ohio Orthodox-Hicksite split, is frankly presented so that its full tragedy can be felt.

Several passages stand out as memorable. William Taber describes Joshua Maule, an ultra-Conservative Friend who ultimately left even the Conservatives, as “a man who was clever enough to expose the errors of others; who had a genius for irritating others by his ability to pick a Quaker quarrel; and who would insist on a quasi-public exoneration of himself (meaning that the other person must condemn his own error) through the Quaker technique of settling quarrels.” He also quotes Maule’s suprisingly faithful account of Ann Branson’s prophetic condemnation of his pride and his movement.

But the most memorable passage must surely be Friends minister James Henderson’s account of his visit to President Woodrow Wilson in 1915. Granted an audience with the chief executive following the visit of a Texas delegation and acting under the weight of what he felt to be a divine imperative he told Wilson in biblical language on behalf of God that his plan of national defense, relying upon “the puny arm of flesh for protection,” was not pleasing in the eyes of the Lord. In classic Quaker understatement Henderson wrote, “As I ceased speaking there was a little pause..”

The Eye of Faith vividly traces the painful evolutionary changes in the yearly meeting as it gradually became more open to other Friends groups and to the larger society. But he fails to account for its decline. It is surely hard to preserve a distinctive subculture or counter-culture, but Friends did so more or less for two hundred years. Why were they unable to succeed in the third century? A more thorough consideration of the distinctive socioeconomic factors of twentieth century American life might have provided an answer.

The book says unfortunately very little about North Carolina Conservative Friends, despite their dependence upon Ohio for leadership and inspiration. The Conservative Holly Spring (Friendsville) meeting and school in Randolph County, NC, were populated during their brief heyday partly by Friends from Ohio and the Fairhope, Alabama, meeting (a part of Ohio Yearly Meeting). The little school was a miniature Olney, and its newspaper, *The Friendsville Current*, was modeled on *The Olney Current*. But they are not

mentioned in this book.

In his chapter on "Growth and Change" William Taber notes that "an index had been included in each year's [yearly meeting] minutes from 1926 onward." Yet William Taber's book contains no index. Several times I wanted to refer back to names and incidents, only to find myself stymied. The book is full of names, but the absence of an index means that readers who are interested primarily in the career of one person or in one family will have to hunt for references. Bowing to the presumed phobias of the general reader the book omits footnotes, listing instead in alphabetical order the sources used for each chapter. But the omission of an index does not make the book more general or less scholarly, only much less useful.

Compliments are due for the helpful chronology and map on the endpapers, for the photographs (most undated however), and for the charming sketches by Sylvia Thomas. But I would have traded them all for a good index.

In the concluding chapter William Taber describes four alternative courses pursued by Ohio Conservatives in the 1970s and 1980s: the Raven Rocks ecological experiment, the charismatic movement, Neo-Conservatism, and a "balanced" approach that preserves essential Quakerism without its often bizarre incidentals. Because Quakerism was for so long a culture, not merely a church or sect, and because Conservatives struggled to maintain the culture after many of its elements had been abandoned by other Friends it has been particularly hard for them to discriminate between the kernel and the husk. William Taber's book does not resolve that issue but it does help us to understand the struggle.

Damon D. Hickey
Guilford College

Cecil E. Haworth. *Deep River Friends: A Valiant People*. Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Deep River Friends Meeting, 1985. 147 pages. \$8.50 including postage.

The fifth in the series of histories of North Carolina Friends meetings to be published jointly by the North Carolina Friends

Historical Society and North Carolina Yearly Meeting, *Deep River Friends: A Valiant People* tells the story of one of the piedmont's oldest meetings. Situated in southwest Guilford County, Deep River Meeting was first set up as a place of worship in 1753, very near the time of earliest settlement in what was then Rowan County. It became an independent monthly meeting, set off from New Garden Meeting in 1778, and was home to immigrant Quakers primarily from Pennsylvania and the island of Nantucket. In its long history it has been parent meeting, in turn, for seven other meetings and has nurtured an astonishingly large number of gifted and productive individuals and families. Perhaps because of this latter fact, the author has chosen to devote nearly half of the history to these notable people, including the Beards; the Stuarts; the Briggs brothers, John, Alpheus, and Clay; David and Eleanor Lassiter Henley and their family; Nereus Mendenhall; and Elihu and Abigail Mendenhall. He might also have included George C. and Delphina Gardner Mendenhall, Richard Mendenhall, and a number of others but chose to treat those who had not been written about in other sources. The contributions of these Friends are not overlooked, however, but are noted in chapters devoted to various aspects of the meeting's history.

Relating the history of the meeting to the story of its outstanding members does much to bring out the unique character of Deep River Meeting, whose general history follows a pattern common to North Carolina Friends meetings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as they struggled to become established; and to maintain Quaker testimonies of peace, justice, and equality in the face of two wars and the institution of slavery. Common to all meetings, but happily less so for Deep River than for many others, was the great loss of membership prior to the Civil War. When the war ended, the meeting provided leadership in the establishment of schools, as it had a generation earlier in the founding of New Garden Boarding School; and it participated with other meetings in the revival of Quakerism and the institution of new forms in its meeting for worship. In the twentieth century it remains a strong meeting, still including in its membership descendants of those first hardy settlers.

The book is as much a reference book as it is a history, for the author has provided, in seven appendices, lists of charter members; membership statistics; names of clerks, pastors, and visiting

Friends; and an account of the various types of reasons for disownment which are cited in the minutes through the years. He concludes with a first-hand account of Deep River Meeting by Arthur Ledbetter in the decade 1874-1884 which vividly illuminates the life of the meeting and the community just before the pastoral system was adopted. The book is indexed, annotated, and illustrated. A bibliography is provided. Whether reading for general interest or to fill specific information needs, readers will find *Deep River Friends* a valuable addition to a worthy series.

Deep River Friends may be ordered from North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

James Oscar Farmer, Jr. *The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986. 295 pages. \$28.95.

Quakers did not flourish in the Old South, and the kinds of prudent, successful, conscientious people who often became Quakers elsewhere usually became Presbyterians in the antebellum South. The South was not congenial to the delicate balance of inner and outer plantations, of social benevolence and spiritual inwardness, which Quakers practiced. What conservative Presbyterians in the South did instead was to fuse the outer and inner dimensions of religion into a single rigid compound of intellectualized theology and conservative piety--the mirror opposite of the Quaker ideal.

The foremost figure in this movement was the theologian James Henley Thornwell. In this intellectual biography, James Oscar Farmer has produced a masterful portrait of the man and his ideas. Thornwell articulated a delicate legalism hostile to social reform, dogmatic in its interpretation of Scripture, pessimistic about the bouyant, expansive character of the age. "God is riding the whirlwind and directing the storm," Thornwell confided to a friend; "out of the

chaos and tumult of the nations, He will surely evolve His own grand purposes and make the angry passions of men subservient to His glorious providence." Here was a comprehensive statement on the relationship of violence to divinity--the central problem Quakerism addressed. All that was missing was the pool of peace and gentleness at the center of this tumult. Judging from Farmer's index and his thorough research, it seems safe to assume that Thornwell never spoke to or wrote about Quakers. That is not only a commentary on his provincialism but also on the perennial issues which concern bookish religious leaders.

Robert M. Calhoun
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Warren Sylvester Smith. *One Explorer's Glossary of Quaker Terms*. Philadelphia: Friends General Conference, 1985. 60 pages. \$3.95. Beatrice Kimball and Joyce Holden, compilers. *Dictionary of Friends Terms*. Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1984. 42 pages. \$2.50.

To understand Quakerism and Quaker history one needs a knowledge of a special vocabulary of phrases and words. London Yearly Meeting published *A Brief Dictionary of Quakerism* by Horace Pointing (in 1956 and subsequently revised) but it is more accurately described as a handbook to the Society of Friends in Great Britain and is limited in its use as a dictionary. A number of scholarly studies of Quaker language have appeared but none of these meets the need for a comprehensive guide to Quaker terms, both traditional and contemporary. Both Friends United Meeting and Friends General Conference have recently published handy pamphlet dictionaries with sufficient differences between them to make the acquisition of both desirable.

One Explorer's Glossary of Quaker Terms, by Warren Sylvester Smith, as the title implies, is a very personal and informed guide to Quaker language. It is not confined to special terms and phrases for the author includes explanations of certain Quaker procedures such

as how one becomes a member of the Society of Friends; describes several Quaker organizations such as the American Friends Service Committee, Friends World Committee for Consultation and others; and takes care to explain that British and American Friends use some terms, such as "preparative meeting," differently. Plain speech is described and such phrases as "speak truth to power" are defined.

Dictionary of Friends Terms, compiled by Beatrice Kimball and Joyce Holden, is much more formal than Smith's *Glossary*, and has a substantially greater number of terms, names, and phrases. It includes a particularly helpful feature in that each entry is supported by references to the Bible, Fox's *Journal*, three of the major histories, or the London Yearly Meeting Discipline. Also included are a chronology of Fox's life keyed to a map of England.

Although the *Dictionary* is substantially more inclusive than Smith's *Glossary*, there are a number of terms exclusive to each. The *Dictionary* has terms peculiar to "programmed" Friends and more historical events and references. But Smith adds a few terms not in the *Dictionary* such as "advancement" (related to outreach), and "close meeting," (i.e., to end the meeting for worship formally), a term more familiar in the unprogrammed tradition. Neither identifies notable persons, but the *Dictionary* includes a few places.

The *Dictionary* is complete enough to be an extremely helpful reference work both as a guide to language and as a handbook to significant historical events such as the Penn-Meade trial; to important publications and documents such as "No Cross, No Crown," and the Richmond Declaration of Faith. Clearly it is the one to buy if one must choose. But the differences between the two point up the differences between the two strands of Quakerism they represent. Furthermore Smith's work is full of wisdom, gentle humor, and appealing illustrations by John Davis Gummere that make it a pleasure to read. At costs of only \$3.95 and \$2.50 respectively, there's little excuse for not having both.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

J. William Frost and John M. Moore. *Seeking The Light: Essays in Quaker History in Honor of Edwin B. Bronner*. Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill Publications; Haverford, Pa.: Friends Historical Society, 1986. 214 pages. \$17.50 including postage.

These ten essays honoring Edwin Bronner on his retirement as professor of history and librarian of Haverford College are contributions to current Quaker scholarship from both established and emerging Quaker scholars, the latter including some of Bronner's own former students in his Methods of Historical Research class at Haverford. The essays are grouped in three periods, seventeenth century England, colonial America, and the twentieth century; and include seven essays exploring issues in Quaker history, and two edited documents. Topics include the Quaker attitudes toward legal defense in the 1670s; the dual role of Quaker women in the Society of Friends in the earliest period; Thomas Loe who was instrumental in the convincement of William Penn; evidence of religious toleration of Quakers in Sandwich, Plymouth Colony; political awareness among Pennsylvania Quakers in the colonial period; a consideration of secularization in colonial Pennsylvania; an early effort on the part of Philadelphia Quaker women to provide relief for freed slaves; the Manchester Conference of 1895; Henry Cadbury and the issue of academic freedom; and finally, a moving letter from Thomas Kelly to his family in 1938 describing evidence of the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany.

A biography of Edwin Bronner, a selected bibliography of his writings, and an index are provided. The book is available, in paperback, from Pendle Hill Publications, Wallingford, Pa. 19086.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

Hi Doty. *Quaker Philately: In Which Stamps Provide the Inspiration for Reflections on Quaker Life and Experience*. Concordville, Pa.: Concord Friends Meeting, 1986. 57 pages. \$9.20 including postage.

This book of short essays is the most off-beat approach to Quaker ideas and history that is likely to appear for a good long while. It is a

cumulation of what the author describes as "space-fillers" from issues of the newsletter of Concord Friends Meeting. As the title explains, each one is inspired by a recent United States postage stamp issue, which is pictured. There is even a nod to North Carolina Quakers in a capsule history inspired by the state's tercentenary stamp honoring the Roanoke Voyages. These delightful little pieces may not be major contributions to Quaker historical research (the author claims to be neither a philatelist nor an historian), but they are humorous and thoughtful; the book is an appropriate memento of Concord Friends Meeting's tercentenary. It may be purchased from Concord Friends Meeting, Box 23, Concordville, Pa. 19331.

Carole Treadway
Guilford College

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THE SOUTHERN FRIEND

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The Southern Friend is published semiannually in spring and autumn by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502. Members of the society, for which the annual dues are \$10.00, receive the journal without charge. Single issues may be purchased for \$3.00 per member.

Editorial Policy

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

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

Publications Committee

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Cover Illustration

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

THE
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A PRELIMINARY PAPER
ON THE
QUAKER PEARSON FAMILY

OF CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND AND
COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA AND
RELATED, DESCENDED AND COLLATERAL
FAMILIES OF BOGUE, LAWRENCE, TOMS,
NEWBY, CHICKEN, HOODT, DE LA PLAINE,
CRESSON, COLLYER, MARTIN, PEELE,
RATLIFF, HILL, AND OTHERS

by

James E. Bellarts

BOGUE

1. The given name of the first Bogue of this line is unknown. He probably lived and died somewhere in Scotland. His probable wife was Jean Clark, probable daughter of Calvin Clark and sister of Timothy Clark. (Reference: Bogue and Allied Families by Virgil T. Bogue; and letters from Cora A. (Bogue) Green). Their children:
 - 1.1 Robert Bogue, probably b. Scotland.
 - 1.2 William Bogue (below).
 - 1.3 Margaret Bogue, probably b. South Scotland; m(1) 1689-01 mo-07, Perquimans Precinct, North Carolina, Will Lawrence (1.2, "Lawrence", below), whose descent is shown below; m(2) Francis Toms, Jr., (1.2, "Toms", page 2), whose descent is

James E. Bellarts is editor and publisher of *The Quaker Yeoman*, a quarterly newsletter of Quaker and related genealogy, and the author of several books on Quaker family history.

This is part two of a two-part article. The Pearson Family was included in the previous installment. The Bogue, Lawrence, Toms, Chicken, and Hill families are dealt with in this part.

shown on page 2. Her children by her first marriage (named in their father's will):

- 1.31 Jane Lawrence.
- 1.32 Rachel Lawrence.

The children of Margaret Bogue by her second husband Francis Toms, Jr.

- 1.33 Elizabeth Toms.
 - 1.34 Penelope Toms.
 - 1.35 Precilla Toms.
 - 1.36 Margaret Toms.
- 1.2 William Bogue, probably b. South Scotland; m. 1689-06mo-05, Perquimans Precinct, North Carolina, Eleanor (Eliener) Perisho, b. 1673-09mo-18, daughter of James and Hannah (Phelps) Perisho. The 1698-April Court appointed William Bogue Constable "from ye naroes of piquemons to Sutton Creek, and to Mr. Lakars Crick on ye West Side" Hannah (Phelps) Perisho. Their children (Reference: *The History of Salem, Massachusetts*, Vol II, p. 248, by Sidney Perley):
- 1.21 Hannah Bogue, b. 1690-12mo-03, d. young.
 - 1.22 William Bogue, b. 1696-12mo-08, d. ca 1721, Perquimans County, North Carolina; m. 1729-Dec-15, Chuckatuck Meeting, Sarah Duke, daughter of Thomas Duke. (Reference: *Bogue Genealogy*, by Virgil T. Bogue; and *Chuckatuck Minutes*).
 - 1.23 Eleanor (Ellener) Bogue, b. 1701/2-02mo-26, not mentioned in her father's will, probably died young.
 - 1.24 Robert Bogue (below).
 - 1.25 Josiah Bogue, b. 1706/7-03mo-21; m. Deborah Nicholson.

Their children:

- 1.251 Jesse Bogue.
 - 1.252 Joseph Bogue.
 - 1.253 Job Bogue.
 - 1.254 Mary Bogue.
 - 1.255 Miriam Bogue.
 - 1.256 Lidy Bogue.
- 1.26 Elizabeth Bogue, b. North Carolina; m. 1719-10mo-17, Jacob Hill. Their children:

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- 1.261 William Hill, b. 1720-06mo-22.
1.262 Jacob Hill, b. 1724-03mo-25.
1.263 Miriam Hill, b. 1726-06mo-10.
- 1.27 Jean Bogue.
- 1.28 Rachel Bogue; m(1) on letter to marry dated 1733/4-12mo-06, as his first wife, Peter Pearson II (1.1141, "Pearson", page 5).
- 1.29 Myriam Bogue, b. 1716-03mo-11, North Carolina; m. Gideon Bundy, son of Samuel and Tamar (Symons) Bundy. Their children:
- 1.291 Lydia Bundy.
- 1.292 Samuel Bundy; m. 1763-04mo-07, Center Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina, Huldah Hill, b. 1737-10mo-18, Pasquotank County, North Carolina, daughter of Aaron and Margaret (Chapell) Hill. Their children:
- 1.2921 Mary Bundy, b. 1766-12mo-01; m. John Albertson.
- 1.2922 Miriam Bundy, b. 1766-01mo-11.
- 1.2923 Margaret Bundy, b. 1777-03mo-04.
- 1.2924 Sarah Bundy, b. 1780-09mo-01.
- 1.293 Sarah Bundy.
- 1.294 John Bundy.
- 1.295 Miriam Bundy.
- 1.296 Christopher Bundy; m. 1782-10mo-02, Center Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina, Margaret Hill, b. 1763-09mo-09, Pasquotank County, North Carolina, daughter of William and Mary (Smith) Hill.
- 1.210 Rachel Bogue.
- 1.24 Robert Bogue, b. 1704-Mar-05, Perquimans County, North Carolina, will dated 1786, d. 1788, Jones County, North Carolina; m(1) 1738-08mo-04, Perquimans County, North Carolina, Rachel Pearson (1.1143, "Pearson" page 1); m(2) Miriam Pearson, whose identity has not been established. Some genealogies state that she was a daughter of Peter and Rachel (Bogue) Pearson. No such daughter has been proven. However, Robert Bogue was disowned 1775-Oct-04 for marriage out of unity to too close a relative. He apologized for his misconduct and the case was referred to the Quarterly Meeting

which approved his reinstatement 1778-Dec-02 with the approval of Contentnea Monthly Meeting to which he was granted a certificate 1779-Mar-03. His children by his first wife Rachel Pearson:

- 1.241 Lydia Bogue; m. 1766-09mo-03, Perquimans County, North Carolina, Joseph Draper. Their children:
 - 1.2411 Josiah Draper, and probably others.
- 1.242 Josiah Bogue; m. 1779-02mo-13, Contentnea Monthly Meeting, Jones County, North Carolina, Mary Stedham. Their children:
 - 1.2421 Sarah Bogue.
 - 1.2422 Gula Bogue.
 - 1.2423 Catherine Bogue.
 - 1.2424 Miriam Bogue.
 - 1.2425 Hulda Bogue.
- 1.243 Mark Bogue; m. 1773-11mo-03, Perquimans County, North Carolina, Sarah Stedham. Their children:
 - 1.2431 Mary Bogue.
 - 1.2432 Ruth Bogue.
 - 1.2433 Catherine Bogue.
 - 1.2434 Jonathan Bogue, b. 1787-Jan, d. 1820-04mo-08; m. 1812-01mo-02, Sarah Easley, b. 1793-02mo-13, Halifax County, Virginia, daughter of Daniel II and Edith (Anderson) Easley. Their children:
 - 1.24341 Mary Ann Bogue, b. 1813-02mo-21, Belmont County, Ohio; to Illinois ca 1830.
 - 1.24342 Ruth Bogue, b. 1814-10mo-16, Belmont County, Ohio; to Illinois in 1830; m. Joseph Robinson.
 - 1.24343 Mark Bogue, b. 1816-10mo-26, Belmont County, Ohio, d. before the family went to Illinois in 1830.
 - 1.24344 John Bogue, b. 1819-01mo-21, Belmont County, Ohio; m. Margaret Marshall, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (-) Marshall. Their children:
 - 1.243441 Annette Bogue, b. 1850-09mo-01, d. 1851-01mo-12.
 - 1.243442 Mark Bogue, b. 1852-01mo-01; m. Ida Sweeney.
 - 1.243443 Sarah L. Bogue, b. 1854-06mo-16, d. 1854-09mo-14.

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- 1.243444 Mary Emarett Bogue, b. 1856-02mo-05; m. Frank Allison.
- 1.243445 Abbie Bogue, b. 1860, d. Rushville, Illinois about 30 years old.
- 1.244 William Bogue; m. 1779-09mo-02, Perquimans County, North Carolina, Lydia Haskett. Their children:
- 1.2441 Elizabeth Bogue,
and probably others.

The children of Robert Bogue by his second wife Miriam Pearson:

- 1.245 Jesse Bogue.
- 1.246 Rhoda Bogue.
- 1.247 Job Bogue, b. 1784/5-01mo-05, Perquimans now Jones County, North Carolina, d. 1876-03mo-03; m. 1813-04mo-24, Harrison County, Ohio, Mary Ann Easley, b. 1794-10mo-17, d. 1870-11mo-01; daughter of Daniel II and Edith (Anderson) Easley. Their children:
- 1.2471 Sarah Bogue, b. 1815-03mo-24; m(1) Moore Marshall son of William and Margret (Lycork) Marshall; m(2) William Felon; m(3) Eliazor Jenkins (no Issue). Her daughter by her first husband Moore Marshall:
- 1.24711 Mary Ann Marshall, b. 1839, d. 1924; m(1) William Dilworth; m(2) Stephen Braun. Her children, surnames unknown:
- 1.247111 Jessie.
- 1.247112 Bertha.
- 1.247113 Ilda.

The children of Sarah Bogue by her second husband William Felon:

- 1.24712 William Felon, d. unmarried.
- 1.24713 Robert Felon; m. Cornelia (Matthews) Crail
Their daughter:
- 1.247131 Nina Beatrice Felon; m. Howard Bartholomew.
Their daughter:
- 1.2471311 Beatrice Bartholomew; m. (--) Baldwin.
- 1.2472 Elizabeth Bogue, b. 1816-10mo-01, d. 1859-04mo-

- 19; m. Henry Farson Chicken (1.121 "Chicken", page 5), b. 1816-09mo-16, Harrison County, Ohio, d. 1894-04mo-04, m(2) Margaret Western (no surviving issue).
- 1.2473 Daniel E. Bogue, b. 1818-07mo-05; m. Lydia Branson.
- 1.2474 Edith A. Bogue, b. 1820-06mo-17; m. James Stewart Marshall.
- 1.2475 Jonathan Bogue, b. 1822-07mo-10; m. Emily Robinson.
- 1.2476 Joel Bogue, b. 1824-08mo-23; m(1) Sarah Freeman; m(2) Emily Worley.
- 1.2477 Robert Bogue, b. 1826-11mo-05; m(1) Mary A. Marshall; m(2) Martha (Dunlap) Ramsey.
- 1.2478 Phoebe E. Bogue, b. 1828-12mo-25; m. Stephen Kinsey.
- 1.2479 Jesse Bogue, b. 1831-05mo-28; m. Rebecca Cox.
- 1.24710 Stephen Bogue, b. 1834-01mo-03; m. Rebecca Levis.
- 1.24711 Rhoda Bogue, b. 1836-03mo-10; m. Will Mercer.
- 1.25 Rachel Bogue.

LAWRENCE

The descent of Will Lawrence who m. Margaret Bogue (1.3, "Bogue", above) (Reference: *History of Perquimans County, North Carolina*, Mrs. Watson Winslow, pages 373, 374. The compiler considers this book to be a frequently unreliable reference).

1. John Lawrence, probably to Perquimans from Nansemond County, Virginia where he was living very early according to Isle of Wight County records. He first appears in Perquimans ca 1680 where his land was adjacent to that of Timothy Clare 1701-Jul-30. He m. Rachel Welsh. Their children:
 - 1.1 Elizabeth Lawrence, b. 1655-Dec-24.
 - 1.2 Will Lawrence, b. 1661-Jul-20; m. as her first husband, Margaret Bogue (1.3, "Bogue", above). He d. 1694-Aug-13, will probated in Perquimans 1694-Aug.
 - 1.3 Rachell Lawrence, b. 1665-Apr-16.

- 1.4 John Lawrence, b. 1667-Mar-14, d. 1700-Oct-28; m. 1692-XX-22 "at a quarterly meeting at Francis Toms", Hannah Bundy. Their children:
- 1.41 William Lawrence, b. 1693-Jan-03, d. 1697-Aug-27.
- 1.42 Elizabeth Lawrence, b. 1695/6-Jan-12; m. Thomas Meriday.
- 1.5 Hannah Lawrence, b. 1669-Dec-01; m(1) 1687-Jul-30 Israel Snelling, b. ca 1666, d. 1700-08mo-31; m(2) as his second wife, Timothy Clare who m(1) Mary (Spivey) Bundy, daughter of Thomas Spivey and widow of William Bundy; and was the father of Elizabeth Clare. Her daughter by her first husband Israel Snelling:
- 1.52 Esther Snelling, b. 1699-Sep-20, d. 1755-Aug-14; m. 1716-Oct-10 John Winslow. Her daughter by her second husband Timothy Clare:
- 1.53 Hannah Clare; m. before 1726-Aug-26, Benjamin Bundy.
- 1.6 (possible daughter according to records of Isle of Wight County, Virginia): Ann Lawrence; m. as his second wife, Jeremiah Exum. who probably came south with the immigration from New England. He m(1) 1653-12mo-08, Elizabeth Adkinson, according to Boston Records.

TOMS

The descent of Francis Toms, Jr., who m. as her second husband, Margaret Bogue (1.3, "Bogue", page 1). (Reference: History of Perquimans County, North Carolina):

1. Francis Toms; m(1) Priscilla (--); m(2) Abigail (--) Lury, widow of John Lury, who d. 1687-Mar-17; m(3) Mary Nicholson; who was probably a widow since her will names daughter Vesty Lewis wife of Edward Lewis; daughter of John Nicholson, no issue. According to William Edmundson's Journal they did not become Quakers until his first journey into North Carolina in 1872. His children by his first wife:

<1.1 (doubtful) Penelope Toms, b. 1670-Jan-27.>

- 1.1 Mary Toms, b. 1670-Apr-27, d. 1738-09mo-02; m. 1689-02mo-10, Gabriel Newby, b. 1659, d. 1735-12mo, son of William and Izabell (--) Newby. William came from London to New England

in the ship *Mary and John* 1633-Mar-24, age 24. In Nansemond County, Virginia 1684-10mo-13 according to minutes of Chuckatuck Monthly Meeting. Their children:

- 1.11 William Newby, b. 1690-01mo-13, d. ca 1720; m(1) 1718, Ann Henley who m(2) 1721 John Hollowell. His post-humous son:
 - 1.111 William Newby, b. ca 1720; m. Jemima Newby (1.1101, below).
- 1.12 Edward Newby, b. 1691-10mo-12, will dated 1717-Aug-06 names father Gabriel and brother William.
- 1.13 Joseph Newby, b. 1693-09mo-07; m(1) 1715-11mo-09, Little River Meeting House, Elizabeth Nixon, daughter of Zachariah and Elizabeth (-) Nixon; m(2) Mary (Clare) Mayo, daughter of Timothy Clare, widow of Edward Mayo.
- 1.14 Francis Newby, b. 1695-11mo-03, will dated 1744-Apr; m. 1723-Feb-09, Huldah Hunnicutt, daughter of Robert and Margaret (Wyke) Hunnicutt, grand-daughter of Peter and Hulda (Ladd) Wyke. Their children:
 - 1.141 Robert Newby, b. 1724-Apr-16.
 - 1.142 Mark Newby, b. 1726-Mar-25.
 - 1.143 Margaret Newby, b. 1728-May-29.
 - 1.144 Miriam Newby, b. 1730-Apr-20.
 - 1.145 Jesse Newby, named in his father's will probated in Perquimans, 1744-Apr.
 - 1.146 Francis Newby, named in his father's will.
 - 1.147 Sarah Newby, named in her father's will.
- 1.15 Isabel Newby, b. 1697, d. 1758; m(1) 1716, John Henley; m(2) 1729, Benjamin Pritchard; m(3) Thomas Pierce.
- 1.16 Mary Newby, b. 1699, d. 1734; m(1) ca 1725, William Trotter; m(2) 1730, Phineas Nixon.
- 1.17 Miriam Newby, b. 1701, probably d. young.
- 1.18 Jesse Newby, b. 1704-Mar-30, will probated Perquimans, 1765-Oct; m. 1727-11mo-09, Mary Hunnicutt, sister of Hulah Hunnicutt who m. his brother Francis Newby (1.14, above).
- 1.19 Elizabeth Newby, b. ca 1706, d. 1730; m. 1729, John Nixon.
- 1.110 Samuel Newby; m(1) uncertain, possibly Ann Mayo,

daughter of Edward and Mary (Clare) Mayo. Mary (Clare) Mayo m(2) Samuel Newby's brother Joseph Newby (1.13, above). Her will dated 1739 names her son-in-law Samuel Newby. Samuel Newby m(2) 1740-08mo-01, Elizabeth Sanders, daughter of Benjamin and Ann (--) Sanders. His daughter by his first wife:

- 1.1101 Jemima Newby, b. ca 1720; m. her first cousin William Newby son of William and Ann (Henley) Newby (1.111, above).

The children of Samuel Newby by his second wife Elizabeth Sanders:

- 1.1102 Joseph Newby, b. 1741-Aug-10; m. Patience Darden. Their son:
 - 1.11021 Joseph Newby, b. ca 1772-08mo-10; m. Elizabeth Winslow, daughter of Joseph and Mary (White) Winslow.
 - 1.1103 William Newby, b. 1743-Dec-30.
 - 1.1104 Ann Newby, b. 1745-Feb-05.
 - 1.1105 Gabriel Newby, b. 1747-Feb-13.
 - 1.1106 Mary Newby, b. 1749-Oct-16.
 - 1.1107 Gideon Newby, b. 1751-Sep-15.
 - 1.1108 Elizabeth Newby, b. 1756-Mar-16.
 - 1.1109 Miriam Newby, b. 1757-Oct-16.
 - 1.11010 Samuel Newby, b. 1761-Mar-25.
- 1.2 Francis Toms, b. 1672-Sep-19; m. 1696-04mo-08, Margaret Bogue (1.3, "Bogue", page 1). Their daughter:
 - 1.21 Pleasant Toms, b. ca 1710, d. 1785-02mo-29; m. Joseph Winslow, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Clare) Winslow.
 - 1.3 Priscilla Toms, b. 1674/5-Mar-19.
 - 1.4 Joseph Toms, b. 1677-Nov-16, d. 1670-Jun-06.
 - 1.5 Caleb Toms, b. 1679-Nov-25, a twin to:
 - 1.6 Joshua Toms.
Francis Toms daughter by his second wife Abigail (--):
 - 1.7 Abigail Toms, b. 1684-Dec-10.

CHICKEN

The descent of Henry Farson Chicken who married Elizabeth Bogue (1.2472, "Bogue", above):

1. John Chicken, d. 1741, will dated 1740-12mo-24, proved 1741-Apr-15; m. ca 1730, Judith (Hoodt) Smith, b. ca 1698, Philadelphia, daughter of Casper Hoodt, a Dutch Friend who settled in New York City, d. in Philadelphia, bur. 1732-12mo-11. Casper Hoodt, a tailor, m(1) 1686-06mo-12, Elizabeth Delaplaine who d. 1698-08mo-14, m(2) 1701-04mo-07 Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, Sarah (Van Heck) Coleman of Kent County, Maryland, widow of Stephen Coleman. His first wife was the daughter of Nicholas de la Plaine of the Seigneurie de la Plaine near Bressuire in France, said to have been a Huguenot who fled to England before the Revolution of 1649, and then to New Amsterdam where he took the oath of allegiance 1657-Apr-13, and m. at the Dutch Reformed Church 1658-Sep-01, Susanna Cresson daughter of Pierre and Rachel (Clauss) Cresson, Huguenot refugees. Nicholas de la Plaine was possibly the son of Nicholas de la Plaine who died in France at the age of 105 years. <The children of Caspar Hoodt: 1. Jacob Hoodt; 2. Daniel Hoodt; 3. Elizabeth Hoodt, m(1) Isaac England, m(2) Daniel Corbet; 4. Judith Hoodt, m(1) Samuel Smith, m(2) John Chicken (above); 4. Mary Hoodt, m. 1719-09mo-27, Philadelphia, Daniel Smith, Jr.>. <The children of Nicholas and Susanna (Cresson) de la Plaine: 1. James de la Plaine, b. ca 1660; 2. Elizabeth de la Plaine; m. Casper Hoodt (above); 3. Nicholas de la Plaine, baptized 1664-Oct-01, Dutch Church; 4. Jean de la Plaine, baptized 1666-Nov-07, Dutch Shurch; 5. Marie de la Plaine, baptized 1668-Nov-14, Dutch Church; 6. Susanna de la Plaine, baptized 1670-Dec-31, Dutch Church; 7. Judith de la Plaine, baptized 1672-Dec-22, Dutch Church; 8. Rachel de la Plaine, baptized 1674-Jan-27, Dutch Church; 9. Carel de la Plaine, baptized 1677-May-23, Dutch Church; 10. Isaac de la Plaine, baptized 1679-Jan-15, Dutch Church; 11. Crejanne de la Plaine, baptized 1681-Jan-22, Dutch Church.>. <The children of Pierre and Rachel (Clauss) Cresson: 1. Susanna Cresson, b. Ryswyck, Holland; m. Nicholas de la Plaine (above); 2. Jacques Cresson, d. 1684-Aug-01; m. Maria Reynard; 3. Christiana Cresson m(1) Jean Latelier, m(2) Jacob Cerritszen de Haas; 4. Rachel Cresson, m(1) David Demarest, m(2) Jan

Durie, m(3) Roelof Vanderlinde; 5. Joshua Cresson, baptized 1659-Jun-08; 6. Elizaesus (Elias) Cresson, baptized 1662-Dec-17>. The children of John and Judith (Hoodt) Chicken:

- 1.1 John Chicken, b. 1731-08mo-19, d. intestate, Letters of Administration granted 1793-Jul-22 to John and Daniel Chicken, surety Esekiah Smith; m(1) Mary (--); m(2) 1792-Apr-14 Rachel Lackey (he age 61, she age 77). His children:
 - 1.11 (Probable son) John Chicken, b. ca 1760, d. intestate, Letter of Administration granted 1796-Nov-25 to Daniel Chicken, surety John Wilson.
 - 1.12 Daniel Chicken, b. ca 1760; m. Eleanor David. Their son:
 - 1.121 Henry Farson Chicken who m. Elizabeth Bogue (1.2472, "Bogue", page 4). Their children:
 - 1.1211 Phoebe Chicken, b. 1841-11mo-27; m(1) James William DeVansy; m(2) Charles Steffen.
 - 1.1212 Sarah Chicken, b. 1843-04mo-10, d. 25 days old.
 - 1.1213 Mary Chicken, b. 1844-03mo-09; m. James Dilworth.
 - 1.1214 John Chicken, b. 1845-09mo-11, d. 1868-05mo-02, unmarried.
 - 1.1215 Sarah Chicken, b. 1847-09mo-22; m. Samuel Rolan Musgrove.
 - 1.1216 Caroline Chicken, b. 1849-01mo-25; m. Joseph C. McFadden.
 - 1.1217 Lewis Chicken, b. 1850-03mo-15; m. Ida May (Pickney) Sharp.
 - 1.1218 Stephen Chicken, b. 1852-03mo-26; m. Louisa Tibbetson.
 - 1.1219 Daniel Chicken, b. 1854-02mo-16; m. Ida Frazey.
 - 1.12110 Edwin Chicken, b. 1855-09mo-22; m. Mary Ann Martin.
 - 1.12111 Philip Chicken, b. 1858-10mo-06, d. 6 months of age.
- 1.2 Martha Chicken, b. 1733-05mo-24, d. ca 1772, unmarried.
- 1.3 Ann Chicken, b. 1735/6-12mo-26, d. before 1789; m. ca 1759 Henry Stevens. Their children:
 - 1.31 Mary Stevens; m. Thomas Fisher. Their son:
 - 1.311 Henry Fisher.
 - 1.32 Hannah Stevens, b. 1767, d. 1824-Mar-16; m. John

Marim, b. 1751, d. 1815-Feb-18. Their children:

1.321 Thomas Marim; m. Elizabeth Blackiston. Their daughter:

1.3211 Mary E. Marim; m. Charles G. Ross. Their daughter:

1.32111 Elmina Ross; m. James P. Price. Their daughter:

1.321111 Ethel Price; m. Isaac Gibbs.

1.33 Susanna Stevens; m. John Pleasanton.

1.4 Sarah Chicken, b. 1739-11mo-12.

HILL

Two brothers came to Falls Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania (Reference: Passengers and Ships, page 63, by Sheppard):

1. John Hill, b. ca 1690, shoemaker of "Bermington", Somerset, England. His son:
 - 1.1 James Hill, b. ca 1719; m. Jane Newlin, daughter of Nathaniel and Jane (Woodard) Newlin.
2. James Hill, b. ca 1700, Beckington, Somerset, England; to Ballanderry, Ireland; m. Margaret Oliver. They were received 1731-12mo-25 by Philadelphia MM on a joint certificate from the Preparative Meeting near Ballanderry, dtd 1728-05mo-21. They were granted a certificate 1738-11-26 from Philadelphia MM, Pennsylvania, to Newark MM, New Castle County, Delaware (Ref: Hinshaw, Vol. II, p. 549) and return to Philadelphia 1740-04mo-07. Their son:
 - 2.1 Richard Hill, b. ca 1732, Pennsylvania, cordwainer of Bucks County, Pennsylvania; m. Agnes (-). Sold his Bucks County land to Richard Hill, merchant of Philadelphia; to Newark, New Jersey. His sons:
 - 2.11 James Hill (below).
 - 2.12 Thomas Hill, b. ca 1770. No record.
 - 2.11 James Hill, b. ca 1770, a blacksmith. His son:
 - 2.111 James Hill, b. 1811/12, New Jersey, m. Elizabeth (Eliza) (-), b. 1814/15, New Jersey. James Hill resided in Butler County, Ohio at the time of the 1840 Census according to an index of that census. His wife is not named, but it is

supposed they were married prior to 1840 considering the age and birthdate of their first child. James Hill and his wife and children resided at the same place in Butler County, Ohio at the time of the 1850 Census (Reference 1850 Census of Butler County, page 234, which records James Hill as a Blacksmith with an annual income of \$1,200.00). Their children as of 1850:

- 2.1111 Cynthia Hill, b. 1840/41, probably Butler County, Ohio.
- 2.1112 Alfred Hill, b. 1844-Jan-27, Butler County, Ohio. (no birth records were filed in Butler County this early - Reference: Declaration for pension dated 1907-Feb-23; Company Muster and Descriptive Roll, Company "K", 179th Ohio Volunteer Infantry dated 1864-Oct-31. Married Phebe Ann Johns, daughter of Samuel and Phebe Ann (Marsh) Johns, 1865-Oct-29, Shelby County Ohio, by Peter M. Young, J.P. No record other than a notation of the marriage exists in Shelby County. (Reference: Pension Affidavit for Phebe John Hill dated 1909-Nov-02; Certified copy of marriage record dated 1909-Oct-21 which indicates that a marriage license was originally issued 1865-Oct-05 and is filed in volume 4, page 313, Shelby County, Ohio marriage records, Probate Court, Sidney, Ohio; 1880 Census of Village of Fletcher, Brown Township, Miami County, Ohio, Volume 46, Enumeration District 131, Sheet 33, line 31, Dwelling 104, Family 104; and 1900 Census of Jefferson Township, Grant County, Indiana, page 52A, Supv. Dist. 11, Enumeration District 36, Dwelling 273, Family 303). Alfred Hill does not appear in the 1870 Census of Miami County, Ohio. He probably resided in Shelby County, Ohio at the time of that census since he was married there in 1865.

Alfred Hill served in the Civil War as a Private in Company "F", Benton County Cadets, Missouri Volunteer Infantry, having enlisted as a substitute for Christian Kinsinger of 3rd Ward, Hamilton County, Ohio, 1861-Sep-17. He was discharged at St. Louis, Missouri 1862-Jan-08. He enlisted again 1864-Aug-16 at Dayton, Ohio, in Company "K", 179th Ohio Volunteer

Infantry, and was discharged 1865-Jun-17 at Nashville, Tennessee. He is described as 5'8" tall, dark complexion, brown eyes, black hair (Ref: Civil War Service and Pension Records).

Alfred Hill was a farmer. He owned his own farm in Grant County, Indiana, which was mortgaged at the time of the 1900 Census. The farm was sold by Alfred Hill and Phebe his wife, to Ezra H. Graham and Elmer Graham according to a bill of sale which was registered 1907-Mar-21 at 2 o'clock PM, the undivided two-thirds to Ezra Graham and the undivided one-third to Elmer Graham, for a sum of two thousand four hundred and forty-five dollars. Forty-six acres of the farm were again sold by John Little, a widower, to Samuel Hill, a widower, for the sum of four hundred dollars according to a bill of sale registered 1913-May-17 at 2:30 o'clock PM. Samuel Hill and his wife Elizabeth were shown living on this 46 acre tract in the 1911/12 City Directory of Marion, Indiana. Alfred and Phebe Ann Hill were recorded as living on the above described 31 acres on Route 17, Gas City, Jefferson Township, Grant County, Indiana in the 1906/07 Grant County Gazeteer. Phebe Ann Hill is subsequently shown as a widow residing with her son Walter, a laborer, in the house at the corner of 38th and Illinois Street, Marion, Indiana in the 1911/12 Marion City Directory.

At the time of his death Alfred Hill resided at the Soldiers' Home in Marion, Indiana where he worked as a mule driver. He was kicked by a mule 1909-Oct-08 and died in the Soldiers' Home Hospital at 7:00 o'clock Friday morning 1909-Oct-15 (Reference: Marion, Indiana Chronicle, 1909-Oct-9, 11 and 15). These articles state that he died as the result of being kicked in the head by a mule. His death certificate states that he died as the result of a ruptured kidney and peritonitis from the kick of a mule. Alfred Hill was buried in a now old section of the Gas City Cemetery. His grave could not be located by the compiler in 1981-May.

The children of Alfred Hill and Phebe Ann John:

2.11121 Walter B. Hill (below).

2.11122 Thomas Elmer Hill (below, page 19).

2.11121 Walter B. Hill, b. 1866-Oct-26, (probably Shelby County) Ohio (no birth certificate was located in Shelby County). (Ref: 1880 Census of Miami County, Ohio, which shows him as age 13 years; Marriage Records; Department of Interior, Bureau of Pensions document signed by Alfred Hill, dated 1897-Oct-09). He married 1890-Aug-23, Grant County, Indiana, Nancy Hillman, daughter of Joseph and Margaret (Ballenger) Hillman. (Ref: Marriage Records). An article in *The Marion, Indiana, Chronicle* dated 1890-Aug-29, reads:

“Last Friday Miss Nancy Hillman of Jefferson Township made affidavit before Squire Pugh, setting forth that upon the 30th of last March she became the mother of an illegitimate child, of which Walter Hill was the father. A warrant was issued for Hill’s arrest and placed in the hands of S.A. Connelly, who returned the writ endorsed “not found”. The papers were made out and the case was certified to the circuit court Saturday. The same day Hill came in and took out a license to marry Miss Hillman. The probability is that by this time Hill has squared accounts at Hymen’s altar, in which event the case in court will be dismissed”.

A check of court records by the compiler in 1981 revealed that the case had never been cleared. Walter B. Hill deserted his family and reportedly went to Ohio prior to the time of the 1900 census, which records his wife and children as living with Alfred Hill. He was apparently back in Marion, Indiana by 1911, when he was recorded as living with his mother. No divorce, remarriage or death records were located in Grant County, Indiana for Walter B. Hill. The children of Walter B. Hill and Nancy Hillman:

2.111211 Glenn E. Hill, b. 1890-Mar-20, Jefferson Township, Grant County, Indiana. (Ref: 1900 Census and 1890-Aug-29 Article in *Marion, Indiana Chronicle*). He never married, d. 1944, Marion, Grant County, Indiana. Buried Jefferson Cemetery, Gas City,

Grant County, Indiana.

- 2.111212 Twin who died of flu in infancy.
- 2.111213 Twin who died of flu in infancy.
- 2.111214 Paul Alfred Hill (below).
- 2.111215 Genie Hill, b. 1895-Feb, Grant County, Indiana (Ref: 1900 Census), m(1) Raymond Hutchinson; m(2) William Means, both of Rochester, Pennsylvania, both predeceased her. At the time of her death in 1959, which occurred as the result of complications to Diabetes, while she was visiting Ohio; she resided in Rochester, Pennsylvania. Her sons:
- 2.1112151 William Hutchinson, d. ca 1965.
- 2.1112152 Richard Hutchinson, last known to be residing in Rochester, Pennsylvania.
- 1.111216 James Leslie Hill, b. 1900-June-29, Grant County, Indiana. (Ref: Funeral Card and Obituary). Not listed in the 1900 Census which was taken fifteen days before his birth. He retired as Master Sergeant, Cavalry, United States Army; d. of cancer 1959-Mar-28, Fitzsimmons Army Hospital, Denver, Colorado, bur. Cheyenne, Wyoming; m. ca 1932, Minnie Kennedy (Canaday). They had no children, but raised a foster son, Earl Parsons, who owned a ranch on Bear Creek, Wyoming in 1959. James Leslie Hill and his wife operated a truck stop and store at Meriden, Wyoming prior to his death. Minnie (Kennedy) Hill was living at Hawk Springs, Wyoming in 1970.
- 2.111214 Paul Alfred Hill, b. 1891-Sep-16, Upland, Grant County, Indiana. (Ref: Birth Certificate, Death Certificate, 1900 Census) m(1) Eva Boxell who d. 1925-Aug-01, Marion, Grant County, Indiana (Ref: Records of First Friends Church, Marion, Indiana; Heiss, Vol. 3, p. 42). Their daughter:
- 2.1112141 Martha Ellen Hill, b. 1920-Sep-07, Marion, Grant County, Indiana; m(1) Robert Edwards (divorced); m(2) Oscar Johns who d. 1985-Oct-29. Several children. Resides in Rochester, Pennsylvania as of 1986-January-

02.

Paul Alfred Hill m(2) 1927-Oct-20, Louisville, Kentucky, Thelma Orpha Pearson (1.1146814231, "Pearson", page 13). They were divorced in Cheyenne, Wyoming 1932-Dec-07. (Ref: Marriage and Divorce Records). Their son:

2.1112142 | James Edward Hill, born 1931-Jan-02, Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana (Ref: Birth Certificate); raised by step father Lawrence Peter Bellarts using the name James Edward Bellarts, although he was never legally adopted, and did not know that he was not the son of Lawrence Peter Bellarts until he was an adult.

Paul Alfred Hill m(3), Rochester, Pennsylvania, Minnie (- -). He died 1960-Sep-13, Rochester, Pennsylvania (Ref: Death Record). She died several years after him.

Paul Alfred Hill was a school teacher by profession (Ref: 1919 City Directory of Marion, Indiana; Teachers Records of the Marion, Indiana Public Schools, where he is recorded as being the Principal of the school at the Grant County Orphans Home. There is no entry for him in the 1926 City Directory for Marion, Indiana, following the death of his wife. In the 1927/28 City Directory he is recorded as residing at the Y.M.C.A., and being a teacher at the 28th Street School. This Directory also contains a list of all teachers in the Marion Public Schools).

2.11122 Thomas Elmer Hill, b. 1869-Dec-24, (possibly Shelby County) Ohio. (Ref: Department of Interior Pension Document of Alfred Hill), shown as age 11 in the 1880 Census; and as age 30, single and living with his parents, working as a day laborer in the 1900 Census; known as Elmer Hill; m. Belva Thompson (Ref: Letter from Mary R. Frazier Shawler Hill, second wife of Thomas Woodrow Hill, Sr., 531 McKinley Avenue, Piqua, Ohio 45356, dated 1979-Nov-07, in response to a letter which the compiler sent to each Hill listed in the Piqua, Ohio telephone directory. Mrs. Hill called several days after receiving the letter and was the only one to respond. The children of Thomas Elmer Hill and Belva Thompson:

- 2.111221 Helen Frances Hill, m. Fred Mackerney, a widower with four children. Lived in Rutland, Vermont until his death, living in Troy, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.111222 Esther Hill, married Carl Schultz, deceased. Their children:
- 2.1112221 Jack Schultz, married, living in Pleasant Hill, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.1112222 James Schultz, married, living on a farm near Pleasant Hill, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.1112223 Thomas Schultz, a Navy Chaplain, married and living in California in 1979.
- 2.1112224 Rebecca Schultz, married and living near Troy, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.111223 Ralph Hill, deceased, married Claudine Billings. Their children:
- 2.1112231 Richard Hill, deceased.
- 2.1112232 Ronald Hill, married, living in Sidney, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.1112233 Barbara Hill, married, living on a farm near Covington, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.111224 Alfreda Hill, married Howard Pry, living in Troy, Ohio in 1979. Their children:
- 2.1112241 Judith Pry, married, living in Fremont, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.1112242 Janet Pry, married, living in Oklahoma in 1979.
- 2.1112243 Robert Pry, married, living in Fremont, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.111225 Thomas Woodrow Hill, Sr.; m(1) Hazel Elizabeth Young, deceased; m(2) Mary R. (Frazier) Shawler, a widow with four grown children, all married. His children by his first marriage:
- 2.1112251 Belva Jean Hill; m. Vernon Myers, living near Wapakoneta, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.1112252 Billie Ann Hill; m. Lewis Wells, living in Covington, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.1112253 Thomas Woodrow Hill, Jr.; m. Brenda Carr, living in Piqua, Ohio in 1979.
- 2.1112254 Susan Kay Hill; m. John Davis, living near

Pleasant Hill, Ohio in 1979.

- 2.111226 Scott Hill, deceased, married Florence Rittenhouse.
Their son:
- 2.1112261 Herbert Hill, married, living in Trotwood, Ohio
in 1979.
- 2.111227 Martha Hill, married Armand Hall, living in Troy,
Ohio in 1979. Their children:
- 2.1112271 Peggy Hall, married, living in Centerville, Ohio
in 1979.
Douglas Hall, married, living in Arizona in 1979.
Son, died in infancy.

THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION OF GUILFORD COLLEGE ANNUAL REPORT

by

*Damon D. Hickey
and
Carole M. Treadway*

The Friends Historical Collection moved forward this year in several areas: close cooperation with the Friends Center at Guilford College; development of a Peace and Justice Collection; planning for the College's Sesquicentennial Celebration, particularly the First International Congress on Quaker Education; and planning for the expansion and renovation of the College Library to include an expanded Friends Historical Collection and Friends Center.

Most of the ongoing operation of the Collection--including cataloging of books, processing of manuscripts, and research assistance--fell to bibliographer Carole Treadway. Curator Damon Hickey was released by the College $\frac{3}{4}$ -time (full-time for 1987-1988) to coordinate the First International Congress on Quaker Education, to be held at the College April 7-10, 1988. The Congress is sponsored jointly by the College, the Friends Council on Education, and the Friends Association for Higher Education. The staff of the Collection was assisted ably by student workers Ann Marie Reardon (school year) and Jenny Kletzin (summer); by volunteers Augusta Benjamin and Margaret Michener; and by library secretary Gertrude Beal, who assisted researchers when the Collection staff was away, assisted with filing and correspondence, and served as part-time

Damon D. Hickey is curator and Carole M. Treadway is Quaker Bibliographer of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

secretary for the International Congress on Quaker Education.

The following summaries of staff activities, gifts to the Collection, deposits of meeting documents, research in the Collection, and statistics provide an overview of this year's work.

CAMPUS PROGRAMS

Distinguished Quaker Visitors - Spring 1987

Carole Treadway reported on the visit of Guilford College's Distinguished Quaker Visitors Asia Bennett, Kara Cole, and Marty Walton for the journals *The Southern Friend* and *Friendly Woman*.

First International Congress on Quaker Education - Spring 1988

The curator worked 3/4-time as coordinator of the First International Congress on Quaker Education, to be held at Guilford College April 7-10, 1988. He chaired the Congress Program, Arrangements, Publicity, Publication, and Steering committees. He also served on the College's Sesquicentennial Steering Committee. In the spring of 1987 he spoke to the Friends Council on Education in Philadelphia about plans for the Congress.

Friends Center

The curator served ex officio on the Steering Committee and Long-Range Planning Committee of the Friends Center, and assisted its director, Judith Harvey, in planning and implementing Quaker studies programs through the College's Center for Continuing Education. The Center and the Collection continued to plan jointly the development of their space in the planned library renovation, and conferred weekly on projects of mutual concern.

Interdisciplinary Studies 101 - Fall 1986

The collection staff assisted in the planning for IDS 101, particularly concerning the Underground Railroad, in the fall semester, and helped several students with special projects. Articles from *The Southern Friend* by Damon Hickey and Gertrude Beal were used as resources by the faculty. The curator assisted with the fall picnic,

which was held at the Richard Mendenhall Plantation in Jamestown at the end of Orientation Week. He also took two groups on a historic walking tour of the Guilford College woods. His slide/tape presentation, "Images of History in the Guilford College Woods" was shown during Orientation Week.

Orientation of New Faculty - Fall 1986

The curator met with new faculty in the fall of 1987 to discuss Guilford College's history and Quaker heritage. A similar orientation was provided for the College's Student Activities staff and Presidential Hosts.

Peace and Justice Collection

During the year the curator, the director of the Friends Center, the director of finance and development, and the director of the College's "Quest" Campaign met twice with friends of Sam and Miriam Levering about establishing a Peace and Justice Collection at Guilford College in their name. An exploratory Advisory Committee was set up, which Elwood Parker, director of the "Quest" Campaign, will convene. The Peace and Justice Collection would be part of the Friends Historical Collection.

Quaker Faith and Practice Seminar - Fall 1986

A six-week seminar, "Quaker Faith and Practice" offered for one academic credit, was taught by Guilford faculty and held on campus. It was open to students, faculty, staff, and local area Friends, and was fully enrolled. The course was administered by Judith Harvey, director of the Friends Center, and Damon Hickey.

Student Quaker Concerns Group

The curator served on the Advisory Council of the Student Quaker Concerns Group, and participated in its fall retreat. The Friends Historical Collection hosted a tea for the group in the spring. The curator judged the peace banner competition during Peace Week. He also spoke to the group on "What Divides and Unites American Quakers Today?"

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

American Friends Service Committee - Fall 1986

The curator delivered an address and led a discussion on Quaker thought and practice for the Executive Committee of the Southeast Region of the American Friends Service Committee.

Coltrane Family Reunion - Fall 1986

Carole Treadway spoke to the Coltrane Family Reunion about Quaker migration.

Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists - Summer 1986

Both members of the staff attended the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists at Malone College in the summer of 1986. The curator was program chairperson for the Conference.

Friends General Conference Executive Committee - Spring 1987

The curator prepared a summary of North Carolina Quaker history for the Executive Committee of Friends General Conference, which met in Greensboro.

Friends United Meeting Triennial - Summer 1987

The curator served on the Host Committee for the Friends United Meeting Triennial, which was held at Guilford College in the summer of 1987, with special responsibility for planning historical tours.

Greensboro Schools

The curator spoke about North Carolina Quaker history to classes at Jackson Middle School during North Carolina Heritage Week, 1987; and at Mendenhall Middle School, with Sally Hillman Redman of the College Admissions Office, fall 1986.

Greensboro Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship - Fall 1986

The curator presented at a Sunday morning service of the Greensboro Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship an introduction to Quaker decision-making.

John Collins Materials

Two volumes of manuscript, watercolor-illustrated journals by nineteenth-century Quaker artist John Collins returned from a national tour of the Museum of American Folk Art's exhibit on "Southern Folk Art." Collins' panoramic watercolor painting of Maryville, Tennessee, also returned from its loan to the Tennessee State Museum. The museum had borrowed the painting for display in the executive offices of outgoing Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander, a Maryville native.

National Genealogical Society - Spring 1987

Carole Treadway addressed the annual meeting of the National Genealogical Society on the resources and use of the Friends Historical Collection.

Society of North Carolina Archivists - Fall 1987

Carole Treadway attended the fall meeting of the Society of North Carolina Archivists.

South Central Yearly Meeting - Spring 1987

The curator led workshops on recording and preserving minutes in a Friends meeting, and on Quaker decision-making, for South Central Yearly Meeting in Texas. He also opened discussions with the yearly meeting about deposit and preservation of its monthly and quarterly meeting records.

The Southern Friend - Fall 1986 and Spring 1987

Damon Hickey co-edited with Herbert Poole the fall and spring issues of *The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society*. Carole Treadway wrote the newsletter

and edited the book reviews.

Symposium on Quaker Women - Spring 1987

Carole Treadway participated in "Witnesses for Change," the Haverford College symposium on Quaker women, 1650-1987.

PUBLICATIONS

Book Reviews

Carole Treadway reviewed Hi Doty's *Quaker Philately*; J. William Frost and John M. Moore's *Seeking the Light: Essays in Quaker History in Honor of Edwin B. Bronner*, Cecil E. Haworth's *Deep River Friends: A Valiant People*; Beatrice Kimball and Joyce Holden's *Dictionary of Friends Terms*, and Warren Sylvester Smith's *One Explorer's Glossary of Quaker Terms*, in the spring 1987 issue of *The Southern Friend*. Damon Hickey reviewed William P. Taber's *The Eye of Faith: A History of Ohio Yearly Meeting, Conservative* in *The Southern Friend* and *Quaker Life*.

Friends Journal

The curator wrote "A Symphony of Peace at North Carolina YM," a report on the 1986 North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) session, for *Friends Journal*, October 15, 1986.

Guilford Review

The curator wrote "Will Guilford Be a Quaker College in the Year 2000?" for the fall 1986 issue of *The Quaker Review*.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

The Publications Board of North Carolina Yearly Meeting commissioned Damon Hickey to write a manual for recording clerks, to be published in late spring 1987 under the title, "Unforeseen Joy": *Serving a Friends Meeting as Recording Clerk*.

Quaker Life

The curator's article, "Beneath Consensus: Deep Listening and the Quaker Search for Truth" was accepted for publication in *Quaker Life*.

PUBLICITY

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution - 1986

Hunter James, Carolinas correspondent for *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, interviewed the curator about North Carolina Quaker history for an article on Guilford College; and about North Carolina Quaker involvement in the Underground Railroad and the Sanctuary Movement for an article on the latter.

Greensboro News and Record - 1986

Conrad Payseur, columnist for the *Greensboro News and Record*, interviewed the staff for a feature article on the Friends Historical Collection. Columnist Abe Jones did research on John Collins' watercolor diaries and interviewed the curator for a feature article.

The Philadelphia Inquirer - 1987

The curator provided information on both North Carolina Quakers to Sue Chastain, *Philadelphia Inquirer* feature writer, for major articles on North Carolina and Philadelphia Quakers, reprints of which have been made available by the Friends Center.

COMMITTEES AND MEMBERSHIP

The staff of the Friends Historical Collection served on the following Quaker and college committees this year:

Damon D. Hickey

Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists
Program Committee (chairperson), 1986 Conference
Friends Center
Long-Range Planning Committee
Steering Committee

- Friends of the Guilford College Library
 - Executive Board
- Friends United Meeting
 - Triennial Host Committee, 1986
- Friends World Committee for Consultation
 - Executive Committee, Section of the Americas
 - North Carolina Committee
 - Publications Advisory Committee
- Friendship Monthly Meeting
 - Peace and Social Concerns Committee (convener)
 - Sanctuary Committee
- Guilford College
 - Community Senate (faculty adviser)
 - Library Committee
 - “Project Listening” co-facilitator
 - Sesquicentennial Steering Committee
 - Student Quaker Concerns Group Advisory Council
- International Congress on Quaker Education (coordinator)
 - Arrangements (convener)
 - Program (convener)
 - Publication (convener)
 - Publicity (convener)
 - Steering (convener)
- North Carolina Friends Historical Society
 - Board of Directors
 - Coeditor of *The Southern Friend*
 - Publications Committee
- North Carolina Yearly Meeting
 - Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records
 - Publications Board
- North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)
 - Peace and Social Action Committee
 - Recording Clerk
 - Records Committee
 - Representative to Friends World Committee for Consultation

Carole Treadway

- Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists
 - Program Committee, 1988 Conference

Friendly Woman

Editorial Council

Friendship Monthly Meeting

Ministry and Worship Committee

Guilford College

Judicial Board

North Carolina Friends Historical Society

Associate Editor of *The Southern Friend*

Board of Directors

Program Committee (convener)

Publications Committee

Vice President

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)

Books Committee (co-convener)

Program Committee (co-convener)

Records Committee (convener)

GIFTS TO THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION

1986-1987

Albright, Lee

Perquimans County History: Native Americans, Proprietary Period, and Early Quakers: A Meeting of Cultures, by Raymond A. Winslow, Jr., 1984.

Augusta Genealogical Society (by Carrie Adamson, Honorary President)

Quaker Records in Georgia: Wrightsborough 1772-1793; Friendsborough 1776-1777, compiled by Robert Scott Davis, Jr., 1986 (2 copies).

Barnard, W. Charles

Contribution of money.

Bellarts, James

"Massey Genealogy," prepared by Robert Grant and Dorothy M. Hardin, n. d.

Benfey, O. Theodor

SSRS Newsletter (newsletter of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science), 1949-1973 and special issues for 1974, 1975, and 1976.

Benjamin, Augusta

Contribution of volunteer work.

Binford, Naomi

Additions to the papers of Raymond and Helen Binford comprising personal letters to Naomi Binford and letters received after Helen Binford's death.

Bjorkman, Gwen Boyer

The Descendants of Peter Simmons, Brunswick County, Virginia, by Gwen Boyer Bjorkman, 1973.

Boone, Roger S.

Some Quaker Families: Scarborough-Haworth: Eleventh Generation and Corrections for Tenth Generation; Twelfth Generation, 1986.

Brintnall, Arthur

Materials relating to the seminar "Close-up of an American Corporation" held at Guilford College, January 1982, sponsored by the Dana Corporation and the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Foundation.

Bundy, V. Mayo

The Descendants of William and Elizabeth Bundy of Rhode Island and North Carolina, by V. Mayo Bundy, 1986; contribution of money.

Clinard, John W.

A copy of the M.C. Henley poster of photographs taken of local historic sites in 1874-75, printed in 1937.

Coltrane, Jeffrey S., Jr.

Subscription and back issues, *Coltrane Family News*.

Craven, F. Duval

Additions to Craven family papers; Spring 1986 issue of *Nugget* published by students of Farmer School, Asheboro; *State Census of North Carolina, 1784-1787*, 2nd ed. rev., 1983; *Quaker Cookery*, compiled by First Friends Meeting, Greensboro, 1986; treasurer's records, Greensboro Monthly Meeting, 1940-41, 1942-43; *The Phipps Family of North Carolina and Virginia: Appendix Three, Additions and Corrections*, 1986; miscellaneous clippings; audiotape recording of Byron Osborne speech, Malone College, March 1986; *Craven: Descendants of Peter Craven, Randolph County, North Carolina*, by Mary Craven Purvis, 1985.

Cushmore, C.L., Jr. *Judaism--Christianity--Quakerism: A History Course for Junior High Grades in Friends School*, by C.L. Cushmore, Jr., 1987.

Farlow, Clara

Group picture, early 1920s, of Guilford College class reunion?

First Friends Meeting, Greensboro, N.C.

Disciplines of Ohio Yearly Meeting (Evangelical), Baltimore Yearly Meeting, Five Years Meeting; miscellaneous clippings, bulletins, programs.

Friends Association for Higher Education

Proceedings of the seventh annual conference of the Friends Association for Higher Education, *Quakers in Higher Education: What is Required of Us?*, 1986.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College

A Test and Protest against Popery, from the Conscientious Christian Protestants Called Quakers, London, 1680.

Gregory, Marjorie Eason (by Carlton Rountree)

Letter from Mary R. White of Up River, North Carolina to her daughter Sarah White, dated 3-22-1873.

Hamm, Thomas

Photograph album of Mrs. E.C. Crider, Buck Creek, Indiana, ca.

1937; *Declarations of the Yearly Meetings of Ohio, Indiana, and Baltimore Respecting a Publication Entitled "A Beacon to the Society of Friends,"* London, 1836; *History of Central Yearly Meeting of the Friends Church,* 1976; *West Elkton Friends Meeting Sesquicentennial, 1805-1955,* 1955.

Herbert Carlisle

Contribution of money.

Hickey, Damon D.

There is a Spirit: The Nayler Sonnets, by Kenneth Boulding, 1945.

Hinshaw, Seth and Mary Edith

John Woody's surveying instruments; a stereopticon and forty stereoscopic views given John Woody by James M. Davis; *Some History and Other Nonsense,* by Preston McCracken, 1975; *My Colorado History,* by Preston McCracken, 1980.

Hughes, Fred

Deed for Kennett Meeting property, Guilford County, 1811 (photocopy); additions to Historical Documentation Map papers for Guilford and Davie Counties; contribution of money.

Hussy, Pearle and Portia

Hat worn by Olive Vuncannon, (1810-1884).

Jones, Abe, Jr.

Botany specimen book of plants growing on the Guilford College campus, 1907, compiled by A.D. Jones.

Jones, Shirley

Account of Reverend John Calvin Jones, written by Margaret Jones Dobbins as told her by John Calvin Jones, ca. 1930.

Jordan, Paula

Material used in preparation for the writing of *Women of Guilford County, North Carolina: A Study of Women's Contributions 1740-1979,* including notes, source materials, and drafts.

Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust

Joseph Rowntree (1836-1925): A Typescript Memoir and Related Papers, probably by Luther Worstenholm, 1986.

Klein, Betsy Bingham

A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers, by Joseph Besse, Volume I, London, 1753, including genealogy of the Parry family.

Lasley, Elizabeth Hare

Letters of Besty Faulk Harris, 1832-1845, with transcriptions and explanatory notes; "History of Joseph John Hare Homeplace," compiled by Elizabeth Hare Lasley, 1984; lithograph of yearly meeting house at New Garden by John Collins, 1869.

Levering, Miriam

Additions to the Samuel and Miriam Levering papers; contribution of money.

Lovell, Mrs. Malcolm R.

A Dynamic Faith, 4th ed., n.d.; *The Boy Jesus and His Companions*, 1930; *The Inner Life*, 1916; and *Re-thinking Religious Liberalism*, 1935, all by Rufus Jones.

Lyle, Carolyn

Dallas Monthly Meeting (Texas) newsletters with monthly meeting minutes, March 1979-August 1985 (photocopies, some missing); South Central Yearly Meeting Directories, 1979-1980; South Central Yearly Meeting Newsletter, October 1980, October 1981, March-October, 1982.

Macon, Seth

Marriage certificate of Anthony Chamness and Amy Reynolds; birth records of Anthony and Amy Chamness's children; birth and death records of a Wilson family (photocopies of originals belonging to Lalah Macon, Atlanta, Georgia).

Martin, Michael E.

Martin Family News, beginning with Volume III, number 1.

Martha Ellison Library, Warren Wilson College
Forty Quaker pamphlets and brochures.

McCray, Joyce, Principal, Friends Seminary
Children of Light: Friends Seminary, 1786-1986, by Nancy Reid Gibbs, 1986.

Michener, Margaret
Contribution of volunteer work.

Milner, Charles
Minutes of Chapel Hill Monthly Meeting, August 1984-May 1986 (photocopies).

Milner, Clyde and Ernestine
Artifacts from world travels; gifts and awards; bound book of letters in response to *Milner Month of May 1965*; two bound volumes of letters from friends; scrapbooks; photographs; files of correspondence and other papers.

Milner, Clyde A., II
"Off the White Road: Seven Nebraska Indian Societies in the 1870s - A Statistical Analysis of Assimilation, Population and Prosperity," from *The Western Historical Quarterly* XII (Jan. 1981) p. 37-52 (reprint).

Moore, J. Floyd
Contribution of money in memory of Doralyn J. Hickey; miscellaneous clippings(6).

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)
Contribution of money.

North Pacific Yearly Meeting
Faith and Practice (of North Pacific Yearly Meeting), 1986.

Orr, Oliver H., Jr.
Spring 1986 issue of *The Chat: Quarterly Bulletin of Carolina Bird Club, Inc.* with article, "T. Gilbert Pearson: The Early Years," by Oliver H. Orr, Jr.

Parsons, David, III

Five books, including *For a Free Conscience* by L. W. Wood, 1905; *Journal of Richard Jordan*, 1877.

Perisho, Clarence

The Perisho/Parisho Family, compiled by Berniece Perisho Gmelich. Volume I, 1979, and Volume II, 1986.

Perkins, Theodore E.

Thomas Oldham papers, 1852-1861 including guardianship papers for William H. Hopson; *Sketches from Family Records and Memory* by Robert W. Perkins, n.d.; *Journal of Elvira Perkins (Gause) (Cullen) Goldsby, 1841-1874*; *Bulletins of First Friends Meeting, Greensboro*, for 1986.

Poston, Rada

Four nineteenth century bibles, two with records of the McGee and Farlow families.

Powell Eleanor

Ship Passenger Lists: Pennsylvania and Delaware (1641-1825), ed. by Carl Boyer, 1980.

Quaker Collection, Edmund Stanley Library, Friends University

Five books and pamphlets.

Rees, Avis

Index, 1830 Federal Population Census for Indiana (3 microfiche).

Reinhardt, James

Annals of the Early Friends, by Frances Ann Budge.

Reynolds, Paul

Gravestone Records: Providence Friends Meeting Cemetery, Randolph County, North Carolina, prepared by Paul Reynolds; typescript of the marriage certificate of Anthony Chamness and Amy Reynolds (1797 with birth records of their children; Brief historical statement relating the Chamness family to Centre meeting; letter of William L. Murrow to his father, 1865

(photocopy of typescript).

Rich Square Monthly Meeting

Minute book of Union Temperance Society, Northampton Co., 1906-1908.

Riggs, Ruth

Deed for the land for Chestnut Creek Meeting, Grayson County, Virginia, dated 1797 (photocopy).

Shockley, Charlene

"A genealogical work on the early families of Chamberlain, Garrett, Lewis, Meredith, Pennell, Pugh, Sharpless, and Webb."; *Some Descendants of Israel Boone*, by Charlene Shockley, n.d.

Shope, Nathaniel and Ann Schneider

The Silver Thread: A Pageant Depicting the History of Centre Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1757-1957, by Beatrice Folger 1959; Photograph of Guilford College student body and faculty, March 1956.

Townsend, Rita Hineman

"Letters from Thomas A. Newby in Texas (1910 to 1913) and Miscellaneous Correspondence," compiled by Rita H. Townsend, 1986.

Van Broekhoven, Deborah

Letters from Phineas and Esther Jones Nixon to Daniel Miller, Secretary of the Free Produce Association of Philadelphia, 1839-40 (Typescripts of six letters originals in the Pennsylvania Historical Association collection); inventory of the Peck Family Letters, prepared by Deborah Van Broekhoven.

Vernon, William M., Jr.

"Some Descendants of Thomas, Randall, and Robert Vernon and More than Seventy-five Allied Families," compiled by Greta Vernon Davis Ramsay, n.d. (typescript).

Wicker, Milton

A subscription to *NCPHS Newsletter: The Journal of the North*

Carolina Postal History Society and a complete set of back issues from Number 1, February 1982.

Wilson, Harold and Velma

Edgar A. Wilson: His Life and Family, ed. by Harold E. Wilson, Velma Stepp Wilson, Bonnie Wilson Baumeister, 1986; contribution of money.

Women's Society of First Friends Meeting
Contribution of money.

Young, Michael

Yonder Horizon, by Vera F. Barnes, 1983.

Zuck, Melvin

Spectator Papers, by Norman Whitney, 1947-1967 (serial).

**DOCUMENTS OF MONTHLY, QUARTERLY, AND YEARLY
MEETINGS OF NORTH CAROLINA DEPOSITED IN THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION**

1986-1987

Battle Forest Monthly Meeting

Minutes of the first meeting of the United Society of Friends
Women of Battle Forest Friends Meeting.
Bulletins, 1985-1986.

Bethel Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January-December 1985.

Centre Monthly Meeting

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, June 1979-June 1983.

Chapel Hill Monthly Meeting

Minutes, August 1980-March 1986.

Deep Creek Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1985-June 1986.

One membership record.

Forbush Monthly Meeting

Book of membership records, ca. 1905-ca. 1978.

Friends Union Monthly Meeting

Minutes, December 1969-February 1985, including membership records, papers, and memorials.

Goldsboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, January 1984-December 1985.

Greensboro Monthly Meeting

Minutes, December 1974-June 1985, with letters, reports and other papers.

Treasurer's record books, 1940-1941, 1942-43 (from F. Duval Craven).

"History and Records, United Society of Friends Women of First Friends meeting, 1983-1984, 1985-1986" (scrapbook).

Minutes, USFW, June 1966-July 1969 and committee reports.

Minutes, USFW, September 1981-June 1985 (unbound).

Minutes, Executive Board USFW, May 1981-May 1984.

Marlborough Monthly Meeting

Minutes, August 1974-April 1981, May 1981-May 1984.

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, July 1966-August 1982.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting

Epistles, 1986, with "Summary of Epistles."

Memorials, 1985.

Pine Hill Monthly Meeting

Minutes, July 1985-June 1986.

Rich Square Monthly Meeting (NCYM - Conservative)

Minutes, June 1962-December 1969.

Minutes, January 1970-May 1982.

Minutes, August 1982-April 1985 (unbound).

Somerton Monthly Meeting

Papers, clippings, photographs from meeting files (by Elizabeth Hare Lasley).

Surry Quarterly Meeting

Minutes, July 1979-October 1985.

Union Hill Monthly Meeting

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, July 1979-June 1981.

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, July 1981-December 1983.

Minutes, Ministry and Counsel, January 1984-October 1985.

Virginia Beach Monthly Meeting (NCYM-Conservative)

Minutes, October 1985-May 1986.

Winthrop Monthly Meeting

Treasurer's record book, November 1949-July 1955.

Sunday School record books (30), 1980-1986.

Waxhatch Valley Quarterly Meeting

Minutes, April 1967-June 1984.

Records, Education Committee, 1949-1957.

**SUMMARY OF USES OF THE FRIENDS
HISTORICAL COLLECTION**

1986-1987

North Carolina Friends

Two meeting histories, published jointly by the meetings and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, were completed during the year. They are *Greensboro Monthly Meeting of Friends: A New Meeting for a New Age*, by Hiram H. Hilty; and *New Hope Friends Meeting and The Elroy Community: A History*, by James K. Thompson. Much of the research for these histories was carried out in the Friends Historical Collection.

Members of both Raleigh and New Garden Friends meetings studied pictures of Friends meetings, old and new, in preparation for

building a new meeting house (Raleigh), or adding to an existing one (New Garden).

Members of Marlborough, Pilot View, Piney Woods, Westfield, White Plains, Jamestown, and Friendship meetings examined their meeting's records during the year.

Children from the Asheboro Friends Meeting, and young Friends attending North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) were given tours of the collection.

Gethesda and Woodland Meetings were provided with copies of their property deeds and Branon Meeting was supplied with copies of documents establishing the meeting.

Spring Meeting records were searched by a free-lance researcher on behalf of the Alamance County Historic Commission in preparation for an application for nomination of the meeting house to the National Register of Historic Places. A free-lance writer worked on the history of Winston-Salem Friends Meeting.

Materials on Allen Jay were copied for the Springfield Meeting Vacation Bible School.

A seminary student, a minister, and a scholar were assisted in locating materials for their studies of Quaker decision-making, Mary Dyer, and the experience of divine leading as reflected in early Quaker journals.

Seth Hinshaw completed research for his book on Quaker ministry and was assisted in editing the manuscript.

A copy of a marriage record was located and provided for a sixtieth wedding anniversary and a birth record was copied for a Friend applying for Social Security.

The Committee on the Care of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Records met four times during the year in the collection and the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society met twice.

Guilford College Students, Faculty, and Staff

Three groups of students, including two Interdisciplinary Studies classes, met in the collection for talks on the collection and on Quaker history.

Individual students were assisted in research projects on African tribes with whom American Quakers have worked, the history and plans of campus buildings, and topics for the "Quaker Origins" class. Many other students used the book collection for a wide variety of class projects and individual interests.

The Public Relations and Publications Office, with Alexander Stoesen was assisted in locating and identifying photographs and other pictorial matter for the college history which is being published as part of the College's Sesquicentennial Celebration.

Other campus offices, among them, the Development, Financial Aid, Friends Center, and President's offices were also assisted with a variety of projects and questions.

The Athletic Department used campus publications on several occasions for projects, including the identification of cheerleaders for the past several years.

Scholars, Students, and Other Researchers from Outside Guilford

Newspaper reporters from *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and *The Greensboro News and Record* interviewed the staff of the collection, and were provided research assistance, for articles on the Society of Friends, Quakers in North Carolina and Philadelphia, the Mendenhall plantation, John Collins, and the Friends Historical Collection.

WGHP-TV, Channel 8, High Point, filmed a portion of a documentary on illiteracy in North Carolina in the Friends Historical Collection.

Deborah Van Broekhoven, a visiting scholar at Brown University,

researched Harriet Peck, one of the first teachers at New Garden Boarding School who came to the school from Providence, Rhode Island, for a book on women abolitionists of Rhode Island. She used, primarily, the Peck family papers.

J. Braxton Harris of the history department of Appalachian State University, used the Raymond and Helen Binford papers to explore Raymond Binford's role in the establishment of the North Carolina College Conference for a history of the conference. The history was published under the title *North Carolina Association of Colleges and Universities, 1921-1986: A Short History of the Association and Its Leaders and Honorees*, and was authored also by Richard D. Howe.

Work was done in the collection for student papers, graduate theses, and dissertations on the following topics: Guilford County Quakers in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars; Quakers in Guilford County (two students); the Underground Railroad; John Woolman; North Carolina Quakers and the Civil War; Quakers and slavery. The staff provided another student with information on Nathan H. Hill for his senior thesis on this prominent Randolph County Quaker. Schools represented by these students were Western Guilford High School, New Garden Friends School, North Carolina State University, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Salem College, and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. A student from the last named institution also photographed an artifact associated with Dolley Madison for a video program on her life.

Thomas Hamm of Indiana University at Indianapolis used the book and periodical collections for an article on Levi Lupton, a Quaker pentecostal from Ohio.

An independent researcher used the Hutchison papers for a history of Alamance County communities and families. Another was provided information on Guilford athletes for a book on athletes who died in wartime since 1896.

The papers of mapmaker and historian Fred Hughes were used for research on iron foundries in Stokes County.

The staff provided information on the settlement of Nantucket Quakers in Guilford County for an historian researching the Nantucket settlement of Hudson, New York.

The staff researched extensively in minutes and records of Piney Woods and Rich Square Monthly Meetings for information on Irish Quakers who settled Dymond City, in Martin County, North Carolina, in the late nineteenth century for a projected history of this episode in Martin County history.

The collection's holdings of out-of-print writings of seventeenth century Quaker women for a publication project were checked.

The staff of Greensboro Historical Museum was assisted in preparing an exhibit on Quakers, and in preparing for a lecture series on Quakers.

Over three hundred and fifty individuals were assisted in genealogical research in the collection or by mail in the course of the year.

STATISTICS

ACQUISITIONS AND CATALOGING

New monographs	202
Reclassified monographs	8
Microforms	0
Maps	2
Meeting documents	61
Manuscript items or collections received	22

Manuscript items or collections partially or completely cataloged	8
Costumes	1
Artifacts	13
Pictorial matter	4
Items added to vertical file	295
Serials--new titles	4

USERS

Visitors	134
Groups	9
Genealogists	267
Guilford College faculty and staff	72
Scholars and other researchers from outside Guilford	62
Guilford students	97
Students from other institutions	22

CORRESPONDENCE

Preliminary letter	53
Genealogy	78
Requests for copies	22

The Southern Friend

Acknowledgements	51
Publication orders	12
Historical research	9
General information	47

FRIENDS CENTER AT GUILFORD COLLEGE ANNUAL REPORT

by
Judith W. Harvey

Friends Center at Guilford College is a southeast regional resource center. The center's programs, grounded in spiritual and social principles of Friends, provide opportunities for education and information about Quakerism.

Since 1982 the center has developed community and campus programs and provided liaison contacts with national and international Friends, Friends schools and Quaker organizations.

The current year has seen an implementation of a long-range planning process. The long-range planning task force has oversight for developing programs to strengthen Quaker studies and educational outreach. These recommendations will be reported by the Trustee Committee on Yearly Meeting Relations to the Board of Trustees of Guilford College.

1987-88 marks Guilford's sesquicentennial year. During 1986-87 a variety of special sesquicentennial events were planned for North Carolina Quakers under the auspices of Friends Center. These events, developed by special committees, include Quaker visitors, youth programs, ministers programs and a speaker bureau available to monthly and yearly meetings.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

QUAKER FAITH AND PRACTICE - FALL 1986 SEMINAR

This six-week seminar, offered for one academic credit, was taught by Guilford faculty and held on campus. It was open to stu-

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

dents, faculty and staff and monthly meeting members and was fully enrolled. Course administrators were Damon Hickey, Curator of Friends Historical Collection, and Judith Harvey, Director of Friends Center.

QUAKER FAITH AND PRACTICE - SPRING 1987 SEMINAR

Jamestown Friends Meeting hosted a six-week seminar and recruited all participants. Guilford faculty taught the seminar and administrative details were coordinated by Mary Vick, Director of Community Programs for the Center for Continuing Education.

NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY - NOVEMBER 1986

The center assisted arrangements for Clyde Milner II, Quaker campus visitor and speaker at the November 1986 annual meeting of the NCFHS. Clyde Milner II is associate professor of history at Utah State University.

QUAKER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT DAY - MARCH 1987

The outreach program was cosponsored with the college's admissions department and assisted by David Tebbs, Christian education director, NCYM.

MINISTERS ASSOCIATION (NCYM-FUM) - APRIL 1987

Friends Center hosted the April Ministers Association meeting. This meeting was the fourth annual meeting on campus. Elton Trueblood, distinguished Quaker author and teacher, gave an address entitled, "*Vision of Greatness.*"

CAMPUS PROGRAMS

PARENT PROGRAM - FRESHMAN ORIENTATION - AUGUST 1986

For the fourth year the center coordinated a freshman parent

orientation session "Guilford, a Quaker College." The session was led by a panel: John Grice, political science department, Amy Brazill, Student Quaker Concerns Group, and Judith Harvey, Friends Center director.

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES 101 PROGRAM - FALL 1986

The center's director assisted programming for the freshman IDS 101 course by bringing to campus Quaker visitors Phyllis Taylor, speaking on Amnesty International, and Jim Corbett, speaking on the sanctuary movement.

DISTINGUISHED QUAKER VISITORS - MARCH 1987

First Women Executives:

American Friends Service Committee: Asia Bennett

Friends United Meeting: Kara Cole

Friends General Conference: Marty Walton

The first women administrators of three prominent Quaker organizations spent a week at Guilford College talking extensively on campus and with Friends. The visit was covered by invited writers who will submit articles to a variety of journals and newsletters. Advance publicity was noted in the March issue of MS magazine. Among four speeches were "Challenges and Visions in Religions Leadership" and "Spirituality: Tension and Intention."

STUDENT QUAKER CONCERNS GROUP

Friends Center director served on the organization's advisory council and worked with coordinators Amy Brazill (fall 1986) and Susan Welsh and Eliza Blake (spring 1987).

FUND RAISING

ANNUAL GIVING

The annual giving program continued to be developed through personal solicitation, direct mail and phonathons. Volunteers were organized for all phases of annual giving. To date over \$11,000 has been raised making 1986-1987 fund raising comparable to 1985-86.

FRIENDS CENTER/QUEST CAMPAIGN

The friends Center/Quest campaign made considerable gains during 1986-87. \$103,466 has been raised through gifts, pledges and planned giving gifts towards the QUEST goal of \$250,000. With prior endowment gifts, the Friends Center Endowment now totals \$170,000.

PUBLICITY

YEARLY MEETING REPORTS

Friends Center reports are given annually at sessions of the North Carolina Yearly Meetings.

NEWSLETTER

The fourth annual newsletter was published during summer 1986.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - February 1987

Arrangements were made for Sue Chastain, *Philadelphia Inquirer* feature writer, for campys and yearly meeting interviews for a major article on North Carolina and Philadelphia Quakers. The article on Quakers in the South featured William Rogers, president of Guilford. Reprints are available for both the College and North Carolina Quakers.

SPEAKERS BUREAU BROCHURE

The brochure outlines a program resource bureau on 35 Quaker related topics with 18 college and community speakers. These programs will be available during the sesquicentennial year.

COMMITTEES AND MEMBERSHIP

The center's director serves on the following committees for reporting, planning, advising purposes and liaison contacts:

Friends Center Steering Committee
Friends Center Long-Range Planning Task Force
Friends Center Development Committee
Trustee Committee on Yearly Meeting Relations
Care of Yearly Meeting Records (NCYM-FUM)
North Carolina - Earlham School of Religion Regional Committee
Sesquicentennial Committees
 Sesquicentennial Steering Committee
 Friends Activities
 Young Adult Retreat
 NCYM - FUM
 NCYM - Conservative
 FUM - Triennial
International Quaker Congress
 Program
 Publicity
 Steering Committee
Liaison Contacts
 Friends Council on Education
 Friends Association for Higher Education
Board Memberships
 Pendle Hill General Board
 Pendle Hill Publications Committee
 Earlham School of Religion Board of Advisors
 Corporation of Haverford College
 New Garden Friends School: Chairman
 North Carolina Friends Historical Society

BOOK REVIEWS

Jonathan M. Chu, *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen: The Puritan Adjustment to Quakerism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Bay*. Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1985. 205 pages. \$27.95.

The most important and interesting development in the historiography of Quakerism is the attempt to "mainstream" the Society of Friends and its members--that is, to convert them from outsiders who had some of the characteristics of insiders, such as business acumen, into people who basically were insiders that happened to be off-center in a few conspicuous but not necessarily fundamental respects. Recent examples of such neo-consensus mainstreaming include David W. Jordan's influential essay, "God's Candle' within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland" which premiered in *The William and Mary Quarterly* and was republished in *The Southern Friend* last year. What Jordan did for Maryland, and by implication for other southern colonies, Jonathan M. Chu now does for Massachusetts Bay Colony and, by implication, for other northern colonies.

Several factors account for the Jekyll-to-Hyde interpretative redefinition of early Quakers as neighbors and friends instead of madmen. One factor is certainly that literature written about the society has drifted from sectarian to secular as the society itself proceeded from its "hot" sectarian beginning through subsequent "cooler" quasi-denominational phases. Earlier writing about Friends was partisan and highly charged. Those who authored it tended to be participant-observers. Most anti-Quaker writers were officials or lay activists in rival religious organizations. Likewise, much earlier pro-Quaker literature issued from a line of committed Friends running from George Fox and his contemporaries through James Bowden to Rufus M. Jones and beyond. These defenders and advocates of the society are not known for their dry, dispassionate approach to history. However, although these writers have their heirs, the work of the heirs inevitably has about it the echo-quality of a story already told or a song twice sung. It is, instead, the work of

revisionist, neo-conservative mainstreamers that now commands center stage. Their work does not appear to be motivated or shaped by a particular religious impulse. It is also less descriptive and more analytical than earlier writing, and consequently is presented more in the form of an argument than as a simple chronological narration. Cumulatively, the work of the mainstreamers bids fair to displace and replace the traditional, orthodox portrait of early Quakers. In *Neighbors, Friends, or Madmen*, Jonathan M. Chu, an historian at the University of Massachusetts in Boston, has buttressed and advanced the challenge of the mainstreamers by continuing the attack on Perry Miller as well as by disputing the more recent analysis offered by Kai T. Erikson's 1966 monograph, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*.

Chu's lean, taut book is conceptually sophisticated. Structurally it is built around a series of linkages--of Quakers to Puritans, of Massachusetts Bay politics to those of England, of local courts in the Bay Colony to the General Court, and of visiting, proselytizing Friends to resident Quakers. In brief, Chu argues that Bay officials did everything possible to avoid prosecuting Friends to the ultimate in part because they feared executing too many Quakers would tempt English authorities to intervene in the internal affairs of the colony, and in part because most resident Friends were regarded respectfully by their neighbors as valued members of the community. Hence the full wrath of Puritan officialdom generally was aimed only at visiting Quakers whose behavior was truly provocative, and who of course did not have a local reputation forged by financial dealings and social relationships with the non-Quaker majority. In contrast, resident Friends were much less provocative, had good reputations, and accordingly were dealt with leniently by their neighbors and in local courts in Kittery as well as Salem. Thus Chu concludes that "Quaker behavior and Puritan acceptance of it demonstrated a degree of cohesion based upon the locality and the complex of kinship, geographical proximity, and economic and political interests." Chu's view of the history of Puritans and Quakers in the Bay Colony as a beginning of a American tradition of toleration may jar those more accustomed to understanding Puritan behavior as one of the taproots of American ethnocentricity and nativism.

Greenwood Press deserves our thanks for inaugurating its fine series, *Contributions to the Study of Religion*, under the able

direction of Henry W. Bowden. Chu's work is the fourteenth of the series. Although blemished by cluster footnotes which complicate accurate sourcing and the occasional use of inappropriate gender-specific language, the book overall maintains the high standards established by series editor Bowden. Chu's tone is moderate throughout, even as he strives to help shatter the image of a xenophobic, monolithic Puritan culture. Naturally some parts of his argument are stronger than others wherein he frankly admits the evidence is "somewhat circumstantial." In general, however, Chu does a good job of trying to decompress colonial New England history ideologically by presenting most Quakers and Puritans in the Bay Colony as sober, reasonable people of honorable repute who generally resolved their religious differences in a practical, unfrenzied manner. Whether the revisionist portrait to which this book contributes of Puritans and Quakers as an entirely new species--non-sectarian sectarians--will stand the fabled test of time remains to be seen.

Howard Beeth
Texas Southern University

H. Larry Ingle. *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation*. The University of Tennessee Press, 1986. 310 pp. \$29.95.

This tale consists of two sorts of characters - the Hicksites who, as the "traditional Quakers", except when tradition stands in the way of their "reforms," stand for Truth, Justice and the American way of power for the common person. The other characters, those who oppose or are indifferent to Hicks, are lumped together and labeled interchangeably as "evangelical" and "orthodox." The orthodox/evangelicals are uniformly rich, self-centered, scheming individuals interested only in maintaining their own power and position, using their theology only as a tool for persecuting the innocent followers of dear Elias, the "patriarch of traditional Quakerism." (p. 227)

These evil orthodox/evangelicals "rove" like animals (p 235), with "gaggles" of Britishers seeking what followers of Elias they may devour. They are routinely described as "obnoxious," "arrogant," and "haughty." A Hicksite address has the effect on them of "lethal doses of ratsbane." (p. 212). The British "evangelicals" have one goal in life and that is to get Elias Hicks because of his power. (p. 228)

Indiana Yearly Meeting, due to its adulterous associations with other denominations has produced "few doers of the word." (p. 230) Once this sinister movement got a foothold in the Midwest it tore "through the heartland of American Quakerism verily like a spring tornado, annihilating the Society's distinctive features.." (p. 249)

Ingle's argument presents as many places to start unraveling as a tangled mass of kite string and just as many doubts as to whether the effort will be worth it. Space allows mentioning only the most basic difficulties.

First, Ingle never presents a convincing argument that what happened with Hicksism is to be regarded as a "reformation." Jack Marietta does make a convincing case for an earlier reformation in his recent book, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783*. Are we to have two reformations only a couple of generations apart? If so, the term reformation becomes trivialized.

Secondly, Ingle contends that Hicks's brand of individualism represents "traditional Quakerism." Marietta's work undercuts this claim. Ingle reads modern individualism back into earlier centuries. He finds that those who became Hicksites "championed traditional principles that Americans as a whole revere: individualism, diversity of belief, tolerance. . ." (p. xiii) Maybe this is how it looks from "Old Hickory's" home state, but Ingle fails to recognize that at the time of the Hicksite "reform" a new brand of American individualism was taking shape. (cf. Robert Bellah, *Habits of the Heart*)

A third difficulty is Ingle's either/or categorization of Hicksite or orthodoxy, and evangelicalism always go hand-in-glove. They do not. happened between the Wilburites and Gurneyites. The orthodox were not all alike. They differed on such issues as cooperation with other denominations in benevolent projects, emphasis on family prayers and Bible reading, and openness to revivalistic methods. Ingle makes the common error of assuming that revivalism, orthodoxy, and evangelicalism always to hand-in-glove. They do not.

Ingle sees an inverse relationship between doctrinal strictness and compromise with the world - the "evangelicals" were the most strict and the most compromised. Presumably then, those with the most *laissez faire* attitude toward doctrine would also be the least compromised with the world. One wonders how, in that circumstance, it would be possible to determine the meaning of "compromised." Why then during World War I did so many more

Philadelphia Hicksites go off to fight the “Hun” than . . . Philadelphia Orthodox? Why then during World War II did evangelical Northwest Yearly Meeting exceed every other Yearly Meeting in the number of C.O.’s? Why did the New Call to Peacemaking originate with Norval Hadley, of Northwest Yearly Meeting?

So, let’s cut the masquerade. Both Hicksites and Evangelicals were caught up in their age and attempting to respond to its needs. Both Hicksites and Evangelicals were innovating in their own ways. Both were responding to the stresses of rationalism and revolutionary ideology. The only ones who were, strictly speaking, “traditional Quakers” were the Wilburites. Wilburites were orthodox and attempting to preserve the pure tradition, which is another way of coping with the “acids of modernity” adopted by many “old order” groups. Wilburites just forgot that early Quakers were not primarily concerned with preserving a tradition, but neither were they primarily concerned with establishing total individualism in faith and ethics as Ingle contends.

Hick’s followers have conserved the outward form of silencing the flesh but in many cases have ditched the theological context which gave meaning to it. Also, what about all those empty facing benches? All too often when everybody is a minister nobody takes it very seriously. Hicksites could learn much from Evangelical Friends about pastoral care that earlier recorded Friends ministers understood. We may as well admit that there are no early Quakers left and the reason is that Quakers of all types like it that way.

Ron Selleck
West Richmond Friends Meeting
Richmond, Indiana

Margaret Hope Bacon. *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America*. San Francisco: Harper & Row 1986. 273 pp. \$16.95.

Margaret Hope Bacon has provided the general reading public with a very useful outline of the collective history of American Quaker women from the mid-seventeenth century to the present. This narrative outline is of importance in furthering the un-

derstanding of American women's social and religious history because the Quaker women described here have provided such outstanding leadership in the movement of women into the more public activities of American life.

Bacon starts her narrative with numerous accounts of seventeenth century Quaker women, English and colonial American, who were moved by their personal religious beliefs to become traveling ministers/preachers. Her discussion of women such as Mary Fisher, Elizabeth Harris, Elizabeth Hooten, Joan Brocksopp, Barbara Bevan, Elizabeth Coggeshall, and Patience Brayton, makes clear they encountered many difficulties and persecutions as they struggled to express their understanding of the Light/Spirit which moved them to preach. Bacon is so keenly aware that this behavior, so frowned on by persons outside of the Society of Friends, and some within, is not just the first discernable religious leadership demonstrated by Quaker women, it is the quintessential activity which undergirds other forms of leadership. For it is in obedience to the leading to share their personal religious experiences that Quaker women have found the authority to preach, speak, and act in public ways.

Bacon's narrative builds on the exploration of the impulse to preach and extends to an examination of the importance of leadership skills exercised in the separate meetings for business at all levels of Quaker organization. Leadership in education, then in various reform movements (abolition of slavery, women's rights, concern for Native Americans, social purity, temperance, prison conditions, and peace) are outlined, with the better known figures such as Sarah and Angelina Grimke and Lucretia Mott surrounded by the lesser known such as Martha Scofield, Mary Frame Thomas, Sarah Hallowell, Abby Hopper Gibbons, Mary Waln Wistar, Elizabeth Comstock, Helen Hunt Jackson, Florence Kelley, and Emily Greene Balch.

The story of Quaker women giving leadership in the professions and on the mission field is then carefully related. Several chapters on Quaker women's special leadership in the area of sexual equality (suffrage, Equal Rights amendment, etc.) support Bacon's assertion that these Quaker women were providing the birthing ground for contemporary feminism.

Margaret Bacon is well-informed about Quaker history and she suggests clearly to those less familiar with the schisms, branches, and periods of Quakerism how Quaker women's lives were affected by this larger history. But there are questions implied in the story

line which await more detailed specific historical studies and some more theological and psychological deliberations. For example, although Bacon recognizes the crucial affect of the traveling ministers, she does not explore the nature of the spiritual transformation which demanded such response. Hence, it is hard to see how both the preaching ministries of the Quietist period (eighteenth and early nineteenth century) and the active reform oratory of the nineteenth and twentieth century concerns for legislation are all part of the same impulse. She acknowledges that the Spirit leads all of these women and yet for those outside of the Quaker circle, the struggle to be true to the leadings of the Spirit of God as they know it needs more elaboration.

Another question which this narrative raises is the effect of the differences between British and American understanding of the role of women in Quakerism. Women in colonial and nineteenth century America were much more organized in separate meetings for business and involved in making more important decisions than their British sisters. What effect did the influence of British Friends on the leadership of several branches of American Quakerism in the nineteenth century have on the role of American Quaker women? This story begs to be explored.

Another question to explore is whether there are significant contacts between southern Friends and the northern women Friends who came to work with freed slaves after the Civil War. Or later, were southern Quaker women more conservative about suffrage strategies, as Bacon claims other southern women were, than their northern counterparts? Was the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) the primary suffrage forum for southern Friends? Did Quaker women in the south have a response similar to the settlement house movement in the northern urban areas? Were southern Quaker women active in the anti-lynching movement and the later civil rights movement? And what do we know about southern Quaker women's experiences in the mission field, in relief work after the World Wars, and in the peace movement? Did southern Quaker women participate in international experiences as leaders such as Emily Greene Balch, Jane Addams, Edith and Grace Abbott, and Florence Kelly did?

Any rich story will provoke the need to tell many more stories and to explore the deeper roots of the narrative. Margaret Bacon has told

a rich story which others can continue to tell and expand.

Carol Stoneburner
Guilford College

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

QUAKER RECORDS IN GEORGIA: WRIGHTSBOROUGH 1772-1793, FRIENDSBOROUGH 1776-1777. Robert Scott Davis, Jr., compiler. Ancestoring Monograph Series, Special Publication No. 1. Augusta, Ga.: Augusta Genealogical Society, 1986. 278 pp. \$24.00 postpaid.

This valuable resource book includes transcriptions of the surviving minutes and records of Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting with related minutes from Bush River Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and New Garden Quarterly Meeting; a list of those who received land grants for Wrightsborough; and other documents pertaining to the settlement. It also includes a history and documents pertaining to the town of Friendsborough in Wrightsborough township. A Wrightsborough bibliography, map, and index greatly enhance the usefulness of the book. It may be ordered from Augusta Genealogical Society, P.O. Box 3743, Augusta, GA 30904.

Quaker Queries is an occasional publication compiled and edited by Ruby Simonson McNeill "to provide a place for people with common Quaker problems to find each other." Questions about Quaker ancestors may be submitted at no cost to Ruby McNeill who then publishes them when she accumulates sufficient material. Also included in each issue are reviews relating to Quaker genealogy, announcements of family reunions, and an index. To date, six issues have been published and are available at \$5.00 each plus postage. Issues seven and eight are in preparation. To submit queries or request ordering information write Ruby Simonson McNeill, N. 4015 Marguerite Road, Spokane, WA 99212-1818.

Alexander Stoesen. *Guilford College. On the Strength of 150 years.* Greensboro, NC: Guilford College, 1987. \$29.50 if ordered before December 31, 1987; \$35.00 after December 31.

Guilford College is commemorating its sesquicentennial birthday with the publication of an illustrated history of the college. Written by Guilford College history professor Alexander Stoesen, it covers in words and pictures the college's history since its transformation from New Garden Boarding School to Guilford College in 1888. It may be ordered from Guilford College, *On the Strength of 150 years*, 5800 West Friendly Avenue, Greensboro, North Carolina 27410.

NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, held in November, featured an illustrated lecture by Damon D. Hickey, curator of the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College, entitled "A Spirit of Improvement and Progress': John Collins' Summer Trip to North Carolina, 1887." The title is from the handwritten, hand-illustrated travelogue written by Collins, a New Jersey Quaker artist, printer, year, it was appropriate to see and hear what Collins noted about the school, the area, and the state of the Society of Friends one hundred years ago.

As noted above, GUILFORD COLLEGE is one hundred and fifty years old in 1987, having opened as New Garden Boarding School in the fall of 1837 and rechartered as Guilford College in 1888. It is in the midst of a year-long celebration which has already included many special events and has been recognized by the two North Carolina Yearly Meetings, Friends United Meeting Triennial, Quaker Theological Discussion Group, and by many local organizations who have incorporated special events in their regular meetings to honor the college's birthday. Of historic importance was the weeklong meeting of three Quaker women chief executives, each the first woman in her position, of Quaker organizations as part of the Distinguished Quaker Visitors program at the college. During the fall and spring a series of lectures by distinguished alumni of the college will be featured. The concluding event will be the First International Congress on Quaker Education which will bring over three hundred educators to the campus to explore the issue of "What is Quaker Education?"

The T. WISTAR BROWN FELLOWSHIP is offered each year to a person who wishes to do research in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College library. It is a post-doctoral fellowship and is usually awarded to a mature scholar. It carries a stipend of \$10,000 and may be used either one or two semesters. The Fellow is provided work space in the Quaker Collection and is offered every assistance by staff members in the use of the 250,000 manuscripts, 32,000 volumes, and several thousand pamphlets and ephemeral materials in that collection. Fellows usually have a major project, although some have worked on several shorter ones. The Fellows meet an occasional class during their year, often visit a number of Friends' meetings in the area, and read papers at the Friends Historical Association and similar non-Quaker organizations. Candidates fill out an application form and arrange for transcripts and letters of recommendation to be sent to the provost's office; the appointment is made by the president of the college. The deadline for filing applications is December 31, and the decision is usually made by February 1. The address of the college is Haverford College, Haverford, PA 19041-1392.

TWO FEATURE ARTICLES ON QUAKERS IN PHILADELPHIA AND IN NORTH CAROLINA appeared in the February 11, 1987 issue of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and later in several papers around the country. While acknowledging that Philadelphia is still an important stronghold of American Quakerism, staff writer Sue Chastain noted the surprising size and influence of Quakers in North Carolina where an estimated 14,600 Quakers live in the central or piedmont section of the state, outnumbering Quakers in the Philadelphia area. She summarizes the unique characteristics of North Carolina Quaker history, the problem shared with Philadelphia meetings of declining membership, and the need for creating an image in the public mind of a Quakerism with something distinctive to offer to society that will make a difference.

**The North Carolina Friends Historical Society
1986-87**

Officers

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Vice-President..... **Carole Treadway**
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